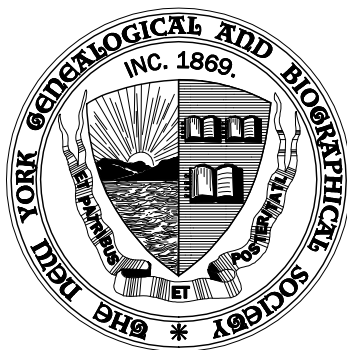


THE NEW YORK
GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL
RECORD

VOLUME 149



NUMBER 1

JANUARY 2018

James Sutton Jr. (1841–1891), Publisher of *The Aldine*

Slavery Records in the Common Council Papers at the New York City
Municipal Archives

Chloe (Foster) (Kately/Cately) Wells of Leyden, Massachusetts, and
Cortland County, New York

The True Parentage of Susannah Brasier/Brazier/Brasher, Wife of
John Stites

Daniel McIntyre, United Empire Loyalist, of the Town of Argyle,
Albany County, New York, and Grimsby Township, Lincoln County,
Upper Canada (*concluded*)

Origin of the Amerman and Terhune Families, and
Their Founding Mother Geertje Dircks (*continued*)

THE NEW YORK Genealogical and Biographical Society

THE RECORD

Editor:

Laura Murphy DeGrazia, CG, FGBS

Editorial Board:

Andrew Alpern, JD

John Blythe Dobson, FASG, FGBS

James L. Hansen, FASG

Frederick C. Hart Jr., CG, FASG, FGBS

Harold Henderson, CG

Judith A. Herbert, CG

Roger D. Joslyn, CG, FASG, FGBS

Anita A. Lustenberger, CG, FGBS

Harry Macy Jr., FASG, FGBS

Terri Bradshaw O'Neill

William T. Ruddock

Jane E. Wilcox

FELLOWS

Leslie Corn, CG

Laura Murphy DeGrazia, CG

John Blythe Dobson, FASG

James D. Folts, PhD

Frederick C. Hart Jr., CG, FASG

Charlotte Megill Hix

Henry B. Hoff, CG, FASG

Henry Z Jones Jr., FASG

Karen Mauer Jones, CG

Roger D. Joslyn, CG, FASG

Arthur C. M. Kelly

Nancy V. Kelly

Anita A. Lustenberger, CG

Harry Macy Jr., FASG

David Kendall Martin, FASG

Suzanne McVetty, CG

Meriwether C. Schmid

Edward H. L. Smith III

Francis J. Sypher Jr., PhD

Walter Wilmerding

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Officers:

Iain H. Bruce, *Chairman*

Kathleen Hill Tesluk, *Vice Chairman*

D. Joshua Taylor, *President, Trustee ex
Officio*

Luke Ives Pontifell, *Secretary*

William C. Hallett, PharmD, *Treasurer*

Trustees:

Bruce W. Addison

Lorraine Bell

Blaine Bettinger, PhD, JD

Elizabeth L. Bradley, PhD

Anne Sibert Buitert, PhD

John C. Harvey

A. J. Jacobs

Elbrun Kimmelman

Stephen S. Madsen, JD

William G. Pomeroy

Robert S. Roberson

Jeanne Sloane

Waddell W. Stillman

Missy Wolfe

Trustees Emeriti:

Robert G. Goelet

Henry B. Hoff, CG, FASG, FGBS

William P. Johns

Anita A. Lustenberger, CG, FGBS

W. Francis Price Jr.

Walter Wilmerding, FGBS

THE NEW YORK Genealogical and Biographical Record

VOLUME 149

JANUARY 2018

NUMBER 1

Contents

JAMES SUTTON JR. (1841–1891), PUBLISHER OF <i>THE ALDINE</i> by Sean Furniss	5
SLAVERY RECORDS IN THE COMMON COUNCIL PAPERS AT THE NEW YORK CITY MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES contributed by Meryl Schumacker	21
CHLOE (FOSTER) (KATELY/CATELY) WELLS (1788–1869) OF LEYDEN, MASSACHUSETTS, AND CORTLAND COUNTY, NEW YORK by Patricia Lee Hobbs, CG.....	39
THE TRUE PARENTAGE OF SUSANNAH BRASIER/BRAZIER/BRASHER, WIFE OF JOHN STITES by Simon Parker-Galbreath.....	50
DANIEL MCINTYRE, UNITED EMPIRE LOYALIST, OF THE TOWN OF ARGYLE, ALBANY COUNTY, NEW YORK, AND GRIMSBY TOWNSHIP, LINCOLN COUNTY, UPPER CANADA (<i>concluded</i>) by John Blythe Dobson, FASG, FGBS, and James Isaak	53
ORIGINS OF THE AMERMAN AND TERHUNE FAMILIES, AND THEIR FOUNDING MOTHER GEERTJE DIRCKS (<i>continued</i>) by Harry Macy Jr., FASG, FGBS, and Renee L. Dauven.....	64
PRESIDENT’S MESSAGE	3

Note: The next installment of William M. DeGrove’s “Adolph DeGrove, 1720–1796, of Newburgh, New York, and Some of His Descendants” will appear in a future issue of THE RECORD.—The Editor

Regular Features

REVIEW..... 77

Shefsiek, Kenneth. *Set in Stone: Creating and Commemorating a Hudson Valley Culture*. By Joan de Vries Kelley

WRITING FOR THE RECORD

The editor welcomes manuscripts focusing on residents of New York State and its colonial predecessors. Articles dealing with adjacent areas or countries of origin will also be considered if there is significant migration to or from New York. Guidelines for authors are available at the Society's website. Submit electronic copy of your manuscript (Microsoft Word is preferred) to editor@nygbs.org.

BOOK AND MEDIA REVIEWS

Recently published books, donated or purchased, may be reviewed in *The Record* if they concern the genealogy, biography, or history of the people of New York State or its subdivisions or are otherwise relevant to research on New York families. Publishers interested in offering their material for possible review should send a copy of the book with complete ordering information to The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, 36 West 44th Street, 7th Floor, New York, NY 10036-8105.

Copyright © 2018, The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society. The Society, the RECORD editor, and the contributing editors assume no responsibility for errors of fact or for opinions expressed or implied by contributors, but proven errors will be corrected.

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD (ISSN 0028-7237) is published quarterly by The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, 36 West 44th Street, New York, NY 10036-8105. Annual subscription \$30.00. Single issues \$7.50. Printed at Sheridan Press, Hanover, PA 17331. Periodicals postage paid at New York, New York, and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, 36 West 44th Street, New York, NY 10036-8105.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Dear Friends,

As the 149th volume of *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* commences, we are pleased to welcome Laura Murphy DeGrazia, CG, FGBS, as editor of New York's flagship genealogical journal. For more than a century, THE RECORD has been one of the most recognized and celebrated genealogical quarterlies in the world. Each issue delivers groundbreaking discoveries, under the careful hand of those who have taken up the responsibility of serving as editor.

We are immensely grateful to Karen Mauer Jones, CG, FGBS, for her service as editor of THE RECORD for the past six years. Few understand the complexities of editing a journal like THE RECORD. Those who take on the task understand the essential requirement to maintain the highest possible genealogical standards, knowing that researchers will rely upon their work for hundreds of years. The arduous task requires attention to detail, patience, mentorship, and perseverance.

Laura DeGrazia brings these skills and more to THE RECORD. She previously served as its coeditor from 2011 to 2014. A leader and respected genealogist, Ms. DeGrazia was an active member of the NYG&B's Education Committee for many years and is a former president of the Board for Certification of Genealogists. Alongside these accomplishments, she also brings a longstanding career as an author, speaker, and researcher to THE RECORD. For many, her work represents the pinnacle of scholarship and professionalism within the genealogical field. Admired by her colleagues for her persistent adherence to genealogical standards, her vast expertise in New York genealogy and biography will be apparent in each page published during her tenure.

Please join me in welcoming Laura DeGrazia back to THE RECORD.

D. Joshua Taylor
President

ABOUT THE SOCIETY

The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, founded in 1869 and incorporated in New York State, is a nonprofit institution whose purpose is to preserve, document, and share the stories of families across the state of New York. The organization engages with genealogists, biographers, historians, and organizations to establish the broader contexts of New York's past and actively fosters connections between New York's past and the present.

As part of its continuing commitment to advance genealogical scholarship, the Society has published *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* quarterly since 1870 and the *New York Researcher* since 1990, conducts a variety of programs, and maintains a growing, searchable eLibrary available to members online. Among the assets of the eLibrary are all prior issues of *The Record*.

The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society is a membership organization, and new members are always welcome. It is tax exempt under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, and gifts are tax deductible. The 1869 Circle acknowledges people who have made provision for the Society in their wills.

For further details contact the Society at 36 West 44th Street, Suite 711, New York, NY 10036-8105; telephone (212) 755-8532; or visit the Society's website, <http://www.newyorkfamilyhistory.org>.

THE MISSION OF THE RECORD

Adhering to scholarly standards, *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* publishes written works that solve genealogical problems, provide compiled genealogies, make available transcriptions of original records, and offer research guidance relevant to families who have contributed to the rich diversity of New York City, State, and region.

ABOUT GENEALOGICAL CREDENTIALS

The words Certified Genealogist and letters CG are registered certification marks, and the designations CGL and Certified Genealogical Lecturer are service marks of the Board for Certification of Genealogists®. Accredited Genealogist® and AG® are certification marks of the International Commission for Accreditation of Professional GenealogistsSM. Individuals are licensed to use the credential designations after meeting the competency standards of those organizations.

FASG designates Fellow of the American Society of Genealogists, an honorary society limited to fifty living members chosen for the quality of their published genealogical scholarship. Fellowship in other societies awarded on the basis of scholarship, rather than service or support to the society, may also be recognized by a postnominal designation, including FGBS for Fellow of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society.

JAMES SUTTON JR. (1841–1891), PUBLISHER OF *THE ALDINE*

BY SEAN FURNISS*

James Sutton Jr., born in New York City in 1841, made a major contribution to printing in the United States as the publisher of the critically acclaimed but short-lived late-nineteenth-century art journal *The Aldine*. The publication started in September 1868 as *Aldine Press: A Typographic Art Journal*, became *The Aldine, a Typographic Art Journal* from 1871 to 1873, and *The Aldine: The Art Journal of America* from 1874 to 1879. It was edited by Richard Henry Stoddard (1871–1875) and James Sutton Jr. (1874–1879).

After a suspicious fire destroyed Sutton's printing plant in 1875, several court cases brought into question his honesty, moral standing, and financial acumen. Near the end of his life James and his family took their remaining possessions and moved west to Washington Territory, where he died in 1891. This account summarizes the major events of his life. The genealogical summary links him to his parents and siblings, and it follows members of the family from New York to Washington, California, Missouri, and Kansas.

JAMES'S PARENTS

James Sutton Jr. was born in New York City on 6 October 1841¹ to Irish immigrants James Sutton [Sr.] and his wife, Esther Ready.² James Sr. worked as

* The author (Sean.Furniss@gmail.com) acknowledges the contributions of Edith (Alexander) Vohs, Melvin and Grace (Glass) Brown, Elizabeth (Glass) Vohs, Amy (Glass) Clyde, and Cynthia Staicer, whose records and help were used to develop the initial manuscript. He thanks the members of the Fairfax Genealogical Society writers group for their reviews and comments.

¹ For the place of birth, James Sutton [Sr.] household, 1855 New York state census, Brooklyn, Ward 13, Elect. Dist. 2, Kings Co., unpaginated, dw. 340, fam. 517, and James Sutton household, 1875 New York state census, Brooklyn, Ward 24, Dist. 1, Kings Co., p. 29, dw. 206, fam. 206. For the date of birth, James Sutton passport application no. 2564, 17 July 1877 (National Archives and Records Administration [NARA] microfilm publication M1372, roll 218). The signature on this application matches that found in his pension and homestead application records. James Sutton (Pvt., Co. B, 8th N.Y. State Militia Inf., Civil War), pension app. 962,796, cert. 871,232, Case Files of Approved Pension Applications . . . , 1861–1934, Civil War and Later Pension Files, Record Group (RG) 15: Department of Veterans Affairs, National Archives–Washington, D.C. James and Grace Sutton (Pierce Co.) homestead file, final cert. no. 277, Olympia, Wash., Land Office, Land Entry Papers, 1800–1908, RG 49: Records of the Bureau of Land Management, NA–Washington. Census records support a birth about 1840–1842. He was listed as age 8 in 1850 (James Sutton [Sr.] household, Town of Williamsburgh, Kings Co., N.Y., p. 452 [stamped, recto and verso], p. 903 [penned, recto and verso]), dw. 1519, fam. 1866 [NARA M432, roll 522]), age 13 in 1855, age 18 in 1860 (James Sutton [Sr.] household, 1860 U.S. census, Brooklyn, Ward 13, Dist. 1, Kings Co., N.Y., p. 760 [stamped], p. 120 [penned]), dw. 559, fam. 917 [NARA M653, roll 772]), age 28 in 1870 (James Sutton [Jr.] household, 1870 U.S. census, Brooklyn, Ward 11 [southern half], Kings Co., N.Y., p. 201 [penned], p. 227 [stamped], dw. 953, fam. 1463 [NARA M593, roll 952]), age 34 in 1875, age 38 in 1880 (James Sutton household, Brooklyn, Kings Co., N.Y., Enumeration District [ED] 232, p. 23, dw. 176, fam. 225 [NARA T9, roll 855]), and age 48 in 1889 (James Sutton household, 1889 Wash. territorial census, Pierce Co., unpaginated, lines 33–38). James Sutton Jr. was not found in the 1865 New York state census.

² Indirect evidence connects the generations. The Kings Co., N.Y., estate file for James's sister Esther Sutton includes a petition filed by her brother-in-law John H. Burroughs, 3 Nov. 1906, listing heirs Emma Sutton Parks, Charles S. Sutton, Vanderbilt H. Sutton, James Sutton, and Devereux Sutton, identified as Esther's niece and nephews. These Suttons were the children of James Sutton Jr., who predeceased his sister Esther. See Esther Sutton probate file, Kings Co., N.Y., Surrogate Court, 3 Jan. 1907. Esther's death

a bootmaker for many years at 280 Broadway, New York City,³ and bought property on South Third Street in the Village of Williamsburgh, Kings County, New York, for \$1,500 on 27 April 1846.⁴ The family moved there soon after.⁵ James Sutton Jr. was raised in the house on South Third Street.⁶

PATRIOTIC SERVICE

On 20 April 1861, at the age of 19, James Sutton Jr. enlisted in the army, joining Company B, 8th Regiment, New York Militia Infantry in New York City.⁷ There was great enthusiasm and excitement as the 8th Regiment “Washington Grays” prepared to leave New York City on 23 April 1861, marching from their armory to board the steamer *Alabama* at the foot of North Moore Street.⁸ The regiment began its ninety days of federal service on 26 April in Annapolis, Maryland. On 19 May the unit was in Baltimore, taking possession of Federal Hill, “being the first troops to enter Baltimore after the riots.”⁹ On 8 June the regiment went to Washington, taking possession of the Arlington House in Virginia the following Sunday. There the men guarded the headquarters of General Irvin McDowell.¹⁰

record lists her parents’ names. See Esther Sutton death cert., New York City, Borough of Brooklyn, 1906, cert. 19503. The parents’ given names are consistent with census records (see, for example, James Sutton [Sr.] household, 1855 New York state census [note 1]). The mother’s maiden name is consistent with two other siblings’ vital records (Margaretta Matilda Burroughs death cert., New York City, Borough of Brooklyn, 1903, cert. 17967; Mary Sutton Miller death cert., Village of Great Neck, Nassau Co., N.Y., 1929, local cert. 16, Town Clerk, Town of North Hempstead, Manhasset, N.Y.; Benjamin C. Miller Jr.–Mary Sutton marriage cert., Brooklyn, 1884, cert. 745).

³ New York City directories, 1834–1842, include a James Sutton with occupation of “boots and shoes” or “bootmaker” at 280 Broadway and 76 Nassau St. *Longworth’s American Almanac, New-York Register, and City Directory . . .* [1832–1833] (New York City: Thomas Longworth, 1832), 638; and similar titles for (1833–1834) 577, (1834–1835) 656, (1835–1836) 630, (1836–1837) 639, (1837–1838) 593, (1838–1839) 608, (1839–1840) 631, (1840–1841) 608, (1841–1842) 681, and (1842–1843) 593. *The New York City and Co-Partnership Directory for 1843 and 1844* (New York: John Doggett Jr., 1843), 328. *Doggett’s New-York City Directory for 1846 and 1847* (New York: John Doggett Jr., 1846), 379; and similar titles for (1847–1848) 395, and (1848–1849) 394. James is not listed in 1832–1834, 1838–1839, or 1846–1849.

⁴ Samuel and Elizabeth Lewry to James Sutton, Kings Co., N.Y., Deeds 147:531–33 (1906 copy of the original liber). Williamsburgh became a city in 1851, and the following year the final “h” was dropped from its name, making it the City of Williamsburg. In 1854 it was annexed to the City of Brooklyn, after which time it was part of Brooklyn’s Eastern District. See Harry Macy Jr., “Before the Five-Borough City: The Old Cities, Towns and Villages That Came Together to Form ‘Greater New York,’” *NYG&B Newsletter* 9 (Winter 1998): 3–6; reprinted in Estelle Guzik, ed., *Genealogical Resources in New York*, rev. ed. (New York: Jewish Genealogical Society, 2003), 387–90.

⁵ James Sutton [Sr.] household, 1855 New York state census (note 1), which indicates they were residents of the area for nine years. The family was enumerated in the Town of Williamsburgh in 1850 (James Sutton [Sr.] household, 1850 U.S. census [note 1]).

⁶ City directories list James’s father at the same address throughout James Jr.’s childhood. *Reynolds’ Williamsburgh Directory, Village Register, and Business Advertiser for 1851–52* (Williamsburg, N.Y.: Samuel and T. F. Reynolds, 1851), 123 (James Sutton [Sr.], [home] 160 S. 3rd), ebook, *American Ancestors* (<http://library.nchgs.org>). *Smith’s Brooklyn Directory for the Year Ending May 1st, 1856 . . .* (Brooklyn: William H. Smith, 1855), 174 (Eastern District); and similar title for (1857) 105 (Eastern District). *The Brooklyn City Directory for the Year Ending May 1st, 1858* (Brooklyn: J. Lain and Co., 1857), 357; and similar title for (1862) 424.

⁷ James Sutton Jr. compiled service record (Pvt., Co. B, 8th New York State Militia Inf.), Carded Records, Volunteer Organizations, Civil War, RG 94: Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780s–1917, NA–Washington. “Military Service,” in James Sutton Civil War pension S.C. 871,232 (note 1).

⁸ “Off For The War,” *The New-York Times*, 24 Apr. 1861, p. 8, col. 3.

⁹ *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Military Statistics of the State of New York* (Albany, N.Y.: C. Wendell, 1866), 292–93, 8th Regiment New York State Militia, digital image, Annual Reports of the Bureau of Military Statistics Civil War, *New York State Military Museum* (<http://dmna.ny.gov>). The Baltimore riot of 1861 was a conflict between Confederate sympathizers and members of the Massachusetts militia.

¹⁰ *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Military Statistics* (note 9), 292–93.

Anticipating an early victory at Manassas that would force the Confederates from Washington, members of Congress pressured General McDowell to attack the Confederate army in northern Virginia with his untried troops. On 16 July the Union soldiers moved toward Confederate forces at Manassas Junction and attacked on 21 July. The Union forces were defeated and fled the battleground, discarding arms and equipment as they ran.¹¹

With its term of service expiring, the 8th Regiment was ordered back to New York City on 23 July.¹² The troops arrived in the city on the 26th, where a large and enthusiastic crowd honored their homecoming. One newspaper reported that “as the tattered colors of the regiment and the shot marked flag of the Washington Grays passed, the people seemed crazy in their patriotism.” Governor Morgan gave them thanks for their service when they stopped in front of the Astor House hotel.¹³ James was discharged from military service on 2 August 1861. He attempted to re-enlist but “was twice examined and rejected on account of hernia.”¹⁴

BACK FROM WAR

James Sutton Jr. married in Brooklyn, Kings County, New York, 5 May 1862 Grace Augusta Cannon.¹⁵ The couple knew one another since childhood and had “kept company” for two years before they married.¹⁶ Grace was born in Connecticut in July 1843, daughter of Aaron V. and Mary Jane (Kirtland) Cannon.¹⁷ Like the Suttons, Grace and her family lived in Williamsburgh.¹⁸ Her parents married in Saybrook, Middlesex County, Connecticut, 6 June 1842,¹⁹ and by about 1849 the Cannon family had moved to Williamsburgh, where Aaron worked as a stone mason.²⁰

¹¹ James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom, The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 344. The Union army referred to this as the First Battle of Bull Run. The Confederate army called it the Battle of First Manassas.

¹² *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Military Statistics* (note 9), 292–93.

¹³ “Reception of Returned Volunteers at New York,” *Buffalo* [N.Y.] *Daily Courier*, 29 July 1861, p. 3, col. 2.

¹⁴ “Military Service,” in James Sutton Civil War pension S.C. 871,232 (note 1).

¹⁵ Grace Augusta [*sic*] Cannon–James Sutton marriage cert., 5 May 1862; notarized statement of Miss Esther Sutton and Miss S. Elizabeth Cannon [witnesses to the marriage], 10 Sept. 1892; and Esther Sutton affidavit, 14 Feb. 1893, all in Grace A. Sutton widow’s pension app. no. 542,912, cert. no. 396,993, combined with James Sutton (Pvt., Co. B, 8th N.Y. State Militia Inf., Civil War), Case Files of Approved Pension Applications . . ., 1861–1934, Civil War and Later Pension Files, RG 15: Department of Veterans Affairs, NA–Washington.

¹⁶ Grace A. Sutton deposition, 9 Apr. 1894, in Grace A. Sutton Civil War widow’s pension no. 396,993 (note 15).

¹⁷ No direct evidence has been found to link Grace (Cannon) Sutton to her parents, but indirect evidence establishes the relationship. See the genealogical summary for details. Also, Grace A. Sutton in the Vanderbilt H. Sutton household, 1900 U.S. census, Lake City Precinct, Pierce Co., Wash., ED 152, sh. 8A–B, dw. 187, fam. 192 (NARA T623, roll 1748). Grace Augusta Cannon baptismal record, 4 Nov. 1843, Old Saybrook, Conn., Congregational Church Records 1736–1935, vol. 5, p. 47 (Family History Library [FHL] film 5,379).

¹⁸ Aaron V. Canon [*sic*] household, 1850 U.S. census, Village [and Town] of Williamsburgh, Kings Co., N.Y., p. 295 (stamped), p. 589 (penned), dw. 1493, fam. 2596 (NARA M432, roll 522). Aaron V. Cannon household, 1855 New York state census, Brooklyn, Ward 13, Dist. 1, Kings Co., unpaginated, dw. 264, fam. 394.

¹⁹ Aaron V. Cannon–Mary Jane Kirtland marriage record, 6 June 1842, Old Saybrook, Conn., Congregational Church Records 1736–1935, vol. 5, p. 112 (FHL film 5,379).

²⁰ Aaron V. Cannon household, 1855 New York state census (note 18), which indicates the family had lived in the area for six years. Aaron V. Canon [*sic*] household, 1850 U.S. census (note 18).

Shortly after James's marriage to Grace, James began purchasing adjoining lots bounded by Grove and Linden streets in Brooklyn's Ward 18, just east of Williamsburg. In December 1861 he bought lots 38 and 40 from Charles Goodwin at a cost of \$300.²¹ In October 1862 Sutton purchased two more lots from Goodwin, numbers 37 and 39, at a cost of \$400.²² At the same time, James borrowed \$1,200 from Goodwin and granted him a mortgage on the four parcels.²³ In April 1863, James Sutton Jr. borrowed \$700 from James Sutton Sr. and granted James Sr. a mortgage on the same four lots.²⁴ On 9 January 1864, James Sutton Jr. purchased lots 41 and 42 from Catharine L. Babcock and her husband, Edward H. Babcock. The purchase price was \$500, and James granted Catharine Babcock a mortgage on the two lots to guarantee payment of a \$500 loan.²⁵ James and his wife, Grace, sold all six properties in a single conveyance in July 1864. The buyer paid \$2,750 to the Suttons and agreed to assume all three mortgages.²⁶

WORK AS A PUBLISHER

In 1864, at about age 23, James Sutton Jr. joined Tappen Bowne and Charles F. Blodget to form the firm of Sutton, Bowne, and Blodget, located at 23 Liberty Street, New York City.²⁷ Where James found the resources to invest in his new publishing company is unknown. Possibly the \$2,750 from his July 1864 sale of six Brooklyn lots was his share of the investment in this new company.

The early business partnership changed, with Blodget leaving by 1868²⁸ and L. M. Franklin joining the business on 1 March 1869.²⁹ In 1870 Franklin joined James as co-owner of James Sutton and Company and *The Aldine Press*.³⁰

The company first produced *The Aldine Press* in September 1868 as a free, four-page promotional publication to illustrate their skills and printing abilities. The partners named their publication in honor of Aldus Manutius, the leading publisher of the Venetian Renaissance and founder in 1494 of the

²¹ Charles Goodwin to James Sutton Jr., Kings Co., N.Y., Deeds 565:62–64 (1927 copy of the original liber).

²² Charles and Hannah Goodwin to James Sutton Jr., Kings Co., N.Y., Deeds 583:265–67 (1915 copy of the original liber).

²³ James Sutton Jr. to Chas. Goodwin, Kings Co., N.Y., Mortgages 538:488–92, microfilm KM210, Office of the City Register, 210 Joralemon St., Brooklyn, N.Y.

²⁴ James Sutton Jr. and Grace A., his wife, to James Sutton Sr., Kings Co., N.Y., Mortgages 564:206–8, microfilm KM220, Office of the City Register (note 23).

²⁵ Catharine L. and Edward H. Babcock to James Sutton Jr., Kings Co., N.Y., Deeds 618:349–52 (1916 copy of the original liber). James Jr. and Grace A. Sutton to Catherine Babcock, Kings Co., N.Y., Mortgages 569:117–20, microfilm KM274, Office of the City Register (note 23).

²⁶ Jas. Jr. and Grace A. Sutton to Sarah Williams Very, Kings Co., N.Y., Deeds 637:133–36 (undated copy of the original liber). Notes in the margins of the mortgage libers cited above indicate the loans were discharged in 1865 and 1868.

²⁷ *Reference Book and Directory of the Book and Job Printers* (New York: J. Arthurs Murphy and Co., 1871–1872), 22, which indicates the firm was established in 1864. *Wilson's New York City CoPartnership Directory for 1866–67* (New York: John F. Trow, 1866), 98, which lists Sutton, Bowne & Blodget. The company was not found in New York Co.'s incorporation papers or Limited Partnership index, 1863–1865.

²⁸ *Wilson's New York City CoPartnership Directory for 1868–69* (New York: John F. Trow, 1868), 104, which lists Sutton, Bowne & Co.

²⁹ *The Aldine Press* 2 (Mar. 1869): 18 ("Mr. L. M. Franklin has this day [1 Mar. 1869] been admitted to our firm. The business will be conducted as heretofore, under the firm name of Sutton, Bowne & Co.").

³⁰ *Reference Book and Directory of the Book and Job Printers* (note 27), 22 ("... James Sutton & L. M. Franklin, succeeded J. Sutton and Tappen Bowne, 1870").

celebrated Aldine Press.³¹ The interest generated by the promotional publication encouraged Sutton and his colleagues to develop and publish *The Aldine* as an art magazine.

With its high-quality wood engravings and typography, the magazine was considered “one of the most beautifully illustrated American journals” and a “showcase for fine illustration, prints and typography.”³² An engraved frontispiece was featured in each issue. These engravings were “suitable for framing, usually on heavier cream-colored paper.”³³ French block pictures reproduced from Gustav Doré’s illustrations highlighted the early publications. Interest and demand for the magazine quickly rose. In January 1869 it went from four to eight pages and increased again in May to twelve pages.³⁴

Renamed *The Aldine, a Typographic Art Journal*, the publication gained considerable social status. By 1871, subscriptions exceeded 25,000 a month. To celebrate, James Sutton and his new editor, Richard Henry Stoddard—a noted writer, literary reviewer, and editor—hosted an impressive dinner at the St. James Hotel in New York City. Speakers included Horace Greeley, Henry Ward Beecher, William Cullen Bryant, and Theodore Tilton. Bryant stated he had “never seen good engraving impressed with so much beauty and accuracy upon paper.”³⁵ Twenty-nine-year-old Sutton must have been thrilled.

A second dinner was held the following year celebrating the magazine’s continued improvement and its increased circulation—just over 40,000 monthly copies. The fifty guests included Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain), William Hart, Thomas Moran, and John Hay. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Henry Longfellow, Henry Ward Beecher, Horace Greeley, Charles Dana, and Gen. George McClellan were among those who sent letters of regret. Bayard Taylor described *The Aldine* as “a model of typographical art, [that] ought to have its recognized place in literature.” Dr. Robert Shelton Mackenzie applauded *The Aldine* for its excellence in artistic presentation and for the genius and grace of editor Richard H. Stoddard. Clemens “excused himself from making a speech by a felicitous speech of some length, abounding with touches of humor peculiar to himself.”³⁶

As *The Aldine* improved its content and size, the cost of a yearly subscription including postage increased from \$2.50 in 1869 to \$5.00 in 1873, then to \$6.00 in 1875 for twelve monthly issues.³⁷

³¹ “The Aldine Dinner,” *New-York Tribune*, 26 Feb. 1872, p. 8, cols. 1–2. Tony Seddon, *The Evolution of Type: A Graphic Guide to 100 Landmark Typefaces* (Richmond Hill, N.Y.: Firefly Books, 2015), 22.

³² Ellen Mazur Thomson, *The Origins of Graphic Design in America, 1870–1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 170. Digital copies of many volumes of *The Aldine* and *The Aldine Press* are available at JSTOR (<https://www.jstor.org/journal/aldine> and <https://www.jstor.org/journal/aldinepress>).

³³ Janice Simon, “Consuming Pictures: The Aldine, The Art Journal of America and the Art of Self-Promotion,” *The American Transcendental Quarterly* 12 (1998): 224.

³⁴ Based on the author’s personal observations. Also, Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines 1865–1885* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938), 410–12.

³⁵ “The Aldine Dinner,” *New-York Tribune*, 16 Mar. 1871, p. 5, col. 4.

³⁶ “The [1872] Aldine Dinner” (note 31). The *Cleveland Leader* published Clemens’s speech (“Mark Twain: His Speech at the ‘Aldine’ Dinner,” *Cleveland [Ohio] Leader*, 1 Mar. 1872, p. 3, cols. 3–4) and it is included in Paul Fatout’s *Mark Twain Speaking* (Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa, 1976), 65–68.

³⁷ Advertisements, *New-York Tribune*, 17 Dec. 1869, p. 6, col. 3; *Brooklyn [N.Y.] Daily Eagle*, 12 Dec. 1873, p. 1, col. 4; and *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 24 Oct. 1874, p. 1, col. 7.

In a historical review of American magazines, Pulitzer Prize-winning historian and journalist Frank Luther Mott wrote that although “the *Aldine* was never important in literary publication . . . the printing of good engraving and . . . typography” made it a notable magazine.³⁸ The extensive accounts of this country’s scenic regions in *The Aldine* were what art historian Janice Simon felt “branded *The Aldine* as a formidable competitor to *Appleton’s Journal* and to [Appleton’s] publication of 1872, *Picturesque America*.”³⁹

One highlight of the magazine was the annual “Chromo number” issue that included a separate, high-quality color print of an oil painting, suitable for framing. A subscription advertisement for *The Aldine* noted that the Aldine Art Union owned the originals of all the pictures, paintings, and engravings distributed to readers.⁴⁰ As business improved, James Sutton and Company of New York opened an office in Chicago, Illinois, in February 1874 to manage *The Aldine*’s western circulation.⁴¹

THE FIRE AND THE COURT CASES

The Metropolitan Fire Department began taking over from volunteer firemen in 1865,⁴² but having one’s own fire-fighting capabilities still made good business sense. Even so, it was not always enough. To minimize the risk of fire for its highly flammable products, *The Aldine* publishing company “organized ‘The Aldine Fire Brigade’ . . . for the protection of our own premises” from fires in and near the printing plant. On 1 January 1873 the company used its equipment to help suppress a fire at Powers and Weightman, a chemical business in an adjoining warehouse.⁴³

On 24 June 1875 the “famous printing establishment known as the *Aldine* press was destroyed by fire. . . . The presses, machinery and plates were among the finest in the city and probably this country. . . . This fire is a serious blow to the *Aldine* Company, as much material in the shape of plates, engravings, etc., [was] destroyed and cannot be easily replaced.”⁴⁴ The five-story building at 58 Maiden Lane in New York City “took fire about 8 o’clock last evening, and the damage to the property, it is estimated, will reach nearly \$100,000. The building extends through to Liberty-st., and the fire caught in the pressroom on the fifth floor on that side. . . . There were fifteen large drum presses and six Gordon presses on the upper floors. . . . The damage . . . was confined to the third, fourth, and fifth stories, principally on that side toward Liberty-st.”⁴⁵

³⁸ Mott, *A History of American Magazines 1865–1885* (note 34), 412.

³⁹ Simon, “Consuming Pictures” (note 33), 238.

⁴⁰ Advertisements, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 27 Jan. 1871, p. 2, col. 9; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 14 Nov. 1874, p. 1, col. 7; *The Daily Journal* (Wilmington, N.C.), 3 Mar. 1877, p. 2, col. 6.

⁴¹ Advertisement, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8 Feb. 1874, p. 1, col. 2.

⁴² John W. Edmonds, ed., *Statutes at Large of the State of New York*, vol. 6 (Albany, N.Y.: New York State, 1869), 456, chap. 249, “An Act to create a Metropolitan Fire District and establish a Fire Department therein,” passed 30 May 1865.

⁴³ “The Fire at ‘The Aldine’ Office” [a letter from James Sutton & Co. to the Babcock Fire-Extinguisher Company], *The New-York Times*, 1 Jan. 1873, p. 5, col. 6.

⁴⁴ “New York. A Serious Fire. The Aldine Establishment Burned,” *Boston Journal*, 25 June 1875, p. 2, col. 3.

⁴⁵ “The Fire Record. Large Fire in Maiden-Lane, Three Floors of the Aldine Building Destroyed—Loss Estimated at \$100,000,” *New-York Tribune*, 25 June 1875, p. 7, col. 5.

The Aldine company filed insurance claims for its losses. Doubting the assertions, the insurance companies and the New York City District Attorney took James Sutton to court. He was indicted for perjury regarding his statements about the damage and destruction. Between 12 February 1877 and 1 March 1877, James was tried in the Court of General Sessions in New York City. He was acquitted of all charges.⁴⁶ The next month he and the Aldine Company trustees sued thirty-three insurance companies seeking payment for the losses caused by the fire. The Aldine Company's trustees alleged they had filed claims for their losses but received no payment. The insurance companies denied that proof of loss had been submitted and contended that the Aldine Company had committed fraud and had lied about the origin, cause, and results of the fire as well as the resulting destruction and damage.⁴⁷

One of the suits went to trial in Brooklyn as a test case, with the parties in the other cases agreeing to abide by the decision. After an eight-day trial the jury ruled for the Aldine Company. Then James Sutton filed a claim against the parties who had accused him of perjury.⁴⁸

In June 1877, the Aldine Company and Mr. Sutton filed suit against the Western Fire Insurance Company. The insurance company claimed that the stock of wood cut and electro-types reported as damaged were not in the building at the time of the fire. Mr. Sutton, reportedly a metallurgy expert, in his testimonial demonstration "wrapped a piece of copper, known as an electro-type skin, in a sheet of the [newspaper *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*] and setting fire to the paper, burned the copper out of sight, all of it going off to vapor." Tests of the powder remaining after the fire showed it contained 25–35 percent pure metal,⁴⁹ thereby proving the presence of copper sheeting from the electro-types at the fire site.

The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, in its 1878 New Year's edition, highlighted the year's notable legal actions with a reference to the Aldine Company cases:

James Sutton's successful suits against four insurance companies for the amount of the policies on the property of the *Aldine*, which was destroyed by fire in the building on Maiden Lane, was a feature of the year's litigation. Two suits were tried, in both of which plaintiff [the Aldine Company] got a verdict, and in two others inquests were

⁴⁶ James Sutton indictment, 9 Dec. 1875, New York Co., N.Y., District Attorney Indictment Records, microfilm MN#5299, roll 299, 1 Dec. 1875–20 Dec. 1875, New York City Municipal Archives, 31 Chambers St., New York, N.Y. People v. James Sutton, trial for perjury, 12 Feb. 1877–2 Mar. 1877, Minutes of the Court of General Sessions, Part I, vol. 128, pp. 95–97, 104–5, 107, 110, 113, 116–17, 119, 122, 130, 160, microfilm, rolls 38–39, Municipal Archives. "On Trial for Perjury," *The New-York Times*, 13 Feb. 1877, p. 2, col. 5. "Is James Sutton Guilty of Perjury?," *The New-York Times*, 2 Mar. 1877, p. 3, col. 2. "Mr. Sutton Not Guilty," *The New-York Times*, 3 Mar. 1877, p. 7, col. 7.

⁴⁷ "The Aldine: Its Suits Against Insurance Companies For \$86,000," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 6 Apr. 1877, p. 4, col. 4. The Index to Clerk's Minutes, 1874–1878, Kings Co., N.Y., Supreme Court, Brooklyn, does not include a reference for a case by plaintiff James Sutton or Aldine against insurance companies during this period.

⁴⁸ "The Aldine: Its Suits Against Insurance Companies" (note 47). "A Second Vindication. Mr. James Sutton, President of the Aldine Company, Again Sustained by a Jury—A Verdict Against Fire Insurance Companies," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 14 Apr. 1877, p. 4, col. 3. Reference to these cases was not found in the Index to Clerk's Minutes, 1874–1878, Kings Co., N.Y., Supreme Court, Brooklyn.

⁴⁹ "The Aldine Company's Suit for Its Insurance Money," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 2 June 1877, p. 4, col. 4. Electro-type refers to the copper sheeting used in the printing of the artwork. "Electrotyping," in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (<https://www.britannica.com/technology/electrotyping>), states that "an electrotype, or electro, is made by electroplating a thin shell of copper or other metal onto a mold, usually wax, of the original cut or type form and then removing the mold and backing the shell with metal."

taken. There was never, perhaps, a harder fought battle, but the evidence for the plaintiff swept away all doubt from the minds of the jury, if any ever existed.⁵⁰

Albert Drayton Sutton, James Sutton Jr.'s grandson, wrote many years later that the publishing company had been burned down as a result of labor troubles.⁵¹ Newspaper articles about the fire and insurance claims do not mention any associated labor problems.

As the Aldine Company ordered new equipment to replace that lost in the fire, suppliers apparently began questioning the company's ability to meet its financial obligations. James Sutton sued Andrew Campbell in May 1878 after the new press ordered for the Aldine Company was reportedly delivered and then taken back.⁵²

Although the last edition of *The Aldine* was printed in 1879,⁵³ The Aldine Press continued publishing other works until at least 1885.⁵⁴ The company produced a wide range of publications including club-meeting announcements,⁵⁵ illustrated almanacs,⁵⁶ library catalogs,⁵⁷ stockholder reports,⁵⁸ and advertisements for items such as clothing and electro-silver-plated dining utensils.⁵⁹ In March 1887, however, the City Court of New York called the company "now insolvent" and said it had "practically ceased to exist."⁶⁰

A RELATIONSHIP BROUGHT INTO QUESTION

As did many residents of Kings County, the Suttons likely spent part of the sweltering summers in rented rooms in the homes of Long Island residents and enjoyed the nearby beaches. In the summer of 1880, the Suttons met 18-

⁵⁰ "The Record: Court Work Done During the Past Year," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 2 Jan. 1878, p. 4, col. 3.

⁵¹ "Uncle D." and "Aunt M." [Albert Drayton and Myrtle (Morse) Sutton] to "Gracie" [Grace Elvis (Glass) Brown], letter, 13 Apr. 1974, photocopy in possession of Sean Furniss.

⁵² "A Printing Press in Litigation," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 7 May 1878, p. 4, col. 3. The Index to Clerk's Minutes, Kings Co., N.Y., Supreme Court includes a reference to James Sutton v. Andrew Campbell, 10 May 1878, vol. 28, p. 128, file 1314. James seems to have sued Andrew Campbell four years earlier as well. The same index refers to Sutton v. Campbell, 13 June 1874, vol. 21, p. 492, file 1509. Staff at the Kings Co. Clerk's office report that most files from this era were destroyed in a warehouse fire in 2015. For more information, see Mary Collins, "Brooklyn Fire's Effects on Genealogical Records," *The New York Researcher* 26 (2015): 60–61. Among the losses in the 31 Jan. 2015 fire were 18,721 boxes from Kings Co. Supreme Court (civil) from 1873 to 1941.

⁵³ Thomson, *Origins of Graphic Design in America* (note 32), 170. Mott, *A History of American Magazines* (note 34), 412.

⁵⁴ *Trow's New York City Directory . . . for the year ending May 1, 1886* (New York: Trow City Directory Company, 1885), 34, entries for Aldine Publishing Co. and Aldine (periodical), both at 40 Vesey St.

⁵⁵ *WorldCat* (<https://www.worldcat.org>) entry for American Jockey Club and August Belmont, *American Jockey Club: Jerome Park, Fall Meeting 1873*, which lists James Sutton & Co. as publishers and printers.

⁵⁶ *WorldCat* (note 55) entry for *The National Elgin Watch Company Illustrated Almanac 1872* (Chicago: National Elgin Watch Co., 1871), which lists "The Aldine Press," James Sutton & Co., as publishers.

⁵⁷ Mercantile Library Association of the City of New-York, *Second Supplement to the Catalogue of Books in the Mercantile Library of the City of New York (Accessions, October, 1869 to April, 1872)* (New York: Mercantile Library Association, 1872), digital image, *Making of America* (<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/moa>). The title page shows it was printed by James Sutton & Co., 23 Liberty St.

⁵⁸ *WorldCat* (note 55) entry for Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railway Company, *Annual report of the Board of Directors of the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railway Company to the stockholders . . . 1870*, which lists The Aldine Press, James Sutton & Co., as publishers.

⁵⁹ *WorldCat* (note 55) entry for Devlin & Co.'s 1870. *Holiday Announcement* [described as a clothing and dress advertisement], and for *Price list of Rogers & Bro. Waterbury, Conn.* [between 1841 and 1899?], both of which list The Aldine Press, James Sutton & Co., as publishers.

⁶⁰ *Civil Procedure Reports Containing Cases Under the Code of Civil Procedure and the General Civil Practice of the State of New York* (New York: S. S. Peloubet, 1887), 292, Simon v. The Aldine Publishing Company (11 N.Y. Civ. Pro. 267).

year-old Jennie May Brown while boarding at the home of her father, Edward or Edwin P. Brown, a farmer in the hamlet of Orient, in the Town of Southold, Suffolk County, New York. Jennie May and the Suttons apparently formed a close bond.⁶¹

In August Miss Brown became Mrs. Sutton's companion and traveled with the Suttons and their four children to the Catskills. The Suttons offered to pay for Jennie's musical education, and she returned to Brooklyn with the family. The relationship shortly became charged. Jennie claimed that after arriving in Brooklyn, 38-year-old Mr. Sutton "immediately began to make improper advances to me. I told his wife I thought her husband was in love with me." Jennie said that Mrs. Sutton told her, "It is all right if he does love you. We did not make ourselves and we cannot say whom we would and whom we would not love."⁶² According to Jennie, "In the Spring of 1881, Mr. Sutton took her to a doctor to whom he paid \$100." The following March, "the doctor was again visited."⁶³

According to a witness, in the summer of 1881 Miss Brown's father had pleaded with Mr. Sutton "not to continue the relations he then held toward his daughter." The witness said he had "frequently seen Mr. Sutton and Miss Brown in the shops and streets of this city [Brooklyn]. The latter was always dressed precisely like Mrs. Sutton."⁶⁴

The Suttons asked Jennie to go with them to Europe in March 1882. She declined.⁶⁵ She left the Suttons in November 1885 and returned to her parents' Long Island home. In January 1886, Edwin P. Brown sued James Sutton for the loss of the services of his daughter. "The immediate reason for it is the averment that Sutton, with the sympathy of his wife, effected her ruin within six months after she had left Orient."⁶⁶ At the order of the court Mr. Sutton was arrested and released on \$5,000 bond.⁶⁷ At his office at 40 Vesey Street, New York City, Sutton said that the Browns' story was "pure fabrication . . .

⁶¹ "James Sutton's Arrest: The Story Told by a Girl Whom He Took into His Family," *The New-York Times*, 8 Jan. 1886, p. 8, col. 2. Edwin P. Brown household, 1880 U.S. census, Orient, Town of Southold, Suffolk Co., N.Y., ED 329, pp. 6-7, dw. 56, fam. 64 (NARA T9, roll 935), digital image, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org>). This page is missing from *Ancestry.com*'s 1880 census images. Newspaper accounts refer to the father as Edward, but the census refers to him as Edwin.

⁶² "James Sutton's Arrest" (note 61).

⁶³ "Says It is Blackmail," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 8 Jan. 1886, p. 4, col. 6.

⁶⁴ "May's Debut: Miss Brown on the Stage in Baltimore," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 14 Jan. 1886, p. 4, col. 8.

⁶⁵ "Says It is Blackmail" (note 63).

⁶⁶ "James Sutton's Arrest" (note 61). "Says It is Blackmail" (note 63). Newspaper articles refer to a Judge Donohue of the New York Supreme Court, suggesting the action was filed in New York County. "Publisher Sutton's Story," *The New-York Times*, 11 Jan. 1886, p. 8, col. 2, says Sutton requested a change of venue to Brooklyn. No reference to this case was found in indexes to New York Co.'s Supreme Court, Superior Court, or Court of Common Pleas or in the Index to Clerk's Minutes for Kings Co. Supreme Court. Suffolk Co., N.Y., court indexes have not been consulted. Loss of services is a legal term used to describe a parent's loss of "society, companionship, and affection" from their child "and, in some instances, by a father whose daughter has been the victim of seduction." See "Loss of Services," *The Free Legal Dictionary* (<http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Loss+of+Services>).

⁶⁷ "James Sutton's Arrest" (note 61). No record of his arrest was found in records of the New York City Police Court, dist. 1, vol. 33 (15 Dec. 1885-28 Apr. 1886), item 169, microfilm, roll 37, Municipal Archives. District 1, known as "The Tombs" Court, was located at White St., the closest court to Sutton's New York City offices. Arrest records for Brooklyn, which in 1886 was a separate city, have not been located.

done for money.”⁶⁸ Sutton’s friends did not “believe that Miss Brown’s father [could] ever influence her to testify in court against Mr. Sutton.”⁶⁹

Miss Brown was scheduled to appear in a variety troupe at the Grand Opera House in Baltimore, Maryland, on 25 January 1886,⁷⁰ after which nothing further was found in the newspapers regarding the suit or Miss Brown.

FINANCIAL TROUBLES

James applied to the County Court of Kings County, New York, on 20 July 1882 asking to be discharged from his debts. His creditors included Lindley M. Franklin (probably his business partner), Morris Franklin, and Grace A. Sutton (probably his wife). The court was scheduled to meet on 7 October 1882 to make an assignment of James’s property.⁷¹

Three years later, on 23 December 1885, James Sutton signed as a surety in an appeal of a judgement won against the Aldine Company. James stated that he owned presses and printing material worth \$10,000. He said his outstanding debts did not exceed \$300 or \$400. He claimed furniture worth \$500, stock in the Aldine Publishing Company, and a \$700–\$1,000 interest in his father’s estate. He said he owned a yacht.⁷²

Sutton’s statements about his assets were discovered to be untrue. A referee found James was indebted to his wife for \$20,000 and to his [unnamed] sister for \$1,500. The court revealed that the stock James owned in the Aldine Publishing Company apparently had no value and that he had sold the interest in his father’s estate to his sister Esther for \$1,500. His wife claimed the furniture. The yacht, built by Mr. Plant, had been contracted and paid for by Mrs. Sutton.⁷³

Soon after signing as a surety and overstating his assets, Sutton endorsed several large notes to the company’s creditors, delaying payment of the company’s debts. Shortly thereafter the Aldine Publishing Company failed. A new company—the Aldine Press—was established and James Sutton was named general manager. His annual salary was \$3,000.⁷⁴

In December 1886, the City Court of New York, Special Term, found some of James Sutton Jr.’s statements made in connection with the 1885 surety bond “were not true and were known to him at the time to be untrue; and that he was then insolvent with no present means of meeting the

⁶⁸ “Says It is Blackmail” (note 63).

⁶⁹ “May’s Debut” (note 64).

⁷⁰ “May’s Debut” (note 64).

⁷¹ “Bankruptcy Notices,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 17 Aug. 1882, p. 1, col. 5. Historical Records Survey of the Work Projects Administration, *Inventory of the County Archives of the City of New York, No. 2, Kings County* (New York: New York City, 1942), 227–29, indicates that the County Clerk was clerk of this court and that in 1942 this court’s records were split between the clerk’s office and the Central Courts Building in Brooklyn. Staff at the County Clerk’s office in Kings County are unaware of records relating to the County Court. The Index to Clerk’s Minutes does not include reference to Sutton’s 1882 insolvency.

⁷² R. M. Stover, ed., *The New York State Reporter* . . . , vol. 7 (Albany: W. C. Little and Co., 1887), 378–79. The initial action, *Monroe L. Simon v. The Aldine Publishing Company*, was evidently filed in New York City Court. Records from that court are not known to exist. The appeal was filed in the Court of Common Pleas; those records, located in the New York Co. Clerk’s Division of Old Records, have not been yet been searched.

⁷³ *The New York State Reporter* (note 72), 379.

⁷⁴ *Civil Procedure Reports* (note 60), 269.

obligation into which he had entered as a surety, and with no intention of paying the same.” He was found guilty of contempt of court.⁷⁵

Charles Sutton’s 1926 obituary states that his father, James Sutton Jr., was “a prosperous publisher, being compelled to sell out his business on account of ill health.”⁷⁶ The reason for selling the publishing business could just as likely have been related to James’s financial situation and perhaps scandal.

FROM BROOKLYN TO WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Between 1863 and 1885 James and his family lived in at least eight residences in Brooklyn.⁷⁷ James moved to Washington Territory in the spring of 1888 to find a new home for his wife, Grace, on account of her poor health.⁷⁸ In 1886 a spinal injury of her neck paralyzed her left side, leaving her an invalid.⁷⁹

On 14 April 1888, James filed an application for a homestead, identifying himself as a resident of Steilacoom, Pierce County, Washington Territory.⁸⁰ On the same date, land was purchased on the south side of Sequelitchew Lake and on 17 April James requested that the purchase be filed and recorded in the name of his wife. In July, twenty adjoining acres were purchased and James again requested that the sale be filed and registered in the name of his wife, a resident of the Town of Flatbush, Kings County, New York. The Suttons paid \$3,400 dollars for their two purchases.⁸¹

James and Grace had acquired just over 168 acres and an adjoining sixty-seven-acre homestead.⁸² James, who knew nothing of farming, had spent all their money to purchase the farm and its improvements. The land was very gravelly and known to have only limited agricultural value as early pasture.

⁷⁵ *Civil Procedure Reports* (note 60), 268, 272–73.

⁷⁶ “Charles S. Sutton, Upright Man and Mason,” *Responsibility* 3 (Feb. 1926), cover, 2–3 (quote above on p. 2). This periodical was published in Kansas City, Mo. Charles was its editor for three years prior to his death.

⁷⁷ *The Brooklyn City Directory for the Year Ending May 1st, 1863* (Brooklyn: J. Lain and Co., 1863), 423 (clerk, 160 S. 3rd, Eastern Dist.); and similar titles for (1866) 503 (clerk, h. 172 B’way, Eastern Dist.), (1867) 549 (stationer, h. 72 Bergen), (1869) 608 (stationer, 23 Liberty, N.Y., h. 214 Fort Green pl.), (1870) 640 (same as 1869), (1871) 701 (same as 1869), (1874) 746 (editor, 58 Maiden La., N.Y., h. 1193 Dean), (1875) 825 (printer, 58 Maiden La., N.Y., h. 1193 Dean), (1876) 872 (publisher, 58 Maiden La., N.Y., h. 1193 Dean), (1877) 893 (editor, Vesey, N.Y., h. 1193 Dean), (1878) 900 (clerk, 1193 Dean), (1879) 957 (president, h. 186 Gates Ave.), (1880) 991 (president, h. 186 Gates Ave.), (1883) 1121 (publisher, 40 Vesey, N.Y., h. 803 Bedford Ave.), and (1885) 1283 (publisher, 40 Vesey, N.Y., h. 803 Bedford Ave.). The 1879 directory contains two sections of Sutton entries on p. 957 (an apparent error in alphabetization).

⁷⁸ Grace A. Sutton deposition, 9 Apr. 1894 (note 16).

⁷⁹ Emma [(Sutton)] Parks affidavit, 28 Feb. 1893, in Grace A. Sutton Civil War widow’s pension no. 396,993 (note 15).

⁸⁰ James and Grace Sutton homestead file no. 277, Olympia, Wash., Land Office (note 1). James filed the initial application in the Seattle Land Office. Grace, as James’s widow, completed the process in 1893 and was granted a patent 24 Apr. 1894.

⁸¹ Isaiah G. Murray and Hester, his wife, to Grace A. Sutton, Pierce Co., Wash., Deeds 30:17. Robert M. Downey to Grace A. Sutton, Pierce Co., Wash., Deeds 28:548 (no. 7889). Both accessed at Washington State Archives, Bellevue. The property the Suttons acquired at Lake Sequelitchew is thought to be the place where American naval officer and explorer Lt. Charles Wilkes and his men celebrated the Fourth of July on 5 July 1841. This celebration is reported to have been “the first Fourth of July celebration that was ever held this side of the Missouri River.” A monument was placed at the site in July 1906 by the Washington Historical Society. Walt Crowley, “Charles Wilkes begins first American survey of Puget Sound on May 11, 1841,” *HistoryLink.org*, 18 Feb. 2003 (<http://www.historylink.org/File/5232>). *Washington State Historical Society Publications*, vol. 2, 1907–1914 (Olympia, Wash.: Washington State Historical Society, 1915), 59, 102.

⁸² Clarence M. Parks affidavit, 12 Apr. 1893, in Grace A. Sutton Civil War widow’s pension no. 396,993 (note 15).

“His money seemed to be swallowed up like water.”⁸³ These purchases, considered by many to be purely speculative, took place during a boom period when people from the City of Tacoma were building homes around the adjacent American Lake.⁸⁴ It was an investment that had decreased in value to \$1,660 by August 1893.⁸⁵

In April 1888, James reportedly took up residence on their property and had a home built⁸⁶ south and east of Sequelitchew Lake, on what is now part of North Fort Lewis.⁸⁷ The two-story home was no rustic cabin. The Queen Anne style, forty-by-forty-foot frame house had wood siding and was painted and plastered. It had a furnace in the cellar, two brick flues, three doors, twenty-five windows, a shingled roof, and rain gutters. Inside were a parlor, library, dining room, hall, kitchen, one bedroom on the first floor, and three bedrooms on the second floor. It was furnished with art work, carpeting, china, sculptures, silver, plush leather seating, walnut dining chairs, and walnut and mahogany tables.⁸⁸

Books and magazines in the house reflected the Suttons’ sophisticated interests. Their collection included titles by Browning, Dickens, Emerson, Faust, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Scott, Shakespeare, and Thackeray; seventy volumes of *Harper’s*; eighty-three volumes of Littell’s *Eclectic Magazine*; and numerous other publications dealing with art and history.⁸⁹

The property had out-buildings, sixty to seventy-five fruit trees, about 225 or 250 rods of fence, and a one-story, thirty-by-forty-foot painted barn. The land was mostly prairie, small timber, and grazing.⁹⁰

The Washington territorial census taken in the spring of 1889 recorded farmer James Sutton and his family as residents of Pierce County,⁹¹ but Grace and her children might not have been living in Washington at the time. On 27 August 1889, Grace acknowledged a deed in Kings County, New York,⁹² and in her pension application, Grace stated that she followed James to Washington in August 1889.⁹³ James had reported his family to be living with him at the time of the census, but it is unlikely that Grace, an invalid, and her children would

⁸³ Grace A. Sutton deposition, 9 Apr. 1894 (note 16).

⁸⁴ George P. Wood deposition, 9 Apr. 1894, in Grace A. Sutton Civil War widow’s pension no. 396,993 (note 15).

⁸⁵ Grace A. Sutton property assessment, submitted by W. H. Dougherty (Pierce Co., Wash., assessor), 19 Aug. 1893, in Grace A. Sutton Civil War widow’s pension no. 396,993 (note 15).

⁸⁶ Grace A. Sutton, Homestead Proof—Testimony of Claimant, 24 May 1893, in James and Grace Sutton homestead file no. 277, Olympia, Wash., Land Office (note 1).

⁸⁷ “Map of property belonging to the Grace Augusta Sutton Estate . . .,” in Grace Augusta Sutton estate, Pierce Co., Wash., probate file 2937. Also, “Aunt Grace” (Grace [Glass] Brown) to Martha [(Vohs) Furniss], 6 Feb. 1983, family history of Henry James Glass and Grace Theodora Sutton; privately held by Sean Furniss. Grace (Glass) Brown was born in 1919. Her mother, Grace (Sutton) Glass, daughter of Charles Shannon Sutton, was born on the Sutton farm in 1891. See the genealogical summary.

⁸⁸ Inventory, 26 Dec. 1900, in Grace Augusta Sutton estate (note 87).

⁸⁹ Inventory, 26 Dec. 1900, in Grace Augusta Sutton estate (note 87).

⁹⁰ Grace A. Sutton, Homestead Proof—Testimony of Claimant, 24 May 1893, in James and Grace Sutton homestead file no. 277, Olympia, Wash., Land Office (note 1).

⁹¹ James Sutton household, 1889 Wash. territorial census (note 1). The census enumerates persons who resided in Washington Territory on the first Monday in Apr. 1889. James’s household includes himself, Grace, Charles, Emma, James, and “D” (a 4-year-old male, presumably Devereaux).

⁹² Grace A. Sutton to Rhodes G. Tucker, Kings Co., N.Y., Deeds 1910:53–56, dated and acknowledged in Kings Co., N.Y., 27 Aug. 1889.

⁹³ Grace A. Sutton deposition, 9 Apr. 1894 (note 16).

have been traveling back and forth between Brooklyn and Washington Territory.

Grace said that when she arrived in Washington to join her husband she hardly knew him, as “his health had become impaired by heart disease.”⁹⁴ James became unable to earn support due to his heart disease and hernia and applied for an invalid pension in August 1890.⁹⁵ As his health deteriorated, he suffered from cardiac dropsy (congestive heart failure). By April 1891, he was no longer able to leave his home.⁹⁶ James died on 15 December 1891.⁹⁷

On 18 January 1892 Grace applied for her husband’s accrued pension and a widow’s pension.⁹⁸ In April 1894 a special examiner went to Roy, Pierce County, to investigate Grace’s claim. He interviewed Grace and witnesses who had given testimony supporting her application. He visited the Sutton property. The examiner was satisfied that Grace had asked for the pension because of want. She had told him “with tears in her eyes that she had rich relatives in the East who would come to her aid if they only knew her straightened circumstances but that they should never know from her of her poverty.” The examiner recommended that her case be accepted.⁹⁹ On 15 May 1894 James’s invalid pension and Grace’s widow’s pension request were approved.¹⁰⁰

The Suttons had set out for Washington Territory from Brooklyn leaving behind family and friends but taking along many comforts and treasures from their life in New York. On 28 January 1902, the administrator of widow Grace Sutton’s estate sold her personal property for \$175.90. All the furnishings and treasures of the house were sold off.¹⁰¹

GENEALOGICAL SUMMARY

1. **JAMES¹ SUTTON** [Sr.] was born in Ireland about 1 January 1796 (calculated). He died of phthisis pulmonalis (tuberculosis), a disease he reportedly had during the nine months before his death, aged 76 years, 3 months, — days, at his home at 160 South Third Street in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, Kings County, New York, 1 April 1872 and was buried in The Evergreens Cemetery, Brooklyn.¹⁰² James married probably in New York

⁹⁴ Grace A. Sutton deposition, 9 Apr. 1894 (note 16).

⁹⁵ James Sutton declaration for invalid pension, 23 Aug. 1890, in James Sutton Civil War pension S.C. 871,232 (note 1).

⁹⁶ James Sutton to Green B. Raum (Commissioner of Pensions), letter, 27 Aug. 1891, in James Sutton Civil War pension S.C. 871,232 (note 1).

⁹⁷ Clarence M. Parks affidavit, 27 Feb. 1893, in Grace A. Sutton Civil War widow’s pension no. 396,993 (note 15), in which he states that he was at James’s bedside when James died.

⁹⁸ Grace A. Sutton application for accrued pension, 18 Jan. 1892, and declaration for widow’s pension, 18 Jan. 1892, in Grace A. Sutton Civil War widow’s pension no. 396,993 (note 15).

⁹⁹ Special examiner F. C. Sharp report, 9 Apr. 1894, in Grace A. Sutton Civil War widow’s pension no. 396,993 (note 15).

¹⁰⁰ Invalid and widow’s pension approvals, 15 May 1894, in Grace A. Sutton Civil War widow’s pension no. 396,993 (note 15).

¹⁰¹ Report of sale of personal property, 1 Feb. 1902, in Grace Augusta Sutton estate (note 87).

¹⁰² James Sutton death cert., Brooklyn, 1872, cert. 3281. The calculated birth date is based on his stated age at death, but the certificate lists “76 years, 3 months, — days.” Censuses support a birth between 1795 and 1800. He was listed as age 50 in 1850, age 58 in 1855, age 64 in 1860, age 69 in 1865, and age 73 in 1870. See James Sutton [Sr.] households, 1850 U.S. census (note 1); 1855 New York state census (note 1); 1860 U.S. census (note 1); 1865 New York state census, Brooklyn, Ward 13, Kings Co., p. 42 (penned), dw. 178, fam. 296; and 1870 U.S. census, Kings Co., N.Y., Brooklyn, Ward 13, p. 28 (penned), dw. 133, fam.

City¹⁰³ say 1837 (first-known child) **ESTHER READY**,¹⁰⁴ who was born in Ireland about 1807–1814.¹⁰⁵ She died of dysentery at 225 South Third Street, Brooklyn, 30 July 1878, aged 67 years.¹⁰⁶ Her parents have not yet been identified.¹⁰⁷

Although James Sutton [Sr.]’s death certificate indicates he had lived in the United States and the City of Brooklyn for fifty years (arriving about 1821–1822), he may be the shoemaker who arrived in New York City from Dublin, Ireland, on the brig *Wilson* on 16 May 1825.¹⁰⁸ A James Sutton took the oath of allegiance in the Marine Court of the City of New York 1 May 1838, with William Stokely as his witness.¹⁰⁹

As discussed below, James and Esther’s first three known children were born in New York City between about 1838 and 1841. James Sutton is listed in New York City directories through the early 1840s with his occupation shown as shoemaker, bootmaker, or boots and shoes.¹¹⁰ He is likely the James Sutton who was enumerated as head of a four-person household in New York City’s Ward 2 in 1840.¹¹¹

In 1850, shoemaker James Sutton and his family resided in Williamsburgh; James owned real estate valued at \$2,000.¹¹² From 1851 to 1871 his name ap-

201 (NARA M593, roll 954). James Sutton burial record, interment 32158, 4 Apr. 1872, Holly Dell lot 103, The Evergreens Cemetery, Brooklyn, N.Y. James Sutton Sr. was the owner of this plot, which included space for twenty-six burials. Fourteen spaces were used by the family; the other twelve remain reserved.

¹⁰³ The place of marriage is likely New York City, given James’s presence in New York City directories (note 3) and the fact that the couple’s first three children were born there.

¹⁰⁴ Esther’s maiden name is listed on her children’s vital records (Esther Sutton death cert., Margareta Matilda Burroughs death cert., Mary Miller death cert., and Benjamin C. Miller Jr.–Mary Sutton marriage cert., all note 2). James Sutton probate file, Kings Co., N.Y., Surrogate Court, 21 Oct. 1872, and James Sutton will, dated 16 Aug. 1870, Kings Co., N.Y., Wills 46:325–28), which identify Esther as his widow.

¹⁰⁵ The estimated birth year is based on ages stated in censuses and her death record (age 40 in 1850, age 44 in 1855, age 48 in 1860, age 53 in 1865, age 56 in 1870, age 67 in 1875, and aged 67 when she died in 1878). James Sutton [Sr.] households in 1850 U.S. census (note 1); 1855 New York state census (note 1); 1860 U.S. census (note 1); 1865 New York state census (note 102); and 1870 U.S. census (note 102). Mrs. Sutton household, 1875 New York state census, Brooklyn, Ward 13, Elect. Dist. 3, Kings Co., p. 30, dw. 187, fam. 288. Esther Sutton death cert., Brooklyn, 1878, cert. 6284.

¹⁰⁶ Esther Sutton death cert. (note 105). Her death record incorrectly shows she was buried in Cypress Hills Cemetery, but she was buried with her husband and children in The Evergreens Cemetery (Esther Sutton burial record, interment 54477, 2 Aug. 1878, Holly Dell lot 103, The Evergreens Cemetery, Brooklyn, N.Y.) Esther Sutton death notice, *The New York Herald*, 1 Aug. 1878, p. 9, col. 6, which identifies Esther as widow of James Sutton and indicates the funeral services would be held from her late residence, 225 S. 3rd St., Brooklyn, Eastern District.

¹⁰⁷ A James R. Ready and John Ready of Elizabeth, N.J., witnessed Esther’s husband’s will (James Sutton probate file and will [note 104]). Their connection to Esther, if any, has not yet been established.

¹⁰⁸ James Sutton entry (age 28, shoemaker), Brig *Wilson*, 16 May 1825, manifest 254, no. 89, *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, N.Y., 1820–1897* (NARA microfilm publication M237, roll 7).

¹⁰⁹ James Sutton naturalization record, Marine Court of the City of New York, 1 May 1838, vol. 18, p. 576. As is common with naturalization records from this time and place, the document includes no information about Sutton’s occupation, address, or relationship to the witness. Stokely attested that Sutton had resided in the United States for five years and in the state for at least one year. James signed the oath. A note at the top states “Dec^d 2 April 1834,” perhaps referring to the date of his declaration of intention (which is not found attached).

¹¹⁰ See note 3. New York City assessment records were not examined.

¹¹¹ James Suttin [*sic*] household, 1840 U.S. census, New York City, Ward 2, p. 52 (stamped), p. 103 (penned) (NARA M704, roll 299). The household included one free white male age 40–49 (perhaps James), two free white females age 20–29 (one of whom may have been James’s wife Esther), and one free white female under the age of 5 (perhaps their daughter Esther). One member of the household was engaged in manufacture or trade.

¹¹² James Sutton [Sr.] household, 1850 U.S. census (note 1).

pears in city directories without an occupation and with a home address of 160 South Third Street,¹¹³ the same address listed on his death certificate.

By his will, James gave his wife stocks and bonds as well as the use of all his real and personal estate, including the house and lot at 225 South Third Street.¹¹⁴ After his wife's death the stock was to be given to his daughter Esther and the bonds were to be divided between daughters Margareta [*sic*] and Mary. The daughters would be allowed to live in the house. When the house was sold, proceeds were to be divided among his four living children—named in his probate records as Esther Sutton, James Sutton, and Margareta M. Sutton, all of age, and Mary Sutton, a minor, age 20.¹¹⁵

Children of James¹ and Esther (Ready) Sutton:¹¹⁶

- i. ESTHER² SUTTON, born in New York City about 1838–1840;¹¹⁷ died at 497 Quincy St., Borough of Brooklyn, New York City, 5 October 1906 from chronic myocarditis and interstitial nephritis, and was buried in The Evergreens Cemetery.¹¹⁸ Esther began working as a teacher at Public School 23 in Brooklyn in September 1859 and worked there until retirement in 1903,¹¹⁹ reaching the position of department head.¹²⁰ She never married.¹²¹ Her probate records name her sister Mary Miller, Mary's children (Esther Hope Miller and Ruth Theodora Miller), her sister Margaret's son (Harris Sutton Burroughs), and her brother James's children (Emma Sutton Parks, Charles S. Sutton, Vanderbilt H. Sutton, James Sutton, and Devereux [*sic*] Sutton). Esther left \$1,500 to her nephew

¹¹³ Reynolds' *Williamsburgh Directory . . . 1851–52* (note 6), 123. *Smith's Brooklyn Directory for the Year Ending May 1st, 1856* (note 6), 174 (Eastern District); and similar titles for (1857) 105 (Eastern District). *The Brooklyn City Directory for the Year Ending May 1st, 1858* (note 6), 357; and similar titles for (1862) 424, (1863) 423, (1864) 451, (1865) 404, (1866) 503, (1867) 549, (1868) 597, (1869) 608, (1870) 640, (1871) 701.

¹¹⁴ James's will refers to the building numbered 225 S. 3rd St., but city directories and his death record link him only to 160 S. 3rd St. It appears that 160 S. 3rd and 225 S. 3rd refer to the same property. Brooklyn building numbers and street names were in a state of change around the time of James's death. See "The Street Names and Numbers," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 28 Feb. 1871, p. 2, col. 2. Street directory sections of the 1871 and 1875 Brooklyn city directories show that in 1871 160 S. 3rd St. was located on the *north* side between 6th and 7th streets, and that 225 S. 3rd St. was on the *south* side between 9th and 10th streets. In 1875, 160 S. 3rd St. was on the *south* side of the street and between 4th and 5th streets, and 225 S. 3rd was on the *north* side between 6th and 7th streets. See *Brooklyn City and Business Directory for the Year Ending May 1st, 1871* (Brooklyn: Lain and Co., 1870), 701 (James Sutton, home, 160 S. 3d, Eastern District), and p. 32 of the street directory; and same title and publisher for 1875, p. 825 (Ester Sutton, home, 225 S. 3d and Mary Sutton, teacher, at same address, and p. 33 of the street directory).

¹¹⁵ James Sutton will and probate file (note 104).

¹¹⁶ Esther (Ready) Sutton was the mother of eleven children according to her entry in the 1865 New York state census (James Sutton [Sr.] household, 1865 New York state census [note 102]), but only seven have been identified. The petition for probate in James Sutton's probate file, dated 8 Oct. 1872 (note 104), identifies his heirs as his widow and children Esther, James, Margareta M., and Mary Sutton. John Sutton, the couple's likely son, was listed in James's household in 1850 (see James Sutton [Sr.] household, 1850 U.S. census [note 1]) and was buried in James's plot in The Evergreens Cemetery, as was Martha Sutton, aged 1 (notes 124 and 125, below). Emma Sutton's death notice (note 123, below) identifies her as a daughter of James and Esther.

¹¹⁷ The estimated birth range is based on ages stated in censuses and her death record (age 10 in 1850, age 16 in 1855, age 21 in 1860, age 26 in 1865, age 30 in 1870, age 36 in 1875, and aged 66 when she died in 1906). James Sutton [Sr.] households: 1850 U.S. census (note 1); 1855 New York state census (note 1); 1860 U.S. census (note 1); 1865 New York state census (note 102); 1870 U.S. census (note 102). Mrs. Sutton household, 1875 New York state census (note 105). Esther Sutton death cert. (note 2). She was not found in the 1880 and 1900 U.S. censuses, or in the 1892 and 1905 New York state censuses.

¹¹⁸ Esther Sutton death cert. (note 2). Esther Sutton burial record, interment 194906, 8 Oct. 1906, Holly Dell lot 103, The Evergreens Cemetery, Brooklyn, N.Y.

¹¹⁹ "Retirements Approved," *School: Devoted to the Public Schools and Educational Interests* [published weekly by the School News Co., New York City] 14 (25 June 1903): 395, digital image, *Google Books* (https://books.google.com/books?id=y4M3AQAAAMAA&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false), which includes Esther Sutton of P.S. 23, Brooklyn.

¹²⁰ *Brooklyn Daily Eagle 1902 Almanac and Guide to New York* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Eagle, 1902), 227.

¹²¹ Esther Sutton death cert. (note 2), which states she was single at the time of death.

- Harris Sutton Burroughs. She left her interest in her father's house at 225 South Third Street and her personal and household effects to her sister Mary. And she left the remainder of her estate to Mary's daughters, to be held in trust until they reached majority.¹²²
- ii. EMMA² SUTTON, born in New York City about 5 August 1840 (calculated); died of typhoid fever in Bergen Point, Hudson County, New Jersey, 30 August 1865, aged 25 years, 25 days, and was buried in The Evergreens Cemetery.¹²³
 2. iii. JAMES² SUTTON JR., born in New York City 6 October 1841; died in Pierce County, Washington, 15 December 1891; married in Brooklyn 5 May 1862 GRACE AUGUSTA CANNON.
 - iv. (*probably*) JOHN S.² SUTTON, born in New York State (probably New York City or Village of Williamsburgh, Kings County) about 1846–1847 (calculated); died of scarlet fever in Brooklyn City Hospital, aged 8 years, on 1 May 1855, and was buried in The Evergreens Cemetery.¹²⁴
 3. v. MARGARET MATILDA² SUTTON, born in Kings County, probably the Village of Williamsburgh, about 3 August 1849 (calculated); died in the Borough of Brooklyn 21 October 1903, aged 54 years, 2 months, 18 days; married in Brooklyn 14 October 1874 JOHN HARRIS BURROUGHS.
 4. vi. MARY² SUTTON, born in Kings County, probably the City of Williamsburg, 5 December 1852; died in the Village of Great Neck, Nassau County, New York, 10 November 1929; married in Brooklyn 26 March 1884 BENJAMIN CORY MILLER.
 - vii. (*probably*) MARTHA² SUTTON, born about 1852–1853 (calculated), probably in the City of Williamsburg; died aged 1 year of heart disease at [James Sutton Sr.'s home] 160 South Third Street, Brooklyn, by 6 July 1854, when she was buried in The Evergreens Cemetery.¹²⁵

(*To be continued*)

¹²² Esther Sutton will, dated 7 May 1901, Kings Co., N.Y., Wills, 373:157–62. Esther Sutton probate file, Kings Co., N.Y., Surrogate Court, 3 Jan. 1907.

¹²³ Emma Sutton death notice, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 31 Aug. 1865, p. 3, col. 2. James Sutton [Sr.] household, 1855 New York state census (note 1), which lists Emma as age 14, born in New York Co. Emma Sutton entry, Bodies in Transit, 1859–1894, vol. 3, 31 Aug. 1865, microfilm, reel 1, Municipal Archives. Emma Sutton burial record, interment 15937, 1 Sept. 1865, Holly Dell lot 103, The Evergreens Cemetery, Brooklyn, N.Y.

¹²⁴ James Sutton [Sr.] household, 1850 U.S. census (note 1), in which John was listed as age 3. The probable place of birth is based on the likely parents' residential history. John S. Sutton death notice, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 4 May 1855, p. 3, col. 2, which lists the date of death and calls him "of this city E.D. [Eastern District]," but does not state his age or any relationships. John S. Sutton burial record, interment 2557, 2 May 1855, Holly Dell lot 103, The Evergreens Cemetery, Brooklyn, N.Y.; he had been moved from Summer Glen [a different section of the cemetery], #366.

¹²⁵ Martha Sutton burial record, interment 1825, 6 July 1854, Holly Dell lot 103, The Evergreens Cemetery, Brooklyn, N.Y. Hers is the earliest burial in James Sutton Sr.'s family's plot.

SLAVERY RECORDS IN THE COMMON COUNCIL PAPERS AT THE NEW YORK CITY MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES

CONTRIBUTED BY MERYL SCHUMACKER*

The legislative body of New York City's municipal government has gone by several names during its long history. Today it is called the New York City Council. From 1675 to 1897 it was called the Common Council of the City of New York.¹

New York City published the minutes of the Common Council's day-to-day business in two series.² Although the minutes are flush with useful data, they cannot compare with the information in the original letters, petitions, depositions, and other documents that informed the Common Council meetings. Those original documents comprise a vast collection at the New York City Municipal Archives called the New York City Common Council Supporting Papers, or Common Council Papers. The collection is available in paper form and on microfilm.³

Relying on the minutes without checking the Common Council Papers is akin to trusting a database entry without examining the original record. Whereas the minutes might have a passing reference to a citizen's petition, for example, the Common Council Papers could contain several relevant original records—perhaps the petition in the citizen's own hand with a detailed recommendation from a member of the Council. Some records in the Common Council Papers are not referenced in the minutes.⁴

Among the papers not included in the minutes are dozens of genealogically relevant records of slaves and their children in New York City and elsewhere. Many of the slavery records in the Common Council Papers were generated in compliance with New York State laws passed between 1799 and

* Meryl Schumacker (contact@waybackgen.com) is the genealogist in residence at the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society. She is currently engaged in an ongoing project to locate, abstract, and publish additional slave records from across New York City and State. She thanks the archivists at the New York City Municipal Archives, in particular Patricia Glowinski, for assistance with this project.

¹ Aaron Goodwin, *New York City Municipal Archives: An Authorized Guide for Family Historians* (New York: New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, 2016), 129–30.

² *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1675–1776*, 8 vols. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1905). *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1784–1831*, 21 vols. (New York: City of New York, 1917).

³ Common Council Papers, Municipal Archives, New York City. The supporting papers for New York City's legislative body cover the period from 1670 to 1934. Documents for 1670–1831 are available on microfilm, arranged by year and category. Categories include committee names, petition or permit types (for example, "Permits Granted by the Market Committee to Butchers"), and vague titles such as "Slaves." The collection is large and unorganized; the on-site finding aid is the best navigation tool. In the author's experience, the microfilm is more convenient than the original records and, unlike the originals, the microfilm requires no lead time. The paper originals, however, are sometimes easier to read. The author recommends using the published minutes as an index, then consulting the finding aid to identify the box, folder, and roll numbers to access the corresponding microfilm. Originals can be requested as needed.

⁴ For a discussion of the Common Council and its records, see Goodwin, *New York City Municipal Archives* (note 1), 129–40.

1817.⁵ “An act for the gradual abolition of slavery,” passed in 1799, and subsequent acts, including “An act concerning slaves and servants” in 1801, spurred the creation of a range of records related to slaves and their children.⁶ They document manumissions, sales, crimes, movement into and out of the state, births of free children to enslaved mothers, and depositions on free black New Yorkers by their white neighbors. Some of the Common Council Papers on slaves are miscellaneous. One folder contains a letter from a free black man who was imprisoned as a runaway in the South.⁷ Some records have no obvious connection to the city—for example, the certificate of examination for a New Jersey slave named Hannah.⁸

Records of slaves, their children, and several free black New Yorkers in the Common Council Papers are grouped into folders labeled “Slaves,” “Slavery,” “Birth, Slave,” “Birth, Slaves,” and “Manumissions.” This article includes details of all the documents from the folders labeled “Slaves,” “Slavery,” “Birth, Slave,” and “Birth, Slaves.” The documents chronicle events from 1799 through 1820, with the exception of 1804–1807, where there is a gap in the collection.⁹ This article does not include documents from “Manumissions” folders, but it does include all manumission documents found in the “Slaves” and “Slavery” folders.¹⁰

The original order for the collection is unknown. Records are arranged in boxes by year (more or less), then in folders by year and category. The order of items within individual folders does not consistently match that on the corresponding microfilm. Records herein have been grouped by type, box, folder, then in their current order within their respective folders. Spellings of names and places reflect those on the original documents.

SLAVE BIRTH CERTIFICATES

“An act for the gradual abolition of slavery” directed slave owners to file birth certificates for their female slaves’ children within nine months of birth, at a cost of twelve cents.¹¹ The certificates contain genealogically relevant data

⁵ The New York State legislature passed laws regulating slavery in 1785 and 1788. See *Laws of the State of New York Passed at the Sessions of the Legislature [1777–1801]* . . . , 5 vols. (Albany: New York State, 1886–1887), 2:120–22, chap. 68, “An Act granting a bounty on hemp . . .” passed 12 Apr. 1785, and 2:675–79, chap. 40, “An Act concerning slaves,” passed 22 Feb. 1788. Following the 1817 law, which called for the abolition of slavery in ten years, additional state laws tweaked certain terms of earlier ones, such as those for abandonment (note 12, below). See *Laws of the State of New-York, Passed at the Forty-Second, Forty-Third and Forty-Fourth Sessions [1819–1821]* . . . , vol. 5 (Albany: William Gould & Co., 1821), 172–73, chap. 141, “An Act to amend an act entitled, ‘an act relative to Slaves and Servants,’” passed 9 Apr. 1819.

⁶ *Laws of the State of New York Passed at the Sessions of the Legislature [1777–1801]* (note 5), 4:388–89, chap. 62, “An Act for the gradual abolition of slavery,” passed 29 Mar. 1799, and 5:547–52, chap. 188, “An Act concerning slaves and servants,” passed 8 Apr. 1801. See subsequent sections for descriptions of laws.

⁷ Letter of John (Jack) Thomas from Concordy [Concordia] prison, 2 Aug. 1818, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 67, folder 1548 (Slavery, 1818).

⁸ “Certificate of Examination of Hannah a Black Woman Slave of James Ross Jnr,” Essex Co., N.J., 7 Oct. 1817, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 63, folder 1488 (Slavery, 1817).

⁹ Some post-1807 records mention events that occurred during the gap years.

¹⁰ The “Manumissions” folders were excluded because researchers looking for manumissions would be likely to check those folders. This project aims to increase accessibility of less clearly labeled resources.

¹¹ *Laws of the State of New York Passed at the Sessions of the Legislature [1777–1801]* (note 5), 4:388–89, “Certificate of birth to be filed.” The nine-month deadline was extended to one year in 1817. See *Laws of the State of New-York Passed at the Thirty-Ninth, Fortieth and Forty-First Sessions* . . . (Albany: New York State,

such as children's names and ages. Although the children were technically free, they were bound to serve their mothers' owners as indentured servants until age 28 for boys and 25 for girls. Within one year of a child's birth, a slave owner could opt to relinquish custody in a process legally termed "abandonment." If a slave owner abandoned a slave's child, custody transferred to the local overseers of the poor.¹² Slave owners were required to file birth certificates regardless of whether they kept or abandoned the children.

The Common Council Papers include only five slave birth certificates. Four were filed in the Town of Westchester (then part of Westchester County, annexed to New York City in 1895). One lacks a jurisdiction label. The slave owner who filed the unlabeled certificate, George Briggs, filed another in the Town of Westchester. His first certificate may also have been filed there.

To Basil T. Bartow: "Negro Wench Lil" had a child on 25 September 1799 named Lucie. [Signed] George Briggs, 19 June 1800.¹³

On 1 July 1801 "my Negro Wench Lil" had a child named Jane. [Signed] George Briggs, 16 March 1802, Westchester.¹⁴

West Chester, 17 May 1803. I John Bosin certify that "my Nigrow winch" Carline [Corline?] had a child called Hannah on 28 November 1802. [Signed] John Bussing.¹⁵

A "Nigrow woman named Jain a slave" had a child named Nancy on 11 June 1801. The birth "was Rigesterd on the Clerks Books in the Town of West Chester." I "abandon all my right and title to [the child's] servises" from this date. [Signed] Jacob Vermilya, West Chester, 12 July 1802.¹⁶

West Chester, 28 September 1802. I David Heustis certify that "my Nigrow wench Ginny" had a child called Tom on 3 April 1802. [Signed] David Heustce [*sic*].¹⁷

SLAVE DECLARATIONS

Slave owners who wished to move permanently to New York State with their slaves had to make an oath before a local official such as the mayor within

1818), 136–44, especially p. 137, Session 40, chap. 137, "An act relative to slaves and servants," passed 31 Mar. 1817.

¹² *Laws of the State of New York Passed at the Sessions of the Legislature [1777–1801]* (note 5), 4:389, "Abandonment by person entitled to service."

¹³ Slave birth certificate for Lucie, filed 19 June 1800, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 20, folder 578 (Slaves, 1800).

¹⁴ Slave birth certificate for Jane of Westchester, filed 16 Mar. 1802, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 21, folder 609 (Birth, Slaves, 1802).

¹⁵ Slave birth certificate for Hannah of Westchester, filed 17 May 1803, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 22, folder 637 (Birth, Slave, 1803). The certificate handwriting is distinct from the signature, which explains the markedly different spellings of "Bussing."

¹⁶ Slave birth certificate for Nancy of Westchester, filed 12 July 1802, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 139, folder 2416 (Slavery, 1802).

¹⁷ Slave birth certificate for Tom of Westchester, filed 28 Sept. 1802, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 139, folder 2416 (Slavery, 1802).

one year of arrival.¹⁸ As in customs declarations, slave owners specified their approximate dates of arrival, from where they came, and the names and ages of all slaves. They also had to swear that they owned their slaves during the year prior to arrival in the state. Some included additional details such as past travel, planned travel, and descriptors like “mulatto.”

In the Common Council Papers these documents carry a variety of names—declarations, slave declarations, and slave certificates, for example—but the content follows the same general format. Unless otherwise noted, the declarations abstracted below were filed in New York City and sworn before DeWitt Clinton during his tenure as mayor.

Silvein Dupont arrived in Baltmure on 12 April last “in the Schooner Adelina Capt. Collard from Gaudaloupe and proceeded to” the City of New York. He brought “two black negro women”: Marie Clarzi, age 22, and Zabetti[?] Adgee, age 28. [Signed] Dupont, 1 June 1808.¹⁹

On 6 June 1808 personally appeared Laure St. Martin, a resident of this city. She arrived “about five or six months ago” with a Negro slave Catharine, about 14. [This information repeated on verso. Signed on verso.] Laure St. Martin, 6 June 1808.²⁰

John B. Maupertius arrived in the City of New York “about three Months since from Gaudaloup” with a negro slave Figaro, about 13. [Signed] J. B. Maupertuis [*sic*], 24 August 1808.²¹

Joseph Decavery arrived in the City of New York on or about 1 November last from Gaudaloup with a Negro slave Thomas, about 18. [Signed] Decavery fausseccave [*sic*], 24 August 1808.²²

Anthony Brocarett arrived in the City of New York on or about 25 May last from Havanna with a negro slave Thomas, about 13, and “~~he intends~~

¹⁸ *Laws of the State of New York Passed at the Sessions of the Legislature [1777–1801]* (note 5), 5:548, “Importation of slaves.” This is distinct from a provision passed in 1813 in the identically named “An Act concerning Slaves and Servants,” which stipulated “That every person so importing or bringing in such slave, shall within six months thereafter, cause to be filed such certificate as is required in and by the twenty-second section of this act.” Section 22 is the section that required birth certificates for children of slaves born after 4 July 1799. See William P. Van Ness and John Woodworth, eds., *Laws of the State of New-York, Revised and Passed at the Thirty-Sixth Session of the Legislature*, 2 vols. (Albany: H. C. Southwick and Co., 1813), 2:201–9, chap. 88, “An Act concerning Slaves and Servants,” passed 9 Apr. 1813, especially p. 207, sect. 22, and p. 209, sect. 28.

¹⁹ “Dupont declaration,” 1 June 1808, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 33, folder 908 (Slaves, 1808).

²⁰ Slave declaration of Laure St. Martin, 6 June 1808, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 33, folder 908 (Slaves, 1808).

²¹ “J. B. Maupertius slave certificate,” 24 Aug. 1808, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 33, folder 908 (Slaves, 1808).

²² “Joseph Decavery Slave Certificate,” 24 Aug. 1808, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 33, folder 908 (Slaves, 1808). Joseph almost certainly corresponds to Joseph Fausse-Cave Decavery noted in “Ordonnance du Roi, en son conseil d’État, qui rejette une requête des nommés Casse, Gassier et Decavery, en règlement de de [*sic*] juges et en annulation d’un arrêté de l’ancien intendant de la Guadeloupe,” *Annales Maritimes et Coloniales*, vol. 24, ser. 2 (1839): 658.

~~to reside permanently in the said State~~ [crossed out in original]. [Signed] A^{ny} Brocuret [*sic*], 17 September 1808.²³

Elias Bloy arrived in the City [of] New York on or about 13 October from Havanna with negro slaves Maria Tesu, about 19, and Louisa Cally, about 18 months. [Signed] Elias Bloy, 29 October 1808.²⁴

Nicholas Darrell arrived in the City of New York on or about 27 October 1808 from Havanna with a mullatto slave George, about 23. [Signed] Nich^s. Darrell. Sworn 3 November 1808 before me, Jacob Mott, Deputy Mayor.²⁵

Yves Le Blanc arrived in the City of New York on or about 19 December inst. from the Island of Cuba with two negro slaves: Therese, about 18, and Sean, about 13. [Signed] Y. Le Blanc, 27 December 1808.²⁶

Thomas Mace arrived in the City of New York on or about 10 December last from Guadaloupe with a slave Titien, about 16. [Signed] Thomas Mace [Macey?], 22 February 1809.²⁷

Mary Martin sold a “Negro Slave Named Grand Lewis about ten Months since to Caille Desmares in Guadaloup which said Slave she has brought with her to the City of New York on Account of the said Caille Desmares as his legal property.” [Signed] Femme Martin. Sworn 7 March 1809 before me, Jacob Mott, Deputy Mayor.²⁸

Madam Montamat Le Blanc arrived in the City of New York on or about 15 April last from Cuba with a [male] negro slave Boilean, about 17. [Signed] M^r. LeBlanc, 13 May 1809.²⁹

Elizabeth Bertrand arrived in the City of New York on or about 15 May last from Bristol [interlined: “Rhode Island”] with two negro slaves: Marie Louise, about 19, and Silvye, about 16. [Signed] Elisabeth [*sic*] Bertrand, 23 May 1809.³⁰

Charles D’Espinville arrived in the City of New York on or about 20 May inst. from Havanna with negro slaves: Arnotte, about 18; Clementine,

²³ “A. Brocuret Slave Certificate,” 17 Sept. 1808, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 33, folder 908 (Slaves, 1808).

²⁴ “Elias Bloy declaration of slave,” 29 Oct. 1808, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 33, folder 908 (Slaves, 1808).

²⁵ “Nicholas Devirell [*sic*] Slave Declaration,” 3 Nov. 1808, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 33, folder 908 (Slaves, 1808).

²⁶ “Yves Le Blanc Certificate of Slaves,” 27 Dec. 1808, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 33, folder 908 (Slaves, 1808).

²⁷ “Tho^s Mace Declaration,” 22 Feb. 1809, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 37, folder 980, (Slaves, 1809). The signature has a flourish at the end that may be a j.

²⁸ “Slave Grand Lewis,” 7 Mar. 1809, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 37, folder 980 (Slaves, 1809).

²⁹ “Madam Montamat Declaration,” 13 May 1809, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 37, folder 980 (Slaves, 1809). That Boilean was a male is based on the phrase “[she] owned *him*” (emphasis added) in the boilerplate language.

³⁰ “Elizabeth Bertrand Declaration,” 23 May 1809, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 37, folder 980 (Slaves, 1809).

about 14; Irene, about 1; Cecile, about 8; Casimir, about 6; Joseph, about 2; and Candid, about 13. [Signed] Charles D'Espinville, 29 May 1809.³¹

Elizabeth Buford arrived in the City of New York on or about 15 July last from Charleston, South Carolina, with negro slaves London and Mary Ann, both about 16. [Signed] E – Buford, 1 June 1809.³²

James Bryden arrived in the City of New York on or about 25 April last from Baltimore with a mulatto slave Louisa, about 5. [Signed] Ja^s Bryden, 21 April 1809.³³

Jane Fradenburgh [*sic*] arrived in the City of New York on or about 29 October last from New Jersey with a negro slave Isabella Johnson, about 30. [Signed] Jane Vredenburg. Sworn 30 March 1809 before Jacob Mott, Deputy Mayor.³⁴

Madam Pⁿ Montamat arrived in the City of New York on or about 14 December last from Guadaloupe with a negro slave Rosette, about 15. [Signed] P. Roy Montamat, 15 February 1809.³⁵

Batian G Hipkins is travelling with a female slave Rachel Johnson, about 30, five feet, seven inches in height. [Signed] Batian G. Hipkins, 1 July 1815. [No signature of a city official].³⁶

Philip Camm of the Island of Trinidad “brought with me from said Island a Mulatto Slave Named Thomas” about 18, and “having arrived at this place for the Benefit of my health I intend to return with Said Slave Thomas in the space of six Months.” [Signed] Philip Camm. Taken 29 June 1818 before me, Cadwallader D Colden.³⁷

REMOVAL OF SLAVES FROM NEW YORK STATE: DEPOSITIONS, AFFIDAVITS, AND CERTIFICATES

Slave owners were permitted to leave New York State permanently with their slaves under certain conditions. Beginning in 1801, “An act concerning slaves and servants” required slave owners who intended to move from the state to prove that they had lived in the state and owned the slave or slaves for the

³¹ Slave declaration for Charles D'Espinville, 29 May 1809, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 37, folder 980 (Slaves, 1809).

³² “Elizabeth Buford Declaration,” 1 June 1809, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 37, folder 980 (Slaves, 1809).

³³ “Bryden’s Declaration,” 21 Apr. 1809, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 37, folder 980 (Slaves, 1809).

³⁴ “Importation of Slave M^{rs} Fradenburgh [*sic*],” 30 Mar. 1809, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 37, folder 980 (Slaves, 1809).

³⁵ Slave declaration for P. Roy Montamat, 15 Feb. 1809, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 37, folder 980 (Slaves, 1809).

³⁶ Slave declaration of Batian G. Hipkins, 1 July 1815, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 57, folder 1366 (Slaves, 1815).

³⁷ “Declaration of Philip Camm,” 29 June 1818, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 67, folder 1548 (Slavery, 1818).

preceding year.³⁸ Slave owners who successfully proved their cases received licenses from local officials (for example, the mayor) granting them permission to leave the state with their slave or slaves. By 1813 the law required departing slave owners to show they had lived in the state for at least ten years and had owned their slave or slaves for the preceding ten years.³⁹ The 1813 law required testimony from two witnesses.

The Common Council Papers contain licenses, depositions, affidavits, and certificates related to the removal of slaves from the state. Those found in the examined folders are abstracted below. All were filed in New York City.

Lewis Scott Hay and William Hay are “severally acquainted” with Mrs. Martha Hay, a resident of this city for upwards of ten years. She owns and has owned and employed a negro female slave named Mary, about 16, for the preceding ten years. [Signed] L. S. Hay, W^m Hay. Sworn before me 8 November 1810, Jacob Radcliff.⁴⁰

[Date left blank] April 1816 appeared before me, Jacob Radcliff, Mayor, John Cumberland of this city. He has resided here for ten years “not preceding the present date.” During that period he has owned a female black slave, Charity, about 22. John Cumberland is about to reside permanently in Kentucky and desires to take the slave with him. Sworn before me, [blank] April 1816.

On [blank] April 1816 appeared Samuel Nichols of this city. He has been acquainted with John Cumberland for ten years. John Cumberland has been a resident of the city and owned and employed a black slave, Charity, about 22, for that period. Sworn [blank] April 1816, Jacob Radcliff.

Intending to reside permanently “in some other part of the U States,” J. Cumberland requested a license to take with him a black slave, Charity, about 22. I grant my licence to John Cumberland to take with him the said slave.⁴¹

I J. R. [Jacob Radcliff?], Mayor of the City of New York, certify that Margaret Roy of this city has proved, by the testimony of two witnesses, that she has resided in this city for twelve years and upwards, and that Rose, a female slave of colour, about 19, has been her property and in her service during all the said time. Margaret intending to remove permanently from this State [asterisk refers reader to note in margin: “to New Orleans . . . & desiring to take with her, the Said Slave, and the said Slave

³⁸ *Laws of the State of New York* [1777–1801] (note 5), 5:549, “Rights of persons traveling to be accompanied by slaves.”

³⁹ Van Ness and Woodworth, *Laws of the State of New-York . . . Passed at the Thirty-Sixth Session* (note 18), 2:204, “Inhabitants after a certain residence in the state.”

⁴⁰ “Affidavit of Lewis S. Hay & W^m Hay concerning a slave &c of Martha Hay,” 8 Nov. 1810, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 41, folder 1058 (Slaves, 1810). Although this record was generated prior to 1813, it follows the provisions outlined in the 1813 act (see note 39).

⁴¹ “Certif[?] to take Slaves out of the State,” Apr. 1816, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 60, folder 1428 (Slavery, 1816). The original boilerplate language includes several crossed-out portions, most significantly, “duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty.” Also, the scribe initially wrote that John Cumberland had resided in the city during the preceding ten years, then crossed out these portions and corrected them to say that Cumberland had lived in the city for ten years “not preceding the present date.”

being also willing & desirous to go with her said Mistress”] I license and permit her to carry the slave to New Orleans.⁴²

SLAVE RECOGNIZANCES

If a slave committed a crime not punishable by death or life imprisonment, the court could banish the slave from New York State as punishment.⁴³ The Common Council Papers include records of “recognizances” or “slave recognizances” wherein a slave owner or other person posted a bond guaranteeing that the slave would be sent out of state according to the set conditions. Genealogically relevant information includes the crime, approximate date of expulsion from the state, and names of the slave, owner, and surety.

On 15 October 1808 Robert Lenox of the City of New York, merchant, acknowledged himself to be indebted to the people of the State of New York in the sum of \$100 if default be made in the condition following: A pardon has been given for Henry Prince, a negro slave of Robert Lenox, for a grand larceny on condition that Henry Prince be transported from this state within ninety days from the 30th July last and shall not return within the same. [signed] DeWitt Clinton.⁴⁴

On 31 December 1808, Cornelius C Roosevelt of the City of New York, merchant, acknowledged himself to be indebted in the sum of \$100 if default be made in the condition following: A pardon has been given for Tom, a negro slave of Walter Evertson, for grand larceny, on condition that Tom be transported from this state within sixty days [interlined: “from the 8th day of November last”] and not return. Sworn 31 December 1808 before DeWitt Clinton.⁴⁵

On [blank] August 1809, John Maria Ovisé [the scribe originally wrote “Charles Deville” then recorded Ovisé’s name over it] of the City of New York, merchant, acknowledged himself to be indebted in the sum of \$100 if default be made in the condition following: A pardon has been given for “Jean Lewis a Negro slave of Charles Deville” for a misdemeanor on condition that Jean Lewis be transported from the state [interlined: “from the 10th day of July last the date of his pardon”] within sixty days and not return. Acknowledged 22 August 1809 before DeWitt Clinton.⁴⁶

⁴² “Form of Certificate to take Slave out of City,” undated, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 141, folder 2499 (Slavery, undated). The initials and handwriting on the document match those of Mayor Jacob Radcliff. If he issued the license, the document must date to 1810–1811 or 1815–1818, the years of Radcliff’s mayoral terms.

⁴³ *Laws of the State of New York Passed at the Sessions of the Legislature [1777–1801]* (note 5), 5:551–52, “Transportation on conviction of crime.” Although the law could order the expulsion of a slave from the state, it was ultimately the slave owner’s responsibility to arrange the slave’s transportation.

⁴⁴ Recognizance for slave Henry Prince, 15 Oct. 1808, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 33, folder 908 (Slaves, 1808).

⁴⁵ Recognizance for slave Tom, 31 Dec. 1808, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 33, folder 908 (Slaves, 1808).

⁴⁶ Recognizance for slave Jean Lewis, 22 Aug. 1809, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 37, folder 980 (Slaves, 1809).

On 18 January 1809 Joseph Loyd of the City of New York, merchant, acknowledged himself indebted in the sum of \$100 if default be made in the condition following: A pardon has been given for “Abraham a Negro Slave of Rodolphus Kent for a Grand Larceny” on condition that Abraham be sent out of this state within sixty days from 12 December last and never return. [Signed] Joseph Lloyd [*sic*]. Taken 18 January 1809 before Jacob Mott, Deputy Mayor.⁴⁷

On 16 June 1810 Alexander Kendrick and Saml P. Adriance acknowledged themselves to be indebted in the sum of \$500 if failure be made in the condition following: “Harry a Slave of John H Coventry was convicted of Grand Larceny at a General Sessions of the peace held in” the City of New York in February and sentenced to “the State Prison at hard labour for seven years.” On 12 June, Daniel D. Tompkins, governor of the State of New York, pardoned Harry on condition that within sixty days from 12 June, he leave the state and never return. Acknowledged before me, Jacob Radcliff.⁴⁸

The following recognizance is torn vertically and is missing the right side of the page. A transcription of the document follows:

City and County }
of New York } ss: Be it Remembered tha . . .
 third day of June 181 . . .
Catharine Christie, William Hennessey . . .
400 Greenwich Street Laborer . and . . .
Roberts[?] of N^o 11 Norh More [North Moore] . . .
Laborer[s?] Personally appeared before . . .
John FerguSon Mayor of the City . . .
Newyork & acknowledged them selves . . .
to the People of the State of Newy . . .
the Sum of One hundred Dolla . . .
levied & made of their respective G . . .
Chattels, lands & Tenements to the u . . .
People of the State of New York afor . . .
the said Catharine Christie Will . . .
Performing the condition following V . . .
The Conditin [*sic*] of their Recognizance is Such . . .
the above named Catherine Christie Wil . . .
People of the State of Newyork [two illegible letters] the Fir . . .
One Year next turning[?] the date hereof . . .
their Recognizance to be void, otherwise . . .

⁴⁷ Recognizance for slave Abraham, 18 Jan. 1809, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 37, folder 980 (Slaves, 1809).

⁴⁸ Recognizance for slave Harry, 16 June 1810, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 41, folder 1058 (Slaves, 1810).

[Verso:] main in full force & virtue . [Signed] Catherine + he[r] m[ark][,]
 William + Henn . . . his mark[,]
 Ja^s. x Rober . . . his mark[,]
 Taken & acknowledged before me the day & year first above written
 [signed] Jn. [ink blot, possibly "Jn^o."] FerguSon⁴⁹

On 21 February 1817, John Eddo of New York City acknowledged himself to be indebted in the sum of \$100 if failure be made in the condition following: "John Grant a Black man" [identified as a slave on document label] has "been convicted of Grand Larceny" and sentenced to State Prison for five years. He has been pardoned on condition that, on release, he depart the State and never return. [Signed] Jacob Radcliff.⁵⁰

BILLS OF SALE

The Common Council Papers' "Slaves" and "Slavery" folders contain only three bills of sale. No bills of sale exist in the "Birth, Slave" or "Birth, Slaves" folders. All of the bills were filed in New York City and are abstracted below.

I Jamima Stout of the City of New York for \$175 sell to Jos^h C Hook of New York a negro boy, age 16 or thereabouts known as Abraham, for sixteen years. 12 May 1809, [signed] Jamima Stout. Witness: A. Butler, 23 May 1809.

[Handwritten on verso:] I assign all my right & title to Abraham "who now calls himself Thomas Cooper and has entered under that name on board the United States Vessel of War Ontario, Jesse. D. Elliot Esquire Commander, unto John R Shaw him faithfully to Serve for" ten years from 12 May 1815. [Signed] Jos^h. C. Hook, 29 April 1815. Witness: Wm Davidson.⁵¹

I Robert Carter of the City of New York sell to Samuel Mitchell, sugar maker of the same place, for \$50 a negro girl age 19 or thereabouts known as Betty. Samuel Mitchell shall manumit her two years from this date. 18 June 1814 [signed] Rob^t Carter. Witness: William Hutson.⁵²

I Josiah C Hook of the City of New York for \$100 sell to John R Shaw of the same city, Purser in the United States Navy, a negro boy age 22 "by the name of Abraham, who now calls himself Thomas Cooper" for ten

⁴⁹ "Recog—Wm Hennesey & Jas Roberts 3^d June 1815," 3 June 1815, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 57, folder 1366 (Slaves, 1815).

⁵⁰ "Recognizance of John Eddo for transportation of John Grant a Slave," 21 Feb. 1817, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 63, folder 1488 (Slavery, 1817).

⁵¹ "Jamima Stout Bill of Sale for Negro Boy" Abraham also known as Thomas Cooper, 23 May 1809, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 37, folder 980 (Slaves, 1809). There is no explanation given for why witness A. Butler signed the document more than a week after Jamima Stout. For the bill of sale mentioned in the addendum on the reverse of this document, see note 53.

⁵² "Robert Carter to Samuel Mitchell Bill of sale" for slave Betty, 18 June 1814, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 54, folder 1313 (Slaves, 1814). The signature of William Hutson is a close, although not exact, match for the signature of William Hutson at note 64.

years “~~from the date hereof~~” [crossed out]. 29 April 1815. [Signed] Jos^h. C. Hook. Witnesses: John R Hedley, James Campbell.⁵³

MANUMISSIONS, CERTIFICATES, AND SUPPORTING DEPOSITIONS

As noted above, the bulk of manumission documents in the Common Council Papers are filed in “Manumissions” folders, which are not addressed here. Manumission documents from the “Slaves” and “Slavery” folders are abstracted below. The “Birth, Slave” and “Birth, Slaves” folders contain no manumissions. Unless otherwise noted, the following documents were filed in New York City.

Some manumissions are attached to certificates that attest the slave had been examined by officials—usually the mayor and city recorder—and was under a specified age and able to provide for him or herself. If a slave owner manumitted an older slave or one who was unable to care for him or herself, the local overseers of the poor could later bill the former owner for the cost of caring for that elderly or infirm free person. A slave owner who obtained a certificate of manumission confirming the slave’s age and abilities was exempt from having to pay. The qualifying age was 50 in 1801, but lowered to 45 in 1813.⁵⁴ All certificates of manumission in the Common Council Papers are dated after 1813 and contain the following line of boilerplate language:

“[The slave] appearing to be under 45 and of sufficient ability to provide for [him/herself], we have granted this Certificate.”

Proof hath been made before me that Nancy, a black woman about 60 and a resident of New York City, is free. “Intending to go out of this state,” she “desired this certificate of her freedom.” 31 August 1816 [signed] Jacob Radcliff, Mayor.⁵⁵

John Bancker of the City of New York “is well acquainted with a black woman called Nancy aged about sixty years” and has been for about sixteen years. Nancy is free, and has been for at least five years. She “was sold by her former Master for a period of service which hath long since expired” and “she hath always since enjoyed her freedom[.]” [Signed] Jn^o Bancker. Sworn 31 August 1816 before Jacob Radcliff.⁵⁶

I Thomas Payne of the City of New York manumit a female slave named Hetty Davis. 15 July 1816 [signed] Tho^s Payne. Witness: Geo^e W Morton.

⁵³ Bill of sale for slave Abraham also known as Thomas Cooper by Josiah C. Hook to John R. Shaw, 29 Apr. 1815, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 57, folder 1366 (Slaves, 1815). For more on this sale, see note 51.

⁵⁴ *Laws of the State of New York Passed at the Sessions of the Legislature [1777–1801]* (note 5), 5:547, “How slaves manumitted.” Van Ness and Woodworth, *Laws of the State of New-York . . . Passed at the Thirty-Sixth Session* (note 18), 2:201–9, chap. 88, “An Act concerning Slaves and Servants,” passed 9 Apr. 1813, particularly p. 202, “Unless he shall procure a certificate of the slave’s ability to provide for himself.”

⁵⁵ Certificate of freedom for Nancy, age 60, 31 Aug. 1816, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 60, folder 1428 (Slavery, 1816).

⁵⁶ Deposition by John Bancker regarding former slave Nancy, 31 Aug. 1816, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 60, folder 1428 (Slavery, 1816).

On 15 July 1816 [blank] appeared and acknowledged that he voluntarily executed the above instrument. [Signed] Jacob Radcliff.

[Attached Certificate of Manumission:] We, Jacob Radcliff, Mayor, and Richard Riker, Recorder, today examined a negro slave named Hetty Davis, the property of Thomas Payne, who is about to be manumitted. Certificate granted 15 July 1816. [Signed] Jacob Radcliff, RRiker.⁵⁷

I Abraham De Hart of Staten Island, County of Richmond, manumit my slave Lidia. 24 June 1817 [signed] Abraham Dehart [*sic*]. Witness: Geo. W. Morton. On 24 June 1817, Abraham De Hart appeared and acknowledged that he voluntarily executed the above instrument. [Signed] Jacob Radcliff.

[Attached Certificate of Manumission:] We, Jacob Radcliff, Mayor, and Richard Riker, Recorder, today examined a negro slave named Lidia, the property of Abraham De Hart, who is about to be manumitted. Certificate granted 24 June 1817 [signed] Jacob Radcliff.⁵⁸

I Jonas Mapes manumit one slave named Caty. 31 October 1817 [signed] J. Mapes. Witness: J. Morton. On 31 October 1817 [blank] appeared and acknowledged that he voluntarily executed the above instrument. [Signed] Jacob Morton, Master in Chancery.

[Attached Certificate of Manumission:] We, Jacob Radcliff, Mayor, and Richard Riker, Recorder, today examined one “Negro Slave named Caty, the property of Jonas Mapes,” who is about to be manumitted. Certificate granted [undated, not signed].⁵⁹

We, Jacob Radcliff, Mayor, and Richard Riker, Recorder, today examined one “Negro Slave named George, the property of John DeLancy,” who is about to be manumitted. Certificate granted 21 April 1817 [signed] Jacob Radcliff, R Riker.⁶⁰

[Torn in half horizontally, top missing:] . . . I relinquish all my right to Diana Tredwell as my slave. 27 May 1817 [signed] Margaret Ogden. Witness: Isaac G. Ogden. On 17 February 1818, Isaac G. Ogden appeared and deposed that he witnessed Margaret Ogden voluntarily sign and execute the above instrument. [Signed] Jacob Morton, Master in Chancery.

[Attached Certificate of Manumission, top missing:] . . . negro slave named Diana, the property of Margaret Ogden, who is about to be manumitted. Certificate granted 27 May 1817 [signed] Jacob Radcliff.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Manumission and certificate of manumission for “Hetty David [Davis]” by Thomas Payne, 15 July 1816, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 60, folder 1428 (Slavery, 1816).

⁵⁸ Manumission and certificate of manumission for Lidia by Abraham De Hart of Staten Island, 24 June 1817, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 63, folder 1488 (Slavery, 1817).

⁵⁹ Manumission and certificate of manumission for Caty by Jonas Mapes, 31 Oct. 1817, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 63, folder 1488 (Slavery, 1817).

⁶⁰ Certificate of manumission for George, slave of John DeLancy, 21 Apr. 1817, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 63, folder 1488 (Slavery, 1817). No corresponding manumission was found for this certificate.

⁶¹ Manumission and certificate of manumission for Diana Tredwell by Margaret Ogden, 27 May 1817 and 17 Feb. 1818, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 67, folder 1548 (Slavery, 1818).

Ellen Wilkins of the City of New York, a free woman of color, deposes that she “is well acquainted with Frances Taylor” of this city, “a woman of color aged twenty [two or three?] years on 11 October last past.” Frances is the deponent’s niece. Frances was, to the deponent’s knowledge, born a free woman, as “the Parents of Deponent and of the mother of said Francis [*sic*]” were a free man and free woman at their births. [Signed] Ellen Wilkins, “her + mark,” 14 August 1818. Sworn [before] R Riker.⁶²

John Morvatt of the City of New York is well acquainted with a colored man named Joseph, about 30 and free born. He was well acquainted with Joseph’s father and mother. Joseph “was bound by Indenture by his father to this deponent [*sic*]” when he was about 5 until age 21. “Joseph is Stout, Strong, and well made; his Skin is black and is about Five feet Ten Inches in height[.]” [Signed] John Morvatt, 20 October 1818. Sworn before Nathan B. Graham, Commissioner.⁶³

On 24 October 1818, William Hutson deposes “that he has been acquainted with Sarah Yard,” a colored woman about 38 and five feet, five inches tall, and believes she was born free. Deponent is acquainted with William Yard, son of Sarah, age 15, about four feet tall. He knows that William was born free. [Signed] W^m Hutson. Sworn before Cadwallader D Colden.⁶⁴

On 6 March 1819, Dandridge Claiborne of New York City deposes “that he is well acquainted with a certain mulatto girl named Anne Keese having lived near her parents in Washington City and truly believes her parents to be free persons both of them having been born free.” [signed] Dandridge + Claiborne, his mark. Sworn before W. E. Gallaudet, Notary Public.⁶⁵

I John Delafield manumit a slave named Thomas Adams. 15 July 1820 [signed] Jn^o. Delafield. Witness: R H Delafield. On 15 July 1820, John Delafield appeared and acknowledged that he voluntarily executed the above instrument. [signed] Rob^t Swartwout, Deputy Mayor.

[Attached Certificate of Manumission:] We, Robert Swartwout, Deputy Mayor, and P. A. Tay[?], Recorder, today examined a “negro slave named Thomas Adams[,] the property of John Delafield,” who is about to be

⁶² “Deposition of Ellen Williams [Wilkins] respecting Freedom of Frances Taylor,” 14 Aug. 1818, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 67, folder 1548 (Slavery, 1818).

⁶³ Deposition of John Morvatt on the freedom of Joseph, 20 Oct. 1818, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 67, folder 1548 (Slavery, 1818).

⁶⁴ Deposition of William Hutson on the freedom of Sarah Yard, 24 Oct. 1818, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 67, folder 1548 (Slavery, 1818). The signature of William Hutson is a close, although not exact, match for the signature of William Hutson at note 52.

⁶⁵ “Deposition [of Dandridge Claiborne] respecting Ann [Anne] Keese a Mulatto girl going to Charleston S.C.,” 6 Mar. 1819, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 73, folder 1606 (Slavery, 1819).

manumitted. Certificate granted 15 July 1820 [signed] Rob^t Swartwout, Deputy Mayor.⁶⁶

A black woman, Phillis Colden, “is the Slave of the heirs of Mr. Roe” of “Cornwell [*sic*],” Orange County. Heirs William and Peter Roe, grocers of this city, “may attempt to manumit her” here. “She has a bastard child,” about 3. An application has been made to the almshouse for her support. 14 March 1818 [not signed].⁶⁷

MISCELLANEOUS

Here follow abstracts of the remaining documents found in the “Slaves” and “Slavery” folders. The documents vary substantially, ranging from personal letters to depositions. Documents were filed in New York City unless otherwise noted.

Permit to drive, Benjamin Smith Junior:

A license has “been given by the Deputy Mayor of the City of New York to Benjamin Smith [interlined: ‘Jr’],” age 16. I Benjamin Smith of this city “agree to indemnify and Save harmless all persons who may employ” Benjamin Smith Jnr. “from all loss & damage that may happen by reason of any neglect or misfeazance” of Benjamin Smith Jnr. as a cartman. 13 March 1809 [signed] Benjamin Smith. Witnesses: Peter Ogilvie Jun^r., Jacob Mott, Deputy Mayor.⁶⁸

Three documents on Mr. DuBuc de Marentille of Guadaloupe and his slaves:

Mr Debuc brought Slaves “from the West Indies.” As he is “a transient person, I told him that a written declaration was unnecessary.” Due to obstacles that prevented his departure to Gaudaloupe, “I consider him as a Sojourner and transient person as to this State.” [Signed] DeWitt Clinton, 14 April 1810.⁶⁹

Slaves of Mr. Debuc: Margaret, mullatto; her four children, Sophie, Lise, Aline, and Thomas; Phillis, mulatto girl; two mulatto boys, Francois and Alphonse; Carolie, negro woman, and her daughter Marie; Pauline, negro woman; and Etienne, negro man.⁷⁰

I came to New York in 1808 from “Elizabeth town [*sic*],” New Jersey, where I have resided without interruption since 1799, for the “purpose of

⁶⁶ Manumission and certificate of manumission for Thomas Adams by John Delafield, 15 July 1820, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 77, folder 1668 (Slavery, 1820).

⁶⁷ Letter respecting slave Phillis Colden to be manumitted, 14 Mar. 1818, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 67, folder 1548 (Slavery, 1818).

⁶⁸ Permit to drive for Benjamin Smith Jr., 13 Mar. 1809, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 37, folder 980 (Slaves, 1809).

⁶⁹ Letter regarding sojourner Mr. Debuc by DeWitt Clinton, 14 Apr. 1810, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 41, folder 1058 (Slaves, 1810).

⁷⁰ Slaves of Mr. Debuc, undated (likely 1810), Common Council Papers (note 3), box 41, folder 1058 (Slaves, 1810).

enabling me to [page torn] learn immediatly [*sic*] if possible that [page torn] for the west indies.” Circumstances opposed my departure, chiefly “the embargo from the State in which the island of [Guadeloupe,] where I have my estates[,] happened to b[e] placed[.]” I offered to make a written [slave] declaration to Mayor DeWitt Clinton. He said it was unnecessary as I was a Soujourner [*sic*]. I came through New York only with the intention of going to Guadeloupe. “I ask a permit to embark” with my slaves, who “have belonged to me since my departure from Guadeloupe or since their infancy. the said departure in the year 1792.” They are Marguerite, mulatto; her four children; mulatto girl philis; mulatto boys francois and Alphonse; negro woman Coralie; her daughter, negro woman pauline; and negro man Etienne. [Signed] DuBuc de Marentille. Signed and sworn before John W. Mulligan, Public Notary, City of New York, 16 April 1810.⁷¹

Letter from William Turpin and the Charleston, South Carolina, City Council to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of New York:

[To] “the Mayer & Aldermen of the City of New York”: The American Consul in London shipped twenty-five distressed American seamen to New York on “the Brig Sommerset Cap^t Steevins.” The Brig arrived in Charleston on 24 February. The Brig bringing all colored people, they have been advertised and “Committed to Prison as Runaway Negroe Slaves.” Six claim to be free citizens of New York.⁷²

N^o 1 is John Brown, age 46. He left New York “3 years past in the Brig two Sisters Cap^t Hawkins the Brig belonged to Gouverneur & Clinton, was cast a way on S^t Domingo, he could not get a Passage home he went to Jamaica” then London, and was discharged. Born in Brooklyn and known in New York, “he Refers you to Bishop Provost & Lawyer Ludlow.”

N^o 2 is James Blake (called John Blake in the advertisement),⁷³ age 30, “born at N^o 7 State Street, Albana [*sic*]” and a resident of that place. He “left Esopus last may in the Ship Tyhis[?] Cap^t Purchase who Left him sick in Livirpoole . . . he Refers to Van Ransleer & John Blake State Street Albana.”

N^o 3 Henry Riment (called Henry Raymond in the advertisement), age 26, born in New Rochelle. “[F]rom 10 years old Livid in New York with Cap^t Henry Delvey (who now Sails out of France). 3 years ago left New York in the Shark Privateer with . . . Cap^t Delvey, was discharged in Beaufort North Carolina then Ship d [shipped] in Newburn in the Hero Privateer Cap^t Waterman was sent a Shore Sick at Fyall [*sic*] the American Consul sent him to Medeira then in an English Ship went to Indies

⁷¹ Deposition of DuBuc de Marentille, 16 Apr. 1810, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 41, folder 1058 (Slaves, 1810).

⁷² Contrary to this statement, the letter lists seven men.

⁷³ The advertisement is not in the folder, but the letter refers to it and states where names differ.

Returned to London was discharged.” Born free, he “Refers to Lawyer Munro & Burgodus.”⁷⁴

N^o 4 Moses Coe, “born at Harmel near the Bridge,” resident chiefly of Rye. “[I]n May he saild in the Brig Critiorun [Criterion] Cap^t Shearborn of Portsmouth to Hampton Roads Loned [Landed] with Tobacco at Richmond went to London.” Known in “Rye[,] the Saw Pitts & the Purchase.”

N^o 5 John Thomas, age 25, born in Flushing. Lived “5 years with Abram Prawl Merchant he is also Known to Devinport Son of Devinport member of Congress & to Peter Ratlif[.] 9 Years ago saild from NewYork in the Brig Ceris Cap^t Wood he was . . . Prissed on Board a British Ship in Jamaica_ & in Livirpool when the War Commenced he claimd the Right of an American Citizen and Surrenderd himself a Prisoner and was put on bord a Prison Ship & was Set at Liberty by saving the Life of a Midshipman that fell over Board.”

N^o 6 Daniel Lasley (called Daniel Ashbey in the advertisement), age 30, always a tailor, born in New York. Known “to M^r Livingston & M^r St Clair of Harlem[.] Saild from N York in 1804 in the Eulus Cap^t Simons for New Orleans. . . . Captured at Buonus Aris & in 1814 Prised by the Niaris Frigate” and then went to London.

N^o 7 John Ensley (called John Hensley in the advertisement, alias Ansley), born in the City of New York and raised in Providence, Rhode Island.

The men are confined in the House of Correction “where Slaves are dailey sent to be Tyed up & Whiped[.]” If you wish me to “proceed agreeable to your direction,” it must be soon “as I intend to be in New York in May to Spend the Summer[.]”

Charleston, March 10th 1817 [signed] Will^m Turpin.

City Counsel of Charleston: Elias Horry, Intendant; Ward N^o 1, C R Greene, H H Barot, J Haslet; Ward N^o 2, Jos S Lovill [Lovell?], W Crafts; Ward N^o 3, HCMichell, W^m Wilson, S J Chancognie; Ward N^o 4, Peter Wyall [Wyatt], S Thomas, B A Markley, Stephen West Moore, Intendant; [illegible]; “Titus Delancy added to this list by the Chairman.”⁷⁵

Certificate of examination for Hannah, slave of James Ross Junior of Essex County, New Jersey:

Essex County, New Jersey. On 7 October 1817, James Ross Jn^r, “who has resided and done business in Savanah . . . Georgia for several years past”

⁷⁴ This is likely a misspelling of “Bogardus.” Two Bogardus attorneys were documented in Longworth’s New York City directory for 1817, the year this letter was written: John L. Bogardus, attorney and nota. [notary], 68, h. 146 Cherry, and R. Bogardus, attor [attorney] and couns. [counselor] 58, h. 56 Cherry. See *Longworth’s American Almanac and New-York Register, and City Directory* . . . (New York: David Longworth, 1817), 117.

⁷⁵ Letter from Charleston City Council to New York City Mayor and Aldermen on imprisoned free black men, 10 Mar. 1817, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 63, folder 1488 (Slavery, 1817). A separate item in the folder appears to have been fashioned into a packet to hold this and possibly additional documents. The packet sheet is labeled “In C-C [Common Council] March 24, 1817 Rend[?] & Merger requested to reply to Letter J. M. Cook.”

appeared with “a Black Woman purchased by him of Doctr. Joseph Quinly of Westfield,” Essex County. Ross wishes to return to Savannah with her and resume his business there. The black woman “privately examined by us” was 21 “the latter part of November or about 3 weeks before Christmas” 1816, is named Hannah, wishes to accompany her master, and “was not Constrained by fear or Threats” upon consent. Taken the above date [signed] Samuel Downer, John Mann, Judges of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, Essex County.⁷⁶

Three documents on John (Jack) Thomas, a free black man of New York, imprisoned as a fugitive slave in Concordia, likely Concordia Parish, Louisiana (initial letter transcribed below, with subsequent documents abstracted):

Concordy August 2nd 1818} Dear frendes i take this Oppertunity to right to you that i am in prison in this plase. on surspisheon as a runaway and i want You to be as expeditious as you canand [can and] send memy [me my] Pertection and papers and mother you go to [illegible crossed out, interlined: “Charles Cox”] And get my protection[;] mr mabee you please to Go to the recorde office and get memy papers if you Please get them copied from the old ones of those that Mother has got . and when you right derrect The letter to m^r miller the shurref of concordy This plase is oppersit the city of natchez and is About three hundred miles a bove ~~new~~ New or(leans) [sic] there is two black girls says that tha know me and i was belonging to such a man and was sold to such a man and was in Joail [jail] in some partes [interlined: “some parrt”] of the world this way and that makes it go harder for me then it would[.]

[Continued on verso:] Dear mother when i left new york i traveled to the city of Albany to se if i could get any implaument [employment] but i cou[d] not . andthen i traveled to bufalow [Buffalo] and could not get any thing to do there. and then i traveled to old [illegible crossed out] lean Point and went down the alagana [Allegheny] river and so Down the ohio-[interlined: “river”] and so down the mississippi [interlined: “river”] and was coming home by water [seven words crossed out] M^r mabee When y send memy papers let me know how the famaly is and how breedels [beedels?] famaly is and Jacob’s [interlined: “and”] myers Framalies is and old mrs banta and my goand [grand] mother and mah [smudged] mother and brother and sister and let me know if mr Pierpoint is got home[.]

Dear mother iam in a poor state of health at this time.

[signed] John Thomas [again, same handwriting] Jack Thomas⁷⁷

23 September 1818. M^r Mabie of this city received a letter from colored man John Thomas, detained at Concordia. Mr. Mabie manumitted a John

⁷⁶ “Certificate of Examination of Hannah a Black Woman Slave of James Ross Jn^r” (note 8).

⁷⁷ Letter of John (Jack) Thomas from Concordy [Concordia] prison (note 7).

Thomas in 1806 and “has no doubt but that he is the Same person[.]” Mr. Mabie’s enclosed deposition will be sufficient for Thomas’s discharge. If anything should prevent it, inform me “as his case excites Some interest here.” [signed] J. Morton. [in corner] Direct to Major Genl. J. Morton, City of N. York. Miller Esq, Sheriff Concordia, opposite to Natches.⁷⁸

On 23 September 1818, Frederic Mabie, “a respectable citizen” of the City of New York, appeared before me, Cadwallader D. Colden, Mayor. He deposed that he owned a slave John Thomas “who was born in his family.” Thomas is now 20–22 years of age, about five feet, eight inches, mulatto, “a likely good looking fellow and has a scar on one cheek on side of his head” and was manumitted 10 May 1806 by deponent. Deponent learned by letter that Thomas went down the Mississippi. The deponent has seen Thomas write, and believes the letter was written by him. Thomas “is now detained at Natchez as a Runaway Slave.” Sworn before me [no signature].⁷⁹

ON LOCATING ADDITIONAL RECORDS

Researchers may find the record types described in this article in various repositories, including some outside the areas in which the records were created. Bills of sale, for example, may be found in museums, historical societies, town records, state archives, and collections at historic homes that once belonged to slave owners. Some record types were created in multiple formats, which could explain the lack of consolidation. Licenses to leave the state were given to slave owners, but local officials may have kept informal copies. Some families retained historically significant documents, such as manumissions and bills of sale, in their private papers. A thorough search for any of these record types may cover more than a dozen repositories.

Indexes, abstracts, and transcriptions of manumissions and slave birth certificates from various New York cities and towns have been published in peer-reviewed journals.⁸⁰ Publications related to recognizances, slave declarations, and licenses to leave the state have not been found.

⁷⁸ Letter on the care of John Thomas by J. Morton, 23 Sept. 1818, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 67, folder 1548 (Slavery, 1818).

⁷⁹ Deposition of Frederic Mabie by Cadwallader D. Colden on the freedom of John Thomas, 23 Sept. 1818, Common Council Papers (note 3), box 67, folder 1548 (Slavery, 1818).

⁸⁰ Alice Eichholz and James M. Rose, compilers, “New York State Manumissions,” *RECORD* 108 (1977): 221–25. William A. Harris, “Records Related to Slave Manumissions: Pelham, New York,” *RECORD* 123 (1992): 145–47. Terri Bradshaw O’Neill, “Manumissions and Certificates of Freedom in the New York Secretary of State Deeds,” *RECORD* 139 (2008): 72–73. Kenneth Scott, “Manumissions in Kings County, New York, 1797–1825,” *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 65 (1977): 177–80. Kenneth Scott, “Slaves’ Birth Records, Kings County, N.Y., After 1800,” *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 66 (1978): 97–103.

CHLOE (FOSTER) (KATELY/CATELY) WELLS (1788–1869) OF LEYDEN, MASSACHUSETTS, AND CORTLAND COUNTY, NEW YORK

BY PATRICIA LEE HOBBS, CG*

Chloe (Foster) (Kately/Cately) Wells's story is typical of many other late-eighteenth-century New England women.¹ Born and raised in a Massachusetts hill town in the upper Connecticut River Valley, she left her home and parents behind after she married. With her new husband she set off from Massachusetts, bound for New York State's fertile lands and its promise of opportunity. There, supported by income produced by farming, Chloe raised her family. Eventually some of her children would move even farther westward, leaving Chloe behind, just as she had left her own parents decades earlier.

Chloe Foster was born in Leyden, Hampshire County (now Franklin), Massachusetts, 27 October 1788, the sixth child of Ezekiel and Chloe (Burnham) Foster.² Her father was born about 1752, probably in what shortly thereafter became West Hoosac (now Williamstown), Hampshire County (now Berkshire), Massachusetts.³ His parents were among the original lot owners in the new town of West Hoosac.⁴ Most of the first settlers on the lots were soldiers at Fort Massachusetts in what is now Berkshire County.⁵ Ezekiel's father—also named Ezekiel⁶—was a sentinel at the fort from 1749

* Patricia Lee Hobbs (plhgenealogy@gmail.com) lives in Clever, Mo., about 100 miles west of her Van Hoesen grandfather's birthplace. Patti works as a professional genealogist and occasionally in the Local History and Genealogy department at the Springfield-Greene Co. Library in Springfield, Mo.

¹ Kately/Cately was consistently spelled with a *K* in Massachusetts, and just as consistently spelled with a *C* in New York records. There were often variations in the appearance of the *e* before and after the *l*, such as Kately or Katley.

² Ezekiel and Chloe Foster family birth entries, 1778–1798, Leyden, Mass., Town Records 1807–1828, p. 301 (Family History Library [FHL] film 859,993). Chloe Burnham's maiden name from Samuel Green deposition, 13 Sept. 1839, and Eliju Scott deposition, 13 Sept. 1839, in Chloe Foster widow's pension W13200, service of Ezekiel Foster (Pvt., Agrippa Wells Co., Mass.), *Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files* (National Archives and Records Administration [NARA] microfilm publication M804, roll 1006). A roll dated 19 Sept. 1775 from Prospect Hill that lists field, commissioned, and staff officers includes Capt. Agrippa Wells and Ensign Ezekiel Foster in the 23rd Regiment of Foot (*Revolutionary War Rolls, 1775–1783* [NARA M246, roll 136]).

³ Birth year calculated from age at death (72 years) as stated on his marker (Ezekiel Foster marker, Beaver Meadow Cemetery, Leyden, Franklin Co., Mass., personally viewed and photographed, 3 Mar. 2013, and memorial no. 74878237, with digital images, *Find A Grave* [http://www.findagrave.com]). Josiah Gilbert Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts: The Counties of Hampden, Hampshire, Franklin, and Berkshire . . .*, 2 vols. (1855; reprint, Westminster, Md.: Heritage Books, 2009), 2:608 (for West Hoosac now Williamstown) and 1 (part 2): 196 (for Berkshire county formation from Hampshire in 1761). The likely birthplace is based on his parents' residential history.

⁴ Arthur Latham Perry, *Origins in Williamstown* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), 383, 403.

⁵ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown* (note 4), 385.

⁶ Elijah Kingsley affidavit, 13 Sept. 1839, in Chloe Foster widow's pension W13200 (note 2). Kingsley indicated that Ezekiel's father was also named Ezekiel and that the elder Ezekiel was the lieutenant of the company.

until at least September 1754.⁷ The commissary for the fort was the largest near town, Deerfield, where in 1751 Ezekiel Foster [Sr.] married Margaret Henry.⁸ In July 1756 the Foster family was living at the fort in Colrain, Hampshire County (now Franklin).⁹ By May 1760, when Ezekiel sold the lot in West Hoosac, he and his family had moved to “Fall Town,” now known as Bernardston, Hampshire County.¹⁰

Chloe’s mother, Chloe Burnham, was born in Farmington, Hartford County, Connecticut, 28 December 1757, to Elisha and Jerusha (Lee) Burnham.¹¹ The Burnhams moved up the Connecticut River to Bernardston sometime between 6 October 1768 and 28 October 1771.¹² There, on 2 December 1776, the same day as the annual town meeting, Ezekiel Foster [Jr.] and Chloe Burnham married.¹³

The town of Leyden, which split off from Bernardston in 1784,¹⁴ is located in an upland region of the Connecticut River Valley. People in the area struggled to compete with farmers living in the lowland regions, where the soil was richer. Land in the Leyden area was conducive to growing apples. Residents often sold fruit and cider to earn income in the fall. They sold lumber and cordwood in the winter, when sleds simplified transportation. They raised livestock, often by pasturing and then selling the animals to lowland farmers, who fattened them up and took them to market on the hoof, thus diminishing transportation costs. Sheep also did well in the upland pastures. And maple trees were tapped and the syrup boiled down to sugar.¹⁵

⁷ He appears on the rolls of men assigned to Fort Massachusetts and as a petitioner to picket Fort Massachusetts in Perry, *Origins in Williamstown* (note 4), 234, 236, 245–46, 249, 250. Pages 234, 236, and 249 list him with the rank of “Centl.,” an abbreviation for “Centinel” [*sic*, sentinell], a soldier who stands guard. That this is the same Ezekiel Foster who later lived in Bernardston, see Ezekiel Foster “of Fall Town” to Thomas Dunton and Stephen Davis, dated 7 May 1760, in Berkshire Co., Mass., Deeds 5:208 (FHL film 872,076).

⁸ Perry, *Origins in Williamstown* (note 4), 231, which identifies Deerfield as the site of the commissary. Ezekiel Foster–Margaret Henry marriage, 23 May 1751, Deerfield, Mass., Births, Marriages, and Deaths 1:249 (FHL film 186,146).

⁹ Michael D. Coe, *The Line of Forts: Historical Archaeology on the Colonial Frontier of Massachusetts* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2006), 202. Appendix 5 in Coe’s book includes a transcription of John Hawks’s journal, which is in private hands. Hawks entered 17 July 1756 that Ezekiel Foster’s son had been born. The entry was made the day after Hawks arrived in Colrain.

¹⁰ Foster to Dunton and Davis (note 7). For the name Falltown transitioning to Bernardston, see Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts* (note 3), 2:321.

¹¹ “Cloe” Burnham birth, 28 Dec. 1757, Farmington, Conn., Land Records 11:578 (FHL film 4,220), which lists Cloe as daughter of Elisha Burnham. Elisha Burnham–Jerusha Lee marriage, 9 Nov. 1749, Farmington, Conn., Land Records 7:46 (FHL film 4,218).

¹² Mrs. Ruth Burnham, John and Ruth Allen, and Charles and Sarah Dix to Elisha Burnham, dated 6 Oct. 1768, Hampden Co., Mass., Deeds 9:351–52 (FHL film 845,695), shows William Burnham’s heirs deeding their shares to Elisha Burnham “of Farmington.” Eleazer Pomeroy to Elisha Burnham “of Bernardston,” dated 28 Oct. 1771, Hampden Co., Mass., Deeds 10:588 (FHL film 845,695). Elisha Burnham to Ruth Burnham, widow, “of Bernardston,” dated 3 Feb. 1772, Hampden Co., Mass., Deeds 10:700 (FHL film 845,695), shows that Ruth Burnham was also living in Bernardston. William Burnham Jun. will, dated 17 Jan. 1748/9, Hartford Probate Dist., Conn., Estate File 956. His will named Elisha Burnham (William’s only son) and Ruth Burnham, widow, his executors. William’s daughters Sarah and Ruth were also mentioned in the will—exactly aligning with the deeds recorded in the Hampden County books. Hampden was formed from Hampshire County in 1812. However all of the oldest deeds for Hampshire are located at the county courthouse in Springfield, previously the “shire town” for Hampshire County but after 1812 the “shire town” of Hampden County. A shire town is equivalent to a county seat. Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts* (note 3), 1:59–60, 321.

¹³ Elihu Scott deposition, 13 Sept. 1839, Chloe Foster widow’s pension W13200 (note 2).

¹⁴ Bill passed to take district of Leyden from Bernardston, 12 Mar. 1784, Leyden, Mass., Town Records, 1776–1834, pp. 3–4 (FHL film 886,466).

¹⁵ J. Ritchie Garrison, *Landscape and Material Life in Franklin County, Massachusetts, 1770–1860* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 101, 104. Bernardston residents are credited with being

Chloe Foster and Andrew Kately were married by Asa Heberd, pastor of the Baptist church in Leyden, on 8 April 1807.¹⁶ They moved to New York State soon after, probably by 1810.¹⁷ Andrew was appointed an overseer of the highways for the Town of Preble, Cortland County, New York, in 1811.¹⁸

What might have made Chloe and Andrew—and so many others—leave western Massachusetts for central New York? Population in New England had extended to the north and west, mostly up the rivers where the more fertile lands were located. By 1770 most of the productive land in Massachusetts was already being farmed, leaving only poor-quality acreage in central Massachusetts as a wilderness. Some New Englanders moved west, even into New York's Hudson Valley counties, where they joined long-settled New York families.¹⁹ Yankee soldiers traveling through New York during the Revolutionary War noticed the favorable terrain and soil. Settlers who moved there sent “glowing reports of rich lands in New York,” which “picqued [*sic*] the curiosity of Yankees picking stones from their steep hillsides.”²⁰ Conversely, life in Leyden did not hold much hope for prosperity. Although some towns in the Connecticut River Valley continued to do well and actually increase in population, Leyden, as one of the hill towns barely touching the valley, did not. A historian reported the thoughts of one resident of Wendell, a Massachusetts town similar in characteristics to Leyden, about the diminishing population and prosperity of the hill towns:

[Wendell] has been a great tavern house, where fathers and sons have rested for a few years, on their way from the “lower towns” to the West; and, if the whole household did not go on, the sons were sure to proceed, except the youngest, perhaps, who remained to inherit a worn-out farm, and—the worn-out parents.²¹

The decline of the hill towns was due to the physical characteristics of the land. The topography is rough, and the poor, thin soils in the upland areas

among the originators of the process for making maple sugar. See James Dodsley and Edmund Burke, *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature, for the Year 1765* (London: J. Dodsley, 1766), 141.

¹⁶ Andrew Katley–Chloe Foster intention (13 Mar. 1807) and marriage (8 Apr. 1807), Leyden, Mass., Town Records 1776–1834, pp. 214 (intention) and 230 (marriage) (FHL film 886,466). That Asa Hebbard was the pastor of the Baptist church in Leyden, see Theophilus Packard Jr., *A History of the Churches and Ministers, and of Franklin Association, in Franklin County, Mass., and an Appendix Respecting the County* (Boston: S. K. Whipple, 1854), 249.

¹⁷ The couple's second-known child, Mary, was born in Cortland Co., N.Y., 30 June 1809. Mary [Cately] Gates entry, 1855 New York state census, Town of Tully, Onondaga Co., unpaginated, dw. 212, fam. 212. Frederick Howe appointed guardian for Mary Cately, 2 Dec. 1826, Cortland Co., N.Y., Surrogate's Court, Wills and Adms. 3:136–38 (FHL film 843,883), which states that Mary had turned 17 the previous 30 June. The 1810 census of Cortland Co., N.Y., is not extant. Andrew Kately/Cately's household was not found in Massachusetts in 1810.

¹⁸ Andrew Cately appointed overseer of the highways, 1811, Town of Preble [Cortland Co., N.Y.] Record Book, 1808–circa 1864, unpaginated, arranged chronologically, Records, 1797–1994, microfilm series A4677–99, reel 77, New York State Archives, Albany. Cortland County was formed 8 Apr. 1808 from Onondaga County. The Town of Preble was established at the same time—8 Apr. 1808—from the southern part of the Town of Tully, Onondaga County. See J. H. French, *Gazetteer of the State of New York* (1860; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1995), 250, 254.

¹⁹ Lois Kimball Mathews, *The Expansion of New England: The Spread of New England Settlement and Institutions to the Mississippi River, 1620–1865* (1909; reprint, Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2012), 252.

²⁰ David Maldwyn Ellis, “The Yankee Invasion of New York, 1783–1850,” *New York History* 32 (Jan. 1951): 6.

²¹ Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts* (note 3), 2:457.

wore out quickly. Once the railroads were able to transport great quantities of products to markets at reasonable rates, prices fell, and the hill farmers could no longer compete. Areas that were able to adapt their industry towards manufacturing prospered despite poor soil. But the hill towns could not attract the railroads that factories required. People from the hill towns moved either west to work in richer lands or to the cities, where manufacturing was growing.²² Andrew and Chloe chose to go west.

THE JOURNEY

For decades, New Englanders had been traveling westward on primitive wagon roads and trails. By 1807, however, many of the busiest routes were turnpikes—highways on which users were required to pay tolls to support the roads' building and improvement.²³ Chloe and Andrew Cately likely traveled the turnpike roads to reach their destination in Cortland County. Families who migrated during the winter might have used sleighs to carry their household goods.²⁴ In other seasons, migrants traveling on the turnpike roads carried only the barest of necessities in rude wagons drawn by oxen.²⁵

From Leyden the Catelys would have probably crossed the Hoosac Mountains to Williamstown in Berkshire County, Massachusetts, on the Second Massachusetts Turnpike. They would have likely continued on the Williamstown Turnpike, connecting at the New York state line to the Eastern Turnpike, which continued to Albany.²⁶

Albany was the hub to points west in New York. From there the Catelys probably would have traveled via the Great Schoharie Western Turnpike, which would take them through the towns of Duanesburgh (Schenectady County) and Cherry Valley (Otsego County). From Cherry Valley they could choose to take the more southern Great Western Turnpike or the Skaneateles Turnpike, which passed through Madison County, New York.²⁷ Chloe's older sister "Urania" or "Lurania" and her husband, Oliver Babcock, had earlier moved to the Town of Brookfield in Madison County.²⁸ The Catelys might

²² Lester Earl Klimm, *The Relation Between Certain Population Changes and the Physical Environment in Hamden, Hampshire, and Franklin Counties, Massachusetts, 1790–1925* (Philadelphia: n. pub., 1933), 44–45.

²³ Seymour Dunbar, *A History of Travel in America*, 4 vols. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1915), 1:226, 320–21. Ellis, "The Yankee Invasion of New York, 1783–1850" (note 20), 5.

²⁴ John W. Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New York; Containing a General Collection of the Most Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, &c. Relating to its History and Antiquities, with Geographical Descriptions of Every Township in the State* (New York: S. Tuttle, 1841), 41.

²⁵ Ulysses Prentiss Hedrick, *A History of Agriculture in the State of New York* ([Albany]: New York State Agricultural Committee, 1933), 185. Ellis, "The Yankee Invasion of New York, 1783–1850" (note 20), 5.

²⁶ Frederic J. Wood, *The Turnpikes of New England and Evolution of the Same Through England, Virginia, and Maryland* (Boston: Marshall Jones, 1919), 66–69.

²⁷ A biography of John Smith recounted his family's 1804 journey from Buckland, Franklin Co., Mass., a town near Leyden, to the Town of Pompey, Onondaga Co., N.Y., a town north of Preble (*Re-Union of the Sons and Daughters of the Old Town of Pompey, Held at Pompey Hill, June 29, 1871; Proceedings of the Meeting, Speeches, Toasts and Other Incidents of the Occasion* [Syracuse: The Re-Union Meeting, 1875], 348–49). William McCalpin, *A Map of the State of New York* (Oxford, N.Y.: n. pub., 1808).

²⁸ "A purpose of marriage between Oliver Babcock third & Urana Foster," 27 [possibly 17, the first digit being unclear] Nov. 1797, Leyden, Mass., Town Records 1776–1834, p. 187 (FHL film 886,466). No record of the actual marriage was found, but there is a gap in the entries between Mar. 1796 and Apr. 1798. Ezekiel and Chloe Foster family birth entries (note 2), which lists Urania Foster, b. 12 Mar. 1778, as daughter of Ezekiel and Chloe Foster and therefore sibling to Chloe (Foster) Cately. The migration of the Babcock family in the 1790s is described in "Incidents of the Early Settlers of Brookfield," *Brookfield* [N.Y.]

have arranged to make a stop there on their way. The trip from Leyden to Cortland County likely took about two weeks.²⁹

LIFE IN CORTLAND COUNTY, NEW YORK

Andrew and Chloe Cately moved to New York probably by 1810.³⁰ They were certainly in the Town of Preble by 1811, when Andrew was appointed to the town position of overseer of the highways. He held that post again in 1819.³¹ In 1814 Andrew bought 132 acres in lot 70 in the Town of Preble.³² The land contained good timber, including beech and linden.³³

Andrew farmed his land in Preble. He made maple syrup from sap, and he raised cattle, hogs, sheep, geese, and turkeys. He harrowed the fields and planted them using oxen. He grew wheat, corn, oats, peas, potatoes, turnips, and flax. Andrew and Chloe made their own soap, preserved meat, and made pickles, butter, and cheese. Chloe wove linen from the flax they grew. She made linsey blankets to keep them warm in the winter and flannel to keep them clothed.³⁴ In payment for the services of Preble blacksmith James Segar in forging shoes for his animals and sharpening his tools, Andrew provided beef, hay, potatoes, turnips, and hundreds of board feet of lumber.³⁵

Andrew died 4 August 1822.³⁶ Just short of ten months after his death, on 11 June 1823, Rev. Clark of Truxton married Chloe and her second husband, John Wells,³⁷ who was 7½ years her junior.

John Wells was born in Schoharie County, New York, 22 May 1796, to Tuenis [*sic*, Teunis] and Annatje (Van Vliet) Wells. He was baptized by a minister of the [Reformed Dutch] Church of Helderberg in the Town of Watervliet (later Guilderland), Albany County, New York, on 18 September 1796, when he was four months old.³⁸ He moved with his family to lot 91 in the Town of Truxton, Cortland County, after his father, Tunis [*sic*] Wells “of the County Schoharrie,” bought ninety-nine acres in 1816.³⁹ John Wells was

Courier, 17 May 1876, 2nd page, col. 5. Because of multiple generations of Olivers, it is difficult to say whether Oliver 3rd was the immigrant to Brookfield described, but a household found there in 1850 seems to fit the couple of interest. See Oliver Babcock household, 1850 U.S. census, Town of Brookfield, Madison Co., N.Y., p. 80 (penned), p. 40 (stamped, verso), dw. 690, fam. 697 (NARA M432, roll 527).

²⁹ *Re-Union of the Sons and Daughters of the Old Town of Pompey* (note 27), 349.

³⁰ See discussion at note 17.

³¹ Andrew Cately appointed overseer of the highways, 1811 and 1819, Town of Preble Record Book, 1808–circa 1864 (note 18).

³² Elijah Miller to Andrew Cately, dated 20 June 1814, Cortland Co., N.Y., Deeds I:452–53.

³³ Description of lot 70, Town of Preble, New York, Land Survey Field Book 23:405, microfilm A4019077, reel 9, New York State State Archives, Albany.

³⁴ Observations based on analysis of Andrew Cately’s estate inventory, filed 5 Mar. 1823 (Andrew Cately administration file, Cortland Co., N.Y., Surrogate’s Court file X-9634).

³⁵ James Segar account book, 1812–1828, 2 vols. (MSS, Cortland County Historical Society, Cortland, N.Y.), 1:66–67, 2:30.

³⁶ Andrew Cately affidavit of death, dated 7 Sept. 1822, in Andrew Cately administration file (note 34).

³⁷ “Married,” *Cortland Repository* (Homer Village, N.Y.), 18 June 1823, p. 3, col. 4, microfilm no. Homer 94-13392, New York State Library, Albany.

³⁸ John Wells baptism, 18 Sept. 1796, Records of the [Reformed Dutch] Church of Helderberg at Guilderland Center, Albany Co., N.Y., Register of Baptisms, unpaginated, arranged chronologically (FHL film 533,489), which lists birth date and parents. Witnesses were Jacob Wells and Polly Springsteen. John Wells household, 1855 New York state census, Town of Truxton, Elect. Dist. 2, Cortland Co., unpaginated, dw. 182, fam. 199, which lists the county of birth.

³⁹ Henry and Anna Wells to Tunis [*sic*] Wells, dated 27 Apr. 1816, Cortland Co., N.Y., Deeds E:226–27. Henry and Tunis’s relationship, if any, has not yet been established.

made an overseer of the highways for the Town of Preble in 1825. He continued to serve in that capacity in 1829, 1831, 1834, 1836, 1839, and 1843.⁴⁰

In the early years of John and Chloe's marriage, they raised cattle, sheep, and pigs.⁴¹ Some of the cows were milked to make butter and some were used for meat.⁴² Because of the difficulty of preservation, the Wellses would likely have converted some of the meat from the cattle and pigs to sausage and salt pork, but they may also have taken turns with neighbors slaughtering animals and sharing the meat.⁴³

The wooded property of lot 70 in Preble—with its timber of nut trees, including beech—made an ideal forage location for the family's swine.⁴⁴ Farmers like the Wellses gave their pigs dairy and kitchen waste in the summer, but in the fall, the pigs, having a particular preference for beechnuts, would be loosed in the woods to feed. When the harvest of nuts was over, animals to be slaughtered were fattened for a few more weeks.⁴⁵ John Wells, along with his stepsons Shepard and Andrew and later his sons Ezra, John, and Hiram, may have fattened the pigs on potatoes they grew.⁴⁶

The many sheep owned by the Wellses were likely sheared. The family had fifty-six sheep in 1825, and that year made eighty yards of fulled cloth and sixty yards of flannel.⁴⁷ They probably also grew flax, for they produced 125 yards of linen in 1825.⁴⁸ Home production of cloth had been declining since the Revolutionary War, although it experienced a resurgence from 1812 to 1815 when the war with Britain made trade difficult. Increasingly efficient

⁴⁰ John Wells appointed overseer of the highways, 1825, 1829, 1831, 1834, 1836, 1839, 1843, and 1846, Town of Preble Record Book, 1808—circa 1864 (note 18).

⁴¹ John Wells entry, 1825 New York state census, Town of Preble, Cortland Co., unpaginated, arranged alphabetically by surname (FHL film 843,779). In 1825 the Wellses owned twenty-one head of cattle, ten pigs, and fifty-six sheep.

⁴² John Wells entry, 1850 U.S. census, Town of Truxton, Cortland Co., N.Y., agricultural schedule, p. 891 (penned, recto and verso), line 30. John Wells Jr. entry, 1860 U.S. census, Town of Truxton, Cortland Co., N.Y., agricultural schedule, p. 7 (penned, recto and verso), line 8. John Wells entry, 1865 New York state census, Town of Truxton, Cortland Co., agricultural schedule, pp. 59–61, line 18. In 1850 the Wellses had six milch cows, two working oxen, and seven other cattle. The value of animals slaughtered that year was \$20. In 1860, the value of slaughtered animals was \$40, and they owned ten milch cows and ten other cattle. In 1865, they reported having six milch cows, up from five the year before. In 1865, five cows were used to produce butter. The previous year milk from four cows was used to make butter. The Wellses produced 500 pounds of butter in 1850, 800 pounds in 1860, and 625 pounds in 1865. The 1855 New York state census agricultural schedule was not found for the Town of Truxton.

⁴³ Seymour Cook, "Early Days in Homer," *Cortland County Chronicles*, vol. 2 (Cortland, N.Y.: Cortland County Historical Society, 1958), 183.

⁴⁴ "Field Book for Tully township No 14 of the New York Military Gratuity Lands," Land Survey Field Book (note 33), in which the surveyor noted, "Land Good Timber Beech Linden &c."

⁴⁵ Percy Wells Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States 1620–1860* (1925; reprint, New York: Peter Smith, 1941), 111.

⁴⁶ John Wells entry, 1825 New York state census (note 41). John Wells entry, 1835 New York state census, Town of Preble, Cortland Co., unpaginated, 7th of 8 pages, last line (FHL film 843,779). John Wells entry, 1850 U.S. census, ag. sch. (note 42). John Wells Jr. entry, 1860 U.S. census, ag. sch. (note 42). John Wells entry, 1865 New York state census, ag. sch. (note 42). In 1825 John Wells kept ten pigs, and in 1835 he raised eight. In 1850 and later, he raised only two or three a year. The Wells family grew seventy-five bushels of potatoes in 1850, seventy bushels in 1860, and 100 bushels in 1865. Earlier figures are not available.

⁴⁷ John Wells entry, 1825 New York state census (note 41). S. William Beck, *The Draper's Dictionary, A Manual of Textile Fabrics: Their History and Applications* (London: The Warehousemen and Drapers' Journal Office, [1882]), 127–28 (s.v. "flannel"), 134–35 (s.v. "full"). Flannel was "made from woolen yarn, slightly twisted in the spinning, and of open texture, the object in view being to have the cloth soft and spongy, without regard to strength." Fulfilled cloth was that which was processed to work the fibers (by pressing by foot or machine) so that the surface did not show the "transverse threads," but formed a felted mass.

⁴⁸ John Wells entry, 1825 New York state census (note 41).

factories led to lower prices, making it less worthwhile for families to produce their own cloth.⁴⁹ By 1830 factories had grown to competitive levels, and with improved transportation by canal and railroad, domestic manufacture of cloth was declining precipitously.⁵⁰ In 1835 the Wells family no longer made any linen, and their output of fulled and flannel cloth was less than one-third the amount produced ten years earlier.⁵¹

The Wells family must have marketed some of their goods, for their production of certain items exceeded that which a typical family would use. In 1850 they reaped 700 bushels of oats and 300 bushels of barley. Maple sugar was a plentiful commodity for them as they boiled down the syrup to 400 pounds in 1850, 200 pounds in 1860, and 225 pounds in 1865. They likely sold for market some of the butter they made from their cows' milk. The family made at least 500 pounds of butter in 1850, 1860, and 1865.⁵² Cortland County's butter was considered among the best in the state.⁵³

John and Chloe may have sold their excess butter, oats, maple sugar, and other products to Jedediah Barber, who operated the Great Western Store in the nearby Village of Homer from 1812 until 1856. People from the towns of Truxton and Preble, among many other places, were customers. Mr. Barber was known to be a fair man who knew the marketable value of everything.⁵⁴

THE RAILROAD

The Erie and Champlain canals created major changes for New York as the cost of transporting goods to market was greatly reduced. By 1835 canals crossed the northern part of the state and the planned New-York and Erie Railroad was set to traverse the southern counties between New York City and Lake Erie. People living between those routes were eager to join the transportation system. The Syracuse, Cortland and Binghamton Railroad Company proposed to connect the Cortland County area with the Village of Syracuse, Town of Salina, Onondaga County, to the north and the Village of Binghamton, Town of Chenango (later Binghamton), Broome County, to the south. John Wells was among those attending a railroad convention at the courthouse in Cortland on 24 December 1835 as a delegate for the Town of Preble.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution 1815–1860* (1951; reprint, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1977), 211–12.

⁵⁰ Arthur Harrison Cole, *The American Wool Manufacture*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), 1:175.

⁵¹ John Wells, 1835 New York state census (note 46). In 1835, they reportedly made fifteen yards each of fulled and flannel cloth.

⁵² John Wells entry, 1850 U.S. census, ag. sch. (note 42). John Wells Jr. entry, 1860 U.S. census, ag. sch. (note 42). John Wells entry, 1865 New York state census, ag. sch. (note 42).

⁵³ H. P. Smith, ed., *History of Cortland County with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Some of its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Syracuse: D. Mason and Co., 1885), 89.

⁵⁴ Cook, "Early Days in Homer" (note 43), 184. Herbert Howe, *Jedediah Barber, 1787–1876* (New York: AMS Press, 1966), chap. 6.

⁵⁵ "Syracuse, Cortland and Binghamton Railroad Convention," *Cortland Republican* (Cortland Village, N.Y.), 5 Jan. 1836, p. 1, cols. 3–6, microfilm, Cortland Public Library, Cortland. Cortland Village was incorporated in 1853 (New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, *New York Family History Research Guide and Gazetteer* [New York: New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, 2014], 364). Although the newspaper referred to it as a village, in Dec. 1835 it was a hamlet in the Town of Cortlandville.

It was more than a decade after the convention in Cortland before the New-York and Erie Railroad reached Binghamton.⁵⁶ Efforts were then renewed to build a railroad between Binghamton and Syracuse, and the line finally opened in October 1854. The train stopped at the villages of Homer and Cortland, so those places grew in importance, while others, such as Preble, a once-thriving hamlet, came to a standstill or even diminished.⁵⁷ Although the railroad offered greater possibilities for trade, it also made it easier for young families to move away. As will be discussed below, by 1858 Chloe's son Hiram and her daughters Chloe, Mary, and Electa had moved west.

CONCLUSION

Chloe and John Wells lived with their son John in the Town of Truxton in 1860 and 1865 and likely lived there until their deaths in 1869.⁵⁸ Even the year that the elder John died, he was still farming with his son.⁵⁹

Just as Chloe had moved away from her parents and the place in which she was raised, several of her own children moved on in search of land and opportunity. The continued westward movement of Chloe and her children is representative of many other New England families of this period.

CHLOE (FOSTER) (KATELY/CATELY) WELLS AND HER DESCENDANTS

1. **CHLOE³ FOSTER** (Ezekiel²⁻¹) was born in Leyden, Hampshire County (now Franklin), Massachusetts, 27 October 1788, the sixth child of Ezekiel² and Chloe (Burnham) Foster.⁶⁰ Chloe³ died in 1869, likely in the Town of Truxton, Cortland County, New York.⁶¹ She married first in Leyden 8 April 1807 **ANDREW KATELY/CATELY**,⁶² who was born in Leyden between 1775 and 1787 probably to John Kately.⁶³ Andrew died 14 August 1822, probably

⁵⁶ William Macleod, *Harper's New-York and Erie Railroad Guide* (New York City: Harper and Brothers, 1855–1856), 140. The railroad reached Binghamton in 1848.

⁵⁷ Smith, *History of Cortland County* (note 53), 85–86.

⁵⁸ John Wells Jr. household, 1860 U.S. census, Town of Truxton, Cortland Co., N.Y., pp. 22–23 (penned), pp. 594–95 (stamped), dw. 157, fam. 164 (NARA M653, roll 739). Also John Wells Jr. household, 1865 New York state census, Town of Truxton, Cortland Co., p. 217, dw. 190, fam. 210. Chloe and John Wells markers, Tully Cemetery, Tully, Onondaga Co., N.Y., section 2, lot 50, personally read, June 2009.

⁵⁹ Hamilton Child, comp., *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Cortland County, N.Y., for 1869* (Syracuse: Hamilton Child, 1869), 183, which shows John Wells and John Wells Jr. as farmers on lot 61 in Truxton.

⁶⁰ Ezekiel and Chloe Foster family birth entries, 1778–1798 (note 2). Samuel Green deposition and Elihu Scott deposition, both dated 13 Sept. 1839, in Chloe Foster widow's pension W13200 (note 2), which state her maiden name.

⁶¹ Chloe and John Wells markers (note 58). Their *Find A Grave* memorials do not include images of the markers (Chloe Foster Wells and John Wells memorials, Tully Cemetery, Tully, Onondaga Co., N.Y., memorials no. 141826361 and no. 141826427, *Find A Grave* [<https://www.findagrave.com>]). All attempts to uncover more specific information have been unfruitful. There are no estate records by a search of the wills index book, administrations index, and electronic index at the Surrogate Court office. A cemetery database at the Tully Area Historical Society contains no more information than is found on the markers. The Wellses do not appear in the 1870 mortality schedule. All extant newspapers for Cortland and Onondaga counties (Tully news sections) were searched week by week for a death notice, to no avail.

⁶² Andrew Katley and Chloe Foster intention and marriage (note 16).

⁶³ Andrew Cately [Jr.] death record, Tully, 1887, book 50, #99, verified transcript from the Office of Vital Statistics, Syracuse, N.Y., which lists his father's place of birth, including town and state. The original death record has not been examined. Andrew Cately entry, 1820 U.S. census, Town of Preble, Cortland Co., N.Y., p. 561 (penned) (NARA M33, roll 66), lists his age as 26 to 44 (therefore born between about 1776 and 1794). It is likely he was born no later than 1787, as any later would have made him younger than

in the Town of Preble, Cortland County.⁶⁴ Chloe married second in the Town of Preble 11 June 1823 **JOHN WELLS**.⁶⁵ He was born in Schoharie County, New York, 22 May 1796 to Tuenis [*sic*, Teunis] and Annatje (Van Vliet) Wells, and baptized by a minister of the [Reformed Dutch] Church of Helderberg in the Town of Watervliet (now Guilderland), Albany County, New York, on 18 September 1796.⁶⁶ John died in 1869, likely in the Town of Truxton.⁶⁷

Andrew Cateley bought 132 acres on lot 70 in the Town of Preble in 1814, but the deed was not recorded until late 1821, the same day he granted a mortgage to Solomon Hubbard (guardian of Tenas[?] Burk, infant heir of Tenas[?] Burk, deceased) to guarantee payment of a \$155 loan. The mortgage, which refers to an eighty-acre parcel that was to be “laid off the north part” of subdivision 2, lot 70, in the Town of Preble, was “Recd, Registered, and power to sell recorded” on 22 August 1822, about one week after Andrew Cateley’s death.⁶⁸ At the time of Andrew’s death, he had two agreements to purchase additional land,⁶⁹ but nothing further has been discovered about the agreements or the land.

Andrew’s widow, Chloe, evidently remained in possession of the 132 acres in the Town of Preble, but records in Andrew’s administration file offer no clues as to the land’s disposition.⁷⁰ In 1825 Chloe’s second husband, John Wells, purchased 132 acres on lot 70 in the Town of Preble from Elijah Miller,⁷¹ the same grantor from whom Andrew had purchased his 132 acres in 1814. In 1844 John and Chloe Wells took a loan of \$500 from Olney Briggs and granted Briggs a mortgage on property that included most of Andrew Cateley’s 132 acres as well as an adjoining farm where John and Chloe lived.⁷² The Wellses, “of the Town of Preble,” sold this same property to Isaac

20 when he married. A John Katly “of Bernardston” bought land there 11 Dec. 1782 (Hezekiah Chapin to John Katly, dated 11 Dec. 1782, Hampshire Co., Mass., Deeds 5:587 [FHL film 893,555]), and John Kateley was enumerated in Leyden in 1800 with a young male of the appropriate age to have been Andrew (John Kateley household, 1800 U.S. census, Leyden, Hampshire Co., Mass., p. 626 [penned], p. 370 [stamped] [NARA M32, roll 15]). John died evidently 23 Feb. 1820, aged 66 (Mr. John Katley marker, South Leyden Cemetery, Leyden, Franklin Co., Mass., memorial no. 86327798, with digital image, *Find A Grave* [<https://www.findagrave.com>]). No land, church, or probate records have been found to reveal whether John was Andrew’s father. The Franklin Co. probate index shows two entries for John Kateley: one record dated 1864 (described in the index as a guardianship and administration), and the other record an undated guardianship. The index entries refer to successive pages in the same volume (2:657 and 2:658). The records have not been examined. *FamilySearch*’s digitized copy of volume two of probate records does not extend to the page numbers mentioned in the index.

⁶⁴ Andrew Cateley affidavit of death, dated 7 Sept. 1822, in Andrew Cateley administration file (note 34).

⁶⁵ “Married,” *Cortland Repository* (note 37).

⁶⁶ John Wells baptism (note 38). John Wells household, 1855 New York state census (note 38).

⁶⁷ See discussion at note 61.

⁶⁸ Elijah Miller to Andrew Cateley (note 32). Andrew Cateley to Solomon Hubbard, dated 29 Dec. 1821, Cortland Co., N.Y., Mortgages C:106–7.

⁶⁹ Andrew Cateley inventory (note 34).

⁷⁰ It is difficult to track all of the property owned by the Cateleys and the Wellses. Many deeds were not recorded during the first half of the nineteenth century and some recorded deeds include only vague descriptions of the land. See the discussion below for evidence of Chloe’s retaining possession of her late husband’s land.

⁷¹ Elijah Miller to John Wells, dated 23 Sept. 1825, Cortland Co., N.Y., Deeds M:293–94.

⁷² John and Chloe Wells to Olney Briggs, dated 29 Jan. 1844, Cortland Co., N.Y., Mortgages M:232–33, which describes the property (in part) as that conveyed “by Elijah Miller to Andrew Cateley,” dated 20 June 1814, “with the exception of twenty-five acres sold off at the south East corner” and another adjoining lot of approximately sixty-eight acres, “being the farm on which the said parties of the first part [John and Chloe Wells] now reside.” The mortgage was discharged 9 July 1855.

Harter in 1848.⁷³ The following year, when John Wells purchased 100 acres in the Town of Truxton, he was described as being “of Truxton.”⁷⁴ The Wellses eventually conveyed their Truxton land to their son John Wells Jr. for \$2500, subject to a \$2000 mortgage and “in exchange for support and maintenance.”⁷⁵

Children of Andrew and Chloe³ (Foster) Kately/Cately:⁷⁶

2. i. CHLOE⁴ CATELY, born in Massachusetts or New York 27 November 1807; died in Faribault, Rice County, Minnesota, 7 March 1893; married in the Town of Brookfield, Madison County, New York, 15 August 1833 JOHN DELANCEY DENISON.
3. ii. MARY⁴ CATELY, born in Cortland County, probably in the Town of Preble, 30 June 1809; died in Eau Claire County, Wisconsin, probably in Otter Creek Township, 18 January 1881; married say 1829 (first-known child) probably in either the Town of Preble or the Town of Brookfield ELI GATES.
- iii. CYNTHIA⁴ CATELY, born in Cortland County, probably in the Town of Preble, 2 December 1810;⁷⁷ died 20 August 1860 probably in Cortland County and was buried in Tully Cemetery, Town of Tully, Onondaga County, New York;⁷⁸ married probably in Cortland County sometime between the 1855 New York state census (when she was enumerated with her birth family) and 5 May 1858 (when, as Ebenezer’s wife, she was party to the sale of 124 acres in Truxton), as his second wife, EBENEZER BRYANT,⁷⁹ born in Colrain, Hampshire County (now Franklin), Massachusetts, about 9 June 1806 (calculated), died in the Town of Tully 18 December 1886, aged 80 years, 6 months, 9 days, son of Ebenezer

⁷³ John and Chloe Wells to Isaac Harter, dated 24 May 1848, Cortland Co., N.Y., Deeds 13:193–94. This land (described as 130 acres) was quitclaimed by the Cately’s son Andrew [Jr.] and his wife to Andrew [Jr.]’s half-brother John Wells Jr. (Andrew and Huldah A. Cately to John Wells Jun., quitclaim, dated 8 June 1863, Cortland Co., N.Y., Deeds 52:232–33). The quitclaim deed explicitly states it was the property that had been owned and occupied by Andrew Cately, deceased.

⁷⁴ Sheffield L. and Maryette L. James to John Wells, dated 1 Mar. 1849, Cortland Co., N.Y., Deeds 14:394. John Wells household, 1855 New York state census (note 38), which indicates Chloe had been a resident of Truxton for six years and that John had been a resident there for thirty years—perhaps an indicator of John’s relationship with his birth family, who had resided in that town at least thirty years earlier (note 39).

⁷⁵ John and Chloe Wells to John Wells Jr., dated 7 Jan. 1856, Cortland Co., N.Y., Deeds 27:494.

⁷⁶ Gaps between the births of the last three children suggest that there may have been others not accounted for. Chloe’s entry in the 1865 census (note 58) states she was the mother of eleven—the number of children that has been identified. It is possible she suffered miscarriages or stillbirths. It is also possible that Andrew was away for the War of 1812 or that he had a chronic medical condition leading to his early death.

⁷⁷ Frederick Howe appointed guardian of Cynthia [*sic*] Catley, 2 Dec. 1826, Cortland Co., N.Y., Wills and Adms. 3:139–40 (FHL film 843,883), which states Cynthia was “fifteen years of age on the fifth day of December.” Cynthia Cately in the John Wells household, 1855 New York state census (note 38), which lists her county of birth. Specific place of Town of Preble is based on her parents’ residential history.

⁷⁸ Cynthia C. Bryant marker, Tully Cemetery, Tully, Onondaga Co., N.Y., personally read, June 2009. Her *Find A Grave* memorial does not include an image of the marker (Cynthia C. Cately Bryant memorial, Tully Cemetery, Tully, Onondaga Co., N.Y., memorial no. 180019499, *Find A Grave* [https://www.findagrave.com]).

⁷⁹ Cynthia C. Cately Bryant marker (note 78), which reads “Cynthia C. Bryant Daughter of Andrew & Chloe Cately Died June 20, 1860 Aged 49 years.” Cynthia Cately in the John Wells household, 1855 New York state census (note 38). Ebenezer and Cynthia Bryant to Leonard W. Buck, dated 5 May 1858, Cortland Co., N.Y., Deeds 30:352. Ebenezer Bryant household, 1855 New York state census, Town of Truxton, Dist. 1, Cortland Co., unpaginated, dw. 198, fam. 160, in which he is listed as a 48-year-old widowed farmer, born in Mass., with three children in the household ranging in age from 13 to 22. His first wife may have been the 44-year-old Laura Bryant enumerated in his household in 1850 (Ebenezer Bryant household, 1850 U.S. census, Town of Truxton, Cortland Co., N.Y., p. 259 [penned, verso], p. 130 [stamped, verso], dw. 55, fam. 57 [NARA M432, roll 493]).

Bryant and Joannah Wood, both born in Middleborough, Massachusetts.⁸⁰ No evidence has been found that Cynthia had children.⁸¹

4. iv. SHEPARD WHEELER⁴ CATELY, born in the Town of Preble 24 March 1815; died in the Village of Cortland, Cortland County, 18 December 1898; married first say 1850 (first-known child) MARIA A. MOORE; married second in the Village of Marathon, Cortland County, 9 November 1872 ANN ELIZABETH MOORE.
5. v. ANDREW⁴ CATELY, born in the Town of Preble 14 January 1823; died in the Village of Tully 15 May 1887; married before 1850 HULDAH PALMER.

Children of John and Chloe³ (Foster) (Kately/Cately) Wells:

6. vi. ELECTA E.⁴ WELLS, born probably about 1824, probably in Cortland County; died in Kanaranzi Township, Rock County, Minnesota, 25 March 1889; married 10 March 1841, probably in Cortland County, ROBERT CRAVATH VAN HOESEN.
- vii. UNKNOWN⁴ WELLS, born about 1824–1825 (calculated), probably in the Town of Preble; died in the Town of Preble 23 September 1828, aged 3 years.⁸²
- viii. UNKNOWN⁴ WELLS, born probably about 1826–1827 (calculated), probably in the Town of Preble; died in the Town of Preble 6 October 1828, aged 1[?] year.⁸³
7. ix. EZRA⁴ WELLS, born in the Town of Preble about 5 August 1829 (calculated); died there 27 April 1914; married about 1853 ELIZABETH JANE WHITEMORE CUMMINGS.
8. x. JOHN⁴ WELLS, born in Cortland County, probably in the Town of Preble, about 14 November 1831 (calculated); died in the Town of Truxton 19 April 1909; married say 1859 (first-known child) FRANCELIA A. CARD.
9. xi. HIRAM BURL⁴ WELLS, born in Cortland County, probably in the Town of Preble, 22 July 1834; died in Canyon City, Randall County, Texas, 5 August 1915; married in Fairchild, Eau Claire County, Wisconsin, 22 June 1879 ANNA M. HICKCOX.

(To be continued)

⁸⁰ Ebenezer Bryant death record, Tully, 1886, Book 50, #92, verified transcript from the Office of Vital Statistics, Syracuse, N.Y. His birthplace is given as “Gold Rain Mass.” The original death record has not been examined.

⁸¹ Cynthia was over 45 years old when she married Ebenezer. No children were listed in their household in 1860, and the only child with Ebenezer in 1865 was age 30, too old to have been a child born of his marriage to Cynthia. “Ebinezar” Bryant household, 1860 U.S. census, Town of Tully, Onondaga Co., N.Y., p. 42, dw. 343, fam 355 (NARA M653, roll 828). Ebenezer [*sic*] Bryant household, 1865 New York state census, Town of Tully, Onondaga Co., p. 37, dw. 282, fam. 295. Ebenezer remarried before the 1865 N.Y. state census, but the marriage schedule for Tully does not include his name, suggesting he married more than one year before the census.

⁸² Death record of John Wells’s three-year-old child, 23 Sept. 1828, First Presbyterian Church, Preble, N.Y., record book 1, p. 159, Deaths, Study Center for Early Religious Life in Western New York collection, microfilm accession no. 6256, Kroch Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. The child’s likely place of birth is based on the parents’ residential history.

⁸³ Death record of John Wells’s child, aged probably 1 year, 6 Oct. 1828, First Presbyterian Church, Preble, N.Y., record book 1, p. 159, Deaths (note 82). It is difficult to tell whether the age was first a 1 and then overwritten by a 2, or the reverse. Given the age of the child who died Sept. 1828 (note 82), it is more likely that this child was only aged 1 year at the time of death. The child’s likely place of birth is based on the parents’ residential history.

THE TRUE PARENTAGE OF SUSANNAH BRASIER/BRAZIER/ BRASHER, WIFE OF JOHN STITES

BY SIMON PARKER-GALBREATH*

In an 1896 article in THE RECORD titled “Genealogy of the Family Named Brasier, Brasher, Breser, Bresart, Bradejor,” Richard Henry Green identifies the parents of Susannah Brasier, wife of John Stiles [*sic*, Stites], as Lucas and Judick [*sic*] (Gasherie) Brasier. He also records Lucas’s brother Abraham as having a daughter Susannah who married James Gillihen.¹ Records show, however, that Green’s identification of Susannah (Brasier) Stites’s parents is incorrect.

Green’s article lacks source citations, but baptismal records from the Reformed Dutch Church in New York (City) confirm that Lucas and Judith (Gasherie) Brasier had a daughter Susannah baptized 31 January 1731,² and that Abraham and Elizabeth (Dallij) Brasier had a daughter Susannah baptized 8 July 1739.³

Records also refer to the marriages mentioned by Green:

- Susan[n]ah Brasier and James Gillihen had a marriage bond dated 24 September 1761.⁴
- Susannah Brasier and John Stiles [*sic*] had a marriage bond dated 16 January 1764.⁵ This same couple, with the husband recorded as Stites, married by license in the Reformed Dutch Church of New York (City) 16 January 1764.⁶

Colgate family papers held in Yale University’s Manuscripts and Archives contain information on Lucas Brasher/Brasier and his family. Among eight handwritten pages of birth, death, and marriage records, one page is solely

* The author (simon@simonpg.com) is Susannah’s descendant via the Stites and Galbreath line.

¹ Richard Henry Green, “Genealogy of the Family Named Brasier, Brasher, Breser, Bresart, Bradejor,” RECORD 27 (1896): 37–42, especially p. 40. Stites is frequently transcribed as Stiles. See Edmund J. James, “The Stites Family,” RECORD 28 (1897): 165, in which he states, “Many of the references to the Stiles in current genealogical mention should be to the Stites instead. I find in looking over old deeds, wills, etc., that it is a very common mistake for the copyist to write Stiles instead of Stites, the former being a much more common name than the latter.” “John Stiles [*sic*] and Susannah Brazier, m. Jan. 16, 1764” are treated as Stiles strays in Mary Stiles (Paul) Guild, *The Stiles Family in America: Genealogies of the Massachusetts Family* . . . (Albany, N.Y.: J. Munsell’s Sons, 1892), 670.

² Tobias Alexander Wright, ed., *Baptisms from 1731 to 1800 in the Reformed Dutch Church, New York*, Collections of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, vol. 3 (New York: The Society, 1902), 10. Witnesses were Allert Anthonij and Susanna Laurier, his wife.

³ Wright, *Baptisms from 1731 to 1800* (note 2), 73. Witnesses were Isaak Stoutenburg and Anneke Dallij, his wife.

⁴ *New York Marriages Previous to 1784: A Reprint of the Original Edition of 1860 with Additions and Corrections* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1968), 42.

⁵ *New York Marriages Previous to 1784* (note 4), 42.

⁶ *Marriages from 1639 to 1801 in the Reformed Dutch Church, New Amsterdam–New York City*, Collections of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, vol. 9 (New York: The Society, 1940) [originally published as vol. 1 (1890)], 215.

devoted to the family of Lucas Brasher and Judy Gasherie. It includes the following information about their child Susanna:

My Dafter is born en January the 20 about 5 in the aft and named Susanna Brasher 1730/31

my dafter Susanna dyed July 4 betwan 11 and 12 in the morning 1731.⁷

These entries referring to “my dafter” suggest the scribe was either Lucas or Judy. The information, therefore, is likely first-hand. The record is quite clear that Lucas’s daughter Susanna died at the age of five months. She cannot be the Susannah who married John Stites.

The Colgate collection also includes Judith (Gasherie) Brasher’s account of her own life, written 1765–1766. In it she states

. . . the 36th year of my age . . . This year the Lord took away my husband . . . On the 26th day of April he departed aged 39 years, after our living together thirteen and a half years in the marriage state, and after providing for me and his two minor children . . . the one a daughter seven years of age, and the youngest a son sixteen months old.⁸

The family record does not include Lucas’s death, but it provides dates for his birth (20 December 1697) and marriage (23 November 1723). Based on Judith’s information about the number of years they were married and Lucas’s age at death, he died probably in April 1737. Judith’s account does not name the surviving children, but they must have been Elizabeth, born 25 April 172[9], and Abraham, born 2 December 173[4]. The couple’s five other children died before April 1737.⁹ According to *The Old Merchants of New York City*, “Old Luke Brasher was born December, 1697. He married Judith Gasherie, in November, 1723, and Abraham was their only child surviving out of seven.”¹⁰ No sources are identified so this must be considered anecdotal, but as the dates and the number of children match information in the Brasher family records, this published work helps corroborate that Abraham was one of the two surviving children.

If Lucas’s daughter is not the woman who married John Stites, who was Stites’s wife? Family records in a prayer book identified as *Ex libris of Johannes Stites Datum ei per Susannah Brasher* (from the book of John Stites given to him by Susannah Brasher) include the following:

⁷ “Brasher Family Records, 1663–1776,” in Colgate family papers, 1752–1875, MS 144, box 4, Yale University Library, Manuscripts and Archives, New Haven, Conn.

⁸ Judith (Gasherie) Brasher diary [1765–1766], in Colgate family papers (note 7), box 2, folder 29. The original entries are written in Dutch. The collection includes an undated translation by Teunis G. Bergen, corrected by Rev. A. H. Bechtold, entitled “Translation of a Narrative of Judith Gashrie [*sic*], Widow of Luck [*sic*] Brasher, Born April 25th, 1700, Written in the 66th Year of her Age.” For the quote above, see pp. 6–7 of the typed translation.

⁹ “Brasher Family Records, 1663–1776” (note 7). The last digit in Elizabeth’s birth year is illegible, but the couple’s older daughter, also named Elizabeth, died 25 August 1728. The last digit in Abraham’s birth year is difficult to decipher but appears to be a 4.

¹⁰ Walter Barrett [pseudonym], *The Old Merchants of New York City*, 5 vols. (New York: Carleton, 1863–1870), 4:29.

John Stites was born April y.25, Ano D. 1743
 Susannah Brasher was born July 8th Anno Dom. 1739.
 Was married January 16 Anno Dom. 1764.¹¹

The marriage date matches that found in the church records.¹² Susannah's stated birth date is the same as the baptismal date for Susannah, daughter of Abraham and Elizabeth (Dallij) Brasier.¹³

Elizabeth, widow of Abraham Brasher and daughter of Philip Daly, married 7 July 1781 John Bogert Jr.¹⁴ A stone in the burying ground of St. John's Church in Elizabeth (formerly Essex County, now Union County), New Jersey, lists both Susan, wife of John Stites, and John Bogert's widow Elizabeth:

Sacred / to the memory of / SUSAN / wife of John Stiles [*sic*] / who died June 5th 1799/aged 59 years.

Sacred / to the memory of / ELIZABETH / relict of Alderman / John Bogert of New York / who died Septr 29th 1796 aged 85 years.¹⁵

This "Susan" Stiles [*sic*] was aged 59 years in June 1799, which is appropriate for Susannah Brasher's birth in July 1739. Elizabeth Bogert's birth year, calculated from her age at death, matches Elizabeth Dalij's baptism of 14 September 1712.¹⁶ Numerous documents, including deeds and court records, establish that John and Susannah (Brasher) Stites resided in Elizabeth in 1799.¹⁷

The evidence leaves no doubt that John Stites's wife was not the daughter of Lucas and Judith (Gasherie) Brasier, but the daughter of Abraham Brasier and Elizabeth Dallij. Nothing further has been learned about the Susanah Brasier linked to James Gillihen through their 1761 marriage bond.

¹¹ Johannes Stites family records, 1705–1950, *The Book of Common Prayer, And Administration of the Sacraments, And other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Church of England, Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, Pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches* (London: n. pub., 1728), privately held by Andrew Trotter, Washington, D.C., a descendant of John Stites and Susannah Brasher. The book was passed down the female line from Susannah (Brasher) Stites to Andrew Trotter's mother, from whom Andrew Trotter inherited it. The cover lists the original owner and subsequent owners through 1912.

¹² *Marriages from 1639 to 1801 in the Reformed Dutch Church* (note 6), 215.

¹³ Wright, *Baptisms from 1731 to 1800* (note 2), 73. Abraham Brasier and Elizabeth Dallij married by license 10 November 1734; see *Marriages from 1639 to 1801 in the Reformed Dutch Church* (note 6), 157.

¹⁴ James Riker, *Revised History of Harlem (City of New York): Its Origins and Early Annals . . .* (New York: New Harlem Publishing Co., 1904), 456, which states that John Bogert Jr. married 7 July 1781 a "second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Philip Daly and widow of Abraham Brasher."

¹⁵ William Ogden Wheeler and Edmund D. Halsey, *Inscriptions on Tombstones and Monuments in the Burying Grounds of The First Presbyterian Church and St. John's Church at Elizabeth, New Jersey, 1664–1892* (n.p.: privately published, 1892), 316 (marker 162m).

¹⁶ Thomas Grier Evans, ed., *Baptisms from 1639 to 1730 in the Reformed Dutch Church, New York*, Collections of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, vol. 2 (New York: The Society, 1901), 362. Elizabeth's parents were Philip Dalij and Cornelia Van Gelder. Witnesses at her baptism were Nathan Dalij and Elizabeth Marschalk. Elizabeth Dalij may have been a granddaughter of John Dally, who was in New York by Aug. 1668 (Peter R. Christoph and Florence A. Christoph, eds., *Book of General Entries for the Colony of New York*, 2 vols. [Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1980–1982], 1:19, 160). Research into her ancestry is ongoing.

¹⁷ See, for example, John Stites (Borough of Elizabeth, Essex Co., N.J.) to Samuel Meeker, dated 1 Aug. 1799, Essex Co., N.J., Deeds E:250–52. Also, John Stites ("of Elizabeth Town," Essex Co., N.J.) pleading, 9 July 1799, in Stites v. Gozen Ryers, New Jersey Chancery Court Case Files, 1743–1824, box 58 [Parchments, 1797–1799], New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, N.J.

**DANIEL MCINTYRE, UNITED EMPIRE LOYALIST,
OF THE TOWN OF ARGYLE, ALBANY COUNTY, NEW YORK,
AND GRIMSBY TOWNSHIP, LINCOLN COUNTY, UPPER CANADA**

BY JOHN BLYTHE DOBSON, FASG, FGBS, AND JAMES ISAAK

(Continued from THE RECORD 148:282)

3. **JOHN² MCINTYRE** (Daniel¹) was born 21 April 1773, died in 1843, and was buried with his wife and some of their children in Beamsville [Clinton Township, Lincoln County, Ontario] Baptist churchyard.¹⁰² He was married 17 March 1801 by Robert Nelles, J.P., of Niagara, Niagara District, Ontario, to **LARUAH STAFFORD**,¹⁰³ who was born in 1776 and died in 1845,¹⁰⁴ presumably a daughter of Abel Stafford Sr. of Clinton Township,¹⁰⁵ as she evidently named a son Abel. In 1800 John McIntyre was a member of the Grimsby Township [Lincoln County] Council.¹⁰⁶ He owned lot K of Grimsby Gore by 1811,¹⁰⁷ and his name appears next to that of his brother Daniel and near their brother James on an early survey.¹⁰⁸ He was also the owner of lot 13, concession 3, of Clinton Township, at an unstated date.¹⁰⁹ In June 1814 he was a sergeant of the Lincoln 4th Regiment.¹¹⁰ John appears in the 1828 census of

¹⁰² Cecelia Botting and Roland Botting, "Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County" (TSS, [Tucson, Ariz.], [1970s]), 26, which lists the date of birth and year of death. In 1902 a local historian wrote that the name McIntyre was "seen frequently" in this churchyard (Janet Carnochan, *Inscriptions and Graves in the Niagara Peninsula*, [Publications of the] Niagara Historical Society, no. 10 [Niagara, Ont.: Niagara Historical Society, 1902], 60). However, except for the tombstone of John's presumed son Abel³, the other McIntyre stones are among a large number removed from the yard and now evidenced only by a brief recording, giving dates only as years, made by the Grimsby Historical Society in 1951, reproduced in *First Baptist Cemetery, Beamsville . . . Clinton Township, Lincoln County* [Ontario Genealogical Society (OGS) cemetery transcription no. 3379] (St. Catharines, Ont.: OGS, Niagara Peninsula Branch, 1987), 9–12, with John's marker transcribed on p. 10. Marion Whitman Dawdy, *Baptists of Beamsville, 1788–1988* (n.p.: privately published, [1988?]), 41 (the removed stones were "stacked in piles at Mount Osborne Cemetery"), 47 (John McIntyre's marker).

¹⁰³ R. Janet Powell, comp., *Annals of the Forty* [first edition], 10 vols. (Grimsby, Ontario: Grimsby Historical Society, 1950–1959), 1:89, in which she is called "Rue" Stafford. Botting and Botting, "Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County" (note 102), 26.

¹⁰⁴ Laruah (Stafford) McIntyre marker transcription, *First Baptist Cemetery, Beamsville* (note 102), 10. Botting and Botting, "Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County" (note 102), 26. Dawdy, *Baptists of Beamsville, 1788–1988* (note 102), 47, lists the dates on the marker as 1746–1815, which is in disagreement with the 1951 transcription and chronologically impossible.

¹⁰⁵ See the Stafford entry in Powell, *Annals of the Forty* [first edition] (note 103), 8:71–72. Abel is called "Abel Stafford, a settler in 1795" in the "Old United Empire Loyalists List," *The Centennial of the Settlement of Upper Canada by the United Empire Loyalists, 1784–1884: the Celebrations at Adolphustown, Toronto, and Niagara, with an Appendix, containing a copy of the U.E. List . . .* (Toronto: Rose Publishing Co. for the Centennial Committee, 1885), 322.

¹⁰⁶ R. Janet Powell, *Annals of the Forty*, vol. 6 (1955; reprint, Grimsby, Ontario: Grimsby Historical Society, 1965), 35. The 1965 edition of vol. 6 includes additional information about the McIntyre family and should be used in place of the first edition.

¹⁰⁷ Botting and Botting, "Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County" (note 102), 26.

¹⁰⁸ "Grimsby Township (Map #8)," Maps Crown Lands, Patent Plans, RG 1-100-0-0-822, digital image, Archives of Ontario, Toronto. For more information about accessing this map, see RECORD 148 (2017): 201n42.

¹⁰⁹ Powell, *Annals of the Forty*, vol. 6 [1965 ed.] (note 106), 35.

¹¹⁰ Botting and Botting, "Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County" (note 102), 26.

Clinton Township. The number of persons in his household (excluding himself) is given as two males over age 16, three females over 16, no males under 16, and three females under 16.¹¹¹ Powell assigns him two sons and four daughters.¹¹² Of these six children, only the three who died unmarried and were buried with John and Laruah can be placed here with certainty.

Children of John² and Laruah (Stafford) McIntyre:

- i. ABEL³ MCINTYRE, born about 22 November 1802 (calculated); died 18 February 1832, aged 29 years, 2 months, and 26 days, and was buried beside his presumed parents in Beamsville Baptist Cemetery.¹¹³
- ii. (*perhaps*) ANN³ MCINTYRE, married in Grimsby Township, by license, 9 January 1822 OWEN ROBERTS.¹¹⁴ The Bottings call her Jane and place her birth around 1802,¹¹⁵ but without adducing any evidence other than her marriage record, which calls her Ann McIntyre of Grimsby but does not name her parents. No evidence has been found that she belonged to the present family. No death record for an Ann Roberts or a Jane Roberts that would be a fit for this woman has been found.
- iii. (*perhaps*) MARY³ MCINTYRE, as Mary McIntyre of Grimsby Township married in Grimsby Township, by license, 27 February 1822 WILLIAM MITCHELL of Niagara Township.¹¹⁶ The Bottings place her birth as about 1805.¹¹⁷ The marriage record does not name Mary's parents, and no evidence has been found that she belonged to this family. No death record has been found that could belong to this Mary.
- iv. ELIZABETH³ MCINTYRE, born in 1808; died in 1830, assuming she is the Elizabeth Warren buried with John and Laruah.¹¹⁸
- v. DANIEL³ MCINTYRE, born in 1809; died in 1828 and was buried with John and Laruah in Beamsville Baptist Cemetery.¹¹⁹
- vi. (*perhaps*) KEZIA(H)³ MCINTYRE, born about 1811–1812 (calculated); died in Wheatland, East Bear River Township, Yuba County, California, 17 July 1886, aged 74 years, and was buried in Wheatland Cemetery; her tombstone, recently extant, calls her “Native of Canada”;¹²⁰ married by license dated 31 December 1836

¹¹¹ 1828 *Census [of] Lincoln County, including Clinton Township* . . . (St. Catharines, Ont.: OGS, Niagara Peninsula Branch, 1985), 5.

¹¹² Powell, *Annals of the Forty*, vol. 6 [1965 ed.] (note 106), 35–36. Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 26.

¹¹³ Dawdy, *Baptists of Beamsville, 1788–1988* (note 102), 47, lists the dates on Abel McIntyre's tombstone as 1803–1832. *First Baptist Cemetery, Beamsville* (note 102), 6, 11. Abel's tombstone was among those that still survived in 1987 and for which a fuller transcription is available. However, when author James Isaak visited the churchyard in July 2016 he was unable to find any of the McIntyre stones and saw evidence of recent vandalism.

¹¹⁴ Owen Roberts-Ann McIntyre marriage, in Janet Carnochan, “Early Records of St. Mark's and St. Andrew's Churches, Niagara,” *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, vol. 3 (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1901), 79.

¹¹⁵ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 26.

¹¹⁶ William Mitchell-Mary McIntyre marriage, in Carnochan, “Early Records of St. Mark's and St. Andrew's Churches, Niagara” (note 114), 80.

¹¹⁷ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 26.

¹¹⁸ Dawdy, *Baptists of Beamsville, 1788–1988* (note 102), 51, lists the dates on Elizabeth Warren's tombstone as 1808–1830. An Eliza Ann Warren is listed on the same page, but her transcription lacks dates, suggesting the rest of the inscription was illegible or broken away by the time it was transcribed in 1951. *First Baptist Cemetery, Beamsville* (note 102), 10. Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 26, which indicates she may have married ([–?–]) Warren.

¹¹⁹ Dawdy, *Baptists of Beamsville, 1788–1988* (note 102), 47, lists the dates on Daniel McIntyre's tombstone as 1809–1828. *First Baptist Cemetery, Beamsville* (note 102), 10. Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 26, says born 1808, died 1828.

¹²⁰ “Keziah McIntyre, wife of Wm. C. Jennings” marker, Wheatland Cemetery, Yuba Co., Calif., digital image, “Bradbury-Wilson Family Tree,” *Ancestry.com* (<https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/80928129/person/48429960601/facts>). Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 26, give her birth year as 1812.

WILLIAM CLAYTON JENNINGS, then of Beamsville,¹²¹ born in Pennsylvania 30 November 1809, died 18 October 1876 at his home near Wheatland and was buried in Wheatland Cemetery.¹²² The Bottings say Kezia was “among the communicants of the Clinton Presbyterian Church in 1818,” but obviously this date cannot be correct, and they were apparently looking at an entry mentioning “Kersiah McIntyre, gone,” but without date.¹²³ This couple has not been found in either the 1851 census of Canada West or the 1850 U.S. census. William Clayton Jennings is on the California electoral rolls of 1866, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1875, and 1876.¹²⁴ As a farmer, he was enumerated in Bear River Township in 1860, but without his wife or any children.¹²⁵ He and his wife were enumerated in East Bear River Township in 1870; their household contained no children, and no one else with the surname Jennings is found in the township.¹²⁶ Kezia may be the 66-year-old widow “Elisa Jenning” enumerated in East Bear River Township in 1880.¹²⁷ She is probably the “Mrs. K. Jennings, farmer, 17 acres,” listed in Wheatland in an 1884 directory.¹²⁸ The will of Kezia Jennings, dated 26 September 1885, was written while she was living in Monroe, Green County, Wisconsin, “but about to return to my home in California.” She left everything to her niece Jane E. Jennings of Monroe.¹²⁹

4. **MARY “POLLY”² MCINTYRE** (Daniel¹) was born 29 September 1775¹³⁰ and died after 30 June 1816 (last-known child).¹³¹ Mary was buried beside her husband in the Presbyterian churchyard (now Community Cemetery) in St. Anns, Gainsborough Township, Lincoln County (now Niagara District), but either her stone does not give her date of death or the portion showing it is

¹²¹ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 26.

¹²² W. C. Jennings death notice, clipping from *Wheatland Free Press*, 22 Oct. 1876 [p. and col. not known]. W. C. Jennings marker, Wheatland Cemetery, Yuba Co., Calif., digital image, “Bradbury-Wilson Family Tree,” *Ancestry.com* (<https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/80928129/person/48429960602/facts>), which lists the dates of birth and death and that he was a “Native of Penn.” His birthplace is listed as Penn. in the 1860 and 1870 censuses (notes 125 and 126, below).

¹²³ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 26. Corlene Taylor, “Records of the Presbyterian Church, Clinton and Grimsby, 1819–1870,” *Families* [OGS] 26 (1987): 31.

¹²⁴ William Clayton Jennings entries, 1866, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1875, and 1876 California Great Registers, East Bear River Twp., Yuba Co., digital images, “California, Voter Registers, 1866–1898,” *Ancestry.com* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=2221>). His original registration (20 July 1866, sworn 1866) lists his age as 56, birthplace as Penn., occupation farmer. Other years do not list age or occupation.

¹²⁵ William C. Jennings household, 1860 U.S. census, Marysville post office, Bear River Twp., Yuba Co., Calif., p. 169 (penned), p. 1007 (stamped), dw. 1512, fam. 2017 (National Archives and Records Administration [NARA] microfilm publication M653, roll 72), comprised of William C. Jennings, age 50, male, farmer, value of real estate \$400, born Penn., and two others, neither named Jennings.

¹²⁶ W. C. Jennings household, 1870 U.S. census, Wheatland post office, East Bear River Twp., Yuba Co., Calif., p. 8, dw. 56, fam. 53 (NARA M593, roll 93), comprised of W. C. Jennings, age 60, male, white, constable, value of real estate \$700, born Penn., citizen; Kezia Jennings, age 58, female, white, keeps house, born Canada, father and mother of foreign birth, cannot write.

¹²⁷ Elisa Jenning entry, 1880 U.S. census, East Bear River Twp., Yuba Co., Calif., Enumeration District (ED) 168, p. 25 (penned), dw./fam. 153 (NARA T9, roll 86).

¹²⁸ *County Directory of Yuba, Sutter, Colusa, Butte, and Tehama Counties . . . 1884–5* (Oakland and San Francisco: L. M. McKenney and Co., 1884), 232.

¹²⁹ Kezia Jennings probate file (with original will), Yuba Co., Calif., #1232, digital image, “California, Wills and Probate Records, 1850–1953,” *Ancestry.com* (https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/8639/007603256_00161). Janet “Jane” Jennings marker, Greenwood Cemetery, Monroe, Wisc., memorial no. 86340603, digital image, *Find A Grave* (<http://www.findagrave.com>), with biographical sketch mentioning her brother Dudley. Jane and Dudley are both listed as children on their parents’ marker in the same cemetery (see *Find A Grave* memorials no. 102203608 [John E. Jennings] and no. 102203726 [Ann (MacIntyre) Jennings]). Ann’s memorial lists her birthplace as Ontario, but she cannot be placed in the present family.

¹³⁰ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 12.

¹³¹ Her youngest-known child, Anna, is listed out of order in Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 16.

broken away or submerged.¹³² She married 18 June 1795 **DANIEL WILCOX**,¹³³ born in New Jersey about 1770–1771 (calculated), died 6 March 1857, aged 86,¹³⁴ son of Benjamin and Elsie (Lanning) Wilcox of Grimsby Township. Daniel's brother Benjamin was married to Mary's sister Jemima.¹³⁵

On 13 November 1800 Mary McIntyre of the Township of Grimsby petitioned for a grant of land, stating that she “is the daughter of Daniel McIntyer [*sic*] of the Township aforesaid, a U.E. Loyalist . . . is of the full age of twenty five years, and has never received any Lands from the Crown.” Accordingly, she was recommended for a grant of 200 acres.¹³⁶ The Bottings state that Daniel Wilcox served in the War of 1812, appearing as a private in the 4th Regiment of the Lincoln Company of Militia in muster rolls of July and October 1814,¹³⁷ but it seems more probable that these records relate to his like-named nephew.¹³⁸ In 1818 Daniel was living on lot 9, Grimsby Gore, and he and his wife were members of Clinton Presbyterian Church.¹³⁹ He is probably the Daniel Wilcox, farmer, age 80 “at next birthday,” born in the United States and Wesleyan in religion, who is found with a [second wife?] Susannah (age 59, born in Lower Canada, a Canadian Methodist) in the 1851 census of Windham Township, Norfolk County, Ontario.¹⁴⁰

Children of Daniel and Mary² (McIntyre) Wilcox:¹⁴¹

¹³² Mary Polly McIntyre Wilcox marker, digital image, St. Anns Community Cemetery (formerly Presbyterian), Niagara Dist. (prev. Gainsborough), Ontario, in OGS, *Canadian Headstones* (<https://www.canadianheadstones.com/view?id=755765>).

¹³³ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 12.

¹³⁴ Daniel Wilcox marker transcription, St. Anns Community Cemetery (formerly Presbyterian), Niagara Dist. (prev. Gainsborough), Ontario, in OGS, *Canadian Headstones* (<https://www.canadianheadstones.com/view?id=755763>). The stone is sunken and cannot be read.

¹³⁵ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 12. Powell, *Annals of the Forty* [first edition] (note 103), 9:63–64, 96. Daniel's brother and parents are discussed at RECORD 148 (2017): 278n57.

¹³⁶ Mary McIntyre petition, Upper Canada Land Petitions, Record Group [RG] 1 L3, vol. 331, bundle M5, petition no. 90, microfilm no. C-2194, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, Ontario. A full transcription of this petition is given in R. Robert Mutrie, “The Upper Canada Land Petitions of The Niagara Settlers,” *Niagara Settlers* (<https://sites.google.com/site/niagarasettlers/upper-canada-land-petitions>).

¹³⁷ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 12. The name of Daniel Wilcox appears in “Muster Roll of the 4th Regiment of the Lincoln Militia, Lt. Col. Robert Nelles, October 11 to November 1, 1814,” *Grimsby Museum Digital Collections* (<http://images.ourontario.ca/grimsby/69101/data>).

¹³⁸ See RECORD 148 (2017): 279–80, for 2.i (Daniel³, son of Benjamin and Jemima² [McIntyre] Wilcox).

¹³⁹ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 12.

¹⁴⁰ Daniel Wilcox and Susannah Wilcox entries, 1851 census of Canada West, Windham Twp., Norfolk Co., Ontario, ED 4, p. 7 (LAC microfilm no. C-11741). For more on this census, see RECORD 148 (2017): 280n68.

¹⁴¹ To save space, census records pertaining to the children are cited only sparingly. The brief account of this family in Powell, *Annals of the Forty* [first edition] (note 103), 9:63–64, correctly identifies only Daniel and Isaac; it includes a John who was probably confused with no. 2.ii above (see RECORD 148 [2017]: 280), and a Mary, wife of Thomas Adams, who may have existed but for whom no evidence is adduced. Lorraine Joyce (Midgeley) Mitchell (“History Information on the Wilcox Family . . .” [MSS, 1981], p. 2, copy provided to John Dobson in the 1990s by author Mitchell, who died 2010) evinces only limited awareness of this family group but mentions “several daughters . . . [of whom] 1 daughter's name was Candace Wilcox, another daughter married a man named Comfort, [and] another daughter married a man named Smith.” Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 12–18, give a detailed account of this family, evidently drawing on some family Bible or other private record as they give exact (if not necessarily correct) dates of birth for nine children. These nine children form a chronologically credible family group that accounts for all three daughters mentioned in the Mitchell manuscript and does not overlap with the known children of Benjamin and Jemima (McIntyre) Wilcox as evidenced by Benjamin's will. Thus, there seems to be some early authority for this list, and Hannah and Jemima had sons named Daniel. Beyond these nine, the Bottings added four children—Mary, Benjamin, Samuel, and John—mostly without exact dates of birth or biographical data. In the absence of evidence to the contrary,

- i. HANNAH³ WILCOX, born 2 August 179[-]; married PETER GRIFFIS. Had issue.¹⁴²
- ii. DANIEL³ WILCOX, born 9 September 1791[?];¹⁴³ died 28 December 1800.¹⁴⁴ *Annals of the Forty* lists a son Daniel born 1796, but in having him reach adulthood appears to confuse him with Daniel, son of Benjamin Wilcox.¹⁴⁵
- iii. ISAAC³ WILCOX, born about 12 December 1800 (calculated); died 21 May 1871, aged 70 years, 5 months, and 9 days, and was buried in the old Clinton Presbyterian churchyard (now Mountain Cemetery);¹⁴⁶ married by 1837 (first-known child) ANNA MARTIN,¹⁴⁷ born about 16 July 1806 (calculated), died 6 October 1890, aged 84 years, 2 months, 21 days, and was buried with her husband.¹⁴⁸ Isaac was in the 4th Lincoln County Regiment in June 1818.¹⁴⁹ Later he was a farmer, holding lot 1, concession 6 of Grimsby.¹⁵⁰ Isaac and his wife were members of Clinton Presbyterian Church in 1818, where he was an elder in 1843.¹⁵¹ His widow appears in the household of [their son] Israel in Grimsby Township in the 1881 census, in which her ancestry is given as Dutch.¹⁵² Isaac and Anna had issue.¹⁵³
- iv. JEMIMA³ WILCOX, born in Grimsby Township 27 December 1801;¹⁵⁴ died in Clinton Township 5 November 1876, aged 75, of old age,¹⁵⁵ and was buried with her husband in Mountain Presbyterian Cemetery;¹⁵⁶ married 20 February 1822 FRANCIS COMFORT, born in the Town of Montgomery, Orange County, New York, 28 August 1800,¹⁵⁷ baptized there in Goodwill Presbyterian Church 11 January 1801,¹⁵⁸ died in Clinton Township 18 June 1880, aged 79 years, 10 months, 18 days, of “debility of age,”¹⁵⁹ son of John Comfort of the Town of Montgomery, formerly of Clements Township, Annapolis County, Nova Scotia,

these have to be regarded as duplicates of known children of Benjamin and Jemima (McIntyre) Wilcox. This is certainly so in the case of Mary, whom the Bottings claim was the wife of John Book, but was actually mentioned as “my . . . daughter Mary Book, wife of John Book,” in Benjamin’s will.

¹⁴² Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 12–13, showing the last figure in her year of birth as blank.

¹⁴³ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 13, but (as noted by the authors) this date is several years before that given for his parents’ marriage, and even falls before his mother’s sixteenth birthday.

¹⁴⁴ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 13.

¹⁴⁵ Powell, *Annals of the Forty* [first edition] (note 103), 9:63. See RECORD 148 (2017): 279–80, for 2.i (Daniel³, son of Benjamin and Jemima² [McIntyre] Wilcox).

¹⁴⁶ *Mountain Presbyterian Cemetery (also known as Marlatt or Konkle Cemetery) . . . Clinton Township, Lincoln County* [OGS Cemetery Transcription no. 3382] (St. Catharines, Ontario: OGS, Niagara Peninsula Branch, 1986), 10. No death record was found. His date of birth in Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 17, ([12?] Jan. 1801), is likely the result of a calculation error.

¹⁴⁷ Their son Israel was aged 43 at the census in Apr. 1881 (note 152, below). For her maiden name, Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 17.

¹⁴⁸ *Mountain Presbyterian Cemetery* (note 146), 10. No death record was found.

¹⁴⁹ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 17.

¹⁵⁰ Powell, *Annals of the Forty* [first edition] (note 103), 9:64.

¹⁵¹ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 17.

¹⁵² Israel Wilcox household, 1881 census of Canada, Grimsby Twp., Lincoln Co. (dist. 145), Province of Ontario, p. 9, fam. 48 (LAC microfilm no. C-13255).

¹⁵³ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 17.

¹⁵⁴ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 13, for the date. Jemima Comfort death record, Lincoln Co., Ontario, 1876, no. 7852, for the place.

¹⁵⁵ Jemima Comfort death record (note 154).

¹⁵⁶ *Mountain Presbyterian Cemetery* (note 146), 4. The inscription for “Jemima Wilcox, wife of Francis Comfort” says she died aged 74 “sunk – (10 mo, 20 dys.),” apparently meaning that the stone is sunken and her age at death may have been 74 years, 10 months, 20 days, although the source of the additional data is not provided.

¹⁵⁷ Cecelia C. Botting et al., *Comfort Families of America: A Collection of Genealogical Data* (Brookings, S.D.: privately published, 1971), 344, based perhaps on some family Bible record or other private record. No church record of this marriage was found. His death record implies he was born about 31 July 1800. Francis Comfort death record, Lincoln Co., Ontario, 1880, no. 8839, indicating he was born in Orange Co., N.Y.

¹⁵⁸ Janet Wethy Foley, *Early Settlers of New York State: Their Ancestors and Descendants*, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1993), 1:410.

¹⁵⁹ Francis Comfort death record (note 157).

- and Catharine Harris.¹⁶⁰ Jemima's death record describes her as a housekeeper and a Presbyterian. Francis's death record describes him as a farmer and a Presbyterian.¹⁶¹ The name of "Jemmima Comfort" appears in an undated membership list of Clinton Presbyterian Church, and Francis Comfort was elected a trustee of the church in January 1842.¹⁶² Jemima and her husband had issue.¹⁶³
- v. ELIZABETH³ WILCOX, born probably 1 May 1804; died 3 May 1877;¹⁶⁴ married by bond dated 27 May 1828,¹⁶⁵ perhaps on 28 May 1828,¹⁶⁶ DAVID B. SMITH, born in Glanford Township, Lincoln District (later in Wentworth County), 14 April 1802, died 12 March 1869, son of Jacob Smith and Susannah Beam.¹⁶⁷ David and Elizabeth's marriage bond calls David a wheelwright and states their place of residence as Clinton [Township].¹⁶⁸ David Smith and his wife lived near Chatham, Kent County, Ontario. There was issue.¹⁶⁹ As previously noted, the Bottings include duplicate entries for Elizabeth.¹⁷⁰
- vi. RACHEL³ WILCOX, born 2 July 1806;¹⁷¹ may be the Rachel Williams who died in Gainsborough Township, Lincoln County, 8 March 1870, aged 63 [record unclear, possibly 53] years of paralysis, described in her death record as a Presbyterian;¹⁷² married 15 January 1827 NATHAN WILLIAMS,¹⁷³ born in Tioga County, New York, 9 September 1806, died in Gainsborough Township 29 October 1881 of paralysis, aged 76 years,¹⁷⁴ son of Timothy Williams of the Town of Newark Valley, Tioga County, and Phoebe Hedges.¹⁷⁵ Rachel's husband, called a cabinet-maker in his death record, was apparently also a wheelwright,¹⁷⁶ and operated a chair and coffin factory.¹⁷⁷ This couple appears

¹⁶⁰ Botting, et al., *Comfort Families of America* (note 157), 328–31, 344. For Francis Comfort and his wife's extensive progeny see Botting, et al., *Comfort Families of America* (note 157), 344–58, updated down to the great-great-grandchildren in Ross W. McCurdy, *Descendants of Francis Harris, United Empire Loyalist, of Sandy Cove, Nova Scotia . . .* (South Yarmouth, Mass.: privately published, 2015), 19ff. This Catharine Harris is the Catharina in Frank J. Doherty, *The Settlers of the Beekman Patent, Dutchess County, New York: An Historical and Genealogical Study of all the 18th-Century Settlers in the Patent*, 12 vols. to date (Pleasant Valley, N.Y.: privately published, 1990–), 6:209, entry 7.ii, but her lineage there requires correction. See Gale Ion Harris, "The Supposed Children of Thomas Harris of Dutchess County, New York," *RECORD* 133 (2002): 3–18.

¹⁶¹ Jemima Comfort death record (note 154). Francis Comfort death record (note 157).

¹⁶² Taylor, "Records of the Presbyterian Church, Clinton and Grimsby" (note 123), 28, 31.

¹⁶³ As Ontario baptismal records from this period are so scant, the following baptisms of children of Francis and Jemima Comfort in Knox Presbyterian Church, Beamsville (the first six of ten children born to this couple) are noted: William Andrew, born 6 Feb. 1823, Mary Catharine, born 29 Dec. 1824, Eliza Jane, born 26 Apr. 1827, John Harris, born 21 Aug. 1829, and Daniel, born 28 Oct. 1831, all baptized 24 June 1832; and Margaret, born 11 Dec. 1833, baptized 18 May 1834. See Dan Walker and Fawne Stratford-Devai, compilers, *Vital Records of Upper Canada/Canada West, vol. 1, Part 1: Niagara District (1795–1856)* [CD-ROM version] (Milton, Ont.: Global Heritage Press, 2013), 16, 17.

¹⁶⁴ Botting and Botting, "Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County" (note 102), 13, giving her date of birth as "1 May 1804[1802?]." A birth date in May 1802 would conflict with that of her older sister Jemima in Dec. 1801, so 1804 seems likelier. Her death record was not found.

¹⁶⁵ David B. Smith–Elizabeth Wilcox marriage bond, 27 May 1828, RG 5–B9, vol. 17, bond no. 1520 LAC microfilm no. C-6779, digital image, "Marriage Bonds, 1779–1858, Upper and Lower Canada," *Library and Archives Canada* (<http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/vital-statistics/births-marriages-deaths/marriage-bonds/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=4152>).

¹⁶⁶ Powell, *Annals of the Forty* [first edition] (note 103), 8:57.

¹⁶⁷ Powell, *Annals of the Forty* [first edition] (note 103), 8:57–58. Place of birth is from Botting and Botting, "Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County" (note 102), 13–14.

¹⁶⁸ David B. Smith–Elizabeth Wilcox marriage bond (note 165).

¹⁶⁹ Botting and Botting, "Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County" (note 102), 13–14.

¹⁷⁰ Botting and Botting, "Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County" (note 102), 13 (correct), 11 (misplaced).

¹⁷¹ Botting and Botting, "Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County" (note 102), 14.

¹⁷² Rachel Williams death record, Lincoln Co., Ontario, 1870, no. 9117.

¹⁷³ Botting and Botting, "Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County" (note 102), 14. W. B. Gay, *Historical Gazetteer of Tioga County, New York, 1785–1888* (Syracuse: W. B. Gay and Co., [1887?]), pt. 1, 222–23.

¹⁷⁴ Nathan Williams death record, Lincoln Co., Ontario, 1881, no. 10335. Gay, *Historical Gazetteer of Tioga County* (note 173), pt. 1, 222–23.

¹⁷⁵ Gay, *Historical Gazetteer of Tioga County* (note 173), pt. 1, 222–23.

¹⁷⁶ Botting and Botting, "Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County" (note 102), 14.

¹⁷⁷ Frank E. Page, *The Story of Smithville* (Welland, Ontario: Tribute-Telegraph Press, 1923), 82.

in the 1851 and 1861 censuses of Gainsborough Township,¹⁷⁸ and Nathan appears as a widower in the 1881 census, which calls him a cabinet-maker and gives his religion as Presbyterian.¹⁷⁹ There was issue.¹⁸⁰

- vii. CANDACE³ WILCOX, born 1 April 1811;¹⁸¹ died in Gainsborough Township 12 March 1899 of inflammation of the stomach, aged 87;¹⁸² married probably by 1852 WILLIAM SNURE,¹⁸³ born in Pelham Township, Welland County, Ontario, about 1808 (calculated),¹⁸⁴ died in Gainsborough Township 15 February 1895 of “paralytic stroke,” aged 87,¹⁸⁵ son of John Snure and Esther ([–?–]) Ongoney.¹⁸⁶ William’s death record describes him as farmer and a Presbyterian.¹⁸⁷ The name “Candace [*sic*] Willcox” appears in an undated membership list of Clinton Presbyterian Church.¹⁸⁸ They lived on lot 23, concession 1, of Gainsborough, near Candasville.¹⁸⁹ As William and “Candes” Snure they were enumerated in the 1851 census, in which he is called a farmer, of no religion, and she a Presbyterian; no children were found with them at the time.¹⁹⁰ They were enumerated in that township in the 1881 census, in which William is called a farmer, the family’s religion is left blank, and Candace’s birthplace is erroneously given as Germany.¹⁹¹ There was issue.¹⁹²
- viii. SARAH³ WILCOX, born 3 September 1813; said by the Bottings to have died 16 July 1890,¹⁹³ but this is the date of death of her sister Anna below.
- ix. ANNA³ WILCOX, born 30 June 1816;¹⁹⁴ died in the Division of Hamilton, Wentworth County, Ontario, 16 July 1890 of paralysis, aged 74;¹⁹⁵ married say 1842–1843 (first-known child) MARTIN SAMMONS,¹⁹⁶ born about 1811–1812 (calculated), probably in the United States,¹⁹⁷ died in the Division of Hamilton 5 July

¹⁷⁸ Nathan Williams and Rachel Williams entries, 1851 census of Canada West, Gainsborough Twp., Lincoln Co., Ontario, ED 9, p. 90 (LAC microfilm no. C-11736). Nathan Williams and Rachel Williams entries, 1861 census of Canada West, Gainsborough Twp., Lincoln Co., Ontario, ED 4, p. 60 (LAC microfilm no. C-1048-1049).

¹⁷⁹ Nathan Williams entry, 1881 Census of Canada, Gainsborough Twp. Monck Dist. (Dist. 144), Ontario, p. 54, fam. 54 (LAC microfilm no. C-13254).

¹⁸⁰ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 14–15.

¹⁸¹ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 15.

¹⁸² Candace Snure death record, Lincoln Co., Ontario, 1899, no. 15589.

¹⁸³ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 15, which identifies her spouse. A couple fitting their description was enumerated together in the 1851 census. See William Snure and Candes Snure entries, 1851 census of Canada West, Gainsborough Twp., Lincoln Co., Ontario, ED 9, p. 62 (LAC microfilm no. C-11736).

¹⁸⁴ For his birth place, William Snure death record, Lincoln Co., Ontario, 1894 [*sic*], no. 9954. Some deaths of early 1895 are recorded with the previous year. For his calculated year of birth, see his age as stated in his death record (aged 87 in Feb. 1895) and the 1881 census (age 72) (William Snure household, 1881 Census of Canada, Gainsborough Twp., Monck Dist. [Dist. 144], Ontario, p. 49, fam. 248 [LAC microfilm no. C-13254]). The birthdate of 1818 given for him in Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 15, not only disagrees with his death record, but would make him seven years younger than his wife.

¹⁸⁵ William Snure death record (note 184).

¹⁸⁶ Powell, *Annals of the Forty* [first edition] (note 103), 8:59–61, which describes his wife as “Esther Ongoney . . . , a widow with two daughters.” See also the biographical sketch of John’s grandson George William Hansler in *The History of the County of Welland, Ontario* . . . ([Welland, Ont.]: n. pub., 1887), 475–76.

¹⁸⁷ William Snure death record (note 184).

¹⁸⁸ Taylor, “Records of the Presbyterian Church, Clinton and Grimsby” (note 123), 31.

¹⁸⁹ Powell, *Annals of the Forty* [first edition] (note 103), 8:59–61.

¹⁹⁰ William Snure and Candes Snure entries, 1851 census of Canada West (note 183).

¹⁹¹ William Snure household, 1881 Census of Canada (note 184).

¹⁹² Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 15–16.

¹⁹³ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 16.

¹⁹⁴ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 16.

¹⁹⁵ Anna Sammons death record, Wentworth Co., Ontario, 1890, no. 19,056.

¹⁹⁶ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 16, which lists his name. Their daughter Elizabeth was age 9 “at next birthday” in 1851. See Elizabeth Sammon entry [with Martin, Ann, Hester, Huldah, and Edwin], 1851 census of Canada West, Gainsborough Twp., Lincoln Co., Ontario, ED 9, p. 92 (LAC microfilm no. C-11736).

¹⁹⁷ He was listed as age 41 in 1851; 69 in 1881; and 77 in 1889. Martin Sammon entry, 1851 census of Canada West (note 196). Martin Sammons household, 1881 Census of Canada, Hamilton City, Ward 3,

1889 of paralysis, aged 77 years,¹⁹⁸ and “may have been the son of Peter Sammons.”¹⁹⁹ Martin’s death record describes him as a gardener and a Presbyterian.²⁰⁰ He was received into St. Anns Presbyterian Church on 9 January 1857.²⁰¹ Anna’s death record describes her as a Presbyterian and states (probably incorrectly) that she was born in Hamilton, Ontario.²⁰² The couple appears in the 1851 census of Gainsborough Township,²⁰³ and were enumerated with three apparent children in the 1881 census of Ward 3, Hamilton City, Ontario. The census calls Martin a gardener and lists the family’s religion as Canadian Presbyterian.²⁰⁴ There was issue.²⁰⁵

5. **DANIEL² MCINTYRE JR.** (Daniel¹) was born 5 February 1782.²⁰⁶ He was alive in 1820 and probably in 1825, as discussed below. Reid mentions an order-in-council of 5 August 1807 granting land to him as the son of a Loyalist.²⁰⁷ He was surely the one of this name who married by 1810 (when, as discussed below, she petitioned for a grant of land) **DRUSILLA BEEBE**, who died by 5 November 1842, when she is referred to as deceased in her father’s will. She was the daughter of Adin Beebe of Louth [Louth Township, Lincoln County], a Sergeant in Butler’s Rangers, and his wife [Dorothy?] Chrysler.²⁰⁸

“Drusilla Macintyre of Grimsby” petitioned for a grant of land stating that she “is the Daughter of Adin Bebee of Louth . . . a U.E. Loyalist and is married to Daniel Macintyre Junior [“Junior” inserted above the line, evidently added later] of the same place and has never received any Land or orders for Land from the Crown,” and accordingly she was recommended for a grant of 200 acres on 9 October 1810. The document is signed with a mark and was received from “Daniel McIntyre, Senior.”²⁰⁹ It was likelier Daniel Jr. rather than his septuagenarian father who on 26 September 1815 sought restitution for “a crop of Buckwheat . . . wholly lost from his being Kept on Militia Duty” as well as for thefts from his farm while he was absent

Dist. 149, Ontario, p. 51, fam. 246 (LAC microfilm no. C-13256). Both of these censuses show he was born in the United States. Martin Sammons death record, Wentworth Co., Ontario, 1889, no. 20,099, reports his place of birth as Canada, in disagreement with census records.

¹⁹⁸ Martin Sammons death record (note 197).

¹⁹⁹ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 16.

²⁰⁰ Martin Sammons death record (note 197).

²⁰¹ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 16.

²⁰² Anna Sammons death record (note 195).

²⁰³ Martin and Ann Sammon entries, 1851 census of Canada West (note 196).

²⁰⁴ Martin Sammons household, 1881 Census of Canada (note 197).

²⁰⁵ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 16.

²⁰⁶ Botting and Botting, “Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County” (note 102), 27.

²⁰⁷ William D. Reid, *The Loyalists in Ontario: The Sons and Daughters of the American Loyalists of Upper Canada* (Lambertville, N.J.: Hunterdon House, 1973), 203.

²⁰⁸ Adin Beebe will, Lincoln County Surrogate Court Estate Files, RG 22-235, microfilm MS 8406, Archives of Ontario. See the brief account of the Beebe family in R. Janet Powell, *Silas Smith, U.E.L., and His Descendants* (n.p.: privately published, [1960s]), 64. Also, Kenneth H. Annett, “Gaspé of Yesterday,” 5 vols. (TSS, n.p., n.d.), 4:27–52 [page numbers stamped in upper right corner], chap. 103, The Beebe Family, especially pp. 39, 42, and 44 (see PDF of this chapter at [gogaspe.com/host/annett/volume4/103 The Beebe Family.pdf](http://gogaspe.com/host/annett/volume4/103%20The%20Beebe%20Family.pdf)). Also, J. Kelsey Jones, “Loyalist Plantations on the Susquehanna,” updated 2009 [pages unnumbered, but see PDF pp. 23–25], *Seeley Creek Valley Farm* (<http://www.seeleycreekvalleyfarm.com/loyalist-seeley.pdf>). Drusilla’s father is mentioned as Sergt. Edin Beebe, N.C.O.B.R., in the “Old United Empire Loyalist List” (note 105), 136, and as a former sergeant in Butler’s Rangers in his land petition, printed in *Eighteenth Report of the Department of Public Records and Archives of Ontario, 1929* (Toronto: Legislative Assembly of Ontario, 1929), 124, which was made on 3 Aug. 1795, the same day as that of Daniel McIntyre.

²⁰⁹ Drusilla Macintyre petition, Upper Canada Land Petitions, RG 1 L3, vol. 335, bundle M9, petition no. 183, LAC microfilm no. C-2187. This petition is noted in Reid, *The Loyalists in Ontario* (note 207), 19.

during the War of 1812.²¹⁰ Daniel McIntyre was a private in Capt. Henry Nelles's Company of the 4th Regiment of Lincoln County Militia in 1818.²¹¹ In 1820 Daniel and his father were among those pledging to contribute money to the building of Clinton Presbyterian Church.²¹² He was presumably the Daniel McIntyre of Grimsby who was active as a surveyor during the years 1819–1825 and, for his service, was awarded 1,120 acres in Madoc Township, Hastings County, Ontario.²¹³ The Bottings were unable to trace any issue. However, Adin Beebe's will, dated 5 November 1842, mentions (without naming) "the Children of my late Daughter Drusilla McIntyre."²¹⁴ Daniel and Drusilla had at least two sons, and possibly a third.²¹⁵

Children of Daniel² and Drusilla (Beebe) McIntyre:

- i. (*possibly*) JOHN DAVID³ MCINTYRE, killed in the battle of Brandy Station, Virginia, 11 October 1863;²¹⁶ married in Thorold, Welland County, Ontario, 13 July 1842, MARINDA BEEBE,²¹⁷ born in Louth Township 8 December 1824, died in Beamsville 2 January 1913, aged 88, of senile decay,²¹⁸ and was buried in Mount Osborne Cemetery, Beamsville, her tombstone calling her "Marinda Beebe [*sic*] wife of J. D. McIntyre."²¹⁹ An abstract of a newspaper announcement of their marriage calls her Marinda, daughter of "Mr. Asa Beebe," but identifies the groom only as "Mr. John D. McIntyre."²²⁰ Her death record similarly names her as a daughter of "Asa Beebe," but the name of the mother is not filled in.²²¹ She was thus probably a granddaughter of Adin Beebe, whose will, dated 5 November 1842, left £12 10s to "Marinda McIntyre, Wife of Davy McIntyre," with neither explanation of the relationship nor any indication that she was a

²¹⁰ Daniel McIntyre claim, Department of Finance Fonds: Board of Claims for War of 1812 losses, RG 19 E5a, vol. 3753, file 1, claim no. 1268, LAC microfilm no. T-1135.

²¹¹ J. A. C. Kennedy, ed., "Lincoln Militia Return, 1818," *Families* [OGS] 10 (Spring 1971): 16. The name of Daniel McIntyre appears in "Muster Roll of the 4th Regiment of the Lincoln Militia, Lt. Col. Robert Nelles, October 11 to November 1, 1814" (note 137).

²¹² Taylor, "Records of the Presbyterian Church, Clinton and Grimsby" (note 123), 26.

²¹³ Randy William Widdis, "Speculation and the Surveyor: An Analysis of the Role Played by Surveyors in the Settlement of Upper Canada," *Histoire sociale—Social History* 15 (1982): 447, 450.

²¹⁴ Adin Beebe will (note 208).

²¹⁵ No basis was found for the statement in Annett's chapter on the Beebe Family (note 208) that they had a daughter Amanda. Curiously, at least one web source claims that an Amanda McIntyre is named in the will of Drusilla's father, Adin Beebe (note 208), but a careful examination of the will reveals no such person.

²¹⁶ Marinda McIntyre widow's pension, cert. no. 131938, service of John D. McIntyre (Pvt., Co. C, 5th Mich. Cavalry, Civil War), Case Files of Approved Pension Applications . . . 1861–1934, Civil War and Later Pension Files, RG 15: Department of Veterans Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C., digital image, *Fold3* (<http://www.fold3.com>). None of the materials in the file contain any hint of his parentage.

²¹⁷ Jemima Ann Coon and Jemima Tufford affidavit, 12 May 1869, in Marinda McIntyre Civil War widow's pension no. 131938 (note 216). The date is corroborated by the newspaper marriage announcement (note 220, below). Marinda McIntyre and George Smith affidavit, 15 May 1869, in Marinda McIntyre Civil War widow's pension no. 131938 (note 216), which states that "the minister, the Reverend Angus McIntosh, by whom they were married, removed to Scotland and there died," having apparently taken any records with him; it includes the declaration of a judge that McIntosh "never made any returns to the Clerk of the Peace of his county of any marriages celebrated by him, as required by law to do."

²¹⁸ Marinda McIntyre death record, Lincoln Co., Ontario, 1913, no. 20471.

²¹⁹ *Mount Osborne Cemetery, Beamsville . . . OGS [Cemetery Transcription] #3384*, rev. ed. (St. Catharines, Ontario: OGS, Niagara Peninsula Branch, 2011), 1. Marinda Beebe McIntyre marker, digital image, Mount Osborne Cemetery, Beamsville, Niagara Dist., Ontario, in OGS, *Canadian Headstones* (<https://www.canadianheadstones.com/on/view.php?id=623794>). When viewed on 7 Dec. 2017 the transcription erroneously read "Amarinda Beebe."

²²⁰ Mr. John D. McIntyre—Marinda Beebe [*sic*] marriage announcement abstract, *St. Catharines Public Library* (<http://bmd.stcatharines.library.on.ca/>), citing *St. Catharines Journal*, 28 July 1842, p. 3. The newspaper has not been examined.

²²¹ Asa Beebe, son of Adin Beebe, is reputed to have died unmarried, according to Annett, "Gaspé of Yesterday" (note 208), 4:42. If (as seems likely) Marinda's father is this same Asa, she may have been an illegitimate daughter. Marinda has not been found in any of the above-cited accounts of the Beebe family.

Beebe by birth.²²² John's early association with Beamsville, inferable from the circumstances of his marriage, is not in itself sufficient to place him in the present family. Of the only known men in the area named McIntyre who did not belong to this family, one, William McIntyre (born 1797), had a son John born in 1838 and thus much too young to have been the present man.²²³ The other, Alexander McIntyre (born about 1816), cannot himself have been much older than John David.²²⁴ John David McIntyre's association with the Beebe family which figures above suggests he belongs to the present family. Furthermore, the name of his son Asa Daniel McIntyre²²⁵ suggests a combination of the names of the child's two grandfathers, and a "J. D. McIntyre" was a debtor in the amount of £10 to the estate of Solomon McIntyre (see below), who under this hypothesis would have been John David's brother. If John David was indeed a son of Daniel and Drusilla (Beebe) McIntyre, he and his wife would almost certainly have been first cousins through his mother. A newspaper death notice for Marinda McIntyre reads in part, "The death occurred on Thursday of Mrs. Marinda McIntyre relict of the late John D. McIntyre at the age of 88 years. Mrs. McIntyre has been a lifelong [*sic*] resident of Beamsville. Two sons, Fred at home, and [Alonzo] William in Toledo [Ohio], and one daughter in Buffalo survive."²²⁶

- ii. ADIN³ MCINTYRE, born probably about 1817–1818 (aged 45 at marriage);²²⁷ died in Watertown, Sanilac County, Michigan, 5 January 1905, aged 79 years, 10 months, 21 days, and was buried in Greenwood Cemetery, Sandusky, Sanilac County;²²⁸ married in Middlesex County, Ontario, 1 September 1863 ANN ELIZA FLEMING,²²⁹ born in Mosa Township, Middlesex County,²³⁰ about 31 August 1829 (calculated), died 10 October 1891, aged 62 years, 1 month, 10 days, and was buried in Greenwood Cemetery, Sandusky,²³¹ daughter of George and Mary ([–?–]) Fleming.²³² At the time of Adin's marriage to Eliza he was of Zone Township, Kent County, and she of Mosa Township.²³³ In October 1844 Adin successfully petitioned for a grant of land on which he "was located by the Honorable Colonel Talbot in the year 1830, on a Lot of one hundred acres of Land in the . . . Township of Zone, liable to settlement Duties, which he has performed."²³⁴ Thus he is probably the "Ardin" McIntyre who witnessed the marriage of William Scott and Mary Sussex of Zone Township on 5 August 1846.²³⁵ Adin was enumerated in Zone Township in the 1861 census, and there

²²² Adin Beebe will (note 208).

²²³ *The History of the County of Brant, Ontario* (Toronto: Warner, Beers, and Co., 1883), 583–84.

²²⁴ Botting and Botting, "Wilcoxes and McIntyres of Lincoln County" (note 102), 27.

²²⁵ Asa was a witness to his mother's pension application (note 216).

²²⁶ "Death of Mrs. McIntyre," clipping from *Beamsville Express*, 8 Jan. 1913, p. 1 [col. unknown].

²²⁷ Adin McIntyre-Ann E. Fleming marriage record, County Marriage Registers, RG 80–27, vol. 38, p. 139, Middlesex Co., [Ontario,] 1858–June 1869, microfilm MS 248, reel 10, Archives of Ontario; abstracted in "Ontario, Canada, County Marriage Registers, 1858–1869," *Ancestry.com* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=8510>).

²²⁸ Adin McIntyre [*sic*] death record, Mich., 1905, cert. no. 632, digital image, *Seeking Michigan* (<http://seekingmichigan.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p129401coll7/id/222763/rec/1>). The record names his parents as Daniel McIntyre, born in N.Y., and Drussila Beebe, born in Canada. The calculated date of birth is about 15 Feb. 1825, conflicting with his age as reported at his marriage.

²²⁹ Adin McIntyre-Ann E. Fleming marriage record (note 227). Ann's middle name is from the death record of her daughter Mary Marcella (Mary Marcella McIntyre death cert., Mich., 1939, no. 746265).

²³⁰ Adin McIntyre-Ann E. Fleming marriage record (note 227).

²³¹ Ann Eliza McIntyre marker, Greenwood Cemetery, Sandusky, Sanilac Co., Mich., memorial no. 168667106, digital image, *Find A Grave* (<http://www.findagrave.com>). When viewed on 10 Nov. 2017 the date of death given in the transcription did not match that on the stone. No Michigan death record was found. The calculated birth year range is further supported by her age of 34 as given in her 1863 marriage record (note 227).

²³² Adin McIntyre-Ann E. Fleming marriage record (note 227).

²³³ Adin McIntyre-Ann E. Fleming marriage record (note 227).

²³⁴ Adin McIntyre petition, Upper Canada Land Petitions, RG 1 L3, vol. 313A, bundle Mc3, petition no. 10, LAC microfilm no. C-2181.

²³⁵ "Marriage Register of the Western District," *Ontario Register* 3 (1970): 85.

again with his wife in 1871.²³⁶ No child of Adin McIntyre has been found in the Ontario civil registrations of births, which begin in 1869. Adin and his wife have not been found in the 1881 Census of Canada. Adin McIntyre moved to the United States in 1880 and was subsequently naturalized.²³⁷ Presumably he was in Michigan before his wife's death in 1891, as she is buried there.²³⁸ Adin McIntyre, widower, was enumerated in Watertown Township, Sanilac County, in the 1900 census.²³⁹ There was issue.²⁴⁰

- iii. SOLOMON³ MCINTYRE, born about 1823–1824 (calculated); died testate perhaps 17 February 1852, aged 27, and was buried in Haines/Jordan Mennonite Cemetery, Jordan, Louth Township;²⁴¹ married say 1845–1846 (birth of daughter Samantha²⁴²) SOPHIA KING, of unknown parentage, born about 1828–1829 (calculated), died 26 November 1906, aged 77,²⁴³ and was buried in Campden Mennonite Burying Ground (also known as Mennonite Mountain Burial Ground), Clinton Township. Her tombstone (shared with her daughter Samantha and Samantha's husband) describes her as "Sophia King, wife of Solomon McIntyre."²⁴⁴ In the will of Solomon's maternal grandfather Adin Beebe, Solomon is named as "my Grand Son Solomon McIntyre" and bequeathed £50 to be paid in equal installments on 15 June 1847 and 15 June 1848, the significance of the dates not being explained.²⁴⁵ Solomon McIntyre, farmer, was enumerated with his wife and children in Louth Township in the 1851 census.²⁴⁶ In Solomon's own will, dated 13 February 1852 and proved 24 July following, he is described as of the Township of Louth. The will mentions his wife Sophia, son William Gloyd [*sic*], and daughter Samantha Loiza, and \$200 or £50 (the amount being expressed in both ways) "coming to me from the estate of the late Solomon Beebe." The inventory lists typical farming equipment and goods characteristic of a modest household, plus a small amount of cash, amounting in all to about £34 5s. 6d., the only unusual items being a "rigemental [*sic*] suit and sword." There were also found three promissory notes, including that from the estate of Solomon Beebe, and one (not mentioned in the body of the will) for £10 from J. D. McIntyre, lending some support to the view that John David was the testator's brother.²⁴⁷ There was issue.²⁴⁸

(Concluded)

²³⁶ Adin McIntyre household, 1861 census of Canada West, Zone Twp., Kent Co., Ontario, ED 1, p. 6 (LAC microfilm C-1039-1040). Aden McIntyre household, 1871 Census of Canada, Zone Twp., Bothwell (Dist. 3), Ontario, pp. 11–12, dw. 42, fam. 43 (LAC microfilm C-9894).

²³⁷ Adin McIntyre, boarder in the Josiah Belden household, 1900 U.S. census, Watertown Twp., Sanilac Co., Mich., ED 139, sh. 11B, dw. 229, fam. 230 (NARA T623, roll 743). This source gives his month and year of birth as Feb. 1820, conflicting with his age as reported at his marriage.

²³⁸ Ann Eliza McIntyre marker (note 231).

²³⁹ Adin McIntyre entry, 1900 U.S. census (note 237).

²⁴⁰ Aden McIntyre household, 1871 Census of Canada (note 236).

²⁴¹ Solomon McIntyre marker, Haines/Jordan Mennonite Cemetery, Lincoln Co., Ontario, digital image *Canada Gen Web's Cemetery Project* (<http://geneofun.on.ca/names/photo/836845>). His tombstone says he died 17 Feb. 1851, but the year is clearly incorrect as his will (note 247, below) is dated 13 Feb. 1852. His age at death is given more precisely on his tombstone, but the figures representing the months and days cannot be read in the photograph.

²⁴² Samantha McIntyre entry [with Solomon and others], 1851 census of Canada West, Louth Twp., Lincoln Co., Ontario, ED 5, p. 45 (LAC microfilm C-11736). Samantha was reported to be age 6.

²⁴³ Sophia King McIntyre marker, Campden Mennonite Burying Ground/Mennonite Mountain Burial Ground, digital image, *Canada Gen Web's Cemetery Project* (<http://geneofun.on.ca/names/photo/753374>). When viewed on 10 Nov. 2017 this record gave the address of the cemetery as "Trintern" Rd., but the correct spelling is probably Tintern. Death record not found.

²⁴⁴ Sophia King McIntyre marker (note 243).

²⁴⁵ Adin Beebe will (note 208). Other legacies were set up to be paid on the 15th of June in various years.

²⁴⁶ Solomon McIntyre household, 1851 census of Canada West (note 242).

²⁴⁷ Solomon McIntyre will, Lincoln County Surrogate Court Estate Files 1794–1858, RG 22-235, microfilm MS 8414, Archives of Ontario.

²⁴⁸ Solomon McIntyre household, 1851 census of Canada West (note 242).

ORIGIN OF THE AMERMAN AND TERHUNE FAMILIES, AND THEIR FOUNDING MOTHER GEERTJE DIRCKS

BY HARRY MACY JR., FASG, FGBS, AND RENEE L. DAUVEN

(Continued from THE RECORD 148:303)

4. JAN² ALBERTSZ TERHUNE (Albert Albertsz and Geertje¹ Dircks) was born in Amersfoort/Flatlands about 1655–1656, though no birth or baptismal record has been found for him; it can be assumed that he was baptized by Dominee Polhemus whose records (1654–1676) are lost.²⁷⁹ The last record of Jan is the 1731 census of Flatlands.²⁸⁰ He married first in Amersfoort on 1

²⁷⁹ There has been some disagreement as to when Jan was born. His marriage intention (note 281) states that he was *van N. Amersfoort*, which in those records almost invariably indicates the individual's birthplace. That limits the years when Jan could have been born, as his sister Annetje was born in 1653 and his parents were living in (Nieuw) Amersfoort in 1655 but moved from there to Nyack by 1657, probably in 1656. Since the record indicates that Jan was both "van" and *residing* at Amersfoort, it is very unlikely that "van" meant place of residence rather than birthplace. Assuming the marriage record is accurate, Jan was born probably either in 1655, two years after Annetje, or in 1656 before the family left Amersfoort. A 1655–1656 birth date would make him slightly older than the typical groom of the time, or about 26–28 in 1683 when he married a 19- or 20-year-old bride, but if he were younger he would not have been born in Amersfoort. Also, in 1680 he was old enough to be able to invest in land in Delaware, an unlikely venture if he were much younger. The information in an intention was given by the parties themselves, perhaps accompanied by their parents, so the chances of it being incorrect are minimal unless the recorder made an error. However, the marriage records from 1677 to 1684 were the work of Dominee Casparus van Zuuren, who appears to have been a careful record keeper. On Dominee Polhemus's missing records for the years when Jan was born, see RECORD 148 (2017): 98n60.

The late Barbara Terhune, in her work *Early Dutch Family Ties: Terbune, Van Sicklen, Frelinghuysen, and Others—Certain Elements of Genealogy, Social History and Religious Interactions* (Debarry, Fla.: the author, 2007), 96, said Jan was born about 1654 and gave an exact birth date in 1655 for Jan's sister Christina/Stintje, making Annetje, Jan, and Christina born suspiciously close together. She did not give a source for Christina's birth date, nor has any such source been identified, and Christina could have been younger as shown in this article. Barbara Terhune placed Jan's birth about 1654 in order to allow for him to be the "John Terhune" whose survey was the basis for a map of Gravesend that appeared to be dated 1674. The current authors have found the 1674 date to be an error, perhaps explained by the very poor quality of the copy that Barbara Terhune used (*Early Dutch Family Ties*, 2–3, 10–10A). A better reproduction of the map ("Map of the Town of Gravesend. Map #429," Digital Collections, *New York State Archives* (http://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/36979#) makes it clear that the creator of the otherwise undated map had in addition to John Terhune's survey consulted an earlier map that was dated 1674. The map in question actually was made no earlier than 1718 and possibly as late as 1760, as it shows "Col. V Brunts manor house" on the former Robert Pennoyer patent. Teunis G. Bergen, *Register in Alphabetical Order of the Early Settlers of Kings County, Long Island, N.Y., from its First Settlement by Europeans to 1700* (New York: privately printed, 1881), 311, 312–13, indicates that Cornelis Rutgersz Van Brunt acquired the Pennoyer patent in 1718 and his son Rutger lived there and was Colonel of the Kings Co. Militia in 1740. Rutger Jr. died in 1760 and was probably called "Colonel" even after he no longer held that rank. Given this later date, the John Terhune named on the map probably was Jan's grandson (born 1709, died about 1786), son of Albert [Jansz] Terhune.

For an explanation of place names Amersfoort and Flatlands, see RECORD 148 (2017): 85n2.

²⁸⁰ "A List Off [*sic*] All the Inhabitants off [*sic*] the Township off [*sic*] Flatt Lands," in Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New-York*, octavo ed., 4 vols. (Albany, N.Y.: New York State, 1849–1851), 4:192. O'Callaghan did not date this census. Since he placed it after the totals for the census of 1738 it was assumed to also be from that enumeration, but see Henry B. Hoff and Harry Macy Jr., "'1738 Census' of Kings County was Actually Taken in 1731," RECORD 123 (1992): 85–86.

July 1683 **ANNETJE ROELOFS SCHENCK**,²⁸¹ born about 1663, daughter of Roelof Martensen Schenck and Neeltje Gerrits Van Couwenhoven.²⁸² Jan and Annetje's betrothal on 20 June 1683 was recorded as *Jan Albertsz; J.M. met Annetje Roelofs; J.D. bejide van N. Amersfoort, & aldaar woonachtig; & getrouwd ook aldaar den eersten Julii* (Jan Albertsz, young man, with Annetje Roelofs, young lady, both from [that is, born in] N. Amersfoort, and residing there; and also married there the first of July).²⁸³

Annetje died before 25 May 1688, when the Flatlands church charged Jan 19 guilders 10 stuivers for his wife's burial.²⁸⁴ Jan was betrothed on 6 June 1691 to **MARGRIETJE VAN SICKLEN**: *Jan alberse Terhunen weduwenaer van annetie schenck met margrietie van tighgelen J:d. bejide woonachtigh tot n. amersfoort* (Jan Alberse Terhunen, widower of Annetie Schenck, with Margrietie van [S]ighgelen, young lady, both residing at N. Amersfoort).²⁸⁵ Margrietje, who died between 4 March 1722 (witnessed a baptism) and 12 January 1747 (sister's will), was the daughter of Ferdinandus Van Sicklen and Eva Anthonys (daughter of Anthony Jansen van Salee).²⁸⁶

Jan's place in the family is clearly established by baptismal and other church records. The 19 November 1679 *Naam-Register van de Ledematen van de vier Dorpen* (Register of Names of the Members from the four Villages) under Amersfoort shows "Jan Albertsz ([admitted] in Dec. 1677) & Susters [sisters] Sara Alberts [and] Stijntje Alberts op Gravesand" immediately following their parents, Albert de Lintwever and H. [wife] Geertje.²⁸⁷

²⁸¹ Jan Albertsz–Annetje Roelofs banns and marriage, in David William Voorhees, trans. and ed., *Records of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Flatbush, Kings County, New York, Volume 1, 1677–1720* (New York: Holland Society, 1998), 238/239 (Dutch/English).

²⁸² Bergen, *Register of . . . the Early Settlers of Kings County* (note 279), in his account of her father, pp. 253–54, says she was born about 1663, a date copied by Lincoln C. Cocheu, "The Van Kouwenhoven–Conover Family," RECORD 71 (1940): 70–71. See also Terhune, *Early Dutch Family Ties* (note 279), 62.

²⁸³ Jan Albertsz–Annetje Roelofs marriage (note 281).

²⁸⁴ Jan Albertsen charge for burial, Deacons' Book, Flatlands Reformed Dutch Church, in "Church Records 1673–1881, Flatlands Reformed Dutch Church [Brooklyn, New York]," Family History Library [FHL] film 888,716 (see also RECORD 148 [2017]: 95n43), page no. illegible. Also Teunis G. Bergen, "Contributions to the History of the Early Settlers of Kings County, N.Y., The Terhune Family," RECORD 11 (1880): 160.

²⁸⁵ Jan Alberse Terhunen–Margrietie van [S]ighgelen marriage banns, in Voorhees, *Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Flatbush Volume 1* (note 281), 272/273.

²⁸⁶ Dorothy A. Koenig and Pim Nieuwenhuis, "1653 Indenture of Ferdenande van Sicheler," *New Netherland Connections* 5 (2000): 38–39. John W. Van Sickle, *A History of the Van Sickle Family in the United States of America* (Springfield, Ohio: the author, 1880), 81. Terhune, *Early Dutch Family Ties* (note 279), 62. Descendants of this family spell their name both Van Sickle and Van Sicklen. This article uses the Van Sicklen spelling. The best evidence that Ferdinandus and Eva had a daughter Margrietje is the unrecorded will of their daughter Susannah Van Sickelen of Flatlands, single woman, dated 12 Jan. 1747, in which she divided her residual estate among her two living sisters and the children of her deceased brothers and sisters, including "the children of my sister Margrate" (Susannah van Sickelen will, New York State Archives Series J0038-92, Sub-series 2, original will 434, digital scan from the Archives). This will was submitted to the court, but on 9 May 1754 the executors refused to serve and the will was neither proved nor recorded. There is an abstract by William S. Pelletreau in *Abstracts of Wills on File in the Surrogate's Office, City of New York*, 17 vols., Collections of the New-York Historical Society (New York: privately printed, 1893–1909), 11:117–18. For the 1722 baptism, see Magrieta Bennett baptism, in Frances Bergen Cropsey, "Records of the Reformed Church of New Utrecht, Long Island," RECORD 112 (1981): 134.

²⁸⁷ "Names of Members from Amersfort," in Voorhees, *Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Flatbush Volume 1* (note 281), 338/339. In a second list, "Old Members found here in the 4 villages in the year 1677," Voorhees read the first entry under Amersfoort (pp. 370/371) as "Jan Alberts & H. Sara Alberts Stijntje Alberts. Dec. 1677," the "H." meaning "*Huisvrouw* [wife]," but examination of the original record (photocopy at Holland Society of New York) shows that the correct reading is "& S." for "& Susters [sisters]," as in the 1679 list. Jan married for the first time almost six years later. Most of the Holland Society's library was moved in 2017 to the New York State Library, Albany.

Jan Albertszen next appears in the civil records in 1680 when he and unnamed others sought land to be patented in the Duck Creek area of the Duke of York's St. Jones County, now Kent County, Delaware.²⁸⁸ On 19 April 1681 the county court awarded John Allbutson and John Mumford a 1,200-acre grant.²⁸⁹ John Mumford, "for myself and on behalfe of John Albertson," on 7 October 1684 assigned over to John Brinckloe and Gerrardus Wassells all rights to a warrant for 1,200 acres.²⁹⁰ On 16 December 1684 John Hillyard and Mary, his mother, for £40 sold to John Muntford and John Albertson a 600-acre tract called Woodstock Bower on a branch of Duck Creek.²⁹¹ Five years later, on 26 October 1689, John Manford of Long Island, New York, farmer, "for myself and on behalf of my copartner John Alburton of same place," authorized George Martin of Kent County, Pennsylvania, "to be our att[orne]y in all matters,"²⁹² but Martin died before 10 February 1701, when his widow deeded land bounded by that of "Albertson Muntford."²⁹³ In 1706 "John Alberson of New Dover and John Manford of Queene County both of Island Nassaw [Long Island]," New York, sold for £375 to John Allee of "Hackingsack," New Jersey, the land deeded to them on 16 December 1684 (noted above); this 1706 deed was signed by John Alberson, John Manford, Ayda Manford, and John Lalloi.²⁹⁴ On 5 March 1706 Alberson and Manford gave Evan Jones and Tunis Tobias power of attorney to deliver the deed, witnessed by Justices Henry Filkin and Garret Stollgoff [*sic*, Stoothoff].²⁹⁵ This was Jan's last appearance in the Kent County records. The witnesses were justices of Kings County, New York; New "Dover" has to be an error for New Amersfoort, where Jan Albertszen lived. His partner was actually John or Jan Monfoort, originally of New Amersfoort but in 1706 of Hempstead, whose wife was named Ida (Ayda above).²⁹⁶ John Allee or Lalloi was Jan Alyea, who in 1709 became the third husband of Maritie DeGraves, widow of Jan's older brother Albert Albertsz.²⁹⁷

²⁸⁸ Berthold Fernow, ed., *Documents Relating to the History of the Dutch and Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River*, Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, vol. 12 (Albany: New York State, 1877), 666. In 1682 St. Jones was renamed Kent and transferred from the Duke of York to Pennsylvania as one of the "Three Lower Counties" of that new colony. After that, some documents refer to the county as Kent Co., Pennsylvania. The area was administered by Pennsylvania until 1701 when Kent and the other two counties were allowed their own legislature, though they still shared a governor with Pennsylvania.

²⁸⁹ St. Jones Co. Court to John Allbutson and John Mumford, in Mary Marshall Brewer, *Kent County, Delaware, Land Records*, 3 vols. (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1996–1997), at 1:2–3, from Book A1.

²⁹⁰ Mumford and Albertson to Brinckloe and Wassells, in Brewer, *Kent County Land Records* (note 289), 1:25, from Book B1. Presumably this was the same acreage granted in 1681.

²⁹¹ Hillyard and Mary, his mother, to Muntford and Albertson, in Brewer, *Kent County Land Records* (note 289), 1:27, from Book B1.

²⁹² Manford and Alburton to Martin, in Brewer, *Kent County Land Records* (note 289), 1:99, from Book C vol. 1.

²⁹³ Hawkie and wife Ursula, "relict . . . of George Martin," to French, in Brewer, *Kent County Land Records* (note 289), 1:153, from Book C1 part 2.

²⁹⁴ Alberson and Manford to Allee, in Brewer, *Kent County Land Records* (note 289), 2:44, from Book E vol. 1, p. 171. "Hackingsack" is described as in "Esea [Essex] county" in "Nova Coseasia," meaning Nova Caesarea, the Latin name for New Jersey.

²⁹⁵ Alberson and Manford to Jones and Tobias, power of attorney, in Brewer, *Kent County Land Records* (note 289), 2:45, from Book E vol. 1, p. 171.

²⁹⁶ Fred Sisser III, *The Monfoort Family of New York and New Jersey* (Somerville, N.J.: the author, 1969), 12–15.

²⁹⁷ See RECORD 148 (2017): 297n204.

In 1683, following his marriage in July, Jan Albertszen appears several times in church and civil records. On 12 August 1683 he witnessed the baptism of his niece Lijsbeth, daughter of Klaas Janszen Romein and Stijntje Alberts.²⁹⁸ The following month, 2 September, he witnessed the baptism of his nephew Isaac, son of Dirck Jansen (Amerman) and Aeltje Paulus van der Beek.²⁹⁹ On 25 September 1683 “Jan Alberts” appears on the tax roll in Flatlands—immediately following his father—assessed for one man, one horse, two cows, and one 3-year-old heifer. He was taxed 2 shillings, 11 pence.³⁰⁰

Jan Albertsz was elected a deacon of the Amersfort/Flatlands Reformed Dutch Church in 1684, replacing his half-brother Dirk Jansz.³⁰¹ Like his brothers Dirck and Albert, Jan was a subscriber on 23 August 1686 for the Flatlands church bell. Jan had pledged 12 guilders and was charged with collecting all the payments, which he turned in on 27 August.³⁰² Jan also performed civic duties, serving as a petit juror in Kings County in 1687, 1703,³⁰³ and perhaps at other times.

Jan Albertse Terhuen stated that he was a native [“of this Province of N: York”] when he took the oath of allegiance to King James at Flatlands in September 1687.³⁰⁴ Lieutenant Governor Jacob Leisler, who came to power in New York after the King was overthrown, on 20 January 1690/1 granted Jan a commission as lieutenant of the Flatlands company of the Kings County militia, for which company his half-brother Dirck Jansen was the captain.³⁰⁵ By 1700 Jan had succeeded Dirck as captain of the company.³⁰⁶ Jan was still “Capt. John Terhuynen” when named an executor in his brother Albert’s first

²⁹⁸ Lijsbeth Romein baptism, in Voorhees, *Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Flatbush Volume 1* (note 281), 424.

²⁹⁹ Isaac Dircksz [Amerman] baptism, in Voorhees, *Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Flatbush Volume 1* (note 281), 424.

³⁰⁰ Amersfort 1683 Rate List, in O’Callaghan, *Documentary History of the State of New-York* (note 280), 2:289. Jan was not on the earlier rolls of 1675 and 1676, but in 1676 his father was assessed for two polls [adult males] and brother Albert was assessed separately; Jan probably was the extra poll with his father (see RECORD 148 [2017]: 107n104).

³⁰¹ Elections of Elders and Deacons, in Voorhees, *Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Flatbush Volume 1* (note 281), 208/209.

³⁰² Fred Sisser III, “Flatlands Church Bell Subscription List of 1686,” RECORD 120 (1989): 148–49. See comments in RECORD 148 (2017): 216n127.

³⁰³ Jan Albersz Terhuinen was the second of twelve petit jurors in 1687, Dirck Jansz Amerman being the first of those jurors (Peter R. Christoph, ed., *The Dongan Papers, 1683–1688*, Part 2, New York Historical Manuscripts Series, vol. 35 [Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996], 5). Only the regnal year is given, “the third year of the reign of James 2d of England,” meaning Feb. 1686/7–Feb. 1687/8. On 8 Sept. 1703 John Albertse was a juror at a session of the province’s highest court, held at Flatbush for Kings County (Paul M. Hamlin and Charles E. Baker, *Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York, 1691–1704*, 3 vols., Collections of The New-York Historical Society, vols. 78–80 [New York: New-York Historical Society, 1959], 2:151).

³⁰⁴ Kings Co. 1687 Oath of Allegiance, in O’Callaghan, *Documentary History of the State of New York* (note 280), 1:661.

³⁰⁵ Peter R. Christoph, ed., *The Leisler Papers, 1689–1691*, New York Historical Manuscripts Series, vol. 36 (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2002), 460 (“John abbertsen to be his [Amerman’s] Leutenant” and Albert Coerten to be Ensign; the town is not stated but as all three officers were Flatlands residents, it clearly was the Flatlands company). Also in O’Callaghan, *Documentary History of the State of New York* (note 280), 2:200. For more on Leisler see the account of Dirck Jansz Amerman (RECORD 148 [2017]: 216–17).

³⁰⁶ “Names of the Officers of the Militia in the Province of New-York,” in Edmund Bailey O’Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. 4 [London Documents] (Albany: New York State, 1854), 809. O’Callaghan, *Documentary History of the State of New York* (note 280), 1:360 (citing “London Documents”), 364 (1700 date). *Second Annual Report of the State Historian of the State of New York* [1896] (Albany and New York: New York State, 1897), 423. The first title shows his name as Jon Terheunon, the other two as Jon Terhermon. All three titles contain the same list.

will, 3 October 1704, but was plain “John Terhunen” when similarly named in Albert’s second will, dated 16 February 1707/8.³⁰⁷ The next surviving roll of the Kings County militia after 1700, from 1715, shows Jan’s son Roulif Terhunen as captain of the Flatlands company and Jan’s nephew John Ameermom as Leff[tenant].³⁰⁸

On 29 October 1687, not long before Annetje died, Jan Albertse Terhuyn and Annetie Terhuyn, his wife, sold to Jan Theunisse Van Dijckhuys for £75 land in “Flackland” on the north side of the highway to Gravesend. They also sold to Marten Roeloff Schenck [Annetje’s brother] for £45 lot 20 on Flatlands Neck and two lots of meadow. Annetje’s father, Roelof Martense Schenck, was a witness to these deeds, to which both Jan and Annetie signed their names.³⁰⁹

In 1695 the townspeople of Flatlands appear to have chosen Roeloff Martinse Schenk and John Albertse Terhuyn to act in their behalf in a lawsuit against Thomas Willett Senr, Garrett Stoothoff, and John Vandykhuys, who were the heirs of Elbert Elbertsen Stoothoff. The dispute, which concerned the title to lands once acquired by Elbert, was submitted to arbitrators who, in a lengthy report dated 13 February 1695/6, traced the title of the properties from patents granted by the Dutch governors down to the Stoothoff heirs (in some cases also to John Albertse, though how he acquired any of the land is never stated). The arbitrators confirmed the Stoothoff heirs’ title to those lands still in their possession, but directed them to give “conveyances or releases in law” to all persons who had purchased any houses or land from Elbert Elbertsen or his predecessors.³¹⁰ On 3 February 1696/7 the heirs issued five such releases (in the form of deeds), all of which were witnessed by John Albertse Terhuiennen. The first of these releases was to Dirick Amertman.³¹¹ In 1701 Jan is listed with others, including Dirck Jansen Amerman, as bearing the cost of the lawsuit.³¹²

Jan Alberttz ter heunen appears on the Flatlands census for the year 1698 with one man, one woman, six children, and two slaves.³¹³ The woman would be his second wife, Margrietje; for the six children see the discussion below.

³⁰⁷ Albert Terhuynen [first] will, Kings Co. Deeds 3:14–16 (1901 copy, orig. liber lost), digital image, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org>) > “New York Land Records, 1630–1975” > Kings > Conveyances 1679–1736 vol 1–4 > images 378–79. All page numbers for Kings Co. deed libers 1–4 refer to repaginated copies of the libers, made in 1897 (liber 1) and 1901 (libers 2–4); the whereabouts of the original libers, if they are extant, is unknown. Albert Terhunen [second recorded] will, New York Co. Wills 7:546–48 (1892 copy, original liber lost). For more on these wills, see RECORD 148 (2017): 294n195 and 297n214. Citations to recorded New York Co. wills in this article are to the original libers unless otherwise indicated (as in this case).

³⁰⁸ Kings Co. 1715 Militia List, in O’Callaghan, *Documentary History of the State of New York* (note 280), 3:184.

³⁰⁹ Jan Albertse and Annetie Janse Terhuyn to Jan Theunisse Van Dijckhuys and Marten Roeloff Schenck, Kings Co. Deeds 1:28–30, digital image, *FamilySearch* (note 307), images 25–27. The Janse in Annetje’s name means wife of Jan, not daughter of. She signed the first deed as Annetie Terhuyn, the second as Annetie Tere.

³¹⁰ Arbitrators’ report, People of Flatlands v. Stoothoff heirs, Kings Co. Deeds 2:108–12, recorded 15 Feb. 1695/6, digital image, *FamilySearch* (note 307), images 197–99. The arbitrators who signed the report were Brandt Schuyler, Johannes Kyp, and Henry Filkin.

³¹¹ Heirs of Elbert Elbertse (Stoothoff) releases to landowners, Kings Co. Deeds 2:158–64, digital image, *FamilySearch* (note 307), images 223–26.

³¹² Flatlands Town Records (Deeds, Town Orders, Road Records 1674–1828, Miscellaneous Papers 1661–1831), Kings Co. vol. 4000, p. 100, original records on Old Town Records microfilm 75, Municipal Archives of the City of New York. Translation by Elizabeth Johnson and Renee L. Dauven.

³¹³ “Census of Kings County, About 1698,” in O’Callaghan, *Documentary History of the State of New York* (note 280), 3:136. For the date of this census, see RECORD 148 (2017): 218n143.

On 14 October 1699 King William III appointed Jan Alberts Terhuynen Esqr as sheriff of Kings County, and Jan had taken the oath of office by 14 November, as he appears in court records of that date acting in that capacity for the beginning of the new court term. The appointment specified that the term of service was for one year.³¹⁴

Some earlier researchers have placed Jan's death about 1705, but he continued living in Flatlands for at least twenty-six more years.³¹⁵ The 20 December 1706 land assessment rolls for Kings County show John Albertse with forty-six acres in Flatlands and twenty-six acres in Gravesend.³¹⁶

Jan appears to have continued to play an active role in the Flatlands Reformed Dutch Church. As an elder, in 1711 he signed an unsuccessful petition to obtain a charter for the local churches from the colonial government, and in 1714 he signed contracts with Dominees Freeman and Antonides to serve the six churches of Kings and Queens counties as pastors and teachers.³¹⁷ It is likely that Jan was an elder in other years but relevant records are lost.

Jan's name appears on a 4 May 1719 list of Flatlands residents who received allotments from former common lands of the town.³¹⁸ Between 28 August 1716 and 12 December 1719, Jan or John Terhunen Esqr signed addenda to six deeds in which he stated that he was one of His Majesty's justices of the peace for Kings County.³¹⁹

Jan's son Albert died in 1721. In Albert's will dated 11 April 1721 and proved 18 December in New York, he named five executors including "my father John Terhunen." The will was also recorded in New Jersey,³²⁰ where

³¹⁴ Jan Alberts Terhuynen appointment, Kings Co. Deeds 2:279–80, digital image, *FamilySearch* (note 307), images 284–85. Queen Mary had died in 1694 leaving William the sole monarch. Town Records of Kings County, translations/transliterations, Miscellaneous Volumes, Court and Road Records, vol. 1 (1672–1825), 58, Old Town Records microfilm 116, Municipal Archives of the City of New York.

³¹⁵ The error can be traced to Bergen, *Register of . . . the Early Settlers of Kings County* (note 279), 299, and Bergen, "Contributions: Terhune" (note 284), 160, though in both cases he said this was a *supposed* date of death. See "A List Off [*sic*] All the Inhabitants off [*sic*] the Township off [*sic*] Flatt Lands" (note 280), which dates to 1731.

³¹⁶ 1706 Land Assessment, Kings Co. Deeds 3:92, 95, digital image, *FamilySearch* (note 307), images 418–19.

³¹⁷ "Petition [to Gov. Robert Hunter] of the Consistory of Kings County, L.I.[] for a Charter. (Aug. 1, 1711.)," in Hugh Hastings, ed., *Ecclesiastical Records State of New York*, 7 vols. (Albany: New York State, 1901–1916), 3:1885–86 (petitioners from Flatlands including Jan Alberts ter heunen, Elder, and Jan Amerman, deacon). Kings Co. Deeds 4:63–70, digital image, *FamilySearch* (note 307), images 522–25 (27 Dec. 1714 contracts, in Dutch with English translations, signed by the twelve elders of the six churches, including Jan Terhunen).

³¹⁸ Distribution of Common Lands 1719, Flatlands Town Records . . . Miscellaneous Papers (note 312), pp. 105, 106, 107, and 108. Henry R. Stiles, *The Civil, Political, Professional and Ecclesiastical History and Commercial and Industrial Record of the County of Kings and the City of Brooklyn*, N. Y., from 1683 to 1884, 2 vols. (New York: W. W. Munsell & Co., 1884), 1:72.

³¹⁹ John Terhunen Esqr signing as J.P., Kings Co. Deeds 4:141–44, 252–53, 254, 287, digital image, *FamilySearch* (note 307), images 560–62, 618, 619, 635. "His Majesty" was George I, who succeeded Queen Anne in 1714.

³²⁰ Albert Terhunen original will, New York State Archives series J0038-92, will #628, admitted 18 Dec. 1721. Recorded in New York Co. Wills 9:325–29 (1892 copy, original liber lost). The recorded will states that the executors were to be "my wife Altie and my father-in law Peter Nevius and my brother Roelof Terhunen and my brother-in-law Koert Voorhees." This presents two problems. The original will adds "my father John Terhunen" as an executor between Altie and Nevius, and his name was included in the probate statement following the will in liber 9. The second problem is the identification of Pieter Nevius as Albert's father-in-law in both the original will and the court copy. This has puzzled researchers because Nevius was Albert's uncle by marriage, the husband of his mother's sister (see A. Van Doren Honeyman, *Joannes Nevius . . . and His Descendants . . .* [Plainfield, N.J.: Honeyman & Co., 1900], 154, 531–32, and David M. Morehouse, "Who Was Sara, Wife of Harmanus Van Barkelo of New Utrecht?," RECORD 136 [2005]:

on 20 January 1721/2 Jan and the other executors sold land that Albert had held in Piscataway, Middlesex County.³²¹

Jan Terhunen and Magrieta, his wife, witnessed the baptism of Magrieta, daughter of Jan Bennett and Antje, on 4 March 1722 in New Utrecht.³²² Antje appears to have been a sister of Jan's wife.³²³

Jan's final appearance in the records is on the 1731 census of Kings County, which shows his household in Flatlands contained one white male over 10, two white females over 10, one black male over 10, one black male under 10, one black female over 10, and two black females under 10.³²⁴ Although he traveled to New Jersey³²⁵ and bought land in Delaware, he lived his entire life on Long Island. Margrietje died sometime before 1747.³²⁶

John Albertse Terhuiennen of Flatlands made a will on 20 February 1696/7 and had it recorded in Kings County on the same date, following Dutch custom. This will left half his estate to his wife Margarita and half to the children "that now are or hereafter shall be born," but only named sons Roelloff, Albert, and Aucke and mentioned unnamed daughters. He made his brothers Albert Terhuiennen and Reyneer Vansycklyn executors and guardians of his children.³²⁷ There is no record of this or any other will being submitted for probate.

Several things must be taken into account when compiling a list of Jan's children. As shown below, it is clear that by his first wife he had three sons, one of whom died young. His February 1696/7 will named two of these sons and one more, Aucke, who was presumably by his second wife, Margrietje. The will also referred to his sons' sisters and indicated his wife could still have

163–72, especially 166n15). The reason for this error is unknown but one plausible explanation is that Albert may have dictated the will in Dutch and referred to Nevius as his *zwager*, a term used in those days to describe a variety of relatives by marriage, including father-in-law. Whoever wrote the will in English probably knew Nevius was an older man and may have assumed Albert meant father-in-law.

Because Albert owned land in New Jersey, the will was also recorded in that colony, as shown in Richard Hutchinson, "East New Jersey Land Records, 1719–1727 (Books C-2 and D-2)," 21–22, abstracting C-2:159, in F. Edward Wright, *East New Jersey Land Records, 1702–1791*, vol. 3 (Bowie, Md.: Colonial Roots, [n.d.]), CD-ROM. The abstract includes "my father John Terhune" as the second executor, and the relationship to Pieter Nevius as "my-father-in-law."

³²¹ Executors of Albert Terhunen to Abraham Van Horn, merchant of New York City, in Richard S. Hutchinson, "East New Jersey Land Records, 1727–1736/7 Books K and C-3," 4:24, abstracting K:96, in Wright, *East New Jersey Land Records, 1702–1791*, vol. 4 (note 320).

³²² Magrieta Bennett baptism (note 286).

³²³ Wilson V. Ledley, "Willem Adriaense Bennet of Brooklyn, N.Y., and Some of His Descendants," RECORD 93 (1962): 193–204; 94 (1963): 34–41, 107–14, 156–69, 205–13; 95 (1964): 10–27, 155–65, 203–7; especially 94:112–14. Ledley presented good evidence that Jan Bennet's wife Antje was a daughter of Ferdinandus and Eva Van Sicklen, even though she was not listed by Van Sickle, *A History of the Van Sickle Family* (note 286), 80–82. Ledley thought she might be their daughter Susanna, but the latter's will (note 286) names as one of her heirs "my sister Anne," a name equivalent to Antje. That would make her a sister of Jan Terhune's wife Margrietje. Ledley was unaware of the 1722 baptismal record (note 286) which further supports this identification of Antje.

³²⁴ "A List Off [*sic*] All the Inhabitants off [*sic*] the Township off [*sic*] Flatt Lands" (note 280).

³²⁵ There is no record that specifically speaks of Jan making a trip to New Jersey but he must have done so if he attended the baptism of Willemite, daughter of Jan Berdan and Eva Van Siggelen, in Hackensack on 5 June 1704, where the witnesses are listed as "Cap. Jan Terhujen, Margritie, his wife" (Holland Society of New York, *Records of the Reformed Dutch Churches of Hackensack and Schraalenburgh, New Jersey*, Collections of the Holland Society of New York, vol. 1 [New York: The Holland Society, 1891], part 1 [Hackensack], 88). Eva was a sister to Margrietje (Van Sickle, *A History of the Van Sickle Family* [note 286], 81). Jan may also have traveled to Delaware to inspect the land that he purchased there.

³²⁶ Sister Susannah van Sickelen's will (note 286).

³²⁷ John Albertse Terhuiennen will, Kings Co. Deeds 2:383–85, digital image, *FamilySearch* (note 307), images 337–38; also abstracted by David McQueen, "Kings County, N.Y., Wills," RECORD 47 (1916): 229.

additional children. While sisters are identified below, determining their order of birth is complicated by a total lack of baptismal and marriage records or any other records of them before the births of their first children (whose birth dates also have to be estimated in some cases). The 1698 census shows six children and no apprentices in Jan's household. Four of the children had to be by Margrietje,³²⁸ and as Jan married her in 1691 there was time between then and 1698 for four births at two-year intervals. While Margrietje's date of birth is unknown, if she were as old as 27–28 when she married Jan, as has been claimed,³²⁹ she would have been able to bear five more children, to around 1708. Therefore it is definitely possible that she and Jan had still more children born after 1698. Early attempts at a Terhune genealogy identified only the three sons named in Jan's will.³³⁰ The list below accounts for twelve children, including nine from his second marriage, pieced together from various sources. Marriage dates have been estimated based on the birth date of the first child (so far as known), and birth dates estimated on probable age at marriage.³³¹ Those children who did not marry are inserted where there seem to be sufficient gaps between the other children.

Records of the Flatlands church (deacons' records long ignored by genealogists) show that Jan was charged 12 guilders 12 stuivers on 1 December 1703 for a grave and the use of a pall (the amount indicating it was for a child), and 22 guilders on 5 November 1705 for graves for two of his children.³³² None of these children is named, but as shown below one may have been Aucke and another probably was a son named Ferdinandus.

Children of Jan² Albertsz Terhune and Annetje Roelofs Schenck (married 1 July 1683), all born in Amersfoort/Flatlands:

- i. ALBERT³ TERHUNE, baptized in Amersfoort 13 April 1684;³³³ died probably in Amersfoort before 1 November 1685, when the New Amersfoort church charged Jan Albertsen 16 guilders for a grave for his son.³³⁴
- ii. ROELOF³ TERHUNE, born probably about 1686; died between 20 February 1753 (date of will) and 30 April 1761 (will proved);³³⁵ married in New Amersfoort 5

³²⁸ The New Utrecht 1698 census transcribed by B-Ann Moorhouse ("A 1698 Census New Utrecht," *The Journal of Long Island History* 14 [1977]: 54–57) is an every-name list, while for the other Kings County towns like Flatlands there are only the statistics for each household, as published by O'Callaghan (see note 313). The children in New Utrecht are listed with just their first names, implying that they all had the surname of the head of household, and examination of other records and compiled genealogies supports that conclusion. The census shows no apprentices and no one marked as a servant other than the slaves (who are all named). A similar every-name version of the 1698 census exists for Flushing (O'Callaghan, *Documentary History of the State of New York* [note 280], 1:661–65), where most of the children are specifically grouped as "sones" or "daughters." Thus it may be assumed that the six children in Jan's household were his own.

³²⁹ On Margrietje Van Sicklen's birth date, Morehouse, "Who Was Sara?" (note 320), 169n35, accepted earlier estimates that she was born about 1663, but the date can only be estimated.

³³⁰ Bergen, *Register of . . . the Early Settlers of Kings County* (note 279), 299. Bergen, "Contributions: Terhune" (note 284), 160.

³³¹ See RECORD 148 (2017): 86n9 regarding age at marriage among seventeenth-century New York Dutch.

³³² Jan Terhunen charges for graves and pall, Deacons' Book, Flatlands Reformed Dutch Church (note 284), page no. illegible. Bergen, "Contributions: Terhune" (note 284), 160, gives the date as 5 Nov. 1704, but the year in the original record, which is difficult to read, appears to say 1705.

³³³ Albert Jansz baptism, in Voorhees, *Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Flatbush Volume 1* (note 281), 429 ([1684] 13 April, at Amersfoort, parents Jan Albertsz & Annetje Rulofs, wits. [grandparents] Albert de Lintwever, & sijn Huijsvr. Geertje).

³³⁴ Jan Albertsen charge for grave, Deacons' Book, Flatlands Reformed Dutch Church (note 284), 15.

May 1706 MARITIE GERRITS VOORHEES,³³⁶ baptized 23 October 1687, the daughter of Gerrit Coerten (Van) Voorhees and Willemptje Pieters Luyster.³³⁷ No record of Roelof's birth or baptism has been found but he is the first son named in the will of his father, and the 4 September 1704 will of his maternal grandfather, Roelof Schenck, mentions "the two children of my daughter Anneke deceased by names Roeloff and Albert."³³⁸ Roelof was of Gravesend when he wrote his will, naming his children and sister "Jerrebreg" (v below), and mentioning his wife but not by name.³³⁹

- iii. ALBERT³ TERHUNE, born probably early in 1688 (mother's death May 1688); died between 11 April 1721 (date of will) and 18 December 1721 (will proved);³⁴⁰ married in New Amersfoort 17 October 1708 ALTIE VOORHEES,³⁴¹ baptized 4 October 1685, the daughter of Gerrit Coerten (Van) Voorhees and Willemptje Pieters Luyster.³⁴² Albert is the second son named in his father's and grandfather's wills as noted above.³⁴³ Albert was of Flatlands and very sick when he made his will.³⁴⁴ Altie was living in New York [City] in 1732 when she and her

³³⁵ Roelof Terhune will, New York Co. Wills 23:3–5. The original will is in New York State Archives Series J0038-92, Sub-series 2, will 1504, but "is in fragments and will need conservation treatment before it can be safely duplicated" (email from the Archives, Feb. 2017).

³³⁶ Roelof ter Huine–Maritie Gerrits marriage, in Voorhees, *Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Flatbush Volume 1* (note 281), 280/281; they were married in the church by Rev. V[incentius] Antonides after banns published 13 Apr. which state that they both were born in New Amersfoort.

³³⁷ Marijtje Gerrets baptism, in Voorhees, *Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Flatbush Volume 1* (note 281), 443, parents gerrit Coerten and willekke pieters. For her mother's surname see Queens Co. Deeds A:100–104, where "Gerrard Coerten husband to Willemtie Luyster" joined in an agreement by Pieter Cornelis's children, all recorded with the Luyster surname. See note 342 for deeds confirming that Maritie was Roelof's wife. Because her surname was omitted from the marriage record, both Roelof's wife and the husband of Maritie Gerrits Voorhees have been consistently misidentified in print. These errors appear to have begun with Bergen, *Register of . . . the Early Settlers of Kings County* (note 279), 299 (where Roelof's wife is stated to be Maryke or Marretje Gerrits Wyckoff) and 377–78 (where Gerrit Coerte's daughter Marike is said to have married Jan Remsen).

³³⁸ John Albertse Terhuynen will (note 327). Roelof Schenck original will, New York State Archives series J0038-92, will #342, admitted 3 Oct. 1705; digital image, "New York County, New York, Wills and Probate Records, 1658–1880 (NYS)," *Ancestry.com* (<http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=60387>). Recorded in New York Co. Wills 7:260–63 (1892 copy, original liber lost).

³³⁹ Roelof Terhune will (note 335). It has been claimed that Roelof had a second wife, as Pelletreau's abstract includes "I leave to my wife Wyntie £5" (*Abstracts of Wills* [note 286], 6:74–75). *Abstracts of Wills* 17 (corrections vol. 2): 244 indicates this should be deleted, and the original liber 23 reads "I give to my wife twynte en fyfe [twenty and five] pound."

³⁴⁰ Albert Terhunen original and recorded will (note 320).

³⁴¹ Albert ter Huynen–Aaltie Voorhees marriage, in Voorhees, *Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Flatbush Volume 1* (note 281), 286/287; first banns 17 Oct. in the church by Rev. V[incentius] Antonides. According to the record, they were both born and living in New Amersfoort.

³⁴² Altie Gerrits baptism, in Voorhees, *Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Flatbush Volume 1* (note 281), 440, parents gerrit Coerten and willimtie pietersen. For her mother's surname, see note 337. Terhune, *Early Dutch Family Ties* (note 279), 68–69, 71–72. Two deeds, dated 10 and 11 June 1711, specifically state that Marikie, wife of Roelof Terhuynen, and Aelkie, wife of Albert Terhuynen, were both daughters and heirs to Gerrit Coerte, deceased. In the first, Albert and Roelof sold to their brother-in-law Coert Gerritszen land inherited from their wives' father Gerrit Coerte; in the second, Coert sold some of the land back to Roelof (Kings Co. Deeds 3:212–16, digital image, *FamilySearch* [note 307], images 479–81). Bergen, *Register of . . . the Early Settlers of Kings County* (note 279), 378, 380–81, stated that Albert's wife Aeltje was a daughter of Steven Coerte [who was actually her uncle], and that Gerrit Coerte's daughter Aeltje married Johannes Willemse [Cornel]. The errors regarding the marriages of Aeltje and her sister (note 337) were repeated as recently as 2000 in Florence A. Christoph, *The Van Voorhees Family in America, The First Six Generations* (New Haledon, N.J.: Van Voorhees Assn., 2000), 14–15. Like previous authors, Mrs. Christoph was unaware of the 1711 deeds, perhaps because they are in Kings Co. deed liber 3; only liber 1 and 2 had been abstracted in THE RECORD, and in 2000 liber 3 was available only at the City Register's office in Brooklyn.

Albert and Aeltje named children Gerrit and Willemtje for her parents. On the child Willemtje see Fred Sisser III, "Identifying Willemptje, The Wife of Samuel Griggs," *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey* (GMNJ) 69 (1994): 133–37, also Lila James Roney's correction to Bergen's "Contributions: Terhune" RECORD 69 (1938): 83–85.

³⁴³ See note 338.

³⁴⁴ Albert Terhunen original will and recorded will (note 320).

probable husband Jan Elbertsz were admitted to the New York Reformed Dutch Church with letters from the church at New Amersfoort.³⁴⁵

Children of Jan² Albertsz Terhune and Margrietje Van Sicklen (marriage banns 1691), all born probably in Amersfoort/Flatlands; birth order uncertain as no birth or baptismal records have been found:³⁴⁶

- iv. AUKE³ TERHUNE, born between 1692 (parents married 1691) and 20 February 1696/7 (father's will); as no other record of him has been found, it is presumed that he died while still young.³⁴⁷ He may have been the child buried in 1703.³⁴⁸
- v. GERBRECHT³ TERHUNE (named for her paternal grandmother, who died in or before April 1693³⁴⁹). Gerbrecht is known only from the 20 February 1753 will of her half-brother Roelof Terhune of Gravesend, which provided for the maintenance of "my poer sester Jeroebreclaye [*sic*]," also called "my poer sester Jerrebreg" in the same document.³⁵⁰ She presumably never married and may have been the second female over ten in her father's 1731 Flatlands household.³⁵¹
- vi. EVA³ TERHUNE (named for her maternal grandmother), died 1749–1750;³⁵² married say 1722 (first-known child born 1723³⁵³) Rev. THEODORUS JACOBUS

³⁴⁵ "Records of the Reformed Dutch Church in the City of New York—Church Members List," RECORD 60 (1929): 280 (*Augus Den 22 1732 Met attestatie Jan Elberts en syn b.v. Aaltje van Voorhees, v. N. Amersfoort* [August the 22nd 1732 with letters, Jan Elberts and his wife Aaltje van Voorhees, from New Amersfoort]). Definitive evidence that this Aaltje was Albert Terhune's widow has not been found, but that identification is likely. As a 36-year-old widow in 1721 she would almost certainly have remarried, probably to a widower. Jan Elbersen appears on the 1731 census of Flatlands with children both under and over 10 years of age (O'Callaghan, *Documentary History of the State of New York* [note 280], 4:192). Unfortunately there is a 1720–1743 gap in the Flatbush marriage records (which then included Flatlands), and there are only scattered Flatbush baptisms from those years, none for children of Jan Elbertsz. There are no other Kings County marriage records from that period and the only other baptismal records are those recorded at New Utrecht, where Jan Elbertsen and Aaltje witnessed the baptism of Jan, son of Pieter Luyster and Antje [Barkeloo], 7 Apr. 1728 (Cropsey, "Records of the Reformed Church of New Utrecht" [note 286], 208), but they do not appear as parents.

³⁴⁶ The birth order shown here is based on the assumption that the three unidentified children on the 1698 census were Gerbrecht, Eva, and Annetje, but one or more of them could have been born after 1698 and the unidentified 1698 children could have included one or two of those buried in 1703 and 1705.

³⁴⁷ The choice of the name "Aucke" is a mystery as it is not found in the family of either parent.

³⁴⁸ Jan Terhunnens charges for graves and pall (note 332).

³⁴⁹ See RECORD 148 (2017): 95n43.

³⁵⁰ Roelof Terhune will (note 335).

³⁵¹ "A List Off [*sic*] All the Inhabitants Off [*sic*] the Township off [*sic*] Flatt Lands" (note 280).

³⁵² Eva's death is mentioned only in *A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, An African Prince, as Related by Himself* (Bath, England: circa 1770), often reprinted including in Adam Potkay and Sandra Burr, eds., *Black Atlantic Writers of the 18th Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 27–63. This unusually valuable source for Eva and her husband was noted by Barbara Terhune, "The True Parents of Eva (Terhune) Frelinghuysen and Her Sister, Annetje (Terhune) Schuurman," *New Netherland Connections* 12 (2007): 74. Gronniosaw stated that "a very gracious, good minister" named "Freelandhouse" visited his master, a Mr. Van Horn of the City of New York, and purchased him for "£.50" [*sic*, probably £50; there appears to be an unlikely decimal point before the £50], after which Freelandhouse's wife (whom he never names) encouraged him to acquire an education. When Freelandhouse died, he freed Gronniosaw, who "chose to continue with my mistress who was as good to me as if she had been my mother," but she "lived but two years after my master." Frelinghuysen died in autumn of 1747 or winter 1747–1748 when a vacancy was reported in the pulpit of the New Brunswick church, so his widow must have died in 1749 or 1750. Potkay and Burr note that they could find no better evidence of their death dates (Potkay and Burr, *Black Atlantic Writers* [above], 35–36, 39–40, 57–58n34, 58n40). At 56n23 Potkay and Burr repeat the erroneous claim that Eva was Albert²'s daughter, which is refuted by Terhune (see notes 355 and 357).

The Mr. Van Horn who sold Gronniosaw to Rev. Frelinghuysen was almost certainly either John, Gerrit, or Abraham Van Horn(e), New York City merchants who were sons of Jan Cornelisen Van Hoorn. All three of them owned slaves. Their sister Jannetje married in 1687 Reynier Van Sicklen, Eva (Terhune) Frelinghuysen's maternal uncle. Abraham is also likely the merchant who purchased land from the estate of Eva's half-brother Albert³ Terhune in 1722 (note 321). See George Olin Zabriskie, "The Jan Cornelisen Van Hoorn/Van Horne Family of New York and New Jersey," *The American Genealogist* 46 (1970): 51–54, 110–16, 170–71.

³⁵³ Theodorus Frilinghuysen baptism, "New Brunswick First Reformed Church Baptisms," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, new series 11 [1926]: 209, parents Theodorus Frilinghuysen and Eva, baptized 26 May 1723, no witnesses recorded.

FRELINGHUYSEN, baptized in Hagen, Westphalia, Germany, 6 November 1692, son of Rev. Johann Heinrich and Anna Margaretha (Bruggemann) Frelinghuysen.³⁵⁴ He was minister of the Dutch Reformed churches in the Raritan Valley from 1720 until his death in 1747–1748.³⁵⁵

- vii. ANNETJE/ANTJE³ TERHUNE (named for Jan's deceased first wife), died perhaps after 16 October 1757, when she may have witnessed the baptism of a grandson in New Brunswick, New Jersey,³⁵⁶ married say 1720 (first-known child born 1721) JACOBUS SCHURMAN,³⁵⁷ born in Europe after 1692 to unidentified parents. He came to New York shortly before 17 January 1720 with his future brother-in-law Rev. Frelinghuysen and became schoolmaster and *voorleser* (lay reader) at the Raritan Valley, New Jersey, churches where Frelinghuysen was minister.³⁵⁸

On 4 May 1719, the town of Flatlands made nine land grants with special conditions, and one of the recipients was "Anna Terhunen."³⁵⁹ At that time, the only Annas in the family were the respective daughters of Jan² Albertsen and Albert² Albertsen. Albert's daughter was married and living in New Jersey and not likely to be acquiring property on Long Island. Jan's daughter was probably old enough and still unmarried and may have been living at home on Long Island with her parents, but for a young unmarried woman to be owning property would have been extremely unusual, unless her father had died and she was his heir (not the case here) or she had been given land as a dowry (a rare occurrence). The identity of this grantee Anna remains a mystery.

- viii. (*possibly*) FERDINANDUS³ TERHUNE, perhaps one of the two children buried in 1705.³⁶⁰ Barbara Terhune suggested that at least one of Jan's unidentified children would have been a son named Ferdinandus (named for the child's

³⁵⁴ Joel R. Beeke, ed., *Forerunner of the Great Awakening, Sermons by Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen (1691–1747)* (Grand Rapids, Mich: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2000), viii (source not indicated). On 14 Apr. 1740 Rev. Frelinghuysen signed a certificate as "Theodorus Jacobus Frilinghuysen, Pastor at Raritans, New Brunswick[,] and other places united therewith. Aetatis, 47," placing his birth in 1692 or early 1693 (*Ecclesiastical Records State of New York* [note 317], 4:2740).

³⁵⁵ Richard Wynkoop, *Schuremans of New Jersey*, 2nd ed. (New York: privately printed, 1902), 23, says Rev. Frelinghuysen arrived in New York before 17 Jan. 1719/20 when he preached there. Randall Balmer, *A Perfect Babel of Confusion: Dutch Religion and English Culture in the Middle Colonies* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 108–9, 161, says Rev. Frelinghuysen arrived in New York on the ship *King George* in early 1719/20, was minister of the Raritan (Somerville), N.J., Reformed Dutch Church 1720–1747, and died in the latter year (see also note 352). Beeke, ed., *Forerunner of the Great Awakening* (note 354), xi, xviii, names Frelinghuysen's parents and says that his five sons by Eva all became ministers, adding that both of their daughters also married ministers. However, he claimed that Eva was an orphan when she married, one of many inaccuracies about her that have appeared in print (Terhune, "The True Parents" [note 352], 75–77). See also Terhune, *Early Dutch Family Ties* (note 279), 17.

³⁵⁶ Jacob Thomson baptism, "New Brunswick First Reformed Church Baptisms" (note 353), 558, parents Archibel and Jacoba [Schuurman] Thomson, witness Antie Schuurman. There is a possibility this witness was actually either Antje's unmarried daughter Ann or her daughter-in-law, wife of son Johannes. On 2 Feb. 1752 Anthe Schuurman witnessed the baptism of Margarita, daughter of Johannes and Anthe Schuurman, and this could also be either Antje (Terhune) Schuurman or her daughter Ann ("New Brunswick First Reformed Church Baptisms," 550).

³⁵⁷ First child Ann was born 10 Oct. 1721, according to her tombstone in the yard of the First Reformed Church, New Brunswick, which reads "In memory of Ann Schureman who departed this life, May 25, 1800, aged 78 yrs, 7 mos, 15 days" (Wynkoop, *Schuremans of New Jersey* [note 355], 24). It is not known whether the 1752 calendar change was taken into account in calculating her age; if it was, she would still have been born in 1721. While many derivative sources state that Jacobus Schuurman and Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen married Terhune sisters, no original source has been found that gives the maiden surnames of their wives. However, the wives are called Antje and Eva in baptismal records of the New Brunswick Reformed Dutch Church; both named a son Ferdinandus, a name unique to Van Sicklen descendants in this period; and the sons and daughters of both included a Jan and Margrietje; all of which points to their being daughters of Jan² and Margrietje (Van Sicklen) Terhune (rather than of Albert² Terhune as claimed by some earlier writers). For an extensive discussion of their parentage see Terhune, "The True Parents" (note 352), 71–78, and the same author's *Early Dutch Family Ties* (note 279), 1–9.

³⁵⁸ Wynkoop, *Schuremans of New Jersey* (note 355), 23–24, and *Supplement* to same (1906), 1. Beeke, *Forerunner of the Great Awakening* (note 354), xi. Both indicate Schuurman was younger than Frelinghuysen.

³⁵⁹ Flatlands land grants 1719, Flatlands Town Records (Road Records 1661–1868), Kings Co. vol. 4012, pp. 317–18, Old Town Records microfilm 76, Municipal Archives of the City of New York.

³⁶⁰ Jan Terhunen charges for graves and pall (note 332).

maternal grandfather) if the family followed Dutch naming traditions.³⁶¹ His early death would explain why at least three of Jan and Margrietje's probable daughters gave that name to a son.

ix. UNKNOWN³ TERHUNE, second child buried 1705.³⁶²

x. (*possibly*) SUSANNA³ TERHUNE (named for maternal aunt Susanna Van Sicklen), may be the Susanna (no surname given in records) who married say 1724 (first-known child born 1725)³⁶³ JERONIMUS VAN NESTE, baptized at the New York Dutch Church 2 May 1697, son of Pieter Pietersen Van Neste and Trijntje Jans [Roll] of Raritan (Somerville), Somerset County, New Jersey.³⁶⁴ Susanna's date of death is unknown, but Jeronimus remarried in 1743.³⁶⁵

Susanna has not been previously reported as a child of Jan Terhune, and no direct evidence has yet been found that the Susanna who married Jeronimus was a Terhune. The fact that she and Jeronimus gave a son the unusual name Ferdinandus³⁶⁶ almost certainly indicates one of them was descended from Ferdinandus Van Sicklen, and Jeronimus's ancestry shows no such connection. After naming their first son Pieter for his paternal grandfather, Susanna and Jeronimus named their second son Johannes, presumably for his maternal grandfather, Jan.³⁶⁷ As noted above, Jan² Terhune married Margrietje Van Sicklen, daughter of Ferdinandus, and they were the right age to be Susanna's parents. Unfortunately for researchers, Susanna and Jeronimus only had sons, so the baptismal records give no clue as to a possible name for her mother, but this appears to be the most likely place for her among the Van Sicklen descendants.³⁶⁸

While it might seem odd that Susanna from Flatlands would meet and marry Jeronimus from the Raritan,³⁶⁹ as a daughter of Jan Terhune she would have had sisters married to the minister and *voorleser* of the Raritan church. Also, Jeronimus's father, Pieter Van Neste, knew Susanna's uncles Albert Terhune and Claes Romeyn, as they all served in the East Jersey Assembly at the same time.³⁷⁰

xi. SARA³ TERHUNE (named for aunt Sara Alberts),³⁷¹ died between 15 January 1760 and 21 February 1763;³⁷² married say 1729 (first-known child born about 1730)

³⁶¹ Terhune, *Early Dutch Family Ties* (note 279), 12, 15.

³⁶² Jan Terhunen charges for graves and pall (note 332).

³⁶³ Pieter V: Neste baptism, "Readington Church Baptisms from 1720," *Somerset County Historical Quarterly (SCHQ)* 4 (1915): 144.

³⁶⁴ Jeronimus Van Nes baptism, in *Baptisms from 1639 to 1730 in the Reformed Dutch Church, New York*, Collections of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, vol. 2, ed. Thomas Grier Evans (New York: The Society, 1901), 244, parents Pieter Van Nes, Trijntje Jans. For his mother's identity see Barbara A. Barth, "The Rall/Roll Family: Descendants of Jan Mangelsen and His Wife Tryntje Van Woggelum," *RECORD* 131 (2000): 140–42.

³⁶⁵ [Fred Sisser III.] "The Van Neste Family," *Somerset County Genealogical Quarterly (SCGQ)* 4 (1986): 313. Barth, "Rall/Roll Family" (note 364), 141. His second wife was the widow Catharine (Brokaw) Welch.

³⁶⁶ Ferdendandus Van Nist baptism, "First Reformed Church, Raritan (Somerville), Baptisms," *SCHQ* 2 (1913): 216.

³⁶⁷ Johannes Van Neste baptism, "Readington Church Baptisms" (note 363), 145. For Pieter see note 363.

³⁶⁸ [Sisser,] "Van Neste Family" (note 365), *SCGQ* 4 (1986): 313–15, suggested that Susanna was probably a daughter of Johannes Van Sickle[n], brother to Margrietje and Susannah Van Sickle[n]. This was repeated by Barth, "Rall/Roll Family" (note 364), 141, crediting Sisser. Earlier accounts of the Van Sicklens did not give Johannes such a daughter. Laurie Lightfoot, "Johannes Van Sicklen: Married With Children—Or Not?," *New Netherland Connections* 6 (2001) 50–53, very adequately demonstrated that Johannes was not the husband of the wife or father of the children who were attributed to him by earlier writers, and that when his sister Susannah made her will in 1747 (note 286) he was deceased without issue, as she does not mention either him or his children. Therefore another place for Susanna, wife of Jeronimus Van Neste, had to be found among the Van Sicklen descendants.

³⁶⁹ [Sisser,] "Van Neste Family" (note 365), *SCGQ* 4 (1986): 313–15, stressed that if Susanna were the daughter of Johannes Van Sicklen she would have grown up in the Raritan region as her husband did.

³⁷⁰ For Van Neste's Assembly membership see [Sisser,] "Van Neste Family" (note 365), *SCGQ* 2 (1984): 110–11; for Terhune's and Romeyn's see William Nelson, ed., *Calendar of Records in the Office of the Secretary of State, 1664–1703*, New Jersey Archives, First Series, vol. 21 (Paterson: State of New Jersey, 1899), 161–62 (abstracting East Jersey Deeds, Liber C [reversed side]: 249, 296).

³⁷¹ Mrs. John M. Spell, "The Van Barkelo Family in America," *RECORD* 84 (1953): 206–7, identified Sara Terhune, wife of Harmanus Van Barkelo, as a daughter of Albert³ (Jan² Albertsen) Terhune. Morehouse,

HARMANUS VAN BARKELO, son of Willem Harmensen Van Barkelo and Maria Cortelyou. Sara and Harmanus lived in New Utrecht.³⁷³

- xii. (*probably*) MARGRIETJE/MARGARET³ TERHUNE (named for her mother, not previously listed in print as a child of Jan²),³⁷⁴ married say 1730 (first-known child born 1731 or later, see will below) HENDRICUS VAN DYCK, son of Tjerck Thomaszen and Peternelle ([–?–]) Van Dyck of New Utrecht.³⁷⁵ Between 1749 and 1751 Margrietje and Hendricus moved from Kings County³⁷⁶ to Middlebush, Somerset County, New Jersey, where Hendryecus van Dyck, yeoman, made his will 2 December 1751, naming wife Margrieta and oldest son Johannis, and mentioning other children under age (but not named). Executors were his brother Peter van Dyck and cousin Gerrit Terhune.³⁷⁷ “Margaritje Terhune, wid. of Henricus Van Dyck” became a member of the New Brunswick Reformed Dutch Church 2 November 1752.³⁷⁸ As a still relatively young widow with children Margrietje probably remarried, but no further record of her has been found.

(To be continued)

“Who Was Sara?” (note 320), 163–72, examined this identification of Sara very carefully and concluded that the evidence pointed to her being the *daughter* of Jan² Terhune, not his granddaughter. Among other evidence, Harmanus and Sara named their first two sons and first two daughters for the grandparents, which would mean Sara’s parents were Johannes/John and Margareta. Morehouse suggested the birth date range 1704–1709 for Sara.

³⁷² Spell, “Van Barkelo Family” (note 371), 206, cites a 15 Jan. 1760 document in the Van Kouwenhoven Papers at the New York Public Library that mentions Sara as Harmanus’s widow. This collection could not be located in the New York Public Library catalog. In his will dated 28 Sept. 1752 Harmanus Barkeloo [*sic*] of New Utrecht named as executors his wife “Sary,” son John, [wife’s half-brother] Roelof Terheunen, and Peter Cortelyou. When the will was proved 21 Feb. 1763, Cortelyou was the only surviving executor (New York Co. Wills 23:594–96).

³⁷³ Spell, “Van Barkelo Family” (note 371), identifies Harmanus’s parents (pp. 200–201) and his residence (p. 206). Marriage date estimated by Morehouse, “Who Was Sara?” (note 320), 166.

³⁷⁴ Researcher Michael Morrissey alerted author Renee Dauven to the existence of Margrietje, who was recorded as a Terhune when a widow, as shown below (note 378). Her probable age and the fact that she named her eldest son Johannis make her a likely daughter of Jan². One of her sons was probably “Fernant Van Dek” who had a child baptized in 1779 (“Records of the Harlingen Reformed Dutch Church, Montgomery Township, Somerset County,” *GMNJ* 20 [1945]: 16), which points to descent from the Van Sicklen family and thus to Jan²’s second wife, Margrietje. Richard W. Cook, “Van Dycks” (Typescript, South Orange, N.J., 1954), 25, thought she was a daughter of Jan/John³ (Albert²) and Elizabeth (Bertholf) Terhune of Hackensack, but her name, marriage to a Kings County husband, and apparent son Ferdinandus support her placement here.

³⁷⁵ Cook, “Van Dycks” (note 374), 20, 25. Tierck Van Dyck of New Utrecht made his will 1 May 1749, naming wife Pieternelle and son Henerikus among others; sons Peter and Henerikus were made executors, and the will was proved 6 Feb. 1750/1 (New York Co. Wills 17:312–14). There was a different Hendrick Van Dyck with wife Margaret Vanderveer who settled in Somerset County, and it is not always clear which records belong to each couple, but Margrietje Terhune’s husband’s name was usually spelled Henricus or Hendricus. Also note that he named his brother Peter an executor of his will.

³⁷⁶ Two baptisms may indicate when they moved: Petrus, son of “Drickus” Van Dyck, baptized at Flatlands 1 Feb. 1749 (Dingman Versteeg, trans., “Baptismal Records of the R.D. Church of Flatlands, L.I.” Holland Society Church Records Collection 68F:155), and Albert, son of Henderikus Van Dyk and Marregrietje, baptized at Six Mile Run 6 Oct. 1751 (Dingman Versteeg, trans., “Baptismal Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of Six Mile Run, N.J., Commencing 1743,” Holland Society Church Records Collection 76:272). This also would place the move soon after the death of Hendricus’s father.

³⁷⁷ Hendricus Van Dyck will, Secretary of State [Original] Wills, Somerset Co., State File #200R, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton. The will was not proved until 9 Feb. 1756 but Margaret was a widow by Nov. 1752, as shown by her church membership listing (see note 378). Johannis was likely under age as well, and mentioned in the will only to satisfy any claim under the law of primogeniture. “Cousin Gerrit Terhune” is further evidence that Margaret belongs in the family of Jan². Her half-brothers Roelof and Albert both had sons named Gerrit who settled in Somerset County; while they were Margaret’s nephews, in eighteenth-century English “cousin” was commonly used to indicate nephew, and Dutch *neef* could also mean either nephew or cousin.

³⁷⁸ “Members of the First Reformed Dutch Church of New-Brunswick, N.J.,” Appendix 7 of Richard H. Steele, *Historical Discourse Delivered at the Celebration of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the First Reformed Dutch Church, New-Brunswick, N. J., October 1, 1867* (New Brunswick: The Consistory, 1867), 210.

REVIEWS

Recently published books, donated or purchased, may be reviewed in THE RECORD if they concern the genealogy, biography, or history of New York State or its subdivisions or are otherwise relevant to research on New York families. Opinions expressed by reviewers are their own and do not necessarily reflect those of the editor or the Society.

Set in Stone: Creating and Commemorating a Hudson Valley Culture, by Kenneth Shefsiek. 2017. Hardbound. 6×9 inches, 304 pp., photographs, illustrations, map, tables, endnotes, bibliography, index. Price: \$90.00. State University of New York Press, 353 Broadway, State University Plaza, Albany, NY 12246-0001; www.sunypress.edu.

As a docent at Historic Huguenot Street in New Paltz, I began each tour with a standard introduction: This area was settled in 1683 by twelve Huguenot families who fled France to escape religious persecution, lived in the Palatine region for a generation, and came to New York to obtain religious freedom and preserve their heritage. But is this version of history accurate?

In *Set in Stone*, Kenneth Shefsiek, assistant professor of history at the University of North Carolina, traces the evolution of the story of New Paltz. He documents the earliest published histories, which were based largely on oral tradition and enhanced by authors' personal views. He reviews the works of more recent researchers, who base their versions of history on original sources and data that have surfaced in the last fifty years, although he questions some of their interpretations. He provides extensive endnotes and a bibliography that will be valuable to readers looking for original sources.

Shefsiek contends that New Paltz's original settlers were neither French nor Huguenots; he maintains their motivation for emigrating was not religious persecution or cultural preservation. The latter claim is the primary focus of this work. The author describes the microculture of the eighteenth-century New Paltz community and the mixing of French/Walloon, Dutch, and English cultures, a process he labels as creolization: "individual and/or collective use of forms of cultural expression of more than one ethnocultural group, and/or the adaption of ethnocultural material to create entirely new forms through hybridization" (p. 12).

The author explores four areas of cultural adaption. He describes Walloon, Dutch, and English inheritance practices and illustrates changes in culture by comparing wills (in some cases, revisions of wills by the same person) written between 1676 and the end of the eighteenth century. Using drawings and illustrations, he demonstrates architectural features of early Dutch stone structures and the eventual adaptation of English design. Based on legal documents, church records, student ciphering books, and correspondence, he explores changes in language that occurred at different times in different settings. He reexamines the schism in the Dutch Reformed Church, known as the Coetus-Conferentie dispute, as it unfolded in the community and concludes it was "the one time any of the patentee descendants attempted to stop the creolization process" (p. 143). He concludes that by the end of the eighteenth century all that remained of the "creolized" culture were some Dutch American houses and a few Dutch speakers. The remainder of the book chronicles events that occurred in New Paltz in the early 1900s, when a renewed interest in heritage and ancestral pride swept through the United States. When New Englanders were commemorating their Anglo-Saxon ancestors, the descendants of the original New Paltz patentees were proudly embellishing their tales of Huguenot ancestors, erecting monuments to their memory, and preserving the stone houses they had built.

This book will appeal primarily to cultural historians. As a genealogist, I had difficulty wading through some of the academic language, although I was rewarded with a great deal of interesting material and sources about lives of the people in this community.

*Joan de Vries Kelley
Highland, New York*

The American Genealogist

founded 1922 by Donald Lines Jacobus

• An independent quarterly journal, dedicated to the elevation of genealogical scholarship through carefully documented analyses of genealogical problems and through short compiled genealogies •

Volume 90 • 2018

Edited by

NATHANIEL LANE TAYLOR, FASG

JOSEPH C. ANDERSON II, FASG

ROGER D. JOSLYN, CG, FASG

DAVID L. GREENE, FASG, *Consulting Editor*

\$40 (1 year—4 issues) • \$75 (2 years) • \$100 (3 years)

order online • americangenealogist.com • *or by mail at*

The American Genealogist, P.O. Box 11, Barrington RI 02806-0011



Certified . . .

A Powerful Word

BOARD-CERTIFIED GENEALOGISTS:

- Earn credentials through peer-review
- Assure others of quality research and writing
- Meet rigorous standards for competence
- Adhere to BCG's Code of Ethics
- Engage in continuing education

BCG

BOARD FOR CERTIFICATION OF GENEALOGISTS®

WWW.BCGCERTIFICATION.ORG

North River Research

Sylvia Hasenkopf Genealogist and Historian

518-821-3852
sylvia@northriverresearch.com

Specializing in:

Albany, Columbia, Delaware,
Dutchess, Greene, Otsego,
Putnam, Rensselaer, Rockland,
Schoharie, Sullivan, Ulster,
Washington, and Westchester
counties.

Family genealogist, historical
research, lineage societies,
house histories, deeds,
surrogate records, military
records

Over 20 years of experience

New York City
across all time periods

AARON GOODWIN

from the Dutch colonial era
to the 20th century

AARONGOODWIN.NYC



RESEARCH TRIP

Empire State Exploration

February 5-8, 2018 | NYG&B, NYC

Come to New York and discover the wealth of New York State resources available. This trip will allow independent exploration while providing a home base at the NYG&B offices. From the NYG&B's central location, you'll be able to access numerous repositories. And an orientation to New York and New York City research will be held on Monday morning. Several casual social events are scheduled, allowing researchers to connect and find a "research buddy."

REGISTER ONLINE AT NEWYORKFAMILYHISTORY.ORG
OR BY PHONE, 212-755-8532

THE SETTLERS OF THE BEEKMAN PATENT DUTCHESS COUNTY, NEW YORK

A Historical and Genealogical Study of all the
Eighteenth-Century Settlers in the Patent

by Frank J. Doherty

Winner of the 1998 "Book Award" from
The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society

VOLUME XIII NOW AVAILABLE

Volume XIII of this award-winning series of the eighteenth-century settlement of an important part of southeastern New York State contains 1,078 pages, fully indexed, and covers thirty-two family surnames, from Spencer to Swift. Many New England and New York families are in this and other volumes.

All volumes are available in book form or on CD. Individual chapters from the first twelve volumes are available on the website, at minimal cost, sent as email attachments.

Families in Volume XIII include Spencer, Spooner, Sprague, Springer, Springsteen, Sprong, Squires, St. John, Stafford, Staples, Stark, Stebbins, Stedwell, Steel, Stevens, Stevenson, Stewart, Stillwell, Stivers, Stockholm, Storm, Stover, Strader, Strait, Strickland, Striker, Stringham, Sturgess, Sullivan, Swade, Sweet, and Swift.

Volume XII concentrated on Smith families of the mid-Hudson Valley. Twelve chapters have now been posted online: The Smith Families; Other and Unplaced Smiths; Cohen Smith Probate; Hudson Valley Smith Baptisms and Marriages; Sharon, Connecticut, Smiths; The Snedeker Family; The Snyder Family; The Soper Family; The Soule Family; The Southwick Family; The Southworth Family; and The Spaulding Family.

To order books, CDs, or chapters contact

Frank J. Doherty

1830 Billingshurst Ct., Orlando, FL 32825

Fdohertysr@aol.com

www.beekmansettlers.com

13-15 September, 2018

2018 New York State Family History Conference Tarrytown, New York

Register Today!

Conference registration on nysfhc.org

Registration

Registration is open on nysfhc.org, with the early-bird rate available through May 31.

	Early Registration (through May 31)	Registration (after 31 May)
NYG&B Members	\$165	\$190
Nonmembers	\$195	\$215

Additional registration available for:

- Friday Luncheon (\$39)
- Friday Dinner (\$48)
- Saturday Luncheon (\$39)
- Print syllabus (\$27)
- Registration for workshops and repository tours coming soon!

Hotel

Hotel reservations at the DoubleTree by Hilton in Tarrytown, NY, are now open.

Make sure to use the code **GBS** when making a reservation to receive the special conference rate.

See nysfhc.org/venue-hotel for more information.

NEW YORK STATE
FAMILY HISTORY
CONFERENCE

2018

SEPTEMBER 13-15, 2018
TARRYTOWN, NY



LivingDNA



FamilySearch

findmypast



MyHeritage

Early Registration Rate Ends May 31!

Looking for your New York family? Let us help you.

The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society is the most authoritative resource for research on families with New York connections.

JOIN US!

NYG&B members receive:

- Online access to exclusive digital resources
- Print and/or digital subscriptions to *The NYG&B Record* and the *New York Researcher*
- Discounts on programs, publications, and partner services

JOIN ONLINE AT: **NEWYORKFAMILYHISTORY.ORG**
OR CALL **212-755-8532**



NYG&B

NOI SIAMO IN UN'ALTRA DIMENSIONE