

**A History of Our McCulloh Ancestors;
Archibald McCullough (1718-1814) to
William Edgar McCulloh (1866-1938)**

Working Draft - 1

June 23, 2013

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Introduction

I must have been about 10 or 11 when Grandpa first gave me a small black & white photo of Cardoness Castle. He was of the opinion this was the ancestral home of our Scottish ancestors and indeed it may be so. I think this was the beginning of my fascination with our family's history. It didn't take much prodding to get Grandpa to talk about genealogy. I heard many fragments of family history over the years and it was often a bit confusing trying to understand how the pieces fit together.

It seems that much of the family history Grandpa knew beyond his own experiences came from the book *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* by Elizabeth Brubaker Wolff; generally known as "The White Book." Of course Grandpa didn't have the internet and as I searched through his genealogy files after his death it became apparent that he had used up his limited sources and ended up mostly churning through his meager data, rediscovering information and facts he had already learned before. Now, with the advent of e-mail, online genealogy and government databases, it seems there is little chance of exhausting one's sources. Having found myself becoming rapidly overwhelmed with confusing details I realized the only way I could really make sense of it all was to gather up and organize the stories and fragments of information and write a chronological narrative to once and for all get the facts of our family history straight, at least in my own mind. I assumed this could be done in a reasonably short amount of time, say a couple of weeks. Silly me. After literally hundreds of hours and thousands of miles I have pieced together only the beginnings of our history.

What you now hold in your hands should not be confused with an authoritative statement of the historical facts of our branch of McCullohs in America. The goal of this present effort has been to simply gather what we *think* we know of our family history, not to exhaustively prove or disprove the facts. And indeed, for many of our ancestors the facts are few and far between. In speaking of the general history of the Scotch-Irish in the Cumberland Valley (The location of our early ancestors in America) it has been said "It is the history of a people who have left few records, who were too busy clearing and planting a wilderness, whose life was too strenuous, and whose tenure and mere existence too precarious, to think much of posterity."^[1]

This work is truly a working draft, not a finished product. I have chosen to make this draft available for two reasons. The first being the hope that as others read this work they will offer additional facts and information to add to, clarify or disprove the information I have found to date. The second being that I have invested a considerable amount of time and effort to gather and organize this information and, given that none of us knows the time of our own death, I would hate to think that this effort would all be lost with my passing. With the work that lies ahead this has the makings of a "lifetime project" and I'm afraid some of my prospective readers will achieve their eternal reward

^[1] T. J Brereton. *Scenes and Incidents of the Cumberland Valley. Papers Read Before The Society March, 1901 to February 1903, Volume III.* Chambersburg, PA: The Kittochtinny Historical Society, 42.

long before this project reaches any sort of final form.

As mentioned above, an important source of information for our family history is *The White Book*. *The White Book* genealogy states that Amos McCulloh (William Edgar McCulloh's father) is the son of Mary Ann McCulloh, the daughter of John McCulloh, the son of George McCulloh, the son of the Scotch-Irish immigrant Archibald McCullough. Although we have Bible records that take us back as far as John, to the best of my knowledge *The White Book* is our only source for linking our branch of the McCulloh family back though George to his father Archibald, the brother of James, John and Sarah McCullough. We have no primary documents such as birth certificates, baptismal records, Bible records, etc., to link us from John to George and his father Archibald. Although *The White Book* contains a wealth of genealogical information it must be noted the book was relatively recently published (in about 1953) and does not include footnotes, endnotes, citations or bibliographical data to support any of the information presented. Consequently we have no way to verify or validate the source of the information. And at least one recent researcher has expressed doubts as to whether we descend from this Archibald, though she failed to give any specific reasons to support her doubts. The 24 contributors to *The White Book* clearly obtained their information from various sources of some kind. Who knows what old Bibles, letters or other documents they may have consulted to develop *The White Book's* genealogy. Not knowing the contributors' sources does not make the data false. Consequently, until such time as clear evidence is presented to the contrary I have chosen to assume the genealogy in *The White Book* to be true. And I have based my initial research on this assumption since to follow the unlikely idea that our ancestors are someone other than George and Archibald would lead to a complete unraveling of our McCulloh line in *The White Book's* genealogy.

You will note that I have chosen to use footnotes as opposed to endnotes in this paper. This can be somewhat annoying to the reader but I have done so to aid in the ongoing research which would be further complicated by the need to constantly flip to the end of the paper to find the source of the fact presented. I welcome any additional information whether it be that of an actual document or simply oral family tradition passed down through your branch of the family. And I certainly welcome any and all questions, comments and criticisms of the information I have presented.

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McCulloh Ancestors of William Edgar McCulloh

Generation 1

Archibald McCullough was born in 1718. He is assumed to have been born in County Derry, Ireland and emigrated to America from there in about 1740. He died on March 18, 1814 in Lexington, Kentucky. The location of his grave is not known.

Archibald's first wife was **Susanna Matthew**. They were married on April 11, 1740 in the First Presbyterian church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. They had one child.

Archibald's second wife was **Elizabeth Lawson**. She was born in 1733. They were married on May 13, 1751 in the Old Swede's Church in Wilmington, Delaware and they had 3 children. Elizabeth died on March 6, 1814 in Lexington, Kentucky.

Generation 2

George McCulloh is the son of Archibald McCullough and Susanna Matthew. He was born in 1745 in New Castle County, Delaware (Later Chester County, Pennsylvania). He lived most of his life in Franklin County, Pennsylvania. He died in 1829 in Greene County, Pennsylvania. The location of his grave is not known.

George's first wife was **Mary Crosby**. George and Mary were married in 1770 in New Castle County, Delaware (Later Chester County, Pennsylvania) and had two children.

George's second wife was **Mary Eynon**, the daughter of William Eynon and Hannah. George and Mary were married on March 20, 1778 in New Castle County, Delaware (Later Chester County, Pennsylvania) and had at least one but most likely two children.

George's third wife was **Sarah Philips**, the daughter of Evan Philips and Catherine. George and Sarah were married in Ayr Township, Pennsylvania and had seven children.

Generation 3

John McCulloh is the son of George McCulloh and Mary Crosby. He was born on June 28, 1771 in New Castle County, Delaware (Later Chester County, Pennsylvania). On December 31, 1795 he married Elizabeth McCune and they had eight children. He died on January 4, 1851 in the Little Cove (Warren Township) in Franklin County, Pennsylvania and is buried there in the Stone Church graveyard.

Elizabeth McCune is the daughter of William McCune Jr. and Elizabeth Loughead. She was born on December 27, 1772. She died on June 4, 1847 and is buried in the Stone Church graveyard.

Generation 4

Mary Ann McCulloh Lewis is the daughter of John McCulloh and Elizabeth McCune. She was born on June 5, 1802, presumably in the Little Cove in Franklin County, Pennsylvania. She had two children whose father(s) is(are) not known to us. On September 28, 1848 she married Samuel Lewis who was an Iron Master in the Little Cove. They did not have children and Mary Ann died on April 30, 1857. The location of her grave is not known but she is believed to have been buried in the Furnace Farm cemetery in the Little Cove. Samuel Lewis died in 1862 and is buried in the St. Peters German Reformed Church cemetery in Ft Loudon, Pennsylvania.

Generation 5

Amos Crosby McCulloh is the son of Mary Ann McCulloh Lewis. He was born on November 12, 1831 in the Little Cove in Franklin County, Pennsylvania. On August 31, 1851 Amos married Hannah Humbert and they had 11 children. Amos died on December 26, 1876 in Fort Loudon, Pennsylvania and is buried there in the Trinity United Church of Christ graveyard.

Hannah Crosby Humbert was born on May 11, 1834 in Franklin County, Pennsylvania. After Amos's death she married Samuel Wise and they lived in Morrison, Illinois where she died on June 27, 1907. She is buried in the Mennonite "Red Brick" Church Cemetery in Morrison, Illinois.

Generation 6

William Edgar McCulloh is the son of Amos Crosby McCulloh and Hannah Crosby Humbert. He was born on October 18, 1866 in Fort Loudon (Peters Township) in Franklin County, Pennsylvania. He spent a significant portion of his life in Whiteside County, Illinois. He died on May 26, 1938 in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania and is buried in the Cross Roads (Brethren in Christ) Cemetery in Florin (Mt. Joy), Pennsylvania.

William's first wife was **Mary Ellen Sweigert**. She was born on January 2, 1860 in Scotland, Pennsylvania. They were married on October 4, 1888 in Morrison, Illinois. They had four children. Mary died on December 20, 1892 in Whiteside County, Illinois and is buried in the Mennonite "Red Brick" Church Cemetery in Morrison, Illinois.

William's second wife was **Maria Gsell Longanecker**. She is the daughter of Samuel Longanecker and Mariah Gsell. She was born on November 20, 1877. They were married on December 4, 1894 in Morrison, Illinois and had 13 children. Maria died on August 18, 1960 and was buried on Aug 21, 1960 in the Cross Roads (Brethren in Christ) Cemetery in Florin, Pennsylvania.

Archibald McCullough 1718 - 1814

Archibald McCullough^[2] was born in Ireland in 1718;^[3] probably in County Derry. His father may have been born about 1695,^[4] also probably in County Derry Ireland^[5] but his first name is unknown. Archibald's mother's name is also unknown, however it is possible that her name may have been Jean Matthews.^[6]

Emigration from Northern Ireland (Ulster) to the American colonies began in any meaningful way in about 1680.^[7] Emigration numbers rose and fell with local conditions of dramatically rising rents, periods of famine and to a lesser degree religious persecution of the Presbyterians, Roman Catholics and other nonconformist (dissenters) by the Church of England.^[8] A short but dramatic famine occurred in 1740-41 after one of the three coldest winters of the century led to the failure of the potato crop.^[9] This famine has been called "The Year of the Slaughter" in which it is estimated

^[2] See Appendix A of this article for an explanation of the various spellings of the name McCulloh.

^[3] The source of this and several other dates, names and locations are from the extensive McCullough genealogy compiled by Bill Lazenby whose wife is a descendent of Archibald's brother James. (See http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~lazenbylinks/WC01/WC01_416.HTM.) Bill Lazenby refers to the "Case/Gunning McCullough Descendants Report," 1997, Archives of McCullough-L at <http://resources.rootsweb.com/~clusters/surnames/m/c/MCCULLOUGH/> as his source for much of the McCullough information. Janene Case was the compiler of this genealogy and much of her data was apparently copied from Mr. Lyle Gunning. The Janene Case genealogy that Bill Lazenby uses as his source provides a wealth of previously unknown information. Unfortunately the 1997 archives that contained this genealogy is no longer accessible and the source of this information could not be reviewed or evaluated by Bill or by me. In the summer of 2007 I made contact by e-mail with Lyle Gunning. He is originally from Ohio but at the time of my contact was retired and living in Florida. He confirmed that he originally compiled this data over 20 years ago, long before internet access was available. He stated that he gathered this data from conversations with his late wife's family members (his wife was a McCulloh descendent) as well as genealogies and miscellaneous data in various family members' possession. When I pressed for more details Mr. Gunning was unable to provide or identify any published or unpublished documentation for his data. He indicated that he had not rigorously researched his facts but believed them to be accurate at the time. I have subsequently come to the conclusion that he was being modest. In 2009 while searching through the unpublished research notes and papers of Mrs. Edna Hazel McCullough Lowrey, which have been collected and organized into the massive 12-volume *McCullough Family Collection* now housed in the genealogy division of the Allen County Public Library in Ft. Wayne, Indiana, I discovered correspondence from Mr. Gunning making reference to some 50 genealogy request letters he had sent to relatives seeking information on our McCulloh history. So, although his data is not now verifiable, it was gathered, through considerable effort on his part, from living descendants of our McCulloh ancestors and may indeed be factual data that is otherwise lost to time.

^[4] *ibid*

^[5] *ibid*

^[6] *ibid*

^[7] Dickson, R. J. *Ulster Emigration To Colonial America 1718-1775*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1976, 20. (First published 1966 by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.)

^[8] *ibid*

^[9] *ibid*

that 250,000 to 400,000 or more inhabitants of Ireland died.^[10]^[11] Emigration from Ireland reached 12,000 annually at this time.^[12]

In the early 1700's if all went well it took between 8 to 10 weeks to sail from Northern Ireland to Philadelphia.^[13] Although the voyages were far from comfortable most didn't end in outright catastrophe; those that did were surely well known among prospective emigrants. For example, in 1729, 175 people died on two ships during the crossing. In 1741 the *Seaflower* met with disaster during its voyage from Belfast to Philadelphia when 46 of the 106 on board died; the surviving 60 reduced to such a state of starvation that they consumed six of the bodies of those that died.^[14] As if the inherent dangers of an ocean crossing weren't enough to discourage an emigrant from undertaking the journey, in 1740 England was at war with Spain and a transatlantic voyage was not only more expensive than it had previously been, it was now even more dangerous due to the presence of enemy fleets and privateers.^[15] But with such cold, starvation and death all around it is no surprise to find our ancestors willing to leave home and family behind and risk the long, dangerous voyage to far off America.

The White Book^[16] indicates that Archibald emigrated with his siblings James, John, Sara, an unknown sister (Anne^[17]) and an unknown brother in about 1740. However, we now know, through

^[10] Gray, Peter. *The Irish Famine*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1995, 6.

^[11] Dunaway, Wayland. *The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania*. Chapel Hill, N.C: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944. Genealogical Publishing Company reprint, 1997, 32.

^[12] Rouse, Parke, Jr. *The Great Wagon Road*. Richmond, VA: The Dietz Press, 2004, 30.

^[13] Ibid. 205

^[14] Ibid. 208

^[15] Dickson, R. J. *Ulster Emigration To Colonial America 1718-1775*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1976, 52. (First published 1966 by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.)

^[16] This book by Elizabeth Brubaker Wolff is believed to have been privately published in 1953 and is actually titled *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa*. Due to its lengthy title the book is commonly referred to as *The White Book* (due to its white cover) which is how we will refer to it in the body of this paper.

^[17] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa*. no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book does not include the name Anne; referring to her as "sister, name unknown." Bill Lazenby's genealogy (footnote 3 above) expands Sara's name to "Sarah Anne" but gives no clear source for this addition. The biographical entry for James McCullough in *History of Dauphin County Pennsylvania - Vol III*, The Lewis Publishing Company, New York and Chicago, 1907 (page 716) gives the name of James's sister as Anne and indicates that she lived in his household for some time. Whether Sara is "Sara Anne" or whether the sisters names were Sara and Anne can not be clearly determined. Given the nature of the various sources I have assumed them to be the two sisters.

the publication of excerpted editions of the diary^[18] of James McCullough, that James did not leave Belfast Ireland until 1745; arriving in New Castle County, Delaware in 1745 or 1746^[19]. It would be a simple matter to assume the date of immigration for all the siblings should be moved to 1745 or 1746. However, the marriage of an Archibald McKollough and Susanna Matthew is recorded in 1740 in the records of the First Presbyterian church in Philadelphia, PA.^{[20][21]} Is this our Archibald? If so Susanna Matthew's name is "new" to our history; not being recorded in the "*White Book*"^[22] genealogy by Wolff. Bill Lazenby lists Archibald and Susanna as our ancestors in his extensive McCulloh genealogy (see footnote 3 above.) Assuming this is "our" Archibald, the siblings did not immigrate at the same time; Archibald arriving at least five years before his younger brother James. It also places his disembarkation port more likely at Philadelphia than New Castle, Delaware.^[23]

If Archibald did immigrate before his brother James there is probably no way to discover the reason or the actual circumstances surrounding the timing of the siblings decisions to leave Ireland. Most emigrants from Northern Ireland to America during the early 1700's could only make the journey by becoming indentured servants.^[24] It was reported in 1728 that only one in ten emigrants could pay their own way to America.^[25] An indenture typically lasted four years.^[26] It is possible that Archibald and his other siblings came as indentured servants and their brother James joined them after the completion of their indentures. It does not appear that James came as an indentured

^[18] Charles J. Stoner of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania has long been the owner of James McCullough's diary. He presented a paper to The Kitchinney Historical Society on February 23, 1984 which included numerous diary excerpts as well as his own analysis and commentary. Almost twenty years later a significantly larger portion of the diary was published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, 156.

^[19] We have no actual evidence to support his arrival date or port of entry. New Castle is assumed to be his arrival port since they lived for a time in this area.

^[20] *Pennsylvania Archives. Second Series. Vol. IX. p. 48: Marriage Record of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. 1702-1745*: Philadelphia, PA. 1880. - 4, 11, 1740 (April 11, 1740), McKollough, Archibald, and Susanna Matthew.

^[21] Lyle Gunning also gives the date as 1740 but incorrectly identifies the location as Old Swede's Church in New Castle County, Delaware. An electronic key word assisted search of a PDF copy of the 772 page *The Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Del., from 1697 to 1773* did not match any marriage records to support this as the location.

^[22] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[23] Once again, we have no actual evidence to support his arrival date or port of entry. I have assumed Philadelphia to be his arrival port due to this marriage location. New Castle, Delaware is approximately 39 miles from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

^[24] Dickson, R. J. *Ulster Emigration To Colonial America 1718-1775*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1976, 96. (First published 1966 by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.)

^[25] *ibid*

^[26] *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History*, James Leyburn, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1962, 250.

servant since he paid £6 on April 27, 1745 for passage for himself and his wife to America.^[27] (£10 was an entire years wages for an Irish laborer and ships passage for indentures was not usually paid in advance but rather in America upon arrival of the immigrant or shortly thereafter.^[28]) Given the terrible cold winter and famine conditions in 1740 it seems quite possible that to avoid starvation, the siblings, except for James, fled to America. In 1740 James would have only been about 15 years old.^[29] It may have been agreed that he should stay behind to care for their parents if they were still living or other siblings or relatives. Or he may have already met (and been smitten by) his future wife Martha. Whatever the case, James and Martha did not leave Ireland until 1745 or 1746 as yet more famine and starvation loomed.^[30]

When James and Martha arrived in New Castle, Delaware^[31] were the siblings there to meet them? It seems unlikely that they would not have communicated and arranged to meet. The *White Book* states that Archibald's son George was born in New Castle County Delaware in about 1745.^[32] Assuming the *White Book* is correct this would place at least Archibald in the New Castle area at the time of James' arrival. Further evidence of Archibald's presence in the New Castle area is found in the records of the Old Swede's Church in Wilmington Delaware^[33] which records the marriage of Archibald McCollough and Elizabeth Lawson on May 13, 1751. (Archibald's first wife Susannah appears to have died sometime between 1745 and 1751)

And so, we can reasonably assume that by 1746 the McCulloh siblings; Archibald and his son George; James and his wife Martha, John, Sara and Anne and the other unknown brother were in New Castle County, Delaware. Did John, Sarah and Anne come with Archibald in 1740 or later with James in 1745? So far I know of no documents to shed light on this question. Was there really an additional brother as suggested in *The White Book*^[34] or possibly other siblings or relatives? It is certainly possible and in fact James's diary makes mention several times of business transactions

^[27] Editor's comments in the preface to the excerpted portions of the James McCulloh's diary published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, 157.

^[28] Dickson, R. J. *Ulster Emigration To Colonial America 1718-1775*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1976, 87. (First published 1966 by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.)

^[29] Ibid. [2]

^[30] Dickson, R. J. *Ulster Emigration To Colonial America 1718-1775*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1976, 53. (First published 1966 by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.)

^[31] Editor's comments in the preface to the excerpted portions of the James McCulloh's diary published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, 156.

^[32] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[33] Burr and Horace. *The Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Del., from 1697 to 1773*. Wilmington, DE: Historical Society of Delaware, 1896, 688.

^[34] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

involving woven cloth with a Jane and a Jean McCollogh in 1751.^[35] (James's daughter was also named Jean but she would have been too young to be a party to a business transaction in 1751.) While *The White Books'* unnamed brother is never mentioned in the diary, several possible relationships for Jean and Jane McCollogh could include:

1. Jane and Jean were unknown sisters of Archibald, James and John.
2. Jane or Jean was an unknown sister of Archibald, James and John and the other is the wife of John or the unnamed brother.
3. Jane is an unknown sister of Archibald, James and John and Jean is their mother. (As noted in the 1st paragraph of this paper, Jean is believed to be the name of the McCulloh siblings mother.)
4. Jean is their mother and Jane is the wife of John. (We have no evidence that John was ever married.)

A German colony had been established in Pennsylvania in 1683 and by 1717 the Germanic people had flooded Pennsylvania.^[36] Great waves of Scotch-Irish immigrants followed close behind, especially after 1725.^[37] The population of Pennsylvania had reached about 100,000 by 1740 and doubled to 200,000 in the next twenty years.^[38]

“They arrived as families in the hope of finding as soon as possible a piece of land deep enough in the wilderness that they could appropriate it without any dealings with the provincial land office. In so doing they invaded regions not yet purchased from the Indians, and quickly raised trouble with the natives. After the 1730s few of the Scotch-Irish settled in unoccupied parts of the “Dutch country”; the newcomers now moved into the frontier, sitting down, as Logan wrote, “Anywhere with or without leave, and on any spott that they think will turn out grain.” Their Pennsylvania habitat lay between the Maryland line and the west branch of the Susquehanna. They moved into the Conococheague Valley, founded Chambersburg, and moved west into Bedford. ...”^[39]

How long the McCulloh siblings remained in the New Castle area before pushing into the Conococheague Valley is not certain. Clearly it was sometime between 1749 and 1754 with conflicting evidence pointing to at least three possible dates.

^[35] Diary excerpts published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, 164 & 165.

^[36] Rouse, Parke Jr. *The Great Wagon Road*. Richmond, VA: The Dietz Press, 2004, 21.

^[37] *Ibid.* 29.

^[38] Klein, Philip Shriver, Ari Hoogenboom, Ari Arthur Hoogenboom. *A History of Pennsylvania*. PA: Penn State Press, 1973, 45.

^[39] *ibid.*

In support of the earliest date the Oxford University Press editor of James' diary states that after they arrived in New Castle they "...remained in Delaware for the next four or five years..."^[40] The editor goes on to state that in about 1750 James purchased, at a sheriff's sale, a 200 acre tract of land in the Cumberland valley near the west branch of the Conococheague Creek near the present day town of Upton, Pennsylvania in Antrim Township.^{[41][42]} James' diary includes an undated entry written sometime after August 1749 and before January 1750 which refers to "an account of charges laid out during our travel to ye Back Country."^[43] Was this in reference to an actual move to the Conococheague settlement or was this just a preliminary trip made to scout for land?^[44] His diary also includes an entry dated May 25, 1750 stating: "I had my house covered..."^[45] Could this have been a record of an improvement to a home they had recently constructed? According to Bruce Bomberger, a preservation specialist at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, "...many 18th and 19th century log houses east of the Mississippi were covered with some type of cladding, either horizontal or vertical wood siding, stucco, or sometimes a combination. The exterior of the log walls was covered for both aesthetic and practical reasons either as soon as the building was completed or sometime later... Sometimes log houses were sided or stuccoed later in an attempt to express a newly-achieved financial or social status."^[46] So, while this could have referred to an improvement to a house they had been living in, I believe it strongly suggest a record of the completion of work on a new or recently acquired log home. Additionally, James's diary records the clearing of land in January 1751 and again in 1754. And finally, numerous business transactions with the inhabitants of Antrim and Peters Townships are also recorded as early as January 1750.

In support of a slightly later date of 1752, John McCullough III, great-grandson of James McCullough, states in his genealogy published in 1912 that in about 1752 James moved to

^[40] Editor's comments in the preface to the excerpted portions of the James McCulloh's diary published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, 157.

^[41] *ibid*

^[42] In 1750 Antrim Township was in the newly established county of Cumberland. In 1784 a portion of this county which included Antrim and Peters Townships was split off to form Franklin County. See pages 162 & 186 of *Pennsylvania Line, 4th Edition*, Southwest Pennsylvania Genealogical Services, Laughlintown, PA, 1990.

^[43] Undated diary excerpt published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, 161. It should also be noted that the editor of this abridged edition of the diary has rearranged the diary to the best of his ability in chronological order.

^[44] McCullough, John, I. *Life With The Aborigines - A Narrative*, included in *Genealogy of the McCullough Family and Other Sketches* by John McCullough, III. Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Printing Co., 1912, 31. Notice that James uses the term "back country" in 1750. His son John uses a very similar term "back parts" many decades later when describing the location of the land purchased in the Conococheague Settlement.

^[45] Diary excerpt published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, 162.

^[46] *The Preservation and Repair of Historic Log Buildings* by Bruce D. Bomberger. Posted under the Historic Preservation tab at www.oldhousejournal.com

Cumberland County, Pennsylvania.^[47]

And finally, in support of a later third date, the *White Book* indicates James moved in about 1754.^[48] James' son John McCullough I, supports this later date in his book *Life With The Aborigines*,^[49] where he states that when he was five years old (which would have been in 1753 or 1754) his father moved from New Castle County Delaware to the "...back parts..." of the Cumberland County to the Conococheague settlement. He further states that his father bought land at a sheriff's sale about a year before Braddock's war which was fought in the summer of 1755.^[50] Further evidence for the later date is found in an entry in James' diary where he records "Ye Belfast Ship did land - on August 25, 1753." Though not impossible, it seems unlikely that he would he have known of the exact date of the arrival of this ship if he was living over 120 miles from the coast. Additionally, if Archibald and Elizabeth moved to the Conococheague with James then the later date seems more likely since they were newly married in 1751 in Wilmington.^[51]

To add to the confusion, the late Charles Stoner,^[52] long time owner of James's diary, wrote in a paper presented to the Kittochtinny Historical Society in 1984 that James moved from the New Castle area to Marsh Creek located just west of Gettysburg near South Mountain no later than 1750.^[53] (South Mountain is in Franklin County but it is at least 25 miles in a straight line from Marsh Creek near Gettysburg *across South Mountain* west to the Upton area.) Mr. Stoner then states that James moved to the Upton area in about 1754 which aligns with *The White Book's* account and James's son John's account. Unfortunately Mr. Stoner does not explain his source for this intermediate move to the Marsh Creek area. Placing James in this area from 1750 to 1754 is

^[47] McCullough, John, III. *Genealogy of the McCullough Family and Other Sketches*. Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Printing Co., 1912, 15.

^[48] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[49] McCullough, John, I. *Life With The Aborigines - A Narrative*, included in *Genealogy of the McCullough Family and Other Sketches* by John McCullough, III. Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Printing Co., 1912, 31.

^[50] *Braddock's War* was a campaign in the larger *French and Indian War* which spanned between 1754 and 1760. The *French and Indian War* was fought as part of the world wide *Seven Years War* fought between the French and the British.

^[51] Burr and Horace. *The Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Del., from 1697 to 1773*. Wilmington, DE: Historical Society of Delaware, 1896, 688.

^[52] Charles J. Stoner of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania was long the owner of James McCullough's diary. He presented a paper to The Kittochtinny Historical Society on February 23, 1984 which included numerous diary excerpts as well as his own analysis and commentary. Almost twenty years later a significantly larger portion of the diary was published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003. Several of the editor's comments in the preface to the Oxford University Press presentation of the diary are in conflict with comments made by Charles Stoner.

^[53] Stoner, Charles. *The Journal of James McCullough: An Historic Document. Papers Read Before The Society September, 1981 to May 1984, Volume XVIII*. Chambersburg, PA: The Kittochtinny Historical Society, 257.

difficult to reconcile with the numerous business transactions he records with the inhabitants of Antrim and Peters Townships (on the *other* side of South Mountain) recorded as early as January 1750. And, given that Marsh Creek is about 100 miles from New Castle, Delaware we again would have to question how James had knowledge of the arrival of the Belfast Ship mentioned above on August 25, 1753 if he was living so far away. While each of these facts seem to raise questions concerning this intermediate move we certainly can't dismiss it's possibility on these questions alone. It is quite possible that the business transactions with the inhabitants of Antrim and Peters Townships were conducted during trips by James to the Conococheague settlement and/or by the Antrim and Peters Township residents during travels that may have brought them passed his Marsh Creek home. And he could have learned of the Belfast ship's arrival from travelers passing by his home though we don't know why it would be important enough to merit a diary entry if he was living so far away.

James records in his diary that his daughter Jean entered John Robinson's school on July 17, 1753.^[54] If we could locate this school it would provide conclusive evidence to support either the earlier or the later date and would settle the question of the intermediate stop in the Marsh Creek area. Unfortunately I have been unable to locate any record of a John Robinson School in either New Castle, South Mountain/Gettysburg area or in the vicinity of the Conococheague Settlement and it is doubtful that such a record can be located for a school of such an early date, especially if it was on Pennsylvania's western frontier.

The *White Book* states that only James and his immediate family moved from the New Castle area and that Archibald did not move until 1780.^[55] However, as we will see shortly, Archibald had already left Pennsylvania by this date. In his diary James records numerous entries for the sale of cloth to Sara, Jean, Jane, John and Archibald McCullough beginning in 1749 and continuing through 1752. In 1750 Antrim Township was on the frontier and although there were roads they were probably not well developed or maintained.^[56] It would not have been a short trip from the New Castle area through the mountains to Antrim Township. It is approximately 120 miles "as the crow flies" (165 miles via modern roads) from New Castle Delaware to Upton Pennsylvania and it seems unlikely that the siblings were making trips several times a year to buy cloth. If James did move in 1749 or 1750, then it seems clear from the diary entries that his siblings moved with him. However, only his brothers John and Archibald are mentioned in the diary after 1752. In a March 25, 1752 diary entry James records debts incurred by Archibald and his wife to Tomas MCGomeres for an agricultural tool and other supplies. (Several of the McCullough's are recorded as incurring debts to Thomas MCGomeres and the editor of James' diary states Tomas MCGomeres (i.e., Thomas

^[54] Diary excerpt published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, 168.

^[55] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[56] Hawbaker, Gary T. *Fort Loudon On The Frontier*, Hershey, PA: privately published by Hawbaker, 1976, 29, 30, 32 & 38.

Montgomery) employed several of the McCulloughs as laborers.^[57])

I was able to find Archibald in Antrim Township tax records in 1753, 1759, 1760 and 1762^[58]. James records the sale of cloth to Archibald and his wife continuing from 1752 through 1758 and records the death of John on May 26, 1756.^[59] The “disappearance” of the sisters from the diary after 1752 may be further evidence for the move taking place in 1753 or later and resulting in the splitting up of the siblings. Whatever the case, it seems certain that at least our ancestor Archibald and his brother John can be assumed to have moved with James or followed him very shortly thereafter to the wild and deadly frontier of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania.

On July 26th 1756 , two months to the day from the death of his brother John, James' sons John (eight) and James, Jr. (five) were taken captive by the Delaware Indians.^[60] They were carried about 150 miles to the west to the vicinity of Fort Duquesne near Pittsburgh.^[61] Shortly after their arrival at the Indian village, James Jr. was given to a Frenchman, was taken into Canada and was never heard from again.^[62] John became the adopted “replacement” brother of one of the Indians and lived with the Indians for the next 8 years.^[63] His Indian family eventually moved as far away as Mohoning (near Youngstown, Ohio.)^[64] John became very much like an Indian, adopting their language and customs, and had to be returned by force to his family when, in 1764 the Indians

^[57] Editor's comments in the preface to the excerpted portions of the James McCulloh's diary published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, 158.

^[58] Transcribed tax lists in the Author's files obtained in 2011 from the Cumberland County Historical Society and Hamilton Library Association holdings.

^[59] Diary excerpt published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003. See page 172. James states that John was killed. He does not give his last name. Since James normally provides the last name it is believed that this entry is for a close relative which can be assumed to be his brother John. James does not say how or where John was killed but given the style of the entry in comparison with many of the following entries it seems almost certain he was killed by Indians.

^[60] Diary excerpt published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, 172.

^[61] McCullough, John, I. *Life With The Aborigines - A Narrative*, included in *Genealogy of the McCullough Family and Other Sketches* by John McCullough, III. Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Printing Co., 1912, 37.

^[62] McCullough, John, I. *Life With The Aborigines - A Narrative*, included in *Genealogy of the McCullough Family and Other Sketches* by John McCullough, III. Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Printing Co., 1912, 38. See also Hale Sipe, *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Press, 1929, 287.

^[63] McCullough, John, I. *Life With The Aborigines - A Narrative*, included in *Genealogy of the McCullough Family and Other Sketches* by John McCullough, III. Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Printing Co., 1912, 65.

^[64] *Ibid.* 57.

agreed to return their white captives in exchange for peace.^{[65][66][67]} John lived to be 74 years old, married twice and had six children. For the last 24 years of his life he was a ruling elder in the Presbyterian church.^[68]

In 1758 Archibald and Elizabeth were clearly living in the vicinity of the Conococheague settlement; more specifically in the Upton/Greencastle area near James. Archibald McColough appears on the 1762 Antrim Township tax list and a diary entry by James records the gift or sale of linen and cloth to Archibald in May and again in June.^[69] This entry is sandwiched between a long series of entries recording the killings and capture of many of their fellow settlers in the immediate vicinity of the Conococheague settlement. And, like his brother James and their neighbors, Archibald and Elizabeth did not escape the horrors of the Indian attacks.

On the morning of July 26, 1764, 10-year old Archibald, Jr., was in a one room schoolhouse less than three miles from Upton with ten of his fellow pupils and the school master, Enoch Brown. They experienced a terrifying and deadly encounter that day when three young Indians of the Delaware tribe viciously attacked them. They murdered and scalped all of the pupils and the schoolmaster with the single exception of Archibald, Jr. who was found scalped and bleeding, and no doubt in shock, as he tried to wash the blood from his wounds at a small spring near the school.^[70]

Jessamine Wooten, in her history *Archibald McCullough's Clan*^[71] speculates that "perhaps this tragedy prompted Archibald and Elizabeth to leave this area." This seems entirely likely and by

^[65] Editor's comments in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, 178.

^[66] McCullough, John, I. *Life With The Aborigines - A Narrative*, included in *Genealogy of the McCullough Family and Other Sketches* by John McCullough, III. Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Printing Co., 1912, 65.

^[67] Sipe, Hale. *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Press, 1929, 287.

^[68] McCullough, John, III. *Genealogy of the McCullough Family and Other Sketches*. Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Printing Co., 1912, 17.

^[69] Diary excerpt published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, 177.

^[70] Sipe, Hale. *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Press, 1929, 473.

^[71] Wooten, Jessamine Young. *Archibald McCullough's Clan*. Frankfort, KY: Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1980, 1.

1765 they are known to have been fourteen miles south in Hagerstown, Maryland.^[72] On December 21, 1769, while still in Maryland, another son, Lawson was born.^[73] This southern movement followed The Great Wagon Road and was the beginning of a 30 year migration; or rather the second half of a journey which had begun almost 30 years earlier on the other side of the world in Londonderry, Ireland. In 1786 Archibald is glimpsed again; now much further along The Great Wagon Road in Washington County, Virginia (360 miles south of Upton, PA) where he witnessed a will on December 1, 1786,^[74] where his daughter Cynthia was married to John Young on October 21, 1790^[75] and where he purchased 220 acres of land on the north side of the Middle Fork of the Holston River on August 19, 1794.^[76] As seems to have been the case throughout his life, his stay on this new land was very short. A few years earlier his daughter Cynthia and her new husband had followed Daniel Boon's Wilderness Trail through the Cumberland Gap and into Kentucky.

The time was 1790... John Young was traveling that popular pioneer path, the Wilderness Road, from Watauga district in what is now east Tennessee to the Bluegrass region of Kentucky. His wife Cynthia was with him, and doubtless other relatives and friends, as this road was not often traveled alone. ... They must have been made of sterner stuff. Surely it would take a lot of old-fashioned spunk, call it guts if you like, to pick up stakes, follow this horse path(it was not made into a wagon road until 1796) with all your household effects on pack horses. It was a meager list indeed: clothing, bedding, cooking utensils, rifles and ammunition, an axe and a saw, a packet of seed corn, maybe a spool bed or a spinning wheel – and the Bible. Travel “accommodations” were poor to say the least. Mountain trails were rough and steep, forests and undergrowth so thick the

^[72] Based on a June 4, 1990 memo by Mrs. Edna Hazel McCullough Lowery who refers to a historical marker on US 11 near Hagerstown Maryland. It is not known what the contents of the marker included only that it contained details of the massacre and was erected due to the McCullough family living in the area. In May, 2009 I drove down Route 11 from Greencastle, PA to a few miles south of Hagerstown and was unable to find the marker. The marker is not listed in the 1997 book *Roadside Markers in Maryland* and I was not able to find it on any of the on-line historical marker databases. Mrs. Lowery, from Falls Church, Virginia, was an incredibly dedicated and active McCullough genealogist from at least the 1970's through the 1990's. Her unpublished research notes and papers have been collected and organized into the massive 12-volume *McCullough Family Collection* now housed in the genealogy division of the Allen County Public Library in Ft. Wayne, Indiana.

^[73] Wooten, Jessamine Young. *Archibald McCullough's Clan*. Frankfort, KY: Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1980, 6. Wooten indicates the source of this information to be Lawson's tombstone. In August 2008 I visited the Lexington Cemetery and found Lawson's tombstone. His name at the top of the stone is barely legible and the rest of the information is no longer possible to read.

^[74] Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia*. p. 121. Cited by Jessamine Young Wooten in *Archibald McCullough's Clan*, Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, KY, 1980, 6.

^[75] *John Young, Kentucky Pioneer* as cited by Jessamine Young Wooten in *Archibald McCullough's Clan*, Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, KY, 1980, 6.

^[76] Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia*. p. 121. Cited by Jessamine Young Wooten in *Archibald McCullough's Clan*, Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, KY, 1980, 6.

pioneer had to cut his way if he deviated from the path, and when they came to a stream, there were several alternatives— they could wade, swim, or build a raft. They slept on the ground. Picture if you will, the discomfort; then add, say, a drenching rain, or actual danger from wild beasts, hostile Indians, or even white renegades.

But as these pioneers broke forth from the hill country of southeastern Kentucky into the Bluegrass region of soft rolling hills and lush vegetation, the Bluegrass must have been an inspiring sight in its pristine beauty and compensated in some measure for the rigors of the trip.^[77]

Whether Cynthia was able to communicate back to her parents what she had found in the “soft rolling hills and lush vegetation” of the bluegrass State we do not know but it seems quite likely. For even as the Wilderness Trail was being improved to accommodate wagons^[78] it beckoned to 80 year old Archibald. Less than one year after the purchase of his Washington County land Archibald and Elizabeth followed Cynthia through the Cumberland Gap and into the new State of Kentucky.

Archibald seems to have spent his life pushing into the American frontier but at his and Elizabeth’s advanced ages it appears they could no longer make another new beginning in the wilderness. Cynthia and John had settled in Woodford County by 1793^[79] and Archibald and Elizabeth followed them to the area and settled in the newly formed town of Versailles just west of Lexington.

Lexington was a busy stop on the migration route to the west^[80] but for Archibald and Elizabeth it was the end of a life long journey and their final earthly resting place. In March of 1814 an epidemic of spotted fever^[81] struck Lexington, taking the lives of eight to twelve people a day^[82]. And on March 6, 1814 at the age of 81, Elizabeth passed from this life. Her body was borne to her grave

^[77] Wooton, Jessamine Young. *John Young, Kentucky Pioneer and His Kin*. Privately published by Wooton, 1972, 1.

^[78] *Ibid.* 4.

^[79] *Ibid.* 35.

^[80] Staples, Charles R. *The History of Pioneer Lexington 1779 - 1806*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996, 129.

^[81] In researching this article I found that the term “spotted fever” has been used to describe a variety of diseases over the years. In our present time the tick borne disease called “Rocky Mountain Spotted Fever” is our most familiar use of the term “spotted fever.” A Lexington newspaper article published in March 1814 suggests the disease was *Typhus Gravior*. However, several medical journals indicate the disease was actually *Epidemic Cerebrospinal Meningitis*. In his 1913 book *Epidemic Cerebrospinal Meningitis*, Abraham Sophian, M.D. states the illness “...was spoken of by those who saw it under the names of ‘sinking typhus’ or ‘spotted fever.’ The first recorded occurrence of the disease was in the United States from 1806 to 1816 as well as throughout Europe.

^[82] Ranck, George W. *A History of Lexington Kentucky; Its Early Annals and Recent Progress*, Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1872, 269.

on a bier by six or eight persons who occasionally changed sides, so as not to weary their arms. The minister and her family followed in double file; then their friends. All were on foot. Upon arriving at the grave her body was lowered into the ground, the minister made a short and appropriate address to the gathered mourners; a hymn was sung, a prayer made, and the benediction pronounced. The bereaved family and friends returned to their respective homes; Archibald to mourn for his beloved wife of 63 years.^[83] We don't know for certain that Archibald was able to accompany Elizabeth on this final leg of her earthly migration. For, whether from illness or grief, this same scene was repeated just 12 days latter for Archibald who also completed his earthly journey and joined Elizabeth in their final resting place.^[84]

And where was their final earthly resting place? On page 2a of *The McCulloughs in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania* contained in volume 4 of *The McCullough Family Collection*^[85] it is stated that Archibald and Elizabeth were buried in Lexington with markers. Their grandson Samuel D. McCullough in his *Reminiscences of Lexington* makes the following statement: "...my mother Lydia [who died in Lexington in 1810] borne to her grave in the "old Baptist graveyard;" in that way her sister Hannah; and in that way my Paternal Gr. Father and Gr. Mother." His paternal grandparents were Archibald and Elizabeth and this statement can be read to suggest Archibald and Elizabeth were buried in the old Baptist graveyard as well. According to Burton Milward^[86] this "was then the principal burying ground for the town and the closest one to the McCullough residence." He goes on to say: "It would be my guess they all are buried in the same cemetery. ... The site on West Main Street is, now occupied by the First Baptist Church. While it is likely that, when the cemetery ceased being used, some of the remains were moved, many – perhaps most – were not. During construction, gravestones were found and covered over... A possibility is that Samuel D. had them moved to the Presbyterian Cemetery which was opened in 1843, but it too, fell into disuse and eventually the property was subdivided and the remains cleared out. When that occurred, Samuel D. was dead, and if his grandparents' bones were moved, they might be in a common grave in the

^[83] The description of the burial of Elizabeth and Archibald is taken from the description given by their grandson Samuel D. McCullough who provides this general description of how burials were carried out at that time and who specifically states that his mother, his Aunt and his Paternal Grandfather and Paternal Grandmother were buried in this manner. *Volume 27, The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society, Reminiscences of Lexington*. The Kentucky State Historical Society, 1927, 419.

^[84] *Kentucky Gazette*. p. 3 col. 2: [1814-03-28] Mrs. Elizabeth McCullough, 81, died on 6th. Archibald McCullough, age 96, died on 18th. "This couple were natives of Ireland and lived in wedlock for 63 years." *Kentucky Reporter*. p. 2 col. 1: [1814-03-26] Mrs. Elizabeth McCullough died on 6th at age of 81 and 18th Archibald McCullough died at age of 96. "This couple was married 63 years."

^[85] Mrs. Edna Hazel McCullough Lowery from Falls Church, Virginia, was an incredibly dedicated and active McCullough genealogist from at least the 1970's through the 1990's. Her unpublished research notes and papers have been collected and organized into the massive 12-volume *McCullough Family Collection* now housed in the genealogy division of the Allen County Public Library in Ft. Wayne, Indiana.

^[86] Burton Milward, is the author of *A History of the Lexington Cemetery*, published in 1989. However these quotes are found in Jessamine Young Wooton's notes dated January 1986 but attributed to Milward in 1980. The Wooton notes are now in Mrs. Edna Hazel McCullough Lowery's unpublished research notes and papers which have been collected and organized into the massive 12-volume *McCullough Family Collection* now housed in the genealogy division of the Allen County Public Library in Ft. Wayne, Indiana.

Lexington Cemetery.” In August, 2008, Elisha and I traveled to Lexington to search for Archibald’s grave. Sadly, as noted by Milward, the old Baptist cemetery is gone. The other pioneer graveyards identified in the book *The History of Pioneer Lexington 1779 - 1806* were all gone as well. We searched the cemetery records in the Kentucky Room of the Lexington Library but also to no avail. A cemetery called the Maxwell Cemetery was an active burying ground in 1814^[87] but by 1884 this “old city graveyard” was sold by the city for use by spoke and wheel factories and a tobacco factory.^[88] It seems inconceivable but workmen proceeded to dig up the graves and dispose of the remains in ditches and the foundation of a street. There were repeated protests by citizens and area newspapers but even 100 years later bone fragments were still occasionally surfacing in the area.^[89] Archibald and Elizabeth were Presbyterians and at the time of their deaths it does not appear that a Presbyterian cemetery had been formed yet; a large Presbyterian cemetery not being established in Lexington until 1835.^[90] This cemetery fell into disrepair and was sold for a housing development in the late 1880’s.^[91] Many of those buried in this cemetery were moved to the fabulously beautiful Lexington Cemetery which was opened in 1849, 35 years after the deaths of Archibald and Elizabeth. We found several of Archibald’s children who had been re-interred in the Lexington Cemetery but Archibald and Elizabeth were not among them. Having had no luck in Lexington, in April 2009 my father Eugene McCulloh and I traveled to Versailles, Kentucky and searched the old city cemetery there as well as the cemetery records in the Woodford County Historical Society collection but found no McCulloh’s. Subsequent to this trip I discovered that Archibald and Elizabeth’s daughter Cynthia, her husband and many of their children as well as others are buried in a small family cemetery on their old family homestead near the present day community of Little Texas located roughly half-way between Versailles and Lexington; a distance of approximately 8 miles in a straight line from the center of Lexington. In her 1970 book *John Young, Kentucky Pioneer and His Kin*, Jessamine Young Wooten describes the location and condition of the cemetery. She states the earliest known grave was believed to be that of John and Cynthia’s son Samuel who died in 1825. His grave as well as several others was marked only with a field stone. Another son, Lawson Young died in 1811(three years *before* Archibald and Elizabeth) and Mrs. Wooten indicates that he is buried in this graveyard as well though he may have been moved there from another location.^[92] We know Cynthia and John built their home on this property in 1802^[93] so it is quite likely the cemetery was established by the time of Archibald and Elizabeth’s deaths. As of 2009 I do not know if the cemetery still exists but it is doubtful that an early pioneer cemetery surrounded by a limestone fence in a very rural location would have been destroyed since

^[87] Milward, Burton. *A History of the Lexington Cemetery*. Lexington, KY: The Lexington Cemetery Company, 1989, 13.

^[88] Ibid. 15.

^[89] Ibid.

^[90] Ibid. 14.

^[91] Ibid. 17.

^[92] Wooten, Jessamine Young. *John Young, Kentucky Pioneer and His Kin*. Privately published by Wooten, 1972, 37.

^[93] Ibid, 36.

our last recorded “sighting” in 1970. Are Archibald and Elizabeth buried here? We will probably never really know. Had their graves been there and legibly marked it seems Mrs. Wooton would have listed them in the short sampling of graves she included in her book. (Even in this list of eight graves three are noted as no longer being legible.) Although it is possible that Archibald and Elizabeth lie buried in this or a yet to be located graveyard it is likely their graves are now no longer marked or, sadly, were destroyed and their remains disposed of as the growing city of Lexington built and paved over the old pioneer cemeteries.

And what became of the children? We will review our ancestor George’s life in the following section. Lawson apparently came to Kentucky with his sister Cynthia or shortly thereafter and established a tailoring business in Lexington as early as 1796. The 1806 Lexington City Directory lists Lawson as a Tailor on High Street.^[94] Lawson seems to have been a prominent businessman in Lexington. He owned a home at 215 W. High St. in Lexington^[95] and was married three times.^[96] He married his first wife, Lydia Varnum, on January 11, 1790 in Augusta County, Virginia.^[97] She came with him to Lexington where she died at the age of 38 on August 7, 1810.^[98] His second wife Elizabeth (Eleanor or Elinor in various records), whom he married on October 17, 1811^[99] was struck and killed by lightning during a Sunday church service in the Presbyterian meeting house on July 20, 1817^[100]; we do not know if Lawson or any of the children were in the church with her though we know Lawson was a ruling elder in the Second Presbyterian church in Lexington.^[101] Lawson became a staunch abolitionist and in reaction to Kentucky’s accommodation of slavery he eventually closed his tailor’s shop in Lexington, freed his slaves^[102] and moved north in 1831, with

^[94] Staples, Charles R. *The History of Pioneer Lexington 1779 - 1806*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996, 258.

^[95] Wooton, Jessamine Young. *Archibald McCullough’s Clan*. Frankfort, KY: Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1980, 19. The home is now the oldest home in Lexington and was moved in modern times to 317 S. Mill Street to prevent it’s demolition.

^[96] Wooton, Jessamine Young. *Archibald McCullough’s Clan*. Frankfort, KY: Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1980, 19 & 20.

^[97] Ibid. 18.

^[98] Ibid.

^[99] Ibid.

^[100] Ibid. See also the Lexington Reporter for July 23, 1817 and the Draper Papers, 16CC301.

^[101] Wooton, Jessamine Young. *Archibald McCullough’s Clan*. Frankfort, KY: Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1980, 20.

^[102] Burton Milward, is the author of *A History of the Lexington Cemetery*, published in 1989. However this information is found in Jessamine Young Wooton’s files dated January 1986 but attributed to Milward in an undated entry where he gives his source as Lexington journalist and historian Miss Bettye Lee Mastin. The Wooton notes are now in Mrs. Edna Hazel McCullough Lowery’s unpublished research notes and papers which have been collected and organized into the massive 12-volume *McCullough Family Collection* now housed in the genealogy division of the Allen County Public Library in Ft. Wayne, Indiana.

his third wife Mary, to Columbus, Ohio. Lawson continued as a tailor in Columbus^[103] where he died on June 22, 1845 at the age of 75. Mary eventually moved to Illinois and his son Samuel D. McCullough had Lawson's body brought back to Kentucky where he was re-buried in the Lexington Cemetery on October 23, 1852.^[104]

Cynthia had 11 children^[105] and lived to the age of 82; dying, May 29, 1846,^[106] nine years after her husband. She was a member of the Presbyterian church and a remarkable woman. Her son Archibald Young wrote the following of her:

“Since my recollections of her, I can truthfully say I never knew a more godly, uniform Christian in all my life. Her Bible was truly the man of her counsel. She had memorized large portions of both Old and New Testaments. Religion was the all absorbing theme of her life. She rarely ever conversed an hour with neighbor or friend without bringing up the subject. She was assiduous in teaching her children the Bible and that should be a great encouragement to others to follow her example in this respect. She found time without prejudice to her domestic duties, to read a great deal, particularly religious books. Possessing an excellent memory she had treasured up a large amount of knowledge which she was always ready, without ostentation, to impart to others. ...She met death with great composure and entire sanity of mind, almost till her last breath. In consequence of this she was enabled to bear testimony for her Savior to the last.”^[107]

Her daughter Jessamine related the following:

“Jacob Price, the minister at Pisgah when she died, said when he wanted to preach an especially good sermon would go and spend the day with Mother Young, that he had gone into the pulpit many times with a sermon from her bedside and her talks were so richly seasoned with Bible quotations he had no need of referring to the Book, as her memory was perfect and her mind such a storehouse

^[103] Wooten, Jessamine Young. *Archibald McCullough's Clan*. Frankfort, KY: Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1980, 21.

^[104] Wooten, Jessamine Young. *Archibald McCullough's Clan*. Frankfort, KY: Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1980, 21.

^[105] *Ibid.* 16 & 17.

^[106] *Ibid.* 16.

^[107] Wooten, Jessamine Young. *Archibald McCullough's Clan*. Frankfort, KY: Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1980, 38.

of Bible knowledge he knew he was getting it verbatim.”^[108]

Of Archibald Jr. we know little more than what is described above. It seems rather amazing that someone who survived being scalped in an Indian massacre could simply vanish into the mist of history, but he has; or at least almost. 121 years after the event, a memorial monument was erected near the site of the massacre. Lengthy speeches were given extolling the valor of Enoch Brown and the tragedy that befell him and his students. Archibald McCullough is described as being scalped and found alive at the spring. In his dedication speech the Reverend Cyrus Cort stated: “We know little of the particular families represented in this massacre. The McCulloughs still remain among our most worthy citizens.” Yet none of the speeches mention anything of Archibald’s life after this event. Had he lived as an adult in the area surely some mention would have been made as to his life and legacy; many other such accounts were given for those students who had providentially been absent that day. And so it seems certain that Archibald, Jr. left the area with his parents less than two years after the attack while still in his youth. In the various published accounts of the massacre one source says that he lived to an advanced age “but his mind was clouded.”^[109] Another says this was not the case.^[110] And at least one source indicates Archibald “lived to be grown and married.”^[111]

In trying to find and follow Archibald and Archie, Jr. in the distant meager records of Pennsylvania and Kentucky I have often had the sense that they have moved together, indistinguishable from each other, much as two airplanes appear as one blip on radar when they fly close together. For example, as noted above, the 1806 Lexington City directory lists Archibald McCullough as a blacksmith on High Street in the same block as Lawson McCullough’s tailor shop. I and other researchers have assumed this to be a record for Archibald senior; but is it? Archibald senior was 88 years old in 1806; Archie would have been 48. Which of the two are more likely to have been in business as a blacksmith at this point, or were they both working as blacksmiths here? To make matters even more confusing, in about 1791 Lawson had a son whom he named Archibald. This means that, assuming Archie remained near his parents, for a time there were at least three Archibald McCullough’s in Lexington Kentucky.

And Archie probably did stay close to his parents. He clearly would have been physically disfigured from the brutal attack and scalping and he very likely may have had neurological damage that affected his ability to think and/or communicate clearly. The *National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Stroke* states that “Disabilities resulting from a TBI [Traumatic Brain Injury] ... include problems with cognition (thinking, memory, and reasoning), sensory processing (sight, hearing,

^[108] Ibid. 39.

^[109] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 54. This book is often referred to as “The White Book.”

^[110] Wooten, Jessamine Young. *Archibald McCullough’s Clan.* Frankfort, KY: Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1980, 10.

^[111] Ibid. 7.

touch, taste, and smell), communication (expression and understanding), and behavior or mental health (depression, anxiety, personality changes, aggression, acting out, and social inappropriateness).^[112] Any of these likely symptoms could be the source of the account that “his mind was clouded.”

But even with this kind of physical disfigurement and neurological disability it is possible that Archie did eventually marry as suggested in one of the massacre accounts. And in fact there are several fascinating records that exist which I believe provide evidence of his presence in Lexington, his marriage and his mental disability. In *Fayette County, Kentucky Order Book 2* the following was entered on August 13, 1810: “On motion of Lawson McCullough, ordered that summons issue to Archibald McCullough to appear here at the next court to show cause if any he can why his children, Randall and Elizabeth McCullough, shall not be taken from him and bound out agreeable to law.”^[113] Certainly this Archibald must be our Archie, Jr. Lawson would not be taking his 92-year old father to court and Archibald senior did not have any children named Randall or Elizabeth. He wouldn’t be taking his own son Archibald, III to court since he was only nine or ten years old at the time. This leaves only Archie, Jr. since we find no other Archibald McCulloughs in Lexington in or around 1810. This then appears to be one of the only clear records we have of the existence of Archie since the massacre itself some 46 years earlier. And what does this record tell us? Quite a lot actually if we read only just a little between the lines. First it points to the probability that this Archie is indeed Lawson’s brother. For Lawson to take such a legal action would indicate a pretty clear sense of responsibility on his part for the welfare of these children; an action most understandable if Lawson was their Uncle as opposed to an unrelated stranger^[114]. Second, it confirms that Archie did come with his parents all the way to Lexington. Third, it confirms the account that he married and lived to an advanced age. Fourth, it reveals that he married late. Having ones children bound out was basically having them apprenticed. In Fayette Co. In 1810 white males were bound out till age 21; white females till age 16 or 18. Although children as young as two years old were ordered by the courts too be bound out, the average age that children were bound out in Fayette County at that time was around 16 or 17^[115]. The children, Randall and Elizabeth, can reasonably be assumed to have been somewhere between the ages of 5 and 20 when this summons was issued. Archie was 56 in 1810 which means he didn’t have children, and presumably wasn’t married, until he was between 35 and 50 years old. This delay in finding a wife seems likely given his probable shocking appearance and his “clouded” mind. Fifth, it may actually provide evidence that Archie’s mind was indeed impaired. While researching this issue I reviewed

^[112] www.ninds.nih.gov/disorders/tbi/tbi.htm

^[113] Photocopy in my files. Also abstracted almost verbatim in *Fayette County Kentucky Records*, Vol IV, Cook Publications, Evansville, IN, 1985, 328.

^[114] I reviewed the Fayette Co. court records for the years 1809 through 1811. Though the records contain many instances of children being ordered by the court to be bound out, the records did not contain a single other instance of a person taking someone else to court to force them to have their children taken away from them and bound out. *Fayette County Kentucky Records Vol IV*, Cook Publications, Evansville, IN, 1985.

^[115] Based on my study of the ages of children ordered bound out by the Fayette Co. courts in the years 1803 and 1804. *Fayette County Kentucky Records Vol IV*, Cook Publications, Evansville, IN, 1985.

the Fayette Co. court records for the years 1809 through 1811. Assuming Fayette County Kentucky followed the national trends of the time then less than 10% of the children in the County were bound out^[116]. Although many parents voluntarily apprenticed their children so they could learn a trade and better their circumstances, the courts only forced children, who still had a father, to be bound out when the parents were poor or otherwise unable to properly provide for the children's upkeep and education. For Lawson to take this very unusual legal action against his own brother indicates something was amiss in Archie's household and Lawson apparently felt Archie was unable to properly care for the children on his own. And finally, it may even be a clue as to why we haven't found Archie in any subsequent records or historical accounts in Lexington. Is it possible that this legal action by Lawson caused Archie and his wife, if she was still living, to simply take their family and flee the Lexington area? An inquiry to the Kentucky Historical Society in April 2009 returned a copy of the summons quoted above but the staff was unable to locate any other reference to this matter.^[117] So apparently the court hearing was never held and there is no record showing the children were ever bound out, voluntarily or by court order.

So, if we accept the evidence that Archie junior did move to Lexington with Archibald and Elizabeth how do we determine which Archibald any given record refers to? For now, I am unable to provide an answer when it comes to most of the records. In 2008 I searched the 1790, 1800, 1810 and 1820 census records as well as the databases on Ancestry.com for Archibald McCulloh using many variations on the spelling of his name. In 2009 I visited the Woodford County Historical Society and between these two main searches I found multiple records for Archibald McCullough. As you will see, for all but a few of these records we are unable to determine whether the record is for Archibald Sr. or Archie Jr.:

Legal and Census Records for Archibald and/or Archie McCulloh

1. June 24, 1795; Woodford County tax list: Archibald McCullach is listed with four horses, two cattle, no slaves and two males over 21 in the household.^[118] One male would be Archibald himself; the 2nd male would not have been Lawson who was in business by this time in Lexington. This leaves the logical possibility that 40-year old Archie Jr. was still in the household.
2. 1797 property list for Versailles (sic): Archibald McCullough is listed with 1 part of a lott (sic);

^[116] Herndon & Murray, ed. *Children Bound To Labor*. Cornell University Press, 2009, 194.

^[117] In a letter dated May 5, 2009 Research Librarian Diane Meister indicated to me that she had checked Fayette County, Kentucky Order Books 2, 3 & 4 "but found no other references to the matter of Archibald McCullough and his children." My review of the 1809 through 1811 Fayette County court records as abstracted in *Fayette County Kentucky Records Vol IV*, Cook Publications, Evansville, IN, 1985 also failed to find any further reference to this issue.

^[118] #2 *Book of Taxable Property-1795*. Microfilm record in the Woodford County Historical Society collection; Versailles, KY.

- value of £30.^[119]
3. April 3, 1798; Woodford County, Kentucky deed: Archibald McCulloch, Sr. appears on a deed recording the sale of his Virginia land. (The deed records him as a resident of Woodford Co. KY.)^[120]
 4. June 15, 1799; Woodford County tax list: Archibald McCullough is listed with no livestock and no other males or slaves in his household.^[121]
 5. July 12, 1800; Woodford County tax list: Archibald McCulloh is listed with a mare, a “black” under 16 years of age and town lots valued at 250.^[122]
 6. August 1800: Woodford County tax record (referred to as the “second census of Kentucky”) Archibald McCulloh’s name appears among several other McCulloughs. Interestingly, his is the only name spelled with the ‘oh’ ending. (This may be the same record as item 5 above. Once this tax list is obtained it can be compared to the July 12, 1800 data.)
 7. August 12, 1800: Madison County, KY tax record: An Archibald McCollough appears in Madison County, Kentucky which is approximately 43 miles south of Woodford County. This record is puzzling. Is this a totally unrelated Archibald McCullough or did one of our Archibalds buy land or move south? We know that Archibald Sr. probably did not move south since when he and Elizabeth died in 1814 they were referred to as long time residents of Lexington and it seems unlikely that at 82 he would be purchasing land so far away.
 8. August 3, 1801; Woodford County tax list: Archibald McCulloh is listed with a “black” under 16 years of age and town lots valued at \$100.^[123]
 9. April 7th 1802; Woodford County legal document: Archibald McCulloh of Woodford County is recorded as having sold several lots in Versailles to Lawson McCulloh on May 22, 1800 or 1801 (the last digit of the date is either a 0 or a 1).^[124]
 10. April 8th 1802 Woodford County legal document: This record is fascinating! The record is

^[119] *Book of Taxable Property for the Year 1797; Woodford County*. Microfilm record in the Woodford County Historical Society collection; Versailles, KY.

^[120] *Washington Co., Virginia, Deed Book 2*, p.121. Cited by Jessamine Young Wooten in *Archibald McCullough’s Clan*, Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, KY, 1980, 6.

^[121] *#2 Book of Taxable Property-1799*. Microfilm record in the Woodford County Historical Society collection; Versailles, KY.

^[122] *Woodford County Kentucky 1800 Tax List*. Microfilm #73-0416; Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, KY.

^[123] 1801 tax list microfilm in the Woodford County Historical Society collection; Versailles, KY.

^[124] Microfilm record in the Woodford County Historical Society collection; Versailles, KY.

dated the day after our previous record and records the sale of several lots from Archibald McCulloh and *his wife Hannah* to a Roadham Routh(?), all of Versailles in Woodford County.^[125] Who is Hannah? Until I obtained a copy of the record in question I assumed the name Hannah could simply have been an error by a court clerk. However, the record contains the phrases “Archibald McCulloh and Hannah his wife” or “Archibald and Hannah” 11 times and the document is signed Archibald McCulloh and Hannah McCulloh. And as will be seen in additional records, additional documents exist with Archibald and Hannah’s names so the name Hannah is clearly not an error. So who is this Hannah? We know this is not Lawson’s son’s wife since Archibald, III was only 10 or 11 at this time. And we know that Archibald Senior’s wife’s name was Elizabeth, not Hannah. I have researched common nicknames for Elizabeth and Hannah is not one of them. It is possible that Elizabeth’s middle name was Hannah but it seems unlikely she would have used her middle name on legal documents in light of the fact that upon her death both newspaper obituaries referred to her as Elizabeth. Of course it is also possible that her name was Hannah Elizabeth but that she went by Elizabeth. If that was the case then her first name on legal documents and her middle name in the newspaper accounts could make sense. Another possibility if we rule out Archibald Sr. and 11 year old Archibald, III is that this record is for Archie, Jr. and his wife. It should be noted that Jessamine Young Wooton in her paper *Archibald McCullough’s Clan* believes this record must be for Archibald Sr. despite the discrepancy with the name Hannah as his wife. She inexplicably fails to consider the possibility that this record is for Archie Jr. This is in keeping with her presentation throughout her paper where, for unexplained reasons, she does not consider the possibility that Archie, Jr. was alive or in Lexington at this time.

11. August 5, 1802 Woodford County tax list: Archibald McCulloh is listed without a “black” or any town lots.^[126]
12. May 19, 1804; Woodford County tax list: Archibald McCullough is listed with a white male in the household between 16 and 21 years of age as well as a “black” under the age of 16. Again no town lots are listed.^[127]
13. October 13, 1806; Fayette County legal document: Archibald McCullough and his wife Hannah of Fayette County are recorded as having sold several lots in Versailles to James McCullough of Woodford County.^[128] This record is interesting since it shows that Archibald and Hannah are now residents of Fayette County which is the county Lexington is located in. As noted above, Lawson had apparently come to Kentucky with Cynthia or shortly thereafter and had established a tailoring business in Lexington. By 1806 Archibald had

^[125] *Ibid.*

^[126] 1802 tax list microfilm in the Woodford County Historical Society collection; Versailles, KY.

^[127] 1804 tax list microfilm in the Woodford County Historical Society collection; Versailles, KY.

^[128] Microfilm record in the Woodford County Historical Society collection; Versailles, KY. I have not tried to determine if this James McCullough is related to our line.

- joined him in Lexington where the 1806 Lexington City Directory lists Archibald as being in business on High street as a blacksmith on the same street as Lawson's tailor shop.^[129] This record may turn out to be strong evidence that the blacksmith in Lexington was Archie, Jr. not Archibald Sr.
14. January Court Term 1807; (County not stated) legal document: Archibald McCullough is listed as having executed a deed of conveyance from Archibald McCullough to James McCullough which was proven in open court. I have assumed this is in reference to the sale noted in item 11 above however the curious heading adjacent to the date states "Sale of Tennessee Montgomery County."^[130] I have not determined the meaning of this entry.
 15. April 9, 1807; Woodford County legal document: Hannah McCullough relinquished her dowers rights on the land sold to Roadham Routh as described in item 8 above.^[131]
 16. April 9, 1807; Woodford County legal document: The deed is recorded for the land sold to Roadham Routh as described in item 8 above.^[132]
 17. April 22, 1809; Woodford County legal document: Hannah McCullough relinquished her dowers rights on the land sold to James McCullough as described in item 11 above.^[133]
 18. April 22, 1809; Woodford County legal document: The deed is recorded for the land sold to James McCullough as described in item 11 above.^[134]
 19. 1810; Fayette County (Lexington), Kentucky Federal Census: Archibald is shown as having only himself and his wife in the family; each being over 45 years of age, and, curiously, a boy under 10 years of age. Since Archibald Jr. was born in 1754 this record could apply to either Archibald Sr. or Archie Jr.^[135]

^[129] Staples, Charles R. *The History of Pioneer Lexington 1779 - 1806*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996, 258.

^[130] Microfilm record in the Woodford County Historical Society collection; Versailles, KY.

^[131] Ibid.

^[132] Ibid.

^[133] Ibid.

^[134] Ibid.

^[135] *1810 Federal Census, Fayette County, KY*

George McCulloh 1745 - 1829

Archibald McCullough and his first wife Susanna Matthew produced only one known child; Our ancestor George McCulloh. Archibald's second marriage was to a woman named Elizabeth Lawson (1733-1814) in 1751. They produced 3 children; Archibald Jr. (b. ca. 1754), Cynthia (7/17/1763-5/29/1846) and Lawson (12/21/1769-10/23/1852).^[136]

Although the biographical entry for George McCullough in *American Revolutionary Soldiers of Franklin County Pennsylvania*,^[137] states that Archibald's son George "...came to America, presumably from Derry Ireland..." there is no source given to support this statement.^[138] The *White Book* states that George was born in New Castle County, Delaware in about 1745.^[139] We do not know when, but sometime before 1751, George's mother Susannah died; perhaps at the time of George's birth in 1745.

The *White Book* states that Archibald's family remained in the New Castle County, Delaware area,^[140] after immigrating, however, assuming as described earlier George's father Archibald and his second wife Elizabeth moved to the Conococheague settlement no later than 1754, George would have been no more than ten years old and would almost certainly have gone with them. We know nothing of George's childhood in the Conococheague settlement. Perhaps the school near Greencastle was in existence by this time and perhaps George attended class in the one room school house. Perhaps he helped his father in blacksmithing or farming. George's half-brother, Archibald, Jr. was not born until around 1754. This is the famous Archie McCullough who survived being scalped at school on July 26, 1764 in what has come to be known as the Enoch Brown Massacre.^[141]

Up until about 1765 we must assume George lived with his father, stepmother and half-brother. We have no family traditions or histories to the contrary and he does not appear in any official records of the time which is typical for most people and especially a child in those days; unless of course

^[136] Jessamine Young Wooten, *Archibald McCullough's Clan*, Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, KY 1980. See pages 7, 16 and 18.

^[137] *American Revolutionary Soldiers of Franklin County Pennsylvania*, page 171 - Chambersburg 1969.

^[138] The only source note given for this entry is *The Pennsylvania Archives, 6th Series, Volume 3, page 36* which simply contains George's name on a militia list but no other biographical data. The *American Revolutionary Soldiers of Franklin County Pennsylvania*, was published in 1969 well after the *White Book* which gives George's birth location as New Castle County Delaware.

^[139] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[140] Ibid

^[141] See *Appendix C* for an account of the Enoch Brown Massacre. See *Appendix D* for a detailed analysis of the relationship of George McCulloh to Archie McCulloh.

you were captured or scalped by the Indians. By 1765 Archibald and his wife Elizabeth and their 12-year old son Archie Jr. had left the Conococheague settlement in Pennsylvania and moved south into Maryland. By this time George was 20 years old and did not go with them. It is quite possible that he left the Conococheague settlement around the same time as his parents and returned to the New Castle area. Or he could have remained in the area with his Uncle James or other relatives. Our first independent glimpse of George occurs in about 1770 when he married Mary Crosby in New Castle County, Delaware.^[142] George and Mary had two children; John was born June 28, 1771 in Delaware^[143] and Rebecca Isabella was born February 1, 1773.^[144] Rebecca married William McCune, III and they had eight children.^[145] We will follow John in a later section of this history.

We do not know how or why George ended up back in the New Castle area though this was his childhood home up until the age of about 10 and he may still have had aunts, uncles and cousins in the area. More likely he ended up there as a result of the coming revolution. 1770 was the year of the Boston Massacre and was just a mere four years prior to the meeting of the First Continental Congress in nearby Philadelphia. Talk of revolution was “in the air” and what 24-year old wouldn’t find the budding rebellion exciting? Although Franklin and Bedford Counties were never the scene of fighting with the British during the revolution and are some distance from the centers of political upheaval and military action, the settlers of the Pennsylvania frontier were very aware of the events as they unfolded.

“At the commencement of the revolution, the county of Bedford furnished two companies, who marched to Boston; and although but a frontier county, at a distance from the principal scenes of excitement and points of information, contained as much of the patriotic spirit of the day as could be found anywhere.”^[146]

Militia’s existed in Pennsylvania prior to the revolution. In 1748 a militia in what is now the Franklin County area was officially formed^[147] and George may have been sent to the New Castle area as a member of an early militia. By 1750 almost every able-bodied man was in some way connected

^[142] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as “The White Book.”

^[143] The 1850 Federal Census record for John McCulloh gives his birth place as Delaware.

^[144] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as “The White Book.”

^[145] *Ibid.* 81.

^[146] *The History and Topography of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams, Perry, Somerset, Cambria & Indiana Counties:...* Gilbert Hills, Proprietor & Publisher, Lancaster City, PA 1848, 517

^[147] *History of Franklin County, Pennsylvania,...* Warner, Beers & Company, Chicago 1887, 160

to a militia in his county^[148] though militia duty was not made mandatory until the Pennsylvania Militia was organized under an Act of the Assembly of March 17, 1777.^[149] This act required compulsory enrollment by constables of all able-bodied white males between the ages of 18 and 53 to repel invaders. Required service was usually for a period of only two months at a time and multiple terms of service could be required.^[150] The *White Book* states that according to family tradition, George served in Washington's Army and had a part in the capture of the Hessians in Trenton^[151] which is only 60 miles from New Castle. This battle took place on December 26, 1776 and it seems quite plausible that the then 30 year old George could have been involved. Unfortunately, to date we have found no official records to confirm this tradition. George's grand-daughter's (Mary Ann McCulloh) Bible includes an entry on the Family Records "Births" page that reads "Geo. McCulloh was a soldier in Revolutionary War" but based on the penmanship style^[152] this entry was clearly made some time after all the other genealogy information was recorded and most likely in the early to mid 1900's. In fact, it is very possible that this later entry was added by someone who read this entry in *The White Book*. Of course if this entry was made prior to the early 1950's then it is most likely the source for *The White Book* record. But, as noted in the introduction, no sources are provided in *The White Book* for the information presented and we have no way of truly knowing which entry was the original source for this information.

There are multiple militia records for a Cumberland County^[153] George McCullough. In the first record he is listed in the Pennsylvania Archives as a private in Hamilton's Company, 5th Class of the Cumberland County Militia in October 1777.^[154] Then again as a sergeant in January through

^[148] *History of Franklin County, Pennsylvania,...* Warner, Beers & Company, Chicago 1887, 221

^[149] Roach, Hannah Benner. *The Pennsylvania Militia in 1777*, The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine 23 (No. 3, 1964.) pp. 162, 166-167. See also Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission web site; Revolutionary War Militia Overview; Historical Background - 2008; www.digitalarchives.state.pa.us/archive.asp.

^[150] Ibid

^[151] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[152] Scanned image in the author's possession. The "Births" page has the names and birth dates of John (George's son) and Elizabeth McCulloh and their children and two grandchildren. These names and dates appear to have all been entered at the same by the same person using a fountain pen and writing in a penmanship style that appears to be Copperplate or Spencerian Script which was in use in the second half of the 1800's. The Geo McCulloh entry has been added by a different person at a later, possibly modern, date as evidenced by the use of a penmanship style that appears to be Palmer Script which was not used until the 1920's. The entry follows a list of George's three wives and children. Of additional note George's third wife Sarah is actually written as Sallie. (See www.iampeth.com and www.zanerian.com/Palmer.html for penmanship styles)

^[153] Franklin County was part of Cumberland County until 1785; the Little Cove was part of Bedford County from 1771 to 1798 when it was transferred to Warren Township in Franklin County - Iscrupe, *Pennsylvania Line, 4th edition*, Southwest Pennsylvania Genealogical Services, 1990. Laughlinton, PA

^[154] *The Pennsylvania Archives, 3rd Series, Volume 23*, 445.

March of 1778 where it is clear he was on active duty.^[155] Another listing is found in the Pennsylvania Archives two years later on August 1, 1780 where he is listed in the record for the 7th Battalion, 3rd Division, 8th Company, 5th Class of the Cumberland County Militia.^[156] However, it appears that on this occasion George appealed his required service on the grounds that he had a small family and he may have paid a fine to avoid service which was not an uncommon practice at the time.^[157] This record is in the Pennsylvania Archives and consists of an Inactive Duty Militia record on an index card.^[158] The record includes the comment that George was willing to pay the fine which is listed as £460.00.^[159] An additional note on the card carries the terse comment “Pay or March” followed by the single word “Served.” It is assumed that George paid the fine rather than march since the record is on an *Inactive* Duty Card.

Sometime between 1773 and 1778 George’s first wife Mary died.^[160] George married his second wife Mary Eynon on March 20, 1778 in New Castle, Delaware.^{[161] [162]} We don’t actually know where George and his two children had been living up until this time but given his service in the Cumberland County militia his official residence appears to have been Cumberland County. However, it should be noted, the Delaware marriage record lists his place of residence as “New Ark” which would have been Newark, Delaware. Could his marriage in New Castle be a result of militia service in this area? His 1778 marriage happens right in the middle of the militia records dates and by about 1780 he is thought to have come with his new wife and his two children to the

^[155] *The Pennsylvania Archives, 3rd Series, Volume 23*, 446. It is interesting to note that his last name is spelled McCulloh in this entry. See also Militia Service Record file card date January 1778 for this George McCollough in the Pennsylvania Archives.

^[156] *The Pennsylvania Archives, 5th Series, Volume 6*, 489.

^[157] Roach, Hannah Benner. *The Pennsylvania Militia in 1777*, *The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine* 23 (No. 3, 1964.), 162, 166-167. See also Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission web site; Revolutionary War Militia Overview; Historical Background - 2008; www.digitalarchives.state.pa.us/archive.asp.

^[158] Militia Service Record file card date August 25, 1780 in the Pennsylvania Archives.

^[159] This could not have been the British pound as such amount would have been impossibly high for a 1780 Pennsylvania frontiersman to pay. It is surely rather the Pennsylvania pound which was worth less than the British pound sterling though I am unable to determine the proper conversion rate for revolutionary 1780. A wikipedia entry gives the following general conversion rate: 1 Pennsylvanian shilling = 9 pence sterling.

^[160] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as “The White Book.”

^[161] *Ibid*
Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 137.

^[162] Dodd, Jordan, Liahona Research, comp. Delaware Marriages, 1645-1899 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: The Generations Network, Inc., 2005. Original data: Index compiled from town and county marriage records in microfilm, microfiche, or book format located at the Family History Library in Salt Lake City, Utah by Liahona Research (P.O. Box 740, Orem, Utah 84059).

vicinity of Upton in Cumberland County.^[163] George's uncle James was still living in the vicinity of Upton but in 1778 he was not well. In his will dated May 26, 1778^[164] he refers to himself as "Being weak in body ..." and indeed he died in December of 1781. Is it possible that George moved to the Upton area due to his uncles illness? James owned a farm and if he was no longer well enough to farm it seems very likely George could have moved here initially to help his uncle and cousins.

Once settled George engaged in the leather tanning business.^[165] George and Mary soon had a son whom they named Eynon.^[166] The White Book and most other sources do not list a second child for this marriage, however, Eynon mentions his brother William in his will.^[167] Mary Eynon's father was named William^[168] and there are no other Williams in the immediate families. Therefore it is quite likely George and Mary had a second son named after Mary's father. And either at the time of the second birth or a short time later Mary died.^[169] Mary probably died in 1779 or 1780 and it would make sense that George would have requested an exemption from militia duty based on having a "small family" which at the time would have included a newborn, a toddler and a 7 and 9 year old and no wife to care for them.

George was still in the Upton area as late as 1786 where he is listed as a "taxable."^[170] Sometime between 1786 and 1789 George and his four children moved over the first mountain about 10 miles to the west and settled in the beautiful little valley called Little Cove where he is documented as

^[163] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book." Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove.* Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 52.

^[164] "Will of James McCullough (transcript)," 5/26/1778 (proved 3/15/1786), Franklin (Cumberland) County, Pennsylvania, 48, Will Book A Sept 1784 - Oct 1795, 66-67, Microfilm, FHL US/CAN Film 323864. Reference from Bill Lazenby at: freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~lazenbylinks/WC_SRC.HTM. Complete text of will available at this site. See also footnote [2] for detailed information about Bill Lazenby's McCullough genealogy records.

^[165] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book." Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove.* Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 137.

^[166] Eynon McCullough lived as an adult in Greene County, PA. See page 52 of *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* by Elizabeth Brubaker Wolff; no publication date, possibly 1953. This book is often referred to as the "White Book"

^[167] Eynon McCulloh's will dated Apr 2, 1834 ; Greene County Pennsylvania; Register & Recorder's Office. Registered Apr. 16, 1834, Will book 2, page 31, No. 750.

^[168] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book." Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove.* Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 52.

^[169] Ibid.137.

^[170] *American Revolutionary Soldiers of Franklin County Pennsylvania* - Chambersburg 1969, 171.

being subject to Militia duty in 1789.^[171] In his book *History Of The Little Cove* Harry Foreman states on page 137 that George served in the Bedford County Militia in 1783.^[172] However, on page 16 of the same book he lists the names of the Bedford County militia from the Bedford County Archives, 5th Series, Volume 5; using that year's list since "it seems to be complete." George McCulloh does not appear on the list. Whether this is a typographical error or some other error of omission or confusion I have not determined. But, if as noted above he was a taxable inhabitant in the vicinity of Upton in 1786 then service in the Bedford County militia in 1783 would appear to be in error. George does appear on a militia list dated January 29, 1789 as being "made subject by law to the performance of militia duty" in Air Township, Bedford County which would place him in the Little Cove at this time.^[173]

The *White Book* states that George also served as a "Forest Ranger."^[174] More properly a "Ranger" which was one of several forms of military service in revolutionary times in Pennsylvania.^[175] Rangers were soldiers who served long periods of enlistment to protect the frontier against Indian incursions. While this is entirely plausible when considered in light of his experience in the frontier as a packer (see below) I was unable to find his name among the thousands of names listed as Pennsylvania Rangers in the Pennsylvania Archives.^[176]

George was one of the early settlers and the first McCulloh to settle in the Little Cove area. In addition to his appearance on the Bedford County 1789 militia list he also appears in Bedford County in the 1790 Federal Census and on 1789, 1791, 1793 and 1795 tax lists for Ayr Township.^[177] The 1789 tax record shows George on 100 acres of warranted land with two horses

^[171] *The Pennsylvania Archives, 6th Series, Volume 3, 36.*

^[172] Harry E. Foreman, *History of The Little Cove*, privately published, Chambersburg, PA 1967, 137.

^[173] *The Pennsylvania Archives, 6th Series, Volume 3, 36.*

^[174] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[175] As noted in the Historical Background section of the Revolutionary War Militia Overview page on the Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission web site in 2008, Military service in Pennsylvania could include one or more of the following: 1) Line Soldiers: These soldiers enlisted for at least six months and often for the entire duration of the war. 2) Rangers: These soldiers served long enlistments on the frontier against the Indians. 3) Militia: These soldiers were enlisted for 60 days at a time and were comprised of all able-bodied male whites between the ages of eighteen and fifty-three. Other variations within these services existed as well. See also *The Pennsylvania Militia in 1777* by Hannah Benner Roach in *The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine* 23 (No. 3, 1964): 161-230

^[176] In November of 2008 I electronically searched the Pennsylvania Archives on the Footnote.com web site by key word using various name spellings for George McCulloh. I then manually paged through hundreds of pages visually searching through lists of thousands of names of Pennsylvania Rangers using Google.com's digitized on-line scanned page images of the Pennsylvania Archives. Due to the voluminous content of the Pennsylvania Archives it is certainly possible the information lies elsewhere in the Archives. And, of course, the absence of a written record does not prove the service to be untrue.

^[177] The 1791 list in Harry E. Foreman, *History of The Little Cove*, privately published, Chambersburg, PA 1967. Page 17. Copies of the 1789, 1793 & 1795 lists in the author's file.

and two cows.^[178]

His occupation at this time was that of a packer; driving horses over the Allegheny Mountains.^[179] During this period the only way to move goods and people across the mountains from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh was by pack horse.

They were the men who had built up the extensive business of pack-horse transportation. An overwhelming part of the land traffic of the country, except on highways connecting the principal cities, was carried on, between the years 1750 and 1790, by that means. It was an age of pack-horse travel. Pioneers in that sort of traffic were to be found in almost every town, especially toward the outskirts of the occupied regions, and they controlled many thousands of horses and mules and employed large numbers of packers and caravan drivers. They regularly contracted to move parties of people over the country, together with their goods, and all the freight business of outlying settlements was carried on by them. ...The pack-horse system of travel was more important and largely developed in Pennsylvania than in any other colony, and even at so late a date as 1783 the only way of carrying goods from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, or of journeying between the two towns, was by that method.^[180]

The following was noted by a writer in 1848 and refers to the time period when George would have been a packer:

Sixty or seventy years ago five hundred pack-horses had been at one time in Carlisle, going thence to Shippensburg, Fort Loudon and further westward. ...The pack-horses used to carry bars of iron on their backs; crooked over and around their bodies; barrels or kegs were hung on each side of these. ... When the bridle path passed along declivities or over hills, the path was in some places washed out so deep that the packs or burdens came in contact with the ground or other impending obstacles, and were frequently displaced...^[181]

^[178] Copy of the 1789 list in the author's file.

^[179] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[180] Seymour Dunbar, *A History of Travel In America*, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, IN 1915, 194.

^[181] Rupp: *The History and Topography of Dauphin . . . [and] Cumberland Counties, PA*, 357 & 368

The town of Bedford is located about 40 miles west of Fort Loudon and about 35 miles west of the Little Cove where George had settled. A Bedford County history published in 1848 noted the following:

“For many years the town of Bedford was the principal stopping place for all persons, and particularly packers going from the east to Fort Pitt. All government stores, as well as groceries and goods of every description, were for a long time carried west on pack-horses. One man would sometimes have under his control as many as a hundred horses. For the protection of these, guards had always to be supplied, who accompanied them from one fort to another. Bedford always furnished its guards out of that class of the militia in service at the time they were required. These guards traveled with the packers, guarded their encampment at night, and conducted them safely across the Alleghenies to Fort Ligonier, west of Laurel hill.”
[182]

It may be that George accompanied packers as part of his service in the Bedford County Militia which may have led to him becoming a packer himself. Whether George was simply an employee of a packing business or owned such an enterprise we do not know.

After moving to the Little Cove, George married his third wife, Sarah Philips.^[183] Sarah was apparently of sturdy Welsh “pioneer stock” and over the next many years they added seven more children to the family. The *White Book* provides only these children’s first names and does not, with the exception of listing the names for two of the daughter’s husbands, provide any additional details of their lives or descendants. Eynon’s will names all 10 of his siblings as follows: Samuel McCullough, Hannah McCullough, Jane McCullough, John McCullough, Evan McCullough, William McCullough, Rebecca McLean, Mary Penn, Catherine Smith, Rachael Penn. He also mentions his nephew Eynon Smith, son of Dennis Smith^[184].

In his book *History Of The Little Cove* Mr. Foreman speculates as to the possible location of the George McCulloh homestead in the Little Cove; an old farm that George’s son John McCulloh, grandson and great-grandson in turn lived on. This property is south of the point that the Indian

[182] *The History and Topography of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams, Perry, Somerset, Cambria & Indiana Counties:...* Gilbert Hills, Proprietor & Publisher, Lancaster City, PA 1848, 517

[183] Sarah Philips was the daughter of Evan Philips and his wife Catherine; both natives of Wales and residents of the Little Cove. Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as “The White Book.” Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove.* Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 137. Of note, the entry in Mary Ann McCullough Lewis’s Bible for George’s 3rd wife names her Sallie Philips. Bible in the author’s collection.

[184] Dennis Smith is incorrectly listed as ‘Dimit’ Smith in *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* (Page 55) He signed his name ‘Dennis’ Smith on the Bond for the estate inventory of his father-in-law George McCullough. Estate of George McCullough, May 12, 1829; Greene County Pennsylvania; Register & Recorder’s Office. Will book 1, page 356, No. 737.

Springs Road leaves the Little Cove Road near the intersection of Spring Run and Little Cove Creek south of the town of Sylvan. A nearby location in the Flaggy Marsh area, later the Fort Davis fort site, is also thought by some to have been his home.^[185]

And what became of George and his family? The *White Book* states that “George McCullough died sometime after 1789 in the Little Cove at an advanced age.”^[186] Harry Foreman believed that he may have been buried in the Stone Church cemetery^[187] where George’s son John, daughter-in-law Elizabeth, grand-daughter Margaret and great grand-daughter Melinda are buried. In 1967 the earliest legible tombstone in this graveyard was dated 1798. In 2007 I visited this graveyard and others in the Little Cove but, like Harry Foreman, I did not find a tombstone for George. However, there are many tombstones which can no longer be read and at least one cemetery, the Furnace Farm cemetery which is believed to contain McCulloh graves, has entirely disappeared.^[188] In 1789 George was only 45 years old. In the 1790 census we find only one George McCulloh in the Little Cove area; that being in Air Township which became part of Warren Township in 1798. George is shown in the census with three sons under the age of 16 and presumably his wife Sarah and a daughter. This would seem to indicate that his daughter Rebecca and his sons Eynon, William and Evan were in the household in mid to late 1790. There were at least six more children to be born so, as we searched for George, we knew he had to have lived until at least 1796. Harry Foreman indicates in *History Of The Little Cove* that some of George’s descendants believe he died relatively early but we now know that this is not correct. Since The White Book states George died in the Little Cove and Harry Foreman speculates in *History Of The Little Cove* as to the location of George’s grave in the Little Cove, we had always focused our search in this area of Pennsylvania. I was quite surprised then, when in May of 2010 I finally found George and Sarah and several of their children far from the Little Cove! The White Book states that George’s son Eynon, when grown, lived in Greene County, Pennsylvania^[189] which is approximately 120 miles from the Little Cove in the far south-west corner of Pennsylvania. And it is there in Greene County that I found George and Sarah along with Eynon, Samuel, Evan, Catherine (McCullough) and Dennis Smith.

We don’t know exactly when or why George and his family moved to Greene County. As noted above, George McCullough is still listed on a Franklin County tax list for the Little Cove area as late as 1795. And we catch our final glimpse of him in the Franklin County area in August of 1795 when he published the following notice: “Sir Be plesd to pay Joshua Philips the Sum of Nine Shillings and

^[185] Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 64 & 137.

^[186] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 55. This book is often referred to as “The White Book.”

^[187] Harry E. Foreman, *History of The Little Cove*, privately published, Chambersburg, PA 1967, 138.

^[188] *Ibid.* 31.

^[189] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as “The White Book.”

three pens which you owe Me and in So Doeing you will a Blige your Humbel Sarvt. August, 15—1795. Gorge McCollough^[190] It is not clear where this notice was originally published but it was included on page 200 of the book *Old Mercersburg* among several records concerning the appraisement of the estate of Catherine Philips as well as other financial accounts related to her estate. Mercersburg is only about 5 miles from the Little Cove and Catherine was the mother of George McCulloh's 3rd wife Sarah Philips. The Joshua Philips in the aforementioned notice would have been Sarah's younger brother. With Sarah's father and mother now dead it would seem George and Sarah no longer had such strong familial ties keeping them in the Little Cove and the August, 1795 notice mentioned above may be an indication that the family was settling their affairs and preparing to move.

The first Federal Census in the United States was taken in 1790 and the census records can be quite helpful in establishing where our ancestors lived. Of course the census is only taken every ten years and census records from this period are very, very general when it comes to people's ages. These early census's include only the name of the head of each household, not family members within the household. Back then, even more so than now, people were suspicious of the census takers. Some believed a scheme for collecting taxes was involved and others were opposed to enumeration on religious grounds.^[191] Even so the 1790 census recorded 76 McCullough families living in Pennsylvania and depending on the census year there were seven to nine George McCullough's recorded in Pennsylvania between 1790 and 1820. It is a simple enough exercise to exclude many of these George McCulloughs from our research but it is still very difficult to make conclusive statements based on the census returns alone. The census records for 1800, 1810 and 1820 list four George McCulloughs in Franklin County during this time but none are listed in the Little Cove. Through a process of elimination based on the composition of each family as well as a review of Letters of Administration for two of the George's who died just two years apart in the early 1820's we do not find any good matches for our George in Franklin County after the 1790 census.

Greene County was formed from the south half of Washington County in 1796. The 1790 census lists two George McCullough's in Washington County but this seems too early for George to have been here and the 1790 record for a George McCullough back in Franklin County is almost certainly our George. The 1800 census also lists two George McCullough's in the Washington/Greene county area and the 1820 census lists three. (The 1810 census is incomplete and does not show any George McCullough's in the Washington/Greene county area.) In July of 2010 I searched the Greene County courthouse property deed books for clues as to when George and Sarah arrived

^[190] The Woman's Club of Mercersburg Pennsylvania, *Old Mercersburg*, Published Under the Auspices of The Journal of American History by Frank Ailaben Genealogical Company, New York 1912, 200.

^[191] *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Pennsylvania*, Genealogical Publishing Company, Baltimore, 1970, 5.

in this area but found no records for them. Early Greene County tax records also exist^[192] and, although these are apparently accessible to researchers requesting to use them, most of the early record books are in poor condition and are stored in the basement of a county building which is not convenient for research purposes. When I asked about tax records I was told they really weren't available without an appointment. I also visited the Cornerstone Genealogical Society in Waynesburg (Greene Co.) and although tax records were not available in the courthouse they are available at Cornerstone. Unfortunately the records are not digitized and are bound in 9 volumes of scanned images of the original ledger pages. I did find George in at least one record during a cursory review of the records. However, the records are not alphabetized and require a page by page search for names and I did not have the opportunity to thoroughly research all nine volumes during my visit. And to further complicate the research is the fact that not only were there at least two George McCulloughs in this area but, exasperatingly, they were both married to women named Sarah!

We do know that our George died without a will and Letters of Administration for his estate were issued in Waynesburg to his son Samuel on May 12, 1829.^[193] His son Samuel, Eynon and son-in-law Dennis Smith signed a bond for the estate inventory and his wife Sarah signed a document renouncing her rights of administration and asking that these be assigned to her son Samuel. During my July 2010 visit to the Cornerstone Genealogy Society I reviewed the cemetery records for the area and it appears that there is no known grave for George and Sarah. George's son Eynon died in Greene County shortly after April 2nd 1834. And, what appears to be three other sons of George died in the Greene County area as well; William in May of 1854, Evan in November of 1861 and Samuel in June 1865.^[194]

Only Eynon prepared a will before his death and it has proven to be an incredibly valuable document for our research.^[195] There have been many times over the years that I have wondered if *The White Book* was correct when it attributed three different marriages to our ancestor George and other researchers have asked this question as well. There are no birth certificates from this era and there are no Bible records that I am aware of that we can refer to for evidence of these three marriages. *The White Book* lists ten children by name from these three wives. And, incredibly, in Eynon's will we find listed as "my brother" and "my sister" every single child listed in *The White*

^[192] Greene County's surviving tax records go back to just a few years after the formation of the county from Washington County in 1796. The tax books list all of the adult male inhabitants and female landholders of each township.

^[193] Estate of George McCullough, Letters of Administration dated May 12, 1829; Greene County Pennsylvania; Register & Recorder's Office. Will book 1, page 356, No. 627. Copies in the author's files

^[194] Estate of William McCullough, Letters of Administration dated May 8, 1854; Greene County Pennsylvania; Register & Recorder's Office. Will book 3, page 156, No. 1563.

Estate of Evan McCullough, Letters of Administration dated November 16, 1861; Greene County Pennsylvania; Register & Recorder's Office. Will book 3, page 330, No. 1958.

Estate of Samuel McCullough, Letters of Administration dated June 17, 1865; Greene County Pennsylvania; Register & Recorder's Office. Will book 4, page 132, No. 2215. Copies in the author's files

^[195] Eynon McCulloh's will dated Apr 2, 1834 ; Greene County Pennsylvania; Register & Recorder's Office. Registered Apr. 16, 1834, Will book 2, page 31, No. 750. Copy in the author's files

Book plus one more named William. While this is not absolute proof for these marriages, it is probably as close as we can come to a primary source of documentation in support of the marriages listed in *The White Book*. We may also assume that the source for *The White Book*'s information is not Eynon's will since *The White Book* excludes one son from its list, omits some of the spouses and misspells Penn as Reyn and Dennis as Dimit.

There is still much to learn about the last 30 years of George's life with his family in Greene County. The lack of a will would seem to indicate George and Sarah were not wealthy people but if the opening lines of Eynon's will are any indication it would appear that, although George and Sarah may not have bestowed earthly riches on their children, they passed on something of much greater value:

"In the name of God Amen. I Eynon McCullough ... being sick and week in body but of sound mind memory and understanding, Praised be God for it and considering the uncertainty of death and the uncertainty of the time therefore and to the end I may be the better prepared to leave the world whereon it shall please God to call me hence I do therefore make and declare this to be my Last Will and testament in manner following that is to say first and principally I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God my Creator hoping for free pardon and Remission of all my sins and to enjoy everlasting happiness in the heavenly kingdom through Jesus Christ my savior..."

John McCulloh 1771 - 1851

John McCulloh was born a British citizen in the Delaware colony^[196] on June 28, 1771.^[197] John was the first child and only son of George McCulloh and Mary Crosby.^[198] By around 1780 when John was about nine years old he and his sister Rebecca came with their father and step-mother (Mary Eynon) to the vicinity of the village of Upton in Peters Township, Cumberland (now Franklin) County, Pennsylvania.^[199] Though still a young boy he “could remember the stirring times during the Revolution.”^[200] Once they were settled in Peters Township John helped his father in the tanning industry and in the winter he attended the early schools of that period.^[201] Upton is less than three miles from the site of the School where John’s Uncle Archibald survived a brutal scalping at the hands of the Delaware Indians a decade or so earlier in what became known as the Enoch Brown Massacre. One can only imagine how often this recent event was recounted among John and his schoolmates. We do not know what prompted George to leave this area but it likely coincided with the death of his wife Mary sometime between 1786 and 1789. After Mary’s death, George moved over North (Cove) Mountain, the first mountain about 10 miles to the west, and settled in the beautiful little mountain valley called Little Cove.^[202]

The Little Cove is essentially Warren Township^[203] and is nestled between Cove Mountain and Tuscarora Mountain. As late as 1775 the Little Cove was still frontier country and very close to the eastern edge of the vast Indian territory established west of the colonies by the Proclamation line of 1763 and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix of 1768. The Little Cove is approximately 15 miles in length and shaped like an elongated triangle with its base along the Maryland border about three and one-half to four miles wide. The Little Cove springs north into Pennsylvania and at least half of its area

^[196] The 1850 Federal Census record for John McCulloh gives his birth place as Delaware.

^[197] Mary Ann McCulloh Lewis Bible Family Records Births page; Bible in the author’s collection.

^[198] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as “The White Book.”

^[199] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as “The White Book.” Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove.* Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 52.

^[200] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953. p. 55. This book is often referred to as “The White Book.”

^[201] Ibid.

^[202] *The Pennsylvania Archives, 6th Series*, Volume 3, page 36 places their father George in the Little Cove in 1789.

^[203] Little Cove was part of Bedford County until 1798 when it was annexed to Franklin County and made part of Montgomery Township, but within the year it became a township and was named for Brigadier General Joseph Warren who was killed at the battle of Bunker Hill.

is un-farmable mountain woodlands.

John's sister and two half-brothers would have moved with their twice-widowed father but we can't be certain about John. His father George was one of the early settlers and the first McCulloh in the Little Cove.^[204] Apparently he had done well in the tanning business and a 1789 tax record shows him on 100 acres of warranted land with two horses and two cows.^[205] John would have been in his late teens at this time and it seems likely his father would have needed his help farming. However, it is also possible that his land was not a full working farm and as noted in the previous chapter, George's occupation at this time was that of a packer, driving horses with supplies over the Allegheny Mountains.^[206]

George married his third wife, Sarah Philips,^[207] shortly after his move to the Little Cove and soon John married as well. On December 31, 1795 at the age of 24 John married 23 year old Elizabeth McCune.^[208] Elizabeth, born December 27, 1772,^[209] was the daughter of William McCune, Jr. and Elizabeth (Loughead) McCune. The McCunes were residents of Peters Township^[210] and surely John and Elizabeth had become acquainted with each other during the time his family lived in the Upton area. And it was right around the time of John and Elizabeth's marriage that once again George decided to move further west. Up until this time, the settlers of western Pennsylvania lived in constant dread of Indian attacks.^[211] But in 1794 the western Indian tribes in Ohio were finally defeated in the Battle of the Fallen Timbers. With the peace treaty of 1795, the Indian raids into western Pennsylvania came to an end and settlers rapidly moved into this former "Indian Country."^[212] As you will recall from the previous chapter, George had been a ranger and a packer,

^[204] Harry E. Foreman, *History of The Little Cove*, privately published, Chambersburg, PA 1967, 137.

^[205] Copy of the 1789 list in the author's file.

^[206] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[207] Sarah Philips was the daughter of Evan Philips and his wife Catherine; both natives of Wales and residents of the Little Cove. Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967. p. 137. Of note, the entry in Mary Ann McCullough's Bible for George's 3rd wife names her Sallie Philips. Scanned image in author's files.

^[208] Mary Ann McCulloh Lewis Bible Family Records Marriages page; Bible in the author's collection.

^[209] Mary Ann McCulloh Lewis Bible Family Records Births page; Bible in the author's collection.

^[210] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 55. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[211] Samuel P. Bates, *History of Greene County Pennsylvania*, Nelson, Rishforth & Co., Chicago 1888, 271.

^[212] C. Hale Sipe. *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*. The Telegraph Press, Harrisburg, PA, 1929, 711-715.

both of which likely took him through these Indian occupied areas of western Pennsylvania. With the Indian dangers gone and likely encouraged by his familiarity with the land, George packed up his family and left the Little Cove.

Within two years John and Elizabeth's first son, Archibald Scott McCulloh, was born in the Little Cove^[213]. It seems almost certain then that with the departure of his father and step-mother, John and Elizabeth took their place in the Little Cove. John appears in tax records in the Little Cove in 1795, 1799, 1804, 1807, etc.^[214] He also appears in the 1810, 1820, 1840 and 1850 Federal Censuses. He was only 19 at the time of the first Federal Census in 1790 and was probably still in his father's household which would explain his absence from the 1790 census records. Why he doesn't appear in the 1800 and 1830 censuses we don't know. Federal Census records do exist for the Little Cove for these years and John's neighbors are present in these censuses so it seems the records were not lost. However, John doesn't appear anywhere else in the census returns so we must assume, based on tax and land records, he resided in the Little Cove in 1800 & 1830. He may have been traveling for an extended period of time, possibly to see his father and siblings in western Pennsylvania or he simply wasn't located by the surveyor during his enumeration visit into the Little Cove; or his name was so misspelled it is beyond recognition.

It seems likely that John and Elizabeth settled down on the land John's father George had lived on and what probably became the old McCulloh homestead. The exact location of the original homestead is no longer known with certainty but it is thought to have been the old McCulloh home once located along the west side of Little Cove Road about four-tenths of a mile south of the point that Mill Drive (formerly known as the Indian Springs Road) leaves the Little Cove Road about one and a half miles south of the village of Sylan.^[215] We don't know when this land was originally acquired by the McCullohs but it appears to have been before 1841. An 1842 land warrant in the Pennsylvania archives shows John acquiring 16 acres of land very near the Maryland border just south of the Licking Creek and west of Cove Creek.^[216] This 16 acres is about three-quarters of a mile south of the old McCulloh farm location described above. The 1842 survey drawing shows that

^[213] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 55. This book is often referred to as "The White Book." A photo of Archibald Scott McCullough appears on page 56.

^[214] Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove.* Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 139. Mr. Foreman does not provide tax list dates more recent than 1807 but indicates John appears in additional records by his use of the term "etc."

^[215] Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove.* Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 138. Mr. Foreman states that John purchased Warrington from John Bragonier. Warrington was located at the southern end of the John McCulloh land (see page 87.) He states that a 1785 survey credits John with 400 acres. However, John was only 14 years old in 1785. Either George put this land in his sons name or something is in error with Mr. Foreman's statement; either a simple date typo or something more significant. I have not yet found the 1785 survey in question.

^[216] Photocopy of the warrant survey map in the author's file obtained in 2011 from the Records of the Land Office available on the Pennsylvania State Archives web site.

John's 16 acres adjoins a larger section of land already owned by his son Archibald.^[217] A review of the Eschenmann and Barner property study of first land owners in old Cumberland County^[218] shows that this much larger property extends north and includes the old McCulloh site described above. If the entirety of this larger property was owned by Archibald then the 16 acres acquired by John in 1842 is simply an expansion of the original McCulloh farm. And it is interesting to note that an 1846 tax list shows only two McCulloh land owners in the Little Cove, Archibald Scott and his brother John Free.^[219] It is likely then that after John Senior's death, his son John Free became the owner of this land, or at least its resident if his brother Archibald actually held the deed. John Free McCulloh had no children and the 1868 map of the Little Cove property owners shows the old McCulloh farm as now being owned by O.E. McCulloh, one of Archibald's sons.^[220] And as of this writing in 2011, a descendant of John McCulloh, also a John McCulloh, owns a portion of this land by the Maryland border. The McCullohs also owned property about three-quarters of a mile to the northwest in the Flaggy Marsh area, later the David Davis Fort site.^[221] This property consisted of just over 173 acres and was acquired by Archibald in 1825.^[222] The 1868 map of the Little Cove property owners shows A.S. McCulloh with two properties or farms about one-hundred yards apart at this location.^[223] Since George McCulloh left the Little Cove almost 30 years prior to Archibald's purchase of this land, unless George never owned his own land this location cannot be the site of the original McCulloh homestead in the Little Cove. According to the 1868 map the east farm site was within one-hundred yards of the old lime kiln that was on the McCulloh property.^[224] The road use to run just to the east and close along this farm. That road is completely gone now as are the old farm buildings themselves. An old house on this site was razed by the McCullohs some time

^[217] Ibid.

^[218] Eschenmann, Harry R. And Paul Barner. *First Families of Old Cumberland County: Vol. XXII - Little Cove & Big Cove Tannery (Fulton & Franklin Counties)*. Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society, 2010.

^[219] Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 63.

^[220] Atlas of Franklin County, Pennsylvania, From actual Surveys under the direction of D. G. Beers published by Pomeroy & Beers in 1868. Photocopy of survey map in the author's file. O.E. stands for Otha Eynon. The only evidence I have found for the 'E' standing for Eynon is an undated handwritten genealogy written on a single sheet of stained notebook paper found in the Archibald Scott McCulloh family Bible where Otha's name is written as Otha Eynon. The Eynon name is from George McCulloh's second wife's maiden name; George was Otha's Great-Grandfather. Scanned copy in the author's file, original in the Bible owned by Genevieve McCulloh.

^[221] The David Davis Fort, was a fortified log dwelling surrounded by a high picket fence. Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 64, 90 & 137.

^[222] Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 12 & 59.

^[223] Atlas of Franklin County, Pennsylvania, From actual Surveys under the direction of D. G. Beers published by Pomeroy & Beers in 1868. Photocopy of survey map in the author's file.

^[224] Harry E. Foreman, *History of The Little Cove*, privately published, Chambersburg, PA 1967. 36.

before the 1960s.^[225] The road has been relocated about one-hundred yards to the west, roughly where an unimproved road section is shown on the old 1868 map. An intersection exists there now and the west farm site is on the north-west corner of this cross-roads. John McCulloh, a descendant of the subject of this chapter, sold the David Davis Fort site farm in 1966 to the Pennsylvania Game Commission.^[226] Another descendant, Jeremiah “Jerry” C. McCulloh^[227], died in 1985 and a wonderful large drawing of the historic McCulloh farm (the west farm) at the David Davis Fort site is etched into his tombstone in the Methodist Episcopal Church cemetery. Beneath the drawing is etched the following: “Former McCulloh Farm 1825 - 1965.” In July of 2011 I was shown the site of these farms by yet another John McCulloh and his sister Betty Jean Martin both of whom spent their early childhoods on the west farm. Sadly this farm no longer exists having been completely destroyed by the Pennsylvania Game Commission after they gained possession of the land in 1966.

John and Elizabeth apparently spent the rest of their lives in the Little Cove. In addition to farming John became a shoemaker.^[228] Of the 71 names on an 1800 tax list for Warren Township the vast majority are listed as farmers; John and three other men are listed as shoemakers^[229]. And fifty years later, on the 1850 census, his occupation is still listed as “shoemaker.” Where he learned this craft we don’t know though his father George had been in the tanning business prior to his move to the Little Cove and John would have had ready access to the necessary leather at an early age. As complicated a task as shoemaking was it is interesting to note that shoes at that time were made with no distinction between the left and the right; people switched their shoes daily, left to right, right to left, to help them wear evenly.^[230]

The only church in the Little Cove around the time of John and Elizabeth’s marriage was a Baptist church. The Baptist church did not last much past 1800 and a German Reformed and Lutheran church came into existence at about this time. Although John and Elizabeth are buried in this graveyard, this was a burying place for many of the Little Cove’s inhabitants and the McCulloh name does not appear on the membership (class) records. These early records are written in an archaic German and the church membership was apparently comprised primarily of Hessians making it even more doubtful John and Elizabeth would have been members. At this early date there were not many Methodists in the Little Cove. It was not until 1814 that a Methodist missionary began holding services in a barn on a farm where the Warren Iron Works eventually stood. A

^[225] Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 12.

^[226] Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 12 & 59.

^[227] According to Harry Foreman, Jerry McCulloh also owned a nearby farm which is located about 600 yards to the south east in the Flaggy Marsh. Jerry sold this farm some time before the mid 1960s. Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 14.

^[228] Wolff, Elizabeth Brubaker. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 55. This book is often referred to as “The White Book.”

^[229] Transcript of the tax list obtained from the Franklin County Historical Society.

^[230] Edwin Tunis. *Frontier Living*. The Lyons Press, Guilford, CT, 2000, 81

Methodist class was organized in July of 1816. John's father George's third wife was Sarah Philips and the Philips family is named by Little Cove historian Harry Foreman as one of the early Methodist families in the area. A history of Franklin County, published in 1887, indicates services were held in Joshua Philips' home and schoolhouses in the area. As noted earlier in this work, Joshua was the brother of Sarah and if John and Elizabeth weren't members already it is possible the family association with the Philips led them to join the Methodist church of which they became devout and active members. It was not until 1859 that a permanent church building was finally erected.^[231] The land for the church was sold to five church members including Joshua Philips and Otha E. McCulloh on March 11, 1859.^[232] John and Elizabeth's son Archibald Scott McCulloh was one of three members of the building committee and his name is engraved along with Joshua Philips' in the gable wall dedication stone inlaid in the red brick wall above the front entrance doors of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

John and Elizabeth enjoyed a long marriage and the records show they produced at least eight children, two boys and six girls, all of whom lived into adulthood. Their children were as follows.^[233]

1. Archibald Scott - born March 16, 1797
2. Rebecca - born October 22, 1799
3. Mary Ann - born June 5, 1802
4. Isabella - born September 2, 1805
5. Eleanor - born May 18, 1808
6. Elizabeth - born November 26, 1810
7. Margaret D. - born February 8, 1814
8. John Free - born December 18, 1816

Unlike his father and grandfather, John seems to have lived a fairly settled and uneventful life; or at least very few of the events of his life have come down to us in the histories and records of the time. Although fear of Indian hostilities continued in western Pennsylvania even into John's adulthood,^[234] the dreaded Indian attacks that had so affected his parents' and grandparents' generations had come to an end in the Franklin County area when John was a very young child with one final act, the murder and scalping of the Renfrew sisters and an infant in the mid 1770's.^[235] The revolution was also fought and won while John was still a young boy. Pennsylvania became a State in 1787. In 1791 a new excise tax adversely affecting many farmers was passed by congress.

^[231] Information concerning church history in the Little Cove from: Harry E. Foreman, *History of The Little Cove*, privately published, Chambersburg, PA 1967, 21-29 and *History of Franklin County, Pennsylvania*,... Warner, Beers & Company, Chicago 1887, 609

^[232] Harry E. Foreman, *History of The Little Cove*, privately published, Chambersburg, PA 1967, 27.

^[233] The following genealogical data was derived from the Mary Ann McCulloh Lewis Bible in the author's collection.

^[234] *The Pennsylvania Militia: Defending the Commonwealth and the Nation 1669-1870* by Samuel J. Newland, PH.D. The Pennsylvania National Guard Foundation, Inc. Annville, PA, 2002, 145 & 147.

^[235] *History of Franklin County, Pennsylvania*,... Warner, Beers & Company, Chicago 1887, 174.

Protests and violence against tax collectors escalated and culminated in the 1794 Whiskey Rebellion. This rebellion included parts of the states of Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Virginia and Ohio but the rebellion was centered in the southwestern section of Pennsylvania in a portion of Franklin County and the six counties to its west. John was in his early twenties at this time and whether he was a neutral spectator, an active protestor or took part in the government's efforts to quell the rebellion we don't know. Certainly he was well aware of the rebellion and of the fact that it was serious enough to bring President Washington through the area on his way to confront the rebels with a large military force.

Aside from various border disputes with neighboring states the next real threat to Pennsylvania and the nation was the War of 1812 (1812-1815). Franklin County was never a scene of fighting during the war but the Mercersburg militia was drawn into the action at a pivotal point in the war. The town of Bladensburg, Maryland was a strategic position for the defense of our nation's capitol. On August 24, 1814 the British attacked and defeated the American troops there in what became known as the battle of Bladensburg. Having completely routed the American troops the British continued their offensive and on that same day took control of Washington and burned the public buildings including the White House and the U.S. Capitol. When the news reached the inhabitants of Franklin County the town's bell was rung and the people gathered in meetings. Upon learning that additional troops were needed seven companies were quickly organized. John was 43 at this time and he was mustered as a private in the Mercersburg Company under Captain Thomas Bard.^[236] The troops were organized and provisioned and in just a few days they were ready to go. The people of the town gathered in the streets, the bells were rung and drum and fife corps paraded. This must have been an exhilarating and somewhat surreal moment for John since he was old enough to remember the stirring times of the revolution in which his father fought. His turn had now come and in early September he and his fellow soldiers marched out of Mercersburg on their way to the defense of Baltimore.^[237] Upon reaching Baltimore the Franklin County troops were organized into a regiment under Colonel John Findley and on September 12th the British attacked the city.^[238] Large numbers of soldiers from Pennsylvania and Virginia had come to the city's aid and by September 14th the British concluded they could not take the city and began the retreat back to their ships.^[239] By the 18th of September it became apparent that the British would not attack the city again. The

^[236] Two John McCullohs appear on lists of Mercersburg soldiers serving in 1814. One of the John McCulloughs is clearly the son of the famous Indian captive James McCulloh and a distant cousin to our John McCulloh. See McCullough, John, III. *Genealogy of the McCullough Family and Other Sketches*. Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Printing Co., 1912, 21 for additional details concerning his service. Our John McCulloh is listed on the 1812 Mercersburg Company lists in *Old Mercersburg*, by The Woman's Club of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, Grit Publishing Company, Williamsport, PA, 1949, 37

^[237] *History of Franklin County, Pennsylvania...* Warner, Beers & Company, Chicago 1887, 242.

^[238] I. H. McCauley, *Historical Sketch of Franklin County, Pennsylvania*. John M. Pomeroy, Chambersburg, PA 1878, 105

^[239] John Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County, from the earliest period to the Present Day...* Louis H. Everts, Philadelphia, 1881, 90 & 97

Pennsylvania militia troops were released from duty on the 23rd of September.^[240]

We don't really know much more about John and Elizabeth. We have no photos, diaries or letters and it seems they lived quiet lives in, for the most part, peaceful times. They were blessed with 51 years together as husband and wife. They were also blessed with the unusual gift for that era to both live into old age and yet go to their eternal rest before any of their eight children died.^[241] Elizabeth passed away first, dying on June 4, 1847 at the age of 74. No will or death announcement has been found. Her record of death in the Mary Ann McCulloh Lewis Bible gives only her name, age and date of death with no indication of the cause or other comments. As noted above, the Methodist Episcopal Church was not built until 1859 so Elizabeth was buried where many from the Little Cove were buried; the German Reformed and Lutheran Church graveyard now known as the Stone Church Cemetery. The cemetery is well cared for and as of 2011 her head and foot stones were still standing and fully legible. The memorial verse on the stone reads:

*The graves of all His saints he blest,
And softened every bed.
Where should the dying members rest,
But in there [sic] living head.^[242]*

John lived a few years more. He died on January 4, 1851 at the age of 79. Like Elizabeth, his record of death in the Mary Ann McCulloh Lewis Bible gives only his name, age and date of death with no indication of the cause or other comments. No will has been found but a death announcement appeared in the *Valley Spirit* newspaper on January 25. It reads as follows under the section heading DIED:

In Warren township, on the 4th instant, Mr. JOHN McCULLOH, aged 79 years, 6 months and 7 days. He was a native of New Castle county, State of Delaware.

Born far back in the midst of troublous times, he could remember some of the scenes which transpired during the eventful period of the revolution. He came to this country at an early age and after a long life, arriving at nearly the age of four score years, he departed, bequeathing to his numerous friends the lustre of an untarnished name.

^[240] I. H. McCauley, *Historical Sketch of Franklin County, Pennsylvania*. John M. Pomeroy, Chambersburg, PA 1878, 105

^[241] We do not know the place or date of death of their daughter Rebecca though we know she lived to adulthood and was married. The approximately three year spacings between the births of Rebecca and Mary Ann, Mary Ann and Isabella, and Isabella and Eleanor makes it plausible that undocumented miscarriages, stillborn births or infant deaths may have occurred.

^[242] A verse from a popular hymn of the time by Issac Watts. Interestingly, in all the versions I could find from the 1800's the 4th line reads: *But in their dying head*.

John lies next to Elizabeth in the Stone Church Cemetery. His grave is to the right of Elizabeth's and to his right lies his granddaughter Melinda. To the left of Elizabeth in the next row to the west lies their daughter Margaret. As of 2011 John's head and foot stones too were still standing. The main inscription and memorial verse on his headstone are also still fully legible:

*Dearest father, fare thee well,
We willingly resign
Thy life to Christ with Him to dwell
In endless bliss to shine*

During their lifetimes John and Elizabeth witnessed the violent birth of our nation. The English colonies became the States and John lived to see 18 more states added to the Union. Although Indian conflicts finally ended in Pennsylvania in 1795^[243] they continued further west throughout their lifetimes. Slaves were owned in Pennsylvania throughout their lifetimes and even some early families in the Little Cove were slave owners.^[244] John died before Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves but he lived to see the election of the first 13 Presidents of the United States. The battle of the Alamo and the Mexican-American War were fought during their lifetimes. The California Gold Rush began in 1848 and, of course, by then John was much too old to entertain serious thoughts of heading west. Transportation in the Little Cove was by horse or foot and the nearest railroad was 25 miles away in Chambersburg.^[245] In 1851 the invention and use of electric lighting was still decades away and nights in the Little Cove among the dark black mountains would have been illuminated only by fire, star and moonlight.

And so the lives of John and Elizabeth came to an end, though, of course, their story continues to this day through the lives of their many descendants.^[246]

Their second child Rebecca married a man named John Sundles on March 27, 1827. Apparently Rebecca moved away from the area with John since neither *The White Book* nor the Mary Ann McCulloh Lewis Bible record her date of death. Neither John nor Rebecca appear in any census records in the nation and we do not know what became of them.

Their seventh child Margaret D. was the first known to die. She passed away on September 18, 1853 at the age of 39 and is buried near her parents in the Stone Church Cemetery. Her gravestone

^[243] C. Hale Sipe. *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*. The Telegraph Press, Harrisburg, PA, 1929, 709.

^[244] Harry E. Foreman, *History of The Little Cove*, privately published, Chambersburg, PA 1967, 20 & 60. Also the 1790 Federal Census.

^[245] *A New Map of Pennsylvania with its Canals, Rail-Roads &c.*, Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co., Philadelphia, PA, 1850.

^[246] The following genealogical data was derived from the Mary Ann McCulloh Lewis Bible in the author's collection as well as from Elizabeth Brubaker Wolff. *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 55 & 56. This book is often referred to as "The White Book." Where information conflicted the Bible data was used.

was still legible in 2009. Margaret never married and was blinded as the result of an accident. The death entry in the Mary Ann McCulloh Lewis Bible is followed by the note "At eve it shall be light" which is a line from a poem written in 1845 titled *We Journey Through a Vale of Tears*. The *Repository and Whig* of Chambersburg published the following obituary for Margaret:

"Died: On the 18th. inst. ult., in Warren Twp., Miss Margaret McCullough, aged 30 [sic] years 7 mos. and 10 days. She was the subject of deep affliction, and with the inimitable author of "Paradise Lost," she could say - "Thus with the year seasons return: but not to me returns the day, or the sweet approach of eve or morn or light of vernal bloom, or summer rose, or flocks or herds, or human face divine." But she was sustained in the midst of her suffering in contemplating the time when the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf unstopped - when the ransomed of the Lord shall return and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joys upon their heads and sorrows and sighings shall flee away."

John Free, their last born child, was the next to die. He died on October 3, 1855 at the age of 38. The location of his grave is not known but it is likely he was buried in the Furnace Farm cemetery in the Little Cove. This cemetery was destroyed in the mid 1900's and as of 2011 no trace of it remains on the gentle hill along the Little Cove road where the graves now lay unmarked and all but forgotten. He never married and became a teacher in one of the early schools in the Little Cove, presumably the McCulloh School which was also known as the Pleasant Hill School.^[247] The McCulloh School was located in the entrance through Flaggy Marsh Ridge slightly beyond the "ore pits" near the remains of an old lime kiln at the McCulloh place.^[248] John's sister Elizabeth is said to have called him her "gentleman brother" but he was also said to be a hot-headed abolitionist.

Their third child, Mary Ann, followed John Free to the grave on April 30, 1857. After having two children out of wedlock she married Samuel Lewis on September 28, 1848. (Mary Ann is the subject of the next chapter in this family history.)

Their first born child, Archibald Scott, was the next to pass away. He died June 11, 1871 at the age of 74. He married Catherine Myers on October 8, 1819. Archibald and Catherine are buried in the Methodist Episcopal Church graveyard in the Little Cove. They had ten children: eight boys and two girls, all born in the Little Cove. From these children came so many descendants that their listing in the *White Book* genealogy takes up 20 pages! Three of Archibald and Catherine's sons and a son-in-law fought for the North in the War Between the States. One, Archibald Scott McCulloh, Junior, was a surgeon in the Pennsylvania Militia.^[249] Another, the youngest of the family, Jeremiah, died on March 31, 1863 at the tender age of twenty near Falmouth, Virginia fighting under the flag

^[247] Harry E. Foreman, *History of The Little Cove*, privately published, Chambersburg, PA 1967. 36.

^[248] Ibid.

^[249] Ibid. 36.

of the United States. Like so many of his brothers in arms he died of camp fever.^[250] He was brought back to the Little Cove and buried the following Easter Sunday in the Methodist Episcopal Church graveyard.^[251] Archibald and Catherine's grandson, Harry A. McCulloh, fought in the Spanish-American War.^[252]

Their fifth born child, Eleanor, died December 20, 1878 at the age of 70. She married Samuel Anderson June 27, 1833. They also had ten children: five boys and five girls. Two of Samuel and Eleanor's sons, Oliver Henry and John McCune, fought for the North in the War Between the States. Oliver was injured in the Battle of Bull Run by a "spent" ball that pierced his coat and badly bruised him. He also served at Manasses, Virginia. His brother John fought at Petersburg and Richmond. After Lincoln was assassinated John joined in the search for the assassin, John Wilkes Booth. The next month he marched in the Grand Review^[253] before the new President Andrew Johnson. Eleanor and Samuel are buried in Mercersburg in the First Methodist Episcopal Cemetery.^[254]

Their fourth born child, Isabella, died June 19, 1888 at the age of 82. She married Peter Peck on October 4, 1830. The 1850 Federal Census shows them living in Montgomery Township in Franklin County, Pennsylvania. Peter is listed as a farmer and they have two sons. Peter died in 1862 and by 1870 Isabella, known as "Aunt Ibby" had moved into her sister Eleanor and Samuel Anderson's home in the Franklin Corners area near Mercersburg, Pennsylvania where she spent the rest of her life.^[255] She and Peter are buried in the Corner graveyard in Montgomery Township in Franklin

^[250] Although the Family Records Death Pages of the Archibald Scott McCulloh family Bible state the cause of Jeremiah's death was camp fever, the *Registers of Deaths of Volunteers, compiled 1861-1865* gives his cause of death as Erysipelas which is a severe streptococcal skin infection. According to Glenna R. Schroeder-Lein in *Civil War Medicine*, M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2008, this infection was highly contagious and the fatality rate was greater than 90% for soldiers who contracted it during the Civil War. Also of note, Jeremiah's date of death is given as April 1 in the Register. *Registers of Deaths of Volunteers, compiled 1861-1865*. ARC: 656639. Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780's-1917. Record Group 94. The National Archives at Washington, D.C.

^[251] This information taken from the Family Records Death Pages of the Archibald Scott McCulloh family Bible. In 2011 the Bible was owned by Genevieve McCulloh of Mercersburg, PA. Scanned image in the author's files.

^[252] Harry E. Foreman, *History of The Little Cove*, privately published, Chambersburg, PA 1967, 138.

^[253] Over a two-day period in Washington, D.C., May 23-24, 1865, an immense, exultant victory parade of the Union's main fighting forces took place. The *White Book* incorrectly states that John paraded before Lincoln in the Grand Review; Lincoln had been assassinated the month before.

^[254] Anderson-McCullough-McCune Genealogy, Oliver Anderson Family (1742 - 1810), accessed July 31, 2011, <https://sites.google.com/site/andersonmccullohmccune/Home/anderson-family>

^[255] Federal Census records for 1850, 1860, 1870 and 1880 reviewed in 2011 on Ancestry.com. Also Elizabeth Brubaker Wolff, *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 36. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

County.^[256]

Their sixth born child, Elizabeth, died on September 19, 1890 at the age of 79. She never married and was known as Aunt Betty. By 1870 she too had moved into her sister Eleanor and Samuel Anderson's home where she also spent the rest of her life. She and her sister Isabella outlived Eleanor and Samuel by many years and they were then cared for by their nephews John and Samuel Anderson with whom they continued to live in the Anderson homestead^[257]. After her death Elizabeth's body was returned to the Little Cove. The funeral procession followed the Corner road from Franklin Corners and passed over Cove Mountain into the Little Cove south of the village of Sylan. Today the Corner road no longer crosses Cove Mountain but in 1890 it did and it was so steep that as Elizabeth's funeral procession came down the mountain into the Little Cove some of the drivers fastened tree branches to their vehicles to help slow their descent.^[258] Elizabeth is buried in the Methodist Episcopal Church graveyard in the Little Cove. Her gravestone was fully legible when photographed in 2007. The death entry in the Mary Ann McCulloh Lewis Bible includes the sad note:

"the last one of the family"

^[256] Elizabeth Brubaker Wolff, *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 56. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[257] Federal Census records for 1850, 1860, 1870 and 1880 reviewed in 2011 on Ancestry.com. Also Elizabeth Brubaker Wolff, *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* no publication date, possibly 1953, 36. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[258] Elizabeth Wolff Sketch, *Looking Backward, Anderson-McCullough-McCune Genealogy*, accessed July 31, 2011, <https://sites.google.com/site/andersonmccullohmccune/Home/eliz-wolff-sketch>

Mary Ann McCulloh Lewis 1802 - 1857

Mary Ann McCulloh was born June 5, 1802.^[259] She was the third of eight children born to John and Elizabeth McCulloh. Her parents lived in the Little Cove at this time so we can assume Mary Ann was born there as well.^[260] She was probably raised in the house on the old McCulloh property about one and a half miles south of the village of Sylvan. The home is still in use (as of 2011) and stands along the west side of Little Cove Road about four-tenths of a mile south of the point that Mill Drive (formerly known as the Indian Springs Road) leaves the Little Cove Road.

Although her father made his living as a shoemaker we can assume the family also raised some crops or at least had a garden. The family probably also raised chickens and other small farm animals to help feed themselves. We do know for certain that during her childhood and throughout the many years Mary Ann lived in her parents home the family always had at least one cow, usually two and sometimes as many as four. There were always one or two horses as well.^[261] Mary Ann certainly would have helped with the gardening and the animals and, with four sisters and a brother born after her over the next 14 years, she surely would have helped her mother and older sister in caring for them. We don't know if she attended one of the early schools in the area or was taught at home. It was presumably Mary Ann who wrote her name in the front of her Bible in the 1830s. Her name is written three times on the same blank page in a somewhat practiced flowing Copperplate or Spenserian script typical of the time. It is interesting to note that she used the "ough" spelling each time she wrote her name. (Later entries on the Family Records pages all use the "oh" spelling. We do not know who entered the records on these pages.) She also wrote two dates and a few other words and she properly used a possessive apostrophe when she wrote "Mary Ann McCullough's Bible." If we assume these were written by Mary Ann herself then she was clearly literate by the time she was in her 30s and probably much earlier while still in her childhood.

The German Reformed and Lutheran church came into existence in the Little Cove at about the time of Mary Ann's birth and although her parents, a sister and a daughter are buried in this church's graveyard the McCulloh name does not appear on the membership (class) records. The early records of the church are written in an archaic German and the church membership was apparently comprised primarily of Hessians which makes it doubtful the Scots-Irish McCullohs would have been members there. Mary Ann's early religious experiences must have been predominately what she was taught at home. It was not until she was 12 years old that a Methodist missionary began holding services in a nearby barn on a farm where the Warren Iron Works eventually stood. A Methodist class was organized in July of 1816 and services were held in her

^[259] Mary Ann McCulloh Lewis Bible Family Records Births page; Bible in the author's collection.

^[260] Tax records show John McCulloh living in the Little Cove at the time of Mary Ann's birth. Warren twp. tax records. *Franklin County Board of County Commissioners Tax Records. Assessor's Duplicates. 1799 though 1847.* MG-4, Microfilm rolls 56, 57 & 58, Pennsylvania State Archives.

^[261] The tax records during these years show the number of cows, horses, land owned and occupation. Warren twp. tax records. *Franklin County Board of County Commissioners Tax Records. Assessor's Duplicates. 1799 though 1847.* MG-4, Microfilm rolls 56, 57 & 58, Pennsylvania State Archives.

uncle Joshua Philips' home and schoolhouses in the area. Mary Ann's family became devout and active members of the Methodist Church though a permanent church building was not erected until after Mary Ann and her parents were dead.^[262]

Life was apparently peaceful in the Little Cove during Mary Ann's childhood. The Indian troubles were far off to the west, never to return. The nation went to war again with England in 1812 and although no fighting occurred in Franklin County, as previously noted, her father, John, was mustered as a private in the Pennsylvania Militia and was sent to the defense of Baltimore in September of 1814.^[263] Although he was probably gone for less than a month the waiting must have been difficult for Mary Ann, her mother and the rest of the family. The Little Cove is an isolated place and it would probably have taken an especially long time for news to reach the inhabitants. Mary Ann, the rest of the siblings and her mother could only wait, wonder, hope and pray. How this affected the family and what the emotional impact was on 10-year old Mary Ann can only be imagined. We know nothing more of Mary Ann's childhood.

When Mary Ann was 23 years old she became pregnant. Surely this was not happy news for the family since Mary Ann was not married and we can only guess at the reaction of her parents and siblings and in due time their neighbors and the small community. Mary Ann gave birth to a daughter, Melinda, on April 13, 1826. Who Melinda's father was is not known to us and we do not know who knew his identity at the time nor when this piece of our family's history was lost. Five years after her first pregnancy, Mary Ann, still unmarried, became pregnant for a second time. On November 12, 1831, at the age of 28 she gave birth to my great-great-grandfather Amos Crosby McCulloh.

Aside from the obvious community scandal and family turmoil associated with these pregnancies, fornication was a criminal act at this time. In fact, had these pregnancies occurred several decades earlier Mary Ann and her lover would have been given 21 lashes "well laid on" at the public whipping post or fined 10 pounds which was no small sum at the time.^[264] By the time Melinda and Amos were born whipping had been abolished but the offense of *Fornication and Bastardy* was still a criminal offense and the father of the child was subject to a 10 pound fine.^[265] Additionally the government wanted no responsibility in supporting illegitimate children and the law further required the father to "...give security himself in 200£ and two good sureties in 100£ each, that the child shall

^[262] Information concerning church history in the Little Cove from: Harry E. Foreman, *History of The Little Cove*, privately published, Chambersburg, PA 1967, 21-29 and *History of Franklin County, Pennsylvania*,... Warner, Beers & Company, Chicago 1887, 609

^[263] *History of Franklin County, Pennsylvania*,... Warner, Beers & Company, Chicago 1887, 242.

^[264] *Laws Of The Commonwealth Of Pennsylvania From The Fourteenth Day Of October, One Thousand Seven Hundred, To The Twentieth Day Of March, One Thousand And Eight Hundred And Ten.* John Bioren, Philadelphia 1810, Vol 1: 27.

^[265] *Laws Of The Commonwealth Of Pennsylvania From The Fourteenth Day Of October, One Thousand Seven Hundred.* John Bioren, Philadelphia 1822, Vol VII: 717.

not become any expense to the township...“where it was born.””^[266] Once again, these were no small sums and at the time of Mary Ann’s children’s births there were men sitting in jail in Pennsylvania for the crime of *fornication and bastardy* who were unable to pay the fine and/or provide the required securities and sureties.^[267]

If you are familiar with our branch of the McCullohs’ genealogical history you already know of these two births. You know that our McCulloh surname is not handed down through a straight, unbroken paternal lineage but, rather, “zig-zags” at Mary Ann McCulloh through the maternal side and then continues down from Amos to the present generations. Who Mary Ann’s paramour(s) and the father(s) of Melinda and Amos were has been a family mystery for more than a few decades. My Grandfather Charles W. McCulloh, Sr. spent considerable time and speculation on the question during his lifetime. I heard him on more than one occasion speculate that maybe Mary Ann had gotten “mixed up” with an Indian. He may have been kidding but I think he did consider this a real possibility. However, given the absence of Indians in the Little Cove at that time, an Indian lover was not very likely. And, in fact, DNA testing shows my ancestors to be European which clearly rules out a Native American as Amos’s father. My grandfather and other relatives never did figure out who Amos’s father was. Late in life my grandfather said that he regretted never asking his father William if he knew the identity of his (William’s) grandfather.^[268] And, I have often wondered if Amos and Melinda themselves knew who their father was or had any kind of relationship with him at all.

As noted above the law required the father of illegitimate children to pay for their “maintenance” for a period of time as dictated by the court. The father’s identity was established by the testimony of the mother. According to the law her testimony was enough to establish who the father was and when he was tried in court her testimony was given in evidence to convict him of fornication and bastardy.^[269] Could it really be this simple? Has the identity of Mary Ann’s lover been known and documented right from the start? Has his name been entered on a judgement and filed on a darkened, deteriorating piece of paper sitting for almost 200 years in a dusty file folder in the Franklin County courthouse simply waiting to be read? Well, no, it’s not that simple. These trials were conducted by the Court of the Quarter Sessions but according to Mr. Stuart Veinotte, Franklin County Archivist, the Court of the Quarter Session records in the archives only go back as far as 1847;^[270] 15 years short of the records that could contain Amos’s fathers name. How the older records were lost is not known. They may have been destroyed when the confederates burned Chambersburg in 1864, they may simply have been discarded years ago or, hopefully, they lie lost

^[266] *Laws Of The Commonwealth Of Pennsylvania From The Fourteenth Day Of October, One Thousand Seven Hundred.* John Bioren, Philadelphia 1822, Vol VII: 717.

^[267] Seventeen men were jailed between 1828 and 1833 in nearby York County for the crime of fornication and bastardy. Samuel Hazard, ed. *Hazard’s Register of Pennsylvania; Volume XII-No. 23.* Philadelphia: December 7, 1833. 368.

^[268] Letter in the author’s files.

^[269] *Laws Of The Commonwealth Of Pennsylvania From The Fourteenth Day Of October, One Thousand Seven Hundred.* John Bioren, Philadelphia 1822, Vol VII: 717.

^[270] e-mail correspondence with the author on May 24, 2012.

and forgotten in some unknown government basement, attic or warehouse waiting to be found. So, were there trials? Did Mary Ann identify the father or fathers of her children? It appears almost certain we will never know.

Without these court records I do not believe we will ever know the identity of Melinda's father. However, regarding Amos, as I have pondered this question over the years one hypothesis has come to the fore and gained credence with each new fact and circumstance reviewed. It may yet prove to be completely wrong (and a slanderous indictment of an innocent man) but for now it seems worth considering as we seek to unravel the mystery as to the identity of Amos's father.

The year Mary Ann conceived her first child (1825), her brother Archibald Scott McCulloh acquired the David Davis Fort site in the Flaggy Marsh area about three-quarters of a mile to the northwest of Mary Ann's family's home in the Little Cove.^[271] ^[272] In this same year or the year before, the operators of the Nor'East Ironworks located just north of the town of Fort Loudon in Franklin County purchased six thousand acres of land near Archibald's newly acquired property and began preparations to build a new ironworks there.^[273] ^[274] This new endeavor became known as the Warren Iron Works and the furnace is believed to have been "put into blast" no later than 1828.^[275] A man named Samuel Lewis was a forgerman at the Nor'East Ironworks^[276] and at some point he began to work at the Warren Iron Works.^[277] ^[278]

As ironworks employees came into the Little Cove they would have needed board and lodging and

^[271] The David Davis Fort was a fortified log dwelling surrounded by a high picket fence. Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 64, 90 & 137.

^[272] Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 12 & 59.

^[273] A William Potts had an association with the Nor'East Iron Works and he was the person who started the Warren Iron Works in the Little Cove. Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 47.

^[274] 1825 tax record for William Putt (Potts). Warren twp. tax records. *Franklin County Board of County Commissioners Tax Records. Assessor's Duplicates. 1799 though 1847*. MG-4, Microfilm rolls 56, 57 & 58, Pennsylvania State Archives.

^[275] Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 47.

^[276] The 1828 tax record for Samuel Lewis lists him as a forgerman. Peters twp. tax records. *Franklin County Board of County Commissioners Tax Records. Assessor's Duplicates. 1826 though 1835*. MG-4, Microfilm roll 47 (2212), Pennsylvania State Archives. Samuel is listed as a laborer in 1827 and no occupation is listed for 1826. Tax records for years prior to 1826 were not checked for Samuel Lewis.

^[277] Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, and *Forbes Road, Parnell's Knob to Burnt Cabins*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1954.

^[278] Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 49.

would have sought these at homes near the ironworks site.^[279] Archibald's newly acquired land adjoined the property where the iron ore was mined. We don't know if a dwelling existed yet on Archibald's land though it seems likely. And if the farm buildings and homes that stood on this property in the mid 1900's were in existence in 1825 they were only 1/3 of a mile from the ore pits. The iron works was constructed less than a mile to the east of these ore deposits and the general area of the ironworks was within a mile of the original McCulloh home where Mary Ann's family lived as well as another McCulloh home that may have been in existence by that time.^[280] Mary Ann's father John was a shoemaker and her brother Archibald was a distiller for a time so it seems quite likely that the McCullohs would have had considerable contact with these new inhabitants of the Little Cove and even may have provided board and lodging for some. The Little Cove was an isolated community up in the mountains and it must have been an exciting time, especially for the young people, when so many new people and activities began to come into their little community. The following glimpse of life in an ironworks community describes the Carrick Furnace in nearby Metal Township but there is no reason to assume the Little Cove didn't experience the same thing:

While the lot of the iron worker was one of toil, they nevertheless found some amusement and relaxation in occasional barn dances, corn huskings and foot races. The rooms of the big house were ample to accommodate dances and parties which were frequently held. This was indeed a democratic community, there being little or no class distinction. The children of the miners and colliers mingled with the children of the bosses. Quilting parties were in vogue, and all the women were able to use the needle with aptness and expertness, while men in all stages of life tested their skill in the many avenues of sport.^[281]

It is possible that Samuel was sent to the Little Cove in 1825 from the Nor'East Iron Works to scout the land and help set up the Warren Iron Works. If that is indeed what happened then he and Mary

^[279] Milton K. Bergner. *Carrick Furnace. Papers Read Before The Society January 28, 1937, to June, 1939, Volume XI.* Chambersburg, PA: The Kittochtinny Historical Society, 502. While this background detail is in reference to a different location, the Carrick Furnace was a nearby furnace to the north in Metal Township and the details surrounding its establishment are assumed to be indicative of the circumstances that would have occurred at any of the furnaces constructed in the area around that time.

^[280] In July 2011 we toured the Little Cove with John McCulloh and Betty Jean Martin, both descendants of Archibald Scott McCulloh. John showed us what remains of the ore pits near the old Archibald Scott McCulloh homestead site where he and Betty Jean lived as children. He had a general idea of where the furnace was located but, though he has lived in the little Cove all his life, he had never seen it. Without his help we never would have located the site but after a short walk along an old dirt road we found the remains of the furnace built on the side of a small hill with a dry millrace ditch in front of it. Though decaying it was still an impressive sight for being close to 200 years old. The furnace was slightly pyramidal in shape and constructed of well fitted stones stacked to a height of 15 to 20 feet. The base was approximately 20 feet in depth by approximately 30 feet in length. The upper chimneys were gone but the internal flues were still visible from on top. An 1858 map I located months after our visit shows the furnace in this location along with a forge, refining fire, store and other buildings. No trace of these other buildings were visible as we walked along this old road which appears to now be a seldom used farm road on private property.

^[281] Milton K. Bergner. *Carrick Furnace. Papers Read Before The Society January 28, 1937, to June, 1939, Volume XI.* Chambersburg, PA: The Kittochtinny Historical Society, 504.

Ann were in the right place at the right time for an affair to occur and it is even possible that he could have actually boarded in the McCulloh home from time to time. Whether Mary Ann knew it or not, Samuel Lewis was a married man. The 1830 Census shows Samuel and his wife Susanna and two children living in Fort Loudon so Samuel would have been traveling the 18 miles back and forth from Fort Loudon to the Little Cove at the time of the affair. He probably would not have been making these round trips in one day and would have lodged in the Little Cove during the visits. Did Samuel's wife Susanna know about the affair and the children? Did anyone in the community know who Mary Ann's lover was? Was his identity ever known to more than just a few? Divorce at that time was probably not a realistic option for Susanna though the 1840 Federal Census shows Samuel and his children now living without her in the Little Cove. Did Susanna discover the affair and actually leave Samuel and the family? If Samuel and Susanna were separated it wasn't for very long. They added three children in the 1830s and three more were born in the early 1840s. Whatever the case, if Samuel was the father of Melinda and Amos he would hardly have been a welcome visitor at the McCulloh home and he could do little but continue on in his marriage to Susanna leaving Mary Ann and her children to fend for themselves. And then, many years later, a series of events unfolded that would have finally opened the door for Mary Ann and Samuel.

In 1846 Samuel's wife Susanna died, most likely while giving birth or shortly thereafter, leaving Samuel with seven children ranging in age from a newborn infant to a 16 year old son. Mary Ann's father and Mother were still alive and it seems likely their feelings toward Samuel would not have changed. With Mary Ann still living in her parent's home this would have effectively limited any real opportunity for a relationship with Samuel to be rekindled. But then, less than one year later, on June 4, 1847 Mary Ann's mother Elizabeth died. The Warren Iron Works had been in decline for several years and Samuel prepared to return to the Nor'East Iron Works near Fort Loudon. With his wife dead and Mary Ann's mother dead as well and with Mary Ann's father by now in his mid 70s the obstacles to their marriage would have finally fallen away. And so, as announced in the Repository & Whig newspaper, on September 28, 1848 "Samuel Lewis of North East married Mary Ann McCulloh of Little Cove"^[282] And, with her departure from the Little Cove the community scandal that may have surrounded her these many years was also left behind.

Is this really how it happened? We simply don't know. Why didn't Mary Ann and the father of these children marry? Mary Ann was 23 at the time of her first pregnancy and if the baby's father had been a single man a marriage surely would have occurred. We know beyond all doubt that Amos was not the result of incest.^[283] Mary Ann may have been a promiscuous woman with multiple lovers but this doesn't ring true for the time and place and if it were the case wouldn't there have been more children? She could have been the victim of rape but to be the victim of not one but two rapes again simply doesn't ring true for the time and place. Were this to have been the cause it certainly seems the scandal surrounding such a crime would have filtered down to future generations. And for both instances to result in pregnancy places this possibility beyond serious consideration. While

^[282] Marriage announcement in the Repository & Whig. The marriage was performed by the Rev. Elias Welty, of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

^[283] This fact has been conclusively determined through DNA testing. Details are given in the following chapter on Amos McCulloh.

most of the above described possibilities can't be categorically ruled out they just don't seem plausible to me. If not these causes, then the only reasonable explanation left is that she carried on an intermittent extended affair with a man who simply could not marry her even if he wanted to; a married man. And so, for the reasons presented above, Samuel Lewis, a married man in the Little Cove and her future husband, must be considered more than just a remote possibility. To be clear though, at the time of this writing in 2012, we have no evidence whatsoever to support the possibility that Samuel is the father of these children. What I have written in this regard is entirely conjecture based on circumstances that can be woven into a story, and that is all. It is just as possible to argue persuasively against several of these points and make the case that Samuel Lewis never met Mary Ann until Amos was at least 8 years old. It is quite likely Samuel Lewis was the faithful husband of his loving wife Susanna. A man of integrity who, after tragically losing his first wife, had compassion on a lonely Mary Ann who, no doubt, had suffered for many years as the result of her youthful indiscretions.

What we do know for certain about Mary Ann and Samuel is not really very much at all. It does seem pretty likely that Samuel must have met Mary Ann while he was in the Little Cove working for the Warren Iron Works; whether in 1825 when Melinda was conceived or in or after 1838 when he finally moved to the Little Cove.^[284] The 1838 tax records for Warren County show Samuel now living in the Little Cove. He has a cow, no land and the occupation of forgerman. He appears on the tax list again in 1839. For some reason he is not on any tax lists in 1840 but he does appear on the 1840 census record in the Little Cove along with five children. Susanna is not listed on the census record. Her presence in the family would have been indicated with a '1' marked in the age '30 to 40' column. The census return is very clear and Susanna is simply not listed there. We really don't know why. Was she really separated from Samuel? While it is possible it seems doubtful to me. This may simply be an error by the census taker. The 1840 census records do not indicate when the census was conducted in the Little Cove but based on the records it seems that Susanna was quite likely pregnant at the time of the census. It is certainly possible she had left the Little Cove where she was a stranger to return to her family for their care and assistance, especially if she was having a difficult pregnancy. Samuel continues to be listed on Warren Township tax records for the next several years. His occupation is given as "Hammerman" which supports the fact that he worked for the Iron Works while living in the Little Cove.^[285] His name also appears on a surviving Warren Iron Works ledger which covers the period between 1842 and 1853.^[286] Samuel's wife, Susanna, died in September of 1846 and with seven children to care for it is apparent that Samuel

^[284] 1838 tax record for Samuel Lewis. Warren twp. tax records. *Franklin County Board of County Commissioners Tax Records. Assessor's Duplicates. 1799 through 1847.* MG-4, Microfilm rolls 56, 57 & 58, Pennsylvania State Archives.

^[285] 1841 through 1845 (1846 records were missing) tax records for Samuel Lewis. Warren twp. tax records. *Franklin County Board of County Commissioners Tax Records. Assessor's Duplicates. 1799 through 1847.* MG-4, Microfilm rolls 56, 57 & 58, Pennsylvania State Archives. A second Samuel Lewis was also in the Little Cove at this time. His wife's name was Catherine and he is listed as a Shingle Maker.

^[286] Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove.* Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 47.

felt he could not handle the children on his own. His two brothers, David & Reuben, and their families still lived in Fort Loudon and their mother may have still have been alive.^[287] It is clear from the records that Samuel returned to the Fort Loudon area^[288] and the Nor'East furnace by 1847.^[289] He had apparently done well while at the Warren Iron Works and the 1847 tax list for Peters Township shows him with 4 acres of land in Fort Loudon. The 1847 tax list fails to give his occupation but the 1848 tax list shows him with the coveted title of "Iron Master." He has no horses but does own a cow. The 1850 Federal Census shows Samuel as a resident of Ft. Loudon in Peter's Township. So, it is clear that by the time of his marriage to Mary Ann he had returned to Ft. Loudon and no longer lived in the Little Cove.

Mary Ann appears on the Warren Township tax lists beginning in 1828 where she is recorded as having paid six cents county tax for her cow which was valued at \$8.00. She continues to appear on the tax lists with a single cow most years up through 1847 except that in 1845 she has two cows and in 1847 three. Although we are unable to determine through the tax records whether she still lived at home with her parents, the 1840 Federal Census does clearly show Mary Ann still living at home in the Little Cove with her father, mother, two younger sisters and her younger brother. Melinda and Amos are living in the household as well.^[290] Mary Ann's parents were growing old and

^[287] There were several Lewis's with the same names in the Ft. Loudon and Little Cove areas. This made it fairly difficult to obtain a clear picture of our Samuel Lewis's family and their movements. I have carefully reviewed the tax and Federal Census records for Franklin County for the period between 1790 and 1910 and, although these relationships can not be proven, I have come to the following conclusions: Samuel Lewis had two brothers; David and Reuben. Their father was also named Reuben and he died between 1830 and 1840. All of these men were employed in the ironworks industry. Their widowed mother appears to be living with her son Reuben in 1840 but she does not appear in the Census records in 1850. Samuel Lewis had several sons including sons named Reuben, Samuel and David. There was also a black family of Lewis's in Peters Township at the same time as our Lewis families (see the 1850 census.) The father of this family was named David Lewis. He had several sons including sons named David and Samuel. There was also a second Samuel Lewis in the Little Cove in the late 1830's through the early 1850's. This Samuel arrived in the Little Cove about the same time as our Samuel Lewis. He was a Shingle Maker and was married to a woman named Catherine. It is this Samuel who's death (8/11/52) is recorded in Mary Davis Ward's diary just 3 entries below our Mary Ann McCulloh Lewis's death entry causing him to be confused for our Samuel Lewis.

^[288] 1847 tax record for Samuel Lewis. Peters Twp. tax records. *Franklin County Board of County Commissioners Tax Records. Assessor's Duplicates. 1844, 1845 and 1847.* MG-4, Microfilm roll 49 (2214), Pennsylvania State Archives.

^[289] The Warren Iron Works began to decline after 1842. Samuel is known to have been back at Nor'East from 1848 to 1851

John G. Orr, Esq. *The Conodogwinet Creek. No. 3. (Early Highways). Papers Read Before The Society February, 1908, To February, 1910, Volume VI.* Chambersburg, PA: The Kittingtinny Historical Society, 154.

Harry E. Foreman. *The Journal of James McCullough: An Historic Document. Papers Read Before The Society September, 1981 to May 1984, Volume XIII.* Chambersburg, PA: The Kittingtinny Historical Society, 396.

^[290] Only the head of household names appear in the 1840 census. The remaining household members are simply recorded by gender and age ranges. By a simple exercise of elimination based on gender, ages and marriage dates we fairly certainly arrive at the household being comprised of the parents, John & Elizabeth. Several of their children: Mary Ann, Elizabeth, Margaret D. & John Free. And Mary Ann's children, Melinda and Amos.

would have been in their 60's by this time. Within the next several years Mary Ann's daughter and mother died and her own life must have included regrets, heartache and a growing loneliness.

How did Samuel and Mary Ann meet? This we will never know. Samuel could have been a customer purchasing shoes from Mary Ann's father or whiskey from Mary Ann's brother. They may have met at a social outing associated with the community of iron works families or they may have met at a church service. However this first encounter took place it is doubtful that either of them had any inkling that their lives would join together in the not too distant future. When Samuel's wife Susanna died in September of 1846 he was suddenly left alone with a newborn infant and six other children. The very difficult circumstances Samuel found himself in apparently outweighed any social stigma attached to Mary Ann and her illegitimate children. As announced in the *Repository and Whig* newspaper Mr. Samuel Lewis of North East and Miss Mary Ann McCulloh of Little Cove were married on September 28, 1848. The 46 year old Mary Ann moved to Fort Loudon to live with her 47 year old husband and his seven children. Mary Ann Lewis appears two years later in the 1850 Federal Census and she is living in Peters Township (Fort Loudon) with Samuel Lewis and his children: Alfera; 20, Samuel; 16, Reuben; 14, Rebecca; 12, George; 9, Isabella; 7 and David; 4. Samuel's two brothers, Reuben and David are their next door neighbors each with families of their own. Samuel's occupation is listed as "Forgeman." His brother's occupations are each listed as "Iron Master."

On January 27, 1847, the year before Samuel and Mary Ann's marriage, Mary Ann's first child, Melinda, died. As far as can be determined, she was the first of the McCullohs to be buried in the Stone Church graveyard in the Little Cove and hers is the oldest known McCulloh tombstone in the Little Cove. Her grandparents, John and Elizabeth McCulloh and her aunt Margaret McCulloh were buried next to her over the next several years. The inscription on her tombstone was still legible in 2009:

In Memory of
MELINDA R. McCULLOH
was born
April 13, 1826
died Jan. 27, 1847:
Aged 20 years
9 months & 11 days.

*God my Redeemer lives,
and ever from the skies,
Looks down and watches all my dust,
Till He shall bid it rise.*

The following death notice and verse appeared in the *Repository & Whig* newspaper in February:

"In Warren Township, on the 27th ult., Miss Malinda McCulloh, in the 21st

year of her age -- She was a very amiable and interesting lady, and for many years a member of the Methodist Ep. Church."

Then followed two verses of a hymn:

*Why do we mourn for dying friends,
Or shake at death's alarms?
'Tis but the voice that Jesus sends
To call them to his arms*

*The graves of all His saints be blest,
And softened every bed.
Where should the dying members rest,
But in their living head.*

Mary Ann's second child, Amos Crosby McCulloh was 16 years old when Samuel and Mary Ann married and he apparently moved with his mother to the Fort Loudon area. He was listed in the 1850 census as a farm laborer living in the Jacob Burckholder household. (Amos is the subject of the next chapter in this family history.)

Though late in life, Mary Ann had finally found a loving and rewarding (it is hoped) relationship as a true wife and mother to a large and needful family. She and Samuel shared the next eight and one-half years together. We know they lived in the Fort Loudon area until at least 1851 since Samuel and his brother David operated the forge together until then.^[291] After 1851 the then current owner, John Beaver, took over the operation of the Ironworks which continued for only for a short time thereafter.^[292] It may be that Samuel continued to work at the Nor'East furnace though we are not able to tell definitively from the records. We do know that Samuel (and presumably Mary Ann and the rest of the family) continued to live in Ft Loudon for the next several years. Samuel continued to own his 4 acres of land in the Fort Loudon area until 1854. And then in late 1854 or early 1855, whether from homesickness, the closing of the Nor'East furnace, a business opportunity or for all of these reasons or others, Samuel and Mary Ann moved back to the Little Cove. The 1855 tax list shows Samuel as an Iron Master in the Little Cove but his name is listed as "Lewis, Samuel & Brothers."^[293] It appears quite certain that Samuel came back to the Little Cove to run the Iron Works, or own a business associated with it. His brother David and his son Samuel (Jr.) also

^[291] John G. Orr, Esq. *The Conodogwinet Creek. No. 3. (Early Highways). Papers Read Before The Society February, 1908, To February, 1910, Volume VI.* Chambersburg, PA: The Kittochtinny Historical Society, 154.

^[292] John G. Orr, Esq. *The Conodogwinet Creek. No. 3. (Early Highways). Papers Read Before The Society February, 1908, To February, 1910, Volume VI.* Chambersburg, PA: The Kittochtinny Historical Society, 154.

^[293] The tax record is difficult to decipher on this point. The actual entry reads "Lewis, Samuel & Bro^s" The "Bro^s" is the portion that is difficult to read but it is almost certain the symbol "&" and the abbreviation "Bro^s" are the words printed after his name.

appear on the tax list in the Little Cove beginning in 1855. The monetary values that appear on the tax list for Samuel are extraordinary. Samuel's occupation is valued at \$900! Most occupations on the tax lists at the time are valued at only between \$40 to \$100. Even as an Ironmaster while at Nor'East furnace Samuel's occupation value was usually no more than \$100 with the exception of 1842 when it was listed as \$200. Additionally Samuel is shown with 24 horses valued at a total of \$1,860. Running an Ironworks required a significant number of laborers and horses; large quantities of wood had to be cut and hauled to the furnace, ore was dug and hauled to the furnace, ashes and other debris had to be hauled away and, of course the iron itself had to be moved. Twenty-four horses is far above the normal number of horses owned by the average inhabitant of the Little Cove; most owned only one or two. And, in fact he may have owned many more since horses had to be over four years of age to appear on the list and be taxed.^[294] These are significant sums and they leave little doubt that Samuel was now running a business. The following year he is listed on the tax records as "Lewis, Samuel & R." He is still shown as an Ironmaster, though the occupation value has been left blank, and he is shown with 23 horses. His brother David no longer appears on the list but now two of Samuel's sons are present. Samuel Jr's occupation is listed as "Gentleman" which would suggest his father's business was successful enough that Samuel Jr. didn't need to work. His younger brother Reuben is listed as a "manager." No doubt the 'R' in the "Lewis, Samuel & R" tax entry refers to Reuben and indicates he was actively involved in the business with his father.

And just when Samuel and Mary Ann had hit their stride; when from all appearances they had achieved success, tragedy struck. At the end of an unusually cold and stormy April,^[295] for reasons that have not come down through history to us, Mary Ann McCulloh Lewis's short life came to an end. She died on April 30, 1857.^[296] She was only 54 years old. The event is recorded in her Bible and was also noted by a resident of the Little Cove in her diary,^[297] however, no details as to the cause or location of her death are given. Once again Samuel was left a widow with children, though his youngest child, David, was now about 11 years old.

It is somewhat surprising, and possibly instructive, that Mary Ann was not buried in the Stone Church cemetery beside her parents, sister and daughter. Did this reflect a persisting break in the relationship with her family or the Little Cove church community? Whatever the case, sadly, Mary Ann's grave is now lost. If she is not buried in an unmarked grave at the Stone Church then it is likely she is buried in the Furnace Farm Cemetery. This cemetery was not associated with a church and was a common burying ground for people in the Little Cove, especially those involved with the

^[294] Mordecai M'Kinney. *Tax Laws. A Digest of the Laws of Pennsylvania Relative to County and Township Rates and Levies...* Harrisburg, PA: A. Boyd Hamilton, 1855, 15.

^[295] Weather conditions noted in William S. Bowers *William Heyser's Diary. Papers Read Before The Society 1971-1978, Volume XVI.* Chambersburg, PA: The Kittochtinny Historical Society, 40.

^[296] Mary Ann McCulloh Lewis Bible Family Records Deaths page; Bible in the author's collection.

^[297] In her diary Mary Davis Ward gives the date of Mary Anne McCulloh Lewises death as April 29, 1857. Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove.* Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 20.

Iron Works.^[298] Members of both the McCulloh and Lewis families, including Mary Ann's brother John Free McCulloh, are believed to be buried there^[299] and, given the significant involvement Samuel had with the Ironworks, it is likely that he had her buried there as well.

Inexplicably, the Furnace Farm Cemetery was completely destroyed in the 1940s or 50s. Although the name isn't stated, the cemetery is clearly marked on the 1868 map of Warren Township and in July of 2011 we visited the site. The cemetery was on a gently rolling knoll in a field just along the east side of the Little Cove Rd., approximately 350 yards north of the Methodist Episcopal Church. John McCulloh, a descendant of Mary Ann's brother Archibald Scott McCulloh, remembers seeing the tombstones in this cemetery when he was a child. A life long resident of the Little Cove, Mrs. Edna Zimmerman Funk, recalls that back in the 1930s or 40s there was a black wrought iron fence around the cemetery. Local residents recall a "rich lawyer" from Washington, D.C. coming into the area and buying up land including the cemetery and that he was responsible for destroying the cemetery.^[300] Whatever the case the field is now a cow pasture. In the course of conducting genealogy research and several years before I actually knew where the cemetery was I was told that the tombstones from this cemetery were removed and thrown into a ravine. (I do not recall who told me this information.) Nevertheless, as it turns out, there is a steep embankment at a creek which runs along the side of the cemetery field about 100 yards away to the east. During our visit in July, 2011 we conducted a brief search up and down the embankment looking for any signs of tombstones. We had no tools and there was considerable dense grass and foliage. We saw no signs of the tombstones along the embankment or in the field itself. Harry Foreman indicates he saw some of the stones back in the 1960s or earlier as he was researching his book about the Little Cove.^[301] It seems there is no doubt the tombstones were once there and probably still are. However, even if permission could be obtained from the current owner of the field, finding and uncovering the tombstones would be a lengthy, arduous and expensive task given the number of people thought to have been buried there.

By 1857 the Warren Iron Works was very near its end and shortly after Mary Ann's death Samuel left the Little Cove for the final time. Whether his departure was simply a business decision or due to the death of Mary Ann and all the memories the Little Cove held for him of her and their lives together we will never know. We know he was gone within just a few months since his name is absent from the 1857 tax list for Warren Township which was prepared in July or August. (His son's

^[298] Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 31.

^[299] Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 31 & 139.

^[300] These recollections were gathered during an interview with the author at the home of Little Cove resident Charlotte Carbaugh on July 9, 2011. Edna is Charlotte's mother and Charlotte and Betty Jean (McCulloh) Martin were childhood friends; the Carbaugh home being just a mile north of the old Ft. Davis Fort site where John and Betty Jean McCulloh lived as children. Additional interviews were conducted that same day with John McCulloh, also a life long resident of the Little Cove.

^[301] Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 32.

Samuel and Reuben were still in the Little Cove and listed as merchants on the 1857 tax list.) After the Warren Iron Works closed some of the workers went to St. Thomas Township to work at the Franklin Furnace,^[302] however, Samuel does not appear to have been one of them and he doesn't appear again on any Warren, Peters or St. Thomas Township tax lists nor does he appear in the 1860 Federal Census. Where Samuel spent the last five years of his life is a mystery.^[303]

Our next sighting of Samuel is his death notice in the Chambersburg *Valley Spirit & Times*. Samuel died in Fort Loudon on September 7, 1862.^[304] Apparently his children chose to bury him next to his first wife Susanna, their mother, and he is buried in the St. Peters German Reformed Church cemetery in Ft Louden, Pennsylvania. His tombstone reads as follows:

IN
Memory of
SAMUEL LEWIS
Died September 7,
1862
Aged 61 years
& 1 M^[305]

Next to him to his left lies his wife:

In Memory of
SUSANNA wife of
SAMUEL LEWIS
who departed this life
September 7, 1846
aged 39
years, 11 months, 29 days.
(Verse)

(We couldn't read the verse on the tombstone. And how strange they both died on the 7th of September!) To his right lies his granddaughter (daughter of Reuben) under a smaller stone:

Maggie N. Lewis

^[302] Harry E. Foreman. *History of The Little Cove*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1967, 50.

^[303] Searches of tax lists for additional townships may reveal his location but these additional searches have not been conducted yet.

^[304] *Valley Sprit & Times*. Vol. 16, No. 12. Wednesday, September 21, 1862. Chambersburg, PA. page 5, column 5.

^[305] In July 2007 we discovered Samuel's tombstone and it was undamaged. In July 2008 we found it broken off at the ground line and laying flat on the ground. There is more engraved on the stone than listed above but it occurs below the break, is buried in the ground and could not be read.

*died April 13, 1866
Aged 6 yrs.
(Verse)*

(We were unable to read the verse.) To Maggie's right an even smaller stone:

*Ellen Grace
daughter of Reuben & Ellen Lewis
died in the 2nd yr of her age*

To Ellen's right an even smaller stone:

Infant of Reuben & Ellen Lewis.

Samuel's son and daughter-in-law Reuben and Ellen Lewis do appear in the 1860 census in Fort Loudon. Reuben is listed as 24 years old, Ellen 22, and they have 4 children, including the Maggie and Ellen buried in the graveyard mentioned above. Reuben is listed as a blacksmith.

We first found Samuel Lewis's tombstone in July of 2007 during a visit to Fort Loudon to search for McCulloh tombstones. We had already been through the cemeteries in the Little Cove and we were especially hopeful of finding Mary Ann's tombstone in one of the Fort Loudon cemeteries since it was thought she may have died in Fort Loudon. The St. Peters German Reformed Church cemetery is tucked into a residential neighborhood in the town of Ft. Loudon and we were surprised and excited when we found Samuel Lewis's tombstone. However, our excitement was pretty short lived when we discovered the wife buried next to him was not Mary Ann. We took some photos anyway but assumed this was probably not "our" Samuel Lewis. It was only later as I continued researching and writing about our family history that I became convinced that this was indeed our Samuel Lewis after all. The following facts when pieced together lead pretty certainly to this conclusion.

The 1850 census lists 48 year old Samuel Lewis and 47 year old Mary Ann Lewis living together in the same household in Fort Loudon. Samuel's occupation is listed as "forgeman." The children in their household include a boy named Reuben Lewis who is listed as being 14 years of age. Ten years later the 24 year old Reuben is still in Fort Loudon where he is listed in the 1860 Census as a blacksmith. He is now married to a women named Ellen and they have four children including a baby named Margaret. As described above, three tombstones are lined up to the left of Samuel in what is clearly a family group. The names Reuben and Ellen appear together as the parents on two of three tombstones for their children. The grave immediately to the left of Samuel is for "Maggie" who's age of 6 years in 1866 matches perfectly with the 1860 census record for Reuben's household which lists the infant "Margaret." The next tombstone has no date but based on the placement of the tombstones their child Ellen Grace, obviously named for her mother, was the next to die. And finally a funeral home document for the 1915 burial of 79 year old Reuben Lewis lists his parents as Samuel Lewis and Susanna Lynch.^[306] Is this proof that we have the right Samuel?

^[306] Copy of funeral record in author's files. Reuben died on July 16, 1915 in Fort Loudon.

Proof in this area of Pennsylvania in the 1850s by paper documentation for anyone but the most important citizens is very hard to come by. Reuben was a teenager in the household of Samuel and Mary Ann. Three of Reuben's small children are buried next to their grandparents (Samuel and Susanna). Every age when cross-checked for each record and event matches perfectly for Samuel, Susanna, Mary Ann, Reuben and daughter Margaret (Maggie). There are too many congruencies for this all to simply be coincidence. This is clearly "our" Samuel Lewis.

We know so much more now than that revealed in the sparse entry for Samuel and Mary Ann in *The White Book*, but will we ever know the identity of Amos's father? I actually do expect to discover his identity one day. In 2008 my y-DNA was tested by Family Tree DNA testing service. A 67 marker test was conducted and the results were entered into a large database. As additional men are tested their results are added into the database as well and a computer looks for matches among the test results. A match of 37 numerical markers is needed to demonstrate a very close relationship and would likely reveal the surname of Amos's father. A 67 marker match would most definitely identify Amos's father's last name barring any anomalies in the genealogical ancestral line of the matching person. Once this occurs we will search the census records, tax lists and other references to try and locate this surname in the Little Cove during the 1820s. We may never piece together the whole story but we should certainly be able to get much closer to the truth.

I have often wondered what the circumstances of Mary Ann's life were. The Little Cove is a small mountain valley and it was not a large community back when Mary Ann was growing up there.^[307] Her family became active members of the Methodist Episcopal Church and her brother Archibald was one of the members of the church's building committee. What was her family and community's reaction to not one but two out-of-wedlock births? Were there court trials for the crime of Fornication and Bastardy? Did she reveal the father(s)' name(s)? She left no diary and there are no letters or other records that would give us a glimpse into her thoughts and feelings. Surely these were very, very difficult times for her. In 2009 I was able to locate Mary Ann's Bible in Mercersburg, Pennsylvania and in January, 2011 I had the good fortune of acquiring it.^[308] Though I have searched every page of the Bible looking for notations or other clues there were none to be found, only darkened clippings of poems from old newspapers and other scraps of paper used as bookmarks. And yet, the first clipping I came across probably gives us as much a glimpse into Mary Ann's thoughts as we are bound to find. The clipping was dated just six months after the birth of Mary Ann's first child.

From the Middlesex Gazette.

^[307] Federal Census records for 1820, 1830, and 1840 reviewed in 2012 on Ancestry.com. The population of the 50,000 acre Warren Township (Little Cove) in 1820 was 517, in 1830 it was 572 and in 1840 it was 659. It is known that hundreds of men came into nearby Metal Township when the Carrick Furnace was constructed in the early 1800s. It is likely this Warren Township population number includes a population increase associated with the establishment of the Warren Iron Works.

^[308] The story of how I came to own the Bible was told on episode 67 of the Genealogy Gems podcast in March 2011. The interview can be heard at www.mccullohreunion.org.

Mr. Peters – The enclosed poem is founded on the following facts.

A young lady of a good education, amiable disposition and pleasing manners, was seduced from the path of virtue and innocence by the promise of immediate marriage from her perfidious lover. She bore her fate for some time with fortitude and even resignation, but at length became neglected by her relatives and left dependent on the charity of an unfeeling world for support, she resigned herself to despair, and determined to end her life by poison. As she stretched forth her hand to grasp the cup containing the liquid death, her eye, by accident, glanced on a Bible, which lay open on the table; – the holy book had been opened by her child, which she then held to her bosom asleep. This sentence attracted her attention: "*Daughter, be of good comfort, thy sins are forgiven thee!*" Hope revived in her breast, and the angel of *mercy* stayed the arm of death.

" Sleep on my babe, thy sleep is calm,
Though pillowed on pollution's breast,
Sleep on, sip that bosom balm
Which lulls thy little woes to rest.

But ah! my babe, though thou dost not hear
The howling storm or rattling hail,
Thou dost not know a mother's fear,
No pangs like hers thy breast assail.

Then sleep thee on—nor wake again
Till she who holds thee sleeps in death,
Yes, sleep thee on the bed of sin
Till heaven demands thy fleeting breath.

I cannot weep, though tears would blot,
For ever blot my sins from heav'n;
I cannot pray—O heavy lot!
Though angels whisper'd sins forgiven.

Then, hail ! thou rosy poison, hail !
For thou canst alarm this bosom's swell;
Once drank, the world will cease to rail,—
Then, O my babe, farewell—farewell !"

She paus'd, for lo !, before her eye,
The book of heav'n full open lay
Which her sweet babe—it knew not why,
Had left unclos'd in frolic play.

She read—and while her heart was wrung,
Yet scarcely dar'd to think of heav'n,
A voice pronounc'd 'twas mercy's tongue,
"Be of good FAITH — *thou art* FORGIV'N !"

Her babe awoke—a cheerful smile
O'r all its lovely features play'd—
She dash'd the cup—sweet peace return'd,
And death's uplifted arm was stay'd.^[309]

—————

^[309] Though not titled or attributed the poem is *The Penitent* and is by Robert Stevenson Coffin.

Amos Crosby McCulloh 1831 - 1876

Amos Crosby McCulloh was born on November 12, 1831, presumably in the Little Cove in Warren Township, Franklin County, Pennsylvania. As noted in the previous chapter Amos had an older sister, Melinda, and the identity of Amos's father is unknown. We do not know if Amos himself knew who his father was nor who else may have known. If other family members knew Amos's father's identity they apparently took this knowledge to their graves without passing it down. There has been much speculation on this question over the years with no apparent way to find the answer. In fact, how do we even know that Amos is Mary Ann's son? There are no birth or baptismal records for Amos. In fact there are no records at all except for the entries in his mother's Bible. Melinda and Amos are entered on the births pages of Mary Ann's Bible in a manner that could easily be interpreted to indicate they were John and Elizabeth's children which would make them Mary Ann's sister and brother.^[310] Fortunately, at some later date someone annotated the death entry for Amos McCulloh with the simple notation: "Son of Mary Ann Lewis." Our only other published reference to the question is the extensive and widely distributed genealogy published by Elizabeth Brubaker Wolff in 1953, *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* On page 55 of this genealogy Melinda (incorrectly given as Belinda) and Amos are listed as the children of Samuel and Mary Ann Lewis. This is not technically correct unless the conjecture set forth in the preceding chapter eventually proves to be true. But, what if Amos's father was actually a McCulloh? This is a disagreeable question that has quietly lurked in the background and up until June, 2010 it could not be answered. Until then we could not rule out the possibility that the children were the result of undocumented pregnancies by Mary Ann's own father, brother or cousins.

It is only recently that the possibility of DNA testing for establishing family connections has become available. While this technology may never fully solve the riddle of who Amos's father was, DNA testing has already answered the question as to whether Amos's father was a McCulloh. To answer this question the DNA test results of a male descendant of Amos needed to be compared with those of a male descendant of one of Mary Ann's brothers. She had only two brothers and only Archibald Scott McCulloh had children. To my delight, in 2010 I was able to locate and arrange 67 marker DNA tests for two male descendants from two separate lines from Archibald; the Jephtha McCulloh line and the Otho McCulloh line. I am a descendant of Amos McCulloh and if my 67 marker test results had matched their results that would have told us that Amos's father was also a McCulloh and would have left open an unanswerable question as to who of the various possible McCullohs his father was. Indeed the DNA results did not even remotely match^[311] which answers at least this question and rules out the possibility that Amos was fathered by a McCulloh.

^[310] This is very unlikely since Elizabeth had her last child almost 10 years earlier and would have been 53 when Melinda was born and almost 59 when Amos was born.

^[311] In fact only 26 of the 67 markers tested matched between me and the other McCullohs. Matching only 26 markers means Amos and his descendants are totally unrelated to the McCullohs on the male side as far as a 'blood' connection. This, of course, presumes my Y-DNA does not further "zig-zag" through an "undocumented" paramour in one of the generations from Amos's to my own.

Amos was raised in the home of his grandparents John and Elizabeth McCulloh. Their home was probably on the old McCulloh property about one and a half miles south of the village of Sylvan in the Little Cove. The 1840 census shows eight people living in John and Elizabeth's household including children that match the ages of Amos and his sister. A female that fits the age of Amos's mother Mary Ann is also a member of the household. (Only the head of household names were included in the census records until the 1850 census.)

Amos was 16 years old when his mother, Mary Ann, and Samuel Lewis married and he may have moved with them to the Loudon^[312] area at that time though it is possible he remained in the Little Cove with his other relatives for a few more years. We have our first independent glimpse of Amos on October 12, 1850, a month before his 19th birthday where he appears in the Federal Census records living in the Jacob Burkholder household in Peters Township, Franklin County.^[313] Jacob Burkholder was a well-to-do farmer, landowner and businessman in the Loudon area^[314] and Amos's occupation is listed on the census as "Laborer." In 1850 Amos's mother, Mary Ann Lewis and her new family were living in the Loudon area as well and the census records show nine people living in the Lewis household. The seven Lewis children ranged in age from four to twenty, so whether by his own choice or by the choice of the Lewis's, at the age of 18 Amos was not a member of the Lewis household and was boarding in the Burkholder household as a hired farm hand.

On August 31, 1851 nineteen-year-old Amos married seventeen-year-old Hannah C. Humbert^[315]. The event is recorded in Amos's family Bible but no location or other details are given. Hannah was born on May 11, 1834, and she was almost certainly born in Loudon.^[316] The Humbert family was an old established family in Loudon^[317] and since Amos was known to be living in Loudon in 1850 we can assume they met and married there as well. For several decades in the mid 1800's Loudon had a prosperous wagon manufacturing industry^[318] and Hannah's father, David Humbert, was a

^[312] The town of Fort Loudon was originally founded as the town of Loudon in 1804. The old fort is to the east of the town. During Amos's lifetime the town would have been known as Loudon or Loudon Town. The town's name wasn't changed to Fort Loudon until 1883.

^[313] Year: 1850; Census Place: Peters, Franklin, Pennsylvania; Roll: M432_781; Page: 66B; Image: 137.

^[314] Harry E. Foreman. *Fort Loudon Sidelights*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1970, 77.

^[315] Hannah's middle name is thought to be 'Crosby.' However, throughout my research I was unable to find a single document or record that confirms this to be her middle name.

^[316] Hannah's father, David Humbert, is listed in a Fort Loudon tax record as early as 1828. Ancestry.com. Pennsylvania, Septennial Census, 1779-1863 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012.

^[317] Harry E. Foreman. *Fort Loudon Sidelights*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1970, 106.

^[318] I. H. M'cauley. *Historical Sketch of Franklin County, Pennsylvania. Second Edition—Enlarged. Prepared for the Centennial Celebration, Held at Chambersburg, Pa., July 4, 1876*. Harrisburg, Pa. Patriot Publishing Company. 1878. 124.

wagon maker.^[319] Her mother's first name was Sarah but her maiden surname is not known.^[320]

Amos and Hannah made their home in the Loudon area where both of their families still resided. Amos first appears on a Peters Township tax record in 1853.^[321] His occupation is listed as a laborer and he is shown as a tenant so he clearly did not own property. He owned two horses or mules valued at \$40 and paid a tax of 17 cents to the County and 12 cents to the State. At that time personal taxes were also assessed on furniture valued over \$300, watches of gold or silver or valued at more than \$20 and two or four wheel pleasure carriages.^[322] His possessions were apparently modest since the records show he paid no personal tax.

Their first child was born a little more than two years after their marriage and a total of 12 children were born over the next 22 years. Although we only know of the 11 children listed in the Amos Crosby McCulloh Bible, in 1900 Hannah indicated in her answer to a Federal Census question that she had 12 children, nine of whom were still living.^[323] The 11 children of whom we know and their dates of birth are as follows:^[324]

Mary Ellen - September 5, 1853.

Sarah Elizabeth - December 1, 1855

Laura (Lorra^[325]) Bell - May 18, 1858

John Wesley - Feb 4, 1860

George Humbert - July 18, 1862

Samuel Anderson - September 24, 1864

William Edgar - October 18, 1866

^[319] Year: 1850; Census Place: Peters, Franklin, Pennsylvania; Roll: M432_781; Page: 69A; Image: 142.

^[320] A number of on-line genealogies give Sarah's last name as Crosby. None of these genealogies include a source for this last name. Crosby is Amos's middle name and in many instances, including notes and recollections by my grandfather, Charles McCulloh, Sr., Hannah Humbert's middle name is given as Crosby as well. It seems unusual that a husband and wife would both have the same middle name and I have been unable to find any records or contemporary sources to support Crosby as Hannah's middle name. Hannah's middle name does begin with a 'C' as noted in the Amos McCulloh family Bible. If Hanna's mother Sarah's maiden name was Crosby then it is likely the 'C' in Hanna's name stands for Crosby. Crosby was Amos's great-grandmother's maiden name (Mary Crosby) and it would be interesting to learn whether Amos and Hannah have a common Crosby ancestor.

^[321] 1853 tax record for Amos C. McColloug. Peters twp. tax records. Photocopy in the author's files obtained from the Franklin County Courthouse.

^[322] 1853 Franklin County Commissioner's tax form instructions to the assessor for the proper collection of taxes. Photocopy in the author's files obtained from the Franklin County Courthouse.

^[323] Year: 1900; Census Place: Clyde, Whiteside, Illinois; Roll: 352; Page: 4B; Enumeration District: 0139; FHL microfilm: 1240352.

^[324] Amos Crosby McCulloh Bible, Family Records Births page; Bible in the author's collection.

^[325] Lorra, not Laura, is clearly the spelling recorded in the Amos Crosby McCulloh Bible. However, since all government records use 'Laura' that is the spelling I have used throughout this study.

Hattie May - June 17, 1870

Rebecca Jane - March 4, 1872

Minnie Homes - February 24, 1873

Archibald Scott - November 6, 1875

Amos and Hannah continued to live in or near the Peters Township area for the rest of Amos's life. Amos continued to work as a farm laborer for the next 15 years but as his family grew his financial position does not seem to have improved and may actually have declined over the next decade or so. The tax records show that he continued to own two horses or mules only through 1854. By 1855 with their second child on the way the horses had apparently been sold or died and a mere 11 cents was paid by Amos for the County occupation tax assessed for farm laborers. In 1856 with two little girls to feed Amos and Hannah purchased a cow, no doubt to supply the family with milk and probably cheese and butter. They continued to own a cow for the next 14 years but the records show they acquired no horses^[326] or other taxable possessions during this time.

By the 1850's the town of Loudon was a thriving little community with many shops, churches, an Inn, a bank and several commercial enterprises. The Nor'East and the Loudon Forges were still in existence^[327] and there was a Whip Factory and Tannery to the east of the town.^[328] And as noted above there was an extensive wagon manufacturing industry. The Loudon wagons were well known for some distance both to the east and the west.^[329]

We don't know whether Amos and Hannah lived in the town of Loudon itself or out in a rural area of the township but without a horse we can assume Amos must have lived on or near the farm or farms he worked on. Based on the tax records we know they lived at least in the general vicinity of Loudon until about 1855.^[330] As a laborer without a farm of his own Amos apparently moved from farm to farm throughout his lifetime and by the summer of 1855 they had moved many miles south of Loudon to the vicinity of Mercersburg. But by the following summer they were back in the Loudon area where they remained for several years. In late 1861 or early 1862 Amos and Hannah moved their growing family of three girls and an infant son to St. Thomas Township which is just to the east

^[326] As noted above the tax records show Amos without a horse after 1854. It is possible he had a horse since horses were only listed on the tax records once they were more than four years old. However, I have assumed he did not own horses since year after year no horses are listed on the tax records and it is doubtful he acquired them but then regularly sold his horses before they reached the age of five.

^[327] Harry E. Foreman. *Fort Loudon Sidelights*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1970, 97.

^[328] Loudon town property owner inset on map by D.H. Davison. *Franklin County, Pennsylvania*. Greencastle, PA: Riley & Hoffman, 1858.

^[329] I. H. M'cauley. *Historical Sketch of Franklin County, Pennsylvania. Second Edition—Enlarged. Prepared for the Centennial Celebration, Held at Chambersburg, Pa., July 4, 1876*. Harrisburg, Pa. Patriot Publishing Company. 1878. 124.

^[330] The tax records show whether the individual was in the Loudon electoral district or the Mercersburg district. We do not know where the electoral district boundaries were.

of Peters Township.^[331] They remained in St. Thomas Township for the next three years. Amos does not appear in the Peters or St. Thomas Township tax records in 1865^[332] but returned once again to Peters Township after July of 1865. It is likely that this move was into the log cabin where family tradition states my great-grandfather, William Edgar McCulloh, was born in 1866 along the old Forbes Road on the lower slope of beautiful Mount Parnell. The actual location of this log cabin is uncertain. In his 1954 book Harry Foreman stated: "There was an old McCullough place near the Old Road on the present Zeger Farm. Evidence shows that this place may have been as early as the road itself."^[333] In April 2012 I visited with long time resident Dave Zeger who lives at the base of Mount Parnell. Unprompted, Mr. Zeger made reference to the McCulloh Spring up on the mountain. At that time Mr. Zeger was in his 70's and he indicated the spring had been known as the McCulloh spring for as long as he could remember and that his father had called it that as well. Mr. Zeger indicated the spring was believed to be associated with a McCulloh home. We consulted an aerial photo of the mountain on Google Earth and he pointed to the area he believed the spring was located. I spent several hours walking that side of the mountain looking for a spring or other evidence of a building or cabin. The woods were thick with brush making it very difficult to see very far into the forest from a newly cut logging road. The ground was quite rocky in most areas and I was not anxious to encounter rattlesnakes so I did not venture very far from the road. Ultimately I did find an abandoned springhouse in an isolated location well below the road. The springhouse was old and situated down in an overgrown depression but I could see that the base was constructed of concrete and the roof of corrugated steel roofing. These materials indicate this present springhouse was constructed, or at least reroofed, many decades after Amos's family would have lived on the mountain, of course the spring itself would have been there during Amos's lifetime. This location was within easy walking distance of many large farm fields but whether this was the McCulloh spring I do not know. As we will see in the following paragraph, it seems unlikely that the log cabin where William was born was on this western side of Mount Parnell. For a spring and home to be known by the McCulloh name would imply the family lived in that area or home for many years. As we will see, Amos's return to Peters Township at the time of William's birth was very brief. This location could have been where Amos and Hannah lived in the early years of their marriage but there were at least two other McCullohs in the Loudon area during Amos's lifetime and it seems more likely the "McCulloh spring" was associated with an earlier or different line of McCullohs.

Upon returning home I reviewed my copy of *Forbes Road: Parnell's Knob to Burnt Cabins* by Harry Foreman. This book was my grandfather's copy and once belonged to his brother, Ezra McCulloh. Included in the book were several maps Mr. Foreman created showing the route of the old Forbes Road. One of these maps shows Parnell's Knob and lists about a dozen property owners along the

^[331] Hanna would have been pregnant with their fifth child, George Humbert, at the time of the move.

^[332] I have searched the tax records for five townships that include or surround Loudon; Peters, St. Thomas, Montgomery, Antrim and Warren. Tax lists for Greencastle and Mercersburg have also been searched. Other townships need to be searched for the year of 1865.

^[333] Harry E. Foreman. *Forbes Road: Parnell's Knob to Burnt Cabins*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1954, 21.

road where it wraps around the base of the mountain. In the text Mr. Foreman states that the McCullohs lived below the road on Mount Parnell^[334] but he did not include the McCulloh name on the map, presumably because they did not own the property. Again, we don't know which McCullohs Mr. Foreman was referring to. However, on the map a star in blue ink has been added, presumably by either Ezra or my Grandfather Charles and it seems quite clear that the star indicates the supposed location of the McCulloh cabin on the southeast side of Mount Parnell. In my grandfather's footnotes to a historical monograph he prepared in 1979 he states the following: "Ezra and Guy, our brother and brother-in-law searched near a little community called Buffalo^[335], alongside of Parnell's Knob and found the ruins of a log cabin fireplace. Ezra was of the opinion that this might have been Papa's birthplace. In searching for this place one of them stepped over a coiled rattlesnake, thinking it was just a large stone. Fortunately, it did not strike."^[336] The base of the mountain covers a large area and it seems unlikely that Ezra and Guy would have been randomly searching without some information concerning the cabin's location. Over the years there were many homes located along the base of Mount Parnell and whether Ezra and Guy were simply guessing as to the cabin's location or were searching this location based on conversations they had had with their father while he was still alive we simply don't know.

In late 1866 or early 1867 once again Amos moved but we don't know where he went. He is missing from the tax records for the years 1867 and 1868. I have searched the tax records for five townships that include or surround Loudon: Peters, St. Thomas, Montgomery, Antrim and Warren. Tax lists for the nearby cities of Greencastle and Mercersburg have also been searched. Additional township records need to be searched to determine where Amos moved for these two years. In late 1868 or early 1869 Amos moved his family back to Peters Township but apparently remained close to the St. Thomas Township line since the 1870 census shows him in the St. Thomas Post Office district.

In 1871 at the age of 39 Amos seems to have found an opportunity he had probably been seeking for many years. In the tax records for the first time his occupation is listed as "farmer" and he is shown with two horses for the first time in 16 years. Although Amos never owned his own farm he was clearly no longer simply a laborer. The following year he is shown in the tax record with two cows and two horses. In late 1872 or early 1873 he moved one last time to an unknown location^[337] but returned for good to Peters Township in late 1873 or early 1874 where he continued to prosper. The 1874 tax record shows his holdings had increased to four horses and three cows and by 1876 he owned at least four horses and four cows.

^[334] Harry E. Foreman. *Forbes Road: Parnell's Knob to Burnt Cabins*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1954, 7.

^[335] I have consulted modern and 1870's township maps as well as many internet search results but have been unable to identify a community named Buffalo in Franklin County.

^[336] Footnote #2 on handwritten manuscript notes in the author's collection.

^[337] I have searched the tax records for five townships that include or surround Loudon; Peters, St. Thomas, Montgomery, Antrim and Warren. Tax lists for Greencastle and Mercersburg have also been searched. Other townships need to be searched for the year of 1873.

In 1996 Amos's granddaughter, Vida Yoder, wrote: "The little house where Papa was born stood beside the road east of Ft. Loudon in Franklin County, Pennsylvania. It was a pleasant situation there on the sunny side of Parnell's Knob..."^[338] It is pleasant to imagine what the McCulloh family homes might have been like: farms in the beautiful Cumberland valley, a rustic log cabin situated on the southern side of a beautiful mountain overlooking the lovely valley to the south and Cove Mountain to the west, homes alive with the giggles and screams of apparently healthy little girls and boys. It is hoped they really did experience these pleasures but their lives seem to have been unsettled for most of their marriage and it seems they never stayed in one place long enough to really call it home. Amos and Hannah were never wealthy and with so many children to care for their lives must have been an endless series of long hard days working to keep the family clothed and fed. Amos's transition from "laborer" to "farmer" in 1871 may not have meant less work but the stability this new position brought to the family must have been a very welcome development. As Amos and Hannah settled into their new situation they must have looked back over the previous ten years with the sober knowledge that things could have unfolded in a dramatically different way.

On April 12, 1861, the first shots of the Civil War were fired at Fort Sumpter, South Carolina. This must have seemed a long distance removed from Franklin County and we don't know whether these events caused anxiety for Amos and Hannah. Surely they could not have imagined at the beginning of the war the horrible destruction and loss of life the country was about to experience.

"...but the Civil War came and Grandpa was called to serve as a soldier."^[339] As noted in 1996 by Vida Yoder, family tradition holds that Amos fought in the Civil War, but did he? My grand-father, Charles W. McCulloh, Sr. tried unsuccessfully on several occasions to obtain documentation from the government that would prove that Amos had served in the war. Amos had at least five opportunities open to him to serve as a soldier in the Civil War:

1. Enlisted soldier in the United States Army.
2. Volunteer Pennsylvania Militia.
3. Emergency Pennsylvania Militia.
4. Conscripted Pennsylvania Militia
5. Drafted United States soldier.

We can easily rule out the first opportunity; Amos was a farmer, not a professional soldier in the United States Army.

Addressing the second opportunity is a bit more complicated. In the early 1800s all white men between the ages of 21 and 45 were required by law to serve in the state militia. However, by the 1860's the militia system in Pennsylvania had become a volunteer militia. The rules changed over the years but generally those who chose not to join a militia unit simply paid a fine each year for

^[338] Vida M. Yoder, *Scenes from a Brethren in Christ Childhood in Illinois*. Brethren In Christ History & Life - Vol. XIX - No. 2 - August 1996. 347

^[339] Vida M. Yoder, *Scenes from a Brethren in Christ Childhood in Illinois*. Brethren In Christ History & Life - Vol. XIX - No. 2 - August 1996. 348

their nonparticipation. In 1853, Enoch Lewis, a Quaker in Pennsylvania, described the system in this way: "...according to the laws of Pennsylvania every male white person between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five years, with a few exceptions, who has not enrolled his name in a volunteer company designed for military training is deemed a delinquent militia man and subject to a fine of fifty cents a year which fine is to be added to the State tax collected with it."^[340] Amos paid the fifty cents fine each year as documented on the annual tax returns beginning in 1853 and continuing through 1871 with the exceptions of 1861, 1864, 1869 and 1870 where he paid no fine. Apparently there was no functioning militia in Franklin County in the 1850s^[341] and a majority of Peters Township residents paid the fifty cents fine. Why Amos did not pay the fine in the four years noted when most others did is unknown. Whatever the reason, the fact that Amos had paid the militia fine each year for at least seven of the eight years leading up to the war,^[342] and the fact that there were not any functioning militias in Franklin County pretty clearly demonstrates he was not a member of a militia in the years leading up to the war. In April of 1861 President Lincoln called on the states for 75,000 volunteers. By late July congress authorised the President to call for 500,000 volunteers. At the beginning of the war in 1861 it was thought the war would be over quickly and in a rush of patriotism, tens of thousands of men volunteered for the Pennsylvania Militia. By the spring of 1862 well over 100,000 Pennsylvania men had volunteered and served, or were serving, 3-month enlistments.^[343] Amos was 29 years old in 1861 and in the initial patriotic response to the war it is possible that he joined a militia. In fact this may be the reason he avoided the paying the militia fine in 1861 but a cross reference of names of residents known to have served in 1861 with the tax list for 1861 shows that many of them still paid the militia fine in spite of their service in a militia.^[344] During my research I completed a page by page review of the Pennsylvania Volunteer Militia registers looking for Amos's name in any of the many Franklin County regiments.^[345] His name does not appear on any of the volunteer militia lists including Second Regiment, Company C, which was formed in St. Thomas on April 20, 1861.^[346]

^[340] "Militia Fines" *Friend's Review*, Vol. VI, No. 33, 30 April 1853, p. 521. Cited in *American Quaker War Tax Resistance: Second Edition*, David Gross, CreateSpace, 10/20/2011, 347.

^[341] *History of Franklin County, Pennsylvania...* Warner, Beers & Company, Chicago 1887, 126.

^[342] He may have paid for the eighth year as well but the 1860 tax records have not been found.

^[343] *The Pennsylvania Militia: Defending the Commonwealth and the Nation 1669-1870* by Samuel J. Newland, PH.D. The Pennsylvania National Guard Foundation, Inc. Annville, PA, 2002, 220.

^[344] I searched many records for evidence of Amos serving in the Civil War. For militia service I especially searched *History of Pennsylvania volunteers, 1861-5; Prepared in Compliance with Acts of the Legislature*, Harrisburg. B. Singerly, State Printer. 1869

^[345] RG-19, Records of the Department of Military and Veterans' Affairs REGISTERS OF PENNSYLVANIA VOLUNTEERS, 1861-1865. {series #19.65}. Scanned page images searched on line at <http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/bah/dam/rg/di/r19-65RegisterPaVolunteers/r19-65MainInterface.htm>.

^[346] I used the lists of Franklin County regiments found in Samuel P. Bates. *History of Franklin County*, Harrisburg. B. Singerly, State Printer. 1869 as guide to determine which rosters in to review in Samuel P. Bates. *History of Pennsylvania volunteers, 1861-5; Prepared in Compliance with Acts of the Legislature*, Harrisburg. B. Singerly, State Printer. 1869, Vol. 5.

The third opportunity involved serving in the Emergency Militia. On August 29th and 30th, 1862, the Union Army suffered heavy losses at the second Battle of Bull Run and the Confederate Army began to threaten the southern border of Pennsylvania. On September 10th, Pennsylvania Governor Andrew Curtin, fearing for the safety of his State, issued an emergency order invoking Pennsylvania's Militia law and imploring all able bodied men to immediately take up arms, form companies and prepare to defend the State against immanent invasion. Tens of thousands of men immediately responded to the call including 89 men from St. Thomas, 88 men from Loudon^[347] and hundreds from Chambersburg and elsewhere in Franklin County. On July 2, 2013, I completed a page by page review of the Pennsylvania Volunteer Militia lists for the 1861 and 1862 Emergency Militias looking for Amos's name in any of the regiments.^[348] I was not able to find a reference guide that identified the Franklin County regiments. In fact, due to the emergency nature of the troop call up, these regiments did not even have names or numbers identifying one regiment from the other. Consequently I reviewed the lists of names for the entire State of Pennsylvania. Amos's name does not appear on any of the 1861 or 1862 Emergency Militia lists.

By late 1862 volunteer enlistments were no longer providing the required number of soldiers and the State of Pennsylvania provided a fourth opportunity for Amos to serve by conscripting troops into militia service through a statewide draft. The October 22, 1862 edition of The Valley Spirit published the names of men drafted from Franklin County including the town of Chambersburg as well as St. Thomas, Peters and Warren Townships. Amos's name does not appear on the list.

As noted above, in the early days of the war many men volunteered for service. But, after the first year, as it became apparent the war would not be over soon, volunteering slowed and, in spite of drafts imposed at the state level, it soon became apparent that the war could not continue with militia volunteers and conscripts alone. In 1862, for the first time in our nations history, a national military conscription law was passed by congress and a national draft was imposed. This gave Amos a fifth opportunity to serve.

Volunteering was the only alternative to the draft, but the trouble with volunteering by this time was that few people cared to volunteer. Back in the early days of the war, in 1861 and early 1862, there was an ample supply of young men ready to serve their country without any thought of any reward other than the knowledge that they had done their duty. But this reservoir of patriotism had slowly dried up. The war took on the appearance of an endless struggle with mounting casualty lists, hardship, and deprivation. The glory and glamor of 1861 dissolved into the misery and madness of 1862. Few wanted to enlist. It was this

^[347] A militia unit of 88 officers and men was organized at Fort Loudon on September 18, and discharged October 11, 1862. A militia unit of 89 officers and men was organized at St. Thomas on September 8, and discharged September 20, 1862. Samuel P. Bates. *History of Franklin County*, Harrisburg. B. Singerly, State Printer. 1869. 354 & 355.

^[348] Samuel P. Bates. *History of Pennsylvania volunteers, 1861-5; Prepared in Compliance with Acts of the Legislature*, Harrisburg. B. Singerly, State Printer. 1869, Vol. 5, 1145-1221.

breakdown in volunteering which led to the draft laws of 1862 and 1863.^[349]

The new laws required all men between the ages of 20 and 45 be enrolled for the draft. From these enrollment lists men were to be selected for service. In June of 1863 Amos enrolled as required along with the rest of the eligible men of Franklin County.^[350] The first of what turned out to be four nationwide drafts was to be held once the enrollment was complete. Amos was 32 years old when he enrolled for the draft. He had five children ranging in age from 11 months to nine years of age. The thought of being forced to leave his family to fight in what had become an unpopular war must have been a sobering prospect for both Amos and Hannah. Especially with the very real possibility that through violence or illness he might never come back home. Even before they had to face the prospect of Amos being drafted Amos and Hannah must already have been living with a tremendous amount of stress.

Raids into its [Franklin County] territory were quite frequent. Every movement of troops along the border had its effect to produce a panic along the valley. A disaster to the Union troops in Maryland or Virginia was succeeded by a stampede of negroes, women and children which swept along the whole valley, producing a constant unrest. The uncertainty connected with these vibratory movements of refugees had a deleterious effect upon every kind of business, to say nothing of the uneasiness it created.^[351]

On October 9, 1862, confederate Major General Jeb Stuart had lead a daring 27-hour cavalry raid into Pennsylvania that brought 1,800 rebel horseman right through the town of St. Thomas. Amos and his family were living in St. Thomas Township and this must have been a frightening encroachment of the war into their lives. The rebels confiscated more than 1,200 horses from Franklin County residents and several prominent citizens were abducted from Mercersburg and St. Thomas and eventually imprisoned in Virginia.^[352]

In mid June 1863, Confederate troops once again invaded Pennsylvania and occupied several towns including Chambersburg and Mercersburg for several weeks. Instead of a couple of thousand troops this time there were tens of thousands of rebels pouring into Franklin County. The rebel troops "...scoured and ravaged the whole southern portion of the County."^[353] Once again Amos and his family must have experienced great anxiety as the occupation dragged on and the confederates demanded more and more supplies under threat of burning towns to the ground. The Bible scholar Dr. Philip Schaff was a resident of Mercersburg at the time and in his diary he described the state

^[349] Eugene C. Murdock. *One Million Men: The Civil War Draft in the North*, Madison. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1971. 4.

^[350] Schedule I - Consolidated List of all persons of Class I, subject to do military duty in the 16th Congressional District. June 1863. Page 34, line 13.

^[351] *History of Franklin County, Pennsylvania,...* Warner, Beers & Company, Chicago 1887, 355.

^[352] Robert W. Black. *Cavalry Raids of the Civil War*. Mechanicsburg. Stackpole Books. 2004, 21 *History of Franklin County, Pennsylvania,...* Warner, Beers & Company, Chicago 1887, 356 & 360.

^[353] *Valley Spirit. July 8, 1863*. Chambersburg, PA. page 2, column 1.

of fear that gripped the people just before the invasion. The historian Jacob Hoke was a resident of nearby Chambersburg during the invasion and he introduced and reprinted an excerpt from Dr. Schaff's diary in his history of the invasion:

The people who lived along the southern border during the war were kept in an almost continuous state of anxiety. The booming of cannon was frequently heard, and the rumors of approaching foes at times threw the whole community into a state of intense excitement. Dr. Philip Schaff, in his notes on Matthew xxiv. 6, as published in Lange's commentary, in a lucid and graphic manner describes the excitement which prevailed along the border during the week preceding the appearance of the invading army. The doctor, whose ability as a scholar and writer is widely known, resided in Mercersburg, Franklin County, at the time of the war, and the scripture upon which his comments are based is as follows: — "And ye shall hear of wars and rumors of wars." The doctor says: "I beg leave to quote a passage from my diary during the famous Southern invasion of Pennsylvania under General Lee, in June and July, 1863, which may throw some light on this passage (Matthew xxiv:6.) in its wider application to different periods of repeated fulfillment:

'Mercersburg, Pa., June 18th, 1863. — It seems to me that I now understand better than ever before some passages in the prophetic discourses of our Savior, especially the difference between wars and rumors of wars, and especially the force of the command to "flee to the mountains," (v. 16) which I hear again and again in these days from the mouth of the poor negroes and other fugitives. Rumors of wars, as distinct from wars are not, as usually understood, reports of wars in foreign or distant countries, for these may be read or heard of with perfect composure and unconcern, but the conflicting, confused, exaggerated and frightful rumors which precede the approach of war to our own homes and firesides, especially by the advance of an invading army and the consequent panic and commotion of the people, the suspension of business, the confusion of families, the apprehensions of women and children, the preparations for flight, the fear of plunder, capture and the worst outrages which the unbridled passions of brute soldiers are thought capable of committing upon an unarmed community. Such rumors of wars are actually often worse than war itself, and hence they are mentioned after the wars by way of climax. The present state of things in this community is certainly worse than the rebel raid of General Stuart's cavalry in October last, when they suddenly at Mercersburg, at noon-day, seized a large number of horses, shoes and store goods, and twelve innocent citizens as candidates for Libby prison, but did no further harm and left after a few hours for Chambersburg. But now the whole veteran army of Lee, the military strength and flower of the Southern rebellion is said to be crossing the Potomac and marching into Pennsylvania. We are cut off from all mail communication and dependent on the flying and contradictory rumors of passengers, straggling soldiers, run-away negroes and spies. All the schools and stores are closed; goods are being hid or removed to the country, valuables buried in cellars or gardens and other places of concealment; the poor negroes, the innocent cause of the war, are trembling like leaves and flying with their little bundles "to the mountains," especially, the numerous run-away slaves from Virginia, from fear of being captured as "contrabands" and sold to the South; political passions run high; confidence is destroyed; innocent persons are siezed as

spies; the neighbor looks upon his neighbor with suspicion, and even sensible ladies have their imagination excited with pictures of horrors far worse than death. This is a most intolerable state of things, and it would be a positive relief of the most painful suspense if the rebel army would march into town.^[354]

The rebels did “march into town” and on June 27th Confederate soldiers under the command of General Imboden invaded the nearby Little Cove. Amos’s uncle Archibald Scott McCulloh and his family fled their homes in an attempt to save themselves and especially their horses and livestock from falling into rebel hands. They tried to escape over Tuscarora Mountain to the west. Sadly, as they were descending the western side into Fulton County they were captured by the Confederates. They were taken to the rebel camp at Cove Gap where they were held overnight under guard. The next day they were released, apparently unharmed, but all of their horses, livestock, a wagon and other possessions were confiscated by the rebels. To make matters worse, without their horses they were unable to harvest the 8 to 10 loads of hay that lay ready in the fields. McCulloh family losses totaled well over a \$1,000 and Archibald reflected that “We can honestly say we have lost heavily by the rebels.”^[355] Two days later on Monday the 29th Confederate troops marched into McConnellsburg just west of North Mountain which is just west of Loudon and engaged in a brief battle with a small group of Union soldiers. The rebels then moved east over North Mountain and passed directly through Loudon and St. Thomas as the great armies of the north and south began to converge on the nearby town of Gettysburg for the terrible battle that would commence in just three days.^[356]

Soon after the battle of Gettysburg was over and the rebels had moved back into Virginia the nation held its first draft. The draft was not welcomed by the citizens of the north. “Violent resistance to the enrollment and draft occurred in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Wisconsin.”^[357] On July 13 through 16 a massive, violent draft riot occurred in New York City resulting in many deaths and loss of property. The first draft began in July and one-fifth of the enrolled men were to be drafted to replace the many lives that had been lost at Gettysburg and earlier battles.^[358] By early October the draft had been completed; 82,314 names had been drawn

^[354] Jacob Hoke, *The Great Invasion of 1863*, Dayton, Ohio, W.J. Shuey, 1887, 95-96.

^[355] Sworn testimony by Archibald Scott McCulloh, September 8, 1868 in an Application for Damages under the Act of April 9, 1868. *Records Relating to Civil War Border Claims. Records of the Department of the Auditor General, Record Group 2. Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.*

^[356] Jacob Hoke, *The Great Invasion of 1863*, Dayton, Ohio, W.J. Shuey, 1887, 199-203. Chester G. Hern and Mike Marino, *Civil War Battles - The Maps of Jedediah Hotchkiss*, San Diego, CA, Thunder Bay Press, 2008, Map#158, 98.

^[357] Eugene C. Murdock. *Patriotism Limited - 1862-1865 - The Civil War Draft and the Bounty System*, The Kent State University Press. 1967. 1 & 52.

^[358] Eugene C. Murdock. *Patriotism Limited - 1862-1865 - The Civil War Draft and the Bounty System*, The Kent State University Press. 1967. 49.

in Pennsylvania.^[359] Amos had the misfortune of being one of them. Once one's name was drawn there were many ways to avoid actually being drafted and going to war. Among these included fleeing to Canada, being exempted upon examination if you were found to be physically or mentally unfit, furnishing a substitute to fight in your place or paying a \$300 commutation fee. A \$300 commutation fee would have been a very significant sum for someone like Amos and it seems almost impossible to think he, as an ordinary farm laborer, could have paid such a sum. In fact there were very strong sentiments against commutation at the time since it was perceived to discriminate against the poor by creating "a rich man's war, but a poor man's fight."^[360] Amos's first cousin, Jeremiah McCulloh, had died of camp fever or erysipelas just six months earlier^[361] and it is likely Amos attended the funeral and burial in the Little Cove. This and the horrors the nation experienced in Gettysburg would still have been fresh in Amos's mind. In addition to the serious financial impact an extended absence would have on Amos as a tenant farmer, the thought of leaving his family for nine months, or being killed or dying in the camps from disease, must have been more than he and Hannah could bear.

On November 4, 1863, a list of exempted draftees was published in the Franklin Repository newspaper. The lists included those who were exempt by reason of physical or mental disability, by reason of age, for paying commutation, for being in service on March 3, 1863, for providing a substitute, for being a non-resistor, for being an alien and for several other categories such as being the only son of aged parents. Surprisingly Amos McCulloh is listed as being exempt from service "by reason of having paid commutation."^[362] How Amos and Hannah were able to afford such a sum is not known though Hannah's father and mother were still alive and it is certainly possible that they provided some or all of the amount to protect their grandchildren's father. Having paid this commutation Amos was also exempt from all subsequent drafts. Amos was not alone in avoiding the draft. Of the 82,314 men drawn in Pennsylvania in the first draft 17,672 of them paid the commutation fee. In fact when all was said and done only 3,472 men were actually drafted into service. (An additional 6,953 men served as paid substitutes in place of men who had been drafted.)^[363]

Several decades ago the Franklin County Historical Society surveyed the tombstones in Franklin County and created an index card file system with the names and dates they found. They created a card for Amos's tombstone and the card includes the notation G.A.R. This notation stands for "Grand Army of the Republic" and was used as a grave marker for union soldiers of the Civil War.

^[359] Eugene C. Murdock. *One Million Men: The Civil War Draft in the North*, Madison. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1971. 354.

^[360] Eugene C. Murdock. *One Million Men: The Civil War Draft in the North*, Madison. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1971. 199.

^[361] This information taken from the Family Records Death Pages of the Archibald Scott McCulloh family Bible. In 2011 the Bible was owned by Genevieve McCulloh of Mercersburg, PA. Scanned image in the author's files.

^[362] *Franklin Repository*, Chambersburg. Wednesday November 4, 1863. Page 5, Column 4.

^[363] Eugene C. Murdock. *One Million Men: The Civil War Draft in the North*, Madison. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1971. 354.

While this may seem to constitute evidence that Amos served we must remember the G.A.R. was a private organization of elected members. Consequently a G.A.R. designation was not assigned by the government based on records or documentation. The G.A.R. was established during Amos's lifetime in 1866 so his membership in the organization was possible. G.A.R. Posts were formed throughout the nation and there were Posts in the nearby towns of St. Thomas and Mercersburg though we do not know when they were formed.^[364] We do not know how carefully one had to establish or prove his veterans status to gain membership which was accomplished through a voting process by the members.^[365] The G.A.R. did not maintain membership records of the individual Posts in a centralized location. The G.A.R organization was disbanded in 1956 when the last member died.^[366] Many records were discarded^[367] and we have been unable to locate any membership rosters for any of the Franklin County G.A.R Posts. G.A.R markers are simply small metal markers pushed into the ground. These markers can easily be removed and replaced by grounds-keepers and others which is another reason the presence of a G.A.R. marker can't be taken as firm evidence of service. Since 2006, when I first saw the tombstone, there is no G.A.R. marker on the grave.

It is with difficulty, therefore, that people living in other parts of the country realize the magnitude of the sacrifices made by the people of Franklin County during the civil war. With her brave sons in nearly every regiment in the field, and her home guards to watch the border, and with her flocks and crops pillaged by both armies, her sacrifices for the Union were greater than those of probably any county in the Northern States.^[368]

So, did Amos serve as a soldier in the Civil War? Sadly, we have been unable to find any evidence that Amos served in the Civil War. In fact, we have only found three Civil War records for Amos: a government register recording his name showing he had enrolled for the national draft,^[369] a newspaper report listing him as having been drafted^[370] and a newspaper report listing his exemption from the service by virtue of his payment of commutation.^[371]

During my research I have searched many on-line databases as well as conducted electronic searches through several record books looking for evidence of Amos serving in the Civil War.

^[364] <http://24.153.124.124/sons/PAdept/garposts.html>; see also <http://www.loc.gov/rr/main/gar/>

^[365] <http://suvchw.org/gar.htm>

^[366] <http://suvchw.org/banner/garobit.htm>

^[367] Grand Army of the Republic Museum and Library, <http://www.garmuslib.org/>

^[368] *History of Franklin County, Pennsylvania,...* Warner, Beers & Company, Chicago 1887, 355.

^[369] Schedule I - Consolidated List of all persons of Class I, subject to do military duty in the 16th Congressional District. June 1863. Page 34, line 13.

^[370] *Franklin Repository*. September 2, 1863. Amos McCullough appears on the list of men drafted. Also Eli McCulloh, J. C. McCulloh, A. S. McCulloh, Samuel C. McCulloh

^[371] *Franklin Repository*, Chambersburg. Wednesday November 4, 1863. Page 5, Column 4.

Additionally two genealogists were engaged to conduct searches at various archives. The sources searched include the following:

1. Samuel P. Bates. *History of Pennsylvania volunteers, 1861-5; Prepared in Compliance with Acts of the Legislature*, Harrisburg. B. Singerly, State Printer. 1869.
2. PA Civil War Volunteer Soldiers on the site Pennsylvania Volunteers of the Civil War at: <http://www.pacivilwar.com/cwpa43a.html>. Searched 2/9/2013
3. Ancestry.com searched on multiple dates
4. Fold3 at <http://www.fold3.com>
5. FamilySearch web site
6. Civil War Soldiers & Sailors System at: <http://www.nps.gov/civilwar/soldiers-and-sailors-database.htm>. Searched multiple times including 11/14/2012 and 2/9/2013
7. Janet Sharp, a professional genealogist in Fayetteville, PA, who specializes in Civil War genealogical research, conducted a search for Amos at the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in Washington DC. The Compiled Service Records (CSRs) for Amos McCulloh were requested but yielded no results. To ensure his name was not simply omitted from the index of Volunteers, or if he was in the registered army, microfilmed Consolidated Service Records (CSR) were searched page by page but again with no results.^[372] Ms. Sharp has stated "If Amos had served in the Civil War, there definitely would have been a CSR in his name."
8. Finally, in March 2013, professional genealogist, Stephanie Hoover, conducted research in the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) housed in Philadelphia. Stephanie also researched the Civil War veterans file and the Register of Pennsylvania Volunteers at the Pennsylvania State Archives.

Amos was not found in any of these record groups and Stephanie's letter summarizes well where we find ourselves with regard to the question of Amos's service:

Rodney —

I have now completed the Philadelphia NARA research and the follow ups available to me at the two state repositories. Unfortunately, the results of the searches seem to indicate that Amos McCulloh did not serve in the Civil War.

As you already know, Amos was eligible for military service in Pennsylvania's 16th congressional district (covering Adams, Bedford, Franklin, Fulton and Somerset Counties) and he appeared in the July 1863 enumeration for St. Thomas Township, Franklin County. Yet, the index to service records of Pennsylvania (the resource the NARA staff assured us would contain mention of his service, had it existed) contained no record of him. To ensure he wasn't misfiled under an alternate spelling, we checked the following variations with no luck: McCulla, Mccullagh, McCulloch and McCullogh.

^[372] Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Pennsylvania, McCr-McE, M554, Roll #79

As you also likely already know, NARA has uploaded many of their records to the institutional version of Ancestry. Here again, with the staff's input (to assure we covered all possible resources) we searched this database which is free to the visitors of the Philadelphia facility. And once again we found nothing except the eligibility list from the 16th congressional district.

We further inquired about the Provost Marshall General's records and were told that, if Amos did not appear in the index to Pennsylvania service records, there was no reason to check the other records.

With regards to your note indicating that Amos paid a commutation fee in November of 1863 — the NARA staff was quite adamant that he therefore unquestionably did not serve. Apparently this fee was paid by nearly 90,000 Civil War draftees and allowed them to legally escape military service.

Although we had no reason to doubt the information provided by NARA's staff, we still double-checked the records at the two state repositories. The Civil War veterans file at the state archives contained no mention of Amos, nor did the archives' Register of Pennsylvania volunteers. A search of Samuel P. Bates History of the Pennsylvania Volunteers also came up empty. At the state library we checked Franklin county histories and family histories but here again came up empty. Some county histories DO provide a list of men who paid commutations so we were hoping, if nothing else, to prove that this was the case for Amos — but no such lists were found for Franklin County.

As a last resort, we also checked electronic newspaper databases but found no pertinent mention of Amos McCulloh.

In closing, I can only say that paying a commutation indicates very little about Amos McCulloh's character or motives. There were many families for whom losing a man to service in the Civil War meant financial devastation. It is most likely that this is the case in your family.

*Cordially,
STEPHANIE HOOVER
Author & Genealogical Researcher^[373]*

Of course government record keeping is never perfect and it is theoretically possible that a roster containing his name was lost or destroyed. This is unlikely since the records seem to note the rare occasions that rosters are missing and we have no such notations for Franklin County. It is also possible that his name was omitted, misfiled or entered incorrectly in the records making him

^[373] Research results letter e-mail to the author dated 4/3/2013

impossible to find. However, given Amos's age, his occupation as a tenant farmer and, most importantly, the growing family that depended entirely on him as the family's sole provider, it only makes sense that Amos would have chosen not to go off to war. But even if Amos didn't officially serve in one of the militias or army regiments, he lived in a place that was overrun by the Confederates on several occasions. Union troops were few and far between in Franklin County during these incursions and even if he simply functioned as part of an unofficial "home guard" he likely was very involved in the desperate efforts of the local inhabitants to protect themselves, their animals, property and food supplies from seizure by the rebels. Whether or not he was a uniformed soldier, he and his family were certainly "in" the Civil War.

As noted above, Amos and his family returned for good to Peters Township in late 1873 or early 1874. It is believed the family moved to the farm on the old fort site just east of the town of Loudon below Mount Parnell. It appears that Amos was a tenant farmer and the farm was owned by a local businessman named John H. Hoerner^[374] who owned hundreds of acres spread out across several properties.^[375] The house was literally situated on a corner of the old fort itself.^[376] The fort was originally constructed in 1756 during the height of the Indian troubles in Pennsylvania. It housed British soldiers for a time and it is the site of the first armed rebellion of the colonial American settlers against the British army. Between March and November 1765 Captain James Smith and his "Black Boys" along with several hundred settlers actually subjected the British soldiers to two or three sieges of the fort until the British soldiers were finally forced to give up the fort and leave the area.^[377] The fort included several hastily constructed log buildings surrounded by a log stockade wall but it was long gone by the time Amos and Hannah were living on the site.^[378]

In 1873 Amos and Hannah were blessed with their eleventh child and they had finally begun to prosper. Amos had become a full fledged farmer and owned much of his own farm equipment including two wagons, several types of plows, a hay rake, spreader, shovels and many other tools

^[374] Harry E. Foreman. *Fort Loudon Sidelights*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1970, 58.

^[375] 1877 tax record for John H Hoerner. Peters twp. tax records. Photocopy in the author's files obtained from the Franklin County Courthouse.

^[376] According to Robin Houtz, Secretary of the Fort Loudon Historical Society, the monument next to the old farm house and visible in an old photo of the farm house marked the actual fort site. In the 1980s the Historical Society started it's quest to recreate the fort stockade. Since the farm house was built on one corner of the fort site, in order to excavate the site, the house was relocated to a knoll north of its original site. It is now called the Patton House and it serves as the fort museum and gift shop. The original summer kitchen was destroyed by a tree falling on it before it was moved. In the late 2000s a log summer kitchen was added back to the house. - February 23, 2013 e-mail to the author.

^[377] Harry E. Foreman. *Fort Loudon Sidelights*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1970, 62. See also Neil Swanson's, *The First Rebel*. Farrar & Rinehart, 1937 for the stirring account in a historical fiction version.

^[378] Harry E. Foreman. *Fort Loudon Sidelights*. Chambersburg, PA: privately published, 1970, 53, 54 & 58.

and farm implements.^[379] Their twelfth and final child was born on November 6, 1875. And then, as with his mother before him, when things were finally going well, tragedy struck the family. At some point Amos apparently contracted tuberculosis. Family tradition holds that he contracted the “white plague” while serving in the army during the Civil War. And, while it does not appear he actually served in the army, it is possible he first became ill during the Civil War years of 1861 to 1865. Tuberculosis is a “wasting” disease that kills slowly. “Early symptoms include weight loss, fever, night sweats, and loss of appetite... For some, the disease either goes into remission (halts) or becomes chronic and more debilitating with cough, chest pain, and bloody sputum (saliva).”^[380] Sadly Amos’s disease became chronic and by 1876 his health had apparently deteriorated to the point that he was no longer able to work. Vida Yoder says in her writings that “When Papa was nine, his father was no longer able to work, so Papa had to leave school and go to work.”^[381] Papa (William Edgar McCulloh) turned nine in late 1875. Tuberculosis progresses slowly and in the 19th century it was generally held that the disease allowed for a “good death” since the afflicted had plenty of time to put their affairs in order.^[382] By December of 1876 Amos had become gravely ill. Whatever Christmas celebrations the family normally held must have been dampened or likely pushed aside altogether as Amos’s condition deteriorated. At least two doctors were called to attend to him^[383] and he must have struggled to hold on till Christmas. Sadly, on Tuesday the 26th of December, at the age of only 45 Amos died. On that sad day it is doubtful that Hannah or any of the children saw anything “good” in Amos’s death. In 1996 Vida Yoder described her grandfather’s remarkable death:

Grandpa died on the day after Christmas in 1876. It was a cold blustery afternoon; the little ones were napping, and Grandma was sitting by the window mending. Suddenly she saw Grandpa pass by the window, pulling his coat close around him. "What in the world is he doing out there, and how did he get out?" she wondered as she hurried to the door. There was no one out there! She turned to the bedroom just off the kitchen, and there on the bed lay the form of her husband, but he had departed this life.^[384]

^[379] Inventory and Appraisalment of the Personal Property of Amos C. McCullough deceased. Filed February 8, 1877. Franklin County Courthouse, Chambersburg. File 11088. Recorded in the Inventory & Appraisalment Book, Volume 2, page 560.

^[380] National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases. *Tuberculosis Symptoms*. <http://www.niaid.nih.gov/topics/tuberculosis/understanding/pages/symptoms.aspx>.

^[381] Vida M. Yoder, *Scenes from a Brethren in Christ Childhood in Illinois*. Brethren In Christ History & Life - Vol. XIX - No. 2 - August 1996. 348.

^[382] Patrice Bourdelais. *Epidemics Laid Low: A History of What Happened in Rich Countries*. JHU Press, March 16, 2006, 115.

^[383] Two doctor’s bills were included in the final estate settlement. One for \$27.95 from Dr. H. A. Hinchman for “medical attendance” and one for \$15.00 from Dr. S. G. Lane for “medical bill.” *The First and Final Account of Geo. M. Stenger Administrator of Amos C. McCullough late of Peters Township deceased*. Filed November 1, 1878. Franklin County Courthouse, Chambersburg. File 11088.

^[384] Vida M. Yoder, *Scenes from a Brethren in Christ Childhood in Illinois*. Brethren In Christ History & Life - Vol. XIX - No. 2 - August 1996. 348.

One of the children added the following unfinished entry in the family Bible: "Our Father Amos C McCulloh departed this Life December the 25/1877 aged forty-four years and " It is interesting to note that this entry indicates Amos died on Christmas day; all other documents and records state the day was the 26th. Additionally the year was incorrectly entered as 1877. This error suggests the entry was made in 1877; clearly Amos died in 1876. Amos was laid to rest in the nearby Trinity United Church of Christ Graveyard.^[385] The graveyard is east of the town of Loudon and just west of Mount Parnell and the fort/farm site. Hannah paid \$16.00 for a coffin. The grave was \$4.00 to dig and the tombstone cost \$10.00.^[386] Amos's tombstone was still in place as of 2013 but has become blackened and worn with portions difficult to read. Oddly, his last name is misspelled on his tombstone wherein the 'ough' spelling was used. As noted previously in this work, the McCullohs of the Little Cove all use the 'oh' spelling including Amos's grandparents, his aunts and uncles and his own sister. Amos's funeral card uses the 'oh' spelling and Hannah signed a legal document ten days after Amos's death wherein she used the 'oh' spelling. All the family records in Amos's Bible use the 'oh' spelling. But, through some unknown error, the 'ough' spelling was used on the tombstone and either due to the overwhelming circumstances Hannah was facing or for other unknown reasons she never had the tombstone corrected and it remains with the 'ough' spelling to this day.

And so, poor Hannah was left a widow at the age of 42 with eight children to care for; five of whom were under the age of 11 including her youngest son, Archibald Scott, who was barely a year old. It must have been a very difficult and lonely winter for Hannah as she began to learn to live without her helpmate and provider. Her own father, David Humbert, had died nine years earlier but at least her mother was still alive and living in nearby Loudon with her brother Benjamin and his family.^[387] Apparently Amos died without preparing a will and by early February Amos's property had been inventoried and appraised so it could be sold. In addition to the farm equipment mentioned above Amos owned 12 pigs, one bull, six steers, three cows and eight horses including a blind mare and a foal. On March 16, three months after his death the community gathered and an auction was held. 146 lots were auctioned bringing a total of \$1,049.64.^[388]

This certainly must have been a very sad and unsettled time for Hannah and her family as she faced the difficult task of moving yet again. We do not know how long Hannah and the family remained on the farm but on March 22, 1878, a year after Amos's possessions were sold, Hannah

^[385] This graveyard is separated from the Stenger Hill cemetery only by the paved lane that provides access to the cemetery. A stone fence provides a boundary for portions of both graveyards and unless you know otherwise, the cemeteries look and feel like they are all one cemetery.

^[386] *The First and Final Account of Geo. M. Stenger Administrator of Amos C. McCullough late of Peters Township deceased.* Filed November 1, 1878. Franklin County Courthouse, Chambersburg. File 11088.

^[387] Humbert genealogies posted to Ancestry.com and John S. Humbert, *Humbert: Some of the Descendants of Frederick Humbert, Sr. Of Bedford-Fulton County, Pa.* Unpublished typescript. 1982. 7 & 8.

^[388] Sale List of the Personal Property of Amos C. McCullough deceased. Filed March 16, 1877. Franklin County Courthouse, Chambersburg. File 11088. Recorded in the Sale List Volume 3, page 592.

purchased just over 8½ acres in Peters Township for \$400.^[389] We assume there was a house on the property and that she moved her family there.

We know nothing of the spiritual or religious state or practices of the Amos McCulloh family up until this time. There are no records of baptisms in the family Bible and we have no diaries, letters or other documents to reveal anything about the family's spirituality. Amos's grandparents were devout members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Little Cove and their son Archibald, Amos's uncle, was also a very active member of that church as was Amos's sister Melinda. However, we have no idea what kind of relationship Amos had with his relatives, how he was treated by them or what kind of influence they may have had on him. We know that Amos grew up without a father and lost his only sibling, Melinda, when he was 15 years old and his mother when he was 25. Difficult circumstances often turn a person toward God and yet, given the actions of Hannah and many of her children in the years just after Amos's death it would seem that very possibly there was not a strong spiritual component to the family during Amos's lifetime. The Methodist Episcopal Church held a firm belief in the practice of infant baptism. Hannah, who may have been raised Lutheran, was baptized as an infant^[390] and we would assume that if Amos and Hannah were active members in either of the churches of their ancestors their children would all have been baptized as infants as well. However, we know that was not the case for many of the children. On February 24, 1878, 15-year old George Humbert McCulloh was baptized in the Loudon Methodist Episcopal Church by E. W. Wonner.^[391] He had been received as a probationary member almost three weeks earlier on February 6.^[392] Hannah became a probationary member on September 26, 1879.^[393] On October 27, 1879 the four youngest children, Hatty Mae (sic), 9, Rebecca Jane, 7, Minnie Hommes (sic), 6 and Archibald Scott, 4, were all baptized at their home by Jonathan R. Shipe.^[394] Hannah became a full member of the church on December 12, 1880.^[395] William Edgar was received as a probationary member on January 8, 1882 and was received as a full member at the age of 15 on July 23, 1882 by pastor J. Eckersby. It is believed that this was also the date of his baptism.^[396] We can never really know the inner thoughts and spirituality of a person, especially looking back in time

^[389] Deed Book, Franklin County Courthouse, Chambersburg, pages 513 & 514.

^[390] Undated files notes by Rev. Charles W. McCulloh, Sr. These notes are clearly taken from a published source but no page numbers or source identification is given.

^[391] *The Official Membership and Church Records - Baptism & Marriages*. Church records of the Loudon Methodist Episcopal Church. Page 8 & 9.

^[392] Undated files notes by Rev. Charles W. McCulloh, Sr.

^[393] Undated files notes by Rev. Charles W. McCulloh, Sr. These notes are clearly taken from a published source but no page numbers or source identification is given.

^[394] *The Official Membership and Church Records - Baptism & Marriages*. Church records of the Loudon Methodist Episcopal Church. Page 10 & 11.

^[395] Undated files notes by Rev. Charles W. McCulloh, Sr. These notes are clearly taken from a published source but no page numbers or source identification is given.

^[396] Undated files notes by Rev. Charles W. McCulloh, Sr. Page numbers for his source are included in the notes but the source itself is not identified.

150 years, and it would be unfair to draw a conclusion about Amos's spirituality. All we can really say with certainty is that within a few years of Amos's death there appears to have been a spiritual awakening in the McCulloh family.

We can speculate that Amos's death was the catalyst for this spiritual awakening, and it seems obvious that it was. However, more specifically, the difficult circumstances Hannah found herself in over the next couple of years may be what ultimately moved her to have her children baptized and to join the church herself. Although receipts for Amos's estate ultimately totaled \$1,404, expenses to the estate totaled \$582. Under the laws of conveyance, Hannah received one-third of the estate. She would have received \$300 in cash or personal property from the estate plus \$274 in cash from the estate sale. The remaining \$548 would have been divided between her children.^[397] As noted above, Hannah paid \$400 for property in March of 1878. This would have left very little cash for her to live on. Vida Yoder wrote that "Grandma kept her family together by taking in washings while the older children worked away from home."^[398] This apparently didn't generate enough income and on May 18, 1881, less than four years after she bought the property, Hannah sold it at a loss for \$250. Where did the family live now? At least the youngest four children (Hattie May, 10, Rebecca Jane, 9, Minnie Homes, 8 and Archibald Scott, 6) would have still been with their mother. Samuel had died many years earlier on January 3, 1866, when he was only 15 months old.^[399] Mary and Sarah, the two oldest children, had already left home by this time and the rest may have been prompted to do so as well by this latest turn of events.

Mary Ellen, Amos and Hannah's first child, was present in the family in the 1860 census but by 1870 when she was only 16 years old she was living in Loudon as a domestic servant in the household of Peter Stenger, a wealthy retired merchant.^[400] Up until very recently we have been unable to determine what happened to her after this date. There is no record of her marriage or death in the family Bible.^[401] Marriage licenses were not required in Pennsylvania until 1885 and no record of her marriage has been found. In May 2013 Maureen (McCulloh) Hollmeyer graciously shared with me the results of her research on our great grand aunt Mary Ellen. Her research is thorough and compelling and reveals that Mary Ellen McCulloh married a man named Samuel M. McLaughlin in about 1873. The research shows that both Samuel and Mary Ellen lived in Peters Township prior to their marriage and continued to live in the Loudon area until after their second

^[397] *The Intestate Act of 1833*. See Frederick C. Brightly, Esq., *A Digest of the Laws of Pennsylvania: From the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred to the Tenth Day of July, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy-two, Volume 1*. Philadelphia, Kay & Brother. 1873. 528 & 529.

Eshleman, George Ross. *The Lancaster Law Review, Volume 11*. Lancaster, Pa., The Wickersham Printing Co., 1894. 45.

^[398] Vida M. Yoder, *Scenes from a Brethren in Christ Childhood in Illinois*. Brethren In Christ History & Life - Vol. XIX - No. 2 - August 1996. 348.

^[399] Amos Crosby McCulloh Bible, Family Records Deaths page; Bible in the author's collection.

^[400] Year: 1870; Census Place: Loudon, Franklin, Pennsylvania; Roll: M593 1346; Page: 501A; Image: 362; Family History Library Film: 552845.

^[401] Only Amos and his son Samuel's deaths are recorded in the Amos Crosby McCulloh, Family Bible.

child was born in 1877. By the summer of 1880 Samuel and Mary Ellen had moved to Fulton County, Pennsylvania and were living in a small village called Sis, formerly known as Waterfall Mills^[402] and currently known as Waterfall. This village is about 25 miles north and west of Fort Loudon. The 1880 census shows Mary and Samuel with three children: Clara J., Laura Belle and George W. Samuel is listed in the census as a general storekeeper and Mary Ellen is listed as “keeping house.” We do not know the exact date of Mary Ellen’s death. We can surmise, based on statements in her mother’s and her sister Minnie’s obituaries concerning how many children or siblings predeceased them, that she probably died by 1907 but certainly not later than 1915. However, in all likelihood she died much earlier; sometime between 1880 and 1887, given the fact that Samuel is known to have married his second wife, Elizabeth Metzler, in 1887.

Sarah Elizabeth was Amos and Hannah’s second child. She went by her middle name Elizabeth^[403] and was know as Aunt Lib to her nieces and nephews.^[404] She married Abraham A. Short^[405] in about 1875 which means Amos was still alive when Sarah left home. Anna, their first of 13 children, was born in 1875 or 1876.^[406] This was probably Amos and Hannah’s first grandchild and Amos would have seen her before his death. In fact, depending on exactly when these children were born, Amos may have even met his second granddaughter, Ellen, who could have been born as early as the summer of 1876.^[407] Sarah was a member of the First United Brethren Church in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. Abraham worked in a wood shop for the Cumberland Valley Railroad. He developed Bright’s disease (now known as acute or chronic nephritis) and died June 13, 1902, at the age of 47.^[408] Sarah outlived her husband by 17 years. She was living in

^[402] Year: 1880; Census Place: Sis, Fulton, Pennsylvania; Roll: 1133; Family History Film: 1255133; Page: 20C; Enumeration District: 208; Image: 0042.

^[403] In the 1880 Federal Census she is listed as Elizabeth. Year: 1880; Census Place: Peters, Franklin, Pennsylvania; Roll: 1131; Family History Film: 1255131; Page: 226C; Enumeration District: 097; Image: 0455.

^[404] Undated file notes by Charles W. McCulloh, Sr.

^[405] Abraham was born September 28, 1854 in Franklin Co., PA.

^[406] Her daughter Anna is listed as four years old in the 1880 census which was taken in June 1880. Year: 1880; Census Place: Peters, Franklin, Pennsylvania; Roll: 1131; Family History Film: 1255131; Page: 226C; Enumeration District: 097; Image: 0455.

^[407] Ellen is listed as three years old in the 1880 census which was taken in June 1880. If Ellen was born in June, July or August of 1876 she would have been listed as three in the 1880 census. Year: 1880; Census Place: Peters, Franklin, Pennsylvania; Roll: 1131; Family History Film: 1255131; Page: 226C; Enumeration District: 097; Image: 0455.

^[408] **“Body of Abraham A. Short to Be Taken to Knepper’s.** This morning at 8:30 o’clock funeral services will be held over the remains of Abraham A. Short, an employee of the Cumberland Valley railroad wood shops, who died on Friday afternoon at his Home on Stewart street of Bright’s disease. Interment will be made at Mt. Zion cemetery near Knepper’s Station, on the Waynesboro branch of the Cumberland Valley railroad. Mr. Short was a member of the Cumberland Valley Relief Association and of the Progressive Order of Dunkards. His widow and these children survive: Mrs. Annie Knepper, Waynesboro, Mrs. Mary Rock, Mont Alto, Mrs. Emma Sanders, Arthur, Lulu, Minnie, Lillian, Ruth, Fannie, Isaac, Cora, and David of this place.” *Chambersburg Public Opinion*, Pennsylvania, June 16, 1902. (Obituary provided by Maureen McCulloh Hollmeyer.)

Chambersburg with her daughter, Lenora, when she died suddenly on December 21, 1919, at the age of 65. They are both buried in the Mount Zion Church Cemetery in Mont Alto, Quincy Township, Franklin County, Pennsylvania.^[409]

In 1880, John Wesley, 20, and William Edgar, 13, were both working on farms and George Humbert, 17, was working in an ore mine. Since they are listed on the Federal Census as being in Hannah's household we know they were still living at home. Laura Belle, 22, was also living at home. Her occupation was listed as "house work" but whether she was doing housework for pay outside the home or keeping house with her mother we do not know. On the day the 1880 census was taken Laura was ill with chills and fever. In the fall of 1880 John left home and apparently became the first of the family to move over 700 miles west to Whiteside County, Illinois.^[410] We don't know why John moved or what caused him to choose northwestern Illinois as his destination though it is likely he went with, or joined, his future brother-in-law Sam Tarner there. Although John married Anna M. Tarner in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania on January 18, 1883, his place of residence is listed as Garden Plain, Illinois which is in Whiteside County just west of Morrison.^[411] This was apparently a double wedding since on the same day John's sister Laura Belle married Samuel Elbert Tarner (probably John's bride's brother) also of Garden Plain, Illinois.^[412] They were both married in the parsonage of the St. Paul's Methodist Church by D. S. Monroe.^[413] The marriage record gives Laura's place of residence as "near Loudon"^[414] which tells us that Laura Belle, and presumably her mother and younger siblings, were still living in the Loudon area in Pennsylvania at the beginning of 1883. Laura's husband, Samuel, had been born in nearby Pleasant Hall in Letterkenny Township on June 11, 1862. His parents were Samuel and Julia Ann Minick Tarner.

^[409] **"MRS. SARAH SHORT** of East Liberty street died suddenly at 2:30 o'clock yesterday afternoon, aged 65 years and 20 days. She was a member of the First United Brethren Church and is survived by the following children: Mrs. Lenora St. Clair, with whom she made her home, Mrs. Anna Knepper, Lula Peiffer, Mrs. Fannie Ferry, A. M., Isaac and David Short, Mrs. Clara Weistgarber, all of town, Mrs. Mary E. Rock of Mont Alto and Mrs. Ruth Weistgarber of Philadelphia; also by these brothers and sisters: W. E. McCullough, Mrs. Hattie George, John McCullough and George McCullough of Morrison, Ill., Mrs. Bell Tarner of Clinton, Iowa and Archie McCullough of Indiana. Funeral notice later." *Chambersburg Public Opinion*, Pennsylvania, December 22, 1919. (Obituary provided by Maureen McCulloh Hollmeyer.)

^[410] This date is stated in John's obituary. Gospel Herald - Volume XV, Number 43 - January 25, 1923, pages 846, 847. Accessed March 30, 2013 at <http://www.mcusa-archives.org/mennobits/23/jan1923.html>.

^[411] Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Historic Pennsylvania Church and Town Records; Reel: 281.

^[412] Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Historic Pennsylvania Church and Town Records; Reel: 281.

^[413] Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Historic Pennsylvania Church and Town Records; Reel: 281.

^[414] Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Historic Pennsylvania Church and Town Records; Reel: 281.

Samuel and Laura had five children: four boys and a girl.^[415] Samuel made his living as a carpenter.^[416] He died in 1921.^[417] Laura was a nurse and she apparently never remarried and continued to live in Clinton, Iowa in the home she had shared with Samuel at 814 S. 8th Street.^[418] Laura died in 1939 and is buried next to Samuel in the Springdale Cemetery in Clinton, Iowa.^[419]

We do not know when Hannah met her future husband Samuel Wise. In the 1860 Federal Census there are only seven families recorded between the listing for Amos and Hannah and the listing for Samuel and Elizabeth Wise. The census was recorded in the order the families were visited so this tells us that the Wise family and the McCulloh family were most likely acquainted with each other as early as 1860. In 1860 Amos was a 28-year-old farm laborer and Samuel was a 41-year-old farmer. Although Samuel did not own his own farm^[420] it is certainly possible that Amos could have worked with Samuel at some point on one of the Loudon area farms. As noted earlier in this chapter, Amos and Hannah moved frequently and by 1861 or 1862 they had moved to St. Thomas Township and Samuel and Elizabeth may have lost track of them after this time. File notes from my grandfather Charles McCulloh, Sr. state that after Amos died Hannah stayed for a time with a woman named Kate Lininger who may have run an inn. I have been unable to identify an inn associated with the Liningers but there were at least four Catherine Liningers in the Loudon area. In 1880 a Catherine Lininger was known to be living with her son Peter who owned one of the properties that bordered the land that Hannah owned^[421] but she died in 1880.^[422] She had a daughter named Catherine. In the 1860 Federal Census a Catherine Lininger is listed working as a domestic servant in the Samuel Wise household. This Catherine's age indicates she is probably the daughter mentioned above. Ten years later the 1870 census records yet another Catherine Lininger and she is also listed as a domestic servant in the Samuel Wise household. (The first Catherine Lininger in the Wise household is no longer present in 1870.) One of Samuel and

^[415] Year: 1900; Census Place: Clinton, Clinton, Iowa; Roll: 425; Page: 5A; Enumeration District: 0006; FHL microfilm: 1240425.

^[416] Year: 1900; Census Place: Clinton, Clinton, Iowa; Roll: 425; Page: 5A; Enumeration District: 0006; FHL microfilm: 1240425.

^[417] Based on a photo of Sam Turner's gravestone on www.findagrave.com. Accessed June 2, 2013. The record at this web site lists him as dying on November 30, 1921. There were two additional Samuel Turners in Clinton, Iowa, one of whom was also married to a Laura Turner. Both the 1919 City directory and the 1920 Federal Census list this Laura as a widow which causes considerable confusion for researchers. Our Samuel and Laura lived at 810 and then 814 South Eighth Street; not on Dunham Street or Olney which are the addresses for the other Samuel Turners.

^[418] *McCoy's Clinton City Directory 1927*. The McCoy Directory Co., Rockford, IL, 1927, p 278.

^[419] Based on a photo of Laura B. Turner's gravestone on www.findagrave.com. Accessed June 2, 2013.

^[420] 1859 & 1861 tax records for Samuel Wise. Peters Township tax records. Photocopy in the author's files obtained from the Franklin County Courthouse.

^[421] Deed Book, Franklin County Courthouse, Chambersburg, page 514. Also, 1880 Federal Census record for Catherine Lininger, Peters Township, Franklin County, PA., page 2.

^[422] Tombstone for *Catherine Lininger, 1803 - 1800, Wife of Jacob Lininger* in Old Reformed & Lutheran Church Cemetery, Fort Loudon, PA.

Elizabeth's five sons, Adam, married a girl named Catherine and she is shown in the 1880 Federal Census living with Adam and their two children in Samuel's household. Assuming this was the second servant named Catherine, she would have become Catherine Wise, which rules her out. This leaves the final Catherine Lininger; a 21-year-old wife and mother of two in 1881. This Catherine lived in the town of Loudon just six houses away from the recently widowed Samuel Wise's home. It is likely this is the "Kate" Lininger that Hannah stayed with for a time after Amos's death and almost certainly after she sold her land in 1881.^[423]

Samuel's wife Elizabeth (also a Lininger)^[424] died on October 15, 1878. She is buried at the west end of the Old Reformed & Lutheran Church Cemetery in Fort Loudon, PA. (The same cemetery as Amos's stepfather Samuel Lewis.) My grandfather, Charles W. McCulloh Sr. stated in file notes that Hannah's future husband, Sam Wise, visited her at Kate Lininger's place. Sam was 62 in 1881 and Hannah was just 47. Maybe the age difference was too much for Hannah or Sam. Maybe the four or five young children seemed too much for Sam to take on at this stage in his life. Whatever the case, they did not marry at this time. And, with at least one of her sons married and making a home for himself in Illinois, Hannah, a poor widow with few options to provide for her family, must have begun to see Illinois as the best option for her and the young children that still depended on her. Hannah's obituary states she moved to Illinois in 1884. It seems certain the four youngest children and possibly George, if he hadn't moved already, would have gone with her. Whether they made the trip by horse and wagon or by train we don't know. And we don't know exactly when William Edgar moved to Illinois but we will explore this question in the next chapter. We are not certain where Hannah and the children lived when they arrived in Illinois.

The years must have become lonely for Samuel and Hannah: Samuel without his wife and his children mostly grown, Hannah in a place far from the home she had always known in Franklin County. We don't know if Hannah and Samuel lost touch with each other after Hannah moved so far away but by 1887 Samuel and Hannah had reconnected, maybe by the prompting or aid of Kate Lininger. Or maybe Samuel and Hannah had stayed in contact over these several years. Whatever the case, on October 6, 1887 Samuel and Hannah were married in Pennsylvania.^[425] Her place of residence in the marriage record is listed as Ustick (Whiteside County, Illinois) and his is listed as Loudon. Samuel and Hannah did not return immediately to Illinois. Samuel had purchased 30 acres of land, presumably a farm, in 1870 or 1871^[426] and Hannah and almost certainly a few of her children remained in Pennsylvania after the wedding. Samuel is shown as a taxable inhabitant of

^[423] In file notes from my grandfather Charles W. McCulloh, Sr. he comments that he wished they had asked Kate Lininger about Amos. This tells us Kate was still alive in the mid 1900s which also supports the understanding that this 21-year-old Kate was the Catherine Lininger in question.

^[424] *History of Franklin County, Pennsylvania...* Warner, Beers & Company, Chicago 1887, 917.

^[425] Ancestry.com. Pennsylvania, Records of Marriages, 1885-1889 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011. Original data: Bureau of Statistics. Series 14.25, Record of Marriages, 1885-1891. Microfilm, rolls 385-386. Records of the Department of Internal Affairs, Record Group 14. Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

^[426] 1870 & 1871 tax records for Samuel Wise. Peters Township tax records. Photocopy in the author's files obtained from the Franklin County Courthouse.

Peters Township up through the year 1888 when he still had 28 acres of land. By 1889 Samuel was 70 years old and the farm must have become too much for him to handle at this age. Additionally most of Hannah's children lived in Whiteside County and they were beginning to marry and start families of their own. Her daughter-in-law Anna, John's wife, died on March 15, 1888.^[427] She left John with a young son named Samuel Humbert McCulloh who had been born on June 18, 1883 in Garden Plain, Illinois.^[428] The separation from her children and her now motherless grandson must have been more than Hannah could bear and she and Samuel returned to Illinois for good in 1889.^[429] But, even this must have been difficult since she left her daughter Sarah and Sarah's many children behind in Pennsylvania.

Amos and Hannah's son George Humbert McCulloh married Ida E. Galt on January 10, 1889 in Whiteside County. Ida was born in Whiteside County in April of 1868. Her parents were James B. and Sarah F. Galt of Ustick Township, Whiteside County. We do not know if Samuel and Hannah returned to Illinois this early in 1889 and whether they were there to celebrate the marriage. George was 26 years old and a farmer at the time of his marriage. George and Ida had one daughter and two sons. George died on December 19, 1927 in York Township in Carroll County, Illinois. Ida died on August 2, 1943 in York Township. George and Ida are buried in Lower York Cemetery near Thomson in York Township, Carroll County, Illinois, about 11 miles north-west of Morrison.

Amos and Hannah's son John married for the second time on December 26, 1889 in Whiteside County to Mary E. Gsell, daughter of Joseph B. and Margaret Etter Gsell of Whiteside County. Mary was born July 31, 1867 in Whiteside County. She was a "faithful and consistent member" of the Mennonite Church from the age of 13 until her death on January 7, 1911 when she was only 43 years old. She died in Ustick Township, Whiteside County and is buried in the Brick Church (Mennonite) Cemetery in Ustick Township.^[430] In addition to his son Samuel from John's first marriage, John and Mary had four daughters and three sons. Joseph E. of St. Louis, Missouri; M.

^[427] Anna is buried in the Brick Church (Mennonite) Cemetery, Ustick Township, Whiteside Co., IL.

^[428] Samuel's middle name of Humbert as well as his birth date and location are found in immigration documents completed when he returned from South America in 1931. National Archives and Records Administration; Washington, D.C.; Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, Louisiana, 1903-1945; National Archives Microfilm Publication: T905; Roll #: 141.

^[429] Samuel Wise's obituary states he moved to Whiteside County in 1889. *The Gospel Witness - Volume 1, Number 40 - January 3, 1906* <http://www.mcusa-archives.org/mennobits/1906GW/jan06gw.html> Sam disappears from the tax records in Pennsylvania after 1888.

^[430] Mary McCulloh obituary: Mary E. Gsell was born in Ustick Twp., Morrison, Ill., July 31, 1867; died Jan. 7, 1911 aged 43 y. 5 m. 7 d. She was married to John W. McCulloh, Dec. 26, 1889. To this union were born 7 children. She also leaves a husband, 1 step-son, father, mother, 4 sisters, 1 brother and a host of relatives and friends to mourn her departure. She united with the Mennonite Church at the age of thirteen and was a faithful and consistent member until the time of her death. She was kind and loving to her husband and children and all who knew her, and always ready to lend a helping hand wherever needed and therefore is greatly missed in the home and the church. Funeral services were conducted at the Mennonite Church near Morrison, Ill., by A. C. Good, where a large concourse of sorrowing friends gathered to pay the last tribute of respect to one they loved so well. *Gospel Herald - Volume III, Number 43 - January 26, 1911 - page 691, 692*

Mabel Nunemaker and H. Pearl Nunemaker of St. John, Michigan; Amos G. of Lansing, Michigan; Martha May of St. John, Michigan and Mary Edna and Johnnie T. of Cullom, Illinois. When Mary died John was left with a house full of motherless young children and he married again for a third time. On December 3, 1914 he married Sarah Burkholder of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. They were married in Palmyra, Missouri. Her date of death is not known but she did outlive John who died at the age of 62 on January 3, 1923 after a prolonged illness which had begun the previous May. John and Sarah had moved to Cullom, Illinois in December of 1916 where John served there as the pastor of the Mennonite Church. For over six years he filled the pulpit of the congregation. His obituary describes him as "very attentive and regular, and in spite of sickness was seldom found absent from duty." John had become a minister and faithful member of the Mennonite Church for at least 30 years before his death. He was a member of the local Board of Missions at the time of his death. He left behind his wife Sarah, eight children, four grandchildren, three brothers and two sisters. John was buried in the Brick Church (Mennonite) Cemetery in Morrison, Illinois.^[431]

The next to marry was Haddie May. On December 31, 1889, just five days after John's wedding, 19-year-old Haddie married 23-year-old Jeremiah Augustus George in Morrison, Illinois. At the time of their marriage Jeremiah was a farmer in Clyde Township, Whiteside County and Haddie was living in Ustick, Township, the adjoining township to the west. Jeremiah was born on March 2, 1866 in Mount Carroll, Carroll County, Illinois and his parents were Jacob George and Priscilla Holly. The 1900 census shows Haddie and Jeremiah living in the same house as Jacob and Priscilla, or possibly in a double house. Haddie and Jeremiah had no children of their own in 1900 but they had

^[431] Much of the information about John comes from his obituary: John McCulloh was born at Fort Loudon, Franklin county, Pa., Feb. 4, 1860, and died at his home in Cullom, Ill., on Jan. 3, 1923, aged 62 y. 10 m. 29 d., following an illness dating from May 22. He was the oldest son of a family of ten children and came to Garden Plain, Whiteside county, Ill., in the fall of 1880, in which county he lived for about forty years. He was married to Anna Tarnor of Chambersburg, Pa., Jan. 17, 1883, and who died March 28, 1888. To this union two children were born, Samuel H., of Los Angeles, Cal., and Ralph, who died in infancy. His second marriage, to Mary Gsell, of Morrison, Ill., occurred Dec. 26, 1889. She died January 7, 1911. To this union were born seven children: Joseph E. of St. Louis, Mo., M. Mabel Nunemaker and H. Pearl Nunemaker of St. John, Mich.; Amos G. of Lansing, Mich.; Martha May of St. John, Mich.; Mary Edna and Johnnie T. of Cullom. On Dec. 3, 1914, he was married at Palmyra, Mo., to Sarah Burkholder of Lancaster county, Pa., who survives him. The McCulloh family moved to Cullom, Ill., December, 1916, from which time Bro. McCulloh served the church there as pastor. For over six years he filled the pulpit of the congregation. He was very attentive and regular, and in spite of sickness was seldom found absent from duty. He was a faithful member of the Mennonite Church for over thirty years, having taken up the ministry about thirty years ago; he was also a member of the local Board of Missions at the time of his death. He leaves to mourn his loss a sorrowing wife, 8 children, 4 grandchildren, 3 brothers and 2 sisters, besides many other relatives and friends. The home loses a loving husband, a beloved father and a faithful, wise counselor. *Gospel Herald - Volume XV, Number 43 - January 25, 1923, pages 846, 847*

Services were conducted at Cullom, Ill., by Bro. C. A. Hartzler, text, II Tim. 4:6-8. Services were conducted at Morrison, Ill., by Bro. A. H. Leaman, text, Psa. 103:1-4. The remains were laid to rest in the adjoining cemetery.

"Farewell, dear father, thou art at rest,
And wilt forever be,
Thou couldst not stay on earth with us.
But we can come to thee."

filed^[432] to adopt their six year old niece, Emma Zelma Gsell^[433] who was living in their household. A boy named Frederick Hines also lived with them as a boarder.^[434] They lived and probably continued to farm in Clyde Township until about 1904 when they moved into Morrison. By 1910 Jeremiah was self-employed. Emma was still in their household but they also had a daughter of their own, Anna Venita George, who was born in 1904. They had two other daughters, Cora May and Beryl, but, sadly, only Anna survived infancy.^[435] By 1920 Jeremiah was a clerk in a day goods store. They still lived in Morrison and owned their home at 530 Lincoln Way East and only their 17-year-old daughter Anna remained in their household.^[436] On February 6, 1930 Haddie died unexpectedly. Her obituary describes her as being "...a highly esteemed woman because of her refinement, sweet character and interest in those with whom she came in contact."^[437] Conflicting newspaper entries leave some confusion as to her church membership. Her February 6 death announcement in the *Sterling Daily Gazette* states she was a member of the Church of the Brethren in Christ at Franklin Corners and would be buried in the Franklin Corners church cemetery after a short service at her home. Four days later an entry in the same newspaper states a short service was held at her home followed by rites at the Presbyterian Church of Morrison. The entry further states she was interred in the Grove Hill cemetery. And, indeed she was buried in the Grove Hill Cemetery. Her small simple tombstone located near a larger 'GEORGE' headstone states: "MOTHER - HADDIE MCCULLOH - 1870—1930. Whether the change in church and burial locations in the four days between her death and burial were due to confusion, family conflict,

^[432] *Sterling Standard*, Friday, June 1, 1900, pg 4 column 2, Sterling, Illinois.

^[433] The name is given as Edna in the 6/1/1900 newspaper announcement but is given as Emma in all census records thereafter. In her mother's obituary her name is given as Zelma.

^[434] Year: 1900; Census Place: Clyde, Whiteside, Illinois; Roll: 352; Page: 2A; Enumeration District: 0139; FHL microfilm: 1240352.

^[435] One of the daughters was buried on Sunday, February 4th, 1894 in the Franklin Cemetery. *Sterling Standard*, February 8, 1894, pg 12 column 2, Sterling, Illinois.

^[436] Year: 1920; Census Place: Morrison, Whiteside, Illinois; Roll: T625_414; Page: 4A; Enumeration District: 165; Image: 195.

^[437] **DEATH CLAIMS MRS. J. A. GEORGE AT MORRISON** - Mrs. Hattie May George, wife of J. A. George, died at the family home, 530 East Lincolnway, Morrison, at 5:45 o'clock Thursday morning. While she had been in impaired health for [the last two or] three years she had [*three words illegible*] ill until last Sunday. Her death came so sudden it was a shock to her relatives and friends.

Mrs. George was born Hattie May McCulloh, in Franklin county, Pa, June 27, 1870, and came to Whiteside county when she was but 14 years of age. She was raised in Clyde Township during the latter years of her childhood, and had lived in Garden Plain and Ustick Townships. December 31, 1889, she was married to Mr. George. The couple made their home for 14 years in Clyde Township. In 1904 they came to Morrison which had since been her home.

Beside her husband Mrs. George is survived by a daughter, Anna Venita, who is a member of the high school faculty in South Bend, Ind., and will arrive in Morrison Thursday night. Cora May and Beryl were other daughters but died in infancy. There also is left a sister, Mrs. Lora B. Turner of Clinton, Ia., and two brothers, W. E. McCulloh of north of Morrison, and A.S. McCulloh of Clinton Ia. Mrs. George was a highly esteemed woman because of her refinement, sweet character and interest in those with whom she came in contact. She was a member of the Church of the Brethren in Christ at Franklin Corners.

Funeral services will be from the family residence at 1 o'clock Sunday afternoon, and at 2 o'clock from the Church of the Brethren at Franklin Corners, in the church-yard of which the committal will be made. *Sterling Daily Gazette*, Thursday, Feb. 6, 1930., page 15, column six.

practical considerations or some other reason is not known.^[438] A few months after Haddie died the census shows 64-year-old Jeremiah still living in the Lincoln Way East home along with a white servant: 76-year-old Emma E. Barnhardt. Jeremiah lived for another 15 years and continued to live in the Lincoln Way East home. In the 1940 census we learn that his 37-year-old single daughter Venita was then living with him. We also learn that Jeremiah went to school only up through the seventh grade; Venita was a college graduate. Jeremiah suffered a heart attack and died at his home on Saturday, November 24, 1945 at the age of 79.^[439] His funeral was held at the Morrison Presbyterian church and he was buried next to Haddie in section 3J of the Grove Hill Cemetery.^[440]

The next to marry was Minnie Homes McCulloh. (Her name is often spelled Minetta Holmes and was spelled Minnetta Holmes in her obituary but Minnie Homes is how her name was spelled on her birth entry in the Amos McCulloh family Bible.) Minnie was married to William E. Gsell on May 22, 1890 in Carroll County, Illinois. William was born on October 20, 1870 in Illinois. His parents were Joseph and Margaret (Etter) Gsell. He was a member of the Mennonite Church. Minnie and William enjoyed only a few short years of marriage before William contracted typhoid fever and died at his home near Morrison on January 26th, 1893 at the age of 22. "He expressed himself as having peace with God. Shortly before his departure he requested that a chapter be read to him and prayer be offered." He was buried in the Brick Church (Mennonite) Cemetery in Ustick Township on

^[438] **FUNERAL OF MRS. J. A. GEORGE ON SUNDAY** - The funeral services of Mrs. J. A. George of Morrison whose sudden passing Tuesday morning was a shock to her relatives and many friends in the community were held Sunday afternoon. A short service at the home, 530 Lincoln Way East, was followed by rites at the Presbyterian church of Morrison which were attended by a large concourse of relatives and friends. The services were conducted by Rev. S. P. Stump of Coleta who was assisted by Rev. H. L. Trump of Polo. Attending the casket were Labon Wade, Charles Schultz, Henry Buhrow, Bayard Gray, Will Nice and Daniel Deter, Jr. Committal was made in Grove Hill cemetery at Morrison. *Sterling Daily Gazette*, Monday February 10, 1930. Page 8 column 4.

^[439] **J. A. GEORGE, RESIDENT OF MORRISON FOR 40 YEARS, SUCCUMBS SATURDAY** - J. A. GEORGE, 79, a resident of Morrison for more than 40 years, passed away at his home about 9 a.m. Saturday from a heart attack. Funeral services will be held at 1:30 o'clock at the Presbyterian church. The Rev. C. H. BECKER church pastor will officiate and burial will be in the Grove Hill Cemetery.

Mr. GEORGE was born near Mt. Carroll March 2, 1866, the son of Jacob and Priscilla HOLY (sic) GEORGE. He was reared and educated in Clyde Township, north of Morrison, where he operated a farm for 14 years. He married Haddie May McCulloh on December 31, 1889 who preceded him in death on February 6, 1930. He attended the Presbyterian church.

He is survived by one daughter, Anna Veneta GEORGE at home and a number of nieces and nephews. Besides his wife he was preceded in death by his parents, two children in infancy, one sister, Mrs. J. R. ZOOK of Des Moines, Iowa and one brother, Jacob H. GEORGE of Van Nuys, California. *Sterling Gazette* November 26, 1945, page 8 column 2.

^[440] Sterling Library Cemetery list, Grove Hill Cemetery Records, Morrison, Whiteside County, 1910-1984, Vol. 2: Jeremiah Augustus George, d. Nov. 24, 1945, 79 years, 8 months, 22 days, buried in Section 3J)

Sunday the 29th.^[441] Minnie was left a widow at the age of 22. She had a daughter, two-year-old Helen E. Gsell, who had been born in January 1891^[442] and she was at least three months pregnant with Emma Zelma Gsell who was born in June of 1893.^[443] These two daughters apparently married brothers since their married names were both Mileham and they were both listed as residents of Kalamazoo, Michigan in Minnie's obituary. On December 19, 1894, almost three years after William's death, Minnie married Hezekiah E. Crawford in Whiteside County. Hezekiah was born in Pennsylvania in July 1854^[444] and, at the time of his marriage to Minnie, he was a farmer in the town of Rochelle in Ogle County, the county immediately northeast of Whiteside County. His father's name was James and his mother's name was Elizabeth Jane Scott. Hezekiah was 40 at the time of their marriage, almost twice Minnie's age. This marriage did not last and within a few years at the most, they were apparently divorced. No mention of this marriage is made in Minnie's obituary. In fact, Hezekiah appears to have been a difficult, if not shady, character. His first marriage took place in Chicago in 1891 to a woman named Alice Skelton. This marriage did not last and the couple was apparently divorced. By 1894 Hezekiah had relocated to Ogle County and had married Minnie. After their divorce Hezekiah married for a third time though he lied on the marriage license application and stated it would be his second marriage. (His marriage license application in 1894 had stated his marriage to Minnie would be his second.) Hezekiah married Mary Downie on May 13, 1900 in Winnebago, County; two counties northeast of Whiteside, County. The 1900 Federal Census reveals that just two months after the marriage Hezekiah, who was now in the Real Estate business, was living in the Chick Hotel as a boarder. His new wife was not with him and the record indicates he had been married for 10 years. This last statement raises many questions. The 10 years could have referred to the commutative total years between three wives. Or, is it possible he never divorced his first wife and simply moved to a new location and married a new wife? I haven't searched for divorce records yet but if they exist they surely could resolve this question.

^[441] **GSELL** - At his home near Morrison, Ill., Jan. 26th, 1893, of typhoid fever, William, son of Joseph and Margaret (Etter) Gsell, aged 22 years, 3 months and 6 days. He leaves a wife and one child, father and mother, 5 sisters and 1 brother; also an aged grandmother to mourn their loss, but we need not weep as those who have no hope. He was a member of the Mennonite church. He expressed himself as having peace with God. Shortly before his departure he requested that a chapter be read to him and prayer be offered. The remains were buried at the Mennonite meeting-house in Ustick, Sunday the 29th, where a large number of relatives and friends gathered to show their last respect to the departed one. Funeral services were conducted by Philip Nice and J. S. Shoemaker.

"Dearest husband, thou hast left us, here thy loss we deeply feel;

But 'tis God that has bereft us, he can all our sorrows heal.

Yet we hope to meet thee, William, when the day of life has fled,

Then with joy to greet thee, William, where no farewell tear is shed."

JOHN NICE, *Herald of Truth*, Vol. XXX, No. 4, February 15, 1893, Pages 69 & 70.

^[442] Helen's name is found in her mother's obituary. *Sterling Daily Gazette*, February 18, 1915. Her name, month and year of birth were found in the 1900 Federal Census record. Year: 1900; Census Place: Ganges, Allegan, Michigan; Roll: 698; Page: 17A; Enumeration District: 0009; FHL microfilm: 1240698.

^[443] Zelma's name is found in her mother's obituary. *Sterling Daily Gazette*, February 18, 1915. Her month and year of birth were found in the 1900 Federal Census record. Year: 1900; Census Place: Clyde, Whiteside, Illinois; Roll: 352; Page: 2A; Enumeration District: 0139; FHL microfilm: 1240352.

^[444] Year: 1900; Census Place: Rockford Ward 3, Winnebago, Illinois; Roll: 355; Page: 12A; Enumeration District: 0135; FHL microfilm: 1240355.

It must have been during the turbulent years surrounding Minnie's marriage to Hezekiah that her youngest daughter Emma went to live with Minnie's sister Haddie and her husband Jeremiah George. By June, 1900 Emma is listed on the census as the adopted daughter of Haddie and Jeremiah and the June 1, 1900 edition of the Sterling Standard newspaper reported the 're petition' by the Georges for the adoption of Emma.^[445] So it seems Emma may have already been in their household for some time by then, possibly even from the time of her birth. Whether the adoption was completed is not known. Emma is listed in the Georges household in the 1910 census but with her birth surname of Gsell and she is now listed as the Georges niece as opposed to their adopted daughter.^[446]

Minnie married for a third time on March 28, 1899 to Lambert B. Erwin.^[447] Lambert was born on October 30, 1837 in New York. (Minnie had again married a man more than twice her age.) He had been married twice before, once to Eliza A. Kingsbury on March 24, 1861^[448] and then to Rachael M. Dodd on November 11, 1873.^[449] Lambert had been listed on the census records as a farmer up until the 1900 census where he was listed as a fruit grower. In June 1900, he, Minnie and Helen were living in Allegan County, Michigan.^[450] They continued to live in Allegan County where they appear in the 1910 Federal Census. This census is interesting in that it lists this marriage for each of them as their second when in fact it was the third for both of them. In about 1911, after 12 years in Michigan, Lambert and Minnie moved back to Morrison. Lambert died on November 23, 1923 and is buried in the Grove Hill Cemetery, in Morrison, Illinois. We know nothing else about him.

Minnie died on February 16, 1915, almost eight years before Lambert. She died in Agatha Hospital in Clinton, Iowa. She had been in the hospital for several weeks due to stomach ulcers and developed acute pneumonia. Two funeral services were held. The first was at 1 o'clock at her home at 526 East Lincoln Way which was next door to her sister Haddie's home. The second was at 2:30 o'clock at the Brick Church (Mennonite) in Ustick near Morrison. She is buried in the church

^[445] *Sterling Standard*, Friday, June 1, 1900, pg 4 column 2, Sterling, Illinois.

^[446] Year: 1910; Census Place: Morrison Ward 1, Whiteside, Illinois; Roll: T624_331; Page: 5B; Enumeration District: 0136; FHL microfilm: 1374344.

^[447] *Sterling Daily Gazette*, February 18, 1915. Sterling, Illinois. (Newspaper notice provided by Maureen McCulloh Hollmeyer.)

^[448] Illinois Statewide Marriage Index at www.ilsos.gov/isavital/marriagesrch.jsp. Accessed on 4/21/2013. See also the 1870 Federal Census. Year: 1870; Census Place: Mount Pleasant, Whiteside, Illinois; Roll: M593_290; Page: 219A; Image: 443; Family History Library Film: 545789.

^[449] Illinois Statewide Marriage Index at www.ilsos.gov/isavital/marriagesrch.jsp. Accessed on 4/21/2013. See also the 1880 Federal Census. Year: 1880; Census Place: Fenton, Whiteside, Illinois; Roll: 258; Family History Film: 1254258; Page: 44A; Enumeration District: 195; Image: 0523.

^[450] Year: 1900; Census Place: Ganges, Allegan, Michigan; Roll: 698; Page: 17A; Enumeration District: 0009; FHL microfilm: 1240698.

cemetery.^[451] ^[452] It is interesting to see that she is buried next to her first husband, William Gsell, and not, ultimately, next to Lambert.

Rebecca Jane McCulloh was the next to marry. On September 15, 1892, she married Joseph Robertson, Jr. Of Ustick Township in Whiteside County, Illinois. Joseph was born on May 26, 1858 in Whiteside County and was the son of Joseph K. Robertson and Mary Needham. He was a farmer and was 33 years old when he and 19-year-old Rebecca married. Unfortunately the marriage appears to have failed and by the 1900 census Joseph is living with his brother-in-law and is listed in the record as 'divorced.'^[453] Joseph suffered a stroke on Wednesday, June 13, 1928, and died three days later on Saturday, June 16, 1928 at about 4:00 in the afternoon in a hospital in Clinton, Iowa.^[454] He was buried in the Grove Hill Cemetery in Morrison. Determining what became of Rebecca has been very difficult. Many on-line family trees incorrectly give her date of death as 1947 but none of these records provide a source for this date. In her sister Minnie's 1915 obituary all of Minnie's surviving siblings are named but Rebecca was not one of them. This implies Rebecca died before Minnie which would place her death no later than 1915. Once again Maureen McCulloh Hollmeyer has shared the results of her own research on our great grand aunt Rebecca. As was the case for Mary Ellen her research is thorough and compelling and the results reveal the reason Rebecca Jane disappears from the historical records. After her separation from Joseph Robertson, Rebecca became Jennie R. Rothe. In about 1902 or 1903 Rebecca moved to Chicago^[455] where

^[451] **IN MEMORIAM; MRS. M. H. MCCULLOH:** Minneta Holmes McCulloh was born in Ft. Lowden, (sic) Franklin county, Pa., on February 24, 1874. She came to Whiteside county in the spring of 1883 with her parents and grew to womanhood in Ustick township. In 1890 she was united in marriage to William Gsell, who died Jan. 26, 1893. Two children were born to this union, Helen E. Mileham and Zelma Mileham, both of Kalazmoo, (sic) Mich. On March 28, 1899, she was married to L. B. Erwin, who survives.

For twelve years the family home had been in Michigan, the family returning to Morrison four years ago where they have since made their home. Mrs. Erwin passed away in the Agatha Hospital at Clinton, Ia., on Feb. 16, death being due to Acute pneumonia.

Besides a loving husband, two daughters and one grand daughter to mourn her loss, she leaves four brothers, John of Ustick; George of Thompson; William of Morrison, and Arch of Union Grove; three sisters, Elizabeth Short of Chambersburg, Pa., Laura Tarner of Clinton and Haddie George of Morrison, several nieces and a host of warm friends. One brother and two sisters preceeded (sic) her to the grave, a sister, Anna Roghe, of Chicago, passing away only last July.

The funeral services were held at the late home, 526 Lincolnway, Morrison, this afternoon at 1 o'clock and at 2:30 o'clock at the Mennonite church in Ustick, burial in the Mennonite churchyard. *Sterling Daily Gazette*, February 18, 1915. Sterling, Illinois. (Obituary provided by Maureen McCulloh Hollmeyer.)

^[452] **MRS. L. B. ERWIN DIED FROM ULCERS IN STOMACH:** The death of the late Mrs. L. B. Erwin was due to Ulcers of the stomach, followed by pneumonia. She has been in the Clinton hospital for the past few weeks but has been too weak to have an operation. It is likely that an operation would not have done her any good for the disease was too far along. *Sterling Daily Gazette*, February 18, 1915. Sterling, Illinois. (Newspaper notice provided by Maureen McCulloh Hollmeyer.)

^[453] Year: 1900; Census Place: Clyde, Whiteside, Illinois; Roll: 352; Page: 6A; Enumeration District: 0139; FHL microfilm: 1240352.

^[454] *Sterling Daily Gazette*, June 18, 1928. Sterling, Illinois. (Newspaper notice provided by Maureen McCulloh Hollmeyer.)

^[455] *Certificate and Record of Death 20665*, July 28, 1914. Department of Health, Chicago, Illinois. (Certificate obtained by Maureen McCulloh Hollmeyer.)

she married a man named Paul H. Rothe in about 1903. Paul was a German immigrant who had arrived in America in either 1880 or 1885.^[456] His native tongue was German but he did speak English. He became a naturalized citizen in 1906.^[457] He was a wholesale liquor salesman and in 1910 Jennie and Paul are shown on the Federal Census as living in Chicago at 1916 North Mozart Street.^[458] Jennie was a house wife and in the 1910 census she and Paul are listed without any children. The 1920 census shows Paul living with another family on Mozart street without any children. We have not found an obituary for Jennie or Paul so we know little else about them though it is safe to assume from the preceding that they had no children or at least none that survived childhood. We do know that at the age of 43 Jennie became ill. On June 1, 1913, she came under the care of a doctor. Just over a year later, on July 26, 1914, at about 5:15 in the morning, Jennie died at her home on Mozart street where she had lived for her final five years. She died of a pulmonary disease and although the type of pulmonary disease is listed on her death certificate it is illegible. She was buried in Elmwood cemetery in Chicago.^[459]

The last of the children to marry was Archibald Scott McCulloh. On December 9, 1897, he married Emma E. Gsell in Whiteside County, Illinois. She was born on July 27, 1874, in Illinois and was the daughter of Joseph Gsell and Margaret Etter. The 1900 Federal Census shows Archibald and Emma living just two houses from her parents. Both Archibald and his father-in-law Joseph were farmers. Archibald continued to farm in Whiteside County for most of the next 24 years. Archibald and Emma had four sons beginning with Guy in 1900 and followed by Howard, Scott and Harold over the next several years. The family moved for a short time to Hawley, Minnesota but returned to Whiteside County in 1919 or 1920. Emma was the first to die. For some time she had suffered with heart problems and she died suddenly on Sunday, May 9, 1920 at about 7:30 in the morning. Archibald and Emma had been speaking in the yard of their home that morning as Archibald prepared to take a load of milk into Morrison which was five miles to the south of their home. Emma went into the house as Archibald drove away. A few moments later Guy came into the house and found his mother lying on the floor. She had struck her forehead as she fell, the fall most likely caused by a sudden and fatal heart attack. Guy drove after his father and having caught up to him they summoned help but it was too late. Emma was buried in the Brick Church (Mennonite) Cemetery in Ustick Township.^[460] Archibald remained single for almost eight years when, on March

^[456] The 1910 Federal Census gives his immigration year as 1885 but the 1920 census gives the year as 1880.

^[457] Year: 1920; Census Place: Chicago Ward 28, Cook (Chicago), Illinois; Roll: T625_344; Page: 10A; Enumeration District: 1725; Image: 468.

^[458] Year: 1910; Census Place: Chicago Ward 28, Cook, Illinois; Roll: T624_273; Page: 7A; Enumeration District: 1245; FHL microfilm: 1374286.

^[459] *Certificate and Record of Death 20665*, July 28, 1914. Department of Health, Chicago, Illinois. (Certificate obtained by Maureen McCulloh Hollmeyer.)

^[460] *Sterling Daily Gazette*, May 11, 1920. Sterling, Illinois. (Newspaper notice provided by Maureen McCulloh Hollmeyer.)

14, 1928, he married Mrs. Sophia Bessie Jackson.^[461] Sophia was born in Illinois in July of 1871 and was the daughter of German immigrants.^[462] She had been married to a man by the name of Richard Jackson. They were married in 1891^[463] and Sophia and Richard had at least seven children.^[464] Sometime between 1925 and 1927 Richard died. Sophia remained living in their Clinton, Iowa home at 121 4th Avenue South.^[465] After the March 1928 wedding Archibald moved into the 4th Avenue South home where he lived with Sophia for the rest of his life. He worked as a laborer at the Champion Milling and Grain Company.^[466] Archibald and Sophia were blessed with five years of marriage until Archie's death on September 24, 1933. He died at about 4:30 on a Sunday afternoon at the Sunny Crest sanitarium in Dubuque, IA. There was apparently some disagreement as to where Archibald should be buried. There is a large monument for Emma and Archibald at the Brick Church (Mennonite) Cemetery in Morrison but Sophia prevailed and Archibald was buried in the Preston Cemetery in Van Buren, Iowa.

This brings to an end the marriages of Amos and Hannah's children. It is interesting to note that none of the children went through life as maids or bachelors and that three of the McCulloh siblings (John, Minnie and Archibald) married Gsell siblings (Mary, William and Emma).

And what became of Hanna and Samuel? Sadly we know very little about the final decades of their lives. As noted above, Hannah and Samuel moved to Illinois in 1889. The following year the 11th Federal Census of the United States was taken. This census would have told us where Samuel and Hannah lived when they arrived in Illinois and which of the children were still living at home as well as many other facts about the family. Tragically, the 1890 Federal Census records were destroyed in a fire in 1921. The next records we find for Samuel and Hannah are a full ten years later in the 1900 Federal Census. According to the census in 1900 Samuel was 83 years old and Hannah was 66. (The census gives Samuel's date of birth as January 1917,^[467] however his tombstone lists his date of birth as October 9, 1819. The record for their marriage in 1887 lists Samuel's age as 64

^[461] *Sterling Daily Gazette*, September 26, 1933. Sterling, Illinois. (Newspaper notice provided by Maureen McCulloh Hollmeyer.)

^[462] Year: 1900; Census Place: Van Buren, Jackson, Iowa; Roll: 438; Page: 5A; Enumeration District: 0071; FHL microfilm: 1240438.

^[463] Year: 1900; Census Place: Van Buren, Jackson, Iowa; Roll: 438; Page: 5A; Enumeration District: 0071; FHL microfilm: 1240438.

^[464] Year: 1910; Census Place: Fairfield, Jackson, Iowa; Roll: T624_407; Page: 2B; Enumeration District: 0060; FHL microfilm: 1374420.

^[465] *McCoy's Clinton City Directory 1927*. The McCoy Directory Co., Rockford, IL, 1927, p 161.

^[466] *McCoy's Clinton City Directory 1931*. The McCoy Directory Co., Rockford, IL, 1931, p 135.

^[467] Year: 1900; Census Place: Clyde, Whiteside, Illinois; Roll: 352; Page: 4B; Enumeration District: 0139; FHL microfilm: 1240352.

which would make his year of birth 1823.^[468] Based on his age as listed on his certificate of death^[469] the tombstone date is the correct date.) The census record shows Samuel and Hannah living with 12 other adults and 15 children ranging in age from a newborn infant to 18 years. This home was the Mount Carmel Orphanage and Faith Home which we will learn more about in the next chapter. Samuel and Hannah were by far the oldest members of the home though it appears they actually lived across the road from the main orphanage with Hannah's son, William, his wife Maria and their four children. Samuel and Hannah had moved in with William and Maria in 1896,^[470] though whether their home at that time was the home across the road from the future orphanage or elsewhere I have not yet determined. By the time they lived at the orphanage in 1900 their advanced ages may have precluded them from taking an active part in the orphanage work. Samuel and Hannah's names do not appear in meeting minutes or lists of orphanage workers.

In 1903 Samuel began to suffer from atherosclerosis, commonly known as hardening of the arteries.^[471] On December 8, 1905, Samuel suffered a stroke and died at home seven days later on December 15 at 6:00 in the evening.^[472] He was buried three days later in the Brick Church (Mennonite) Cemetery in Ustick Township near Morrison, Illinois. Samuel had been a Lutheran but attended the Mennonite Church after he moved to Illinois.^[473] His obituary in *The Gospel Witness* states that Samuel was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and came to Franklin County, Pennsylvania, when he was six years old. He and his first wife had five sons and two daughters. His daughters preceded him in death and his sons, who all survived him, remained in Pennsylvania.^[474]

Hannah lived for only a year and a half after Samuel's death. She died on June 27, 1907, at the age of 73. We have no records to tell us what caused her death. She had been a faithful member of the

^[468] Ancestry.com. Pennsylvania, Records of Marriages, 1885-1889 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011. Original data: Bureau of Statistics. Series 14.25, Record of Marriages, 1885-1891. Microfilm, rolls 385-386. Records of the Department of Internal Affairs, Record Group 14. Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

^[469] Certificate of Death #4553 issued by the Whiteside County Clerk on December 21, 1905.

^[470] The date for this move come from a letter dated April 24, 2002 from Vida (McCulloh) Yoder.

^[471] Certificate of Death #4553 issued by the Whiteside County Clerk on December 21, 1905.

^[472] Certificate of Death #4553 issued by the Whiteside County Clerk on December 21, 1905.

^[473] *The Gospel Witness* - Volume 1, Number 40 - January 3, 1906 - pages 355,359.

^[474] **WISE** - On the 15th of Dec., 1905, at the home of Wm. McCulloh, near Morrison, Whiteside Co., Ill., Samuel Wise, aged 86 Y., 3 M., 6 D. He was born in Lancaster Co., Pa., Oct. 9, 1819. When he was six years old he moved with his parents to Franklin Co., Pa., and on Dec. 17, 1844, was married to Elizabeth Lininger. To this union were born five sons and two daughters. Both daughters are dead and the five sons are living in Pennsylvania. His first wife died Oct. 15, 1879, (sic-1878) and he was married to Mrs. Hannah McCulloh in 1887, who survives him. In 1889 he moved to Whiteside Co., Ill., where he has since lived. He was a member of the Lutheran church, but since living in Illinois he attended the Mennonite church near Morrison, to which place the funeral services were conducted Dec. 18th by Pre. John Nice, from Psa. 89:48. JOHN W. McCULLOH. *The Gospel Witness* - Volume 1, Number 40 - January 3, 1906 - pages 355,359.

Mennonite Church and her funeral was held at the Brick (Mennonite) Church in Ustick. A large number of people attended the funeral. She was buried next to Samuel in the church cemetery.^[475]

Hannah experienced many tragedies and heartaches in her life. She left no journals or other written records that would give us a glimpse into her feelings and the thoughts she must have pondered in her final years. In the one photo we have of Hannah, taken late in life, she wears a tired and sad expression. She lived through the terrors of a country at war with itself, lost two husbands, raised and provided for her young children alone for many years, lost her home and land in far away Pennsylvania, lived through the deaths of parents, children and grandchildren and persevered through untold hardships and struggles that were a normal part of 19th century rural life and death. And yet, she also had many blessings. I wish we could hear her reflections on her long and difficult life. I wish we knew her and Amos's story better. In recent decades Samuel and Hannah's tombstone has been replaced. The inscription on the stone is taken from Revelation 14:13 and seems so appropriate for Hannah:

*“Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord
from henceforth they may rest from their labors.”*

^[475] **Wise - Hannah C. Humbert** was born May 11, 1834, in Franklin Co., Pa.; died June 27, 1907; aged 73 Y., 1 M., 16 D. She was married to Amos C. McCulloh, who died Dec. 26, 1876. To this union were born eleven children, of whom nine survive. In the year 1884 she went to Illinois and in 1887 was again married, to Samuel Wise, who died Dec. 15, 1905. Funeral services were held June 30 at the Mennonite M. H. near Morrison, Ill., where quite a number of people had come together. Services were conducted by John Zook and John Nice. Texts, John 19:27 and Mark 14:8. She was a consistent member of the Mennonite church. We have no reason to mourn as those who have no hope. *Herald of Truth*, July 11, 1907, Volume XLIV, Number 28, Mennonite Church in North America.

Appendix A

The McCulloh Name - Origin and Spelling

The McCulloh name is an ancient one and is believed to be of Celtic origin. Surnames first came into use in Scotland and Ireland in the 10th to 12th centuries. The McCulloh name first appeared in documentation in Galloway, Scotland where the name Thomas Maculagh, "Counte de Wyggtone," was listed on the Ragman Roll of 1296. Most sources classify the McCulloh name as a patronymic (named after the father). The prefix Mac means "Son of." Thus McCulloh means the son or descendent of Culloh. A form of the name translated from Scots Gaelic means "son of the boar." An Irish form of the name is translated "son of the hound of Ulster." In America the Mac is most often reduced to Mc and sometimes to the simple M'.

Surnames can also be topographical in origin. In their book, *The Descendants of Captain John McCollough (1770-1847) and Anna Elizabeth Spangler (1779-1858)*, Curtis and Mark McCollough relate that their father and grandfather, Theodore Olyn McCollough, "...believed our family name was of topographic origin." A literal interpretation of MacCulloch could be Mac (son of), cul (Gaelic for cool, a nook, or shaded area), and loch or lough ("lake" in Scotland or Ireland), or "son of the one who lives by the cool lake."

Although our branch of McCullohs immigrated from northern Ireland it is not actually known whether our ancestors, and our name, is Irish or Scottish in origin. The 50 most common surnames in the 1861 census of Scotland does not include the McCullough name while in modern times the name is among the 50 most common names in Ulster (Northern Ireland). Eighty percent of the McCulloughs in Ireland are found in the province of Ulster and a census of 1659 in the Ulster Counties of Antrim and Down shows the name to be a principal Irish name at that time.

One of the areas in Scotland having the highest concentration of McCulloughs was Galloway in the Southwest lowlands. The reasons are complex but in 1610 the "Plantation" of Ulster was announced by King James the VI of Scotland/I of England. This colonization program made land in Ulster available to lowland Scots and British subjects to induce them to migrate to Northern Ireland to push out and subdue the Irish. This migration had actually begun in 1606 by private Scottish entrepreneurs, and men from the Galloway area received the largest land grants; all the great houses of Galloway being represented. This suggests some or all of the McCulloughs in Northern Ireland were/are of Scottish origin.

The most ancient forms of our name are "MacCu'Uladh" and "Mac Con Uladh," anglicized as "Maccullagh," and rendered in Scots Gaelic as "Maccullaich." So when did our ancestors begin to spell our name as "McCulloh?" Various degrees of literacy of our ancestors combined with random, often phonetic, spellings in official documents has resulted in a wide range of spellings. Our direct ancestors first came from Northern Ireland to Newcastle County, Delaware and settled in Franklin County, Pennsylvania in the mid 1700's. A sampling of the Franklin County, PA and Newcastle

County, DE censuses for the years 1790 through 1870 show the following spelling variations: McCullough, McCollough, McCullo, McCollum, McCulluch, McColough, McCulloch, McColloch and McCullan. Interestingly, no "McCulloh" spelling appears in the censuses. However, these variations are probably more the result of the various census takers' arbitrary choices in spellings than the actual spellings used by the families themselves. And yet it seems the families themselves did not have a firmly established spelling for their own name. Between the years 1748 and 1758, Archibald McCulloh's brother James kept a diary. In his diary he spells the names of his children, his brothers and sister and himself with the following ten variations, none of which include the 'oh' or 'ough' endings: Ma Cullogh, ma Cullogh, mc Colagh, ma Collogh, mc Collogh, mc Cullogh, mc Cologh, mc Collough, mc Coloch, mc Colock. Our ancestor, Archibald, is named in three passages. James spells his brother Archibald's name 'mc Cologh' in the first entry in 1752 and mc Coloch in the 2nd and 3rd entries in 1754 & 1755.

A review of the McCullough genealogy in the book, *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson-McCullough-McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.*, indicates a mix of 'ough' and 'oh' spellings among several of the relatives and ancestors of William Edgar. However, the 'ough' spelling in this genealogy seems to be a continuation of the spelling commonly used on legal documents of the time as opposed to the spelling actually used by the families themselves. Clearly our ancestor William Edgar spelled his name McCulloh as did his father Amos. In a family Bible, Amos' birth, marriage and death are all recorded with the 'oh' spelling. The 'oh' spelling was also used for Amos in 1863 in a military draft registration ledger and in a newspaper listing around that same time. Interestingly, a short legal document, probably prepared by a clerk and dated shortly after the death of Amos on Christmas day in 1876 used the 'ough' spelling for his name but his wife Hannah signed the document with the 'oh' ending. Amos's tombstone in Ft. Loudon, PA was still legible as of 2008 and it inexplicably bears the 'ough' spelling even though his funeral card was printed with the 'oh' ending. The 1860 and 1870 censuses incorrectly use the 'ough' spelling for Amos and the 1880 census continues the 'ough' spelling for Hannah.

Amos's mother, Mary Ann McCulloh (Lewis) had a family Bible. Every entry on the genealogy pages use the 'oh' spelling, yet, apparently Mary Ann herself used the 'ough' spelling when she wrote her name three times on the front page of the Bible in the 1830s.

Shortly after their arrival in America our ancestors settled in Franklin County Pennsylvania. Amos, his mother Mary Ann, her father John and his father George all lived in the Little Cove and Ft. Loudon Pennsylvania. Many McCulloh's were buried in the 1800's in three cemeteries in the Little Cove. Several of our direct ancestors' tombstones are still maintained and legible including Archibald's grandson John (d-1851), John's wife Elizabeth (d-1847) and several other relatives and descendants, all of which have the 'oh' spelling on the tombstones. In his *History of the Little Cove*, Harry Foreman uses the 'oh' ending for all the McCulloh residents of the Little Cove community. The 'oh' spelling appears to be the only spelling used throughout this geographic area since the early 1800's.

Interestingly, the descendants of Archibald McCullough in the Little Cove area are all from his first wife Susanna through their son George. In the late 1700's Archibald, his second wife Elizabeth and

their son Archibald, Jr. began a move to the south which ended many yeas later in Lexington, Kentucky. Tombstones, historical references and legal documents for their descendants in the Lexington, Kentucky area from this second marriage appear to use the 'ough' ending.

It would seem, then, by the mid 1800's, whenever our ancestors were directly responsible for spelling our name, as opposed to the spellings used by government and legal representatives, the "oh" spelling has been used for our line and those McCullohs whose ancestors lived in the Little Cove.

Sources

Scottish Clan And Family Encyclopedia - 1998, Barnes & Noble Books, New York

The Book of Scotch-Irish Family Names - 1988, The Black Staff Press, Belfast

Clans and Families of Ireland - 1993, The Wellfleet Press, Edison, NJ

The Scotch-Irish; A Social History - 1962, Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press

The Descendants of Captain John McCollough (1770-1847) And Anna Elizabeth Spangler (1779-1858) - 2006, Mark and Curtis McCollough

Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson-McCollough-McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa. - Elizabeth Brubaker Wolff

Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan - 2003, Oxford University Press

History of the Little Cove - 1967, Harry E. Foreman

Appendix C

Our Relation to Archibald (Archie) McCullough; Sole Survivor of the Enoch Brown Massacre: July 26, 1764

Introduction

On the morning of July 26, 1764, ten-year old Archibald (Archie) McCullough along with ten classmates and their teacher, Enoch Brown, were in the one room school located in Franklin (then Lancaster) County Pennsylvania. They experienced a terrifying and deadly encounter that day when three young Indians viciously attacked them. All were scalped and killed with the exception of Archie who miraculously survived. He was found scalped and bleeding at a small spring near the school where he had gone to slake his thirst and wash the blood from his wounds.

As a child I had heard the chilling story of the Enoch Brown Massacre but it was never clear to me what our connection with Archie really was. It was always stated that he was a cousin of one of our ancestors, though no one seemed to know who his father was and what his actual place in our family tree was. While growing up my only real source of family genealogy history was *The White Book* (the McCulloh genealogy “bible”) that my Grandfather owned. It referred to Archie as the first cousin of our direct ancestor George McCulloh but didn’t say who his father was. I also knew from *The White Book*^[476] that George had two aunts and three uncles. With this basic information in hand I concluded that George’s uncle John was the most likely person to have been Archie’s father.

And then, in 2006 while researching what is known about our McCulloh history, I learned of Archibald’s second wife and a completely unexpected and intriguing resolution to the question presented itself. In this study I will review the source documents and outline the evidence that has lead me to the conclusion that Archie was actually the son of our direct ancestor Archibald and the half-brother (and possibly 2nd cousin) of George McCulloh.

Who’s Who? (Key Relationships)

The following key relationships are central to this study: (Siblings and children not effecting this discussion have been omitted for clarity.^[477])

- 1. Archibald McCullough (born 1718):**
 - a. Was our direct immigrant ancestor and the brother of James and John McCullough
 - b. His first wife, Susanna Mathews (his first cousin), produced George McCulloh
 - c. His second wife, Elizabeth Lawson, produced Archie McCullough (*scalped by Indians*)
 - d. His son was George McCulloh.
- 2. George McCullough (born 1745):**

^[476] This book is believed to have been published in 1953 and is actually titled *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County*. Due to it’s lengthy title the book is commonly referred to as *The White Book* (due to its white cover) which is how we will refer to it in this paper.

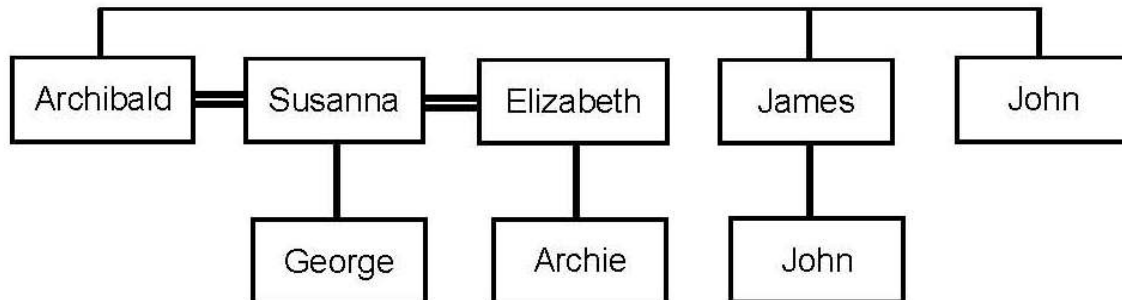
^[477] See *Expanded Genealogy of Key Relationships* in the Notes section at the end of this article for additional details.

- a. Was our direct ancestor and the son of Archibald McCullough's first wife Susanna Mathews
- 3. **Archie McCullough (Archibald Jr.) (born 1754):**
 - a. Was a son of Archibald McCullough's second wife Elizabeth Lawson
 - b. He survived being scalped by Indians
- 4. **James McCullough (born 1725):**
 - a. Was a brother of Archibald and John McCullough
 - b. He had one known wife, Martha, who produced John McCullough (*Indian Captive - author of Life With The Aborigines*)
 - c. He was George McCulloh's uncle
- 5. **John McCullough (2nd generation - born 1748):**
 - a. Was a son of James McCullough
 - b. He was an Indian Captive and author of *Life With The Aborigines*
 - c. He was a first cousin of George McCulloh
- 6. **John McCullough (1st generation - born ?):**
 - a. Was a brother of Archibald and James McCullough
 - b. He was George McCulloh's uncle

Key Cousin Relationships

The following *cousin* relationships will be explained below and are key to understanding this study:

- a. Archibald and Susanna are cousins
- b. Archie and George are 2nd cousins
- c. Archie and 2nd generation John (son of James) are 1st cousins
- d. George and 2nd generation John (son of James) are 1st cousins



Who Says What ^[478]

1. **The White Book:** This genealogy describes the relationship between George and Archie as first cousins.^[479]
2. **American Revolutionary Soldiers of Franklin County Pennsylvania:** This work describes the relationship between George and Archie as cousins.^[480]
3. **Life With The Aborigines:** This account describes the relationship between John and Archie as full cousins.^[481]
4. **The “Rouse Papers”:** *The “Rouse Papers”* in Hazel Lowery’s files^[482] state Susanna was Archibald’s cousin.
5. **The Lazenby Genealogy:** The Lazenby genealogy states that George’s parents Archibald and Susanna Mathews were cousins.

^[478] See Key Source Documents in the notes section at the end of this article for additional details concerning these books and sources.

^[479] See page 52 of *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County, Pa.* by Elizabeth Brubaker Wolff; no publication date, possibly 1953.

^[480] *American Revolutionary Soldiers of Franklin County Pennsylvania*, page 171 - Chambersburg 1969.

^[481] See page 63 of *Genealogy of the McCullough Family and Other Sketches*; The Telegraph Printing Co., Harrisburg, PA, 1912.

^[482] There are errors in the *Rouse Papers* and Mrs. Lowery made the following notation: “I am not sure about this genealogy; I think a great bit of it has not been adequately verified...”

The Arguments

Half-brother or Cousin?

As stated in the introduction to this paper we now know that George and Archie were half-brothers since they were both the sons of Archibald. But what about all the cousin references in our sources? None of the known documents refer to George and Archie as brothers or half-brothers; only cousin and first cousin. One key to solving this puzzle appears to be found in the cousin relationship of George's parents Archibald and Susanna. As noted above in the Who Says What section, the *Rouse Papers* and the *Lazenby Genealogy* both state that Archibald and Susanna were cousins.^[483] If Archibald and Susanna really were cousins then the references in various documents to George and Archie being cousins would actually be correct even though they are both sons of Archibald McCullough. The cousin relationship is explained as follows: George is the son of Archibald's cousin Susanna. Archie is the son of Susanna's cousin Archibald. This makes George and Archie not only half-brothers but also 2nd cousins.^[484]

I do not know why the various sources used the term cousin instead of half-brother for George and Archie. It is quite likely the authors of these documents simply didn't know who Archie's father was since Archibald, Elizabeth and presumably Archie left Pennsylvania just a few years after the massacre. We also know that in colonial times the general term cousin had not yet assumed its narrowly defined modern meaning^[485]. Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary defines cousin as "One collaterally related more remotely than a brother or sister; especially, the son or daughter of an uncle or aunt." The Genealogical dictionary *A to Zax* provides the following definitions:

- 1) child of a sibling;
- 2) sometimes used to indicate a relationship by marriage rather than blood;
- 3) in early New England it can mean a niece or nephew;
- 4) sometimes used to refer to a close friend;
- 5) **used to refer to someone who is kin, but the exact relationship is unknown.**

If the cousin designation has its source with oral tradition handed down from George and Archie's families it may be that the term half-brother was too sophisticated and was simply not in the common vocabulary of these immigrant pioneers on the frontier. They may have chosen the term cousin as a simple "catch-all" designation for this rather complicated relationship. Or, as noted above, if the term cousin was applied only in recent times (as I believe to be the case) it is quite likely the authors of these documents simply didn't know who Archie's father was and simply referred to him as a cousin since the exact relationship was not known to them.

Maybe Not Cousins at All?

^[483] While researching Lowery's *McCullough Family Collection* I found correspondence between Lowery and Rouse and between Lowery and Lazenby. It is very possible that Bill Lazenby obtained a copy of the *Rouse Papers* as his source for this data.

^[484] To confirm the 2nd cousin relationship I entered the names of George, Archibald, Jr. (Archie), their father Archibald, Sr. and their respective mothers, Susanna and Elizabeth into the genealogy computer program *Family Tree Maker*. I then proceeded to add fictional ancestors for Archibald, Sr., Susanna and Elizabeth as necessary to create a first cousin relationship for Archibald, Sr. and Susanna Mathews; carefully avoiding creating a scenario where an ancestor brother marries a sister. I then created a relationship report using *FamilyTree Maker's* Kinship Report tool. The reports shows George and Archibald to be half-brothers and 2nd cousins. Additionally the report shows George's parents to also be his 1st cousins once removed.

^[485] *The Researcher's Guide to American Genealogy*, 31

While the above explanation for Archie and George being cousins seems plausible to me, what if Archibald and Susanna weren't cousins after all? What if *The Rouse Papers*, our only source for this information, is in error? If George's parents, Archibald and Susanna, weren't cousins then George and Archie are not cousins either and we must ask the question again: what about the cousin references for George and Archie in our sources?

As previously stated, none of our known documents refer to George and Archie as brothers or half-brothers; only cousin and first cousin. When one reviews the key source documents (described in the Additional Notes section at the end of this article) we find there are actually only two documents that refer to a cousin relationship for George and Archie; *The White Book*, and *American Revolutionary Soldiers of Franklin County Pennsylvania*. Is it possible these are both in error? Yes, I think it is. First let us address the reference in *American Revolutionary Soldiers of Franklin County Pennsylvania*. This book was published in 1969 and contains biographical entries for each soldier. The entry for George includes many details including the statement: "He was a cousin of Archie McCullough, who was in the Enoch Brown massacre." The entry cites the Pennsylvania Archives, 6th Series, Volume 3, page 36 as its source. However, this is very misleading. The cited Pennsylvania Archive entry includes only the name George McCulloch on a list of soldiers subject to Militia Duty in Air Township in 1789; no other information is included. What is the source then of the biographical data in *American Revolutionary Soldiers of Franklin County Pennsylvania*? Given the nature of the content it almost certainly comes directly from *The White Book* which was published 16 years earlier. That being the case *American Revolutionary Soldiers of Franklin County Pennsylvania* is not an independent separate source and must be discounted as evidence for Archie and George being cousins.

Our only remaining source is *The White Book* which describes a first cousin relationship for George and Archie. Although this book contains a wealth of genealogical information it must be noted the book does not include footnotes, endnotes, citations or bibliographical data to support any of the information presented; only a list of the names of the twenty-four contributors to the book. Consequently we have no way to verify or validate the source of the information presented. However, we do know that at least one of the contributors knew of the existence of *Life With the Aborigines*; George's cousin John's account of his life in captivity with the Indians. *The White Book* includes a lengthy quote from *Life With the Aborigines* wherein John describes the relationship between himself and Archie as full cousins. (A full cousin is described by the Old Oxford English Dictionary as being interchangeable with the term first cousin.)

The contributors to *The White Book* did not know George's mother's name and they clearly do not know about Archibald's second wife Elizabeth. It is almost certain that the contributors, removed almost 200 years from the period in question and having no intimate knowledge of the family and Archibald's second wife, simply didn't know who Archie's father was; if they had it certainly would have been included in the book. It is very likely one of the contributors simply made a "leap of logic" based on the full cousin relationship given for Archie and John in the quote from *Life With The Aborigines*. And, knowing George was John's cousin but not knowing Archibald was Archie's father, they quite logically, but incorrectly, applied the first cousin designation to describe the relationship for George and Archie as well. If we accept this explanation then we are left with no source documents to support the idea that George and Archie are cousins and we are left with only the half-brother relationship.

Summary

In summary then we now know that George and Archie are at the very least half-brothers. They may also be 2nd cousins if Archibald and Susanna were cousins as well but we have no solid source to support this. While I believe the above described half-brother relationship is correct and that even the 2nd cousin relationship is likely, there is yet one other possible relationship for Archie and George. This would be the unlikely proposition that George is the son of some other Archibald McCullough who was not one of the six siblings. We have no documentation other than *The White Book* to prove that George is Archibald's (brother of James, John, Sara and two others) son^[486]. I am not aware of any birth certificates, baptismal records or other written documents to conclusively prove the father/son relationship for Archibald and George. The circumstantial evidence certainly exists to support the father/son relationship and the contributors to *The White Book* clearly obtained their information from some source which, if we were fortunate enough to discover, might very well be beyond question. Who knows what old Bibles, letters or other documents they may have consulted to develop *The White Book's* genealogy. If only they had told us! But following the unlikely idea of an unknown Archibald as George's father leads to a complete unraveling of our McCulloh line in *The White Book's* genealogy. And lacking any evidence to the contrary it seems quite reasonable and appropriate to continue to accept the established McCulloh genealogy with regard to George being the son of Archibald as set forth in *The White Book*.

^[486] Mrs. Lowery, in the *McCullough Family Collection* does not question whether Archie is Archibald and Elizabeth's son but does at times question whether George is also this same Archibald's son. However, she provides no evidence or arguments for this.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

1. Expanded Genealogy of Key Relationships

There were at least six immigrant siblings. The following expanded genealogy of key relationships is not critical to this study but is included for general reference:

- a. **Archibald McCullough** had four known children by two different wives:
 - i. First Wife; Susanna Mathews (Archibald's first cousin):
 - (1) George McCulloh
 - ii. Second Wife; Elizabeth Lawson
 - (1) Archibald (Archie) McCullough, Jr. (*scalped by Indians*)
 - (2) Cynthia
 - (3) Lawson
- b. **James McCullough** had several known children by his only known wife:
 - i. Martha:
 - (1) John McCullough (*Indian Captive - author of Life With The Aborigines*)
 - (2) James McCullough, Jr. (*Indian Captive - fate unknown*)
 - (3) (others)
- c. **John McCullough** had no known wife or children. Only his date of death is known.
- d. **Sarah McCullough** (Almost nothing is known about this sister.)
- e. **Anne McCullough** (Almost nothing is known about this sister who may actually be one and the same as Sarah.)
- f. **Unknown male McCullough** (Nothing known about this brother.)

2. Key Source Documents

To date the following documents are the only documents I have found that provide clues to our relationship to Archie:

- a. **The White Book:** This book is believed to have been published in 1953 and is actually titled *Early History and Genealogy of the Anderson - McCullough - McCune Families and Related Lines of Franklin County*. Due to its lengthy title the book is commonly referred to as *The White Book* (due to its white cover).
- b. **American Revolutionary Soldiers of Franklin County Pennsylvania:** This book was published in 1969 by the Franklin County chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The book contains over 2,000 biographical entries for Franklin County soldiers known to have served in the revolution.

- c. **Life With The Aborigines - A Narrative:** This book was written sometime before 1823 and is a biographical account by John McCullough I, of his life in captivity with the Delaware Indians.^[487]
- d. **Archibald McCullough's Clan:** By Jessamine Young Wooton. This unpublished manuscript dated 1980 is in the Kentucky Historical Society's collection.
- e. **McCullough Family Collection:** Mrs. Edna Hazel McCullough Lowery from Falls Church, Virginia was an incredibly dedicated and active McCullough genealogist from at least the 1970's through the 1990's. Her unpublished research notes and papers have been collected and organized into the massive 12-volume *McCullough Family Collection* now housed in the genealogy division of the Allen County Public Library in Ft. Wayne, Indiana.
- f. **The "Rouse Papers"** The "Rouse Papers" were prepared by Mrs. Helen Rouse of Owensboro Kentucky sometime before 1971. This was apparently a private manuscript as no copy or other record of this work can be found. However, pages 91 through 98 titled "McCULLOUGH GENEALOGY" were retyped from a photocopy in 1976 by Mrs. Edna Hazel McCullough Lowery and are in Lowery's *McCullough Family Collection* in the genealogy division of the Allen County Public Library in Ft. Wayne, Indiana.
- g. **The Lazenby Genealogy:** This extensive on-line genealogy has been compiled by Bill Lazenby beginning in 2000.^[488] (Bill Lazenby's wife is a McCullough descendant of John the Indian captive.)

^[487] The date of first publication of *Life With The Aborigines - A Narrative* is not known but it was included in the book *Genealogy of the McCullough Family and Other Sketches* written by John McCullough III, and published in 1912 by The Telegraph Printing Co., Harrisburg, PA.

^[488] The McCullough genealogy compiled by Bill Lazenby can be found at: http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~lazenbylinks/WC01/WC01_416.HTM. Bill Lazenby refers to the "Case/Gunning McCullough Descendants Report," 1997, *Archives of McCullough-L at http://resources.rootsweb.com/~clusters/surnames/m/c/MCCULLOUGH/* as his source for much of the McCullough information. Janene Case was the compiler of this archived report and much of her data was apparently copied from Lyle Gunning. This archived report that Bill Lazenby uses as his source provides a wealth of previously unknown information. Unfortunately the 1997 archives are no longer posted and the source of this information could not be reviewed or evaluated by Bill or by me. In the summer of 2007 I made contact by e-mail with Lyle Gunning. He is originally from Ohio but at the time of my contact was retired and living in Florida. He confirmed that he originally compiled this data over 20 years ago, long before internet access was available. He stated that he gathered this data from conversations with his late wife's family members (his wife was a McCulloh descendent) as well as genealogies and miscellaneous data in various family members' possession. When I pressed for more details Mr. Gunning was unable to provide or identify any published or unpublished documentation for his data. He indicated that he had not rigorously researched his facts but believed them to be accurate at the time. Although his data is not based on verifiable documentation, it was gathered from living descendants of our McCulloh ancestors and may indeed be factual data that is otherwise lost to time.

3. Key Points

The following are key points concerning the various relationships and which source says what about them:

a. *The White Book (c. 1953)*

- i. is the main source for the six known sibling immigrants
- ii. makes no reference to Archibald's second wife (Elizabeth Lawson).
- iii. does not include Archibald's first wife's name (Susanna Mathews).
- iv. does not state Archibald's first wife (Susanna Mathews) was his cousin.
- v. establishes George as the son of Archibald; one of the six siblings.
- vi. states that George and Archie are 1st cousins.

b. *Archibald McCullough's Clan (1980)*

- i. includes Archibald and Susanna Mathews and raises the question as to whether this is the same Archibald who later married Elizabeth Lawson; mother of Archie.
- ii. does not name or include George McCullough in Archibald's genealogy.
- iii. establishes that Archie is the son of Archibald and Susanna.

c. *The Rouse Papers (c. 1971)*

- i. states that Archibald's first wife (Susanna Mathews) was his cousin.

d. *The Lazenby Genealogy (1997)*

- i. states that Archibald's first wife (Susanna Mathews) was his cousin.^[489]
- ii. states that George and Archie are cousins but only by way of a direct copy of the biographical entry in *American Revolutionary Soldiers of Franklin County Pennsylvania*.

e. *Genealogy of the McCullough Family and Other Sketches*

- i. is the only primary source material cited and describes John McCullough, the Indian captive, as Archie's full cousin.

f. *McCullough Family Collection (c. 1970's - 1990's)*

- i. references Archibald and Susanna Mathews but questions whether this is the same Archibald who later married Elizabeth Lawson; mother of Archie.
- ii. contains correspondence and notes variously questioning and accepting the understanding that George is Archibald and Susanna's son. This is a collection of research notes and correspondence, not a published work and has no final conclusions
- iii. states that Archie is the son of Archibald and Elizabeth.

^[489] There is no original source document extant proving Archibald, Sr. and Susanna were cousins. We have two independent references to this cousin relationship. In Jessamine Young Wooton's paper *Archibald McCullough's Clan* published in 1980, she cites the "Rouse" papers in Hazel Lowery's files as stating Susanna was Archibald's cousin. It is possible that the Lazenby source and Lowery source are the same but the Lazenby and the Lowery Sources appear to be independent of each other and the extensively footnoted Lazenby genealogy does not reference either the Lowery "Rouse" papers or Wooton's *Archibald McCullough's Clan*.