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**ANTEBELLUM PLANTERS:
Communities of Kinship on the Cotton Frontier**

by Carolyn Earle Billingsley

Robert Calvert was an *antebellum* cotton planter. He was born in 1802 in Tennessee and died in Texas in 1867. He made three major relocations in his lifetime, ever pushing to the edges of the cotton frontier and broadening the base of his prosperity, yet always remaining a part of a network of kin. Calvert was a staunch Cumberland Presbyterian, a legislator in two states, a county judge, and a prime mover in bringing the railroad to his area, but perhaps above all, Robert Calvert was a family man. The primacy of kinship ties was so well integrated into his life, he probably would be dumbfounded that kinship might be considered as a separate category of historical analysis. In this paper, Calvert's life experiences will be explicated as fully as possible to demonstrate the effect and the place of kinship ties on a fairly typical *antebellum* Southern planter.¹ These family bonds and obligations were imbedded, not only in everyday life, but also in the legal, political, social, and economic worlds of *antebellum* planters. Although kinship was not the only determinant of planters' actions or even the *primary* influence, no aspect of *antebellum* planters' lives can be explained fully without taking bonds of kinship into consideration.

Historians employ a variety of approaches to understand the dynamics of the lives of *antebellum* Southerners. Some gather statistics from census records and tax rolls; others interpret diaries, letters, and manuscript collections. Some study the entire region of the South, while others focus on a particular state, county, or other geographical division. There are studies scrutinizing the rural South and the urban South. Others examine Southerners through the prism of class, race, or gender: there are studies of planters, plain folk, hill people, slaves, women, and the middle class, to name but a few. Still others interpret the South based on a statistical analysis of an aggregate of individuals.²

Within each of these approaches, scholars have debated many aspects of *antebellum* Southern life from social, political, economic, and religious perspectives, but they often have failed to utilize adequately a crucial element acting upon many, if not all, of the issues at stake. That missing element is kinship. Although some scholars have integrated limited aspects of kinship into their studies, none have done so in the depth normally employed by family historians. It is this genealogically oriented, more detailed – and more difficult – family history that can yield another facet of understanding to historiographical issues of the *antebellum* South. As Orville Vernon Burton and Robert C. McMath, Jr., have stated, “the place to begin understanding the Old South is in the communities and families – the particular web of social relationships – within which most of *antebellum* Southerners lived out their lives.” Moreover, one of the reasons the nineteenth-century South has been and

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will continue to be a fruitful field of study is because that era “affords the last opportunity for examination of traditional community life in America.”³ In many ways, the community and even the nation are merely family writ large.⁴

Recently some historians have begun to examine kinship groups and to weigh the importance of family on the lives and actions of *antebellum* Southerners. Most often, however, when family has been examined as a factor, investigators have not taken the concept far enough or had a sufficiently broad definition of family. “Family” in *antebellum* Southern society often went beyond the nuclear family to include a range of kin with flexible and changing boundaries adapted to individual circumstance, and it extended particularly to siblings and the families of siblings. Intermarriage between families, sibling exchange,⁵ and marriage between cousins often strengthened extranuclear family ties that may seem tenuous to modern sensibilities.

One researcher who has begun a reinterpretation of kinship in the *antebellum* South is Jane Turner Censer. She posited that the primary impediment to western migration by elite North Carolinians tempted by the “almost unparalleled economic opportunities” in the West “was the threat to an institution they highly prized – the family, especially the extended family. Generally they decried the attenuation of kinship ties that migration would cause.” It seems evident that the family was just as important to the Calvert-Keesee kinship group studied here as it was to Censer’s North Carolina planters; rather than eschewing emigration, however, the Calvert-Keesee group demonstrates that many planters largely kept the family intact by migrating as a group. On the other hand, Censer found that when migrations did take place, although economics rather than family may have been the motivation, the migrations were “built upon a network of friends and family already established in the West.”⁶ The Calvert-Keesee kinship group can serve as a prime exemplar of that insight.

Although Censer never actually defined what she considered “family,” she mentioned only parents, children, and siblings, with only an occasional reference to “other kin.”⁷ The Calvert-Keesee kinship group demonstrates an interest and involvement in family beyond parents, children, and siblings.

Censer also noted the pattern of naming children for close relatives within families and stated that “naming could strengthen ties among family members ... by the esteem it signified.” By bestowing family names upon them, “children could also carry memories of the past into the future.” Even more importantly, “naming practices firmly placed the infant in the conjugal family by identifying it with an important relative from a parent’s family of origin.”⁸ Study of the Calvert-Keesee kinship group demonstrates how naming patterns situated children within a web of familial relationships and constantly broadened the boundaries of kinship.

Robert C. Kenzer examined Southern culture in a fashion similar to that approached here. His goal was to “describe a fundamental unit which not only governed the daily lives of Southerners but which tied generations of them together over time,” i.e., the rural neighborhood, to advance “a new framework

for addressing some of the central issues of nineteenth-century Southern history.” He considered one of these “central issues” to be “the role of families in shaping Southern culture.” In a chapter entitled “Kin Over Class,” he concluded that kinship groups had a great significance in reinforcing the economic and social structure and vice versa, that neighborhoods had a “self-contained, kin-oriented character” due to the agricultural nature of the county, and that this “kin-oriented character . . . prevented the unequal distribution of wealth from producing intense social tension.”¹⁰ It seems plausible, and even probable, that the many ties demonstrated in this study between Calvert-Keese family members mitigated class tensions and reinforced the social structure as Kenzer surmised.

In some ways Joan E. Cashin is the historian who most closely reinforces some of the claims presented here. In “The Structure of *Antebellum* Planter Families,” she postulated a kinship group interaction far beyond the nuclear family or even the extended family. She, too, established that the nuclear family has dominated the traditional portrayal of Southern families by historians but stated that the “borders [of the planter family] were permeable and its structure was elastic, including many other relatives – aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, and cousins [broadly defined] – who were intimate members of the family” and who “fostered the intense bonds that historians associate with the nuclear family.”¹¹

Cashin further evidenced the broad scope of kinship when she cited the cases of Susan B. Eppes and J.W. Calvert, who had sixty-one and over sixty first cousins respectively.¹² When cousins to the second and third degree are added to kinship groups already including these first cousins, siblings, and aunts and uncles, the scope of such groups becomes huge and hard to dismiss as a contributory factor in shaping Southern history. Even the limited genealogy presented herein reveals a complex web of family relationships and the impact of those relationships on members of the extended family.

Cashin stated forcefully in her conclusion:

Historians should discard assumptions about the nuclear structure of the antebellum planter family and investigate further the nature of relationships among extranuclear kin. The study of such topics as political alliances and inheritance practices will no doubt yield more evidence of the importance of these relationships. Distinctions between nuclear relatives and other kinfolk were much less pronounced than scholars have assumed. Many individuals whom historians have considered to be marginal figures in the larger kinship network were actually significant members of the family.¹³

After those promising initial insights into kinship, Cashin seemed to have lost her way. In the book that followed, *A Family Venture*, she erected premises of planter family life that are contradicted by the evidence compiled here. On the *antebellum* cotton frontier, she asserted, “[t]he planter family was reduced to its nuclear core.” Young men, according to Cashin, migrated specifically “in search of manly independence,” in an effort to extricate themselves from the restricting bonds of kinship – “to be independent of the family rather than

submerged in it." The men in her constructed scenario were dictatorial, spoiled children who roamed the frontier countryside freely and reveled in their independence while restricting their womenfolk to home and hearth and refusing them visits to and from friends and kin.¹⁴

In the following study of one *antebellum* planter and his family, the nature of planter family kinship ties on the cotton frontier is examined. A genealogical approach to the research uncovers a greater depth to the family than is revealed by typical historical research. Although family relationships had an impact on virtually all facets of life, this paper primarily emphasizes their effects on patterns of migration and relocation.

The focal point of this kinship group is Robert Calvert, born on February 19, 1802, near Wartrace, now Bedford County, Tennessee, the son of William and Lucy (Rogers) Calvert. His paternal grandfather immigrated to Winchester, now Frederick County, Virginia, from Ireland, and later moved to Tennessee.¹⁵ His mother's family was English. He and his family were Scotch-Irish Cumberland Presbyterians.¹⁶

When Calvert was a boy, his parents moved to Bibb County, Alabama, probably drawn by the fertile lands in the Black Warrior River Valley. The Creeks and the Choctaws had been forced to cede lands in this area between 1814 and 1816, the Territory of Alabama had been created in 1817, and both Tuscaloosa and Bibb counties had been created in 1818.¹⁷ Tuscaloosa sat at the head of the Black Warrior River, a major transportation route from upper Alabama to the Alabama-Tombigbee rivers, which drained into Mobile Bay on the Gulf of Mexico. Tuscaloosa became a principal market for cotton, since it could then be transported by steamboat via the river. Cotton prices were extremely high after the War with 1812, reaching their peak about 1819. This propelled many planters such as the Calverts and Keesees toward the virgin soil of the newly opened territory of Alabama.¹⁸

In Tuscaloosa County, contiguous to Bibb, on August 28, 1823, Calvert, age twenty-one, married Mary "Polly" Keesee, age fifteen. In a classic example of what historians call "sibling exchange," Robert's sister Mary had married his wife's brother, Milton Keesee, that same year.¹⁹ The Keesees would play an important role in Calvert's life. His wife Mary (Keesee) Calvert was born October 11, 1807, in Sumner County, Tennessee, and her brother, and Robert's brother-in-law, Milton Keesee, was born on August 31, 1799, in South Carolina; they were among the eight known children born to Thomas Keesee, Sr., and Mary (McKnight) Keesee. Milton and Mary's father Thomas Keesee was born about 1778 in Virginia, the son of George and Agnes (Terry) Keesee. When Thomas was about ten years of age, the family relocated to South Carolina, where Thomas married Mary McKnight in 1796.²⁰

Sometime between 1801 and 1804, Thomas, Mary, their three small children, including Milton, Thomas's parents George and Agnes Keesee, and various members of the Keesee and McKnight kinship groups, moved to the Cumberland River Valley in Sumner County, Tennessee. Although little is known about the family during their residence in Tennessee, George Keesee's

will, written and probated in 1825, reveals that he raised cotton, tobacco, and wheat on his 570-acre "plantation" and that at the time of his death he had horses, cows, sheep, hogs, and oxen, a riding carriage for his wife, a gun, assorted furniture, equipment, and tools, as well as a cotton gin, and fifty slaves to be distributed to his heirs.²¹ The Keesees obviously had moved into the planter class by the time of George's death in 1825, if they had not done so previously.

On January 3, 1825, a year and a half after his marriage, Robert Calvert made his first purchase of land in Tuscaloosa County. The same day, a Lucy Calvert, probably Robert's mother, purchased land nearby; and between 1825 and 1835 his father-in-law, Thomas Keesee, Sr., and many of his brothers-in-law, bought government land in the same vicinity.²² There were probably several factors pushing the family from Tennessee and pulling them to the new location in Alabama: Thomas's father had left the family plantation to his oldest son, rather than parceling it out in units too small to be profitable among all of his children; Thomas and his family were no doubt ready to seek new lands for raising cotton; and the Panic of 1819 may have introduced an economic incentive to start anew. Thomas had been a soldier in the War of 1812 and perhaps he, like many of the early settlers in Alabama, had seen these lands during the war.²³

During Robert and Mary Calvert's residence in Alabama, their children were born. About 1826, a son William was born and named for his paternal grandfather. About two years later came a daughter, Lucy Ellen, named for her paternal grandmother. Next came Paulina Jane,²⁴ and finally, about 1834, another daughter, Mary M., most likely named for her mother.²⁵

By 1836 the Calverts and the Keesees were ready to move yet again, no doubt driven by some of the same push-pull factors that had effected their earlier move from Tennessee to Alabama – a desire for soil that had not yet been depleted by cotton in the new state of Arkansas, where land was cheap, as well as the impetus provided by the worsening economy. Although there had been an upsurge in cotton prices in 1825, they began a steady decline to about ten cents a pound, which was the borderline between profitability and unprofitability for planters. Prices remained low for several years, creating a depression in Alabama that became nationwide in scope by 1837.²⁶

The Calverts and Keesees were part of a much larger migration to Arkansas and westward in general in this period. In 1836, the year the kinship group began its relocation, public land sales in Arkansas and in the United States were at their highest point, with a million acres and twenty million acres, respectively, moving from the public to the private domain. Despite this land boom, in 1840 only one-third of all taxpayers in Arkansas owned land – and the Calvert-Keesee kinship group were members of this minority.²⁷

Calvert and his brother-in-law Milton Keesee arrived in Saline County, Arkansas, in 1836 and began buying land. They were evidently acting as advance scouts or agents for the rest of the family; the bulk of the kinship and community group followed in 1837, with another wave of settlers from

Tuscaloosa and Bibb counties in 1841.²⁸ The following article purports to be about the migration in 1841 of these Alabamians to Saline County, Arkansas, and, although the sources for this article are not documented, it provides important insights into both the conditions that led to the migration as well as the route taken:

In the early days, if things got very bad economically, folks were likely to hitch up and move on and things were extraordinarily bad in 1841. [B]y 1837, General Jackson had become President Jackson, and [his] quarrel with the National Bank kicked off a panic which eventually dislodged many people from the very land which his wartime victories had opened up for them. Collapse of the commodities markets followed on the heels of financial panic, and many farmers found themselves strapped.

So wagon trains began to form and move westward, leaving the land in many cases for creditors, tax collectors, and others to fight over. Stretched to the west was always new land for a fresh start in those days.

In the fall of 1841 such a wagon train left Bibb County bound for Arkansas Territory [*sic*, Arkansas became a state in 1836] and that new chance. One of its organizers was Elder Joab Pratt, one of the most energetic early Baptist preachers ever to ride horseback ...

When economic disaster struck in 1841, Elder Pratt gathered stricken families from his several congregations and set out. Only sketchy facts are known about the trek [*sic*] to Arkansas, but the wagons headed southwest instead of northwest.... Possibly they followed the old salt trail which early settlers used to use when going to Louisiana for salt.

In any case, they did go to mid-Louisiana and then headed north. Pushing up through Louisiana, they came to the end of any sort of road at a point just below the Arkansas border. This point in Union Parish, Louisiana, is still known locally as Alabama Landing. From there, the emigrants and the slaves they had brought along with them had to hack their way through what is now Union County, Arkansas. As they went, they noted that the soil was extraordinarily rich. But their destination was Saline [County], many miles to the north, and they continued their slow progress until they reached there by which time it was probably early spring and time to clear for their first crop.²⁹

In 1840 Calvert was enumerated on the Saline County census, in Saline Township, with his wife, three daughters, a son, and thirty slaves. He was the second largest slave owner in the county, after his father-in-law, Thomas Keesee, Sr., who owned thirty-one slaves. Other members of the kinship group living in the same county and enumerated as heads of household included: Calvert's brothers-in-law Milton Keesee, Thomas Keesee, Jr., George Keesee, and Benjamin Clardy; Edward Calvert, a relative whose relationship is not clear; nephews by marriage George West Murphy, Jacob Leech, and James Moorc; and future son-in-law G.W. Rutherford. In fact, of the 397 slaves in Saline County in 1840, members of this kinship group owned 123. Eight men out of a total white population of 2061 owned over thirty percent of the slave population in the county.³⁰

The men of the Calvert-Keesee kinship group were respected in the county, as is evinced by the positions of authority they held. Calvert's brother-in-law, Benjamin Clardy, who had married Thomas Keesee's daughter Agnes

in Alabama, was captain of the township slave patrol in 1837 – an organization of men appointed by the county court to keep the slave population under control. The patrol that year also included Clardy's son-in-law James Moore – or perhaps the father of his son-in-law, also named James Moore. On April 9, 1840, Robert Calvert and brothers-in-law Benjamin Clardy and Thomas Keesee, Jr., were appointed to the slave patrol for Saline Township. Less than a year later, Calvert was appointed overseer of the third division of the Military Road by the court, and on January 22, 1841, he was re-appointed to the Saline Township company of patrols, along with nephews James Moore and George West Murphy. It certainly made sense for many of this kinship group to serve as patrollers, since they constituted the largest group of slaveholders in the area.³¹ In 1842, George W. Rutherford, who became Calvert's son-in-law the next year, was elected to a two-year term as Saline County sheriff. Calvert was elected Saline County representative to the Arkansas state legislature in 1842, serving two years, and in 1846 and 1848 was elected and served as Saline County judge.³²

Although no explicit evidence exists to indicate that kinship ties assisted Calvert's political career, several studies demonstrate the importance of family networks in similar circumstances. In the *antebellum* South, where public institutions and organizations were relatively weak or lacking, family often served as an economic and political power base. As Edward E. Baptist has demonstrated in his study of a planter kinship group on Florida's cotton frontier, "kinship enabled these migrant planters to obtain and then control access to scarce political, economic, and cultural resources: kinship was power." The Calvert-Keesee kinship group, like Baptist's Florida planters, were able to use their unity to create a faction more powerful than any one of them would have been alone. "They knew that power came from the collective strength of families, bound together in a web of assistance and kinship."³³

In 1850 Calvert was again enumerated in Saline County. The value of his real estate was listed as \$7,200. He owned thirty-six slaves in the county and fifteen more on loan to his son in Union County; two other slaves had died within the past year. He owned 500 acres of improved land and 1,900 acres of unimproved land. He produced seventy-four bales of cotton; that year, only one other man in the county produced as much cotton. He raised twenty-five bushels of wheat, fifteen bushels of rye, 4,000 bushels of corn, and 100 bushels of oats, in addition to hay, peas and beans, potatoes, sweet potatoes, and barley. His plantation also produced wool, butter, and honey, and he had horses, mules, oxen, cattle, sheep, and swine, valued at \$1,315.³⁴ Calvert was one of the county's wealthiest and most respected planters.

Robert and Mary Calvert's four children married during their years in Arkansas. Lucy married George Washington Rutherford on September 28, 1843. Her sister Paulina married on December 4, 1845, to Joseph Tom Garrett. Mary and Dr. Peter H. Smith married on December 26, 1848. Each of the daughters married in Saline County, but William, the only son, married Alabama C. Cottingham, the daughter of a prosperous cotton planter, on July

19, 1849, in Union County, Arkansas, where they resided at the time of the census of 1850.³⁵

The Calvert children continued the tradition of naming patterns when their children were born. William and Alabama Calvert named their oldest son for William's father Robert, the oldest daughter for William's mother Mary, and their second son for Alabama's father Charles. George and Lucy Rutherford named children for Lucy's father, Robert Calvert, for Lucy's paternal grandfather William, for Lucy's mother Mary, and for Lucy's sister Pauline J. Joseph T. and Pauline Garrett named children John T., namesake not known, Mary for Pauline's mother, and Lucy for Pauline's sister and paternal grandmother. Dr. Peter and Mary Smith named children Margaret, namesake unknown, Peter P. for father, Sarah F., namesake unknown, and Robert Calvert Smith for Mary's father. Naming patterns in other branches of the kinship group are quite similar.

The late 1840s and early 1850s were a time of transition for most of the kinship group. Milton Keesee, along with many other family and community members, left Saline County sometime early in the 1840s and relocated approximately 100 miles south in Union County, Arkansas.³⁶ The lands in the Ouachita River bottoms of Union County had been noted as rich and suitable for cotton cultivation a decade previously when the Calverts, Keesees, and others had migrated from Alabama to Saline County, Arkansas.³⁷ The planters may also have been influenced by the Panic of 1837, which only began to affect Arkansas by 1845. Even though the average taxpayer's aggregate property (total acres of land, numbers of slaves, and head of livestock) increased between 1840 and 1845, the value of that property declined.³⁸ Sometime between 1846 and 1850, Milton's father, Thomas Keesee, Sr., also left Saline County for Union County. Other families who relocated to Union County in this same period include: those of two daughters of Benjamin and Agnes (Keesee) Clardy; Robert Calvert's son William and daughter Lucy (Calvert) Rutherford; Robert Calvert's brothers-in-law Gideon Keesee and Thomas Keesee, Jr.; Thomas Keesee, Jr.'s daughter and son-in-law Ann and E.H. Hammond and most of his other grown and minor children; Thomas D. Keesee; William Calvert – and others too numerous to mention.³⁹

Shortly after the census was taken in 1850, Robert Calvert, along with his extended family and slaves, relocated to the rich Brazos River bottoms of Robertson County, Texas, following his brother-in-law Milton Keesee, who had once again blazed the trail into new territory for the family after remaining in Union County, Arkansas, for a few years.

Calvert's "was the first great plantation in the county and it was the best equipped in all of Texas."⁴⁰ In 1853, he assessed 2,111 acres of first-class land on the Brazos River valued at over \$6,000, thirty-eight slaves valued at \$19,000, eighteen horses, fifty-four head of cattle, and \$525 miscellaneous property, for a total taxable value of \$27, 618. Seven years later, in 1860, he assessed 3,827 acres valued at \$38,270, seventy-four slaves valued at \$44,400, thirty-six horses, 202 head of cattle, and other property, for a total taxable

value of \$88,800 – an increase in wealth of well over 300 percent in seven years.⁴¹

The town of Sterling grew up in the area around Calvert's plantation in Robertson County. It was founded about the same time Calvert arrived. Other members of the kinship group who relocated to Robertson County include Milton Keesee, Thomas Keesee, Jr., Edward Calvert, James Calvert, Alexander Calvert, G.W. Rutherford and children, Peter H. Smith, and J.T. Garrett. William Wharton was the minister of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and, although not known to be related, had a close association with Calvert both in Arkansas and in Texas.⁴² The following members of the kinship group moved from Arkansas to Texas counties close to Robertson, some coming first to Robertson before moving on: Ellis County, Texas – Thomas Keesee, Jr., and Mary M. Quaite (daughter of Robert Calvert, widow of Peter Smith, now remarried); Falls County – Mary (widow of Milton Keesee) and William Calvert Keesee (son of Milton and Mary); Liberty County – James Moore; Milam County – Milton Keesee; and Washington County – William Keesee, Milton Keesee (died in Washington County), and F.A. Thomson (daughter of Milton Keesee).⁴³

In the decade before the Civil War, Calvert prospered and was active on many fronts. He served one term in the Texas legislature in 1853. He was a champion of the benefits of the railroad. He and two other Robertson County men contracted with the Houston & Texas Central Railroad to build the grade and cut ties for the railroad in their area. The Civil War intervened before the railroad came to Robertson County, but it was completed in June 1869. In honor of Calvert's support and advocacy for the railroad, the new town that became a railroad terminal was named Calvert, although he did not live to see the railroad extend to his county.⁴⁴ Calvert was also for thirty years a ruling elder in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and a Knight Templar in the Masonic Order. Also members of Pierce Lodge No. 144, A.F.&A.M. in the town of Sterling were other members of the kinship group, including H.D. Bennett, J.T. Garrett, and William Calvert.⁴⁵

Milton Keesee, Robert Calvert's double brother-in-law, so to speak, died in Washington County, Texas, on March 10, 1860. Although Milton had a wife, family, and a fairly large estate, Robert Calvert, in applying for letters of administration on Milton's estate, wrote that "Milton Keesee, at the time of his decease, had no fixed domicile or place of residence: but that he died in Washington County, having no property of any importance there; and, being at the time, a non-resident, so far as petitioner is advised, of any county in the state."⁴⁶ No explicit evidence has been found to clarify this puzzling statement. It is probable, however, since Milton's estate consisted mainly of horses and mules and, because he left outstanding notes from a variety of locations in Texas and Louisiana, that he may have been a horse trader who kept on the move, leaving his wife and son to manage slaves and cotton. And since he had no set residence, Robert Calvert no doubt found it more convenient to probate the estate in his own county. Calvert's sons-in-law, J.T. Garrett and P.H. Smith,

posted a \$40,000 bond security bond for Calvert as administrator of Keesee's estate.⁴⁷ At the time of Milton Keesee's death, he owed over \$300 to James Moore, presumably the husband of Milton's sister Agnes' daughter, Sarah Ann Clardy, who married a James Moore. He also had borrowed money and bought a slave on credit from his son William Calvert Keesee in 1859 and 1860; the debt was outstanding at the time of Milton's death.

At the time of the census for 1860, Milton's wife Mary (Calvert) Keesee was residing in Falls County, Texas, with her son William Calvert Keesee and his family, along with her unmarried daughter Nannie C. Keesee. Mary had considerable property, indicating perhaps that she was now the owner of record of slaves and land.⁴⁸ William C. Keesee died in 1861.

In 1861 Calvert was a strong supporter of secession, giving "the cause of the Confederacy very substantial aid, fitting the wagon-trains and supplying the soldiers with horses and equipments." One of his grandsons – probably Robert Calvert Rutherford – enlisted in the Confederate Army at the age of eighteen and died during the war. Calvert's fortunes were damaged badly by the war, and before he could attempt a complete recovery he died from yellow fever on September 20, 1867, in Robertson County, upon his return from a business trip to Houston.⁴⁹ Despite the financial setbacks from the war, the settlement of his estate revealed that he owned real estate in Robertson, Falls, and Brazos counties, as well as in Houston, appraised at over \$30,000, and the list of claims due the estate totaled over \$82,000.⁵⁰ His wife Mary "Polly" died December 16, 1873, in Robertson County, also of yellow fever. Both are buried in the cemetery at the abandoned townsite of Sterling in Robertson County.⁵¹

After Robert Calvert's death, his extensive estate was divided among his wife, his surviving children, and his grandchildren. The records of Calvert's estate reveal the intricate nature of family ties: although Calvert named only children and grandchildren as heirs, he had property, mostly mules and horses, in the possession of his brother-in-law Thomas Keesee in Ellis County, and he also held a mortgage on property owned by his niece F.A. Thompson, Milton Keesee's married daughter, in Brazos County.

James Calvert was appointed guardian of Robert Calvert's grandson, the son of his deceased son William, also named Robert Calvert. Robert Calvert the grandson was educated in Tennessee and New Orleans before dying on January 4, 1870, at the age of nineteen or twenty. Mary Calvert, widow of Robert Calvert, Sr., was appointed guardian of her granddaughter and namesake Mary Calvert, the daughter of William. The third child of William, Charles Calvert, became the legal ward of his mother, Alabama, who had remarried and moved to McClennan County, Texas.

Robert Calvert's daughter Mary Smith became a widow in 1861 and married W.G.L. Quaiter on June 6, 1864, in Robertson County. They moved to Ellis County, Texas – the same county where her mother's brother and family resided.⁵²

Robert Calvert's daughter Lucy Ellen Rutherford had died in Arkansas in 1851, and after remarrying and becoming a widower once again, her husband, G.W. Rutherford, who ran a store in Sterling, Texas, in partnership with his father-in-law, died in 1858. Their oldest child, Robert Calvert Rutherford, died before 1867, probably while serving in the Confederate Army. Son William T. Rutherford was of age when he inherited from his grandfather. Daughter Mary L. Rutherford married a Fort, but died in 1873, and daughter Paulina J. Rutherford became the legal ward of her aunt and namesake, Paulina J. Garrett.⁵³

Robert Calvert's daughter Paulina J. Garrett, her husband J.T., and their three children remained in Robertson County. After serving in the Confederate Army, J.T. Garrett assumed many of the roles of the family patriarch after Robert Calvert's death – probating estates, raising nieces and nephews, and becoming a prosperous agriculturist.

Robert Calvert and the many family members composing the web of kinship, which enfolded him, are excellent examples of *antebellum* Southern lives rich with close interactions with family, kinfolk, and community. In a world where a husband could die suddenly and leave a wife and children alone, where having a baby was hazardous, where political and economic power were enhanced by family ties, and where it took a group effort to accomplish many tasks, people needed the security of a network of relationships – relationships as necessary to their well-being as they were comforting. Whenever an individual moved further west on the frontier, seldom did that individual move alone. *Antebellum* Southerners, plain folk and planter alike, migrated westward with great frequency, but it was almost never undertaken by less than a community of people, most of whom belonged to the same kinship group.

If a more significant role can be shown for kinship groups in the lives of *antebellum* Southern planters, these relationships will have to be given more consideration in future studies. And if the role of kinship groups is shown to be more significant than previously considered, there will be a new framework for reassessment and reconsideration of most of the theses of Southern history taking into account this greater significance. To utilize this framework, a more family-history oriented research methodology must be employed to reveal the true depth and breadth of family ties.

The inherent problem in implementing these ideas is the difficulty of distinguishing extranuclear kin without enlarging the scope of studies over a much longer span of years. The study of the Calvert-Keesee kinship group covers approximately seventy years, yet still does not cover a sufficient time period to make clear many of the extranuclear family connections. There were many instances on the census schedules, for example, where people with surnames found in earlier generations of the family were living near identified members of the kinship group. Also, Alexander Calvert and his three sons matched the migrations of Robert Calvert from Alabama to Arkansas to Texas. And although Robert Calvert, only son of Calvert's only son, was placed under

the guardianship of one of Alexander Calvert's sons, no relationship between Robert and Alexander has been proven, although the preponderance of the evidence indicates a fairly close relationship. In all probability these people were distantly related, but to prove it requires complex, detailed, time-consuming research. Without that research, definitive statements about the importance of extranuclear kin cannot be made authoritatively.

To an even greater extent than today, kinship played a significant role in the lives of *antebellum* Southerners. In history, as in life, no person exists in a vacuum. Every life is like a tapestry woven of the warp and woof of relationships and events. To trace any of the threads in Robert Calvert's life tapestry would lead into a complex interplay with the threads of the lives of others, and foremost, with the lives of a community of family. There were many influences – economic, political, religious, and social – shuttling in and out, weaving the structure of Calvert's life and directing his migrations, but none were as embedded in his concerns as the attachments of kinship.

Kinship exists in the world as a phenomenal thing, insofar as it is the concrete relationship of people to one another – relationships defined by ties of blood or marriage, or created in a legal sense. There are explicit referents matching terms of kinship; when the term "sister" is invoked, for instance, there is a one-to-one correspondence between the word and a specific person. Yet, in a more abstract sense, kinship only exists in a noumenal way, somehow implicit instead of explicit, in the way it is played out in the lives of human beings. In this sense, it is constructed performatively on the needs and desire of each individual. These can consist of, but are not limited to, the need or desire for being part of a group, for approval, for love, for support, for friendship, for economic facilitation, or for political support. During Robert Calvert's lifetime he constructed his concept of kinship and family through his actions – by showing concern for, by being responsible for, by living close to, and by being involved in the social, religious, economic, and legal lives of his family. As this study demonstrates, it is apparent that Robert Calvert's definition of kinship was deep and broad.

Selected Descendants of Thomas Keesee, Sr.

1 Thomas Keesee b.1778 d: December 01, 1861

+Mary McKnight? b: 1770-1780 m: Abt. 1796 d: Bef. 1840

2 Milton Keesee b: August 31, 1799 d: March 10, 1860

+Mary Calvert b: June 26, 1806 m: August 04, 1823 d: October 11, 1873

3 Thomas D. Keesee b: February 09, 1825 d: August 11, 1859 +Martha

3 William Calvert Keesee b: September 21, 1826 d: June 26, 1861

+Mary F. Bennett b: Abt. 1830 m: Abt. 1848 d: Abt. 1867

3 Jane Hill Keesee b: April 03, 1829

3 Franklin Keesee b: September 16, 1831 d: March 17, 1853

3 [2] Lucy Rogers Keesee b: August 13, 1834 d: 1921 +_____ Couter

*2nd Husband of [2] Lucy Rogers Keesee: +_____ Thomson

3 [3] Mary McKnight Keesee b: December 06, 1836 d: December 06,

- 1931 +William H. Garrett m: January 22, 1856
 *2nd Husband of [3] Mary McKnight Keesee: +Thomas S. Sims m:
 May 07, 1874 d: 1917
 3 Nancy "Nannie" Caroline Keesee b: December 16, 1841 d: January
 15, 1883
 3 infant Keesee b: February 16, 1844 d: February 25, 1844
 3 Louise Virginia Keesee b: February 12, 1846 d: January 28, 1851
- 2 Mary Keesee** b: October 11, 1807 d: December 16, 1873
 +**Robert Calvert** b: February 09, 1802 m: August 28, 1823 d: September
 20, 1867
 3 William Calvert b: Abt 1826 d: 1864
 +Alabama C. Cottingham b: Abt. 1833 m: July 19, 1849 d: Aft. 1874
 4 Robert Calvert b: Abt 1850 d: January 04, 1870
 4 Mary Calvert b: Abt, 1852
 4 Charles Calvert b: Abt. 1860
 3 Lucy Ellen Calvert b: Abt. 1828 d: 1851
 +George Washington Rutherford b: Abt. 1819 m: September 28,
 1843 d: October 16, 1858
 4 Robert Calvert Rutherford b: Abt. 1844 d: Bef 1867
 4 William T. Rutherford b: Abt. 1846
 4 Mary L. Rutherford b: April 02, 1849 +_____ Fort
 4 Paulina J. Rutherford b: Abt. 1851 +J.R. Burt m: September 27,
 1877
 3 Paulina Jane Calvert
 +Joseph Tom Garrett m. December 04, 1845
 4 John T. Garrett +Allie Gray
 4 Mary M. Garrett +John H. Drennan
 4 [4] Lucy Garrett +George F. Randolph m: May 17, 1871
 *2nd Husband of [4] Lucy Garrett: +Scott Field m: June 06, 1878
 3 [5] Mary M. Calvert b: Abt. 1834 d: 1889
 +Peter H. Smith b: Abt. 1819 m: December 26, 1848 d: November
 12, 1861
 4 Margaret E. Smith b: Abt. 1850
 4 Agnes F. Smith b: Abt. 1854
 4 Peter P. Smith b: Abt 1856
 4 Sarah F. Smith b: Abt. 1858
 4 R.C. Smith b: Abt. January 1860
 *2nd Husband of [5] Mary M. Calvert: +W.G.L. Quaitte m: June
 06, 1864

NOTES

¹Calvert fits the generally accepted definition of "planter." He was engaged in agricultural pursuits and owned twenty or more slaves. He never quite made it into the "great planter" category, a planter with more than 100 slaves – a tiny percentage of southerners.

²Some examples of these categories: Donald Harington, *The Architecture of the Arkansas Ozarks* (San Diego, New York, and London, 1975) – a novelized social history study of a region; James C. Cobb, *The Most Southern Place on Earth: The Mississippi Delta and the Roots of Regional Identity* (New York and Oxford, 1992) – a study of a regional society over time; Adele Logan Alexander, *Ambiguous Lives: Free Women of Color in Rural Georgia, 1789-1879* (Fayetteville, Ark., 1991) – a study of a social sub-group in a particular milieu; Grady McWhiney, *Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South* (Tuscaloosa, 1988) – a cultural study of a posited ethnic group of Southerners; Carol Bleser, ed., *In Joy and In Sorrow: Women, Family, and Marriage in the Victorian South* (New York and Oxford, 1991) – a gender-based study; Margaret Jones Bolsterli, *A Remembrance of Eden: Harriet Bullock Daniel's Memories of a Frontier Plantation in Arkansas, 1849-1872* (Fayetteville, 1993) – a view of one period, one region, one family; and S. Charles Bolton, *Territorial Ambition: Land and Society in Arkansas, 1800-1840* (Fayetteville, 1993) – an economic study of a state.

³Orville Vernon Burton and Robert C. McMath, Jr., eds., *Class, Conflict, and Consensus: Antebellum Southern Community Studies*, Contributions in American History Series, No. 96 (Westport, Conn., 1982), pp. xiii-xix.

⁴The family has been used quite often as a metaphor for the larger society. In the absence of stronger organizational structures in hierarchical antebellum society, the father as head of the family acted as a virtual "head of state" with women, children, and slaves as his "subjects." "The State is only a home on a larger scale," quotes Ted Ownby from a Farmer's Institute Report of 1907, in *Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in the Rural South, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill and London, 1990), pp. 182, 238n45. For this same idea applied to colonial American, see Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York, 1993), pp. 57, 63-64, 165-167, and particularly 43: "It was only natural for the family ... to be the model for describing most political and social relationships" See also John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (London, Oxford, and New York, 1970), p. xix, "... a familie is a little Church, and a little commonwealth" quoted from William Gouge's *Of Domestic Duties* (London, 1622).

⁵Sibling exchange is defined as siblings from one family marrying siblings from another family, e.g., two brothers marrying two sisters from another family, generally creating even closer ties between the two families.

⁶Jane Turner Censer, "Southwestern Migration among North Carolina Planters: 'The Disposition to Emigrate,'" *The Journal of Southern History* LVII (August 1991), p. 418.

⁷Censer, "Southwestern Migration," p. 410.

⁸Censer, *North Carolina Planters and Their Children, 1800-1860* (Baton Rouge and London, 1984), pp. 32-34, quotations from p. 33.

⁹Robert C. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood in a Southern Community: Orange County, North Carolina, 1849-1881* (Knoxville, 1967), p. 1.

¹⁰Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood*, pp. 29-51.

¹¹Joan E. Cashin, "The Structure of Antebellum Planter Families: 'The Ties that Bound us Was Strong,'" *The Journal of Southern History* LVI (February 1990), pp. 56, 60.

¹²Cashin, "The Structure of Antebellum Planter Families," p. 67. No known relationship between J.W. Calvert and the Calvert family studied here.

¹³Cashin, "The Structure of Antebellum Planter Families," p. 70.

¹⁴Cashin, *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier* (New York and Oxford, 1991), pp. 80, 32, 83.

¹⁵John Henry Brown, *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas* (Austin, 1880; repr., Easley, S.C., 1978), pp. 638-639. Other undocumented sources say Robert Calvert was a descendant of Lord Baltimore; see *Texas State Travel Guide* (Austin, n.d., annual publication), p. 95. Calvert's

tombstone is inscribed: "Hon. Robert Calvert was born in the Statc of Tenn. Feb. 19, 1802 ..." – gravesite in Sterling Cemetery, Robertson County, Texas, surveyed by author March 28, 1997.

¹⁹Brown, *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas*, p. 638.

²⁰Dale Van Every, ed., "The First American Frontier," Charles C. Royce, comp., *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*, (Washington, D.C., 1900; repr. New York, 1971), pp. 678-679, 684-685, Plate CVIII (Map of Alabama showing Indian Cessions); and *The Hundy Book for Genealogists: United States of America*, 8th ed. (Logan, Utah, 1991), S. v. "Alabama."

²¹Thomas Perkins Abernathy, *The Formative Period in Alabama, 1815-1828* (Tuscaloosa, 1965), pp. 26-28, 40-42, 88.

²²Nicholas Russell Murray, *Tuscaloosa County, Alabama Marriages, 1821-1860* (Hammond, La., 1986), p. 47 (both marriages); and Brown, *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas*, p. 638.

²³Note that Thomas' sister Rhoda also married a McKnight; probably another case of sibling exchange. Vincent A. Keesee, *A History of the Keesee Family* (Tifton, Ga., 1991), pp. 59-63; Keesee, *The Keesee Family in Pittsylvania County, Virginia* (Tifton, Ga., 1980), p. 27; for information about Milton Keesee, see Correspondence, Lucy Miller Jacobson to author, April 11, 1978 – Jacobson is the great-great-great granddaughter of MK; for Mary Keesee Calvert's DOB, survey of Sterling Cemetery, Robertson County, Texas, by author, March 28, 1997 – her tombstone gives dates of birth and death; for Thomas Keesee's age and state of birth, see 1850 U. S. Census (Population Schedule), Union County, Arkansas; Harrison Twp., p. 268-B. Dwelling 596, National Archives Microfilm Series (hereinafter NAMS) M432, Roll 30; and for TK's children, see "Last Will and Testament of Thomas Keesee, Sr.," written December 16, 1858, Ashley County, Arkansas, Will Record 1, pp. 157-159, as recorded by the Ashley County Abstract Company (Hamburg, Ark.) – a courthouse fire in 1921 destroyed the original will book, but the abstract company had copies; and, for George Keesee's children, see "Last Will and Testament of George F. Keesee," written July 5, 1825/proven November Term 1825, Sumner County, Tenn.. Will Book 2, p. 36.

²⁴"Will of George F. Keesee." Additionally, GFK indicated he already had given each of his children unspecified property from his estate. When Agnes died a few years later, she distributed household furnishings and personal effects to her children and grandchildren, as well as livestock and her carriage to be sold to pay her debts; see "Last Will and Testament of Agnes Keesee," written February 11, 1829/proven May Term 1829, Sumner County, Tennessee. Will Book 2, p. 98.

²⁵Marilyn Davis Barefield, *Old Tuscaloosa Land Office Records & Military Warrants, 1821-1855* (Easley, S.C., 1984), pp. 12, 20-22, 44, 68, 69, and 86; and Cash Entry Index Cards, surname Keesee, supplied by the National Archives, copies in possession of author.

²⁶"T.J. Keesee" and "George S. Keesee." *History of Ellis County, Texas* (1982), pp. 476-78; and "From Alabama to Arkansas: An 1841 Journey," *Bibb Eagle*, February 1978, as reprinted in *Grassroots* 8 (July 1988): pp. 8-9.

²⁷A Pauline (Poline) Calvert was married to Samuel M. Qualls in Tuscaloosa County, March 26, 1834. It seems likely that she and Robert Calvert were related and that this daughter of Robert's was named for her. The name Pauline is carried down in succeeding generations of the family. See Murray, *Tuscaloosa County, Alabama Marriages*.

²⁸Richard Denny Parker, *Historical Recollections of Robertson County, Texas, with Biographical and Genealogical Notes on the Pioneers & Their Families* (Salado, Tex., 1955), pp. 137-38, 150; and Carolyn Earle Billingsley, *1840 Saline County, Arkansas, Census* (Alexander, Ark., 1987), p. 12 – original census p. 212, Saline Township, age and gender groupings are fairly consistent with the children as given in text.

²⁹Abernathy, *The Formative Period in Alabama*, pp. 83-85.

³⁰S. Charles Bolton, *Territorial Ambition: Land and Society in Arkansas, 1800-1840* (Fayetteville, Ark., 1993), pp. 73-74.

³¹Desmond Walls Allen and Bobbie Jones McLane, comps., *Arkansas Land Patents: Grant and Saline Counties (granted through 30 June 1908)* (Conway, Ark., 1991), p. 84 (Calvert), p. 5

(Benjamin Clardy, who was married to Mary Keesee Calvert's sister Agnes), and pp. 101-102 (Keesees); Ronald Vern Jackson, ed., *Arkansas Tax Lists: 1830-1839* (Bountiful, Utah, 1980), p. 380; Maggie Hubbard Suddath, *Tuscaloosa County, Alabama Records, V. 1: 1837 Tax List and Probate Records* (Tuscaloosa, 1988), pp. 4-6; Russell P. Baker, comp., "A List of the Taxable Property of the County of Saline for the Year 1836, As Taken by the Sheriff of Said County," *The Saline* 1 (December 1984), pp. 87-90; and *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Pulaski, Jefferson, Lonoke, Faulkner, Grant, Saline, Perry Garland, and Hot Spring Counties, Arkansas: A Condensed History of the State, a Number of Biographies of Distinguished Citizens of the same, a Brief Descriptive History of Each of the Counties Above Named, and Numerous Biographical Sketches of Their Prominent Citizens* (Chicago, 1889; repr. Easley, S.C., 1978), hereinafter Goodspeed: *Pulaski . . . , Ark.*, p. 234, which states that ninety families from Tuscaloosa and Bibb Counties, Alabama, "took up their abode" in Saline County in the summer of 1837, and that among the "leaders of this colony were Thomas Keesee, Robert Calvert, . . ." and others. Note that Thomas Keesee, Jr.'s biography in *History of Ellis County*, p. 476, states that he moved to Saline County, Arkansas, in 1838.

²⁹"From Alabama to Arkansas."

³⁰1840 Saline County, Arkansas, Census, NAMS 704, Roll 20, pp. 208, 210, 212, and 213; see also, Carolyn Earle Billingsley, *1840 Saline County, Arkansas, Census* (Alexander, Ark., 1987), p. 3, for a list of slaveowners.

³¹Sybil Crawford, comp., *Saline County, Arkansas, County Court Record Book Vol. 1: 1836-1839* (Bryant, Ark., 1988), p. 18; Crawford, *Saline County, Arkansas, County Court Record Book Vol. 2: 1840-1843* (Bryant, Ark., 1988), pp. 12, 30, and 35/original record book pp. 105, 127, and 133.

³²Goodspeed, *Pulaski . . . , Ark.*, 235; and C. Armitage Harper, ed., *Historical Report of the Secretary of State* (Little Rock, Ark., 1958), pp. 254 and 624.

³³Edward E. Baptist, "The Migration of Planters to Antebellum Florida: Kinship and Power," *Journal of Southern History* LXII (Aug.), pp. 527-54, first quotation from p. 529. second quotation from p. 553.

³⁴Carolyn Earle Billingsley, *1850 Saline County, Arkansas Census, Photo-copied From the Original Microfilmed Census: Schedules 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, With Full-Name Index* (Alexander, Ark., 1988), pp. 9, 72, 187, 189; and Bobbie Jones McLane and Desmond Walls Allen, *1850 Census of Southern Arkansas: Ashley, Bradley, Clark, Dallas, Drew, Hempstead, Lafayette, Ouachita, Pike, Polk, Sevier, and Union Counties* (Conway, Ark., 1995), p. 110 (slave schedule).

³⁵Bobbie Jones McLane and Margaret Harrison Hubbard, *Saline County, Arkansas Marriage Records: Books A-B-C, 1836-1875* (Hot Springs, Ark., 1978), pp. 29, 72, and 76; Shannon J. Henderson, *Arkansas Gazette Index: An Arkansas Index, 1840-1849* (Russellville, Ark., 1979), p. 203 – Announcement of marriage of Peter Smith to Mary Calvert, December 28, 1848, p. 3, c. 4; James Logan Morgan, *Arkansas Marriage Notices, 1819-1845* (Newport, Ark., 1984), p. 40; *Arkansas Banner* (Little Rock) October 7, 1843, *Arkansas Times and Advocate* (Little Rock) October 2, 1843; McLane and Allen, *1850 Census of Southern Arkansas*, pp. 100, 104; 1850 Union County, Arkansas Census (Population Schedule), NAMS 432, Roll 30, p. 255-B. D. 419, Johnson Township – the census column "Married within the year" was checked.

³⁶Milton was enumerated in Saline County in 1840, and was on a jury there in August 1841, but was listed as having "left the county" on the tax list for 1842. In 1848, Union County Democrats nominated him for a position in the Arkansas House. He was not enumerated there at the time of the census of 1850, however. See Billingsley, *1840 Saline County, Arkansas Census*, p. 10; Eddie G. Landreth, *Abstract of the Saline County, Arkansas Circuit Court Common Law Book "A", 1836-1842* (Bryant, Ark., 1990), p. 1 (1837), p. 14 (1839), p. 55 (August 1841, defendant in debt case, failed to appear), p. 56 (August 1841, served on jury); and Sybil Crawford, comp., *Saline County, Arkansas County Court Record Book, Volume 2: 1840-1843* (Bryant, Ark., 1988), p. 62 (MK on delinquent tax list for 1842).

³⁷"From Alabama to Arkansas," pp. 8-9.

³⁸Bolton, *Territorial Ambition*, pp. 54-55.

³⁶McLane and Allen, *1850 Census of Southern Arkansas*, pp. 95-110.

⁴⁰J.W. Baker, *A History of Robertson County, Texas* (Waco, Tex., 1971), p. 129; and Parker, *History of Robertson County*, pp. 137-38.

⁴¹Robertson County Tax Lists for 1853 and 1860, photocopies in possession of author.

⁴²Calvert probated Wharton's will.

⁴³Numerous census records, loose probate records, deeds, and other records.

⁴⁴Parker, *History of Robertson County*, pp. 80, 137-138; and Contract – Houston & Texas Central Railway Company to and with Robert Calvert and James S. Hanna. Robertson County Deed Book N, pp. 211ñ218, Robertson County Courthouse, Franklin, Texas, copy in possession of author.

⁴⁵Goodspeed, Pulaski . . . , *Ark.*, p. 235; Baker, *A History of Robertson County, Texas*, p. 445; and Parker, *History of Robertson County*, pp. 137-138. His tombstone is adorned with a Masonic symbol; survey of cemetery by author, March 28, 1997.

⁴⁶"Amended Petition for Letters of Administration, R. Calvert," Succession of Milton Keesee, Robertson County, Texas, filed June 26, 1860, Loose Probate Packet, Robertson County Courthouse, Franklin, Texas; copy of document in possession of author.

⁴⁷Succession of Milton Keesee.

⁴⁸1860 U.S. Census, Falls County, Texas, Dwelling 202.

⁴⁹Baker, *A History of Robertson County, Texas*, p. 480; and Brown, *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas*, pp. 638-39, quotation.

⁵⁰"Report of Auditor" and "List of Claims," Estate of Robert Calvert, dec'd., March 3, 1869, Loose Probate Packet, Robertson County Courthouse, Franklin, Texas.

⁵¹Brown, *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas*, p. 639; and personal survey of cemetery, March 28, 1997, photographs of tombstones in possession of author.

⁵²Estate of P.H. Smith, Loose Probate Packet, Robertson County, Texas; Robertson County Marriage Book 2, p. 155; and Estate of Robert Calvert, Loose Probate Packet, Robertson County, Texas.

⁵³Estate of Robert Calvert; Estate of George W. Rutherford; and Guardianship of Paulina J. Rutherford, minor – Loose Probate Packets, Robertson County, Texas.