OUR CADWALLADER ANCESTRY
FROM BRITAIN AND IRELAND
THROUGH THE MID-ATLANTIC COLONIES
AND WEST TO WISCONSIN IN NINE GENERATIONS

Including 17th-18th century roots in the
following other largely Quaker families of
New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia:
Ballard, Candler, Hague, Hubbard,
Malin, Schooley and Yeardley

And 19th-century Cadwalladers and Hagues of
Ohio, Indiana and Wisconsin

Second Edition
1998

George E. Koehler

... Koehler Family History Series ...
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Each was enlightened by the divine light of Christ, and I saw it shine through all.

George Fox
FOREWORD

"I think it is a shame that I know so little about my ancestors. But I am getting to be so old that I know less and less all the time." So wrote Chester Cadwallader in a 1923 letter to his niece, my grandmother, Marie (Cadwallader) Smith. Chester was 86 at the time, and Marie 69.

Apparently my grandmother was determined to know more about her ancestry than Chester did, for she and her daughter Ethelyn (Smith) Koehler, my mother, had embarked on a shared project in genealogical research that seems to have lasted through much of the 1920s. We have on file fascinating responses to their inquiries from relatives far and wide. And even some of the envelopes, with their two cents' postage!

This mother-and-daughter research culminated, after Marie's 1927 death, in my mother's compilation of the family stories and photographs. This unpublished paper, under the title, A Genealogy of Edgar Smith and Marie (Cadwallader) Smith of Evansville, Wisconsin, I have deposited with the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in Madison. It has proved to be a valuable guide to our own research, especially on the Cadwalladers.

The story of the Cadwalladers themselves is a six-generation epic. As persecuted Quakers, they left Wales in the late 17th century and settled just west
of Philadelphia. Succeeding generations, all farmers, moved southwest along the
Blue Ridge of Virginia, then through the Cumberland gap into Ohio, Indiana, and
eventually southern Wisconsin. They were a devout, hardy, and prolific lot,
scattering descendants all through the Midwest and beyond.

But this account encompasses not only the direct male line of Cadwallader
descent but also the tributary lines of their wives: the Ballards and Candlers,
forebears of Moses Cadwallader, Jr.'s wife Mary Ballard; and the Hagues,
Yeardleys and Schooleys, the ancestors of Byrom Cadwallader's wife Sarah Hague.
Counting these collateral lines, this volume traces our descent over nine genera-
tions, describing in more or less detail the lives and times of 23 families and citing
at least by name 62 of our direct ancestors.

My grandmother, Marie Eliza, was the last of the Cadwalladers in my family
tree. The oldest child of Samuel and Adora (Doolittle) Cadwallader, she was born
in Evansville, Wisconsin, on June 20, 1854. There she married my grandfather,
Edgar Wilson Smith, and there, not more than two miles out of Evansville, they
farmed almost all their lives. She died in Madison, Wisconsin, on May 17, 1927.
This is the story of her paternal ancestry, and to her (whom I never met) it is
fondly dedicated. How she would have enjoyed discovering it all!

"Married contrary to discipline"

My grandmother, I think, would have been stirred by her Quaker forebears'
long, relentless trek from Wales to Wisconsin over six generations. She might have
been inspired, as I have been, by their earnest integrity of spirit, their high social
principles. Perhaps she'd have been amused by those forefathers and mothers
whose patience with the Quaker system ran short and who were "married contrary
to discipline," that is, by an Anglican priest, and thereafter condemned. She might
have been aghast in discovering the widow whose children were declared "orphans"
by the Quaker meeting and removed from her care while she lived out of wedlock
with another man.

Being a simple farm woman, what would my grandmother have felt in
learning that she was descended from wealthy, tobacco-planting, slave-holding
gentry of the Virginia tidewater? In learning, for example, that one of these
Ballards served on the Governor's Council and was Speaker of the House of
Burgesses, that another created the town of Yorktown and sold some of his land
for the home of the new College of William and Mary in Williamsburg? Though
they were distinguished indeed, I think their values were not her values.

By contrast, she would have relished the tale of her forefather, the scion of
English barons in Ireland who, against the mores of the time, followed his heart
and married an Irish colleen. Together they fled to America, and became Quaker
farmers on Virginia's western frontier. She must have chuckled at a story, known
to her, of her own grandfather who, in Indiana, fulfilled the contract to build the
county courthouse but neglected to provide any "heating apparatus."
Though Marie Cadwallader Smith had access to only a small number of the many stories of this account, she took the initiative in collecting them, and for that we are grateful beyond words.

Regarding this account

This book is more a "family history" intended for family members than it is a "genealogy." It is a personal reflection on stories gathered by my mother and grandmother and on data uncovered on several "genea-jaunts," research trips my wife Margie and I have made to western Wales, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Midwest. It follows only the direct ancestral lines and does not, for example, report more than cursory information on siblings of our forebears.

It is organized by chapters, one for each of the families involved. As a glance at the Contents will show, these are grouped in four parts:

Part One deals with the first four Cadwallader generations, Quakers all, and their migration from Wales to Pennsylvania and through Virginia.

Part Two covers the ancestry of Moses Cadwallader, Jr.'s wife Mary, that is, the Ballards, wealthy planters of tidewater Virginia, then inland farmers — and a related branch, the Candlers, English gentry from Ireland.

Part Three focuses on the Hagues, Quaker forebears of Byrom Cadwallader's wife Sarah, and the Yeardley and Schooley tributary lines.

Finally, Part Four reviews the westward movement of the last two Cadwallader generations, ending in a settled life in southern Wisconsin.

For each of the four sections, pages are numbered separately and notes appear at the end. The generations are numbered regressively, beginning with the writer as number 1.

The step chart on page viii and others giving more detail at the beginning of each of the four parts provide useful overviews of the maze of relationships. In reading these charts, note that the name of each child extends to the left of the father's name (above) and the mother's (below). Where there is room, the first letters of the parents' names are joined by a vertical line; in other cases the parent may appear directly above or below, without the line. A horizontal blank indicates an unknown name.

The map on page ix illustrates in general terms the western migration of the major related families. It portrays at a glance the crucial role of Loudoun, Bedford, and Grayson Counties, Virginia, and Wayne County, Indiana, in the confluence of our ancestral streams.
OUR DESCENT FROM THE CADWALLADERS
AND RELATED FAMILIES

Arthur Koehler (1885-1967)

George Edgar Koehler (1930- )

Edgar Wilson Smith (1853-1928)

Ethelyn Cora Smith (1888-1950)

pr. John Cadwallader, Sr. (d. 1742)

John Cadwallader, Jr. (1700-1755)

pr. Sarah (Roberts?)

Moses Cadwallader, Sr. (1730?-1816?)

Mary ______

Moses Cadwallader, Jr. (1763-1803)

Randall Malin (d. c. 1703)

Isaac Malin

Elizabeth ______

Thomas Malin

Elizabeth Malin (d. 1780)

Byrom Cadwallader (1799-1879)

Byrom Ballard (1740 to after 1807)

Mary ("Polly") Ballard (1764-1813)

Eleanor Candler (d. 1791)

Samuel Cadwallader (1823-1909)

Samuel Hague (1764-1854)

Sarah ("Sally") Hague (1800-93)

Eleanor McGinnis (1767-1853)

Marie Eliza Cadwallader (1854-1927)

Joseph Doolittle (1805-85)

Adora Maria Doolittle (1832-1900)

Maria Nash (1807-82)

(For Cadwalladers see Parts One and Four.)

(For Ballard ancestry see Part Two.)

(For Hague ancestry see Part Three.)
Family lines: (1) Hague and Yeardley; (2) Schooley; (3) Cadwallader and Malin; (4) Ballard; (5) Candler (N.C. location unknown).
Dates, abbreviations, acknowledgements

All dates are given in the so-called New Style. Until 1752, in Britain and the American colonies the new year began on March 25, in accord with the church's ancient Julian calendar, and thus the dates in January-March appeared as what we would regard as the previous year (Old Style). For clarity, these have been converted to our (Gregorian) calendar. The early Quakers, not wanting to use the "heathen" names for the months of the year, referred to the months by number. Thus a Friends' record dated 12.19.1702 in the Old Style would be translated in this account to February 19, 1703, New Style.

The word nee (from the French, having been born) is used by convention to indicate a married woman's maiden name. Other abbreviations include b. (born), m. (married), d. (died), c. (for circa, about), pr. (probably). In most quotations the original spelling is maintained, but punctuation may be altered for sake of clarity.

Words cannot convey our full appreciation to those who guided our research along the way. What a comfort it is in a strange setting to be welcomed and helped by those who "know the territory." So hail to countless reference librarians, historical and genealogical society members, public servants in the offices of county clerks, and more!

And special thanks to the dean of Virginia's Quaker historians, Jay Worrall, Jr., who liberally shared his files with us early in our pursuit of the Cadwalladers, helping us make many connections — and who generously agreed to review an early draft of this account as well as this edition, providing helpful suggestions for improvement. His book, The Friendly Virginians: America's First Quakers (Iberian Publishing Co., 1994), is the definitive work in its field.

Permission to quote from this document is gladly given and acknowledgement requested. And readers' suggested corrections or additions will be appreciated. Who knows? — someday there may be a Third Edition of this account.

Koehler Family History Series

This volume is one in a series of family history accounts now at various stages of development. When complete the series will portray more than anyone else would want to know about the ancestry of George E. Koehler and Marjorie R. Koehler:

General:

Our Ancestry: An Overview
Our Family Album

Forebears of George's father, Arthur Koehler:

Our Koehler Ancestry
Forebears of George's mother, Ethelyn S. Koehler:
Our Smith Ancestry (1st edition, 1994)
Our Haseltine Ancestry (1st edition, 1991)
Our Doolittle Ancestry

Forebears of Margie's father, Edwin B. Rennebohm:
Our Rennebohm Ancestry

Forebears of Margie's mother, Winifred B. Rennebohm:
Our Johns Ancestry

George E. Koehler
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Nashville, Tennessee 37205
This account of our family history begins with the 17th-century Cadwalladers of western Wales, though exactly which Cadwalladers we cannot be sure. The preponderance of evidence leads us to a John and Sarah Cadwallader, who as threatened Quakers had immigrated to Pennsylvania by the late 1690s. Their son John and his wife had a son Moses, who with his wife Elizabeth, of English Quaker stock, removed to northern Virginia. As respected leaders in the Society of Friends they eventually pushed on to central, then southwestern Virginia. Their son, also Moses, and his wife Polly both died young, leaving the orphaned fifth-generation Byrom to build a new life in the Midwest.

In Part One we consider our Welsh Quaker origins and then examine the first four American generations of our Cadwalladers, Byrom's paternal ancestry. His maternal lineage is covered in Part Two, and his own and his descendants' lives in Part Four.
INTRODUCTION: OUR WELSH QUAKER ORIGINS

"Cadwallader." What an unusual name! It has a primitive ring, wild and alien. It doesn't sound like English — and it isn't. The word is Welsh, with roots in the ancient Celtic tongue still spoken in Wales. It means "valiant in battle," an accolade perhaps won by Celtic warriors centuries before the birth of Christ.¹

About 500 B.C., restless Celts of the European continent began to move westward into Britain and were well established there before Julius Caesar arrived in 55 B.C. Called Britons by the Romans, whom they eventually expelled, they were later overrun by successive waves of invaders — Saxons, Norse and Danes, then Normans. Resisting mightily, but outnumbered, the Celts were pushed into Scotland, Ireland, the Isle of Man, Cornwall, Brittany and "Cymry," that is, Wales. More or less subdued by the English King Edward I in the late 13th century, the Welsh never gave up their fiercely independent spirit, their identity as a people, their language.

The Cymric identity is perhaps nowhere more lively than in the mountains and valleys of Merionethshire in northwestern Wales, now within the larger county of Gwynedd. Merion (or sometimes Meirion) derived its name from its ruler in the early eighth century and became a county of Britain in 1284. It is from this area that the 17th-century settlers of the "Welsh Tract" in Pennsylvania chiefly came.² And these included our immigrant ancestor, John Cadwallader.

They came, not because they were again embattled by English troops, but because they were persecuted by the defenders of English religion. They came because they were devout Quakers who were being hounded, imprisoned, and killed by civil authority for their intolerable views.

George Fox

The founder of the Society of Friends, George Fox (1624-1691), after a time of wandering the English countryside in a spiritual "ocean of darkness and death," was brought into a vivid experience of God's love and began a ministry of itinerant preaching. In June 1652 he convinced hundreds of people at meetings in Westmorland, and the Society was born. He traveled through England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, the Netherlands, Germany, and even to the West Indies and North America, appealing to "that of God in every man," the light of Christ that
exposes sin, overcomes it, and then endows people with simplicity and integrity. As he went he established a system of Monthly Meetings for conducting business, in use to this day.

A parish priest at Wrexham, at the north end of Wales' eastern border, hearing of Fox's message, asked two of his congregation to investigate. Both were convinced and converted, and one, John ap John, "abode in the truth, and received a gift in the ministry, to which he continued faithful." This new Quaker became the prime agent in the spread of the Friends' movement through Wales.

In 1657 John ap John brought George Fox to Wales, and he was received with remarkable enthusiasm. Fox wrote in his journal, "As we traveled on we came to a hill which the people of the country say is two or three miles high [the mountain Cader Idris]; from the side of the hill I could see a great way. And I was moved to sound the day of the Lord there." In the years that followed many a small group of obedient Friends gathered at the farmhouses near Dolgellau ("DOLGETH-ly," more or less) in the shadow of 3,000-foot Cader Idris — at farms such as Tyddyn-y-garreg, Brynmawr, Dewispren, Pantycr, Dolgyn, Dolseran Hall.

It may seem odd that the descendants of the defiant warriors of Wales should turn to the gentle doctrine and manners of the Friends. But the Welsh were a simple-hearted people, and the simplicity of Quakerism appealed to them. "The Welsh temperament, with its mysticism, love of beauty and intense spiritual faith, had a natural affinity with the preaching of George Fox and his followers."3

"A home where they might be free"

The direct, experiential faith of the Quakers threatened the Church of England, and from 1655 to 1685 the Friends underwent frightful persecution. Special acts forbade them to meet. Those who did not attend their parish churches or preached the Quaker faith were heavily fined and jailed. They were chained, driven along muddy roads, beaten with the flats of swords, condemned to death. Many touching letters and memorials describe sufferings of these unbending martyrs. "They yielded not one inch to error, but the fight was a long and weary one; and they yearned, as their fathers had done, for a home where they might be free; free from such contact with error itself, and free to give such service to God as He required of them."4

William Penn (1644-1718) was sympathetic to the hopes of Quakers in Wales and elsewhere, and in 1681 set aside land at the western edge of Philadelphia — what was to become the townships of Merion, Haverford, and Radnor — as the so-called Welsh Tract, for purchase by Welsh Quakers wishing to emigrate. Seven companies were formed to raise the needed capital. In the summer of 1682 the first group of about forty, the Edward Jones party, largely from the Bala area (northeast of Dolgellau) sailed in the Lyon. For the rest of the century the spiritual refugees streamed from Wales to Pennsylvania, over 2,000 in all.4
Records of this migration abound — probate records in Wales, notes on the "sufferers," letters, ship lists, minutes of the Monthly Meetings in Pennsylvania, several books on the subject. And Cadwalladers abound, on both sides of the Atlantic — even John Cadwallader. Still the identity and background of our immigrant forebear, John Cadwallader, remain a mystery.

Part of the difficulty rests on the character of Welsh names. Rather than carrying the same surname on from generation to generation, as the English did from about the twelfth century, the "last name" given Welsh children was their father's "first name." For example, Evan ap Owen was "Evan, the son of Owen." Cadwallader ap Evan (or even Cadwallader ap Evan ap Owen) was "Cadwallader, the son of Evan," (the son of Owen). When the Welsh arrived in the New World they immediately began to practice the continuing surname with which we are familiar.

Therefore, in searching for the Cymric roots of our John Cadwallader, we must first determine whether he was named in the Welsh way for a father whose first name was Cadwallader or in the American way for a father whose second name was Cadwallader. Since he could have left Wales no earlier than 1682 (when the emigration began), and was perhaps married in 1697, and definitely a father in 1700, we must assume that he was born and named in Wales. And therefore, that his father's first name was Cadwallader.

As it turns out, this is little help. Cadwallader (often spelled Cadwaladr) was a common Welsh name. Probate records for Penllyn near Bala, for example, show many Cadwallader wills, at least two of which could have been of John's father. But to this point I have found no one with Cadwallader as a first name who is known to have a son named John.

Some candidates for our immigrant ancestor

There is, however, a "Cadwaleder John." In the 18th century a member of the Radnor Monthly Meeting, to which our John belonged, visited Merionethshire and "took some pains to get the Account of Births" of Radnor members. He found 26, among them "Cadwaleder, son of John & Catherine Thomas," born November 4, 1679. Could it be that this is our immigrant forefather, who changed the sequence of his names to conform to more familiar American usage? If so, he would have been about 17 when he arrived in Pennsylvania, 20 at the birth of his son John.

From ship lists, two candidates for our John appear, both emigrating from Merionethshire to Pennsylvania in 1696: One is John Cadwaladr Rowland from the Bala district. From his name we know that he was the son of Cadwaladr, the son of Rowland.
The other candidate is John Cadwaladr, who came with his nephew, Humphrey Ellis and Humphrey's widowed mother Jane Cadwaladr. From this record we can infer that John and Jane were almost certainly siblings, children of a man whose first name was Cadwaladr, and that John was probably the younger, or at least was still unmarried.6

As it happens, the 1696 date for the voyage of these two John Cadwaladrs suits our immigrant perfectly. His name does not appear in Pennsylvania records of the 1680s and early 90s, but first shows up in his new Monthly Meeting records of 1697.

Yet in the end, all we know for sure of our immigrant forefather's origins is that he was a member of that fervent minority in northwest Wales who were persecuted for their devotion to the inner light and their rejection of Anglican practice, and whose conviction, along with William Penn's assistance, brought them between 1682 and 1700 to the Welsh Tract just west of Philadelphia.
Our immigrant Cadwallader ancestor was among the thousands of Welsh Quakers seeking relief from late 17th-century oppression by fleeing to the Welsh Tract in Pennsylvania. And though we cannot locate our forefather's Welsh origins, we believe his name was John Cadwallader. But which John Cadwallader? There were at least four men of this name cited in minutes of the Friends' Monthly Meetings in and around Philadelphia. Untangling these references has been a challenge.

It turns out that ours was not "John the teacher." The son of Cadwallader Thomas, he hailed from Pembrokeshire in southwestern Wales, where he had spent several years in school. In 1699 he married Martha Jones of Merion, Pennsylvania, daughter of honored Merionethshire Quakers. John and Martha moved from the Welsh Tract east into Philadelphia, where he became a teacher in the Friends' school. He was admitted as a freeman (citizen) of the city of Philadelphia in 1705, served in the Provincial Assembly in 1729. He and Martha begat a distinguished line of wealthy Episcopalian politicians and military men of Philadelphia.\(^7\)

Nor was our forebear "John the preacher." He held land in Warminster, Bucks County, just north of Philadelphia, and was a minister in the Horsham Monthly Meeting. Born in Wales in 1676, he married Mary Casde in 1701, who, as a Quaker elder, joined him in his ministry, traveling to New England and elsewhere. They had ten children, among them a son John (not ours). After Mary's death John, Sr., married Margaret Peters and eventually died as a missionary on the island of Tortola, West Indies, in 1742.\(^8\)

The Cadwalladers of Radnor

The lives of the above two Johns are well documented. Unfortunately our John Cadwallader, Sr., was more obscure. We may think of him as the "John of Radnor" in the Welsh Tract. But even here there are two John Cadwallader couples to choose from — a John and Sarah (who had a son John, born probably in January 1700) and a John and Meredith (whose certificate of marriage was recorded in December 1699).\(^9\) The evidence for John, Jr.'s birth suggests that John and Sarah are the couple we are looking for. Some say Sarah's surname was Roberts.\(^10\)
The township of Radnor, where John and Sarah first lived, is located just west of Philadelphia in what was then Chester County but now is at the northern edge of Delaware County (formed in 1789). Radnor is bordered on the east by Philadelphia and Montgomery County, on the west by Chester County, and on the south by Haverford Township (Delaware County). Its first settlers were from Radnorshire in Wales, hence the name. As part of the Welsh Tract, along with Haverford and Merion, Radnor was settled largely by Welsh Friends. In 1681 a Welsh gentleman, Richard Davies, purchased 5,000 acres from William Penn, which he then sold to various buyers. Most of this tract lay in the southern half of Radnor, and it may be to this area that John Cadwallader came.

By 1683 the settlers were becoming numerous in Haverford, and a road was laid out northward into Radnor. It is likely that Radnor was first settled about this time. By 1686 Radnor Friends were meeting regularly in the homes of John Jerman and John Evans, and the first marriage occurred that year. In 1693 the first meetinghouse was built, the one in which, very likely, our John worshiped.

Monthly Meetings for the area were held variously at Radnor, Haverford, and Merion, but just which of the events recorded by these meetings refer to our John is not easy to tell.

For example, "At our monthly Meeting Held at Haverford ye 8 of 5/mo [July 8] 1697, It is ordered as followoth. 1st, the Certificate of John Cadwalader was Read in the morning and ordered to be Recorded." Is this the record of our John's transfer of membership to the American group within a year of his arrival from Wales?

Or what of the congregation's relief efforts two years later? In April 1699 the Monthly Meeting held at Haverford decided to pay seven pounds "out of friends Collection to assist John Cadder " (elsewhere Cadwalader) and two pounds to John Longworth, "and that said John Cadder and John Longworth [are] to bind themselves to the said friends in the behalf of the meeting, to repay them when they are able." The next January (the month of our John, Jr.'s birth), "Friends desire that inspection be made whether any can lend our friend John Cadd. 20 pounds." And in October 1702 Rowland Ellis and several others "are desired to speake with John Cadwallader to advise him concerning his ... settlement and to pay his debt." Was this debtor our John?
Various scenarios

Genealogists have compiled several versions of our Cadwalladers' Radnor days. Rawlins Cadwallader of San Francisco, in correspondence with my mother Ethelyn S. Kochler, asserted that John emigrated in the 1690s, that his wife was Sarah, and that he and Sarah were certified to the Radnor Monthly Meeting on May 7, 1697 (not May 8, as above). But in a later letter Rawlins Cadwallader says John's wife was Mary. He claims that a son David was born February 20, 1694 (though Radnor records show no Cadwallader births before 1700), and that John later married Mary Swofert, dying February 1, 1754. And that John, Jr., was born January 5, 1699 (sic), according to the Radnor Monthly Meeting. However, at least one Cadwallader genealogist has expressed skepticism regarding Rawlins' work.

Another descendant, Harry S. Hargrave, goes further, claiming that John Cadwallader was born in 1667 in Merionethshire, Wales, and came to America in 1684 on the Vine as a servant to Owen Roberts. Settling in Radnor, John married Sarah Roberts, probably the daughter of Owen. Hargrave gives John and Sarah six children: David, Nathan, John, Elizabeth, Gwent, and possibly Thomas.

Still another version, from a family Bible dated 1945, gives the immigrant forefather as Moses, not John, born in Wales about 1664. He is also said to have come on the Vine, but was captured by pirates and taken to the West Indies, then escaped to Pennsylvania. He is believed to have served Owen Roberts and married Sarah Roberts, who died August 7, 1737. Here four children are named: David, Mathew (or Mathar — a misreading of Nathan?), John, and Elizabeth.

I have not been able to verify any of these contradictory scenarios. I can affirm the strong probability that our immigrant ancestor was John Cadwallader, Sr., that he was associated with the Radnor Monthly Meeting west of Philadelphia, and that by his wife Sarah he had a son John Cadwallader, Jr., born at the turn of the century, probably on January 5, 1700. (See note on John, Jr.'s birth, next section.)

Quaker organization

A word of explanation regarding the Society of Friends' organizational hierarchy: The regional Yearly Meeting (YM) is divided into districts called Quarterly Meetings (QM), and these into Monthly Meetings (MM), which serve as the principal executive branch of the society. "Each Monthly Meeting may have responsibility for one or more subordinate gatherings called Preparative (or Particular) Meetings and/or Allowed (or Indulged) Meetings. All these meetings [except the YMs and QMs], however named, typically gather for worship weekly or twice-weekly. Members of Monthly Meetings also gather monthly to attend to business, including membership and financial matters. Preparatory Meetings handle their own local business matters and submit matters of more general concern to the Monthly Meeting. Allowed Meetings do not conduct business."
Genealogical information comes largely from the meticulous records kept by the Monthly Meetings. "A monthly meeting is a business meeting, attended by delegates appointed by meetings for worship.... At the monthly meeting all business matters of interest to the meetings for worship are discussed and decided upon; also clerks of the meetings for worship bring to the monthly meeting all records of births, deaths, and marriages, for recording by the clerk of the monthly meeting in a special register kept for that purpose. Complaints against members and all matters of dispute are also here decided. No member my bring legal proceedings against anyone whomsoever without the express consent of his meeting."

"Young people wishing to marry must also come before the monthly meeting at least twice and declare their intention to marry with each other. The meeting appoints a committee to examine into the lives of both the man and the woman and report to next meeting; if no objection be found to the consummation of the marriage, the couple is 'liberated to marry,' and a committee from both the men's and women's meetings is appointed to attend the marriage to see that it is 'carried out according to the good order established among Friends, and to bring the marriage certificate for recording.'"

The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting included three Quarterly Meetings: Philadelphia, Chester (later Concord), and Western (not organized until 1758). Within the Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting was the Radnor or Haverford Monthly Meeting (with Preparative Meetings organized at both Haverford (1683) and Radnor (1686). Within the Chester Quarterly Meeting was a Goshen Monthly Meeting (not organized until 1723) and the earlier Goshen Preparative Meeting (1702). And within the Western Quarterly Meeting was an Uwchlan Monthly Meeting and the earlier Uwchlan Preparative Meeting (1712). John Cadwallader, Sr., had a hand in the fledgling years of both the Goshen and Uwchlan groups, as we shall now see.

To Goshen and Uwchlan

In 1701 Friends living in Chester County's Goshen Township, west of Radnor in the vicinity to today's West Chester, applied "to have a meeting for worship settled amongst them," and the following year their request was granted. After meeting in homes for a time, the group proposed in 1706 that they build a meetinghouse, and it was ready for occupancy in 1709. Apparently by this time John Cadwallader and family had moved to Goshen, for he is listed as an early member of this meeting (along with Isaac Malin, the grandfather of Elizabeth Malin, who would marry John's grandson Moses, Sr., fifty years later).

Three Chester County deeds attest to John Cadwallader's brief tenure in this area, and their archaic language gives us a sense of time and place:

This Indenture, Made the Twentieth day of the month called January in the sixth year of the reign of Queen Ann over Great Brittain & Anno Dom 1707/8, between David Powell of the County of Philadelp[hi]a in the
province of Pensylvania, surveyor, & John Cadwallader of the Great Valley in the County of Chester in the said province, yeom[an], of the one part, and Rowland Rich[ar]d of Meirion in the sd County of Philadelpia, yeom, of the other part . . .

Although not all of this deed is legible, it appears that John Cadwallader had previously purchased this tract of 318 acres from the surveyor and is now selling it to Rowland Richard. Since John is described as a farmer "of the Great Valley" (of the Schuylkill River, to the northeast), he apparently did not move to this tract, whose location is illegible in any case.

In the next deed we find more concrete evidence of his move: On June 8, 1708, four months after selling the previous parcel, John Cadwallader "of Willis Town" paid £60 to Francis Yarnall (or Yearnall) for a 150-acre parcel in Willistown. This is part of a 400-acre tract acquired by patent by Yarnall from William Penn in 1703, for a rental of four English shillings, to be paid annually on the first day of the first month. Willistown Township borders Goshen Township on the northeast. Thus the Cadwalladers could have easily lived in Willistown but worshiped in Goshen.

Relative locations of selected Pennsylvania townships important to the early Cadwalladers

But the Cadwalladers remained here only three years. A third deed shows that on September 24, 1711, yeoman John Cadwallader, "late of Willis Town but now of Uwchlan," Chester County, "and Sarah his wife" sold the 150-acre property in Willistown to Thomas James of Haverford for £95 "Lawfull mony of america," a 58% profit in three years. The penmanship of the justice of the peace is much improved in this deed, but the seemingly redundant legalese runs on forever!²²
As far as we know, John and Sarah lived out the rest of their years at Uwchlan, somewhat northwest of present-day West Chester. Originally spelled Ywchlan by the Welsh, the word means "upland," "higher than the valley" (presumably the Great Valley of the Schuylkill River to the northeast), and is spelled Uwchland today.

A meeting at John Cadwallader's

At a 1712 gathering of the Chester MM, "The Representatives of Goshen meeting moved to this meeting the Request of several friends that Lives at a Place Called Youchland to have a meeting at the house of John Cadwalladers; and in order that friends may receive some further satisfaction whether it may be Convenient to settle a meeting [that is, establish a Preparative Meeting] there, this meeting appoints Jacob Simcock and Ephraim Jackson to visit them in order thereto, and to make report to the next monthly meeting."

At the following meeting Simcock and Jackson reported that "they hadd a meeting there, and friends finds some Incouragement to answer their Request of haveing a meeting settied there." Two months later, "This meeting haveing taken into Consideration the friends Request of haveing a meeting settled at John Cadwallader's above the Great valley every first and fifth dayes [Sundays and Thursdays — the Friends avoided the pagan names of days and months, using numerals only], Except when the meeting is kept at James Thomas's, which this meeting is satisfied with, orders that a Request be carried to the Quarterly meeting for there [sic] approbation of it."

And in 1714, "Goshen Meeting Proposeth that friends of Youghland be a preparative meeting of themselves, which this meeting is consenting to, and Requests the mind of the Quarterly meeting therein." The Uwchlan meeting began to send representatives to the Goshen Monthly Meeting in 1716. Among the representatives between then and 1720 were John and David "Cadwalader."

John must have been a staunch and relatively prosperous supporter of the new meeting. Not only did it meet in his home, but he also gave ground for the cemetery. In June 1715 he purchased from David Lloyd of Chester 250 acres, and the next January he sold to Thomas Fell all the property "where ye sd John Cadwalader Dwells..., Excepting out of these presents a place of Ground on ye side of King's Road which ye sd John Cadwalader allotted for a burying-place, and to set a meeting-house, for ye use of ye people called Quakers."

Rawlins Cadwallader gave John's death date as October 26, 1742. This is reasonable, though I have not found it documented. Whatever the date, he died a faithful Friend, whose countless progeny would keep the faith and keep their Welsh-Quaker identity for several generations yet to come, in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and points west.
Generation 8

John Cadwallader, Jr. (1700-1755)
Mary ____

Of the next generation we have only a few shreds of information, and most of that from secondary sources. Our John Cadwallader, Jr., appears to be the one born at Radnor (then Chester County) on January (or March?) 5, 1700,25 son of John, Sr., and Sarah (Roberts?). Within a very few years the family moved northwestward to Goshen and then Uwchlan Townships. There John, Jr., certainly grew up as part of a tightly knit and zealous ethnic-religious community.

He is said to have wed Mary ____. It is probable that Mary was not a Quaker, for he married "out of meeting," but was later reinstated. He and Mary are said to have had six children, of whom these five are known:26

1. Our Moses, born 1730; married Elizabeth Malin. See below.
2. James
3. Charles
4. John
5. May

John is believed to have been one of the traveling Quaker ministers. Such ministers usually traveled with a companion, and one Zebulon Heston was at least on occasion John's partner. In 1746 they visited meetings in Virginia, an experience that may have paved the way for future family migration southward.27

John Cadwallader, Jr., is said to have died December 15, 1755.28 In the record of Moses' 1756 marriage Moses is referred to as the son of John, "late of Vincent, deceased."29 Vincent is the township bordering Uwchlan on the northeast; whether John moved into this township in his last years or the borders were redrawn to take in his property is not known.

To Virginia

By the mid-18th century the Quakers of Pennsylvania were in need of more land. William Penn had sold them relatively small tracts, from 200 to 1,000 acres, adequate for the original settlers, but no longer so for the many children and grandchildren. The descendants were looking south, into Maryland and Virginia, for room to expand, but the Indian presence necessitated caution. The 1722 treaty
with the Iroquois concluded at Albany pushed our Native Americans beyond the Appalachians and opened the way for the southern migration of the Europeans.

The next two generations of our Cadwalladers were part of this migration. Father and son, both named Moses, married women of strong Quaker families and, with other Friends, followed the long valleys southwestward through Virginia with the Blue Ridge looming on their right. From Loudoun County in the north, to south-central Bedford County, to Grayson County in the southwest, they carved out new farms, established new meetings, and raised more Cadwalladers. To these years we now turn.
Generation 7

Moses Cadwallader, Sr. (1730?-1816?)
Elizabeth Malin (d. 1780)

We have seen that Moses Cadwallader was the son of John Cadwallader, Jr., and Mary, born, it is said, in 1730, probably in Uwchlan or Vincent, Chester County, Pennsylvania. But the first solid record of his life is that of his marriage. Quaker minutes in Virginia show that Moses Cadwallader, son of John of Chester County, Pennsylvania, was reported by the Goshen Monthly Meeting there as having married at the Uwchlan meetinghouse on May 29, 1756. The bride was Elizabeth Malin (sometimes Mahlon), daughter of Thomas and Sarah Malin, also of Chester County. A brief word on her genealogy:

The Malins of England and Pennsylvania

Generation 10: Just a few miles east of the city of Chester, in county Cheshire of west-central England, lies the village of Great Barrow. On a quick stop in 1985 we asked directions to the village center and found there only a pump in the road crossing and, nearby, a single commercial building called The Stores — a grocery, post office, and bank all in one. In the late 17th century there was a meeting of Friends in this village, and among them were our forebears Randall (or Randal, Randle) and Elizabeth Malin (say "MAY-lin"), who had married in 1676.

It is reported that "For making a prayer in a meeting in his native country, Randal Malin was fined 20 pounds, 5 shillings, for which distress [seizure] was made of the household goods, corn and hay." Randall must have been praying aloud in a Cheshire Friends' meeting when it was raided by the sheriff's men, for such gatherings of Friends (derided as "conventicles" by the orthodox) were illegal in England then. Perhaps it was for troubles related to this incident that in 1682 Randall and Elizabeth purchased from William Penn 250 acres in Pennsylvania and emigrated the next year.

The Malins settled on this tract just west of Philadelphia in Upper Providence, (then) Chester County, where "they were both active and influential members of the Society of Friends, meetings sometimes being held at their house." Elizabeth died in 1687, leaving two sons, Isaac and Jacob. In 1693 Randall remarried, a widow named Mary Conway (or Connaway), the oldest child of Valentine Hollingsworth of New Castle County, Delaware, and they had three children — Hannah, Rachel, Randall, Jr., and perhaps others. Randall, Sr., died about 1703.
Generation 9: Randall and Elizabeth's second son was our forebear, Isaac Malin. Isaac is listed along with John Cadwallader, Sr., and twelve others as among the early members of the Goshen meeting of Friends, the same meeting that about fifty years later would report the marriage of John and Isaac's grandchildren. Isaac was born in 1681 and married first Elizabeth Jones, who died in 1717, and second Jane Pugh.

Generation 8: Isaac and Elizabeth's son Thomas Malin was born in 1705 and married Sarah Collins. He was "of Willistown, Chester County" at the time of daughter Elizabeth's marriage to Moses Cadwallader in 1756.33

To Loudoun County, Virginia

The first settlers of Fairfax County at the northeastern bulge of Virginia were the English who came from the Tidewater of eastern Virginia. By contrast, the Quakers who settled the west part of Fairfax — the area that would become Loudoun County in 1757 — came from Maryland, New Jersey, and most of all from Chester and Bucks Counties, Pennsylvania. As they came, they lost the political power they had held in Pennsylvania.

About 1732 Amos Janney, our ancestor Francis Hague, and others settled in the neighborhood of Waterford, Virginia. Meetings for worship began in Friends' homes by 1733. In 1741 a meetinghouse was built (in present-day Waterford), and in 1744 the Monthly Meeting organized. Into this community of Quakers, Moses and Elizabeth came. On September 27, 1760, they and their two small daughters were "received on certificate" from the Goshen Monthly Meeting into the Fairfax MM in Loudoun County.34 Loudoun County, 20 miles west of today's Washington, D.C., had been formed out of a portion of Fairfax County in 1757. It is bordered on the northeast by the Potomac River, on the west by the Blue Ridge. Waterford is about six miles northwest of Leesburg.

Moses and Elizabeth had six children, the first two born while they were still in Pennsylvania, the others in Loudoun County:

1. Sarah born October 23, 1756; married Samuel Hutton at Fairfax MM on August 9, 1785. After his death she married Byrom Ballard her brother Moses' father-in-law, September 20, 1792, at Goose Creek meetinghouse, Bedford County.35 See Part Two.
2. Ruth born October 29, 1759; married Samuel Moody.
3. Our Moses, Jr., born February 22, 1763; married Mary ("Polly") Ballard. See below.
4. Thomas born January 1, 1765; married Jane Daniels.
5. Joseph born May 23, 1767; died 1777.
6. Jesse, born August 31, 1770; married Amy Cox.36

In 1765 "Moses Cadwallader and Elizabeth his Wife and Moses his Son and the longest Liver of them" leased a 172-acre parcel in Loudoun County, agreeing
to pay annually 3 pounds, 8 shillings, 9 pence in cash, tobacco, or wheat "to be delivered at some Landing on the Navigable part of the Potanmack river." The son Moses, only two years old, was cited so as to insure the longevity of the lease.

Five years later Moses, Sr., (only) bought another 172-acre tract through the strange two-stage process then practiced in the "Northern Neck" of Virginia claimed by Lord Thomas Fairfax. In order to conform to the letter of the law, the Statute of Uses and Possessions, sellers first leased the property for a symbolic peppercorn, then on the following day "released" (sold) it outright. Thus on March 5, 1771, Moses was leased the property for a year, agreeing to pay the rent of one peppercorn on Lady Day (March 25); then on March 6, for 50 pounds, the sellers "granted, bargained, sold, aliened, released and confirmed" the parcel "Unto said Moses Cadwallader." 

Two casks and a yard of linsey

Apparently Moses was a leader in the Fairfax Meeting, for he was among those chosen to help establish a new Preparative Meeting in nearby Goose Creek
(now Lincoln, near Purcellville, west of Leesburg). A Fairfax MM minute of 1774 reads, "This meeting received a copy of a minute of our Quarterly Meeting dated the 15th of last month, granting the request of Goose Creek Friends, [to authorize] a preparative meeting. This meeting is willing to assist them as far as capable, and appoints Mahlon Janney, Jonathan Myers, John Schooly, Moses Cadwalader, and William Williams to go sit with them at their first preparative meeting." 39

It was here in Loudoun County that the Cadwalladers waited out the War of Independence. As Quakers, of course, they took no part in the hostilities. Elizabeth died November 15, 1780. 40 She was approximately 45 years old; the youngest child, Jesse, was only ten. Moses never remarried.

In 1784 Moses bought casks (two shillings each) and cloth (a yard of linsey for three shillings) from the Goose Creek general store of Israel Janney, as is shown by ledger entries in the possession of descendant Asa Moore Janney, store proprietor at Lincoln two centuries later.

Moses and the children transferred in 1785 to the Goose Creek MM, which he had helped to guide eleven years earlier, "they living within the verge of that new MM when set off from Fairfax MM." 41 At the new MM's very first session, December 26, 1785, "Joel Lewis and Sarah Daniel handed their intention of marriage before the meeting. Moses Cadwalader and Isaac Nichols are appointed to inquire into Joel's clearness of other engagements [to young women], also to make inquire into his conversation [the company he keeps] and what else may be needful." A committee of women would have made similar inquiries of the bride-to-be. Apparently all was clear and the couple was married, for ten years later, they, along with Moses, were active in another "Goose Creek" meeting in central Virginia. 42

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Old Stone Meetinghouse, 1765</th>
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<tr>
<td>Goose Creek (now Lincoln), Virginia</td>
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</table>
To Bedford County

In 1787, still a widower, Moses Cadwallader sold the property in Loudoun County and headed south. He and his 17-year-old Jesse were granted a certificate to the South River Monthly Meeting, headquartered at Lynchburg, Campbell County, Virginia. His oldest child Sarah, already a widow with an infant son, came with her father, as did our Moses, Jr., age 24, still a bachelor. It was an unusual three-generation household.

White settlers had first arrived in the hinterlands along the James River in the 1740s. "It was into this 'forbidden paradise,' of which no portion is more beautiful than that in which Lynchburg is built, that our South River Quakers came, unarmed, by covered wagon and ox-cart, trusting in kindness and their own unexcelled confidence to protect them from the savages. At first they came in small groups, one or two families at a time, but finally they poured in, not in a continuous stream, but in waves."

The so-called South River meeting — that is, south of the James River — was established in 1754 in the home of Sarah Lynch, mother of John Lynch, the Quaker founder of Lynchburg. The Particular Meeting grew so fast that by 1757, along with another meeting at Goose Creek, just to the west in Bedford County, the South River Monthly Meeting was established. South River was among the first Virginia meetings to witness against slavery.

Our Cadwalladers moved into the western side of the South River MM's area, that is, into Bedford County, snuggled tight against the looming Blue Ridge, and worshiped at the Lower Goose Creek Particular Meeting there. (Not to be confused with Upper Goose Creek nearby and Goose Creek in Loudoun County!) This meeting was established among Friends on Difficult Creek, a branch of Goose Creek, in 1788, within a year of Moses and Elizabeth's arrival. Six years later Goose Creek was set off from South River as a new Monthly Meeting, so Cadwallader records appear under both MM's.

In 1788, for £20, Moses bought 100 acres in Bedford County on both sides of Glady Branch, another tributary of Goose Creek. The next year he purchased another 350-acre parcel "on the south branches of Mill Creek," a tributary of Goose Creek.

Meeting records show that in 1789 Moses was granted permission to travel into the north of Virginia on temporal (secular) business, and later that year he was appointed a trustee of the Goose Creek meeting. In 1790 he was recommended as an elder, and again the next year he was mentioned as being of the Goose Creek Preparative Meeting.

A meetinghouse on Difficult Creek

But in the area Moses Cadwallader is best remembered as one who donated land for the meetinghouse, still a place of Christian worship today. On July 7,
1789, along with John Coffee and Joel Lewis, Moses purchased twelve acres on Difficult Creek, "in Trust for the use of the people called Quakers to suffer and permit them and their Elders from time to time forever hereafter quietly and peaceably to hold, use and enjoy, built on, uphold and repair the premises for the purposes of devine worship and regulations of Church discipline and to have free Intry, engress and egress into and out of the said premises for themselves and all others."^49

The same year a meetinghouse was erected there, about fourteen miles south of Bedford near the present community of Body Camp. The building was later occupied by Baptists, and in 1908 the congregation erected a new house of worship, now known as Quaker Baptist Church. But the cornerstone of the old meetinghouse still survives in the Baptist cemetery, and the plain, square grave markers of the Quakers can be found in the grass nearby.^50

The Quakers of Campbell and Bedford Counties were strongest in the last quarter of the 18th century. Many new meetinghouses were built. "The Society was for a time the dominant influence in community affairs."^51 But as the end of the century approached, people were on the move again. In 1797 Moses Cadwallader, Sr., sold 100 acres of his Mill Creek land; two years later, with Moses, Jr., and wife, he sold another 110 acres on Glady Branch. And finally in 1802 his last 369 acres were sold.^52

**To Grayson County**

Continuing his southwestward migration, in his late 60s Moses moved into Grayson County in western Virginia on the North Carolina border, actually into the eastern, less mountainous section of the county laid off later (1842) as Carroll County. There on May 20, 1799, he bought sixty acres on Crooked Creek, where he was to spend his last years. The boundaries of this tract were defined in a fashion typical of the day, but the description is of particular interest to us, for, in all our genealogical wanderings, this was the first deed we ever read:

Beginning at two Chestnut trees near the head of a branch of Little Reed Island [Creek], and thence down the said branch (which is Jas. Reddish's line) South 24 [degrees] East, 232 poles [a pole was usually 16½ feet], crossing a large branch [to where there] is a Spanishoak and a Whiteoak; thence South 21 [degrees] West, 290 poles, Crossing the pine branch to three Whiteoaks in Herbert's line; thence North thirty-one degrees West, 128 poles, along said line to a Whiteoak by said pine branch; thence North 24 [degrees] West, 40 poles to 3 blackoaks and two whiteoak saplings; thence North 57 [degrees] East, 340 poles, to the Beginning. (Note the above tract takes in some of the Waters of Crooked Creek.)^53

This parcel is located just west of Fancy Gap, Virginia, near where today's Interstate 77 crosses the Blue Ridge Parkway.
Moses’ association with the Quakers of Grayson County is not clear. In 1803 he was given by his Goose Creek MM "a minute to Mount Pleasant MM, where he expected to reside a short time." Mount Pleasant was a meeting organized in 1801 to serve Grayson County and, in North Carolina, Surry County; it disbanded after only 17 years. Apparently Moses, Jr., and his wife Mary were among the original members. Perhaps the older man had "expected to reside a short time" with them in relation to the son's terminal illness, for Moses, Jr., died the same year, 1803. In any case, after just four months, Moses, Sr., returned the minute granted to Mount Pleasant MM. Does this imply that he returned to his own home?

In 1804 he was condemned of misconduct and later accepted again. Perhaps in his old age he was not as strict a Quaker as he had once been. In 1813 he again was granted a minute to Mount Pleasant MM, "where he expected to reside for some time."54

But alas, the time went quickly. He died probably in early 1816, at age 85,55 for on June 6, 1816, two commissioners for his heirs sold his Grayson County farm for $230, that is, "all that tract or parcel of land whereon the foresaid Moses Cadwallader, decd., formerly lived, and being the only tract of land he died seized of [owning]."56

Was it perhaps a melancholy end for Moses? His wife Elizabeth had died 36 years before, his son Moses, Jr., 13 years before, and his daughter-in-law Mary just three years earlier. His grandson Byrom, our ancestor, after his mother's death had left with other relatives for Ohio. The Quaker heyday in Virginia had passed, and the meetings were disbanding. Was Moses disheartened? Or did he glimpse something of the promise his descendants would claim west of the mountains?

Some Descendants of Moses and Elizabeth (Malin) Cadwallader

Early 20th-century research by Dr. Rawlins Cadwallader of San Francisco, mostly through correspondence, uncovered Cadwallader connections all across the land. In a 1923 letter to Ethelyn S. Koehler he summarized his record of the 18th- and 19th-century descendants of Moses Cadwallader, Sr., and his wife Elizabeth.

Although only a few of these pertain to the story of our direct ancestors, it seems wise to preserve Rawlins' findings here for the sake of others who may be researching their Cadwallader origins. Each generation is indented from the previous; corrections and additional data, where known, appear in brackets.

Sarah Cadwallader, b Oct 23, 1756. [She d 1803; m (1) Samuel Hutton, 8/9/1785, and (2) Byrom Ballard, 9/20/1792. With Byrom she had 3-4 children:
    Phillip, b Jun 18, 1793
    Moses, b Nov 19, 1795
    Ruth, b Apr 24, 1798
    Perhaps Hutton]
Ruth Cadwallader, b Oct 29, 1759; m Samuel Moody.

Moses Cadwallader, Jr., b Feb 22, 1763; m Mary (Polly) Ballard (b Jun 16, 1764) of Bedford Co, Va; he d 1803. Their children and grandchildren:

Amos Cadwallader [b May 4, 1793] m Rebecca Hague; he d 1855.
   Sarah Cadwallader, b 1817; m Chester Heald; she d Racine, Wis, 1875.
   Mary Cadwallader, m Dr. Jesse Wasson.
   Moses Cadwallader
   Jonah Cadwallader
   John Cadwallader
   Byrum Cadwallader
   Jesse Cadwallader, m Almira Atkins [Aitken(s)]; he d Jan 18, 1878.57
   Elizabeth Cadwallader
   Ann Cadwallader
   Arthur Cadwallader, m Ann Converse.

Elinar [Eleanor, "Nelly"] Cadwallader, b Dec 22, 1794; m John [actually Jehu] Lewis Nov 30 [18], 1811.
   Betsy Lewis, b 1813, m Isaac Woodmansie.
   Joel Lewis, b 1821; m Mary McPherson.
   Amos Lewis, m Ann Eliza Stanton.
   Mary Lewis, m Henry Simmons.
   Nellie Lewis, m Jones Harper; lived in Chicago.
   Daniel Lewis, b Apr 17, 1823; m (1) Harriet Tompkins Sept 26, 1849, (2) Minnie Dugal.
   Uriah Lewis, b Nov 19, 1828; m Elizabeth Hickman.

Amanda Cadwallader, m ______ Smith. [Amanda was probably the last child; see below.]

Elizabeth Cadwallader, b Feb 27, 1797; m Joseph Allen/Allan Apr 1815; she d Oct 31, 1876.
   Mary Allan, b Oct 29, 1816; d Apr 1877.
   Amos Allan, b May 9, 1818; d May 1820.
   Solomon Allan, b Nov 20, 1820.
   Preston Allan, b Nov 13, 1821; d 1881.
   Eleanor Allan, b Oct 20, 1823; d Apr 1873.
   Sallie Allan, b Aug 27, 1826.
   Haldah Allan, b Oct 18, 1828.
   Moses Allan, b Mar 26, 1831.
   Joseph Allan, b Apr 8, 1833.
   Wesley Allan, b Mar 26, 1836.
   Eliza Allan, b May 17, 1838; m ______ Hoskins.
   William Allan, b Dec 22, 1840.

Byrum [sic] Cadwallader, b Feb 16, 1799; m Sarah Hague.
   Philip Cadwallader, m Mary Daniels [no, Mary Edmunds].
   Angeline Cadwallader, m David Wagner.
   Samuel Cadwallader, b Sept 30, 1822; m Adora Doolittle; he d May 1909.
   Ellen Cadwallader, m Enos Shaw.
   Elizabeth Cadwallader, m John Barreck [no, Theodor Dodd].
   Chester Cadwallader, m (1) Laura Shaw, (2) Susie Bithers.

[See Part Four for more information on Byrom and Sarah, their family, three generations of their descendants, and in particular their son Samuel and family.]
Joseph Cadwallader, b 1801, Grayson Co, Va; m Catherine Cox 1822; d Dec 14, 1833.
Sylvanus Cadwallader, b 1825; m (1) Katherine Paul, (2) Mary Paul; he d 1908.
Alcibiades, b 1830; m Sarah Charles; he d 1887.

Judith Cadwallader, b July 31, 1803; m Isaac Lewis Feb 22, 1822; she d Apr 7, 1870.
Rachel Lewis, b Dec 10, 1823; m (1) Joseph Hadley Sept 2, 1842, (2) William Woodard,
Mar 1852; she d Jan 7, 1893.
Mary Lewis, b Feb 6, 1825; m ? 1843; no issue; d 1844.
Charity Lewis, b June 14, 1826; m Uriah Hadley Nov 1849; she d June 2, 1853.
William Lewis, b July 13, 1829; m Sarah R Pugh Nov 1853; he d Dec 13, 1866.
Elizabeh Lewis, b June 19, 1831; d Sept 2, 1853.
Byron Lewis, b Apr 22, 1833; m Sophia Hadley; he d Apr 1882.
Jehu Lewis, b Aug 13, 1834; m Susanna Thurston Apr 11, 1872.
Esther Lewis, b May 3, 1836; m Thomas Thurston Aug 1852; she d Dec 7, 1858.
Eleanor Lewis, b July 5, 1836 [inconsistent with previous birth date]; d Feb 17, 1837.
Ellen Lewis, b Dec 27, 1837.
Martha Lewis, b Jan 3, 1840; m Silas Underwood Aug 28, 1878.
Thomas Elwood Lewis, b Jan 6, 1842; m Martha Thurston Feb 5, 1863.
Enos Lewis, b Aug 5, 1844; d Aug 12, 1844.
Moses C. Lewis, b Aug 16, 1846; m Zelpha Ann Newsom.

Thomas Cadwallader, b Jan 1, 1765; m Jane Daniels Mar 24, 1785; she b Jan 29, 1765. Their children and grandchildren:

Elizabeth Cadwallader, b Jan 29, 1786; m _____ Lewis.
Julia Lewis, m _____ Flannigan.

Mahlon Cadwallader, b Sept 26, 1786; m Elizabeth Douglas; he d Mar 24, 1868.
William Cadwallader, b 1810; m (1) May Stanton, (2) Dinah Trahern, (3) Sarah Russell.
Jane Douglas Cadwallader, b 1812; m Isaac Stout; she d 1893.
Deborah Cadwallader, b 1815, m John Fallis.
Judith Cadwallader, b 1817; m Gustavus Haynes; d 1840.
John Thomas Cadwallader, b 1820; d 1894.
Achilles Cadwallader, b 1822; m (1) Henrietta Wales, (2) Jane Fallis; he d 1895.
Elizabeth Cadwallader, b 1824; m Israel Taylor.
Mildred Cadwallader, b 1827; m Morris Warthermer; she d 1885.
Charles Turrell Cadwallader, b 1830; m (1) Dorothea Woodruff, (2) Harriet Wylie.

Jonah Cadwallader, b Aug 14, 1789; m Pricilla Whitacre.
Jane Cadwallader, m _____ Anderson.
Patience Cadwallader, m _____ Grigg.
Thomas Cadwallader, b 1820; m Phoebe Fallis; he d 1849.
Noah Cadwallader, b Nov 1824; m Elizabeth Ganse.
Clarkson

Naomi Cadwallader, b Aug 31, 1797; m (1) _____ Thomas, (2) _____ Thurston.

Esther Cadwallader, b Jan 25, 1800; m James Hollingsworth.
Zeniri? Hollingsworth
Mahlon Hollingsworth
Jane Hollingsworth, m _____ Hiatt.
Rachel Hollingsworth, m _____ Townsend.
Martha Hollingsworth, m (1) _____ Hiatt, (2) _____ Russell.
Emily Hollingsworth, m _____ Townsend.

Part One - Page 23
Abner Cadwallader, b Mar 24, 1802; m Mary Thomas.
Nathan Cadwallader
Vashti Cadwallader
Jane Cadwallader
Scripta Cadwallader
Rachael Cadwallader

Joseph Cadwallader, b May 23, 1767; [d 1777].

Jesse Cadwallader, b Aug 31, 1770; m Amy Cox (b 1778, d Aug 25, 1866); he d June 26, 1844.
Their children and grandchildren:

John Cadwallader, m Amy King.

Isaac Cadwallader, b Jan 4, 1802; d 1884; married three times.
  Seth Cadwallader, b Feb 2, 1825; m Marion Mendenhall; he d May 2, 1863.
  Jesse Cadwallader, b 1828; m Minerva Silver; he d 1883.
  Mary Cadwallader, b Jan 25, 1830; m Abner Warner Mar 9, 1851.
  Edwin Cadwallader, b 1832; m Mariah Ginst.
  Ira Cadwallader, b Oct 19, 1835; m Elizabeth Cooper Apr 20, 1865.
  Emma Cadwallader, m (1) Timothy M Deamont, (2) Spencer.
  Thomas Cadwallader, b Dec 24, 1851; m McDermontt.
  Isaac Thomas Cadwallader, b Sept 9, 1856.

Moses Cadwallader, b Nov 16, 1804; m Aug 7, 1828, Eliza Graham.
  Alfred Cadwallader, b Aug 9, 1833; m Virginia Smith.
  Amanda Emily Cadwallader, b Aug 3, 1850; m Henry Smith; no issue.
  Clark Cadwallader, b Aug 11, 1852.
  Alvira Cadwallader, b May 12, 1859; m Lannie Jaspar; no issue.

Mahlon Cadwallader, b 1808; m Elizabeth Grow or Grew; he d Sept 1887.
  William Cadwallader
    _____ Cadwallader, m John Miller.

Silas Cadwallader, m Margret Kelsey.
  Mary Ann Cadwallader
  Amy Jane Cadwallader
  Rachael Ellen Cadwallader
  Isaac Cadwallader
  Alexander Cadwallader

Jonah, d 1875; his second wife Jane Fitzpatrick.

Elizabeth, m John Hobbs; she d Oct 6, 1855.
  Susan Hobbs
  Martha Hobbs
  Julia Hobbs
  Phoebe Hobbs
  Melalas? Hobbs
  Henry Hobbs
  Isaac Hobbs
    _____ Hobbs

Part One - Page 24
Moses Cadwallader, Jr., was the third child of Moses, Sr., and Elizabeth (Malin) Cadwallader. He was born February 22, 1763, shortly after his family's move from Pennsylvania to the Goose Creek (now Lincoln) area of Loudoun County, northern Virginia.  

A member of the Fairfax Monthly Meeting as a child and youth, Moses ran into trouble at the age of 20. On September 27, 1783, he was disowned by the Fairfax MM for attempted bestiality. We can imagine that this was a shameful disgrace for his family.

Four years later, when the family headed southwest to Bedford County, Moses was still "without a certificate," that is, without membership in the Monthly Meeting. In 1791 he asked the South River MM to assist him in being reconciled to Fairfax. The Fairfax meeting was not enthusiastic about the idea, as the following letter attests:

To Friends of South River Monthly Meeting
Dear Friends,

We received your rec [recommendation] in favor of Moses Cadwallader, jun. Friends here, haveing considered, and reconsidered, his case, and the circumstances of it, by their committees, and weightily in the Monthly Meetings, after which their [sic] doth not appea[r] a freedom to accept of his offering, but have solldly drawn this conclution; Viz. In as much as you appear satisfied with his present conduct, we do hereby relinquish all right and claim to any further treatment with him on the present ocation, but leave the whole to your discretion, in receiving him as you may judge best — and which shall not be deemed a lessning [of] the authority of our meeting.

Signed on behalf of and by order of our Monthly Meeting held at Fairfax the 23rd of the 7th Month, 1791.

By William Stabler, Clk.

Part One - Page 25
Finally, after being disowned for more than eight years, on February 18, 1792, he was received into the South River MM. His reconciliation with the meeting was just in time, for on May 23 of the same year he married Mary ("Polly") Ballard at the Upper Goose Creek meeting. Mary was born June 16, 1764, the first child of Byrom and Eleanor (Candler) Ballard of Albemarle County, to the northeast. The Ballards, leading members of the South River Monthly Meeting, were both of Quaker descent — although the first Virginia Ballards were Anglican gentry of the Tidewater (see Part Two). At their marriage Moses was 29, and Mary almost 28.

Moses and Mary (or "Polly," as she was called) brought into the world three boys and four girls. The first four children were born in Bedford County:

1. Amos born May 4, 1793; married Rebecca Hague.
2. Eleanor ("Nelly") born December 22, 1794; married Jehu Lewis. Jehu was the son of Joel Lewis, whose fitness for marriage to Sarah Daniel had been investigated by Moses' father.
3. Elizabeth born February 27, 1797; married Joseph Allen in 1815.
4. Our Byrom born February 16, 1799; married Sarah ("Sally") Hague. See Part Four.

Three other children were born after the Cadwalladers moved to Grayson County:

5. Joseph born April 12, 1801.
6. Amanda; married Smith.

In 1789, before his marriage, Moses had bought a parcel of 120 acres on Glady Branch, on the north side of Goose Creek. Then in 1795 he bought another 146 acres on Richardsons Mill Creek, a tract bordering on property owned by his father, then sold it for a £5 profit a few months later. The next year, 1796, he sold more: in '97 both father and son were selling; and again in '99. Moses, Jr., sold the last of his Bedford County property in July 1801, and Moses, Sr., the last in April 1802. It would appear that the son and his widowed father made a joint decision to push on to the southwest.

To Grayson County

On May 4, 1799, the Goose Creek Monthly Meeting in Bedford County granted Moses, Jr., Mary, and their four small children (Amos, Eleanor, Elizabeth, and Byrom) certificates to the Westfield MM, covering parts of Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, and on July 20 they were received by Westfield. We
know that the family lived in Virginia, for when, in 1801, the Westfield MM was divided and the Mount Pleasant MM was organized in Grayson County, Virginia, Mary Cadwallader was found among the original members. (The men's minutes have been lost.)

Here at the southern border of Virginia, Moses and Polly had three more children, Joseph, Amanda and Judith. But by Judith's birth on November 31, 1803, her father had died. He was only 40 years old. What a tragedy for Polly, left with six children ranging from infancy to age ten! It would appear that their 73-year-old grandfather, Moses, Sr., was part of the family and probably was of some assistance.

What did Moses, Jr., leave the family? As it happens we have a detailed appraisement, filed in Grayson County in September 1803. A review of it gives some hint of the Cadwalladers' lifestyle at the turn of the century; values in pounds-shillings-pence are omitted here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 bed furniture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Desk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Blankets</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Bed Furniture</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Ditto</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Coat</td>
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<td>1 Jacket</td>
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<td>1 pr Buckskin breaches</td>
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<td>1 Coat</td>
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<td>1 Jacket</td>
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<td>1 pr Hat Press</td>
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<td>1 Coat</td>
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<td>½ Doz. plates</td>
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<td>5 Ditto</td>
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<td>2 large Basons</td>
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<td>1 Tin Bucket</td>
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<td>1 Bucket and Pail</td>
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<td>1 Doz. Aprons</td>
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<td>1 Tin Ditto</td>
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<td>1 Pewter Chamber pott</td>
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<td>1 Duch oven</td>
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<td>1 Ditto</td>
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<td>1 Skillet</td>
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<td>1 cubbard</td>
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<td>1 Handsaw</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 sow and Pigs</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Bell &amp; Coller</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Calves</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 head of Hogs</td>
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<td>1 Harrow</td>
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<td>1 dog Chain</td>
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<td>1 Sythe and Cradle</td>
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<td>1 Mattocks</td>
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<td>1 Grind Stone</td>
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<td>4 Bells</td>
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<td>1 set Coopers tools</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Augers</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Frow [for cutting shingles]</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 leather Collers</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Bridle</td>
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<td>1 pr Gears</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 pr Harness</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 large Chair</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Checkd Red [tablecloth?]</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 foot adze [for squaring timbers]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pr Gears</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 pr Nippers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Hip strap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Saddle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 Bible  
1 History [book]  
1 stone pitcher  
3 Bottles  
3 Casks  
7 Barrels  
11 Sheep  
1 Mair & Colt  
4 Cows  
2 year olds [heifers]  
1 pole ax  
1 Hoe  
1 Bridle  
1 leather [horse] Coller  
2 Swingletrees  
1 pole ax  
1 Hoe  
1 pr Streachers  
1 Bridle

Highest monetary value was given to the mare and colt, then the desk, the beds, the cows, sheep, hogs.66

Mary "Polly" Cadwallader lived another ten years. She died, probably in early 1813, for her inventory was filed at Grayson County in May of that year.67 She was 48 years old and left six children, ages 9 to 20. Our Byrom was 14. After digressions into two collateral lines, we shall pick up his story in Part Four.
NOTES TO PART ONE


2. Levick.


5. "Record of Births, 1682-1805" of the Radnor Monthly Meeting, reproduced from the original by the Gwynedd Archives Service, Dolgellau, Wales, NB III/52a.


7. Levick.

8. Ibid. Also Willard Heiss, *Quaker Biographical Sketches, 1682-1800, of Ministers and Elders and Other Concerned Members of the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia* (1972), pp. 111, 147. Also a letter from Rawlins Cadwallader to Ethelyn S. Koehler, May 11, 1923.


16. In a letter of March 17, 1988, Peggy Johnson Drake writes, "He so confused the information Mother sent him that I have no faith in what he writes."


18. The Bible is in the Aitkens-Cadwallader family, descendants of Amos Cadwallader and Rebecca Hague, and quoted by Mark L. Skinner in e-mail message, August 15, 1997.


23. Futhey and Cope, p. 236.


25. The confusion rests on the three dates given in the Radnor MM Minutes: 11.5.1699 (the only reference to Sarah as the mother) and 1.5.1699 (only father's name given), both from Radnor Monthly Meeting, Delaware Co, Pa: 1680-1733 (Collections of The Genealogical Socy of Pa, vol. 132, De 15F:2), pp. 15 and 12; and "5 day of the 1st month Ano 1699" (only father's name given) from Records of Radnor Monthly Meeting: 1680-1788 (The Genealogical Socy of Pa, De 15F:1), p. 482 (both records at the Pa Historical Socy). Transferring to New Style, John's birth date would be either January 5 or March 5, 1700. I suggest the former because January is more likely to have been rendered as both (rightly) the eleventh month and (mistakenly) the first month.

26. The figure six is from a letter from Rawlins Cadwallader, October 2, 1926. The names are from the Aitkens-Cadwallader Bible.

27. Hargrave.
28. Aitkens-Cadwallader Bible. Hargrave has only the year 1755.


30. Rawlins Cadwallader letter, May 11, 1923; also Aitkens-Cadwallader Bible.

31. Hinshaw, 6, p. 479.


34. Hinshaw, 6, p. 629.

35. Hinshaw, 6, p. 479.

36. Rawlins Cadwallader letter, May 11, 1923; also Aitkens-Cadwallader Bible.


41. Hinshaw, 6, p. 629.

42. Janney and Janney, p. 20.


44. Loudoun County Deeds, Q:165-169.

45. Hinshaw, 6, p. 629.

46. Hinshaw, 6, pp. 289-296.

47. Bedford County Deeds, 8:51f, 8:207f.

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48. Hinshaw, 6, p. 303.

49. Bedford County Deeds, 8:214.


51. Hinshaw, 6, p. 293.

52. Bedford County Deeds, 10:335f, 11:16f.

53. Grayson County Deeds, 1:241f.

54. Hinshaw, 6, p. 350.


56. Grayson County Deeds, 3:345f.

57. The Aitkens-Cadwallader Bible has Jesse born at Richmond, Ind, June 26, 1827; married to Almira A. Aitkens Mar 15, 1856 (or 9?) at La Porte City, Ind; died Sep 16, 1909, at Ridgefield, Ill, age 80 (sic) yrs, 2 mos.

58. Hinshaw, 6, p. 629. Aitkens-Cadwallader Bible has Sept 22, 1763, but this is not supported elsewhere.


60. Hinshaw, 6, p. 303.

61. Hinshaw, 6, p. 227.

62. Hinshaw, volume 1, p. 1003. Hinshaw does not list Amanda, but she appears in Rawlins Cadwallader's list and that of the Aitkens-Cadwallader Bible. If genuine, the best place for her birth is in the 31-month interval between Joseph and Judith. The Aitkens-Cadwallader Bible gives Amos' birth date as Aug 10, 1792, but this does not agree with his parents' May 1792 marriage.


64. Hinshaw 1, pp. 350, 961, 1001.

66. Grayson County Wills, 1:30.

67. Grayson County Wills, 1.91f.
As we have seen, in 1792 Moses Cadwallader, Jr., married Mary ("Polly") Ballard at the Upper Goose Creek Meeting of Bedford County, Virginia. We need now to backtrack six generations to uncover her Ballard-Candler ancestry:

```
Thomas Ballard, Sr.
    Thomas Ballard, Jr.
        William Thomas
        Anne Thomas
        Anne ___
    William Ballard, Sr.
        John Hubbard
        Katherine Hubbard
        Katherine Bennett
    William Ballard, Jr.
        Philadelphia ___
Byrom Ballard
    Henry Byrom
    Sarah Byrom
    Frances Mills, dau. of Robert Mills
Mary ("Polly") Ballard
    William Candler
    Thomas Candler
    Anne Villiers nee ___
    Daniel Candler
    Jane Tuite, dau. of Henry and Diana (Mabbot) Tuite
    Eleanor Candler
    Anna ___
```
We begin Part Two with a brief introduction to colonial Virginia, and in particular, the religious groups represented there. Then, generation by generation, we survey our early Ballards, wealthy 17th-18th century tobacco planters on or near the York River in tidewater Virginia, founders and distinguished officials of Williamsburg and Yorktown. After following them, in the fifth generation, to the farming frontier of the Piedmont, we study the CANDLERS, 17th-century English gentry, a scion of whom immigrated in the 18th century from Ireland. Eventually both the Ballards and CANDLERS became Quakers and merged in the 1763 union of Polly's parents, Byrom Ballard and Eleanor Candler in Bedford County, Virginia.

Virginia's southern Tidewater, with communities of importance to our forebears
INTRODUCTION:
COLONIAL VIRGINIA

As we examine a map of today's Commonwealth of Virginia we can easily identify its four major geographical regions: (1) the deeply inundated shore of the Tidewater in the east, divided on the Chesapeake Bay's western shore by four major rivers — from north to south, the Potomac (which forms the state's northeastern boundary), the Rappahannock, the York and the James; (2) the broad, gently rolling Piedmont cut by many of those rivers' tributaries and stretching westward to the steeply rising Blue Ridge; (3) the Valley of Virginia, or Great Valley, really a series of parallel valleys running southwestward between the Blue Ridge and the Allegheny Mountains, which form much of the state's western boundary, and (4) the extreme southwestern tip of Trans-Allegheny highlands.

We saw in Part One how our Cadwalladers moved southwestward along the Piedmont's western frontier, and we shall return in Part Three to the parallel migration of our Hagues and their ilk. But here, with the Ballards, we will focus on the Tidewater — in fact, almost exclusively on the James and York Rivers and three historic towns there, Jamestown, Williamsburg and Yorktown.

Early settlement

The Virginia Company's first successful effort to settle the New World was at Jamestown, where a party of 144 arrived on May 13, 1607. Through the heroic efforts of Capt. John Smith, and in 1610 the arrival of a strong first governor, the colony barely survived. Disease, hunger, inadequate housing and clothing, polluted water, hostile Indians, homesickness, lack of experience — almost everything was against the settlers.

But survive they did, and new riverside settlements developed. Tobacco was introduced in 1612, soon becoming the colony's economic mainstay. In 1619 a General Assembly was created, 90 young women were sent by the Virginia Company as potential wives, and the first African slaves were purchased from a Dutch trader. In 1624 the English government revoked the charter of the Virginia Company and organized Virginia as its first royal colony, under direct authority of the monarch.

Getting to the colony was not easy. The Atlantic crossing took six weeks to six months, often with "stench, fumes, vomiting, many kinds of sicknesses — fever, dysentery, scurvy, the mouth-rot and the like — all of which came from old and sharply salted food and meat, also from bad and foul water." Many died on board; of the survivors, some four out of five perished soon after reaching the colony.
They settled the flat and sandy tidelands along Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries. "They lived on clearings along the water banks, each with a clapboarded, high peaked little house, a few outbuildings and a scattering of tobacco and corn fields and pastures hacked out of the woods." The trees pressed close: "great pines, black walnuts, red and white oaks, cypress and gum, cedar, juniper, hickory and chestnut trees."

In time the lower house of the Assembly, the House of Burgesses, grew in strength, setting the stage for the colony's magnificent contribution to democracy and the new republic in the late 18th century. As the population grew and the often resistant Native American tribes gave way, people pushed upriver, westward and northward into the Piedmont. By 1655 there were some 16,000 Virginians west of Chesapeake Bay.

Uneasy times

Virginians were loyal to King Charles I in his dispute with Parliament and the Puritans, so during the eight-year rule of Parliament that followed the king's execution they did not warm up to Puritan ways. After the 1660 Restoration of the monarchy Sir William Berkeley was appointed for a second term as governor, but matters went from bad to worse: plagues, hurricanes, wars, oppressive trade laws, Indian threats, and a widespread mistrust of government by the people. By 1670 Berkeley "had grown old, crabbed, autocratic, weak in body and inefficient." He tried unsuccessfully to hold on to his authority, but was opposed by a populist rebellion under young Nathaniel Bacon. When Bacon unexpectedly died, Berkeley hung the perpetrators; this so repulsed the people and shocked the English government that he was recalled. As we'll see, our Ballards were very directly involved in this crucial conflict, and on the wrong side.

The capital of the colony was moved from Jamestown to Middle Plantation, renamed Williamsburg, in 1699. Though later governors were generally able, Virginians' quarrels with the mother country continued into the 18th century, as did western expansion. Governor Spotswood had a trail blazed over the Blue Ridge into the Great Valley, and in 1721 the first county beyond the Tidewater was created, named Spotsylvania in his honor. In 1730 the Assembly began to regulate tobacco as the official medium of exchange, which continued until the Revolution. The tobacco economy, of course, had become inextricably linked to slavery, and the African population grew as fast as the European. In 1763 the estimated population of the colony was 121,022, almost evenly divided between black and white. About £500,000 of tobacco was exported to England annually.

Religion in the colony

By far the majority of Virginia's settlers were English, loyal to both king and bishop. By habit and by law they were members of the Church of England. When, in his first term, Gov. Berkeley learned of the arrival of three Puritan
ministers, he arranged for the General Assembly to require "that all men whatsoever which shall reside in the Colony are to be conformable to the orders and constitution of the Church of England, and ... all non-conformists ... shall be compelled to depart the Colony." In his second term he received orders from the King's Privy Council "that all religious exercises should be according to the profession of the Church of England."2

Through courageous missionaries, Quakerism was planted in Virginia between 1655 and 1660, but met with particularly harsh rejection. The first Act for Suppressing Quakers was passed by the 1659-60 Assembly, and for the next half-century the Friends suffered all manner of harassment, rejection, imprisonment, persecution and, in Massachusetts, even execution. Although after 1667 Virginia's anti-Quaker laws were not diligently enforced, it was not until after William and Mary came to the English throne in 1689 that Parliament passed the Act of Toleration, and not until the opening of the 18th century that Virginia's Quakers entered a freer, happier, more serene time.

A second dissenting group, the Presbyterians, had appeared in Virginia in 1683. Although they were united with the Quakers in their abhorrence of the Anglicans' Book of Common Prayer, they otherwise differed radically from the Friends' inward and silent way. The Presbyterians declined in numbers after 1700, but at that time about 700 Huguenots arrived, officially encouraged to immigrate by the British government. Some years later Baptists began to arrive in growing numbers.

However, as we shall see, our Ballards were Anglicans throughout this period. It was not until 1745 when William Ballard, a fifth-generation tidewater Virginian, moved inland and married as his second wife the Friend, Mary Moorman, that this line of our ancestry became Quaker. This spiritual conversion put the Ballards in a position to join through marriage our newly converted Quaker Candlers one generation later, and the Cadwalladers in the next generation. By then the Friends were in a time of ascendancy, and the tales of the 17th-century sufferings must have been cherished lore of the community. We shall return to the Quaker story in Part Three, which features our Hague-Schooley migration from Friends' strongholds in New Jersey and Pennsylvania southwestward into northern Virginia and along the Blue Ridge.
Generation 11

Thomas Ballard, Sr., c. 1630-1689
Anne Thomas, d. 1678

Our Ballards' English origins are murky. Genealogists have put forth conflicting claims regarding the immigrant father of our first certain forebear in this line, Thomas Ballard. One is William Ballard, who came from Sussex in southern England to Virginia in 1635. Another candidate is Henry Ballard, who emigrated from Worcestershire near the Welsh border to York County, Virginia, also in the mid-1630s. He is said to have been baptized at St. Margaret's Church, next to Westminster Abbey, London, on February 28, 1585. One researcher goes so far as to say that "in all likelihood" our Thomas was a son of the Henry Ballard named in a 1,000-acre patent of May 1636 in Charles River (later York) County and who himself patented 50 acres in Warwick County (now the city of Newport News) in 1642.

Although son Thomas Ballard is thought to have been born about 1630, there is also a claim for his baptism in 1636 at Inkberrow, Worcestershire. A baptismal record there might verify his parentage, but alas, in 1985 when we stopped at Inkberrow (present spelling) to inquire, we learned that church records of the early 17th century had been lost. Ballard is a very common name in the area; a helpful local historian later sent us copies of two Ballard wills, but a definite connection was not to be found.

In the end we must agree with the conclusion of genealogist Lynne D. Miller in her monumental compilation of The Descendants of Thomas Ballard and Anne Thomas: "Many researchers have offered proof for the parentage of Thomas Ballard. Many of these 'proofs' appear equally possible.... None ... are clear enough to prove the parentage of our Thomas Ballard."

To York County, Virginia

Some believe that our Thomas came to Virginia as a youngster with his parents in the mid-1630s, but proof of even that is lacking. In fact, one piece of evidence suggests a later arrival: In 1655, 1,000 acres of land situated in Gloucester County was granted to Thomas "for the transportation of twenty persons into this colony"; this was "to make good a patent of 300 Acres of the said Ballards, dated 16 October 1650." Since a child could hardly claim this "headright," it would appear that "the said Ballards" arrived as adults at mid-century.
Settling in York County, Thomas' early appointment to the office of county clerk and his service therein for eleven years (1652-63) indicate that he was "already on the road to preferment." Clerks of the county courts "were frequently men belonging to families of conspicuous influence.... The office of clerk by itself must have been the source of a large income to the incumbents," but they were also allowed to practice as attorneys and hold related offices.

In addition to the 1,000 acres in Gloucester County, Thomas patented 600 acres there in '57, 1,300 acres in '58 in New Kent County (due him for paying for the importation of 26 colonists) — none of these parcels occupied by him — and 290 acres in York County in '61. Clearly, even in his 20s, he was a man of considerable means.

Marriage and a large family

While in York County, Thomas Ballard married Anne Thomas (sometimes Anna), daughter of William Thomas and Anne of that county, probably about 1653; deeds of 1658 and 62 contain the name of "Anna Ballard." Not all authorities agree on the dates and places of their children's births, some in York County, others at Middle Plantation (later Williamsburg), James City County:

1. Our Thomas, Jr., born 1654; married Katherine Hubbard and had ten children, dying in 1710; see below.
2. John born c. 1659; married Margaret ____; settled in Nansemond County by 1673 and died there, probably without issue.
3. Lydia born c. 1660; married Thomas Harwood; she died without issue in 1700.
4. Martha Margaret born 1661; married John Collier, without issue.
5. William born 1663; married Mary Moorman; appears in a 1691 York County lawsuit, but about him little is known.
6. Elizabeth born Dec 31, 1665, York County; married ____ Ladd and had children; she died Oct 25, 1705.
7. Matthew born 1667, James City County; married Rebecca ____ and had one known child; died 1720, York County.
8. Francis born last at Middle Plantation, James City County; married Mary Servant in 1699, had seven children, and died in 1719.

Of these children, the descendants of only three are known: Thomas, Matthew, and Francis.
Mother Anne died on September 26, 1678, when Thomas, Sr., was about 48 years old and young Francis maybe 8 or 9. Shortly thereafter Thomas married Alice _____, who survived him and acted as his executrix.8

To James City County

Between the end of 1665 (Elizabeth's birth) and spring 1666 (Thomas a burgess for James City County) the family must have moved from York County to Middle Plantation, James City County. And there Thomas' distinguished public career took off. He was elected to Virginia's House of Burgesses (Lower House of the General Assembly) for the session beginning in June 1666. He served on committees "to regulate the price of ordinary keepers" (innkeepers' rates), "to attend the Governor about a treaty with Maryland," to see the governor about efforts to produce silk and about selecting those for "Managing the Affairs of the Country in England." He seems to have served, for now, just this one term in the House of Burgesses.

But in the same year, at age 36, Thomas was named by Governor William Berkeley to the Governor's Council, the Upper House of the General Assembly, where he served for 13 years. "It is difficult to overestimate the dignity of this position.... Members of the Governor's Council were invariably chosen from the wealthiest, most capable and most influential citizens of Virginia." Membership greatly enhanced a citizens' importance and was a sure means of "trebling and quadrupling a fortune, owing to the large salaries of the numerous very lucrative offices that went with it." The Council, along with the governor, was the General Court; the members served as commanders-in-chief in their counties; they acted as naval officers and collectors of the export duty; they had an inside track on profitable investments. In short, "members of the Council appropriated to themselves all those higher offices of the Colony which were attended with the largest salaries," but thereby "deliberately disregarded the fact that the concentration of these offices in so few hands brought about serious damage to the public interests."

Colonel of the militia

In 1666, as one of the Virginia Commissioners, Col. Ballard met with counterparts from Maryland and Carolina regarding the proposed scheme to force up the price of tobacco by not planting crops the next year. However, he had no faith in the plan and was the only commissioner not to sign; Lord Baltimore of Maryland shared his skepticism and saw that the agreement was not implemented. In 1669 Ballard was made lieutenant-colonel of the James City County militia, and in 1680 colonel.

In 1675 Thomas purchased a considerable 350-acre tract, including all of the land of today's College of William and Mary. "Ballard's home seems to have been just east of the College, at the western end of Francis Street." Later, in 1699,
after fire destroyed the statehouse in Jamestown, the General Assembly would move the state capital to Middle Plantation. The act set aside 220 acres there for a town, to be named Williamsburg in honor of King William III. Thus our Thomas Ballard was an early and influential actor in a historic drama that still continues daily for thousands of tourists in Colonial Williamsburg.9

Unfortunately, the court records of James City County were destroyed during the Civil War, so there are no deeds to Ballard land, nor a will. The Ballards lived in Bruton Parish of the Church of England, formed in 1674 from two earlier parishes. There he served as a vestryman for a number of years.10

**Bacon's Rebellion: 1676**

In 1676 the Colony suffered a "miniature civil war" in which both Thomas and Anna Ballard played major parts. Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., of Curles in Henrico (now Goochland) County to the northwest, was a populist critic of the moneyed establishment. He had, for example, denounced the councilors as "sponges to suck up the public treasury" and "traitors to the people in their greedy determination to appropriate to themselves all the official fat of the unhappy Colony."

Bacon petitioned Gov. Berkeley for authority to attack threatening Indians in Henrico County; not receiving it, he marched up the Roanoke River and killed 150 hitherto friendly natives. His townsmen were so pleased with his "success" that they elected him to the next Assembly in June 1676 at Jamestown; when he appeared for the session he was promptly arrested. Though Bacon had formerly denounced Thomas Ballard as the Governor's "wicked and pernicious Counselor," Thomas supported Bacon's application for a pardon.

The pardoned "Rebel" fled home, raised 500 troops, and returned to take Jamestown unresisted. The Governor, with but 100 men, wanted to defy him, but the Council, led by Ballard, overruled and gave Bacon his commission to fight Indians. The Governor countered by trying to raise troops in Gloucester County, so Bacon marched there instead, and the Governor retreated. Moving on to Middle Plantation, the Rebel required all there to pledge to support him. "Ballard was captured by Bacon's men . . . and cheerfully took the oath required of him, without any very earnest intention of keeping it." He then joined the Governor at Jamestown, but with Bacon in hot pursuit.

When Bacon discovered that the Governor had fortified the isthmus at Jamestown, he had his men throw up some earthworks and, in order to delay Berkeley's attack, defended them in a notorious manner. Having somehow captured the wives of the leading councilors, including our foremother Anne Ballard, he dressed them in white aprons and stationed them under guard on his breastworks so as not to be molested by shots of the opposing forces commanded by their husbands! Bacon carried the day, the Governor abandoned Jamestown, and Bacon then entered and burned the city. For a few weeks he was the victor, but by October he fell ill and died. The unwilling hostages were afterward referred to as the "dear white guards of the Devil," meaning Bacon.11
Thomas elevated to Speaker of the House

Col. Ballard had no sympathy for the rebels. Not only had Bacon humiliated his wife; just before the rebellion he'd bought land and cattle from Ballard, giving only a promissory note for £200, which was now worthless. (Worth more today, the note has Bacon's only known signature.) As a member of courts martial Ballard took part in sentencing several of the conspirators to death, which outraged many Virginians. After the unpopular Governor Berkeley was deposed (1677), Thomas Ballard and others were investigated as Berkeley's adherents. But soon the people began to view the investigation itself as a meddling in colonial affairs by the British crown, and popular opinion swung back behind Ballard and others.

As a result of the investigation Thomas Ballard, Sr., was excluded from the Council. But by then the people had "given Ballard the highest office in their power, by electing him burgess for James City County, for the Assembly session beginning 6 June 1680, and making him Speaker of the House." Re-elected for 1682-86 sessions, he served also as Speaker in '82, '83 and '84. "He thus retired from public life, rather irrationally converted into a popular hero, at what was then considered the ripe age of fifty-six; and of the remaining two years of his life appears no record."13

Col. Thomas Ballard died in 1689 at Middle Plantation, James City County, and was buried March 24, at the Bruton Parish graveyard. "His name is inscribed on a bronze tablet in the interior of the church and on the name plate of a pew."14

Before continuing with the next generation, let's have a brief look at the parentage of Thomas Ballard, Jr.'s wife, Katherine Hubbard.
Generation 11

John Hubbard, d. 1668
Katherine Bennett, d. 1694

Our next Ballard's wife was Katherine Hubbard (sometimes Hubard), the third child of Virginia colonists John Hubbard and Katherine Bennett. John was the younger of two brothers who were living in York County by 1650. The older, Matthew, patented 595 acres in the county in August 1655, land due him for importing twelve persons. Matthew was justice of the peace for York County for several years and died in 1667.

John, our forebear, probably died in January 1668, for his inventory was ordered the following month. His estate was valued at just over £784. He and Katherine had three children:


2. Our Katherine, born about 1660, and who married Thomas Ballard, Jr.; see below.

3. Matthew, who died in 1694, leaving at least one son.

At the father's death the two girls were entrusted to their mother, who remarried within a few months: James Besouth gave security for £500 on marrying her by a deed dated July 14, 1668. As for the son Matthew, Col. Thomas Ballard, Sr., was appointed his guardian. The Ballards and Hubbards, therefore, must have already been well acquainted, and the relationship of young Thomas Ballard and daughter Katherine Hubbard (married in 1684) rooted in family connections.

Though daughter Katherine's portion of her father's inheritance was not delivered to her husband until 1691, she witnessed a power of attorney in August 1682 and must have been of age at that time — therefore, her estimated birth date of 1660, above.

Her remarried mother outlived her second husband as well. James Besouth died in 1681, Katherine on March 19, 1694. By then daughter Katherine was about 34 and had been married to Thomas Ballard, Jr., for nearly ten years.15
Generation 10

Thomas Ballard, Jr., 1654-1710
Katherine Hubbard, c. 1660-by 1706

Thomas Ballard, Jr., the eldest son of Thomas, Sr., and his wife Anne (Thomas), was born in 1654, probably in York County, and reared at Middle Plantation in James City County, part of which was to become the state capital, Williamsburg.

"That he eventually returned to York County was due to his parents' wise choice of his godfather in Major Robert Baldrey." Baldrey had a large plantation in York County and served for years there as a justice of the peace. Though married, he had no children, and upon his death (about 1676) and the subsequent death of his widow (1684), almost his entire estate went to his godson, Thomas Ballard, who moved to York County to take possession of it. In March of 1684 Thomas was still in James City County, for he witnessed a power of attorney there; by November he was a member of the grand jury in York County.

On May 9, 1684, in Essex County, Virginia, Thomas married Katherine Hubbard, daughter of John Hubbard of York County (deceased) and his now remarried widow Katherine. The couple's ten children may have been born in this order, all in York County:

1. Matthew, born 1685, married Jane Clark, with whom he had one son.

2. Elizabeth, born 1687, married in 1706 Capt. William Smith and had six children.

3. Anne (or Anna), born 1689, married in 1705 John Major, with whom she had five children; died after 1743.

4. Katherine, married after 1706 William Buckner and had three children; died after 1709.

5. Thomas, who married (1) Elizabeth and (2) Mary Dancy with whom he had four children; settled in Charles City County; died there in 1754.

6. Robert, who married (1) Elizabeth, (2) Anne Wythe, and (3) Jane Wythe nee Clack with whom he had four children; a carpenter, he died in 1735.

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7. John, born 1693; married Elizabeth Bland, daughter of William Bland and Elizabeth Yates and had seven children; died in 1745.

8. Our William, born probably between 1695 and 1697; married Philadelphia and had seven children; died 1754. See below.

9. Francis, born about 1699; died young, before 1706.

10. Mary, a minor in 1706; probably died before maturity.

Justice of the peace, burgess, high sheriff and more

The death of Thomas' older brother John, without issue, and the death in 1689 of his father "made Thomas Ballard the head of his prominent and wealthy family." He was appointed a justice of the peace for York County, a position he held until his death. He represented York County in the Virginia House of Burgesses for sessions in 1692 and 93. In '94 he was made High Sheriff of York, appointing his (probably only surviving) brother as sub-sheriff.

Since the high sheriff's post was very remunerative, the appointment was circulated among the York justices. Sheriff's fees, as enacted in 1662, included five pounds of tobacco for delivering a summons, ten pounds for every arrest or subpoena served, twelve pounds for impaneling a jury, and twenty for placing a culprit in the pillory or whipping him. In enforcing a court judgment there was a sliding scale, the sheriff claiming a commission of up to 10%. "These fees in a locality like seventeenth century Virginia, where everyone appears to have been more or less litigiously inclined, added up at the year's end to a tidy sum."

Ballard returned to the House of Burgesses for sessions in 1697, 98, 99 and 1700, which was extended to 1702. And no doubt he was happy to return to the office of High Sheriff in 1699, when his turn came around. "He was one of the leading lawyers of Virginia, and was long an officer of the York militia" — captain in 1693, lieutenant-colonel in 1699. After seven years' retirement he was again elected as a burgess for the October 1710 session, but died before taking office.

Creating Yorktown

Until the 1690s colonial Virginia had "nothing anywhere resembling a city, with the solitary exception of Jamestown," which was more a village than anything. It was a land of widely scattered tobacco plantations, each on its navigable stream from which the planters themselves shipped their products. But the English authorities could not tolerate "the spectacle of a vast colony wherein, after nearly a century of existence, there was nowhere to be found a town; it was so un-English."

By the Virginia Assembly's 1691 "Act of Ports," 50 acres were to be set aside in each county for a port. In York County a plantation on the York River was chosen, and Thomas Ballard and Joseph Ring were selected as the "feoffees in
trust." The feoffees laid off the area into 85 lots and granted these to persons who requested them, on the understanding that each new owner would build a house thereon.

Though the scheme failed in most counties, it succeeded in York. Several people opened inns and shops; Ballard and Ring reserved for themselves two of the most desirable lots, facing the river. In 1705 Yorktown was formally incorporated and began a prosperous growth that continued until the Revolution. With an excellent deep water harbor, it was a tobacco port of the first importance. Moreover, it was to become a shrine of American independence; as every school child learns, the French-American siege of Yorktown forced the surrender of Britain's Lord Cornwallis to Gen. Washington there on October 19, 1781, thus bringing an end to the War of Independence. Our forebear Thomas Ballard, Jr., is entitled "to the credit of having had the chief part in the town's establishment."\(^{17}\)

**The College of William and Mary**

Thomas Ballard, Jr., has another special claim to fame. In 1693 he sold to the trustees of the proposed College of William and Mary a tract of land in Bruton Parish, James City County, that he'd inherited from his father four years before. This was a parcel bought by his father for £110 in 1675 and was thus owned by the Ballards for 18 years.

Although the original deed has mysteriously disappeared, the college's earliest expense accounts, sent to England and still there, show the item, "To Capt Thomas Ballard, for 330 acres of land, whereon ye Colledge is built . . . £170." In later years the college sold all but about 30 acres of the land. The Williamsburg school was chartered in 1693 by King William and Queen Mary. It is the birthplace of the Phi Beta Kappa society, organized as a social fraternity there in 1776. The school became co-ed in 1918 and is one of Virginia's finest state liberal arts colleges.

Thomas also served on the committee appointed by Governor Nicholson to lay out the town of Williamsburg at Middle Plantation.\(^{18}\) He was a vestryman of Bruton Parish Church there in 1690.\(^{19}\)

**Thomas' will: the negro Giles ... and £10**

Col. Thomas Ballard, Jr., died between June and October 1710, about 56 years of age. He was among the magistrates sitting at a court on June 24 of that year, but he was not present at the July session or thereafter, and in an October 5 document he is referred to as "deceased." His will is dated September 26, 1706, but was not recorded until June 1711. Because it does not mention his wife Katherine, we know that she had died by September 1706.
Thomas' five major tracts of land, with the boundaries of each described, were bequeathed in the order of descending age to the five sons, each as an alternative to the former if the former were to die without issue: The plantation on the York River that "I now live on" to Matthew, or Thomas, or Robert, or John, or William. A second tract to Thomas, or Robert, or John or William. The tract "on w'h I formerly dwelt" to Robert or William. To our John, "all my Land on the South side of the Swamp called Whitemarsh."

Other bequests provide some picture of the Ballard lifestyle: To Elizabeth, who received her portion at her marriage, "twenty shillings to buy her a Ring." To Anne, also married, "my negro Sue and the boy Larence, or fifteen pounds" in lieu of Larence. To daughter Katherine, the "Molotto Susanna & her increase, twenty pounds Sterling, the negro boy Tom Puding, my Second best featherbed, Bedstead, bolster, Pillows, blanket, Sheets, Covering, Curtains, Vallens (valence) thereto appertaining, & the young horse now breaking calling Ring."

Five of the children were still minors in 1706 — Thomas, Robert, John, our William and Mary. Bequests are listed for these for when they "come of age": seven more negroes and mulattos, cows and steers, horses, more household goods and cash. Our William, for example, was to receive the negro Giles, the mulatto Kate with her increase, and £10. And to these five children "a Sufficien & proper Maintenance & Education" until they come of age or marry. Matthew, the eldest, was appointed executor and given "all the rest of my goods & Chattles."

Thomas Ballard, Jr.'s estate was appraised at £603. It included 18 negroes, six horses, 51 head of cattle, 70 ounces of plate (presumably silver), and "a parcell of Bookes, val'd at £2, 10s." "Colonel Ballard was one of the wealthiest men of his time and neighborhood." Though his wealth was divided among seven surviving children, there was still plenty to go around.
Generation 9

William Ballard, Sr., c. 1695-1754
Philadelphia ____

The eighth of Thomas and Katherine Ballard's ten children, William Ballard, was born in York County, Virginia, probably no later than 1695 (two years after his brother John's birth and 20 years before his own first son's birth).

Not all genealogists concur that William is the proper link in our Ballard descent, that is, the father of our forebear in the next generation, William Ballard (Jr.), born in 1715. Claims have been made for his brother John, who also had a son William. But John's will clearly shows that his William (born about 1732) was much too young to have fathered our Byrom Ballard (born 1740) in the following generation.21

William Ballard, Sr., is said to have married one Philadelphia ____ in Virginia; by inference, the date must have been around 1714. William and Philadelphia seem to have had at least the following children:

1. Our William, Jr., born September 8, 1715, probably in York (some say Essex) County; married three times, had eight children, and died in 1794. The fact that this William named one of his daughters Philadelphia after her grandmother (see next section) corroborates the Thomas-William-William connection.

2. Thomas born 1716; married Susannah Hesson and had seven children; died 1781 in Albemarle County.22


4. Perhaps John, born 1720; died 1778.

Three earlier children, born in Essex County, have been credited to them: Bland (born 1700), Phillip (c. 1705), and Alice (c. 1708). Born too early to be William Sr.'s children, these must be attributed to some other Ballard family.23

William Ballard, Sr., died Oct 2, 1754, in King and Queen County, Virginia.
Generation 8
William Ballard, Jr., 1715-pr 1794
Sarah Byrom, c. 1710-c. 1745

Thomas and Anne, Thomas and Katherine, William and Philadelphia... we have reviewed three generations of Anglican planters and merchants of tidewater Virginia. But in the fourth generation of our colonial Ballards the pattern shifted dramatically — to Quaker farmers on the western frontier.

William Ballard, Jr., born September 8, 1715, probably in York County, possibly in Essex, was the eldest of William and Philadelphia Ballard's children. In 1734 he married, as his first wife, Sarah Byrom (or Byrum, Byram). She was born about 1710, probably in Essex County, Virginia. Her father Henry Byrom was christened February 28, 1675, in Parr, county Lancashire, England, and immigrated in 1696 to Essex County, where he died intestate in 1717. In 1701 he had married Frances Mills, the daughter of Robert Mills; Frances married, second, Alexander Somervell.

William and Sarah Ballard apparently settled in Hanover County, adjoining Essex County and just north of today's Richmond, and there they had four children:

1. Thomas born November 12, 1735; married Elizabeth Hardwick in 1763; died 1809 in Virginia.

2. Frances born December 12, 1737; married William Wilson; died 1809.

3. Our Byrom born February 27, 1740; married (1) Eleanor Candler and had eight children; (2) Sarah Hutton, with whom he had 3-4 more children; and (3) Elizabeth Davis; he died in 1817. See below.

4. Philadelphia ("Delphin") born May 1, 1742; married Capt. Thomas Caldwell; she died in 1808.

Soon the Ballards moved into Louisa County, the next county northwest, for William purchased land there in 1743. After mother Sarah's death in 1745, William Ballard took a second wife, Mary Moorman, a Louisa County Quaker. William and Mary joined the Camp Creek Meeting of Quakers in Louisa County in 1748. By this new association with the Friends our Ballards were now on track to connect with the Quaker Cadwalladers two generations later. In William's second marriage four more children were born:
5. Moorman born March 16, 1747, in Bedford (?) County, Virginia; married (1) Martha Moorman and (2) Minerva Webley Bullock, with whom he had nine children; died 1821, Clinton County, Ohio.

6. David born April 9, 1750, at Cedar Creek, Hanover (?) or Louisa County; married (1) Mary Brock, with whom he had 11 children and (2) Martha Moorman, with whom he had another child; died 1822 or 23, Wilmington, Clinton County, Ohio.

7. Barclay born about 1751 in Caroline County, Virginia; married Judith Johnson and had nine children; died at Lynchburg, Bedford County, Virginia, 1791.

8. Mary married James McKinney, 1752-5, in Virginia or Surry County, N.C., and had nine children; died 1791, Louisa County, Virginia.

A Louisa County deed of October 22, 1750, shows William Ballard's sale of 400 acres in Fredricksville parish on both sides of Fishing Creek, to Thomas Ballard, probably his younger brother, land on which Thomas was then already living.27

The Quakers of Camp Creek and Cedar Creek Monthly Meetings

The Camp Creek Meeting in western Louisa County, of which the Ballards were leading members, existed from 1744 to 1790, although it was a Monthly Meeting for only six short years, 1747 to 1753. It served Quakers in five Particular (local) Meetings scattered over three frontier counties, Louisa, Orange and Albemarle, perhaps more.

Our Ballards first appear in the Camp Creek MM records on May 16, 1748, when "William and family" were received into membership. An undated entry lists the birth dates of the first six children, that is, through David, born in 1750. The entry, therefore, must have been made that year or the next, before Barclay's birth.28

Camp Creek MM minutes show William Ballard there in September 1753, for he is one of seven signers of a notice disowning John Moore for drinking strong liquors.

In 1753 Camp Creek MM was absorbed into the larger Cedar Creek MM; established in 1739 and serving parts of 13 central Virginia counties, Cedar Creek still survives in the Richmond MM. The families of William Ballard and his children appear frequently in the Cedar Creek records, 1763-78. Among these are the following (month/day/year). Son Byrom's references appear under his name later in Part Two.
11/12/63: Frances, daughter of William, condemned for "such undue liberties as dancing."
12/10/63: Thomas disowned for marrying out of unity (out of the Quaker fellowship) and by a priest.
8/13/68: William granted certificate to South River MM to marry.
9/12/72: Moorman and David disowned for marrying contrary to discipline by a priest.
3/19/76: David requested to be reinstated.
5/11/76: Barclay reported married to Judith Johnson.
5/10/77: Thomas condemned for marrying out of union and former misconduct; also presented a letter of recommendation from Friends at Tom's Creek, Surry County, N.C; he was granted a certificate to that MM.
4/11/78: Moorman condemned for misconduct, for which he stood disowned; presented a certificate from Tom's Creek Friends in N.C.; reinstated and granted that certificate.

To Bedford County and a third wife

As shown above, on August 13, 1768, father William received a certificate to transfer his Quaker membership to the South River Monthly Meeting in Bedford County, Virginia, in relation to his remarriage. The bride, his third wife, was Rachel Moorman nee Clark, born in 1712 or 14, the daughter of Christopher Clark and Penelope Johnson of Louisa County and the widow of Thomas Moorman, who had died in 1767. William was 53 and Rachel a year or two older. Their marriage was reported to the MM on October 15, 1768.

During the late 1770s the Ballard family was breaking up. Three of our Byrom's brothers moved to present-day Guilford County, North Carolina, in the Greensboro area. The New Garden MM there received David in 1776 and Thomas and Moorman in 1778, all on certificates from Cedar Creek MM. For a time David, a Friends minister, left for Ohio "to be near and labor with the Delaware Indians," returning six months later. All three eventually moved on to Ohio, though it is said that Thomas died in Virginia. Brother Barclay stayed in Bedford and Campbell Counties, Virginia. And our Byrom settled in Bedford County.

William Ballard does not appear in the South River minutes or as a landowner in Bedford County, but it is probable that he remained here. Son Byrom had preceded him to Bedford County (did he perhaps recommend Rachel as a wife to his father?), and it is possible that the couple lived with Byrom's family. He was in Bedford County in 1783 when he executed this fascinating deed, the emancipation of probably his only slave:

I, William Ballard of the County of Bedford, Virginia, being fully pursuaded that freedom is the Natural Right of all Man Kind, and being
desireous to fullfill the Injunction of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ by doing unto others as I would be done by, do therefore declare that having under my Care a Negroe Boy named Squire York, aged about thirteen Years, I do hereby for myself and my Heirs Emancipate and Sett free the above named Negroe Boy after he shall arive at Lawfull age, which he shall Enjoy in as full and ample a maner as if he had been born of free parents, and I do hereby Relinquish unto the said Squire York all my Right, Title, Interest or Claim or Pretentions of Claim whatsoever or [that of] any person Claiming for, by, or under me. In Witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and Seal this 24th day of the Second Month Seventeen Hundred and Eighty-three.

William Ballard

Bridles and books, bottles and bellers

Rachel Ballard, William's third wife, died on June 10, 1792. Two days later, in Bedford County, William drew up his will and signed it with "his mark."

With his wife deceased and two or three of his sons having moved out of state, William cited but five heirs: To son Byrom he gave his 200 acres in Orange County, "which he has paid me for & I have made him a deed for, but fearing the Deed is not good, do now bequeath the same to him and his heirs forever." To daughters Frances Wilson, Mary McKinney, and Delphin Coldwell and son Barclay he gave various items or sums of cash. Byrom was the sole executor.

The detailed inventories give us another concrete glimpse of life on the Appalachian frontier — in this case, of a man who seems to have been much more the friendly neighborhood lending agency than a farmer:

Bonds of 32 individuals totaling £1,313
2 sides of sole leather, 8 other leather pieces
1 1/4 yds Osnabrigs [osnaburg, a course cotton or flax fabric]
13 doz. Checks [pieces of checked fabric]
1 gray mare, saddle, bridle and bell
2 padlocks
1 arm chair
1 gun shot Bag
1 Steel & 1 Wire rat traps
1 pr. Harnes and Chaines
1 Iron Pothooks
1 Ditto Ditto
1 Do Do [ditto ditto] small
1 pr Tongs
1 Bell
1 Inch Auger

5 Books
Sundry tools
1 Pair Saddle Bags
1 Spade
2 old Bridles and 4 Reaping Hooks
1 Dutch oven
1 Spice Mortar
Skillet and Bake Iron
1 Cutting Knife and Steel for Do
1 handsaw
1 Stone Pitcher
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Jug full of honey</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Bottles &amp; 1 Jug</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Pewter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 yards Ticking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Doz. New Table Spoons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 set of money scales</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Cart</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Wire wheat sive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pr. Hand Bellers [bellows]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pr Cards</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 pr Spurs</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Old Pewter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Chest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 handsaw files and Ink Holder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Chest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baskett of Small Tools</td>
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The total value of these goods was over £40, plus the bonds. Final adjustments of the estate were "to nursing William Ballard during his illness," 15 shillings, and "to allowance made the executor for trouble and expense," £64+. The balance left for the estate was £1,227+.

These inventories were taken in March and June of 1794, and the will proved April 29, so William's death in early 1794 is probable. He was 78.

Before continuing with the last of our Ballards, Byrom and Eleanor (Candler) Ballard and family, we need to return to the 17th century for Eleanor's fascinating English-Irish background.
The name Candler, they say, is one of great antiquity in Norfolk and Suffolk, the East Anglia bulge of England into the North Sea. The early spelling of Kaendler indicates that the name was of Saxon origin.\(^{35}\)

Our earliest known Candler, William Candler of Northampton county, England, lived during the middle years of the 17th century. He married Anne Villiers nee (maiden name unknown), the widow of Captain John Villiers. It is clear that the Candlers were "well connected," for Anne's former husband was of the family of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

But the Candlers future was to be in Ireland, not England. We first find William there as a captain in Oliver Cromwell's notorious invading force. Representing the Puritan-controlled British Parliament as lord lieutenant and commander in chief, Cromwell mounted a ruthless campaign in August 1649, and by May 1650 had secured the surrender of the Irish capital at Kilkenny and returned to England.

**Occupation and subjugation**

"In their blind bigotry and fanaticism [the Puritans] believed, or professed to believe, that they were the chosen instruments of God to destroy catholicism and establish puritanism all over the world, beginning with Ireland. . . . In the inauguration of this campaign of fanaticism and conquest it was agreed that all lands acquired in Ireland should be portioned out among the adventurers, as those who furnished the money to prosecute the war were called, and the soldiers who fought the battles.

"Three-fourths of the land was confiscated, and five-sixths of all the Irish people either perished by famine and the sword, or were driven into exile beyond the seas. . . . Those who had escaped . . . were sold into slavery. . . . By 'the statute of Kilkenny,' it was made high treason for an English officer to marry an Irish woman, and the penalty was death. . . . No degradation was too deep for a papist; no punishment too severe for those who intermarried with them, or showed sympathy for them."

Yet, as the English settled their new estates, many proved not as harsh as Parliament. Many of the former owners were sheltered, and attachments grew.
"For having settled among the Irish people, and coming in daily contact with them, they, as do all who know them well, learned to love them, and to appreciate this sprightly, witty and affectionately loyal race." As we shall see, this appreciation for the Irish led William's grandson into marriage, and to exile in America — which was a good thing for us.

Callan Castle

During the Irish campaign our William Candler rose from captain to lieutenant colonel, and as his spoils he was rewarded with the barony of Callan Castle in southeast Ireland. Actually three castles, Callan had been stormed by Cromwell himself and after the complete subjugation of the people, the lord lieutenant confiscated three-fourths of their lands. Today's village of Callan is located eight miles southwest of Kilkenny via the N76 highway, on a tributary of the River Nore.

Here William and Anne had two sons:

1. Our Thomas, who married Jane Tuite and remained at Callan Castle; see below.

2. John, who married a daughter of John Walsingham of Kilkenny. They left one son, who died without issue, and a daughter who did not marry.

Judging from the dates of subsequent generations, we can assume that these children were born in the late 17th century.
Generation 9

Thomas Candler
Jane Tuite

Our Thomas Candler, the baron of Callan Castle and environs, married first Elizabeth Burrell, the daughter of Captain William and Elizabeth Burrell, but she died without issue. Secondly, Thomas married Jane Tuite, daughter of Sir Henry Tuite, baronet of Sonagh in the county of Westmeath, central Ireland. Her mother was the former Diana Mabbot, niece of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon and first cousin of her Royal Highness, the Duchess of York, mother of Queens Mary and Anne. A distinguished pedigree indeed!

Thomas and Jane had four sons, three who rose to high rank in Ireland and a fourth, our forebear, who became a Quaker farmer in the back country of Virginia.

1. Henry, a doctor of divinity, arch deacon of Ossory, and rector of the "living" (Anglican church appointment) at Callan. He married Anne Flood, a niece of the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, and had two sons, Thomas and William. Henry succeeded his father as the master of Callan Castle, and his son, the Reverend William Candler, was next in succession. Callan Castle remained in family hands at least through the 19th century.

2. William, also a doctor of divinity, of Castle Comer in the county of Kilkenny, who married, first, _____ Aston, and had a son, Henry. Secondly, he married Mary Ryves, daughter of Charles Ryves. All were of the English gentry.

3. Thomas Candler, of Dublin, who married and left one son, John of Castlewood in Queens county, who died without issue.³⁸

In the Candler volume we have been following thus far, by Allen D. Candler, the author recognizes that there was a fourth son, an 18th-century immigrant to America and progenitor of most of the Candlers of the southern colonies. The name has been discovered in later years by Quaker genealogist Jay Worrall:

4. Our Daniel, who married Anna ____. To their family we turn.
Generation 8

Daniel Candler, d. 1766
Anna ____, 1696-1801

Although the harshest of the English laws intended to subjugate and isolate the Irish were repealed after a few years, the prohibition against marrying with the natives was retained for decades. "By such marriages Parliament considered that Almighty God was dishonored.... The English gentleman who brought reproach upon his family name by marrying a woman, even of the highest rank, of the despised race, not only subjected himself to ... penalties, but was ostracized by his English neighbors and disowned by his family."

Daniel Candler was just such a gentleman. He married Anna ____, of "pure Irish" blood, and his life was changed forever. He "thus disqualified himself to sit in Parliament or to hold any office, civil or military, and put himself under the ban of social ostracism, and forfeited the friendship and sympathy of his own family. All that was left him to do was to go with his young wife beyond the seas to seek a home." 39

To the Carolinas

About 1735 Daniel and Anna landed in Charleston, South Carolina, soon made their way to North Carolina, and about twenty years later pushed on to Bedford County, Virginia. All of their seven children were probably born in North Carolina, 1735-55, perhaps in this order:

1. Elizabeth, married ____ Caffrey.

2. Our Eleanor, married Byrom Ballard in 1763; see below.


4. William, born 1736; married Elizabeth Anthony and had ten children; moved to Georgia about 1765-69; served as a colonel in the War of Independence; died 1784. Col. Candler is the focus of the Allen D. Candler genealogy; from him descended many a distinguished Georgian.

5. Zedikiah, married Ann Moorman, a Quaker.

6. Thomas.
It is fascinating to speculate on the wrenching changes in Daniel and Anna's lives: from antagonistic social positions of prestige and near slavery, to a romantic liaison and marriage (Anglican or Catholic?), to furtive plans for emigration, to all the adjustments of life in the colonies, and to a Quaker community at the western edge of white civilization.

The Candler in Bedford County

Daniel Candler was among the "founding fathers" of the South River Monthly Meeting in Bedford County. He is mentioned in the daily log kept by Robert Pleasants on the journey he and three other Friends made in 1757 "in respect to establishing a monthly meeting among" Quakers near South River and Goose Creek at the foot of the Appalachians. On November 17 the group took part in a meeting at a house near Bedford Court House (today's Bedford, the county seat), "then to Daniel Candler's (25 miles)." In January 1758, after its 420-mile trip, the traveling committee reported that "we have therefore established a monthly meeting . . . to circulate from South River and Goose Creek."

Previously, in 1755-56, three of the Candler's names had appeared in the minutes of the Cedar Creek MM, which included this area: father Daniel and children William and Eleanor. After the organization of the South River MM in 1757 we see that son William was chosen as the first clerk. A very responsible position, the Quaker clerk presides at meetings for business and must be alert to catch the sense of the meeting.

Daniel first appeared in the South River minutes on August 18, 1759, when he was named to serve on a committee. In 1760 he was listed with others as "prominent in the affairs of this MM." Other Candler family entries are of interest but seem to indicate that only Daniel and the four older children, Elizabeth, Eleanor, John, and William, were Friends. Was mother Anna still an Irish Catholic?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10/15/57</td>
<td>William chosen clerk in the newly formed MM.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/15/58</td>
<td>John received into membership.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/19/60</td>
<td>William moved to Goose Creek, where Friends requested a meeting to be settled among them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/18/61</td>
<td>John and William chosen trustees, with Charles Lynch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/18/61</td>
<td>Our Eleanor condemned for her misconduct in accompanying her brother William in his disorderly marriage. (A poignant dilemma: Eleanor was a committed Friend and a future Quaker minister, but must have also felt a deep loyalty to her brother.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8/15/61</td>
<td>William disowned for marriage by a priest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/19/62</td>
<td>Daniel and three others appointed &quot;overseers of the poor.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8/20/63</td>
<td>Eleanor reported married to Byrom Ballard.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9/17/63 William, by now in Georgia, informed the meeting that he'd been denied approval of an account in Augusta "as being supposed not a member of our Society"; he was granted a certificate "suitable for him."

10/20/64 Elizabeth received on certificate. (Was Elizabeth perhaps younger than Eleanor, John and William, and only now eligible for membership?)

1/17/67 John condemned for misconduct, then disowned; later reinstated.

4/18/72 Anna, "formerly Moorman" (Zedikiah's wife) disowned for marrying out of unity with the meeting. (The Moormans were founders and leaders of the MM; it appears that Zedikiah Candler was not a Friend like his four older siblings. Nor do Thomas and Henry, his younger brothers, appear in the minutes.)

7/20/82 Elizabeth warned that "she will be disowned unless she submits and lives agreeable to the rules and good order used amongst us."

8/16/82 Elizabeth discontinued, having removed from amongst the Friends.41

Thus only two of Daniel's seven children, Eleanor and John, remained Quakers and raised Quaker families.

In 1779 Daniel Candler was granted 370 acres near Lynchburg, including Candler's Mountain, purchased in our time by Jerry Falwell and renamed Liberty Mountain.

Daniel died in 1766, four years after the "overseers of the poor" reference above. His birth date is unknown, but if it was similar to his wife's (about 1696), he would have been around 70 years old. Anna would live another 35 years, dying in 1801 at 105 years. She was our only ancestor so far discovered to have lived in three centuries!42

Having established daughter Eleanor's background, we are ready to move on to the last generation of our Ballard narrative.
The last in our line of male Ballard ancestors was **Byrom Ballard**, the third child of William and Sarah (Byrom) Ballard, born at Cedar Creek, Hanover County, Virginia, on February 27, 1740. Named for his mother's family, he passed his given name along to a son and, through daughter Mary, a grandson, our Byrom Cadwallader.

When he was five his mother died, and soon the family moved into Louisa County, where his father remarried. By the early 1750s Byrom had seven siblings.

Byrom first appears in the minutes of the Cedar Creek Monthly Meeting on November 13, 1762, when he was a young man of 22 living in Albemarle County. He requested a certificate to Bedford County, but it was deferred "on account of obstructions." On April 8, 1763, he was granted the certificate. Eight days later he was received by the South River Monthly Meeting there on certificate from Cedar Creek.

Perhaps the motivation for his move was matrimonial, for on August 20, 1763, at the South River Friends' meeting he and **Eleanor Candler** were wed. Eleanor was the daughter of Daniel and Anna Candler of Bedford County. The couple settled in what is now Campbell County, which borders Bedford County on the east but was then still a part of Bedford, to be set off as a new county in 1781-2. On February 29, 1764, Byrom bought 193 acres between Ivy Creek and Tomahawk Creek for £23.43

The minutes also show that in May of 1764 Byrom was condemned for going to law with John Lynch, later the founder of Lynchburg, Virginia, without consent of the Friends. Byrom was subsequently "accepted." In 1772 he was appointed clerk of the Monthly Meeting.

**A family on the move**

But the Ballards did not remain in Bedford County for much more than a decade. In '74, first Eleanor, then the whole family, were granted certificates back to Cedar Creek MM. There we see that Byrom was recommended to serve as an elder (’76), and was twice given permission to visit his relatives (probably his brothers' families) in North Carolina (’77 and ’83).
Byrom and Eleanor Ballard had eight children, seven of whom survived. From the minutes cited above it would seem that the first six were born in Bedford County, the last two within the bounds of the Cedar Creek MM, probably in Orange County.

1. Our Mary ("Polly"), born June 16, 1764; married Moses Cadwallader, Jr., in 1792 and had seven children; died probably in 1813. See below.

2. Elizabeth ("Betty"), born November 1, 1765; perhaps married first, Joseph James, and second, in 1792, Joseph Johnson.

3. William, born July 20, 1767; married Elizabeth Anthony in 1788 and had ten children; died 1816 in Campbell County, Virginia.

4. Byrom, born May 14, 1769; died at seven months, December 28, 1769.

5. Amos, born November 15, 1770; married Elizabeth Feazle in 1794 and had five children; died after July 1841, Grayson County, Virginia.

6. Byrom again, born June 9, 1773; died at 17 months, November 19, 1774.44

7. Mourning, born May 14, 1775 (no doubt her parents were still in "mourning" over the loss both Byroms); married Joseph Moreland, 1794.

8. Judith, born December 10, 1779; married ______ Cunningham.

At least two more moves lay ahead: In August 1784 Byrom, Eleanor and children ("Marah [Mary], Elizabeth, William, Amos, Mourning & Judith") were received back at the South River MM on certificate from Cedar Creek MM; here they were members of the Goose Creek Particular Meeting in Bedford County. On March 19, 1784, "Byrom Ballard of Orange County" bought 195 acres "on both sides of the Bear Branch on the South of Goose Creek" for £45. Two years later, on December 2, 1786, he purchased for £25 a considerable 450 acres on Body Camp Run and Turner's Wagon Road.45

Eleanor, a noted Friends minister

The family's return to Bedford County was shortly after Eleanor's approval as a Friends minister, on May 3, 1784, by the Upper Quarterly Meeting. For several years she was a "noted" minister, traveling widely "in the service of the Truth," although the three younger children must have still been at home. In
August 1787, for example, South River MM granted permission to Eleanor, Mary Embree and Charles Brooke to visit meetings in northern Virginia and "some Northern Governments." She was described as a little, shriveled up woman who preached at length.

In June 1789 "Byram Ballard and Eleanor his wife" sold 207 acres in Bedford County for £60, and April 20, 1790, 190 acres on Cedar Creek, a south branch of Ivy Creek, for £100.46

By 1790 Eleanor's health was failing. On December 24 Zachariah Ferris, "while traveling in Truth's service," wrote that he "rode two miles from the Upper Meeting on Goose Creek to Byram Ballard, where we found his wife in a poor condition, destroyed by the physicians, who are men of no value." She died before the year was out.47 At the Monthly Meeting of South River on April 16, 1791, Eleanor Ballard, "deceased, a minister," was mentioned in a memorial from the Goose Creek Particular Meeting.

**Byrom's second marriage, another move, more children**

Still in Bedford County, on September 20, 1792, at the Goose Creek meetinghouse, Byrom married Sarah Hutton nee Cadwallader (1756-1803). Sarah was the eldest child of our Moses Cadwallader, Sr., and his wife Elizabeth. She had married Samuel Hutton at Fairfax MM August 9, 1785, but was now residing in Bedford County. As we've seen in Part One, she was the older sister of Byrom Ballard's son-in-law Moses Cadwallader, Jr, who had married Byrom's daughter Mary ("Polly") Ballard just four months earlier, on May 23, 1792. It is fascinating to speculate on the dynamics of this matchmaking. The two families, with children living in 1792, the year of the marriages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moses Cadwallader, Sr., b. 1730</th>
<th>Byrom Ballard, b. 1740</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sarah, b. 1756 m. Polly, b. 1764</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruth</td>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moses, Jr., b. 1763 m. William</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>Amos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesse</td>
<td>Mourning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Judith</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It comes as a surprise that at ages 52 and 36 Byrom and Sarah should set about raising a new family, though exactly which children are theirs is problematical. One source lists three:

9. Phillip born June 18, 1793; lived in Tipton County, Indiana; died after 1860.

10. Moses, born November 19, 1795; married another Sara Cadwallader.

11. Ruth, born April 24, 1798; married _____ Davis.
12. Listed by another source is Hutton, a likely given name, born perhaps before or after Ruth. By Ruth's birth Sarah was 42, and it seems likely that these three or four were her only children by Byrom. 

Less than three years after their marriage, in April 1795, "Byrom Ballard and Sarah his wife" sold the last of their Bedford County land: two tracts of 130 acres and 125 acres "on Bear Branch south of Goose Creek." The Ballards moved southwest to join some of their relatives in Grayson County, Virginia. The Chestnut Creek Friends meetinghouse was built near Byrom's farm there in 1797.

A third marriage

Sarah died in Grayson County in 1803, and at age 67 Byrom married a third time: Elizabeth Davis, on August 29, 1807, at the Mount Pleasant MM, Grayson County.

Byrom died at age 77, on July 13, 1817. As we have seen in Part One, by the time of Byrom's death, his eldest child, our "Polly," had been married to Moses Cadwallader, moved to Grayson County, lost her husband, and died herself at age 49, leaving six children, ages 10 to 20. Among them was our Byrom Cadwallader, who at his grandfather Byrom Ballard's death was already living in the Midwest. His generation and the next are treated in Part Four.
NOTES TO PART TWO


2. Worrall, pp. 21, 23.


5. "Supplementary Note as to Ballard of James City."

6. Lynne D. Miller, *The Descendants of Thomas Ballard and Anne Thomas*, revised (self-published, February 1998), p. 1. For 173 pages Miller summarizes the vital data on several generations of these descendants and cites hundreds of resources, including an internet coterie of Ballard researchers.

7. Here we follow the names and chronology given by Miller. Although she lists the first four children as born at Middle Plantation or James City County, this seems inconsistent with what appears to be the Ballard residence in York County until 1666, and therefore these places of birth have been omitted in the text.


15. Cabell, pp. 69f. Katherine Bennett's maiden name is from Miller, p. 3.

16. Cabell, pp. 57, 75f. Though BBB lists sons no. 5-7 in a different sequence, their order in their father's will supports Cabell. Miller has a still different order but crowds the births of seven children into a hardly feasible seven-year period. Names of wives, number of children, and death dates from Miller, pp. 5-9.

17. Cabell, pp. 58f.


19. Miller, p. 3.


21. BBB gives John Ballard as the father of our William, p. 202. But John's will substantiates the late birth date of his son William by listing him as last and youngest among the four sons, all minors in 1744. He must have been about 12 at the time. See Miller, pp. 7-9.

22. One genealogist considers this Thomas to be the son of John, not William. Miller, p. 15.

23. All seven children are listed by Miller, pp. 7f. But even with the earlier birth date that she gives father William (c. 1688), the three younger children could not have been his. Miller's sources: John Ballard, William Curtis Ballard, His Ancestors and Descendants, and BBB.

24. Data on Sarah's background and children from BBB, though only Miller gives Alice. BBB and Miller give Mary Byrom as the mother of all the children, conflating Sarah Byrom and Mary Moorman. Jay Worrall's research authenticates Sarah as William's first wife. Children's birth dates verified in William Wade Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy, vol. 6 (hereafter Hinshaw, 6), p. 227. Places of birth from Miller. The name Byrom, here a surname but in subsequent generations a given name, is also spelled Byram, Byrum, sometimes Byron. Except in direct quotations I have ignored these variations, using only Byrom.


27. Louisa County Grantor Deed Book A, p. 403.
28. Hinshaw, 6, pp. 283f, 265. Also received on 5/16/48 was a Sarah Ballard. Who is this?

29. Hinshaw, 6, pp. 223-6, 227f, 283-5.

30. BBB, p. 203.


32. BBB, pp. 206-8.

33. Ibid.

34. Bedford County Will Book 2, pp. 130f, 134f, 135-7, 217f.

35. For the CANDlers we are largely dependent on a genealogy by Alan D. Candler focused on his great-grandfather, Colonel William Candler, of Georgia: His Ancestry and Progeny (The Foote & Davies Co., 1896). The reference here is to pp. 73, 78.

36. Candler, pp. 16-20.


38. Candler, pp. 74-77.

39. Candler, pp. 21f.

40. Jay Worrall's records.

41. Hinshaw, 6, pp. 291, 303-5.

42. Jay Worrall's records.

43. BBB, p. 206. Bedford County Grantee Deed Book 2, pp. 314f. In this section Friends' data come from the minutes of Cedar Creek and South River MMs, Hinshaw, 6, pp. 227f and 297f.

44. Deaths of both Byrom sons from Cedar Creek MM records in Our Quaker Friends of Ye Olden Time (Lynchburg, Va: J.B. Bell Co., 1905), p. 23.


46. Bedford County Grantor Deed Book 8, pp. 195f; Deed Book 9, p. 50.

48. Both BBB and Miller show the marriage of Byrom and Sarah. BBB gives only children 9-11, p. 206; Miller adds Hutton, but erroneously repeats four names from Byrom's marriage to Eleanor, p. 34.

49. Bedford County Grantor Deed Book 10, pp. 30, 52.

50. Jay Worrall's records.

51. Miller, p. 33.

Here we meet the ancestors of Sarah Hague, who in 1819 would marry our Byrom Cadwallader in Indiana. Like the Cadwalladers, they too were Quakers who fled Britain (and Ireland) in the 17th century, settling in Pennsylvania (and New Jersey). After a few generations they too migrated southwest through Virginia and over the Appalachians, where their descendants by the hundreds peopled the Midwest. The last of our Hagues, Sarah's parents, had 72 grandchildren!

Francis Hague, Sr.
Francis Hague, Jr.
Pleasant Milner nee Pawlin (or Paulin)

John Hague
pr. William Yeardley

Thomas Yeardley
pr. Jane __________

Jane Yeardley

Ann __________

Samuel Hague

John Schooley
Robert Schooley
Elizabeth Fletcher

William Schooley
Sarah Bingham

Samuel Schooley
Mary Smith

Ann Schooley

Sarah __________

Sarah Hague

Edward McGinnis
Eleanor McGinnis
Since the chronology and geography of our people's migration through Virginia is so complex, the following chart serves as a helpful summary. The Cadwalladers, of Parts One and Four, moved from Pennsylvania southwestward along the Blue Ridge foothills. As we've just seen in Part Two, the Ballards came from the Tidewater and the Canders from North Carolina, meeting in Bedford County.

Now in Part Three we shall see how the Hagues and Schooleys removed from Pennsylvania and New Jersey to merge in Loudoun County, and how Samuel and Eleanor Hague continued southwestward like the Cadwalladers, and like them moved on in the 19th century to the Midwest. All were Quakers, and for this reason we begin with a closer look at the Society of Friends in the Piedmont.

### Our Quaker Forebears' Southwestern Movement
**Through Counties East of the Blue Ridge**

Plaints of origin and length of residency of male ancestors in four areas of Virginia's western Piedmont, ranging (left to right) from north central to southwest. County names in parentheses were set off from original counties: Loudoun in 1757, Carroll in 1841.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>Fairfax (Loudoun)</th>
<th>Louisa</th>
<th>Bedford</th>
<th>Grayson (Carroll)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cadwallader</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moses, Sr</td>
<td>Pa.</td>
<td>1760-87</td>
<td></td>
<td>1787-99</td>
<td>1799-d 1816</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moses, Jr</td>
<td>b 1763-87</td>
<td></td>
<td>1787-99</td>
<td>1799-d 1803</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byrom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b 1799</td>
<td>1799-1813a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William</td>
<td>York Co, Va.</td>
<td>1745-68</td>
<td></td>
<td>1768-d 1792</td>
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<tr>
<td>Byrom</td>
<td>York Co, Va.</td>
<td>1745-63b</td>
<td></td>
<td>1763-95c</td>
<td>1795-d 1817</td>
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<tr>
<td>Candler</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel</td>
<td>N.C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1755-d 1766</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hague</td>
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<tr>
<td>Francis, Jr</td>
<td>Pa.</td>
<td>1742-d 1780</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>Pa.</td>
<td>1742-d 1787</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Samuel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samuel</td>
<td>N.J.</td>
<td>1761-d 1782</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a To Ohio.  b Also neighboring Albemarle.  c Present-day Campbell County; including an interval in Orange County.  d An interval between two periods in Grayson County.  e To Indiana.*
INTRODUCTION:
THE QUAKERS OF WESTERN VIRGINIA

Our Cadwalladers' Hague and Schooley forebears of Part Three had their colonial origins in the late 17th-century Quaker strongholds of, respectively, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and, immediately across the Delaware River, Burlington County, New Jersey. But in the mid-18th century both families pushed southward into the fertile lands of Virginia's northeastern tip, Loudoun County, just east of the Blue Ridge.

The first Quakers to settle in the Catoctin Creek watershed of western Loudoun arrived in 1733, and among them were our Francis and Jane Hague and their family. It was an isolated and primitive existence. After worshiping in their own homes for eight years, when enough Friends had arrived in the area they built a log meetinghouse. "Their meeting was named 'Fairfax,' since the Catoctin area was located in Fairfax County until Loudoun was split off from Fairfax in 1757."¹ The Fairfax meeting was in close touch with the Goose Creek meeting six miles southwest and five new meetings across the Blue Ridge in the Valley of Virginia. Overall, there were 40 meetings in Virginia by 1750.

To Bedford and Grayson Counties

As reports returned to the land-hungry Quakers of the northeast, more and more pushed southwestward. "East of the Blue Ridge between 1750 and 1763, eleven new meetings sprung up and three old ones were laid down." In 1757 two meetings of importance to our ancestors were opened in Bedford County near what is now Lynchburg — South River and Goose Creek.

The migration continued. Grayson County on the North Carolina border was created in 1792 (out of which Carroll County, its eastern half where our people lived, was carved in 1842). Here the Mt. Pleasant MM was organized in 1801. And though none of our direct forbears continued south into North Carolina, at least to stay, some of their siblings did.

By 1800 the number of Friends' meetings in Virginia had grown to a record high of 63, with an estimated total membership of 5,500.²

The Friends at worship

Quakers were, and are, convinced that there is something of God in everyone, the "inward light," "the light of Christ," "the Christ within," "the divine seed." "The way Quakers worship is to 'wait on the Lord,' that is, to listen in silence to the still small voice inside each worshiper. They try to live in accordance
with what they apprehend during this silent listening. That way of living they call 'minding the light' or 'walking in the light.'"

They were defiantly opposed to a paid clergy ("hirelings"), but they did appoint some of their number as ministers, "spiritually gifted persons especially in touch with that of God within them.... At first the ministers sat in the circle of worshipers. Then the circle fell out of favor and 'facing benches' appeared, elevated on a low platform at one end of the meetinghouse and fronted by a railing. There the ministers sat facing the body of the meeting. Still later, elders began to sit on the facing benches with the ministers. Their duty was to 'oversee' the vocal ministry.... The elders encouraged promising young speakers and restrained or corrected ill-advised ones."

Weddings were celebrated in homes, barns, orchards or meadows. With no paid clergy present, the bride and groom sat together with a group of relatives and friends. "A silence fell over the group. Presently the couple rose in the silence, joined hands, looked into one another's eyes, and said their promises to one another in the presence of God and the assembled company.... Various Friends spoke in prayer or in benediction as the Spirit moved them. After an hour or so two elder Friends shook hands to end the meeting. All rose, shook hands all round, congratulated the bride and groom with smiles, kisses, joyous tears and handshakes, and signed their marriage certificate."³

**Love v. slavery**

For their first 100 years in the Colonies most Quakers harbored the hope of bringing the whole world to their inward way of approaching God. But around 1750 their focus changed: "They seemed to realize that only certain people ... are attracted to the inward way." Evangelical churches, sprung from the Great Awakening of the 1730s and following, were gaining ground much faster than the Friends. As a result there was a turning away from attracting new members and toward helping the unfortunates of the larger society. "For the first hundred years the Friends' great word was Truth. Then in the 1750s they began to emphasize Love.... They began to acquire their reputation as 'that fellowship of Christians distinguished for their integrity and incomparable human sympathy....' Attending to the plight of black people was a first step."

As we have seen in Part Two, our Thomas Ballard, an early Anglican planter of the Tidewater, died in 1710 with an inventory of "18 negroes." But 73 years later his Quaker grandson, William Ballard, now on the western frontier in Bedford County, freed his (probably) only slave, Squire York. As far as we know, none of our Cadwalladers or Hagues of western Virginia were slaveholders. The difference between the early Ballards and the others was twofold: slavery was never strong among the smaller farms of the "backwoods" west, and little by little through the 18th century, the Quakers were convincing themselves that it was wrong.
Surely the prime mover in the Friends' debate over slavery was John Woolman of New Jersey, "one among the finest flowers of American Quakerism." On a trip to Virginia in 1746 Woolman was impressed by "the bad consequence to slaveholding families of living 'in ease on the hard labor of their slaves.'" After helping Philadelphia Quakers see the evil in slavery, Woolman returned to Virginia in 1757 to witness against it. In 1766 the Virginia Yearly Meeting proclaimed its stand against slavery, and in '68 determined that "none of our members for the time to come shall be permitted to purchase a negro or other slave." In '71 the Yearly Meeting petitioned the Virginia House for laws against importing more slaves, legislation which it passed the next year, though it was vetoed by the king.

Soon many Friends were pleading for abolition. In 1784 the Virginia Yearly Meeting became the last of the six American Yearly Meetings to disown members who refused to free their slaves. "The American Quakers — virtually alone among all the new nation's Christian denominations — came down corporately on the side of conscience.... By 1794 Virginia's Quaker families were substantially clear of slaveholding, either through disownment of the slaveholders or manumission [freeing] of the slaves" by individual owners.

Spiritual revival

During the pre-Revolutionary decade the Friends' conflicts over slavery, allegiance to England, and military service were tied to a spiritual revival sweeping through the Society. "Friends in Virginia and everywhere set out to rid their meetings of worldly 'spots' acquired over the years.... Speakers in the meetings warned worshipers that 'the Spirit whispers — the World shouts.'" Many who would not mend their ways were disowned; others simply stopped attending the meetings and "ran out from Truth."

"Many young Friends were disowned because they 'married out' to 'one of the world's people,'" that is, a non-Quaker. Or because they were impatient with the long prenuptial procedure — appearing before the clearness committee and two successive Monthly Meetings — and instead, hurried to the priest for their weddings.

A good many couples who were thus disowned, including some of our own people, later "condemned their misconduct in letters to the meetings and were restored. Frequently the spouse of the restored Friend then joined the meeting."

Other disownments were for alcoholism, adultery, fighting, "ill words," "vain fashions," sport or gaming, defaming others, bringing suit in the courts. And of course, for slaveowning. Between 1763 and 75 about one in five Virginia Friends was disowned. Meetings "now were intent on ridding their membership of half-hearted men and women and returning their Society to its first purity and zeal." As we shall see in Parts Three and Four, our Cadwallader-Hague forebears, though far from model Friends, remained faithful members well into the 19th century, and far into the Midwest.
Generation 10

pr. William Yeardley, d. 1703
pr. Jane

We begin this part of our family story with two generations of Yeardleys, the immigrant forebears of Jane Yeardley, who would marry Francis Hague in 1729. Minutes of the Falls Monthly Meeting in Bucks County, southeastern Pennsylvania, reveal that on October(?) 2, 1682, Friends William Yeardley (sometimes Yardley) and his wife Jane were received on a certificate from the Congleton Monthly Meeting in county Cheshire, England.

Congleton Friends

The town of Congleton is at the east edge of Cheshire, only four miles north of Stoke on Trent, two miles east of the M6 motorway. Records of the 14th and 15th centuries are preserved, including evidence of two churches there. A Ralph Yardeley was mayor of Congleton about 1521.

Quakers seem to have established themselves in the area very soon after George Fox's preaching tour of England in the 1640s. "Quakers refused to accept the authority of the Anglican priest, and, as this included the ministrations of the burial service, one of the first necessities was to ensure their own burial grounds. There are known to have been at least nine early burial grounds in Cheshire, one of them at Eaton, two miles from Congleton," still in existence. A meetinghouse was built on it in the 1680s, one of the first in the country. The Congleton Quakers, never more than about 30, worshiped there.

The authorities were especially harsh on the Friends of Cheshire, "partly because of the aggressiveness of early Quakerism and partly because Quakers wished to contract out of society, especially in the payment of tithe." Their goods were seized; they were tried in Chester and jailed in dreadful conditions.

In the 1670s and 80s repressive actions became sterner yet. "From 1682 Quakers in Congleton and the surrounding area were fined continually, either for absence from church or for non-payment of tithe." The value of their seized goods was often three or four times that of the fine demanded. "In 1682 these included food, pewter dishes, brass pots, a pair of shoes, an axe and clothing," a calf, a cow. As we have seen, it was that year when the Yeardleys apparently determined that they had had enough and took their faith and their family to Pennsylvania.
Some of the families who remained were paying fines until at least 1713. But so many moved away or married out of the Society that by 1730 Quakerism in Congleton was on the decline. The Congleton (or Eaton) Particular Meeting was discontinued about 1741. Yearly Meetings were held at Congleton as late as 1764; the decayed meetinghouse was pulled down in 1801-2.⁶

To Bucks County, Pennsylvania

Bucks County is located just north of Philadelphia at the eastern edge of Pennsylvania, separated there from New Jersey by the Delaware River. The southeastern corner of the county, opposite Trenton, New Jersey, was known as Falls, for the Falls of the Delaware there. When William Penn opened his grant to settlement by Quakers in 1681, the numbers of Friends in Falls rapidly increased. Soon the need for a Monthly Meeting was apparent.

Indeed, "William Yardley" was one of the seven men who founded the Falls Monthly Meeting on May 2, 1683: They waited upon the Lord "to hear what should be offered, in order to inspect into the affairs of the Church, that all things may be kept therein sweet and savory to the Lord," and "thought it fit and necessary that a Monthly Meeting should be set up, both men and women."

Yeardley records in the Friends minutes are scant. Between 1697 and 1707 the Falls MM recorded five Yeardley marriages following William and Jane's names. These would appear to be their children:

1. Enoch granted a certificate to marry Mary Fletcher, daughter of Robert, December 1, 1697.
2. Thomas left at liberty to marry Hester Baker, November 6, 1700; married second our Ann ___. See below.
4. Mary of Bucks County, married Joseph Kirkbride at Falls MM, January 17, 1705.
5. Ann reported married contrary to discipline, December 3, 1707.

However, a problem with what appear to be two Thomases in the record (see next section) casts some doubt on whether our Thomas, who married an Ann, is the same as the Thomas above, who first married Hester. We conjecture that the two Thomases are the same and that, therefore, our Yeardley immigrants were most probably, but not certainly, William and Jane Yeardley. There is no record of any other Yeardleys in the Falls Monthly Meeting.

William Yeardley died on February 12, 1703.⁷
If William and Jane Yeardley and family arrived in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in 1682, and their son Thomas Yeardley married Hester Baker there on November 6, 1700, Thomas was probably born in eastern Cheshire and was a young child when his family came. Minutes of the Falls Monthly Meeting show that with Hester he had two children:

1. William, born August 14, 1701; died March 14, 1703.
2. Hester, born November 11, 1702.

The next MM record reads "Thomas buried 12-5-1702" (February 5, 1703). The context almost demands that this be seen as the death of the wife of Thomas, for soon we see Thomas remarried, to our foremother Ann _____, and the following children listed:

4. Our Jane, born January 20, 1709; married Francis Hague, Jr.; see below.
5. Rebecca, born September 27, 1710.
6. Joyce, born in May 1714.
7. William again, the first surviving boy, born March 24, 1717; married Sarah _____, had nine children and died in 1774.
10. Thomas, born January 1, 1722.
11. Samuel, born June 16, 1723; buried October 12, 1726.
12. Samuel again, born September 13, 1729.

Yardley is a Bucks County town on the Delaware River opposite Trenton, New Jersey. Having not researched Bucks County records, I have no further information on the Yeardleys.
Generation 8
Francis Hague, Jr., 1701-1780
Jane Yeardley, 1708-1772

According to a biographical sketch in the minutes of Virginia's Fairfax Monthly Meeting, Francis Hague, Jr., was born November 11, 1701, a son of Francis Hague, Sr., of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and his wife Pleasant.

This was Pleasant's second of three marriages. Born Pleasant Pawlin (or Paulin), in 1690 she married first Joseph Milner, a Quaker blacksmith of Makefield Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and together they had children. Secondly, she married our Francis Hague, Sr. Of the senior Francis' background, we know only that he was received by the Falls MM on a certificate from Warsden MM in Tracaden (not located), dated February 16, 1699. The senior Hagues were married two years later, on January 8, 1701, near the Falls Meetinghouse in Bucks County, and son Francis was born that November. But by 1712 the father had died, and as her third husband Pleasant took George Clough (or Clows) a farmer of Bristol, Bucks County.8

On July 2, 1729, the son Francis married Jane Yeardley, born January 20, 1709, the daughter of Thomas and Ann Yeardley of Bucks County, members of the Falls Monthly Meeting. Of their eleven children, eight were born in Pennsylvania:

1. Ann, born April 3, 1730; reported to be married to Daniel Matthews, October 31, 1747.
2. Francis (III), born May 28, 1731.
3. Isaac, born February 1, 1733.
4. Our John, born June 6, 1734; reported married to Ann Schooley, May 27, 1762; see below.
5. Mary, born September 24, 1736; married Owen? Ball, 1761.
6. Rebecca, born September 11, 1738; married ____ Howell in 1764 and disowned.
7. William, born June 12, 1740.
8. Hannah, born September 13, 1741; married ____ Nixon, 1783.
Like the Cadwalladers, the Hagues joined the southern expansion of Quakers. On March 3, 1742, Francis, Jane and the children were granted a certificate by Falls MM to the Hopewell MM in Virginia. With other Quakers they settled on the banks of Catoctin Creek in the western part of present-day Loudoun County (then part of Fairfax County), just east of the Blue Ridge. (See Loudoun County map, Part Two.) The Hagues were members of the Fairfax Particular Meeting and the Hopewell MM until 1745 when they were automatically transferred to the newly established Fairfax MM.

"Amos and Mary Janney, Francis and Jane Hague and John and Sarah Hough were among the first Quaker settlers on Catoctin. They worshipped in their homes until 1741, then built a log meetinghouse near Amos Janney's mill on Catoctin Creek. They named Amos Janney, 40, and Jane Hague, 33, to be their first clerks. Their meeting was named 'Fairfax' since the Catoctin area was located in Fairfax County until Loudoun was split off from Fairfax in 1757."

Francis too served as a clerk of the meeting, and in 1754 was appointed elder. In Fairfax County the Hagues last three children were born:

11. Samuel, not listed in the Quaker minutes, but cited in his father's will after Thomas, was probably born after Pleasant. Married Hannah Bishop of Southland Meeting, Culpepper County, Virginia, in 1790.

Catoctin Mountain

In May 1983, after a day of research in the Loudoun County records at Leesburg, we cruised in our motor home northwestward, then north along the west side of a range of hills known as Catoctin Mountain. Here were the Hague properties, some of them bordering on the south fork of the Catoctin Creek, which flows north to the Potomac just west of this range. We roller-coastered along between the creek and the mountain, enjoying gorgeous views of the fields and barns of the area, with the Blue Ridge on the horizon to the west.

In 1760 Francis Hague had purchased a 410-acre parcel here for £15 "current money of Virginia," one boundary of which went to "Wm Schooley's Mountain lott" — the Schooleys would become in-laws two years later. The next year "Francis Hague and Jane his wife" sold off 29 acres; the release was signed by both in the presence of sons John and Thomas and others. More transactions follow: a 1761 sale by "Francis Hague of Loudoun County in the Colony of Virginia, Farmer, and Jane his wife" of 692 acres in Cameron Parish, which was granted to him by Proprietor's Deed in 1742; a lease to Mahlon Janney and his wife in 1762 and a sale in 1764 (for which Moses Cadwallader was a witness); two
sales to Francis by William Schooley in '65; in 1772 Francis Hague and Joseph Combs agreed to sell to the wardens of Powell Church of Shelburn Parish a 465-acre parcel to build a glebe (parsonage) for their parish minister; a sale by Francis to Thomas Hague in 1773; a purchase of a new 300 acres in '77. (Cameron and Shelburn Parish, as well as Powell Church, are extinct; they were probably in or very near Loudoun County.)

Francis' will: 1780

In Francis Hague's will of August 8, 1780, he gave to the trustees of the Fairfax meetinghouse an unnamed number of adjoining acres, bounded by "a forked black Oak standing near the northwest corner of the Stable, Westward from the Meeting House, marked M, runing from thence nearly a north East course, passing by the Northwest Corner of the Stable on the East end of the House to a black Oak marked M, thence to a white Oak also Marked M, then a short distance [on the] same course to a line of said Meeting House Land, then with that Line to the beginning."

Francis directed that the rest of his land and personal estate be sold by his executors at public auction "immediately after my decease," and that "no unnecessary delay be made in the payment of my debts." From the proceeds his children were to receive cash as follows: Isaac £60, Thomas £90, Samuel £150, Ann, Mary, "Rebeckah" and Sarah £50 each, Hannah £75, and to a granddaug­ther £25. Hannah was to receive the "best feather bed" and furniture, and the eight children were to share equally in the remaining cash assets. The two unmentioned children are our John and Pleasant, both deceased. Sons Thomas and Samuel, along with Israel Thompson, were named executors.

The will was proved November 13th 1780. Therefore, Francis Hague, Jr., died probably in September or October, 1780, at 78.

A swarm of bees, a fox trap

Francis' inventory was not returned to the court until November 1784. The extensive itemization, 120 lines in all, provides another vivid glimpse of frontier life: wearing apparel, furniture, a looking glass, a gun, sundry books, utensils, farm tools, pigs and hogs, various steers, cows and heifers, 18 sheep, sheep shears, an old gray horse, a bay colt, hay, a swarm of bees, a fox trap, a plow, a wagon, stacks of hay and rye, a cider funnel ... on and on. Total value: £148+.

Of nearly equal interest is a long list of financial obligations — everything from funeral charges to "half a beef," though most are individuals' undesignated "accounts" in small amounts. These total over £1,558. Then income items are listed, including £900 for the sale of the "plantation." On July 31, 1787, Francis Hague's financial affairs were finally settled.12

His son, our John, had married Ann Schooley in 1762. We need now to back up a few generations and trace our Schooley line.
Generation 11

John Schooley, 1609-1695
Elizabeth Fletcher

In understanding the links between our four generations of Schooley forebears, I am indebted especially to genealogist Jay Worrall, Jr., of Charlottesville, Virginia, who graciously allowed me to copy his data on these families.

We have sketchy information on the English patriarch of three lines of 17th-century Schooley immigrants to New Jersey. He was John Schooley, probably of Nottinghamshire, who with his first wife Elizabeth Fletcher had at least six children:

1. Richard
2. Ellen
3. William
4. Robert, born 1643; married Sarah Bingham; see below.
5. Thomas, born 1650; married Sarah Parker in 1686.
6. Mary.

John Schooley married second, Isabel Hancock and with her had another son:

7. John, Jr., born 1674; married first Frances Taylor, and second, in 1701, Rebecca Bennett; he died 1735.

Sons William, Robert, Thomas and John, Jr., are known to have been Quakers, and at least the last three boys and their father came to America. Since son Robert is known to have arrived in 1677, we can probably assume that the entire family came after father John's remarriage and the birth of the last child.
Robert Schooley, born in 1643, and Sarah Bingham were married "after the manner of Friends" in Skegby, Nottinghamshire, England, in 1675. Today Skegby is a village about five miles north of Nottingham and a mile or so east of the M1 motorway.

On a Sunday morning in 1985 I stopped in Skegby and slipped into the parish church about halfway through the service, in time for the Eucharist but not the sermon. After the benediction an enthusiastic parishioner showed me the local history book and ushered me down to the street to point out the "Quaker House." Here in the home of widow Elizabeth Hooten, beginning in the 1650s, the much persecuted Friends met. The plain, three-story house had been preserved, and the present 80-year-old tenant had restored it — but I did not find Mrs. Gregory at home.

Skegby gets its name from the Danish Skeggi, meaning "bearded one," and predates the Conqueror's 11th-century Domesday Book. In 1658 when the "conventical of Quakers" meeting at Mrs. Hooten's was investigated, it was reported that the worshipers were "all of other towns." Thus it is probable that our Schooleys were not Skegby residents. Near the house is a Friends' graveyard, in which members from the area were buried.

Persecutions in the early 1670s eased somewhat, then increased again in 1676: the authorities "returned to their accustomed severity, and caused many Distresses to be made on the Goods and Chattels of their Harmless Neighbours for conscientiously resorting to their Religious Assemblies." From one, the justices seized a mare, from another "two young beasts worth £4," from another "a cow and household goods worth £4, 4 shillings." From John Bullivant, the Nailor, they took the coat off his back and even the very hammer essential for his livelihood.

Robert and Sarah Schooley had married the year before these atrocities, and by the year after they had decided to leave for America. They sailed, perhaps with others of his family, on the Shield of Stockton in 1677 and settled in New Jersey. They had at least one son, our William. He married Mary Smith in 1702 so must have been born, if not in England, within a few years of his parents' arrival in the New World. Of their life in New Jersey I have no information.
Generation 8

Samuel Schooley, c. 1703-1782
Sarah ___

We skip a generation to Samuel Schooley, grandson of Robert and Sarah Schooley. It is by a process of elimination that genealogist Jay Worrall, Jr., has linked the Schooley generations: Samuel must have been the son of William Schooley, son of Robert and Sarah. Although a Quaker like his parents, William seems to have left the Friends in 1702. For then he married Anglican Mary Smith at St. Mary's Church, Burlington, New Jersey, on the east bank of the Delaware River across from northern Philadelphia.

Born about 1703, their son Samuel was probably raised in St. Mary's Church. But he married Sarah _____, who seems to have been a Quaker. Worrall suggests that "he was gently persuaded over the years to rejoin the Quaker faith of his wife and his Schooley grandparents." This he did in 1757, in his mid-50s, when, at his own request, he became a member of the Kingwood MM near Quakertown in Burlington County, NJ.

The Schooleys had six children, of whom all but Samuel, Jr., joined their parents in becoming Quakers:

1. John (1727-1814) married Mary Wright.
2. Samuel (1729-1787) married Dorothy Alberten.
3. Mary, born c. 1731; married Jonathan Myers.
4. Phoebe, born c. 1737; married Joseph Myers.
6. Our Ann, born c. 1741; married John Hague; see below.

In 1761, when Samuel was nearly 60, the entire family moved southwest into Loudoun County, Virginia. There "Samuel Schooley, Senr," wife Sarah and daughters Ann Schooley and Phoebe Myers were received in the Fairfax MM on certificate from Kingwood MM, May 30, 1761.14 At that time the four oldest children, John 34, Samuel, Jr. 32, Mary Myers 30, and Phoebe Myers 24, were married with children, while the two youngest, William 22, and our Ann 20, married Fairfax Meeting Friends and began to raise families of their own within a year or two.

From Lord Fairfax the parents leased 50 acres on Catoctin Creek in Loudoun County and set out to farm it. This meant, of course, that our Ann Schooley (age 20 in 1761) and John Hague (27) were close neighbors. The next year they were married.

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Generation 7

John Hague, 1734-1767
Ann Schooley, b. c. 1741; d. after 1808

The short life of our next Hague ancestor, John Hague, began on May 6, 1734. The fourth of Francis and Jane (Yeardley) Hague's eleven children, he was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, where the family had membership in the Falls MM. At the age of seven he and his family moved southwest to Loudoun County, Virginia, and to membership in the Hopewell (later Fairfax) MM.

On March 27, 1762, the Monthly Meeting reported that he had married Ann Schooley. Ann was born about 1741, the sixth and last child of Samuel and Sarah Schooley. Her family had held membership in the Kingwood MM near Quakertown in Burlington County, New Jersey and had arrived in Loudoun County the year before. John and Ann Hague were nearly 28 and about 21 when they married; they would have but 5½ years together.¹⁵

According to John's 1767 will, the couple had three sons, probably in this order:

1. Francis, born probably in 1763.
2. Our Samuel, born, it is said, in 1764.
3. Jonah, born before April 1767.

Only two John Hague deeds survive in the Loudoun County records: In July 1765 John bought two acres from John Cargill and his wife (location?), and in September ’65 John and Ann sold to Cargill a tract on the east side of the road from Dawson's Ford to Leesburg. The latter document is signed by John, but Ann makes her mark.¹⁶

John's early death

On April 19, 1767, John Hague, "Farmer, being very sick and weak in Body," drew up his brief will. To Ann he gave his household goods and all rents from his land until the boys would reach age 14. At 14 it "is my Will for them to be bound to ... such trades as they shall choose." Additionally, each was to receive "all Rents and advantages" from a specified parcel of land between ages 14 and 21, and at 21 take "full Possession." Parcels for Francis, Samuel and Jonah are briefly described, one-third (178 acres) each. The father's next older brother Isaac was one of the witnesses to his signature.
John Hague died during the spring or early summer of 1767, for his will was proved on August 10.

The inventory and appraisement, filed in March 1769, lists the usual furnishings, utensils, implements and livestock of a subsistence farmer of modest means, with a total value of £69. The final account of the estate shows a total value of £279, which after various deductions left £170+ to be distributed.

And what of the widow and three small sons? An account in 1784 shows payment by the estate to William Wildman, Jr., £61 for the widow's expenses through 1771, £18 for "Cloathing & boarding Samuel and Jonah Hague for the years 1773 & 1774," plus the expenses of clothing for Samuel "for 4 years which time he lived with John Schooley," and schooling for Jonah Hague. Why is this Mr. Wildman being reimbursed for the family's expenses?

**Friendly support**

The Fairfax MM minutes provide further detail on the survivors: In October 1780 the meeting acknowledged that the three "orphan" sons were now wards of the meeting and appointed Mahlon, Joseph and Israel Janney to join John Schooley as a committee to look after their welfare and to try to provide opportunities for them to learn suitable trades. (John Schooley was the boys' uncle, and Israel Janney had married their aunt, Pleasant Hague.)

In December the committee reported that they had found a suitable place for our Samuel, and in August 1782 that Jonah had chosen Benjamin Purdon and William Hough, both members of Fairfax MM, as his guardians. The meeting approved and directed that Jonah be bound to Abel Janney, a hatter, to learn the hatter's trade, and to serve Janney until he reaches the age of 21. There is no record of support for the eldest son, Francis, but we read of his marriage January 4, 1786, to Ruth Rattikin at Fairfax MM.

**Mother Ann's second marriage**

An unsigned, undocumented summary of son Samuel Hague's life found among Ethelyn S. Koehler's genealogical records claims that "Samuel Hague's mother [Ann] married a second time, one William Wildman," the man who received payment for her support and the boys', above. Fairfax MM records show that William Wildman was reported "guilty of fornication" and dismissed on November 28, 1767, a few months after John Hague's death. A decade later Ann Hague was reported married out of meeting to him and was dismissed.

Though we shall never know the truth, it does appear that William and the widow Ann lived together in some relationship between John Hague's death (67) and the end of the child-support period (74). After their marriage and her dismissal (77), the meeting took up responsibility for the children, who were seen
as spiritual "orphans," if not biological ones. In any case, the disgraced couple removed to within the boundaries of Goose Creek MM, Bedford County, and in 1798 that meeting recommended to Fairfax MM that both be reinstated. This was done the next year, and they both received certificates to Goose Creek.

To complete Ann's story, at the request of the Fairfax MM her second husband William was "treated with" (examined) by the Goose Creek MM concerning some black people in his care. William died July 5, 1805. In 1808 Ann was granted a certificate to Mount Pleasant MM in Grayson County, and moved again. There she was received March 26, 1808, and promptly disappears from the Quaker record.
Generation 6

Samuel Hague, 1764-1854
Eleanor McGinnis, 1767-1853

Our Hague line ends with the couple who bore Sarah Hague, the bride in 1819 of our Byrom Cadwallader. Her father was Samuel Hague, said to be born in 1764, the second of three sons of John and Ann (Schooley) Hague of Loudoun County, Virginia. His father died when he was three, and at least for a time Samuel may have lived with his mother and future step-father, Ann and William Wildman, for William received payment for his board and clothing for the years 1773-4. But as we've seen, in 1780 the Fairfax MM found it necessary to place Samuel with a guardian; this was John Schooley, who in 1784 received payment for Samuel's care over four years and to whom he was "bound out" to learn the blacksmith's trade, in accord with his father's will.

Samuel is said to have married "when he came of age," which would have been 1785, though no marriage record has been found. His wife was Eleanor McGinnis, born in Loudoun County in 1767, daughter of Edward McGinnis, an immigrant from Ireland. Eleanor's mother had died when she was only 11, and she had lived with a Quaker family.¹⁹

Nine children, or ten?

Family tradition in the early 20th century was firm that "Samuel and Eleanor had ten children," but data on only nine remains. In addition to the nine (seven girls and two boys) it appears that the couple had a son Edward, named for his mother's father; his most likely place in the sequence of births is first or second, with Nancy before the first dated birth, as follows:

1. Edward, probably died young.
4. Mary ("Polly"), born September 5, 1795, in Grayson Co(?) Va; married John Edwards in Grayson Co, June 13, 1816; she died in Hillsville, Va, March 1881. Ten children.

5. John, born November 4, 1797, in Grayson Co(?), Va; married Mary ("Polly") Cotton in Wayne Co, Ind, April 10, 1828; he died August 24, 1844, Platte County, Mo. Children: Alonzo, Samuel, Rebecca, Melissa, and two others.

6. Our Sarah ("Sally"), born May 5, 1800, Grayson Co, Va; married Byrom Cadwallader, July 25, 1819, Wayne Co, Ind; she died July 21, 1893, Janesville, Iowa. Children: Angelina, Philip, our Samuel, Eleanor, Mary, Amos, Eliza, Chester. (See Part Four.)

7. Jonah, born March 28, 1803, Grayson Co(?), Va; married first Sarah Gage of Ohio, and second, March 4, 1847, Mrs. Margaret Moore in Platte Co, Mo; he died April 28, 1858, Platte Co, Mo. Children by Sarah: Byrom, Eliza, and three others.


Westward ho!

Clearly, in this generation the Virginia sojourn was over, and the prolific Hagues invaded the Midwest with a vengeance. But the chronology of our Samuel and Eleanor's pilgrimage is not entirely clear. Like so many other Quaker pioneers, they moved southwest along the Blue Ridge to Bedford County, then on to Grayson County, Virginia — or was it vice versa? Indiana sources show Rebecca and Sarah as born in Grayson County (1793 and 1800); here the family lived on Daniels Branch and Crooked Creek, about eight miles west of Hillsville (just west of the Blue Ridge, now in Carroll County, created in 1842). But it is also said that from 1796 to 1801 the Hagues lived farther northeast in Bedford County, on Turners Creek about six miles from the town of Bedford. Perhaps someday we can sort this out.
In any case, by 1818 Samuel, Eleanor, and the six youngest children crossed the mountains and settled in Wayne County, on the eastern border of central Indiana (see state map in Part Four). The two eldest daughters and their families must have come about the same time: Nancy (who had married Lewis McLane in 1814) and Rebecca (married Amos Cadwallader in 1812). "Lewis McLain, Samuel Hague, John Cannaday, William Thornburgh, and the Evenses were early settlers in the western part" of Webster Township. Here the pioneers enjoyed the merriment of log rolling, house and barn raisings, wrestling matches, weddings, dancing, whiskey — "of course, excepting among the Quakers."[24]

**Thirty-six years in Wayne County**

The Hagues were among those serious-minded Quakers, but they were in the Liberal or so-called Hicksite branch. Influenced by the teachings of Elias Hicks, an abolitionist who preached simplicity, temperance and peace, and who opposed the Society's growing creedal and evangelistic emphases, a schism occurred among Friends in 1827-28. The Hagues would join the Hicksites' Milford Monthly Meeting, organized in 1828. The meetinghouse, a frame building constructed in 1829, was located in the south edge of Milton in Washington Township, Wayne County, a few miles southwest of their farm.[25]

On April 1, 1825 Samuel Hague obtained a patent from "President of the United States of America, John Quincy Adams" for the southeast quarter (160 acres) of section 30 in Webster Township, Wayne County. Curiously, a county deed shows that in 1829 he purchased only the western 40 acres of this quarter for $120.[26] The farm is located about five miles west of Richmond, two miles east of little Greens Fork, on the west side of Centerville Road and north of Indiana hiway 38. Byrom and Sarah (Hague) Cadwallader's farm would be a mile to the west, and Amos and Rebecca (Hague) Cadwallader's a mile to the southeast. See Appendix A for map.

The 1820 federal census, taken two years after the Hagues' arrival, shows a family of seven: the parents, two boys 16-25 (John and Jonah) and three girls 10-15 (Tacy, Ruth and Eleanor). By this time the older four girls were married.

Twenty years later the census lists the Samuel Hague family with the two parents, age 70-80, a woman 30-40, and a boy and girl 5-10. In 1850 (when names were first recorded) we find Samuel at 86, "Ellen" (Eleanor) 83, daughter Ruth at 40 (actually 43), and her son Mark, age 18, born in Iowa. The woman in 1840 must also be Ruth; she had lost her husband Joshua Jackson in 1835 and apparently had returned to live with her parents.

**Eleanor and Samuel's deaths**

Eleanor Hague died at 86 on November 20, 1853, in Wayne County, Indiana. Samuel would live not quite nine months longer. In July 1854 he drew
up a will leaving "to my dear daughter Ruth Jackson the farm on which I live, situate on the Williamsburgh Turnpike, 80 acres, and my personal property," provided that she pay $300 to each of the other four living daughters (Rebecca, Mary, Sarah, and Eleanor), $300 to the children of deceased daughter Nancy McLane, and the same to the children of deceased daughter Tacy Thanburgh (sic), all this $1800 to be paid in three equal, annual installments. If Ruth were to decide not to take the farm, all should be sold and, after the above distributions, the proceeds go to Ruth.27 No doubt Ruth had been her parents' housekeeper, and chances are she left the farm soon after her father's death; she would die 46 years later in Iowa, at 92.

Samuel Hague died August 11, 1854, in Wayne County. It is almost beyond belief that this lad with such a precarious start — "orphaned" at age 3, raised by guardians, trained as a blacksmith — should help open the Midwest frontier, live to be 90, and leave 72 grandchildren!

Eighteen of those grandchildren were Cadwalladers, through daughters Rebecca and Sarah Hague, who married brothers Amos and Byrom Cadwallader respectively. On the day of Samuel's death a great-granddaughter, my grandmother Marie Eliza Cadwallader, was 52 days old. So now we return to the Cadwallader line with which we started.
NOTES TO PART THREE


2. Worrall, pp. 163-5.


11. Loudoun County deeds: A:475ff; B:262; B:269ff; C:367, 441, 444; D:86; D:693ff; H:378; I:168; L:258.

12. Loudoun County probate.


15. Fairfax MM minutes, Hinshaw, 6, p. 555.
16. Loudoun County deeds: D:615, 596-600.

17. Loudoun County probate.

18. Hinshaw, 6, pp. 499f. The summary here refers to "the three orphan sons of Francis [not John] Hague, viz: Francis, Samuel & Jonah," but this is surely in error, as proved by the probate records.

19. In this section we rely heavily on an October 1930 letter and family group sheet sent to Ethelyn S. Koehler by Hague genealogist Mabell M. Morrow of Lincoln, Illinois, and an unsigned, undocumented summary from about the same period.

20. Morrow says it is "Tacy" in her father's will, her marriage record, and in a family Bible. A Chicago source gives "Anatasia," probably the formal, given name; is this a corruption of Anastasia?

21. We have no birth date for daughter Eleanor, but in the 1820 census there are three girls, ages 10-15; these must be Tacy (15), Ruth (13), and Eleanor (therefore 10-11).

22. From Morrow, who had marriage records for all but Nancy, Rebecca and Jonah.

23. Morrow, from a La Porte County history (Rebecca) and an obituary (Sarah).


26. Wayne County deeds V:444, K:221.

27. Wayne County probate.
PART FOUR

THE LAST TWO GENERATIONS:
CADWALLADERS IN THE MIDWEST

There must have been a westward-tending gene in the Cadwallader makeup. They moved west from Wales to Pennsylvania, southwest through Virginia, and now northwest through Ohio, Indiana, and into southern Wisconsin. In every case they relocated just as the new frontier was opening up. They were the pioneers. They felled a lot of trees, cleared a lot of ground, built a lot of houses.

As we shall see, Byrom Cadwallader, son of Moses, Jr., and Polly, moved on nine times in his long life. He married Sally Hague, daughter of Quakers (Part Three), but "out of meeting." In 1847 their son Samuel, my great grandfather, made the last leap from Indiana to Wisconsin, and there near Evansville he wed Adora, daughter of the also westward-moving Doolittles.

But suddenly the migration was over. Samuel and Adora knew a good thing when they saw it, and farmed the same rich Rock River soil for 37 years. Here my grandmother, Marie, was raised. Here, a quarter mile up Cemetery Road, my mother was born. Here, just a few miles north in Madison, I was born 83 years after Samuel's arrival. It wasn't until 1948, 101 years after Samuel's move, that our family made the next jump west — to southern California.

In this section, then, we review the last two of our Cadwallader generations, the immediate ancestors of Marie:

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Byrom Cadwallader
    Samuel Cadwallader
      Sarah ("Sally") Hague
      Marie Eliza Cadwallader
        Adora Maria Doolittle
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Generation 5

Byrom Cadwallader (1799-1879)
Sarah ("Sally") Hague (1800-1893)

Like his parents and grandparents, Byrom Cadwallader was a migrant. Born February 16, 1799, in Bedford County, Virginia, Byrom (also Byram, occasionally Byrum) moved at least nine times in the next eighty years, dying May 12, 1879, in Rock County, Wisconsin.¹

Byrom's parents were Moses, Jr., and Mary (Ballard) Cadwallader. Before he was six months old the family of six had moved southwestward to Grayson County (currently the Carroll County section thereof) near the North Carolina line. Here his father died when Byrom was four, and his mother when he was fourteen. He was taken in by the family of his older sister Eleanor ("Nelly") and her husband Jehu Lewis. In the same year, 1813, they all struck out for the wild frontier west of the mountains.²

To Ohio

After the War of Independence, Great Britain had ceded to the U.S. the vast wilderness south of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi, the "Northwest Territory." The problem of providing for systematic settlement and administration was complicated by the claims of several states and Indian tribes to the area. As a result of victories over the Indians and treaties signed in 1795, 1802, and 1809, contested sections of Ohio and Indiana were ceded to the U.S. In 1800 the Indiana Territory was formed out of the "Old Northwest"; in 1803 Ohio joined the union, followed by Indiana in 1816.

"One of the great folk movements in American history was the migration to Ohio and Indiana of Friends during the first forty years of the nineteenth century. Eastern Quakers came for more land and wider opportunity. Southern Quakers, mainly from North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia and Georgia, came partly for the same reasons and partly to get away from states where slavery was established."³

Byrom Cadwallader was among the some 6,000 Quakers in this migration, the earliest of our ancestors to enter our Midwest homelands. There were four main routes from the south into the Old Northwest. Because of the Cadwalladers' location in southwestern Virginia, it is likely that Byrom and the Lewises took the Wilderness Road, through a pass in the Appalachian wall called Cumberland Gap and across Kentucky to Cincinnati.
With Byrom on our minds we have explored Cumberland Gap, at the very westernmost tip of Virginia, where busy highway 25E cuts through the mountains. There we learned that by following the buffalo, the Indians had, long centuries ago, discovered and used the "Warrior Path" southwest from the Potomac through the gap and north into Ohio. The pass was discovered by white men in 1750, explored by Daniel Boone in the 1770s. The migration into Kentucky and Tennessee began immediately. By 1800, 300,000 people had passed through the Cumberland Gap. It was not until the 1820s and 30s that traffic through the pass declined, as canals in the north and steamboats on the Mississippi provided more convenient access to the west.

Young Byrom and his sister's family made the trek in 1813. How long they remained together is uncertain. His sister and husband, Eleanor and Jehu Lewis, who had just married in November 1811, were granted a certificate to the Center MM in Ohio in April 1814, but Byrom does not appear there. For two or three years Byrom settled in Clinton and/or Highland Counties of southwestern Ohio, living with his uncle Jarmin Ballard. At age 17 he went to work as a carpenter with James Hollingsworth, later as a mill-worker with a Mr. Graham. He took part in building the first bridge across the Miami River.

Byrom's Uncle Jarmin and Aunt Rachel were staunch Quakers. In 1812 they and their four children had been "received on certificate" from the Mt. Pleasant Monthly Meeting in southern Virginia into the Fall Creek MM in Highland County, Ohio. Young Byrom apparently first associated with Ohio's Miami MM, but on July 22, 1815, he joined his uncle and aunt in the Fall Creek MM. From the location of the Fall Creek MM it would appear that the Ballards and Byrom lived in northeastern Highland County.

To Wayne County, Indiana

Byrom remained in Ohio only five years. Something — perhaps the prospect of marriage — drew him westward to the rapidly growing Quaker settlements in the Indiana Territory. In 1806 Friends had begun to settle along the three forks of the Whitewater River, little knowing that these straggling communities would become the center of Quakerism in the U.S. After 1810 there was a proliferation of new Monthly Meetings in Wayne County and neighboring areas. In 1817 the Whitewater MM in Richmond (the county seat) became the nucleus of a new Quarterly Meeting under the care of the Ohio Yearly Meeting, and by 1821 the Friends' population had so grown that an Indiana Yearly Meeting was established, destined to become the largest Orthodox YM in the world.

In 1818 Byrom Cadwallader joined this flood of immigration into Indiana, settling in Clay Township just northwest of the center of Wayne County. Family records show that he bought a lot in the village of Washington (the name was changed later to Greens Fork — see map, Appendix A). He was among the first settlers there, for the town was laid out in September 1818. His lot was probably the same one that he and his wife sold for $30 in 1825 when they left the area.
This was lot 23, now one-sixth of the block on the northwest corner of Green and Cross Streets in Greens Fork.

What drew Byrom to Clay Township? It may be that at age 19 he was ready to strike out on his own, and the opportunities in Indiana, where he would have the support of other Friends, were appealing. But the story may be more romantic than that:

Samuel and Eleanor (McGinnis) Hague, like the Cadwalladers, were Quakers of Grayson County, Virginia. And like Byrom, they had moved to Wayne County, Indiana, in (or about) 1818. Samuel Hague is listed as one of the earliest settlers of Webster Township, just east of Clay Township and northwest of Richmond. The Hagues' second daughter Rebecca had married Byrom's older brother Amos back in Virginia in 1812, and they too moved to Washington. It is not difficult to imagine Amos sending word to Byrom that the Hagues had a younger daughter just now barely eligible for marriage, and Byrom coming from Ohio to have a look. Her name was Sarah Hague (or more often, Sally), and as we learned in Part Three, she was born May 5, 1800, in Grayson County, Virginia.
Married and disowned

In any case, on July 25, 1819, "Byram Cadwalader and Sally Hague," ages 20 and 19, were married by a Wayne County justice of the peace. Their marriage by a civil authority represented a breach with their Quaker community, but one in which they were not alone:

"The rules governing the church on the subject of marriage in that early day required the parties who proposed entering into this relationship to give their attendance at both the men's and women's meetings, and in each make vocal declaration of their intentions, and at the next monthly meeting in the same way, the continuance of said intentions.... Many of the young people looked upon this as a kind of a church ordeal set up for them to pass through that was insurmountable, and therefore made choice of the shorter method under the civil law." They then apologized to the meeting and were generally forgiven. But as the numbers of such marriages increased the church seniors grew more chary, and the youth more stubborn. Soon the parties to civil marriages were being "disowned" by the score. "Hence, the hope of the future ... were shut out of the church.... Soured and embittered, the children wandered away and mingled with the world in its prejudices."9

On November 20, 1819, Byrom was disowned by his Fall Creek Monthly Meeting in Ohio for "marrying contrary to discipline."10 Whether he and Sally were "soured and embittered" we cannot say. But apparently they did "wander away," for they are not cited in any Quaker records in Indiana.

However, in 1923 my mother, Ethelyn S. Koehler, wrote of the Cadwalladers, "My people were Quakers and always used the Quaker words [presumably, 'thee,' 'thine,' etc.]. Both Byrom and Sarah were devout Quakers."11 Byrom was regarded in his later years as a Quaker and was an avid reader of the Bible. Still, with this 1819 marriage our ancestors' direct relation with the Society of Friends seems to have come to an end. Sally's parents later appear as members of the Milford MM (Hicksite or Liberal branch) in Washington Township, and Byrom's brother Amos and his family appear in the Whitewater MM (Hicksite) in Richmond.12

In the fall of 1819, after their marriage, Byrom and Sally moved onto a farm owned by William McLain, a relative and a Wayne County judge at the time. There Byrom built a cabin, where the couple lived.13 The 1820 census for Wayne County shows the Hague and Cadwallader families in close proximity. Father-in-law Samuel Hague appears with five children, Amos Cadwallader with three, and "Biran" with one. Byrom was listed as "in agriculture."

A farm and a family

On August 7, 1821, Byrom bought a 30-acre farm in Clay Township for $250. The next year Amos bought 40 acres nearby. Byrom's land is about a mile east of Greens Fork on the south side of state highway 38 into Richmond. (See
Amos' farm was about a mile farther east, also on the south side of the highway; the Hagues' was in between and north of the road. Probably heavily wooded when purchased, the properties are now fairly flat farmlands.\textsuperscript{14}

Byrom and Sally lived together in Wayne County for five years, and here their first three children were born.\textsuperscript{15} (More detail at the end of this section.)

1. Angelina born May 2, 1820; married David Wagner; she died August 8, 1895.

2. Philip born November 12, 1821; married Mary Edmunds; he died September 21, 1909.

3. Our Samuel born September 30, 1823; married first Eliza Heald, and second Adora Maria Doolittle; he died May 20, 1909. See below.

But somehow the situation wasn't right, and in 1824 the family of five moved on to the next county west. Byrom and Sally sold the Greens Fork lot on August 8, 1825.\textsuperscript{16}

\textbf{Henry County years}

Today it is but a quick 18 miles on state highway 28 from little Greens Fork west to New Castle, the county seat of Henry County. But in Byrom and Sally's time, following the muddy path past blazes on the forest trees, and with all their belongings in tow, the journey may have taken two or three days.

An 1818 treaty with the Native Americans had opened all the land south of the Wabash River to white settlement, and the earliest settlers arrived in Henry County the next year. Land went on the market in 1821, the county was formed in '22, and the Cadwalladers arrived in '24. With immigration from North Carolina and other points east, the county population grew to 6,497 by 1830.

The rolling land was rapidly cleared for Indian corn and vegetables, later other grains and fruit orchards. The first church was a Friends' meetinghouse, built in 1824. Settlement focused on three areas of the county, and it was to the "Harvey neighborhood," extending some four or five miles northward from New Castle, that the Cadwalladers came.\textsuperscript{17} Byrom's brother Joseph, younger by two years, also arrived with his family. Though Byrom and Sally were to leave, Joseph remained, dying in Henry County in 1863.

\textbf{The courthouse without a chimney}

"The act establishing Henry County required that the commissioners should provide for the erection of suitable county buildings within one year after their
election. The officials appear to have been in no haste to carry out this provision of the law: for ... the subject of county buildings is not mentioned until February, 1823. After agreeing on one set of specifications, then changing their minds and drawing up a new plan, the contract was awarded to the lowest bidder, one George Barnard, for $247. But it was our Byrom who did the work. "On the 10th of May, 1824, the commissioners met at the house of John Smith in New Castle and adjourned to the [new] courthouse. According to their judgment the building had been constructed according to contract," and Byrom was ordered paid.

What did Byrom's handiwork look like? "The court house was constructed of hewed logs and was twenty-six feet long by twenty feet wide, and was two stories high, and covered [roofed] with oak boards held down with weight poles.... Stones were placed under each corner and also under the middle of the side sills, and the building was chinked and daubed.... There were two outer doors to the building, made of good strong plank one inch and a quarter thick.... The court room contained two windows of fifteen lights each.... A partition of rough banisters four feet high extended across the court room to separate the spectators from the court and bar." Steps led to the upper story, divided into two jury rooms, each with a window. "The upper rooms were five feet high.... There was no ceiling above, and but for this fact, the tall men of that time who served on juries would not have found room to stand erect."

"It was a great day in the history of the new county," when the court first met in the new court house. "More people were present in New Castle than ever before. The new court house towered proudly above the few one-story cabins of the county seat and was beheld with admiration by judges, jurors and citizens."

But through an oversight (Byrom's or the planners?) the courthouse "was unprovided with heating apparatus"! A chimney and fireplaces were ordered and installed. Apparently these were unsatisfactory, for the next year a stove and pipe were purchased. In any event, Byrom's courthouse only served a few years, for in 1831 a contract for the new brick courthouse was let.

**Judge Cadwallader**

Not only did Byrom build the courthouse; he served as a judge. In the early days there were three judges of the Circuit Court: a presiding judge elected by the circuit (often six or more counties) and two resident associate judges elected locally. The first associate judges in Henry County were Elisha Long and T. R. Standford. In May 1826 Long resigned, and Byrom was elected to fill the vacancy. This term lasted until July 5, 1829, at which time he was re-elected and held the office until the summer of 1834, when he resigned, presumably because of the family's anticipated move from the county. For the rest of his life, according to my mother, he was known as Judge Cadwallader.

The Cadwalladers' farm was in "the beautiful Blue River valley," about two miles north of New Castle. In section two at the northern border of Henry...
Township, this land was known later in the century as the Hudelson farm. In the 20th century it became part of the State Village for Epileptics, now between state highways 3 and 103, just southwest of the town of Hillsboro. When we visited the site in 1988 the historic but unused buildings of the "village" and its related agricultural lands were part of the larger grounds of the New Castle State Development Center, a home and school for handicapped and retarded youngsters. Somewhere in here the Cadwalladers lived for ten years.

And here four more of their children were born:

4. Eleanor born October 23, 1825; married Enos F. Shaw; she died November 10, 1917.

5. Mary born January 8, 1829; drowned in the spring-hole June 11, 1832.

6. Amos born September 8, 1831; drowned August 11, 1850.

7. Eliza born February 25, 1834; married T. F. C. Dodd; she died November 21, 1915.

**Venison or johnnycake**

Some indication of the nature of the Cadwalladers' life is suggested by an account of Stephen Elliott, who helped Byrom "get out" the logs for the courthouse: "The people were all living in log cabins and depending one upon another. When you went to see a neighbor he was glad to see you come and always had some venison or Johnnycake to feast you on, which was the best living ever had. When you wanted to raise a cabin they all came to help you. When you had a log rolling, in order to get the young folks to have some fun, the women would get up a quilting.... I went to work to clear a farm in the woods. My wife minded the cows, churned the butter, swept the house and raised the chickens. Those were the happiest days of my life."

Were the Henry County years the happiest of Byrom and Sally Cadwallader's lives? Apparently not happy enough, for in 1834 they pushed on. Byrom was 35, and this was his seventh move. By now our little Samuel was 11.

**La Porte County years**

Northern Indiana was opened to white settlers somewhat later than the southern part of the state. The first pioneers in La Porte County, near the northwest corner of the state, erected their log cabins in 1829. A Roman Catholic mission school for Indians was established. Within a few years small settlements sprang up around the county, including the village of La Porte, which was to become the county seat, and Michigan City on the shore of Lake Michigan. At
the creation of the county in 1832 there were about 525 inhabitants within its boundaries; the population would grow rapidly, to about 4,250 four years later. Among these newcomers were members of three of our ancestral families: the Cadwalladers, Smiths and Hazeltines.

Byrom Cadwallader's older brother Amos and his family arrived in the county in 1833. On January 2 he paid $150 for 80 acres in Center Township, just north of the present city of La Porte, on both sides of today's county road 50W. Unlike Byrom and Sally, Amos and Rebecca seem to have remained faithful Quakers and may have been influenced by other Friends to move. A number of the early settlers came to the "Quaker neighborhood" just north of La Porte, several of them from Wayne County. All of the Hicksite branch, they held their first services in the winter of 1830-31 in Center Township, and soon built a frame meeting house. In 1839 a Lydia Wasson wrote that several families had been living there nearly six years, "just a little handful of Friends. We mostly moved from about Richmond [Wayne County]."

In 1832, the year before Amos' arrival, our John and Silence Hazeltine had come with their family from Ohio to Springfield Township, just north of Center Township. And the next year our Shubael and Lucy Smith and family came from New York to settle in Galena Township, on the eastern border of Springville. The Smith son Seymour would later marry the Hazeltine daughter Elvira; their son Edgar, my grandfather, would marry Byrom's granddaughter Marie. (See step chart in the Foreword.)

In 1834, probably with Amos' encouragement, Byrom and Sally and the six surviving children (little Mary had already drowned) also made their way northwest to La Porte County. Thus in the early 1830s this county was for us the site of a remarkable convergence of our ancestral lines. The Cadwalladers, Smiths and Hazeltines lived within seven miles of each other 42 years before my grandparents' marriage. (See map, Appendix B. Also Our Smith Ancestry and Our Hazeltine Ancestry by GEK, in process.)

"Rafting them wagons across a river"

To get to La Porte County, Byrom and family had traveled "with an ox team, about 150 miles, mostly through the woods where there were no roads nor bridges. I remember hearing my father tell of rafting them wagons across a river and making the oxen swim across. I do not know what river it was but presume it was the Wabash. There was an Indian camp on the bank of the river. The men had been away somewhere and came home while father was there. They were on horseback and one of them was very drunk and was trying to make trouble. Some of the squaws came out of a tent and pulled the drunken man off his horse and threw him into the river and left him to swim out, which he did, and appeared to be perfectly sober when he got ashore."

The Cadwalladers settled on a "farm of 160 acres of pretty poor, sandy land, about eight miles north of La Porte," that is, in Galena Township in the north-
central part of the county. Byrom bought his land in four increments of about 40 acres each on June 30, August 11, November 8, 1834, and finally August 13, 1835. This property stretches along the east side of Range Road north of La Porte, between the intersections with roads 650N and 725N, plus a portion bordering on Tea (or Tee) Lake just to the east (see map, Appendix C). Byrom would rue the day he added the fourth parcel, the one on Tea Lake, for here, 15 years later, his son Amos would drown at the age of 18.

"When Galena Township was first settled it was almost entirely covered with timber. Its surface is rolling, and in some places hilly. The soil is loamy, warm, and produces well. It is well adapted to the raising of fruit, and peach and apple orchards are [in 1880] very common. Some of the finest timber in the country may be found in this township. There are many fine farms in Galena, but to clear the land and make it available for cultivation has been the work of many years.

"No attempt has been made to lay out a village in this township.... There has been no common point for convivial meetings within its limits where men have lounged away their hours in telling for the thousandth time the tale of their early trials and privations.... The inhabitants have nearly all been tillers of the soil, generally religiously inclined, hardy and industrious, frugal and honest." When we drove through Galena late one afternoon in October 1988, we found it still hilly and partially wooded, still without a town center, and still dotted with apple orchards. In fact, one farmer with whom we visited, not more than a mile from the Cadwallader property, was in the midst of cider making with an ancient press.

The cabin home

Byrom and Sally's last child was born two years after their move to Galena:

8. Chester born December 31, 1836; married first Laura Shaw, and second Susie Bythers (or Bither); died September 24, 1928.

Many years later Chester would write that the Cadwalladers' cabin "was built of logs on the ... southern [dogtrot] plan, two buildings about 16 feet square placed about ten feet apart, and this breezeway floored and roofed, but open at the two ends. The family usually ate here when the weather permitted.

"One cabin had two beds for the girls [Angelina, Eleanor, Eliza] and another in one corner with curtains around it for the parents. The other cabin, the kitchen, had a bed in one corner and a trundle bed beneath. The boys [Philip, Samuel, Amos, Chester] slept in that room. Each cabin had a fireplace at the end opposite the breezeway. The one in the living room where the three beds were, was a much better built fireplace than that in the kitchen. Either would take a wood six feet long, but usually four-foot wood was used. A big back-log was put in, sometimes 18 inches in diameter, rolled to the back of the fireplace, then one
smaller on top of that, then the andirons were set up and smaller sticks and kindling put on them. The [fire] would last a long time.

"These fireplaces were bilt partly in the room so people could get on three sides of the fire. Eye bolts were set in the wall of the fireplace with an iron bracket or crane so the bar would swing over the fire in any position desired. The hooks of assorted lengths were used to hang on this and hold a kettle or pot at any desired distance above the fire."

**Corn dodgers and pork**

"The food staples were corn bread or corn dodgers, and pork. The corn dodgers were made as follows: A desired amount of coarse corn meal, put in a bowl, water added, and stirred to a very stiff batter. This was workt with the hands until very thoroly mixt. Some coals were drawn out to the front of the fireplace, and a skillet, well greased, was put on them, then the corn dough spread in, and an iron cover put on the skillet. Then more coals were put on top of the cover, and in a short time the dodger was done. It was good hot or cold."

A neighbor whose father's sawmill was on the stream flowing from the Cadwalladers' springhouse recalled her "first acquaintance" with the family. "On the 6th day of July, 1837, a Bro. was added to our family, & Aunt Sally [Sarah Cadwallader] was there and took me by the hand & led me home with her. I staid all night, & there in that cabin home was all that family except Chester, who had not yet arrived. That was 87 years ago, and I've never seen a lovlier family since. Uncle Byrom, as we called him, had been a Judge in Wayne Co., was for many years a Justice of the Peace in La Porte Co. Of course the old primitive log house is gone long ago, and a bank barn stands on the spot where it stood. About 1840 a framed house 1½ stories high was built & painted red, all by Mr. C's own hand. It stands there yet [1924], is owned by a man named White."

Another recollection: "When I was a little Girl I went there [and] would stay a week some times. I will never forget the spring & the Milk House. A stream of watter ran through frome the spring. The Milk was so cold."

"Something of a lawyer"

Byrom served as justice of the peace for about ten years. Also, "he was something of a lawyer but did not make any proffesson of law. But I can remember that people used to come and consult him on legal questions from many miles around." Some indication of his stature in the community is suggested by the record of the County Convention of the Whig Party in 1840. Galena was the only township without delegates present, so, "On a motion of Chapel W. Brown, it was resolved that Byron Cadwallader and James Catterlin represent said township in this convention."
Public school records show that in 1844 the Cadwalladers had five children in school. In 1847 and 48 the three youngest were listed: Amos, Eliza and Chester. But by 1849 only Amos was in school. Where were little Eliza and Chester? A family tradition holds that the children had only two or three winters in school, Eliza and Chester walking three miles to a school taught by Laura Shaw. But it is said, Byrom taught them all at home, and they were considered well educated for those times.

By 1850 the three oldest children had left home. The census shows a family of six: "Byron" and Sarah, "Ellen" (Eleanor), Amos, Eliza, and Chester. Byrom is listed as a farmer.

**To Iowa and Wisconsin**

A Mr. Steinberger of La Porte owned a large tract of land in Rock County, southern Wisconsin, and around Madison in Dane County. About 1840 Byrom Cadwallader and Erastus Quivey went up to Wisconsin to look over this land. While in Madison the men visited the state legislature. They reported their surprise at the pigs rooting around under the capitol building, and the legislators poking them with canes to make them squeal. Quivey later bought property near Evansville, and though Byrom did not, this was the beginning of our Smith-Hazeltine-Cadwallader ancestors' migration from northern Indiana to southern Wisconsin.

After 29 years in La Porte County, Byrom and Sally were ready to move on. The six surviving children were all grown, so the parents, in their early 60s, "retired" to Iowa. In 1861, at the age of 25 youngest son Chester had moved from Indiana to Jackson Township near the southwest corner of Bremer County, Iowa,
and brought his family the following year. There he taught school in the winter and farmed 130 acres in the summer. Two years after his arrival, in 1863 Byrom and Sarah came to Bremer County and stayed 15 years.

In 1878 they moved again — not west this time, but east — to southern Wisconsin, where they resided with their son Philip in Evansville, Rock County (see state map, next section). Very likely the reason was related to Byrom's declining health, for he would die the next April. In Evansville both Philip and Samuel could attend to their aged parents.

"Byrom was a stern old Quaker who suppressed his affections. Once he called his granddaughter, Marie Cadwallader, 'my dear little grand­daughter,' which surprised her father Samuel very much." However, though he was a "stern old Quaker," one grandchild believed that "Grandfather was dropped from the church for some digression or transgression."

A high silk hat and a cane

In his later years Byrom read the entire Bible three times. The family Bible contains the family record written in "a very plain, good hand," and in the 1980s was in the possession of Edith Dodd Kuntz of Neodesha, Kansas. "Byrom's grandchildren remember him as always wearing a high silk hat and carrying a cane". Somehow my mother inherited the cane, and it served well during times of need.

Byrom Cadwallader died in Evansville on May 12, 1879, 80 years of age. Sally soon returned to Bremer County, Iowa, and survived another 14 years. It may be that she accompanied Philip to Iowa, and probably lived with him or Chester, for all three were interred at the same cemetery.

Sally died at 93 on July 21, 1893. She was buried at the Oakhill Cemetery of little Janesville, Iowa, at the southern edge of Jackson Township (lot 186, west ½, space 5). There Philip was buried in 1909 (age 87) and Chester in '28 (at 92).

Byrom and Sally were a fruitful couple, with scores of midwestern descendants. They appear to have been righteous, hard-working, respected — but as with our other forebears, it is difficult to discern their legacy clearly. Writing 30 years after Sally's death, grandson Milton Cadwallader put it this way:

"I think we are inclined, as a rule, to look upon our forebears, especially those we never knew very well, in a laudatory, hero-worshiping kind of view. [However,] I suppose they were very much like ourselves,
probably no better and I hope no worse, but I believe with a fine line of thorough going honesty. Really that is what counts most.\textsuperscript{45}

**Byrom and Sally's descendants**

Among the family history records of Byrom's great-granddaughter, my mother, Ethelyn Smith Koehler, is a single, now fragile sheet of paper with a penciled listing of three generations of Byrom's and Sally's descendants, probably dating from the mid-1920s. Additionally, there is a typed transcript of family records from Byrom and Sally's Bible, provided by son Chester. Since this information may not be assembled elsewhere, it is worth preserving here (quoting directly, except material in brackets):

Angelina b. May 2, 1820; m. David Wagner, Sep 1, 1840; she d. Aug 8, 1895; he d. Jan 17, 1854. [Their children:]

- Elizabeth, m. Isaac (?) Banick, Janesville, Iowa; their children:
  - (1) Emeline, died unmarried. (2) Georgiana, feeble-minded, died. (3) Eddie, married; alive yet, Janesville, Iowa; wife died last week of cancer; know nothing of family.

- Milton, died in Civil War, young.

- Sarah, 75 now; living at 1006 Detroit St; never married.

  (Henry) Clay married Margaret ______. Son Harry married Louise; living [on] farm near La Porte; no children.

- Ellen, b. 1851, died 1917 (?); m. John Bush; no children.

- David, b. 1854, d. 1917 (?); married Mae Andrews. [Their children:]

  - (1) Tom; divorced; no children. (2) Ethel; married a Pounder. (3) Margery, died about two years ago; one child about five years.

Philip b. Nov 12, 1821; m. Mary Edmunds, Mar 29, 1853; he d. Sep 21, 1909; she d. Oct 23, 1911. [Children:]

- Ellen, b. 1854, died unmarried.

- Sarah, b. 1857, married Dr. Eddy, 405 E 5th St, Waterloo, Ia. [Children:]

  - (1) Willard, now in California. (2) Olive, died (4 years old).

Milton, married Kate; live [at] 400 Norwood St, Waterloo, Ia.

Belle, b. 1864, died unmarried.
Samuel [see next section]


Mary b. Jan 8, 1829; d. June 11, 1832, age 3½.


Eliza b. Feb 25, 1834; m. Theodore F. C. Dodd, Sep 30, 1860; she d. Nov 21, 1915; he d. Mar 8, 1905. [Their children:]

(1) Howard, m. Alice. [Child?] Clark, Altoona, Kansas. (2) Fred; mother says he was a "scalawag."

Chester b. Dec 31, 1836; m. first Laura Ann Shaw, Mar 17, 1858; she d. Mar 3, 1888. He m. second Susie E. Bythers (or Bither), Aug 23, 1888. Chester d. Sep 24, 1928; Susie d. Apr 16, 1936. [Chester and Laura's three children:]

Eva Adora Cadwallader (1863-1958), m. Elmer Manassa Reeves, Waverly, Iowa. Their three children:

(1) Chester A. Reeves, m. first Ruth Graves (one child) and second Bessie Belle Hunter (two children); (2) Kenneth Reeves, m. Fannie Axtell (two children); (3) Laura Reeves, m. Robert A. Bailey (one child).

Minnie Eleanor Cadwallader (1865-1959), m. Berthere Stillman Wright. Lived in Idaho; their two children:

(1) Arthur Wright, m. first Hazel Jane Newman (one child); second ____ (three children); third Julia Audra Horrace. (2) Alice Wright, m. Bernard Matthiessen (three children).

Martha Shaw Cadwallader (1867-1945), m. John Edward Johnson. Lived in Boston; their three children:

(1) Harold Edward Johnson, m. Elva May Lemon (one child); (2) Paul Emanuel Johnson, m. Evelyn Grant (two children); (3) Margaret Eleanor Johnson, m. R. Taylor Drake (four children).
Generation 4

Samuel Cadwallader (1823-1909)
Adora Maria Doolittle (1832-1900)

The third of Byrom and Sarah (Hague) Cadwallader's eight children, Samuel Cadwallader, was born in Clay Township just east of the village of Washington (now Greens Fork), Wayne County, Indiana, on September 30, 1823. The following year his family moved a few miles west into Henry County and in 1834, when Samuel was 11, went on to Galena Township of La Porte County. Of his childhood and youth we know little. As we have seen, he was taught at home by his father; later, when he was about 20, he attended a school taught by a Mr. Hunt, about four miles from home.

Apparently Samuel was among the young La Porte men who became interested in moving on to southern Wisconsin. In April 1847, at the age of 23, he arrived in Union Township, Rock County, Wisconsin, and "engaged in farming." With his bachelor brother Philip, Samuel bought 240 acres of farm land near so-called Butts Corners, about two miles northwest of Evansville. The next spring, on May 16, 1848, he married his first wife, Eliza Heald, but she soon developed consumption. The couple returned to Indiana, where, after less than three years of marriage, she died on March 20, 1851, at age 27. In a light wagon Samuel took her body back to Burlington, Wisconsin, the home of some of her people at that time, and she was buried in the cemetery there.

Samuel and Philip sold the Butts' Corners farm and bought a house known as the Reuben Winston place on West Main Street in Evansville. (See Evansville town plat, Appendix C. The "R. Winston" lot is northeast of Seminary Park.) Their younger sister Eleanor (or "Ellen") came to live with the single men and for about two years kept house for them.

Marriage near Evansville, Wisconsin

Meanwhile, Joseph and Maria (Nash) Doolittle had moved with their family from Ohio to Wisconsin — first to Union Grove south of Milwaukee, and then to a farm just southeast of Evansville in Magnolia Township. The beautiful 20-year-old daughter of Joseph and Maria, Adora Maria Doolittle, became a school teacher and "boarded around" in the area. In 1852 she was teaching in "the little brown schoolhouse" near Evansville. Perhaps it was that year that she met Samuel, for on April 20, 1853, they were married at her home by the Reverend Stansbury. Adora was born in Troy, Geauga County, Ohio, on May 13, 1832. At their marriage Samuel was 29, Adora 21. (For her background see Our Doolittle Ancestry by GEK, in process.)
Samuel's brother and sister moved out, Adora moved in, and together they lived at the West Main house for about three years. Here their first child, my grandmother, was born.

1. **Marie Eliza** born June 20, 1854; married Edgar Wilson Smith. It appears that she was named for *both* of Samuel's wives — or was the *Eliza* for his sister?

**Forty-one years on Cemetery Road**

In 1856 Samuel and Adora bought an 80-acre farm straddling Cemetery Road, about a mile outside of Evansville on the northeast. The house and outbuildings were on the east side of the road.\(^{52}\) (See map, Appendix D.)

Here the family lived for 37 years — quite a change from the wandering ways of Samuel's forebears! For some time the family was quite isolated, but a couple who came to be known as "Uncle Thomas and Aunt Susan" Stearns bought a five-acre corner from Samuel, built a small house there, and "were a great comfort to Adora." The three other children were born at the Cemetery Road farm:
2. Edward ("Eddy") Amos (a twin) born January 23, 1859; married Gertrude W. Briggs.

3. Eva Elvira (a twin) born January 23, 1859; died June 28, 1865.

4. Cora Laura born September 14, 1864; married Charles M. Tuttle.

"These children all had the big brown eyes of their mother [Adora] and grandmother, Maria Doolittle. The Cadwalladers were all fair with light blue eyes." In the spring of 1865 the three older children contracted diphtheria "in its most severe form," and after weeks of suffering, on June 28, Eva died. She was six years old.

The other children attended school in Evansville, both public school and the Evansville Seminary. The family worked hard and became fairly prosperous; additions were made to the house from time to time. Samuel did not make much of a splash in the public record; he did serve as a juror in a Rock County murder trial.53

Like their mother, both Marie and Cora became school teachers, working in several rural school districts around Evansville. In 1876 Marie married my grandfather, Edgar Wilson Smith, and they settled on a farm a quarter-mile north of the Cadwalladers'. Cora married Charles M. Tuttle in 1889. Eddy continued to work "on shares" with his father at the farm until, at age 38, he married Gertrude Briggs on May 10, 1897.

Selling the farm

In the 1890s Samuel and Adora gradually turned to a simpler lifestyle. I have the warranty deed executed July 25, 1890, for the sale of their western 40 acres to son Eddy for $2,000. The document is signed in beautiful script by Samuel and Adora. In February 1893 they sold the remaining parcel to son-in-law Charles Tuttle for $2400.54 I have the deed for Turtles' sale of this half to Eddy five years later.

(According to family lore, it was from the proceeds of the first sale that Samuel purchased a gold pendant watch as a gift for Adora. Although the watch works have long since expired, the case is now in the possession of Adora's great-great-granddaughter Nikki Koehler Guza, and is inscribed inside, "Adora 1890, Ethelyn 1904, Kathryn 1940, Nikki 1991." That is, at Adora's death in 1900 the watch must have passed on to her daughter Marie Cadwallader Smith, who four years later presented it to her 16-year-old daughter Ethelyn Smith. She, in turn, gave it in 1940 to her 27-year-old daughter Kathryn Koehler; it was a Christmas gift opened at Daytona Beach, Florida, as it happens. After five more decades, at her 40th birthday Nikki Guza received the heirloom from her Aunt Katie.)
41 years on Cemetery Road, they moved into Evansville, staying in a house belonging to their other son-in-law, Edgar Smith. "Here they lived for two years, enjoying the privileges of town life and the families of their children, who all lived near Evansville at that period."

**Flowers and vegetables**

"Late in 1899 they bought a neat, small house on Water Street, with a large garden, which they hoped to develop for flowers and vegetables, as they had derived great satisfaction from this source while on their farm. During the following summer small improvements were started on the house, but before their completion both Samuel and Adora suffered very severe attacks of the 'grippe' [influenza]. Following this Adora developed heart trouble, which had threatened her for several years. Their children cared for them as best they could, but, Adora's condition not improving, they closed their house and went to the home of their daughter Marie," just northeast of Evansville. Here Adora died on November 24, 1900, "aged 68 years, 6 months, 11 days" (from family Bible).

"Samuel continued to make his home with Marie until May 1907, at which time he went to Madison, to live with his [other] daughter Cora Tuttle. He was suffering at that time with the early stages of cancer of the lower lip. He took the X-ray treatments for many months but grew gradually worse, until on May 20, 1909, he died at the home of his daughter Marie, where he had returned a few months before." (Here we are touching, with some poignancy, the family oral history as shared by Marie with her daughter Ethelyn, my mother.) There is no Cadwallader probate file in Rock County. As recorded in Samuel and Adora's family Bible, at death he was "aged 85 years, 7 months, 20 days" (family Bible).

**The Cadwallader Bible and grave**

It is here in the family Bible that we find perhaps the most evocative of all the Cadwallader records. The book is _The Cottage Bible of 1855, "With Practical Expositions and Explanatory Notes,"_ a ponderous 1440 pages of very fine print, which stands on our living room shelf. On the Family Record pages (see Appendix E) Adora, I believe, has beautifully inscribed the dates of Samuel's two marriages (to Eliza Heald and herself), his birth and those of Eliza, herself, and little Marie, and the death of Eliza. But alas, though she was trying to write so carefully, for her new daughter's name she puts "Maria" (her own middle name) and has to change the a to e. It is another hand (Samuel's, I think) that records the births of Eddy, Eva, and Cora, and the death of Eva. And still another hand (Marie's?) writes of the children's marriages and parents' deaths. Finally, on an extra page (not copied), in my mother's hand, the deaths of her parents, Marie and Edgar. And in my father's, the 1950 death of my mother. It is a treasure!

The Cadwalladers were buried in the northwest corner (Section OP) of the Maple Hill Cemetery at Evansville, with a view of their farm just a quarter mile to the north. Behind four small footstones, inscribed E.A.C., S.C., A.M.C., and EVA, stands the five-foot granite marker:
Families of the children

A brief word on the later years of the three surviving children and their families:

Marie met Edgar Wilson Smith about 1871 while they were students at the Evansville Seminary. They were married October 1, 1876, and had two children, Eugene Cadwallader ("Caddy," born June 30, 1877), and eleven years later, my mother, Ethelyn Cora (October 16, 1888). After farming for many years in Union Township just a quarter mile up Cemetery Road from the Cadwalladers, in 1913 Edgar and Marie moved to Madison, Wisconsin, where they lived the rest of their days. They died soon after their golden wedding anniversary, Marie on March 17, 1927, and Edgar May 16, 1928. They were buried at Evansville's Maple Hill Cemetery (S-I-106). (For an account of their life together, Edgar's genealogy and a listing of their descendants, see Our Smith Ancestry, GEK, in process.)

Eddy, a bachelor until age 38, married Gertrude W. Briggs on March 10, 1897. They had no children of their own but some years later adopted a baby girl, naming her Elaine. "Several years later Eddy developed a very unusual malady after a severe illness; he was, for a time, entirely helpless, unable to raise his hand, but very gradually improved over a period of about twelve years, until he was able to walk slowly with the aid of a stout cane.

"About ten years before his death he and his wife 'agreed to disagree,' and he came to live with his sister Cora Tuttle in Madison. He was devoted to his sister and her family of three boys, delighted in making [the] garden, which he tended by sitting on the ground and hitching along while weeding. Early in the year 1919 he had an attack of 'grippe,' after which he developed heart trouble of the dropsical form, from which he died July 30, 1919." Kathryn Koehler, Marie's granddaughter, then nearly six, still recalls this as her first experience of grief.

Cora attended Evansville elementary and high schools, graduating from the latter in 1881. She taught school in several rural schools and attended the
Evansville Seminary for one year. In 1884, along with Eddy, Edgar, and Marie, she spent six months in South Dakota "pre-empting claims," returning to Wisconsin together in a covered wagon. A copy of her diary of that fascinating journey has been published for family members.

Cora attended business college in Madison and Chicago, studying stenography and typesetting. She worked two years in a law office, then home, then to a position with an electrical supply company in Chicago. In 1888 she returned home for about six weeks to care for sister Marie and her new baby Ethelyn.

Then at the age of 25, on December 18, 1889, she married 55-year-old widower Charles M. Tuttle. Charles was born at Somerset, NY, Dec 18, 1834, son of Jonathan and Maria Louisa (Pitts) Tuttle (parentage of both on file). Charles died at Ganado, Texas, in 1906; was buried at Evansville. Their three sons:


2. Clifton Milton, born near Evansville, Wis, Mar 7, 1898; married Elizabeth (Betty) Schafer, daughter of Joseph and Lillie (Abbott) Schafer of Madison, Wis, September 10, 1923. Betty Tuttle died June 20, 1962, at Lenox, Mass. She was survived by husband Clifton; her mother Lily Schafer; daughter Mrs. Harry Illingworth, Jr., of Pittsford, NY; daughter Mrs. Marc Marcus of San Jose, Calif; and five brothers (obit). Clifton and Betty's two children: (a) Jane Cadwallader, born in Rochester, NY, Mar 18, 1929. She seems to have married Harry Illingworth, Jr., and lived in Pittsford, NY (a Rochester suburb) with two daughters Lisa and Susan. (b) Susan Abbott, born in Rochester, NY, Dec 14, 1930. She seems to have married Marc Marcus and moved to Calif.

3. Fordyce Eddy, born in Brooklyn, Wis, Jan 8, 1903; married Eleanor Porter, daughter of John Porter and Carolyn (Evans) Porter of Madison, Wis, Aug 5, 1926. Fordyce died Aug 5, 1969, at Newport, R.I. Memorial service at West Palm Beach, Fla, where the Tuttles had another home. Fordyce was survived by his wife Eleanor; daughter Mrs. Ward Noyes of Gainsville, Fla; son John E. Tuttle of Atlantis, Fla; and seven grandchildren (obit). Fordyce and Eleanor's three children: (a) Carolyn, born in Rochester, NY, April 1, 1928; died of a congenital malformation Apr 4, 1928. (b) John, born July 11 (year? place?). (c) A daughter, who seems to have married Ward Noyes.

The three "Tuttle boys" — Ray, Clifton and Fordyce — are remembered as brilliant, due in part to Cora's remarkable parenting after Charles' early death, when the boys were 16, 8 and 3. All worked for Eastman Kodak Co. in Rochester and made significant scientific contributions. Fordyce, for example, received in
1982 the Navy's Distinguished Public Service Award for outstanding contributions in the field of anti-submarine warfare technology.

In the early 20th century the descendants of Marie and Cora multiplied, and ties between the Smith and Tuttle clans remained close. I can recall Smith-Tuttle family reunions as late as the mid-1930s. The Koehler children regret that contact with the Tuttes has been lost, and efforts to locate descendants have not succeeded. Even the death date of Cora, who moved to Rochester to be with her families, is unknown.

From Merionethshire to Wisconsin

With the 1876 marriage of my grandmother, Marie, the Cadwallader name drops out of my ancestry, but not my consciousness. As a youngster I had a close relationship with my Uncle "Caddy," who took me fishing, let me steer his car while sitting on his lap, and told entirely credible tales of his previous lives as various wild animals. When two of these stories were published in the 1940s, they were over the name of "E. Cadwallader Smith." The lilting Welsh name lived on, too briefly, in one of Caddy's grandsons, Steven Cadwallader Plotz (1940-1968), and a great-grandson, James Cadwallader Morley (1958-59), and lives still in a granddaughter, who shares my interest in our family story, Barbara Cadwallader (Morley) Barrington (born in 1932).

My wife Margie and I have followed the Cadwallader trail from the mountains of western Wales to the plains of southern Wisconsin. On four successive quadrennial trips we have visited Merionethshire, the county from which our immigrant John Cadwallader seems to have come. In 1977 and '81 we stopped at the county town, Dolgellau, to pour over records at the County Archives and browse through accounts of Welsh Quaker emigration in the public library. We have walked the nearby Precipice Walk, with its magnificent view of Cader Idris and the valley below, feeling sure that somewhere within our view John Cadwallader once stood listening to George Fox preach. I have visited Tyddyn-y-garreg on the slope of Cader Idris, one of the farms where the first Quakers secretly met, and have tried to imagine people known to John's family gathered there, earnestly discussing the threats they faced and the prospect of emigration to America.

Clasping hands with the people of Wales at the 1981 Royal National Eisteddfod (music festival), we have hummed along as they sang with stirring harmony and pride their national anthem:

\[
\begin{align*}
Gwlad! & \ Gwlad! \\
Pleidiol & \ wyf\text{\textquotesingle}m gwlad.
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
Tra\ & \ more\ yn\ i'r\ bur\ hoff\ bau, \\
O\ & \ bydded\ i'r\ hen\ irith\ bar\ hau.
\end{align*}
\]
(My country! My country!
Pledged I am to my country.
As the sea is the wall to this lovely land,
Long may the language survive.)

I have studied Quaker records in the Pennsylvania Historical Society library, the library at Princeton University, the Virginia State Library. We have stopped at the meetinghouse at Radnor, Pennsylvania (built after John, Sr.'s, membership there). In a corner of his general store in Lincoln, Virginia, we have listened to tales of the early days told by Quaker historian Asa Moore Janney. We have paused to admire the old Goose Creek meetinghouse there, where Moses and his family worshiped, and sat in the reverent silence of the new meeting house, still in use by Loudoun County Friends.

In his farmhouse dining room at Keswick, Virginia, we've taken notes as fast as we could while another Quaker gentleman, Jay Worrall, opened up for us the Cadwallader-Malin-Ballard-Candler connections of Virginia. We've copied deeds and wills in the courthouses at Leesburg, Bedford, and Independence. We've studied local history at libraries there and the State Library in Richmond. With help from Kenneth Crouch, we've located the site of the old Lower Goose Creek meeting house in Bedford County, beside the present Quaker Baptist Church, and touched the Friends' small, square, anonymous grave markers nearly lost in the sod. On an 1859 map of today's Carroll County we have found the only place where a "branch of Little Reed Island Creek" flows in proximity to "waters of Crooked Creek," and on a foggy September morning driven through what must surely be the elder Moses Cadwallader's property there. And at Cumberland Gap we have hiked a portion of the Wilderness Road, which led Byrom to the west.

In Ohio and in Wayne, Henry, and La Porte Counties, Indiana, we have stopped to read local history, copy deeds, hunt up Byrom and Sally's farms. Then on to Janesville, Wisconsin, the county seat of Rock County, for more deeds, more maps to copy, more research at the excellent Rock County Historical Society. And to the tranquil, beautifully restored streets of Evansville, to Samuel and Adora's farm (now part of the vast Pine Knoll Farms, Inc.), and the cemetery.

How much we have learned about these several generations of Cadwalladers, Ballards, Candlers, Hagues and more! How fond of them we are, and how grateful! We admire the strength of their Quaker convictions in a hostile environment, their tenacity as farmers and homemakers, and their restless courage in pushing on, again and again, to the newest, most western frontier. We thank them for their essential part in our origins.
The blackened areas east of Greens Fork represent the farms of (l to r) Byrom and Sarah (Hague) Cadwallader in Clay Township — and Samuel and Eleanor Hague, and Amos and Rebecca (Hague) Cadwallader in Webster Township. Thus the elder Hagues had the privilege of two daughters' families each but a mile away.
Blackened areas, beginning in north: Eighty acres of Shubael and Lucy Smith along county highway 1000N, east of 150E. One hundred sixty acres of Byrom and Sarah Cadwallader, along Range Road and bordering on Tea Lake. One hundred thirty-four acres of John and Silence Haseltine, in the community of Springville, now at intersection of highways 20 and 39. Smiths and Cadwalladers were in Galena Township, Haseltines in Springfield.
Blackened areas, beginning at upper left, west of Brooklyn: Seymour and Elvira Smith's place in Dane County. (Just south of it:) Small farm of Elvira's parents, John and Silence Haseltine, in Green County. (North of Evansville:) Edgar and Marie Smith's farm in Rock County. (Then next:) Samuel and Adora Cadwallader's farm, also straddling Cemetery Road. (The two tracts southeast of Evansville:) Farm of Adora's parents, Joseph and Maria Doolittle.
APPENDIX E

FAMILY RECORD: SAMUEL AND ADORA CADWALLADER'S BIBLE

MARRIAGES.

Samuel Cadwallader, and Eliza Heath.
Married, May 10th, 1848.

Samuel Cadwallader, and Adora M. Doolittle.
Married, April 20th, 1853.

Their Children:

Marie E. Cadwallader, and Edgar H. Smith.
Married, October 1st, 1876.

Eddy A. Cadwallader, and Gertude H. Briggs.
Married, March 10th, 1893.

Born L. Cadwallader, and Charles M. Tuttle.
Married, Dec. 18th, 1859.
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FAMILY RECORD.

DEATHS.

Eliza Kealde, Cadwellader,
died, March 20th, 1857.
Aged, 27 years, 1 month, 4 days.

Eliza C. Cadwellader,
died, June 29th, 1865.
Aged, 6 years, 5 months, 5 days.

Adora M. Cadwellader,
died, Nov. 24, 1900.
Aged, 63 years, 6 months, 11 days.

Samuel Cadwellader,
died, May 20th, 1909.
Aged, 85 years, 7 months, 20 days.

Eddy A. Cadwellader,
died, July 30th, 1919.
Aged, 60 years, 6 months, 7 days.
NOTES TO PART FOUR

1. From Byrom and Sally Cadwallader’s family Bible, transcribed by Milton Cadwallader and sent to Ethelyn S. Koehler, February 17, 1927. In 1988 the Bible was in the possession of descendant Edith Dodd Kuntz, Neodesha, Kansas.

2. Letters to Ethelyn S. Koehler from Milton Cadwallader (December 17, 1923), Casper Cadwallader (April 13, 1923), and Ayusta Merrill (March 18, 1924). That Lewis' name was Jehu (not John) has been established by Jay Worrall (letter to GEK, February 18, 1988).

3. Source unidentified.


5. From various letters to Ethelyn S. Koehler, 1920s.


8. Wayne County Marriage Records.


15. From Byrom and Sally Cadwallader's family Bible.


26. *Brief History of the Quaker Churches and Cemetery in La Porte*, p. 3.

27. Letter from Chester Cadwallader to his niece Marie C. Smith, April 13, 1923.

28. Section 30, T38N, R2W (SW ¼ of SW ¼, and NE ¼ of SW ¼) and Section 31, T38N, R2W (W ½ of NW ¼). La Porte County Tract Book, p. 59. At the time this was in Kankakee Township; Galena Township was created out of Kankakee in 1836.


30. Son Chester Cadwallader's description copied and sent by Milton Cadwallader to Ethelyn S. Koehler, February 17, 1927.
31. Letter from Eva (?) Davis, age 92, to Cora S. Tuttle, March 12, 1924.
32. Letter from Ayusta Merrill to Ethelyn S. Koehler, March 4, 1924.
33. Letter from Chester Cadwallader to Marie C. Smith, April 13, 1923.
34. Packard, p. 212.
35. Dorothy Rowley, compiler, *La Porte County School Enumeration of Children Between the Ages of 5 and 21 Years*.
36. ESK, p. 25.
37. ESK, p. 25.
38. Chester Cadwallader's notes copied and sent by Milton Cadwallader to Ethelyn S. Koehler, December 17, 1927.
40. Various letters to Ethelyn S. Koehler, 1920s.
41. Letter from Chester Cadwallader to Ethelyn S. Koehler, December 17, 1927.
42. ESK, p. 26.
43. Death dates from Byrom's family Bible.
44. For cemetery and other data I am indebted to Nancy S. Robinson and Larry Burman of Plainfield and Janesville, Iowa. Family historian and great-granddaughter Margaret Johnson Drake shows Chester's death in September, 1924; Oakhill Cemetery records show his burial date as September 24, 1928; ESK shows 1928.
46. These deaths are not recorded in the Bible. They are from *Cemetery Records, Bremer County, Iowa* (1983), Oakland Cemetery, Jackson Township.
47. For Chester's descendants we rely on a family group chart supplied by his great-granddaughter Margaret ("Peggy") Johnson Drake of Tempe, Ariz
48. Samuel Cadwallader family Bible.
49. Notes from Chester Cadwallader, sent to Ethelyn S. Koehler, February 17, 1927.

51. Except as indicated, information in this chapter is taken from ESK and is no doubt based on Marie (Cadwallader) Smith's accounts. Vital data from the Samuel Cadwallader family Bible.

52. Union Township (T4N, R10E), Section 22, SE ¼ of SE ¼, and Section 23, SW ¼ of SW ¼. See also letter of Maurice J. Montgomery to GEK, November 8, 1988.


55. Samuel and Adora's signatures on the 1890 deed strongly suggest this identification of their handwriting in the Bible.

56. Tuttle data is from ESK and various obituaries.

57. Rolled map: Wayne County, Indiana (County Commissioners, 1988).

58. Rolled map: Road System of La Porte County, Indiana (La Porte County Commissioners, pr. 1980s).


60. *Plat Book of Rock County, Wisconsin, 1891.*