

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

Working Draft - 1

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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. 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 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 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 **Sussana 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 Sussana 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 sometime after 1789. The location of his grave is not known.

George's first 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 one child.

George's second 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 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 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 in the Little Cove in Franklin County, Pennsylvania.

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.

Generation 5

Amos Crosby McCulloh is the son of Mary Ann McCulloh Lewis. He was born on November 12, 1831 in Fort Loudon, 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 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^[1] was born in Ireland in 1718;^[2] probably in County Derry. His father may have been born about 1695,^[3] also probably in County Derry Ireland^[4] 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.^[5]

Emigration from Northern Ireland (Ulster) to the American colonies began in any meaningful way in about 1680.^[6] 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.^[7] 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.^[8] This famine has been called "The Year of the Slaughter" in which it is estimated

^[1] See Appendix A of this article for an explanation of the various spellings of the name McCulloh.

^[2] 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.

^[3] *ibid*

^[4] *ibid*

^[5] *ibid*

^[6] Dickson, R. J. *Ulster Emigration To Colonial America 1718-1775*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1976. p. 20. (First published 1966 by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.)

^[7] *ibid*

^[8] *ibid*

that 250,000 to 400,000 or more inhabitants of Ireland died.^[9] ^[10] Emigration from Ireland reached 12,000 annually at this time.^[11]

In the early 1700's if all went well it took between 8 to 10 weeks to sail from Northern Ireland to Philadelphia.^[12] 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.^[13] 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.^[14] 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^[15] indicates that Archibald emigrated with his siblings James, John, Sara, an unknown sister (Anne ^[16]) and an unknown brother in about 1740. However, we now know, through

^[9] Gray, Peter. *The Irish Famine*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1995. p. 6.

^[10] Dunaway, Wayland. *The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania*. Chapel Hill, N.C: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944. Genealogical Publishing Company reprint, 1997. p. 32.

^[11] Rouse, Parke, Jr. *The Great Wagon Road*. Richmond, VA: The Dietz Press, 2004. p. 30.

^[12] *ibid*, p. 205

^[13] *ibid*, p. 208

^[14] Dickson, R. J. *Ulster Emigration To Colonial America 1718-1775*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1976. p. 52. (First published 1966 by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.)

^[15] 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.

^[16] 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. 52. This book does not include the name Anne; referring to her as "sister, name unknown." Bill Lazenby's genealogy (footnote 2 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 we will assume them to be the two sisters.

the publication of excerpted editions of the diary^[17] of James McCullough, that James did not leave Belfast Ireland until 1745; arriving in New Castle County, Delaware in 1745 or 1746^[18]. 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.^{[19][20]} Is this our Archibald? If so Susanna Matthew's name is "new" to our history; not being recorded in the "*White Book*"^[21] genealogy by Wolff. Bill Lazenby lists Archibald and Susanna as our ancestors in his extensive McCulloh genealogy (see footnote 2 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.^[22]

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.^[23] It was reported in 1728 that only one in ten emigrants could pay their own way to America.^[24] An indenture typically lasted four years.^[25] 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

^[17] Charles J. Stoner of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania has long been the owner of James McCullough's diary. He presented a paper to The Kitchintown 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. p.156.

^[18] 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.

^[19] *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.

^[20] 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.

^[21] 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. 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[22] 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

^[23] Dickson, R. J. *Ulster Emigration To Colonial America 1718-1775*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1976. p. 96. (First published 1966 by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.)

^[24] *ibid*

^[25] *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History*, James Leyburn, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1962, p.250.

servant since he paid £6 on April 27, 1745 for passage for himself and his wife to America.^[26] (£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.^[27]) 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.^[28] 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.^[29]

When James and Martha arrived in New Castle, Delaware^[30] 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.^[31] 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^[32] 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*^[33] or possibly other siblings or relatives? It is certainly possible and in fact James's diary makes mention several times of business transactions

^[26] 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, p.157.

^[27] Dickson, R. J. *Ulster Emigration To Colonial America 1718-1775*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1976. p. 87. (First published 1966 by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.)

^[28] *ibid*, [2]

^[29] Dickson, R. J. *Ulster Emigration To Colonial America 1718-1775*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1976. p. 53. (First published 1966 by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.)

^[30] 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, p.156.

^[31] 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. 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[32] Burr and Horace. *The Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Del., from 1697 to 1773*. Wilmington, DE: Historical Society of Delaware, 1896. p. 688.

^[33] 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. 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

involving woven cloth with a Jane and a Jean McCollogh in 1751.^[34] (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.^[35] Great waves of Scotch-Irish immigrants followed close behind, especially after 1725.^[36] The population of Pennsylvania had reached about 100,000 by 1740 and doubled to 200,000 in the next twenty years.^[37]

"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. ..."^[38]

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

^[34] Diary excerpts published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, pp.164 & 165.

^[35] Rouse, Parke Jr. *The Great Wagon Road*. Richmond, VA: The Dietz Press, 2004. p. 21.

^[36] *ibid*, p.29

^[37] Klein, Philip Shriver, Ari Hoogenboom, Ari Arthur Hoogenboom. *A History of Pennsylvania*. PA: Penn State Press, 1973. p. 45.

^[38] *ibid*.

conflicting evidence pointing to at least three possible dates.

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..."^[39] 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.^{[40][41]} 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."^[42] Was this in reference to an actual move to the Conococheague settlement or was this just a preliminary trip made to scout for land?^[43] His diary also includes an entry dated May 25, 1750 stating: "I had my house covered..."^[44] 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."^[45] 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 1951 and again in 1954. And finally, numerous business transactions with the inhabitants of Antrim and Peters townships are also recorded as early as January 1750.

^[39] 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, p.157.

^[40] *ibid*

^[41] 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.

^[42] Undated diary excerpt published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, p.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.

^[43] 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. p. 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.

^[44] Diary excerpt published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, p.162.

^[45] *The Preservation and Repair of Historic Log Buildings* by Bruce D. Bomberger. Posted under the Historic Preservation tab at www.oldhousejournal.com

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 Cumberland County, Pennsylvania.^[46]

And finally, in support of a later third date, the *White Book* indicates James moved in about 1754.^[47] James' son John McCullough I, supports this later date in his book *Life With The Aborigines*,^[48] 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.^[49] 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.^[50]

To add to the confusion, Charles Stoner,^[51] 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.^[52] (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

^[46] McCullough, John, III. *Genealogy of the McCullough Family and Other Sketches*. Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Printing Co., 1912. p. 15.

^[47] 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. 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[48] 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. p. 31.

^[49] *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.

^[50] Burr and Horace. *The Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Del., from 1697 to 1773*. Wilmington, DE: Historical Society of Delaware, 1896. p. 688.

^[51] Charles J. Stoner of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania has long been 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.

^[52] 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. p. 257.

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 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.^[53] 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.^[54] 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.^[55] 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

^[53] Diary excerpt published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 168.

^[54] 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. 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[55] Hawbaker, Gary T. *Fort Loudon On The Frontier*, Hershey, PA: privately published by Hawbaker, 1976. pp. 29, 30, 32 & 38.

to Thomas Mcgomeres and the editor of James' diary states Tomas Mcgomeres (i.e., Thomas Montgomery) employed several of the McCulloughs as laborers.^[56]

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.^[57] 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 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.^[58] They were carried about 150 miles to the west to the vicinity of Fort Duquesne near Pittsburgh.^[59] 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.^[60] John became the adopted "replacement" brother of one of the Indians and lived with the Indians for the next 8 years.^[61] His Indian family eventually moved as far away as Mohoning (near Youngstown, Ohio.)^[62] 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

^[56] 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, p.158.

^[57] 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.

^[58] Diary excerpt published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, p.172.

^[59] 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. p. 37.

^[60] 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. p. 38. See also Hale Sipe, *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Press, 1929. p. 287.

^[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. p. 65.

^[62] *ibid*, p.57

agreed to return their white captives in exchange for peace.^{[63][64][65]} 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.^[66]

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.^[67] 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.

The Guitner school was located four miles from Upton. On the morning of July 26, 1764, 10-year old Archibald, Jr., was in the one room schoolhouse 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.^[68]

Jessamine Wooton, in her history *Archibald McCullough's Clan*^[69] speculates that “perhaps this tragedy prompted Archibald and Elizabeth to leave this area.” This seems entirely likely and by

^[63] Editor's comments in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, p.178.

^[64] 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. p. 65.

^[65] Sipe, Hale. *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Press, 1929. p. 287.

^[66] McCullough, John, III. *Genealogy of the McCullough Family and Other Sketches*. Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Printing Co., 1912. p. 17.

^[67] Diary excerpt published in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, Oxford University Press, 2003, p.177.

^[68] Sipe, Hale. *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Press, 1929. p. 473.

^[69] Wooton, Jessamine Young. *Archibald McCullough's Clan*. Frankfort, KY: Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1980. p. 1.

1765 they are known to have been fourteen miles south in Hagerstown, Maryland.^[70] On December 21, 1769, while still in Maryland, another son, Lawson was born.^[71] 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,^[72] where his daughter Cynthia was married to John Young on October 21, 1790^[73] and where he purchased 220 acres of land on the north side of the Middle Fork of the Holston River on August 19, 1794.^[74] 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 Boone'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

^[70] 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.

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

^[72] 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. p. 6.

^[73] *John Young, Kentucky Pioneer* as cited by Jessamine Young Wooten in *Archibald McCullough's Clan*, Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, KY, 1980. p. 6.

^[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. p. 6.

trails were rough and steep, forests and undergrowth so thick the 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.^[75]

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^[76] 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^[77] 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^[78] 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

^[75] Wooton, Jessamine Young. *John Young, Kentucky Pioneer and His Kin*. Privately published by Wooton, 1972. p. 1.

^[76] *ibid*, p.4.

^[77] *ibid*, p.35.

^[78] Staples, Charles R. *The History of Pioneer Lexington 1779 - 1806*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996. p.129.

of spotted fever^[79] struck Lexington, taking the lives of eight to twelve people a day^[80]. And on March 6, 1814 at the age of 81, Elizabeth passed from this life. Her body was borne to her grave 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.^[81] 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.^[82]

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*^[83] 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

^[79] 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.

^[80] Ranck, George W. *A History of Lexington Kentucky; Its Early Annals and Recent Progress*, Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1872, p.269.

^[81] 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, p. 419.

^[82] *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."

^[83] 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.

were buried in the old Baptist graveyard as well. According to Burton Milward^[84] 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 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^[85] but by 1884 this “old city graveyard” was sold by the city for use by spoke and wheel factories and a tobacco factory.^[86] 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.^[87] 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.^[88] This cemetery fell into disrepair and was sold for a housing development in the late 1880’s.^[89] 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

^[84] 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.

^[85] Milward, Burton. *A History of the Lexington Cemetery*. Lexington, KY: The Lexington Cemetery Company, 1989. p. 13.

^[86] *ibid*, p.15.

^[87] *ibid*.

^[88] *ibid*, p.14.

^[89] *ibid*, p.17.

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.^[90] We know Cynthia and John built their home on this property in 1802^[91] 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 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. Wooten 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.^[92] Lawson seems to have been a prominent businessman in Lexington. He owned a home at 215 W. High St. in Lexington^[93] and was married three times.^[94] He married his first wife, Lydia Varnum, on January 11, 1790 in Augusta County, Virginia.^[95] She came with him to Lexington where she died at the age of 38 on August 7, 1810.^[96] His second wife Elizabeth

^[90] Wooten, Jessamine Young. *John Young, Kentucky Pioneer and His Kin*. Privately published by Wooten, 1972. p. 37.

^[91] *ibid*, p.36.

^[92] Staples, Charles R. *The History of Pioneer Lexington 1779 - 1806*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996. p.258.

^[93] Wooten, Jessamine Young. *Archibald McCullough's Clan*. Frankfort, KY: Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1980. p. 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.

^[94] Wooten, Jessamine Young. *Archibald McCullough's Clan*. Frankfort, KY: Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1980. pp.19 & 20.

^[95] *ibid*, p.18.

^[96] *ibid*.

(Eleanor or Elinor in various records), whom he married on October 17, 1811^[97] was struck and killed by lightning during a Sunday church service in the Presbyterian meeting house on July 20, 1817^[98]; 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.^[99] 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^[100] and moved north in 1831, with his third wife Mary, to Columbus, Ohio. Lawson continued as a tailor in Columbus^[101] 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 June 22, 1845.^[102]

Cynthia had 11 children^[103] and lived to the age of 82; dying, May 29, 1846,^[104] 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

^[97] *ibid.*

^[98] *ibid.* See also the Lexington Reporter for July 23, 1817 and the Draper Papers, 16CC301.

^[99] Wooten, Jessamine Young. *Archibald McCullough's Clan*. Frankfort, KY: Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1980. p. 20.

^[100] 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 Betty 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.

^[101] Wooten, Jessamine Young. *Archibald McCullough's Clan*. Frankfort, KY: Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1980. p. 21.

^[102] Wooten, Jessamine Young. *Archibald McCullough's Clan*. Frankfort, KY: Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1980. p. 21.

^[103] *ibid*, pp.16 & 17.

^[104] *ibid*, p.16.

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.^[105]

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 of Bible knowledge he knew he was getting it verbatim.”^[106]

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.”^[107] Another says this was not the case.^[108] And at least one source indicates Archibald “lived to be grown and married.”^[109]

^[105] Wooten, Jessamine Young. *Archibald McCullough’s Clan*. Frankfort, KY: Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1980. p. 38.

^[106] *ibid*, p.39.

^[107] 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. 54. This book is often referred to as “The White Book.”

^[108] Wooten, Jessamine Young. *Archibald McCullough’s Clan*. Frankfort, KY: Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, 1980. p. 10.

^[109] *ibid*, p.7.

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, touch, taste, and smell), communication (expression and understanding), and behavior or mental health (depression, anxiety, personality changes, aggression, acting out, and social inappropriateness)."^[110] 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."^[111] 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

^[110] www.ninds.nih.gov/disorders/tbi/tbi.htm

^[111] Photocopy in my files. Also abstracted almost verbatim in *Fayette County Kentucky Records*, Vol IV, Cook Publications, Evansville, IN, 1985, p. 328.

understandable if Lawson was their Uncle as opposed to an unrelated stranger^[112]. 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^[113]. 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 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^[114]. 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 flea 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.^[115] 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

^[112] 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.

^[113] 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.

^[114] Herndon & Murray, ed. *Children Bound To Labor*. Cornell University Press, 2009. p. 194.

^[115] 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.

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.^[116] 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); value of £30.^[117]
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.)^[118]
4. June 15, 1799; Woodford County tax list: Archibald McCullough is listed with no livestock and no other males or slaves in his household.^[119]
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.^[120]
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.)

^[116] #2 *Book of Taxable Property-1795*. Microfilm record in the Woodford County Historical Society collection; Versailles, KY.

^[117] *Book of Taxable Property for the Year 1797; Woodford County*. Microfilm record in the Woodford County Historical Society collection; Versailles, KY.

^[118] *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, p. 6.

^[119] #2 *Book of Taxable Property-1799*. Microfilm record in the Woodford County Historical Society collection; Versailles, KY.

^[120] *Woodford County Kentucky 1800 Tax List*. Microfilm #73-0416; Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, KY.

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.^[121]
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).^[122]
10. April 8th 1802 Woodford County legal document: This record is fascinating! The record is 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.^[123] 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

^[121] 1801 tax list microfilm in the Woodford County Historical Society collection; Versailles, KY.

^[122] Microfilm record in the Woodford County Historical Society collection; Versailles, KY.

^[123] *ibid*

in Lexington at this time.

11. August 5, 1802 Woodford County tax list: Archibald McCulloh is listed without a “black” or any town lots.^[124]
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.^[125]
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.^[126] 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 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.^[127] 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.”^[128] 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.^[129]
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.^[130]

^[124] 1802 tax list microfilm in the Woodford County Historical Society collection; Versailles, KY.

^[125] 1804 tax list microfilm in the Woodford County Historical Society collection; Versailles, KY.

^[126] 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.

^[127] Staples, Charles R. *The History of Pioneer Lexington 1779 - 1806*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996. p.258.

^[128] Microfilm record in the Woodford County Historical Society collection; Versailles, KY.

^[129] *ibid.*

^[130] *ibid.*

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.^[131]
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.^[132]
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.^[133]

^[131] *ibid.*

^[132] *ibid.*

^[133] *1810 Federal Census, Fayette County, KY*

George McCulloh 1745 - circa 1789

Archibald McCullough and his first wife Susanna Matthew produced only one known child; 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).^[134]

Although the biographical entry for George McCullough in *American Revolutionary Soldiers of Franklin County Pennsylvania*,^[135] states that Archibald's son George "...came to America, presumably from Derry Ireland..." there is no source given to support this statement.^[136] The *White Book* states that George was born in New Castle County Delaware in about 1745.^[137] And as noted above 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,^[138] after immigrating, however, assuming as described earlier in this article 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 Guitner School near Greencastle was in existence by this time and perhaps George attended 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 the Guitner School on July 26, 1764 in what has come to be known as the Enoch Brown Massacre.^[139]

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

^[134] Jessamine Young Wooten, *Archibald McCullough's Clan*, Library of the Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, KY 1980. See pages 7, 16 and 18.

^[135] *American Revolutionary Soldiers of Franklin County Pennsylvania*, page 171 - Chambersburg 1969.

^[136] 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.

^[137] 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. 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[138] 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. 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[139] 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.

of the time which is typical for most people and especially a child in those days; unless of course you were kidnaped or scalped by the Indians. By 1765 Archibald and his wife Elizabeth and probably their 12-year old son Archie 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 to live. 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.^[140] George and Mary had two children; John was born June 28, 1771 and Rebecca was born February 1, 1773.^[141] We do not know anything about Rebecca after her birth. We will follow John in a later section of this history.

We have no idea why George choose to relocate to New Castle but 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. 1770 was the year of the Boston Massacre and was just a mere 4 years prior to the meeting of the First Continental Congress in nearby Philadelphia. Talk of revolution was certainly “in the air” and what 24-year old wouldn’t find the building rebellion exciting? 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.^[142] Trenton 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 I know of no records available to confirm this tradition. Mary Ann McCulloh’s bible (George’s grand-daughter) includes an entry on the Family Record “Births” page that reads “Geo. McCulloh was a soldier in Revolutionary War though this may be a modern entry possibly even based on the details given in *The White Book*.”^[143] A George McCullough is listed in the Pennsylvania Archives as a private in the 4th Battalion, 1st Company, 5th Class of the Cumberland County Militia in October 1777.^[144] (Franklin County was part of Cumberland County until 1785.^[145])

^[140] 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. 52. This book is often referred to as “The White Book.”

^[141] 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. 52. This book is often referred to as “The White Book.”

^[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. p. 52. This book is often referred to as “The White Book.”

^[143] Poor photocopy made in 1970 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 be all in the same hand with a fountain pen and probably all entered at the same time. The Geo McCulloh entry has been added in a different hand at a later, possibly modern, date as evidenced by the use of what was likely a ball point pen for the entry. The entry follows a list of George’s three wives and children.

^[144] *The Pennsylvania Archives, 3^d Series, Volume 23, page 445.*

^[145] Iscrupe, *Pennsylvania Line, 4th edition*, Southwest Pennsylvania Genealogical Services, 1990. Laughlinton, PA

Then again as a sergeant in January through March of 1778^[146]. Another listing for George McCullough is found in the Pennsylvania Archives two years later on May 10, 1780 where he is listed in the record for the 7th Battalion, 3rd Division, 8th Company, 5th Class of the Cumberland County Militia.^[147] Although militia's existed in Pennsylvania prior to the revolution, militia duty was not made mandatory until the Pennsylvania Militia was organized under an Act of the Assembly of March 17, 1777.^[148] 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.^[149] Multiple terms of service could be required and yet a fourth Militia record for a Cumberland County George McCollough exists in the Pennsylvania Archives.^[150] It appears that on this occasion, in August of 1780, 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.^[151] The record consists of an Inactive Duty Militia record on an index card and includes the comment that George was willing to pay the fine which is listed as £460.00.^[152] An additional note on the card carries the terse comment "Pay or March" followed by the single word "Served."^[153]

Sometime between 1773 and 1778 George's first wife Mary died.^[154] George married his second

^[146] *The Pennsylvania Archives, 3rd Series, Volume 23*, page 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.

^[147] *The Pennsylvania Archives, 5th Series, Volume 6*, page 489.

^[148] Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission web site; Revolutionary War Militia Overview; Historical Background - 2008; www.digitalarchives.state.pa.us/archive.asp (Get better reference from *The Pennsylvania Militia in 1777*" by Hannah Benner Roach in *The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine 23* (No. 3, 1964): 161-230)

^[149] Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission web site; Revolutionary War Militia Overview; Historical Background - 2008; www.digitalarchives.state.pa.us/archive.asp (Get better reference from *The Pennsylvania Militia in 1777*" by Hannah Benner Roach in *The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine 23* (No. 3, 1964): 161-230)

^[150] Militia Service Record file card date August 1780 in the Pennsylvania Archives.

^[151] Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission web site; Revolutionary War Militia Overview; Historical Background - 2008 (Get better reference from *The Pennsylvania Militia in 1777*" by Hannah Benner Roach in *The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine 23* (No. 3, 1964): 161-230)

^[152] 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.

^[153] Militia Service Record file card date August 1780 in the Pennsylvania Archives.

^[154] 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. 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

wife Mary Eynon on March 20, 1778 in New Castle, Delaware.^[155] ^[156] If the militia records listed above are for “our” George, it seems odd that he would be listed with the Cumberland County militia when he was apparently living in New Castle, Delaware. However, we don’t actually know where George and his two children were living at this time. His 1778 marriage happens right in the middle of the militia records and right around the same time he is thought to have returned with his new wife and his two children to the vicinity of Upton in Cumberland County. 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^[157] he refers to himself as “Being weak in body ...” and indeed he died in December of 1781. Is it possible that George had already returned to the Upton area in 1777 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 returned to help his uncle and cousins. This could explain his service in the Cumberland County militia and he may simply have returned again to New Castle for the express purpose of marrying Mary Eynon and bringing her home to Cumberland County.

Once settled in George engaged in the leather tanning business.^[158] George and Mary soon had a son whom they named Eynon^[159] and either at the time of his birth or a short time later Mary died.^[160] 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 and a 7 and 9 year old and no wife to care for them.

^[155] 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. 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.

^[156] 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).

^[157] “Will of James McCullough (transcript),” 5/26/1778 (proved 3/15/1786), Franklin (Cumberland) County, Pennsylvania, 48, Will Book A Sept 1784 - Oct 1795, pp. 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.

^[158] 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. 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.

^[159] 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”

^[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. p. 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.

George was still in the Upton area as late as 1786 where he is listed as a “taxable.”^[161] Sometime between 1786 and 1789 George and his three 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 being subject to Militia duty in 1789.^[162] In his book *History Of The Little Cove* Harry Foreman states on page 137 that George served in the Bedford County Militia in 1783.^[163] 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 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 yet 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.^[164] The *White Book* states that George also served as a “Forest Ranger.”^[165] More properly a “Ranger” which was one of several forms of military service in revolutionary times in Pennsylvania.^[166] 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.^[167]

George was one of the early settlers to the Little Cove area and in addition to his appearance on

^[161] *American Revolutionary Soldiers of Franklin County Pennsylvania* - Chambersburg 1969. Page 171.

^[162] *The Pennsylvania Archives, 6th Series, Volume 3, page 36.*

^[163] Harry E. Foreman, *History of The Little Cove*, privately published, Chambersburg, PA 1967. Page 137.

^[164] *The Pennsylvania Archives, 6th Series, Volume 3, page 36.*

^[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. p. 52. This book is often referred to as “The White Book.”

^[166] 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. (Get better reference from *The Pennsylvania Militia in 1777* by Hannah Benner Roach in *The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine* 23 (No. 3, 1964): 161-230)

^[167] 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.

the Bedford County 1789 militia list he also appears in Bedford County in the 1790 Federal Census and on a 1791 tax list for Ayr township.^[168]

His occupation at this time was that of a packer; driving horses over the Allegheny Mountains.^[169] 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.^[170]

The following was noted by a writer in 1848:

"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

^[168] Harry E. Foreman, *History of The Little Cove*, privately published, Chambersburg, PA 1967. Page 17.

^[169] 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. 52. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[170] Seymour Dunbar, *A History of Travel In America*, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, IN 1915. Page 194.

displaced..." [171]

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.^[172] 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.

Beyond the above we know very little else of George. 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, grandson and great-grandson in turn lived on. If this was his homestead then we can assume that he at some point gave up the packing business and settled down to a life of farming. His date of death and place of burial are unknown. The *White Book* simply states that "George McCullough died sometime after 1789 in the Little Cove at an advanced age."^[173] However, Harry Foreman indicates in *History Of The Little Cove* that some of George's descendants believe he died relatively early. In 1789 George was only 45 years old. In the 1790 census we find George in Air township which is situated along the western border of Peters township. George is shown 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, his son Enyon and his first two sons by Sarah were in the household in mid to late 1790. There were five more children to be born so we would expect he lived until at least 1795. On August 15, 1795 we find a notice by a "Gorge McCollough" recording the transference of a debt in Old Mercersburg which is only about 5 miles from the Little Cove^[174]. There are no records of other George McCulloughs in this area in the 1790 census returns so this may be additional evidence that our George McCulloh was still alive as late as 1795. If George did die early then it is believed that he may have been buried in the old

^[171] Rupp: *The History and Topography of Dauphin . . . [and] Cumberland Counties, PA*, pages 357 & 368

^[172] 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. p. 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.

^[173] 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. 56. This book is often referred to as "The White Book."

^[174] Record found in Ancestry.com Old Mercersburg database. **Original source to be determined.**

Ironworks (Furnace Farm) Cemetery^[175] in the Little Cove which has completely disappeared.^[176]

If George died “at an advanced age” as stated by the *White Book* and as believed by Harry Foreman then we would expect to find him in the 1800, 1810 and possibly even the 1820 Franklin County censuses. And in fact we do find census records with for two George McCullough’s in Franklin County in the 1800 census and again in the 1820 census; none being found in the 1810 census. Census records from this period are very general when it comes to people’s ages and they only contain the names of the head of the household. The first census was taken in 1790 and 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.^[177] 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 but it is still very difficult to make conclusive statements based on the census returns. None of the records after 1790 show a George McCulloh in the Little Cove however there is a most intriguing census record for a George McCulloh in the 1820 census in Franklin County, Metal Township. Metal Township borders the north side of Peters township just north of the Little Cove. Though name spelling is not a dependable indicator in early records it is interesting to note that this entry is a rare entry spelled correctly with the ‘oh’ ending as is his son John’s name in the same census in Warren township; the first township south of Peters township. The record includes eight people in the household and if this is our George and Sarah then they appear to have been living in an extended household with one of their married children and four grandchildren. This seems to be a good match for our George who would have been about 75-years old and would line up well with the family tradition concerning his living to an old age in the Little Cove.^[178] If George did die in the Little Cove as stated by the *White Book*, Harry Foreman believes that he may have been buried in the Stone Church cemetery^[179] where George’s son John, daughter-in-law Elizabeth 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 did not find a tombstone for George. However, there were many tombstones which could no longer be read and he and Sarah could very well lie

^[175] Harry E. Foreman, *History of The Little Cove*, privately published, Chambersburg, PA 1967. Page 138.

^[176] Harry E. Foreman, *History of The Little Cove*, privately published, Chambersburg, PA 1967. Page 32.

^[177] *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Pennsylvania*, Genealogical Publishing Company, Baltimore, 1970. Page 5.

^[178] The only other possibility for our George is a record for a couple over 45 years of age with no other people in the household and living in Chambersburg. However, Chambersburg is 15 to 20 miles from the Little Cove and this does not seem to be a likely match for our George and Sarah.

^[179] Harry E. Foreman, *History of The Little Cove*, privately published, Chambersburg, PA 1967. Page 138.

here; their graves long forgotten.^[180]

John McCulloh 1771 - 1851

- * John marries Elizabeth and both are buried in the Little Cove Stone church cemetery
- * John and Elizabeth have Mary Ann.
- * Mary Ann has Melinda and Amos; father unknown, children keep the McCulloh name.
- * Apparent attempt to suggest Melinda and Amos are John & Elizabeth's children. Notation in a family Bible added after Mary Ann's death shows that Amos was Mary Ann's child; not John and Elizabeth's.
- * Mary Ann married Samuel Lewis in 1847?.
- * The location of Mary Ann's grave is unknown but believed to be in the Iron Works cemetery with other McCulloh's and Lewis's.
- * Melinda is buried in the Stone church cemetery next to John & Elizabeth.
- * Samuel Lewis is buried next to his first wife Susannah and several children in Ft. Loudon.
 - Samuel marries Susannah
 - One or more children die and are buried in Ft Loudon
 - Susannah dies and is buried with the children in Ft Loudon
 - Samuel moves to Little Cove to Work in the Iron Works; very near the home of Mary Ann's brother A.S.McCulloh.
 - Mary Ann married Samuel Lewis
 - Mary Ann dies and Samuel buries her in the old Iron Works cemetery.
 - Mary Ann's death is 5 years before Samuels
 - Did his children, all by the 1st wife, dislike step mother Mary Ann and choose to burry Samuel in Ft Loudon next to their mother?
- * Amos marries ____ and they have x children including William Edger
- * Amos dies and is buried all alone in Ft Loudon
- * His wife moves to Morrison IL with the Children? And marries Samuel Wise either in Little Cove or in Morrison. Samuel and _____ are buried in the old Mennonite cemetery (Brick Church) in Morrison.

^[180] As of 2008 I have not yet searched the Chambersburg area for George McCulloh tombstones or obituaries.

- * William Edger moves back to PA and dies in 1938 (See Biographical sketch) He and Maria are buried in the BIC cemetery in Mnt Joy PA.

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 Wyggstone," 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. 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.

Many McCulloh's were buried in the 1800's in three cemeteries in Little Cove, Pennsylvania. 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 decedents, all of which have the 'oh' spelling on the tombstones. In his *History of the Little Cove*, Harry Foreman uses the 'oh' ending for Archibald and his son George. George was a life long resident of the Little Cove community though his grave location is unknown. Only the 'oh' spelling is used in the Foreman history which references many McCullohs and this 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 years 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, since at least our ancestor George McCulloh, 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 always been used.

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