From the evidence I have found and accumulated here, I have come to the following tentative conclusions, which are not covered in the existing genealogies of the Stalnakers. I have attempted to include only those facts that are proven, and indicate speculation as such. I would like to hear from anyone who has additional evidence for, against, or in addition to my reconstruction of the family. You can e-mail me at mldeg@alumni.uchicago.edu. Last updated December 16, 2016.

Stalnaker Origins in Germany

For many years, it has been thought that Samuel Stalnaker was the immigrant ancestor of the Stalnakers in West Virginia. However, there were no records for him before 1745, when he appears as a settler and Indian trader on the far frontier of southwest Virginia, and no records proving his relationship to George and Jacob, the progenitors of the Pennsylvania and West Virginia Stalnakers. I have argued in "A History of Early Stalnakers" that the West Virginia Stalnakers, Pennsylvania Stalnakers, and South Carolina Stalnakers are all one family. I have also argued that Capt. Samuel was a brother, and not the father, of at least Adam (killed 1755, Augusta County, Virginia) and George (d. 1787, Berks County, Pennsylvania), and probably of Jacob (d. 1792, Randolph County, West Virginia). I also believe that Capt. Samuel was the father of the Samuel, Adam, and Barbara Stalnaker who settled in northwest South Carolina in the 1770s.

I have identified a Stalnecker family in Germany that I believe may be the immigrant family. There is strong circumstantial evidence, but as yet no proof.

In June 1707, Johan Jacob Stalnecker married Anna Barbara Schreiber, daughter of Casimir (Cassel) and Anna Maria Schreiber, in Alsenborn, Kaiserslautern, Germany. His father, Johan Adam Stalnecker, a waggoner, was christened on 3 May 1650 in Kleinengstingen, Schwarzwaldkreis, Baden-Würtemberg, Germany, the son of Jacob and Anna Maria Stalnecker. He died in Oct 1716 in Hemsbach by Enkenbach-Alsenborn, Kaiserslautern, and was buried 4 Oct 1716. He married Katharina (Stalnecker) about 1684. She was buried on 7 Jul 1734 in Hemsbach. There is no birth record for Johann Jacob or his brothers in the Kleinengstingen, Alsenborn, or Undingen church books. Presumably the family lived somewhere else between Kleinengstingen and Hemsbach.

Johan Jacob's brothers were:

Christoph Stalnecker born about 1693, died 31 Mar 1729, Johan Adam Stalnecker born about 1703, died 25 Jan 1736, Johan Peter Stalnecker born about 1706, died 13 Dec 1719,

¹ Kirchenbuch, 1663-1870 Evangelisch-Reformierte Kirche Alsenborn (BA. Kaiserslautern), LDS microfilm, FHL INTL Film 193744, 193745, 193746.

² Kirchenbuch, 1604-1977 Evangelische Kirche Kohlstetten (OA. Münsingen), LDS Film, FHL INTL Film 1190255 Items 11-13. Includes Klein Engstingen.

³ Kirchenbuch, 1663-1870 Evangelisch-Reformierte Kirche Alsenborn (BA. Kaiserslautern), LDS microfilm, FHL INTL Film 193744, 193745, 193746.

all in Hemsbach by Enkenbach-Alsenborn, recorded in the Munchweiler church book..

Casimir Schreiber was also a waggoner in Alsenborn.⁴ He and his first wife Anna Kunigunda had two daughters and a son who died young:

Magdelena, born 11 Apr 1683

Anna Appolonia, born 11 Dec 1684

George Theobald, born 18 Mar 1687, died 23 Sep 1690

Casimir and his second wife, Anna Maria, had 7 children christened in the Alsenborn Reformed church:

Anna Barbara, born 25 Nov 1691

Anna Margareta, born 25 Nov 1693

George Jacob Schreiber, born in 1694

Anna Elisabetha, born 12 Oct 1698

Johan Hermann, born 8 Jan 1701, died 22 Oct 1709

Anna Juliana, born 24 Feb 1705, died 25 Mar 1719

Johan Conrad, born 10 Feb 1709

In the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), all the villages in the Alsenborn area had been destroyed. For a long time few survivors returned, and the families of Hess, Haubenschweiss, Klee, Theobald Krämer and Lorenz Schreiber came as new settlers. In 1654 all the villages had only one court.⁵ The church building in Alsenborn is very old, probably dating from the 14th century, and was damaged repeatedly during the 17th century's wars. Alsenborn was apparently was abandoned 1693-1698, during the War of the Spanish Succession (1688-1714),⁶ the minister living as a refugee in surrounding villages. There were three armies in the field in the area during this period, and some

⁴ 1684 Hübner in Alsenborn, kauft 1699 Haus und Grundstücke von Christian KECK um 60 fl, Wagner in Alsenborn, verkauft 1721 Haus, Hofgering und Äcker (GB Alsenborn) Taufpate bei Maria Katharina Stahlnecker seiner Enkelin. Die Familie wanderte 1722 nach USA aus.

^{5 &}quot;Im 30jährigen Kreig fanden sämtliche Dörfer auf dem Kreis und Umgebung ihren völligen Untergang. Erst lange danach kehrten wenige Überlebende zurück, so die Familien HESS, HAUBENSCHWEISS, KLEE u.a Theobald Krämer und Lorenz Schreiber fanden sich als Neusiedler ein. 1654 gab es für alle Dörfer ein einziges Gericht mit dem Schultheissen Casimir Schäfer aus Baalborn. Das Gerichtsbuch von Alsenborn nennt die Namen der alten und hinzugekommenen Hübner und gibt Auskunft über Kauf, Verkauf und Tausch von Häusern und Grundstücken." http://w1.860.telia.com/~u86011563/Diverse/Geschichte.htm

⁶ The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14) was the first world war of modern times with theatres of war in Spain, Italy, Germany, Holland, and at sea.

Charles II, king of Spain, died in 1700 without an heir. In his will he gave the crown to the French prince Philip of Anjou. Philip's grandfather, Louis XIV of France, then proclaimed him king of Spain, and declared that France and Spain would be united. French power was already feared in Europe and a Grand Alliance of England, Holland, Prussia, and Austria aimed to put the Archduke Charles of Austria on the Spanish throne instead of Philip. War broke out and the French were defeated in several battles. The English general, the Duke of Marlborough (Churchill), and the imperial general, Prince Eugene, commanded the forces of the Grand Alliance.

In 1711, Emperor Joseph I of Austria died. His successor as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire was the Habsburg Archduke Charles of Austria. Immediately it became obvious that the European balance of power would be even more seriously threatened if Charles got Spain as well as Austria than it would be if Philip became king of Spain.

villages were evacuated for months or years. The church collapsed in 1732 and was rebuilt, some parts of the original structure remaining today.⁷ The church also went from Reformed to Catholic in 1698, and back in 1707.

Johan Jacob and Anna Barbara (Schreiber) Stalnecker had two daughters christened in the church at Alsenborn:

Anna Elisabetha, born 18 Jan and christened 17 Feb 1709, sponsors Theobald Hess and wife Elisabetha

Maria Catharina, born 30 Nov and christened 6 Dec 1711, sponsors Casimir Schreiber, grandfather on the mother's side and Catharina Stahlnecker, grandmother on the father's side

There is a gap in the Alsenborn christening records for 1713, with a contemporary note that says there are no records from May 1713 to the beginning of 1714, because the children born during the troubles were baptized elsewhere. This was near the end of the War of the Spanish Succession. Jacob and Barbara may have left during 1713 and never returned. I have found no further records in the area for Johan Jacob, Anna Barbara, or their children, except that on 16 February 1721 Jacob and Barbara are sponsors for Johan Jacob, son of Theobald Fiderich, a swineherd in Alsenborn, and his wife Anna Margaret. The search included Alsenborn, Munchweiler (another church to the north where Johan Adam is listed as a sponsor), and Sippersfeld, where there are records for people from Hemsbach. There are records beginning in 1719 in Munchweiler for Jacob's brothers Peter, Christoph, and Johan Adam (the younger) Stalnecker and their families. In January 1722 Barbara Schreiber Stalnecker's brother George Jacob Schreiber was noted as having gone to the 'new land' in the baptismal record of his illegitimate child in Alsenborn. Alsenborn.

Casimir Schreiber's nephew Andreas is noted in the Alsenborn church and municipal records as having gone to Goshenhoppen specifically in 1721 with his wife, children, and stepson, David (Dewalt, Theobald) Jung (Young). ^{11, 12} The pastor at Alsenborn from 1714 to 1726, who wrote a recommendation for Andreas, was the father of Rev. Johan

The renewed threat of Habsburg world power enabled Louis XIV of France to obtain favourable Peace terms in the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). His grandson, Philip, became after all king of Spain on the condition that Spain and France would never be united. Great Britain received Gibraltar, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, the Hudson Bay territories and the monopoly of the slave trade with Latin America. The Austrian emperor at first refused to sign but a year later recognized the new order in the Peace of Rastatt (1714). See http://www.hyperhistory.com/

⁷ See http://www.enkenbach-alsenborn.de/historie/a_prot.html

⁸ "Vom 11. Mai bis Ende des Jahres 1713 ist eine Vacantz, weil die Kinder unter den Troublen gebohren und anderwerts getauft worden" Kirchenbuch, 1663-1870 Evangelisch-Reformierte Kirche Alsenborn (BA. Kaiserslautern), FHL INTL Film 193744, 193745, 193746

⁹"1721, 16.2 get. Joh. Jacob, S.v. Theobald Fiderich, Schweinhert allhier, und Anna Margaretha; Tp. Joh. Jacob Stalenecker u. Barbara" extraction by Ruby from the Alsenborn church records, "Deutschland, Rheinland Pfalz, Kirchenbuchauszüge und Familienregister 1600-1925," images, *FamilySearch* (https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-267-11694-185960-29?cc=1475962: accessed 2 April 2016), Alsenborn > Church Record Extractions > Taufen (baptism) > Other > image 169 of 1705; Pfälzisch-Rheinische Familienkunde e.V., Ludwigshafen (PRFK, Ludwigshafen).

Transcribers note says "steht zweimal unter einander" - appear twice with each other

¹⁰ Kirchenbuch, 1663-1870 Evangelisch-Reformierte Kirche Alsenborn (BA. Kaiserslautern)

Peter Mueller, who came to Pennsylvania from Alsenborn in 1730 and was the Reformed pastor at Goshenhoppen before becoming the leader of the Ephrata cloister of Brethren. Captain Samuel Stalnaker was associated with the Dunkers who left Ephrata or the New River Valley of southwestern Virginia in 1745.

Andreas Schreiber's sons Ludwig and Andreas and their descendants are well documented in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and West Virginia. Andreas first settled at Goshenhoppen, now in Upper Hanover Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. By 1734, Andrew and Lewis Schreiber and David Jung are documented in Rev. Johan Caspar Stoever's christening records at Conewago, on the Maryland border in York County, Pennsylvania, just north of Monocacy, Frederick County, Maryland. They were the first settlers of this area, a German settlement on both sides of the Pennsylvania-Maryland border, including a 20-mile wide strip which was in dispute at the time, the line having not been surveyed.

In 1728, settlers on the frontier of Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, petitioned for defense against the Indians. A Casimir and Conrad Schreiber are signers of this petition.¹⁴

Alsenborn, Oberant Lautern, in the Electorate Palatine, May 13, 1721

John Mueller, Pastor"

Colonial & Revolutionary Families of Pennsylvania Volume III: New York & Chicago, 1911, pg. 1312 [http://www.shriverfamily.org/lorenz/schreiber.htm]

This Petition of the Frontier Inhabitants of ye County of Philadelphia humbly Sheweth Whereas Your Petitionors are at Present So Alarmed by a Noise of ye Indians That Several Families have Left their Plantations with what Effects they Could Possibly Carry away Women In Child bed being forced to Expose themselves To ye Coldness of ye Air whereby Their Lives are In Danger

We Your Petitioners therefore humbly Pray That Your Hon. would Be Pleased To Take or Use Such Measures with ye Indians That Your Petitioners may be Freed From Those Alarms. for Yet we are Inform'd That Tho. Indians are Consulting Measures Against us. We hope Your Hon. will Comply With our Humble Request To prevent as well our Fears as Danger. And Your Petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall Ever pray &ca. Ap. ye 29-1728."

Jacob Peterson (HM)Fredrich Antes [ouctes] [markes herman] [mathias]Georg Hollenbach [Zollenboy]Wm EvansWilliam WoodleHenrich Antes [ouctes]Conrad ShreiberMiles Ringer [walter Geiger]Jacob Bucholz [buckholes]Joseph Bewlls [Barllo]Hendrich Pielers [Piebus]Jacob Jacob Colter [coller]John EdwardsJonathan WoodleElias Jost [illegible]Jacob [Jacob illegible] [illegible]Thomas AddisJohn KendallJacob [Her Mann]John Mak [Jamas (HM) doing]Jonathan BrookeCassimer [cosimir] SchreiberJohn Reichelsdörfer [renheisdorfer]John Aister [Ayther]George Evance [Evanie]Elliot [Alick] EvansHenrich Bitting Michael Schmidt [schneids] Hulings? [Manus Hillings] Anthony Henkel Adam Schlonecker Schlagler [A Bugler] Johan Georg Johan illegible dieter Richard Jacob John Jones (HM) John Renberg Adam German [Adam jer man] Johannes Schneider [Shnider] Isaac Dubois Joseph Samuel Christoph Wittman [illegible witting] Wendel Fry [illegible gay] Thomas hauer (HM) [honer]Peter [Fetter] Jones John Böhner or Cöhne [Cohna] Jacob __(HM) [Nichlos(HM) comos]Hans ___ Haass [Hans Jacob illegible]Martin Zentler
__Peter Scholl [Piter Pall]Nichlos hicks Joseph GrayMatthias Otto ___ [illegible Hes Sr] [Zenkler]

¹¹ "That the bearer of this, Andreas Schreiber, citizen and inhabitant of this place and his wife Anna Margareta, whom he has with him, confess themselves to be conformable to the Word of God of the Reform Church, and have until now assiduously observed the outward duties of Christianity in attending our public worship, receiving the Holy Sacrament, and otherwise, so far as is known, have been irreproachable in their conduct, I attest. Whereas the said man and wife and their children, after having born adversity, are about to turn their backs upon their country and go (God knows where), into a strange country, I therefore recommend them to a willing reception by the preachers and elders of the said Reform Church, wherever they may show this.

¹² Familie mit Frau und Kindern und Stiefsohn David Jung. 1733 in die Gegend von Goshenhoppen, Pennsylvania ausgewandert. (H.St.Pfalz.)

¹³ David Shriver, son of Andrew, became a Maryland legislator. The Shriver Family Papers are held at the Maryland Historical Society (MS. 750 – 750.1, 2085 – 2085.8).

¹⁴ To the Honorable Patrik Gordon Esq. Governor of the Province of Pensilvania &c:

The petitioners appear to have been living in the area of the present Upper Hanover Township, Montgomery County. While many of the signatures are difficult to read, none of them appear to be Stalnaker signatures. Most of the names on the petition which also appear on the 1734 Philadelphia County tax lists are in Hanover Township (which then included the area now Upper Hanover.) This area is just south of Upper Milford Township, Lehigh County, where George Stahlnecker, progenitor of the Pennsylvania Stahlneckers, is documented beginning in 1743. George Geiger and his brother Valentine are also signers; they later were settlers at Monocacy, where George's son was probably the Johan George Geiger who sponsored Samuel and Susanna Stalnaker's son Samuel in 1755. Matthias, Jacob, and Valentin (Velten) Harmon also appear on the petition, Matthias and Jacob immediately above Casimir and Conrad's signatures. Matthias died young in Pennsylvania in February 1734/5; Jacob, Valentin, and another brother, Adam, were first settlers on the New River near Capt. Samuel Stalnaker by 1745.

The baptismal records of Rev. Stoever, who traveled among churches in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, show a daughter of Johan Conrad Schreiber christened at Hosensack in 1734. The Hosensack Valley is in Upper Hanover Township, Montgomery County, and Hanover Township, Lehigh County, bordering Upper Milford. At the time, the Montgomery County portion was still Philadelphia County, and the Lehigh portion was in Bucks Co. Sponsors were Hans Valentine Grieseheimer and wife. Valentine's second cousin, Hans Caspar Strouble, had sons that settled in South Carolina.

John Fried? (HM) [Ward] Jno Pawling John P____[peter] Gerhardt Henckell_ [Rarny] Dodrer Peter Peterson [illegible] Andrew ____[Paull] Adam OxDani [illegible Jones] Reurig? [Paull] Adam OxDaniel Schöner [illegible] Samuel AdamsChristian Manschmid [Mannheim]Fridrich Reichardt [Michal illegible] [Valter Her Mann]Martin Bitting Michal Schenck David Evance [illegible] Georg GeigerValentin [illegible] GeigerJohn DavidBastean Reiffschneider Christian Aigster John Phillips Johannes Eschbach Ed. Nicholas The petition has been published in the Pennsylvania Archives, Colonial Records, but unfortunately only four of the 88 signers were included. The manuscript is on Roll B2 of the microfilm, Records of the Provincial Council, 1682-1776, in the Pennsylvania State Archives (from record group 21 in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts). Donald H. Kent, project director; Martha L. Simonetti, assistant project director; George Dailey and George R. Beyer, editors. [Harrisburg] Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, [1966]. Another transcription at http://www.family-history.com/Nicholas/Nicholas/9Elizabeth.htm Another transcription was published in The Pennsylvania Archives, Series 6, Volume XIV, Early Petitions, p. 262. The names as transcribed there are in brackets above. Apparently the copy transcribed in the Early Petitions is different from the copy in the Colonial Records, as the names are in a different order. The microfilmed copy appears to be the original petition with signatures. Possibly the Series 6 version was a contemporary copy. It appears to have been more legible to the transcriber for the printed version, but some of the spellings are peculiar.

In the minutes of the Provincial Council, held at the Indian town of Conestoga, May 26, 1728, printed in Colonial Records Volume III, page 312, is an account of the cause of these troubles. Governor Patrick Gordon said to the whites and Indians present:

About eighteen Days ginee I received an express from the Iron works at Mahanatawny, acquainting me that Eleven foreign Indians, painted for War, & armed with Guns, Pistoles and Swords, were come amongst our Inhabitants, plundering them & taking away their Provisions by Force, whereupon some of our People, to the number of seventy men, with Arms, went to speak to them Civilly, but the Indians fired upon them & wounded some of them; Our men likewise fired on the Indians and wounded some of them also, but the Indians fired first. It was very ill done to fire. As soon as I had this Account I took horse and went to Mahanatawny with several Gentlemen of Philadelphia, but the Indians were gone off. I found our people believed there were more coming, and therefore some Hundreds mett together with their Arms to defend themselves in case the Indians should attack them. As I was returning home I heard news that grieved me exceedingly. I was told that two or three furious men amongst us had killed three or four Indian Friends & hurt two Girls. I went back mourning, & sent out Men to take the Murtherers, who were accordingly taken, & they are now in Irons in a Dungeon to be tried by the Laws of the Great King of all the English, as if they had Killed so many of his own Subjects.

¹⁵ CHRISTENING: * JOHANN CUNRADT SCHREIBER (Hosensack)

^{*} Anna Maria, B. Dec. 9, 1733; BAP: Mar. 25, 1734; SPON: John Valentine GRISEMER & WIFE.

One son, Hans Caspar, had land surveyed in Orange Co., Virginia, in 1740-41 and may well be the Strouble for which Strouble's Creek is named, in southwestern Virginia near where Capt. Samuel Stalnaker settled in 1745. Also in 1734, a land warrant was issued in Bucks County for a Conrad Schreiber, ¹⁶ and Conrad Schreiber signed a petition for a road from Great Swamp to a road through North Wales Township. ¹⁷ No survey or patent exists for this warrant. Casimir does not appear on this petition, and neither Conrad nor Casimir appears on the 1734 tax lists.

In 1742, another land warrant was issued to Conrad Schreiber in Philadelphia County, "beyond Oley". ¹⁸ Also in 1742, a Samuel Stolenacre is listed in the settlement of the estate of Matthias Harmon in Hanover Township, then Philadelphia, now Montgomery Co. ¹⁹ This is the earliest reference yet found to a Stalnaker in this country, and the only one in Pennsylvania other than for George and his descendants. Several of the other people listed in this settlement are also on the 1728 petition which includes Casimir and

PRESENT:

The Honourable PATRICK GORDON, Esqr., Lieut. Governor. James Logan, Isaac Norris, C

Samuel Preston. Esquires.A Petition of divers Inhabitants of the Counties of Philadelphia and Bucks was read, setting forth the great "Want of a Publick Road from the great Swamp, in the last mentioned County, to the Road leading through North Wales, to Edward Farmer's Mill; which Road they conceive may be commodiously laid out from George Scabey's Mill along by Thomas Fletcher's Mill, to the Plantation of David Jenkins, from thence to the County Line at the East branch of Parkeoman Creek, as near John Mayor's Mill as a convenient]Jord can be found, and from thence into the said North Wales Road, leading to Edward Farmer's Mill, and praying that proper Persons may be appointed to lay out the same accordingly.

The Prayer of which Petition being granted, IT IS ORDERED, that John Bartholomew, John Roberts, Blacksmith, John Edwards, James Robinson, George Packman and John Lester, of the Counties of Philadelphia and Bucks, Yeomen, or any four of them, Yiew and lay out by Course and Distance the said Publick Road, so as the same may best Answer the Publick Service, and with as little Damage as may be to any private Persons, and make return thereof, together with a Draught of the same, to this Board.

#63 Dec. 20, 1742. Petition of Adam Harman, one of the executors of the will of Matthias Harman Late of Hanover Township, Yeoman, deceased. Petition to sell 150 acres of land in Hanover Township to settle estate. Account of Jacob and Adam Harmon, Exrs. of Mathias Harman, deceased. Cr., _ Bond to John Sigfrech, Derick Johnson, Jn. Wert, Christian Whitman, Christopher Funk, Phillip Knight, Thos. Potts, Martin Biting, Henry Sprogel, Jno. Null, Conrad Dudra, Paul Jusebeigle, Geo. Beck, Geo. Oyster, Dan'l. Shiner, Robt. May, Tuffel Moyer, Nich. Scull, Bernard Art. {a} Martin Bitting, Ralph Linder, Mathias Ley, Saml. Stolenacre, Michl. Belsner, Jacob Traveler, Philip Knight, Adam Shaver (or Sharer), Margt. Bitting, M. Kolloback, Geo., Beck, Michl. Belfinger. With this account is a bill Henry Cunsman to Adam and Jacob Herman.

To Cash to Hannah 1_ 0_ 5_

¹⁶ "[Warrantees of Land in the County of Bucks. 1733-1896]", The Pennsylvania Archives, Series 3, Volume XXIV, Pennsylvania Division of Archives and Manuscripts, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. "Shreiver, Conrade 100 June 29 1734."
¹⁷ Petition dated 20 Feb 1733/34, acted on by council 10 May 1734. There are 133 signatures. At a Council held at Philadelphia, May 10th. 1734.

¹⁸ Edited by William Henry Engle, PROVINCIAL PAPERS: WARRANTIES OF LAND IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA 1730-1898, Wm. Stanley Ray, State Printer of Pennsylvania 1898. "Shriever, Conrad, 50 March 4, 1742."

Orphans Court of Philadelphia Co., Historical Society of Pennsylvania, transcription 1910 of an earlier transcription.
[p. 115] LDS Film 0384827

[&]quot; Henry

[&]quot; Hannah Coons

[&]quot; " Cunsman

Conrad Schreiber: Christian [Christoff] Whitman, Martin Biting, Geo. Oyster, Dan'l. Shiner.

It seems likely that Jacob and Barbara and their children came to Pennsylvania with the rest of her family, and that they are the parents of Capt. Samuel, Adam, George, and possibly Jacob. Many of the families in the Upper Hanover area had members who went to Conewago, western Maryland, and northern Virginia in the early 1730s, many of whom were later associated with the West Virginia Stalnakers. Obtaining proof will most likely depend on finding birth records for the children in Germany after the family disappears from the Alsenborn records. From the later records of Capt. Samuel, George, and Jacob, they were most likely born in the period (1715 –1730) between the desertion of Alsenborn and the availability of church and ship's records in Pennsylvania. If Jacob died in Germany, on the journey, or shortly after arriving in Pennsylvania, leaving children who were brought up in the households of his wife's family, or if Barbara remarried, it would explain the absence of land or other records.