

Chapter 2 Beyond the Ridges

Having reached the area of Pittsburgh our family group split up to find land. Three options lay before them: purchase, squat, or tomohawk claim.¹ Some drifted west across the hills into Virginia, while others turned south into the area of Catfish Camp (present Washington, Pennsylvania). By 1774, nearly all of Washington County had been claimed under the Virginia system, so our people took land that had been passed over by others, bought land from the original grantees, or acquired land in other ways (an issue I shall return to in a moment). See *The Pennsylvania-Virginia Boundary Dispute, 1773-1782*. Elijah Rittenhouse settled north of Catfish Camp in Cecil Township.² Moses Holliday already held numerous properties along the Manongahela River, one of which was at Pigeon Creek (present Manongahela City). He had also bought land at the mouth of Harmon Creek on the Ohio River in Yohogania County, Virginia (present Hancock County, West Virginia).³ Soon after 1774 John Quick acquired land in a bottom (a level area near the water) on Kings Creek that was also in Yohogania County. Though the people were disbursed they kept in touch by horseback.

Though the greatest part of the best land accessible by water between Pittsburgh and Fort Henry (Wheeling) had by this time been claimed, much of the population clustered near Pittsburgh out the Forbes Road to the east of the town, or southeast out the Braddock Road. Clustering meant for better safety. There were also numerous settlements south of Pittsburgh through Redstone on the Manongahela River and up the creek bottoms on both sides of the river. Catfish Camp, the site of an old Indian village, was first settled in 1769, as was Parkinson's Ferry at the mouth of Pigeon Creek. Not being the very edge of the frontier, these regions were the safest from Indian attack. But men holding tomohawk claims in more exposed places further west in Beaver and Washington Counties, Pennsylvania, and Hancock, Brooke, and Ohio Counties in Virginia, lived in constant fear of Indians. Men commonly kept their families in Pittsburgh while they planted their corn and went without fire in an effort to escape the notice of roving war parties.⁴ Some banded together in groups of four or five families in forts for greater protection.

Records have been found showing John Quick owned land at only the one site—Kings Creek in Virginia (West Virginia)—but other record types with his name on them can be found in repositories in Virginia, West Virginia and Pennsylvania. This seeming anomaly came about quite naturally from the boundary dispute. In the 1770s Virginia and Pennsylvania both vied for control over western Pennsylvania and the northwest panhandle of Virginia. At the height of the dispute both governments carved their own counties out of this area, held their own courts in

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- 1 A tomohawk claim to a piece of virgin land was marked by deadening a few trees at the head of a spring (the natural place to which visitors were drawn) and marking the bark of one or more of them with the initials of the claimant's name. Claims were generally respected and were often bought and sold before formal title of the land was secured.
 - 2 In 1781 and 1784 the name Elijah Rittenhouse appears on the tax lists for Cecil Township, on the southern edge of which lay Catfish Camp (Table 1 of Chapter 6 in Part I). In 1795 he patented 100 acres on Kings Creek. *Sim's Index to Land Grants in W. Va.* (1952), Book 2, 560.
 - 3 His properties are too numerous to mention. Holliday's Cove on the Ohio River was named after him.
 - 4 Legends of Joseph Ralston and Samuel Beelor, John Quick's neighbors on Kings Creek, can be found in *Commemorative Biographical Record of Washington County, Pennsylvania* (Beers, 1893), 667. Some 37 blockhouses dotted Washington County in these years. Holliday's Cove was the closest to John Quick's farm. In the Raccoon Creek region (a few miles east of Kings Creek) stood Dillow's blockhouse named for Mathew Dillow on Dillow's Run; Beeler's fort, named for Capt. Samuel Beelor, near the village of Candor east of Burgettstown; Burgett's blockhouse built by Sebastian Burgett; McDonald's fort, at the town of McDonald; Vance's fort, named for Joseph Vance, a mile north of Cross Creek, and so on.

them and so forth. Then the panhandle of Virginia became part of the state of West Virginia upon its formation in 1863. Records with his name were first filed in different courthouses, and then, with the passage of time, in different state archives.

The Pennsylvania-Virginia Boundary Dispute, 1773-1781 ⁵

One of the issues confronting the genealogist intent on following a family into northwestern Pennsylvania in the 1770s is the appearance of critical records in unexpected places. This results from the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia. The dispute is a complicated topic, requiring careful examination if it is to be understood. The dispute stemmed from the way the two commonwealths interpreted their charters and in how (and where) their peoples settled at the end of the French and Indian War. During the war land bounties had been promised to Pennsylvanians and Virginians alike who had served in the provincial forces. After the war, veterans of both provinces attempted to claim land west of the mountains in the same general area. Others who were already settled in the region claimed land on the authority of tomohawk claims. Until the end of the revolution the immigrants were mostly Virginians. Virginians believed that the whole Manongahela River valley lay outside the territory specified by Pennsylvania's charter and therefore lay within the boundaries of Virginia. Whereas Virginia continued to dole out land throughout the revolution, Pennsylvania closed her land office in 1776 and did not reopen it until 1784. In the interval thousands of people had been settled under the Virginia system.

The first round of the "land war" was opened in 1773 when Pennsylvania claimed control over the western territory and set out from her Bedford County the lands west of Laurel Ridge and south of a line due west from the head of the west Branch of the Susquehanna River. It was called Westmorland County. The seat was at Hannastown, a village about thirty miles east of Pittsburgh on the Forbes Road. This setup was ignored by the Virginians, however, as many (especially those holding Virginia land titles, and regardless of where they had been born) refused to acknowledge Pennsylvania authority. In 1774 Virginians established a military force, took Fort Pitt and renamed it Fort Dunmore. They named the territory west of the mountains—including Pennsylvania's Westmorland County—the District of West Augusta. A Virginia court was organized at Augusta Town a mile west of Catfish Camp.

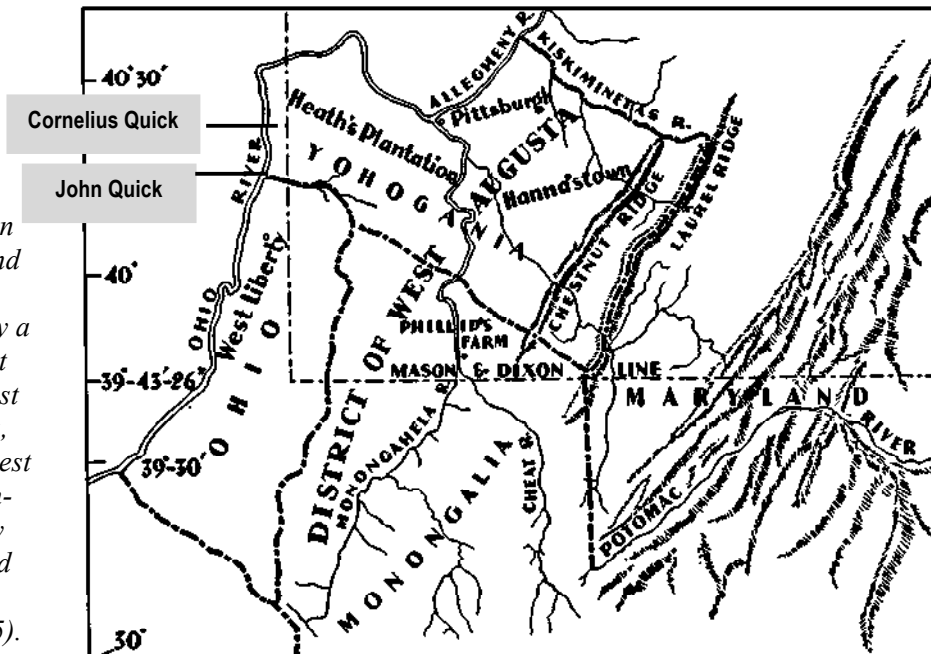
In October 1776 Virginia divided her District of West Augusta into three counties with boundaries sharing a common point at Catfish Camp. The territory northeast of a line from the northwest corner of Maryland through the future sites of Brownsville and Washington to Cross Creek and the Ohio River was called Yohogania (pronounced "Yukka-gania") County. The country drained by the Manongahela River above Brownsville was included in Manongalia County, and the territory tributary to the Ohio River south of Cross Creek was called Ohio County. The court of the latter was held at Black's Cabin on Short Creek now the town of West Liberty, West Virginia. The courts of the other two counties were established in what would later be a part of Pennsylvania, that of Yohogania at Andrew Heath's farm near West Elizabeth in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania and that of Manongalia on Theophiles Phillips's plantation, two miles south of the present town of New Geneva in Fayette County, Pennsylvania. Though Kings Creek fell within Yohogania County it lay very close to the border with Ohio County (Figure 1).

This controversy came to an end in September 1780 with an agreement involving the new Mason-Dixon line that had just been run to mark the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland. The line would be extended due west to a point five degrees west of the Delaware River and a line would be drawn straight north from that point. The territory east of the northern line would go to Pennsylvania while the lands left over between the line and the Ohio River, the area shaped like a panhandle, would go to Virginia. On 28 March 1781 Pennsylvania created Washington County out of her territory south of the Ohio River and west of the Manongahela River. By June 1781 the northern line was surveyed as far as the Ohio River, a sighting that for some years would be known as "the temporary line". The land that John Quick settled bordered a few rods of the west edge of this boundary on the Virginia side.

John Quick was living on Kings Creek through much of this period.

5 For this essay I have borrowed from S.J. and E.H. Buck, *The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania* (U. of Pittsburgh Press, 1939).

Figure 1. Map Illustrating the Boundary Controversy Between Pennsylvania and Virginia. John Quick's farm lay a few miles almost due north of West Liberty Virginia, bordering the west side of the north-south temporary line. Reproduced from Buck and Buck (footnote 5).



John Quick's name first appears in the minutes of the court of Yohogania County, Virginia, in 1779. On 29 and 30 September he served on a jury. He was aided in minor litigation by the testimony of Moses Holliday.⁶ The records would seem to show he was living on Kings Creek in 1779, if not earlier, and was benefiting from the close association of his older stepbrother.

John must have been married in the spring or early summer of 1778, judging from the estimated birthyear of a first child Cornelius. One set of evidence points to a birthday in February 1779.⁷ John's wife's first name was Elizabeth, but since we have not found the marriage record we do not know her maiden name. The marriage could hardly have taken place other than in the

6 One case "Wells vs. Quick" was continued on 23 May 1780. John Quick seems to have been present again on 26 June of the same year. "Minute Book of Virginia Court Held for Yohogania County, ...", 360, 361, 387, 389, 411-415, and 419, in R.C. Loveless, *Records of the District of West Augusta, Ohio County, and Yohogania County, Virginia* (Ohio State U., 1976). This book is a reprint of records printed by B. Crumrine in *Annals of the Carnegie Museum Vols I-III* (Pittsburgh, 1902-1905). To serve on a jury John Quick was required to swear the "oath to Congress". Men who had shirked jury duty by avoiding the oath were called "non-jurors". Elijah Rittenhouse and Moses Holliday served on a jury on 1 October 1779. *Ibid.*, 2, 390. One of the gentlemen justices present that day was William Crawford (the man who would later be burned at the stake by the Indians). The names Alexander McKee, Simon Girty and James Quick also appear. In September 1780 jurisdiction of the Yohogania County Court ceased, its functions taken over by the courts of Washington County, Pennsylvania, and Ohio County, Virginia. John Quick's name does not appear in either of these courts though Moses Holliday's name appears in both.

7 There is some dispute as to the year, and I think cases can be made for both 1774 and 1779. In 1804 when Cornelius petitioned for land in Upper Canada he gave his age as 25 (1804-25=1779). PAC, RG1, L3, 422, UCLP "Q", Bundle 6, 1802-1804. But by this he could have meant *at least* 25. A man who was petitioning for land would surely give his name truthfully or risk having his petition refused. Forty-five years later in a letter of 1849 (footnote 16) he declared he was 75 years old as of 12 February of that year (1849-75=1774).

Kings Creek area, so it is hardly a stretch to imagine her the daughter of a neighbor. A study of the names of John Quick’s neighbors and fellow militiamen gives thin leads. Was she a Wells, King, Hays, Kennedy, Laidlee, Campbell, Ralston? Further research is needed to answer this question. His year of marriage is quite in line with the marriage years of his sisters Sarah and Jemaima (Chapter 6 of Part I). Six children followed in the eight years after Cornelius: John Junior (1781), Joseph (1782), David (1784), Sarah (1785), Elizabeth (1786) and Mary (1787). These dates are tentative and perhaps late by a year or two. No records of their baptisms have as yet been found.

Draper Manuscripts I

Many of the reminiscences referred to in this book are from transcripts of interviews made by the American antiquarian Lyman Copeland Draper (1815-1891). Known as the Draper Manuscripts, they are held by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Madison. Microfilms of the papers can be viewed at most major US archives. The value of these manuscripts is that they were made with people who were old enough to remember events that took place in Ohio and elsewhere through this period. Those that mention Colchester families, such as McCormick, Munger and Girty, are listed in Table 1. Manuscripts that mention the Quick family specifically are collected in Table 1 of Chapter 3.

Table 1. *References to Colchester Families in the Draper Manuscripts.*

Name	Reference	Name	Reference
Joseph Munger	10E132-160	Catherine Girty	17S191-236
Rachel Reno	17S281	Mary Wells	19S237
Philip Bruner	20S195-228	Robert Forsythe	22S99-100
Spencer Records ⁸	23CC2-14		

The decade 1779-1789 was a time of trauma and danger for our family that may have scarred them to a degree we can never really know. Ohio, Yohogania and Washington counties suffered many Indian attacks in the closing years of the revolution and the five summers between 1777 and 1782, especially, saw the settlers of the western parts of these counties living in daily fear of Indians. The psychological effects of daily lookouts, of forting up hurriedly in unhealthy dirt-strewn cabins, and then, in extreme cases, of fighting off, as some put it, “the horrible hell-hounds of savage war”, were to many deep and long-lasting. Women were said to have broken down under the constant strain of childbearing and Indian-fighting.

Of course, both sides committed their share of violence. The Indians were the Shawnee, Wyandot, and Delaware. Shawnee suspicions of the motivation of white people can be dated to November 1768 when that tribe was excluded from the signing of the first Treaty of Fort Stanwix. As white farmers pushed west across the mountains to the waters of the Ohio River, the Shawnee and Wyandot were compelled to try to stop them to protect their hunting grounds. Then with the outbreak of the revolution, the “Indian troubles” intensified. England still held the posts of Detroit, Niagara and Montreal, and as a matter of commonsense policy encouraged the Indians

8 The Elizabeth (Betsey) Turner referred to in 23CC10 lived in the household of Half King, a Wyandot chief. She married the trader Alexander McCormick around 1785 and in 1797 settled with him and her family on the next lot north of the Quicks in Colchester. Susannah Records, a daughter of Spencer Records, married a Tunis Quick, son of James Quick. See footnote 14 in Chapter 3 and R. Q. Butz, “Tunis Quick, A Bartholomew County Pioneer” in *Indiana Mag. of Hist.*, 17 (1912), 69-78 and S. R. Quick, “The Quick Family in America”, *ibid.*, 79-83.

to resist the Americans westward advance. Advised and provisioned by Gov. Henry Hamilton at Detroit, the Indians swept out of the Ohio country to attack American settlements. It has been said that many Americans who were to suffer the most from these raids were “closet” Tories who had migrated west in an effort to escape the revolution. In any case, in March 1778 three men who would later become the most hated by the Americans, Alexander McKee, Mathew Elliott, and Simon Girty, escaped from Pittsburgh for Detroit. These men, multiple talented as organizers, orators and interpreters, were immediately put to work by the British Indian Department.⁹

These raids of Indian against white and vice versa have spawned a bonanza of “thrilling” tales in American folklore, many of which are biased and highly politicized. I will repeat only a few of the more credible that touch on our family. In March 1780 a party of Wyandot led by the sons of chief Half King, attacked a sugar camp on Rurdan’s Run of Raccoon Creek killing five young men and capturing five young women and a boy. All of sixty years later their friend, Spencer Records, remembered the event in a published narrative:

The Indians had discovered the camp, and laying in ambush all night fell on them about daylight with their tomohawks. This we knew to be the case, as the bodies all lay in and near the camp, except one who had run about fifty yards, and was there tomohawked and scalped. Two of the young men were of the name of Devers, two named Turner, and one Fulks... These were the first I had seen, that had been killed by the Indians, and a dreadful sight it was to me. The more so, as some of them had been but a short time before my schoolmates. The grief and lamentation of poor old William Turner, is still fresh in my remembrance, lamenting the loss of his children, his two sons George and William, that lay there tomohawked and scalped and his beloved daughter Betsey, a beautiful girl fourteen years of age, taken captive by the cruel savages; not knowing what she had suffered, or might hereafter suffer. His grief can be better conceived by tender parents than described.¹⁰

Raccoon Creek is only a few miles east of Kings Creek. News of the crimes struck terror in everyone, especially in young mothers with children.

Also in March of that year a party of Marylanders on a flatboat on the Ohio River was attacked by Shawnee under Chief Neshash and a number killed. One man, Peter Malott, escaped. Twenty prisoners were taken including Malott’s wife and children.¹¹ Early in May a party of Mingo and Mohawk attacked the settlements on Brush Creek, a branch of the Manongahela east of Pittsburgh, killing cattle and burning houses. Col. Daniel Brodhead, commander of the Western Department at Pittsburgh, attempted unsuccessfully through the remainder of 1780 to rouse the inhabitants to retaliate.

Conditions deteriorated in 1781. Prior to this the Delaware had been more or less neutral, under the influence of the Moravian missionaries who lived among them. But eventually, they too took up the hatchet when it became all too obvious the Americans were not going to stop their advances. The Moravians leaked word to Brodhead that the Delaware war chief, Wingunund, planned an attack on the panhandle, so Brodhead decided to strike first. In April he ordered 300 soldiers and militia volunteers to rendezvous at Fort Henry for a raid on Coshocton, the central town of the Delaware on the Tuscarawas River. They crossed the Ohio River, burned the town on 19 April and took a number of prisoners. However, being unorganized for a lengthy campaign in

9 McKee and Elliott had been traders in the Ohio country since 1765, Elliott spending a part of each year among the Shawnee towns along Paint Creek west of present Chillicothe, Ohio. McKee lived at Wock-achaali, three miles northwest of Chillicothe. For notes regarding Elliott in this and the following chapters I am indebted to Reginald Horsman, *Matthew Elliott, British Indian Agent* (Wayne State U. Press, 1964)

10 Spencer Records Narrative Draper23CC10.

11 A daughter, Catherine, would be married to Simon Girty by the German preacher, Frederick Watsbock, or Vatsbaugh, at Detroit. The children survived and most settled later in Colchester. Information regarding these peoples’ ancestors in NYC can be found in footnote 11 of Chapter 4 in Part I.

Indian country they gave up the expedition.¹²

In the absence of federal soldiers, the defense of the region east of the Ohio was dependent on ragtag bands of poorly armed poorly trained militia volunteers. The army at Fort Pitt (described by contemporaries as a heap of ruins) comprised at most two companies each of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment and the 7th Virginia Regiment. Lacking sufficient funding from the east, where the struggle with the British was still going on, the men soldiered on with insufficient food, clothing and arms. To exacerbate matters charges were pending against Brodhead at the time (it being hotly debated as to who should govern the Western Department). In an effort to strengthen the command President Washington ordered on 24 September Brodhead's replacement by Brig. Gen. William Irvine. The officers of the Virginia and Pennsylvania militias were "requested" to comply with Irvine's orders. But no extra funding or reinforcements would be forthcoming.

Ironically it was pressure from Virginia that eventually led to the formation of an organized incorporated militia in Washington County.¹³ In 1781 the Virginian, Gen. George Rogers Clark, who had successes against the British in the Illinois country, attempted to raise a militia from the Pittsburgh area to attack Detroit. But support for the venture was split on account of the boundary dispute. The Virginia faction, led by Col. Dorsey Pentecost, was organized under the county of Yohogania (since made defunct by the running of the temporary line). The Pennsylvania faction was led by James Marshel, lieutenant of militia of the newly-created county of Washington. Pentecost and the Virginians supported Clark while Marshel and his Pennsylvanians opposed him. In an effort to block Clark's recruitment in old Yohogania County now included in Washington County, Marshel garnered support for his militia by appealing to the men to defend their own homes.¹⁴ He divided the county into battalion districts and ordered elections of officers in each. Thus by August 1781 five battalions of 585 men each had been drawn up. The tension between the commonwealths had at least this positive result.

John Quick on Kings Creek living west of the temporary line was technically a Virginian. But like other Virginians in the panhandle, he joined Marshel's Pennsylvania militia in September 1781 if not before. There are records of him in the 1st Company of the 3rd Battalion under Lieut. Col. David Williamson. His company commander was Samuel Shannon, an experienced veteran of the Clark expedition. There are also records of him serving in the 7th Company of the 4th

12 I have followed the military events in Ohio from C. W. Butterfield's works: *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky under Col. William Crawford in 1782* (Robert Clarke & Co., 1873), *Washington-Irvine Correspondence* (Atwood, 1882), and *History of the Girtys* (Cincinnati, 1890).

13 There was a difference between a "volunteer" and an "organized" militia. A volunteer gave his service in response to an appeal by a militia leader often on short notice and in response to an immediate crisis. No muster rolls were kept as no pay was expected from the state. An organized militia was a body of men who were "called out" by the lieutenant of militia (the man appointed by the commonwealth to control and supervise all military affairs of the county). This body was organized into battalions, companies and classes. The classes were called on a rotating basis to ensure equal participation. Rolls were kept as payment was eventually made from the "Militia Loans". More information on the organization of the militia can be found in footnotes 16, 18 and 19.

14 G. R. Clark did go down the Ohio River with an army in July 1781. He was followed a day later by a body of Pennsylvania volunteers and state troops under the command of Archibald Lochry, Lt. of Westmorland County. One company of volunteer rangers was captained by Samuel Shannon. While attempting to overtake Clark on Lochry's orders, Shannon's company of 7 men, along with intelligence of Lochry's army, was captured by Indians under Joseph Brant. Among this body were Butler's Rangers under Alexander McKee. The Indians intended to force Shannon's company to induce Lochry to surrender, but before this could be effected the Indians attacked on 24 August eleven miles below the mouth of the Great Miami River in present day Indiana. Lochry's army was virtually wiped out. Among the few prisoners to be released were Shannon and his men. W. H. English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio, 1778-1783*, and *Life of Gen. George Rogers Clark, Volumes I and II* (Arno Press Reprint, 1971), 722-724. Clark subsequently abandoned the expedition.

Battalion under Marshal.¹⁵ The captain of the 7th Company was Robert Miller. Each company was divided into eight equal classes or what would today be called platoons.¹⁶ One or two classes might be mustered at any one time, while at others all classes might be called out. It depended pretty much on the emergency and the order of rotation.

The militia assembled in September 1781 for a raid on Upper Sandusky, a Wyandot village long thought to be the source of war parties. The campaign was called off before it began, however, when a small band of Indians led by the Delaware chief Buckongahelas and the Wyandot chief Half King attacked Fort Henry. Mathew Elliott was along as adviser. Three boys were outside the fort at the time, one killed, one taken prisoner, the other escaped. The Americans were tipped off by the Moravian missionaries and made a spirited defence. The militia arrived in time to drive off the Indians who then went on to ravage the settlements on Wheeling and Buffalo Creeks.¹⁷

15 To anticipate the critic who might question John Quick would have served in two battalions at different times I must admit that the John Quick serving with Elijah Rittenhouse (3rd battalion) is the most likely of the two to be our man; the John Quick serving in the 4th battalion could be someone else. However, the periods of service of the 1st and 7th companies of the 3rd and 4th battalions do not in fact overlap; the two John Quicks could be the same man.

16 "For purposes of administration and drill Companies and Battalions of militia were set up on a geographical basis... Each training company was divided by lot into eight equal classes. These classes were an effective device for rotating service and establishing quotas. As need for men arose [such as the Sandusky expedition], each class was in its turn called... This class system made it possible to call troops in such numbers as were needed without depriving any particular district of its entire labor force. Once on active duty, militiamen were organized into new but temporary commands [such as the companies in Crawford's force], entirely distinct from their permanent home companies... Avoiding militia calls was not difficult... A militiaman called for active duty who found such duty inconvenient was permitted to hire a substitute to march and fight in his stead." "Military System of Pennsylvania" as quoted by P. B. Brown in *West. Pa. Hist. Mag.*, 65 (1982), 25.

17 It is possible that during a raid on the panhandle, at least one child of John and Elizabeth's was captured and carried off by Indians. This would explain John's extra duty in the militia (and perhaps his solo move to Kentucky later on). Many years later, Cornelius recalled as much about himself in a letter written for him by Joseph Munger to Draper. (Draper10E155):

"Mersea, Canada West

Feby 8th 1849

Cornelius Quick

1st. My age 75 - 12th of February Inst. 1849 - born in the Jerseys on King's Creek - Taken prisoner by the Shones Tribe of Indians on my way to Kentucky - Lived with Snake, the chief of that tribe, remained with them about 7 years - about 10 years old when taken - thinks he was about 13 at time of the Battle of Sandusky - which would make him older - has no record of his age. (I think he might be 77. is quite a smart old man - generally a hardy people)...

3d. Was not at the Battle - was 15 miles up the River at chickaboo. was on the battle ground next day - was too young cant recollect much about it - ..."

The facts as stated, supposing him born in 1774 (1849-75 =1774), are inconsistent with his being taken when 10 years old in 1781. Suppose, however, that the writer of the letter mistakenly interchanged the 7 years and 10 years? If so, he would then have been taken when 7 years old, in 1781. Cornelius did claim he was present when Crawford was taken prisoner, and this was in 1782.

Included in the above letter is this affidavit notarized by Ralph Foster, JP, on 15 January 1849: "(Cornelius) maketh oath and sayeth that he was personally present when Col. Crawford was taken prisoner and that Simon Girty offered to purchase from the Indians the body and life of Col. Crawford. the said Simon Girty offered them money and his Horse and his Riffel with liquors if they would save his life. the Indian chiefs asked Sd Girty if he would take his place. and the Indians became very angry and threatened to kill him if he did not desist and he was obliged to leave them.- And also the said Cornelius Quick saith that that Simon Girty tryed his uttermost endeavours to save the lives of many other prisoners in which he succeeded." Would it be too much of a coincidence if Cornelius was captured in Virginia in 1781, the rest of the family in Kentucky in 1790, and that they managed to find

Table 2. *Records of John (Jonas) Quick and Elijah Rittenhouse in the Militias of Washington, County, Pennsylvania and Ohio County, Virginia, September 1781-1787.*¹⁸

Date of Call up (Date signed)	Battalion, Company, Classes Mustered	Notes	Probable Campaign
25 Sep 1781	3rd Battalion, 1st Company, 2nd Class (All classes mustered on this occasion.)	(a), (b), (c)	Delaware Towns
4 Apr 1782 (12 Apr 1782)	3rd Battalion, 1st Company, 2nd Class, (2nd & 3rd Classes) 4th & 5th Classes mustered on 15 Apr; 6th, 7th & 8th Classes on 18 May)	(d)	Pittsburgh Council
14 May 1782 (19 May 1782)	4th Battalion, 7th Company, 6th Class (4th, 5th, 6th & 7th Classes mustered- and same classes of Rankin and Reed's Companies.)	(e), (f), (g)	Cross Creek Mills
nd prob 1782 13 Jul 1782 (20 Jul 1782)	3rd Battalion, 1st Company 3rd Battalion, 1st Company, 2nd Class, (2nd Classes of other companies also rendezvoused at Leet's Mill west of Washington, Pennsylvania)	(h) (i), (j)	Leet's Mill
4 Sep 1782	4th Battalion, 7th Company, 6th Class (6th, 7th & 8th Classes mustered-later all classes)	(k)	Fort Henry (Wheeling)
10-22 Jul, prob 1785 ¹⁹ (22 Sep 1785) prob 1787 ²⁰	Inactive Duty Militia, Township of Residence: Cecil Capt. Griffith's Company, Virginia volunteers	(l) (m), (n)	

Notes:

- (a) Officers of the 3rd Battalion: Lt. Col. David Williamson (of Buffalo Township, Washington County), Maj. John White.
- (b) Officers of the 1st Company: Capt. George Sharp, Lt. Samuel Shannon, Ens. James Bradford.
- (c) Roll of the 2nd Class: Jas. Hannah, Elijah Rittenhouse, Jonas Quick, Wm. Nation, Wm. Mecunson, Jas. Byers, Jno. Sharp, Jas. Paterson, Jacob Middleswarth, Adam Alexander, Alx. Cochran.
- (d) Roll of the 2nd Class: Same as (c) minus Jno. Sharp, plus Lt. Samuel Shannon, William Johnston, Edward Nation.
- (e) Officers of the 4th Battalion: Lt. Col. John Marshal (of Marshall's Fort on Cross Creek, Hopewell Township, Washington County), Maj. Edmund Polke.
- (f) Officers of the 7th Company: Capt. Robert Miller, Lt. Craig Ritchey, Ens. John O'Donnel.
- (g) Roll of the 6th Class: Saml. McKee, John Boys, John Buchanan, Jam's Roberts, John Bole, Joseph O'Donal, Jams. Sproul, David Ray, John Quick, Wm. Long.
- (h) Placed here as described as "Lieut. Shannon's Co." (see (i)), apparently volunteers: James Williams, George

each other again in Detroit before 1795? Probably... Cornelius may have been mistaken about being present when Crawford was captured. An alternative, more accurate, argument for his birthyear has been given in footnote 7.

- 18 Unless otherwise indicated, the references for the first 8 entries in Table 2 are in order from top to bottom, Pa. Arch., 6th Series, 2, 92, 99-100, 110-111, 142, 149, 154-155. For the entry for 4 Sep 1782 see Bureau of Arch. and Hist., Harrisburg, Pa., "Military Accounts: Militia", Records of the Comptroller General, RG4, A(6), II, 155 (found by Pat Smith). Earlier adventures of Samuel Shannon have been described in footnote 14. I am struck by how few of these names are of Dutch ethnicity.
- 19 Certificate 6879 for £2.2.0 for time served 10-22 July (almost certainly 1785 although the year is not given). Certificate issued 22 September 1785. Bureau of Archives and History, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, Records of the Comptroller General at D.P.R. "Public Debt", Militia Loan of 1 April 1784 & 30 March 1785, A, 212 (found by Pat Smith). A publication of the Harrisburg archives describes the loans: "Pay for military service was often long delayed. Thousands of militiamen returned from tours of active duty unpaid, bearing only a slip signed by a commanding officer... Eventually under an act of 1 April 1784, Pennsylvania compensated such men for their active service and settled accounts with certain other public creditors by passing to them interest-bearing "Certificates of the Funded or Militia Debt". These certificates (bonds in the modern sense) were ultimately redeemed at face value. When redemption came many of the original holders had long since sold their certificates at heavy discounts.
- 20 Draper2SS101 (David Shepherd Papers). The company consisted of 75 men. A note on the rear of the paper reads "prob. 1787". Thomas Edginton was captured by Indians on Kings Creek in April 1782. Draper16S268. In March 1783 he escaped and returned to the panhandle. The Greathouse boys in this list, Harmon and Isaac, were members of a legendary family of Indianfighters.

White, David McBride, Daniel Myrick, Joseph McDowell, John Pollock, Samuel Lillick (Sillick?), Thomas Broshein, Stephen Boskim, John Jones, Jonathan Jones, Andrew McClure, George Snap, Godfrey Wagnor; killed, Josiah Williams, Michael McCleary, James Byers, Jonas Quick, Elijah Rittenhouse.

- (i) Samuel Shannon had been promoted to Capt.
- (j) Roll of the 2nd Class: Same as (c) minus Wm. Nation, Jas. Paterson, plus Lt. James Bradford, David Mayber.
- (k) Roll of the 6th Class: Same as (g) minus Saml. McKee, plus Joseph Blair, Thomas Wilson (Matthew Ritchie was a pvt. in the 1st class.)
- (l) During the Indian troubles John Quick and his father and their families probably spent part of the time in Cecil Township with the Rittenhouses and the Halls.
- (m) Officers: Capt. Wm. Griffith, Lt. James Campbell, Ens. Philip Beel, Sgts. Joseph Ralston, Isahell Edginton, Matthew Fleman.
- (n) Roll: George Edginton, Harmon Greathouse, Thomas Hays, John Hays, Joseph Woods, John Quick, Thomas Edginton, Isaac Greathouse, John Toland, Elijah Ritenhouse, James Canaday (75 men in all).

Later in September Williamson raised an expedition to retaliate against the Delaware for their attack on Fort Henry. But arriving at their towns in October he found them deserted. He learned that in the preceding few months they had moved to the Sandusky River. (In fact, Mathew Elliott with Half King and Captain Pipe and their warriors had forced these Delaware, who had been Christianized by the Moravian missionaries, to move to the Sandusky Valley.) Unhappily as we'll see, some of the latter, along with hostiles, would filter back to the Tuscarawas early the following year to work their old cornfields they had left behind.

The troubles continued. In February 1782 unusually mild weather brought more attacks on Ohio and Washington Counties. On the 17th a party of Delaware attacked the lonely cabin of Robert Wallace on Raccoon Creek and took his wife, son, infant daughter and two others prisoner. Mrs. Wallace and her daughter were killed and scalped.²¹ The inhabitants of the area were convinced that the raiders had come from the old Moravian towns on the Tuscarawas and demanded an expedition to eliminate them. David Williamson again responded by leading a volunteer party of over 100 Washington County militia into Ohio Territory. On 7 March he and his men surrounded Gnadenhutten, one of three small towns established by the Moravian missionaries. The Christian Indians there, some 97 men, women and children, were induced to lay down their arms with a promise of safety, and to enter their church. Next morning, after a night of praying and hymn-singing, they were led out one by one and beaten to death. This action horrified white and Indian alike and would return to haunt the Americans in the following months.²²

On 19 October 1781 the surrender of Lord Cornwallis brought the War for American Independence to an end. In the west, however, the "war" went on much as before. On 5 April 1782 Irvine convened a council at Fort Pitt to assess the needs of frontier defense. Those present were the county lieutenants including John Evans of Manongalia and David Shepherd of Ohio. To his appeal for support Shepherd answered he could not assign any more men as nearly all in his district were already enrolled in Pennsylvania militias. All agreed that Washington County should keep in service 160 men in four companies to range along the Ohio River from Montour's Bottom to Wheeling. The border would suffer more trouble, it was argued, unless an expedition was sent against the Indian towns. Marshel had already written Irvine recommending that

21 According to Wills de Haas in *History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1851), 254-5. It was said that the sight of Mrs. Wallace's clothing at the Moravian towns enraged the whites into committing the Gnadenhutten massacre. The remains of Mrs. Wallace and her child were eventually found and supposedly buried at the Kings Creek Meeting House. Ibid. But see also the recollection on this subject in *History of the Cross Creek Graveyard and the Cross Creek Cemetery*, James Simpson ed., (Burgettstown, 1894), (McLain reprint, 1969), 5.

22 We cannot rule out John Quick being at the massacre at Gnadenhutten. The participants were volunteers and muster rolls were not kept. E. E. Gray describes the massacre in *Wilderness Christians The Moravian Mission to the Delaware Indians* (Macmillan, 1956).

Williamson mount yet another expedition against Sandusky.

Table 3. *Extracts from Assorted Records, Ohio County, Virginia, 1786-1792.*²³

Type of Tax	Selection of Names	Notes
Tithables 1786	Andrew Quick, Cornelius Quick	
Tithables 1787 (David McClure Commissioner)	Cornelius Quick	
Land Book Tithables 1788	John Quick, Elijah Rittenhouse, William Sutherland, Samuel Wright	(a)
Personal Property 1788	John Quick, Joseph Ralston, Elijah Rittenhouse	
Tithables 1789	James Cannady, Samuel Wright	
Tithables 1790	George Armstrong, Elijah Rittenhouse, Samuel Wright	(b)
Land 1790	George Armstrong, Moses Holliday, John Quick, William Sutherland, Samuel Wright	
Tithables 1791	Elijah Rittenhouse	
Tithables 1792	Elizabeth Rittenhouse	
Land Tax 1792	Moses Holliday	

Notes:

- (a) Samuel Wright purchased a part of John Quick's land in 1789.
- (b) George Armstrong purchased a part of John Quick's land in 1789.

The return to Sandusky was better planned than previous campaigns.²⁴ The call went out for certain classes of Washington and Westmorland county militias to appear not later than 20 May opposite Mingo Bottom (south of Steubenville, Ohio). Young men converged there on horseback bringing bacon, bread and whisky for thirty days. By 23 May 500 horsemen assembled on the Virginia side of the river. They were rowed with horses and baggage over to the Ohio side in rotation in four small canoes. According to custom the Washington County militia (among others) divided themselves into eighteen companies and elected their officers: captain, lieutenant, and ensign.²⁵ The man elected commander over the expedition was Col. William Crawford, Irvine's choice. By this time, Crawford, fifty years old and a retired line officer in the continental forces, was a well-respected justice of Ohio County. David Williamson was made second in command

23 Charles Wells was commissioner for these collections unless otherwise indicated. LDS163908. The identity of Andrew Quick remains to be established. Ohio Co., W.Va., Land Book Tithables on LDS 163908. Also "The County Court Notebook" in *A Little Bulletin of History and Genealogy*, BHC.

24 The records in Table 2 rule out John Quick being at the Battle of Sandusky. The tour of duty of the 2nd and 3rd Classes of the 3rd Battalion that mustered on 4 April would have expired by 4 May. After the expiry of his tour of duty in the 3rd Battalion, he seems to have volunteered for the 4th Battalion. Although the 4th through the 7th Classes of the 4th Battalion were mustered on 14 May, they did not participate in the Crawford expedition, but were stationed at Cross Creek Mills, a fort on the east side of the Ohio near the mouth of Cross Creek. See letter of Edmond Polke, Major 4th battalion, to Marshal, quoted by C. W. Butterfield in *Correspondence*, 291. However, the officers of the 7th Company (in which the 6th Class was a part), namely Robert Miller and Craig Ritchey were with Crawford, apparently as volunteers. Indeed, Miller lost his horse. According to the McCormick narrative John Quick "saw Dr. Knight when he came in from captivity", a statement that would be consistent with him being at the fort on Cross Creek and not on the expedition itself. (Of course, if he had been on the expedition he might not wish to confide this intelligence to John McCormick, a member of a loyalist family.)

25 "This practice of distribution had good and bad effects. Battle casualties were spread out so if a company was hard hit, no single family or neighborhood would be decimated in manpower. The distribution, however, left many volunteers virtual strangers since home units that drilled together were broken up. Each soldier thus had to weigh the odds and choose accordingly." P. B. Brown, *West. Pa. Hist. Mag.*, 65 (1982), 26-27.

with the rank of major. The army set off westwards, moving carefully.

There were many delays. Nine days later they arrived on the Sandusky plains, 150 miles from Mingo Bottom. The ride through dense woods, thickets, and over streams had been long and disorienting. From their second day out they were observed by Indian scouts and their presence relayed to Detroit. On 4 June (in Wyandot County, Ohio) they engaged a large body of Shawnee under Chiefs Blacksnake and Pipe, and Delaware led by Wingenund who were waiting for them. Also with the British were Simon Girty and a few Butler's Rangers under Caldwell and Elliott. In the evening of the 5th after a demoralizing day of sniping at long range through the high spring grass of the unfamiliar prairie, Crawford sounded retreat. The militia pulled back in disorder and panic. The main body retreated on their wornout horses to Mingo Bottom, where they arrived on or about 12 June. Many were killed or captured in small, desperate skirmishes along the way. This included "the big captain", Crawford, the old justice, who was captured, tortured and burned at the stake in retaliation for the massacre at Gnaddenhutten.²⁶ In all about 65 Americans were killed or wounded in this great disaster. The story would be told around Indian campfires for fifty years.

This victory complete the Indians were encouraged to continue raiding east of the Ohio River. On 2 July Williamson marched the militia to Coxe's fort, about four miles below Mingo Bottom, to look out for raiders crossing the river. But on 13 July a large band of Seneca bypassed the lookouts to attack Hannastown, the county seat of Westmorland. The inhabitants were warned in time to take shelter in the fort there which they held against the attackers, but the Indians plundered and burned the thirty log houses, drove off the stock and ravaged the surrounding countryside. A similar stroke against Pittsburgh and Wheeling was planned by Caldwell after the burning of Crawford; but marching towards Wheeling the Shawnee in the expedition dropped out, and the others turned aside to attack a blockhouse in Kentucky.

John Quick rode again with the 4th Battalion in September 1782. Some 200 Indians and Butler's rangers besieged Fort Henry without success, after which a part of them went marauding into Washington County. Happily, these forays were short-lived. In October it was learned that Sir Guy Carleton, the British commander-in-chief, had ordered the Indians called in. A few mavericks were responsible for sporadic raids into western Pennsylvania in the spring of 1783, but for all intents and purposes the Indian troubles ceased, at least for the present.

By the provisional treaty with Britain of 30 November 1782, which brought the war of the revolution formally to its close, the claim of the United States to the territory between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes was formally recognized. For the time being it was agreed Britain would retain control of Niagara, Detroit, and Michilimackinac. The Indians would cede most of their lands in New York, Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio (but would continue to live in northwestern Ohio supplied by Britain). Indian lands were gradually being eaten away.

Their troubles with the Indians at an end, or so they hoped, the farmers of the panhandle resumed the activity most important to them: the clearing, surveying and patenting of land. As far back as May 1779 Virginia had passed an act for the purpose of adjusting and settling titles of claimants to unpatented lands in Monongalia, Ohio and Yohogania Counties. A board of Land Commissioners was appointed to adjust and settle these claims. The commissioners sat at Redstone Fort during November and December 1779 and at Coxe's Fort during January and

26 The place where Crawford was burned at the stake has been identified as the Delaware village of Tymachetee, on Tymachetee Creek (near Crawford, Wyandot County, Ohio). Mathew Elliott, Simon Girty and Captain Pipe were present. Many sources say Girty attempted to save him. For one see footnote 16. Many years later John McCormick recalled his mother, Elizabeth (Turner) McCormick, saying "all the prisoners - she among them - were made to witness the burning of Col. Crawford". Draper17S204. Another witness was Dr. Knight, the army surgeon, who escaped to write a short account of his experience. Probably the most dramatic description of this episode is in Butterfield's *Sandusky*.

February 1783 adjusting claims and granting certificates to qualified claimants. To qualify, a settler had to satisfy the commissioners he had improved the land in question and had settled it or built a house upon it. He was then granted a certificate for 400 acres at a price of £8. The certificate was good until a certain date and had to be entered with the County Surveyor on or before that date or it would become null and void.

This had the effect of encouraging settlers to get their claims entered into surveyor's books as quickly as possible. John Quick was entered by the surveyor John Hayes for 400 acres on Kings Creek (also known as Indian Creek) on 11 November 1783. The land included a settlement made by an Edward King in 1774.²⁷ Hays also located for John Quick 300 acres on the south side of the mouth of Kings Creek; but on 24 August 1785 John sold this property to James Kennedy.²⁸ From what is known of the topography of the site, the cabin more than likely stood at the bottom of the hill near the waters in a spot then sheltered from strong winter winds (encompassed today by the Pleasant Valley Country Club on the Kings Creek road).

Places of Worship in the West Virginia-Pennsylvania Area, ca. 1786

No record has yet been found proving the Quick family, the Rittenhouse family, or any of the extended family on either side (Halls or Quimbys) attended a religious gathering in Virginia or Pennsylvania in these years, activities that would have given us useful records. A few narratives do exist that provide a few details of places of worship in the Kings Creek area.

Cross Creek. According to a narrative by White: "Their first visiting pastor, the Rev. James Power, baptised 21 children in September 1778. Their first permanent pastor was the Rev. Joseph Smith who served from 1779 to 1792." (This is not the Joseph Smith of the bill on which John Quick's name appears, as is proven from a study of signatures.) In 1889 a Mrs. Elizabeth Potts wrote the following about the first Kings Creek Presbyterian church:

The organization of this church took place about the year 1785, on King's Creek, Washington County, Pa. Messrs. Philip Jackson, Miles Wilson, and John McMillen contributed the first session. From November 1785, until April, 1788, the Revs. Thomas Marquis, Thaddeus Dod, Joseph Smith and Joseph Patterson supplied the church with preaching. ...the church of King's Creek never had a settled pastor. ...Although much good work was done here, yet the location was not considered central enough, and accordingly a change was proposed, to ...where the village of Florence now stands. ...Since then (1798) it has borne the name of Cross Roads... The first church building was a log structure, built in 1786, on what is now known as the McCaslin farm, King's Creek.²⁹

Three Springs From *History of the Presbytery of Washington* (Phila., 1889), 292. Regarding the Three Springs Church: "It is not known ...in what year the first elders were elected... The old Three Springs Church building was on the Cambell tract in Brooke Co., Va., four miles from the Ohio River. About 1804

27 The history of the land is as follows. On 6 December 1781, Virginia Land Commissioner Joseph Holmes received 2000 acres in the Kings Creek area under Virginia (Treasury Land?) warrant No. 9598. Holmes then assigned the land to an Alexander Rogers. Rogers in turn assigned the land to the surveyor John Hayes (Hays). Hayes then split the land into smaller parcels and sold them to various people, our John Quick being one of them. WVU, Brooke Co. Court Records, Land Entry Book, 151, 15 (entered 8 January 1783), 18 (entered 11 November 1783), 32 (entered 10 August 1785) and 36 (entered 20 August 1785). That Cornelius was the father of our John there is this indirect evidence: On 10 August 1785, in an entry pertaining to John Hays, John Quick is recorded as receiving 401 acres, and John Quick Senr 300 acres! The reference is definitely to Cornelius, his father, as is evident from the description of the land. Ibid., Land Entry Book, 151, 32.

28 Ibid., Land Entry Book, 151, 18 and 36 (entered 24 August 1785). The word "assigned" rather than "sold" is used in the land book to indicate transfer of title. The kind of transaction (fee simple, swap, etc.) was not recorded.

29 A. D. White, *History of the Cross Creek Presbyterian Church* (McLain Reprint, 1969), 2.

the site was changed to a point two miles southeast from this, where a stone building was erected". Presbyterian of Washington, *ibid.*, 296.

Presbyterians worshipped at Wells' fort in Virginia and Joseph Vance's Station near present day Slovan in Washington County. Methodist circuit riders visited the area from time to time, as it lay within the Methodist "Redstone Circuit". But Methodist circuit riders kept few records. This lack of church records robs us of critical genealogical evidence.

In 1785 Peter Moriarty, John Fidler and Wilson Lee were appointed to Redstone... Moriarty and his colleagues... extended and enlarged their field of labor, including all or most of the settlements between Washington County and the Ohio River, and embracing that part of Virginia included in the counties of Brook and Ohio and extending on the Ohio River from Wheeling, some twenty-five or thirty miles up, to or above a place called Holliday's cave [sic]. At the close of 1785 the number of members from this field was five hundred and twenty-three ...³⁰

The Redstone Circuit in 1786-1787 included six preaching places within easy riding distance of King's Creek (Table 3).

Table 4. *Places of Worship near Kings Creek, ca. 1786.*³¹

Place	Location
Alexander Wells	Jefferson, Washington County near Avella
Doddridge Chapel	Independence, Washington County 3 miles west of West Middleton
Reason Pumphrey	Buffalo, Brook County 3 miles south of Wellsburg
Friend Cox	Buffalo, Brooke County 2 miles north of Wellsburg
J Holmes (Tuckers)	Hanover, Washington County at TuckerChurch
G. Frazier-J. Hall	Chartiers, Washington County 5 miles northwest of Canonsburg

With the help of neighboring landholders many of the plats along the Kings Creek watercourse were surveyed in the drizzly—and therefore quiet—month of May 1784. John Quick and William Laidlee served as chain bearers for the survey of James Campbell's three plots on Wednesday 5 May. His own land was surveyed the following day.³² As can be seen on the map in Figure 2 Mathew Ritchie owned the land on the north, James Campbell the land on the west and Joseph Ralston the land on the southeast. All these men were militia veterans. True to character, John patented his land fairly quickly—two and a half years later—on 2 December 1786.³³

Eventually, the peace was broken by renegade Indians renewing their raids on isolated places in the panhandle. John Quick and Elijah Rittenhouse were out again in 1787 with the Ohio County militia, in a company of 75 men captained by William Griffith. Also in the group were his neighbors Joseph Ralston, James Campbell, John Hays and James Kennedy.³⁴ This kind of

30 A. Stevens, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America* (N.Y., 1864), 4 Vols., 2, 342-343.

31 W.G. Smeltzer, *The History of United Methodism in Western Pennsylvania* (Pathenon Press, 1975), Chapter 2.

32 WVU, Brooke Co. Court Records, Land Entry Book, 151, 115 on LDS173563. The survey records begin at the back of this book and work forwards. John Quick's name does not appear in the index, though the survey of the land is clearly given on page 115. Some entries contain sketches of the plats including watercourses, etc.

33 The entry, in the name of John Quirk, actually refers to John Quick. Capitol Building, Charleston, W.Va., Auditor's Office, Patent Book, 1, 362. The entry describing the land as "including his actual settlement made in the year 1774" is at odds with the land book entry naming Edward King as the original settler.

34 Draper2SS101 (David Shepherd Papers). The company consisted of about 75 men. A notation on the rear of the paper reads "prob. 1787". Thomas Edginton was captured by Indians on Kings Creek in April 1782. Draper16S268. In March of the following year he escaped and returned to the panhandle. The Greathouse boys in this list, Harmon and Isaac, were legendary Indian-fighters.

vigilance would be necessary well into 1789 and beyond.

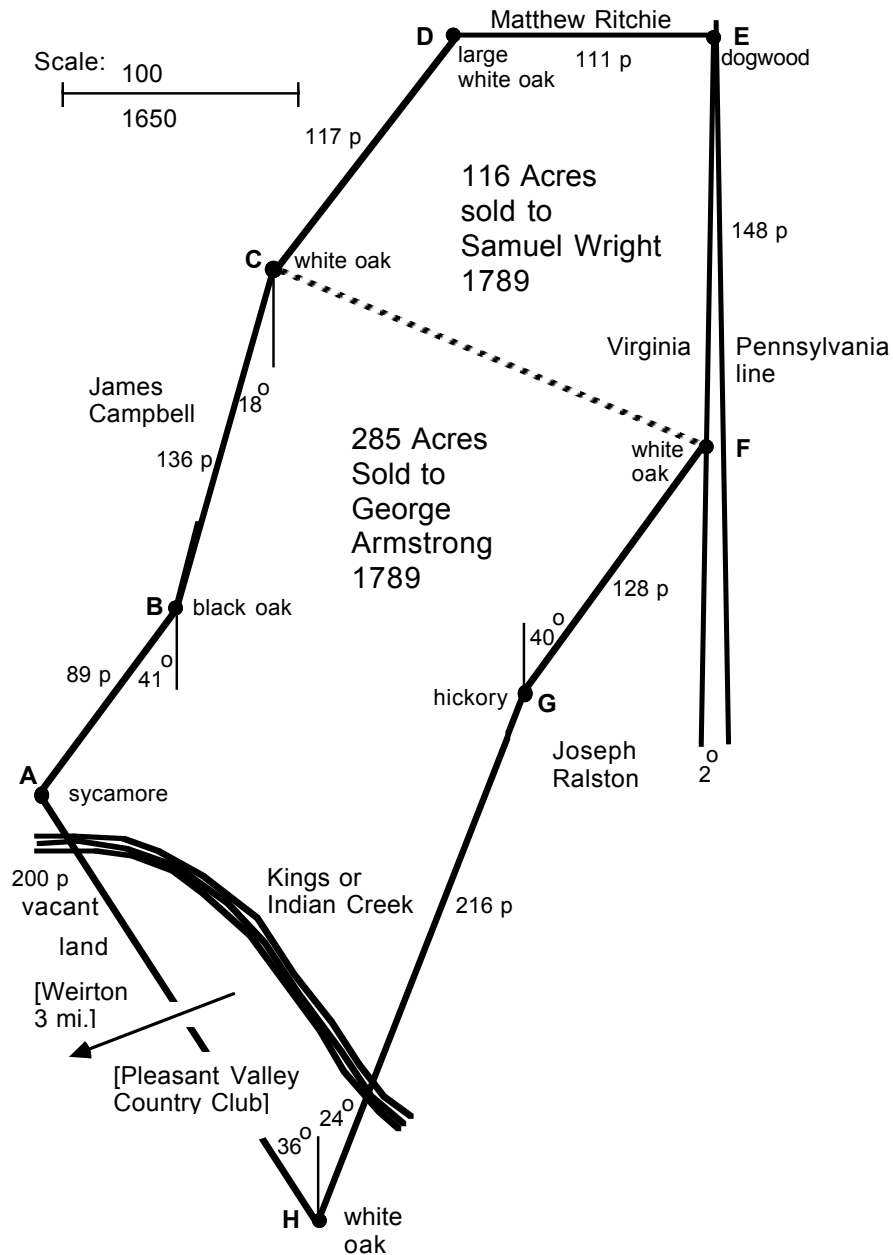


Figure 2. Plan of John and Elizabeth Quick's Farm on Kings Creek in West Virginia. Surveyed 1784, Patented 1786. Hancock County, West Virginia. Letters A to H are as used in the original survey. This sketch is reconstructed from a description given in the reference in footnote 32.

Eventually, John and Elizabeth must have made their decision to move to Kentucky. How they came to this decision we shall likely never know, especially as they made it apparently alone. They were driven no doubt by a number of factors: the out and out desire for better land, the wish for a more congenial climate, a need to escape the overcrowded conditions of the cabin

on Kings Creek perhaps, a family disagreement? Certainly, the winter of 1788 was a brutal one throughout the northeast. Intense cold lasted for weeks and the snow lay as high as the roofs of the cabins. Game became scarce and could be found with difficulty only by the best hunters. Then there was their farm. The pitch that John had cleared on the waters of upper Kings Creek was a poor place for a farm. There was a plat near the creek that could be sown but the field was too small to be economically viable and was subject to flooding in the spring runoff. On the north side of the creek the land rose steeply into trees and outrock that would never support a crop.

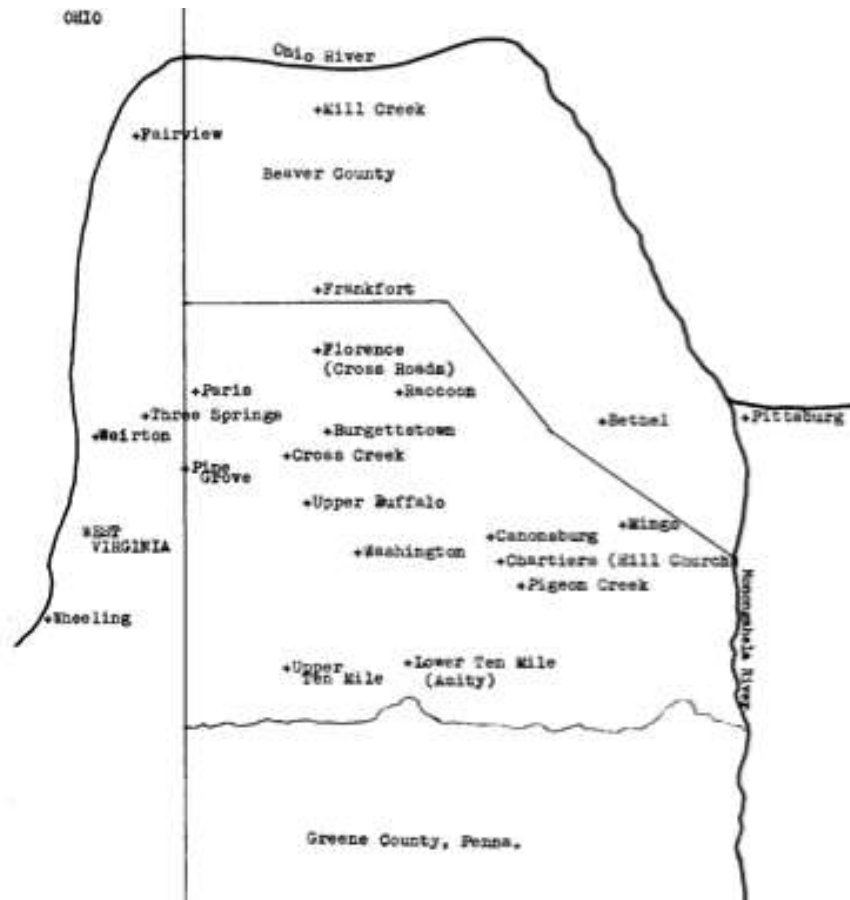


Figure 3. Churches in the West Virginia- Pennsylvania Area ca. 1785. For references see “Places of Worship”

They were possibly influenced by others, too. Many of their friends and neighbors were preparing to set off down the river, or had already emigrated years before. Certainly William Castleman, a family friend who lived nearby, had made up his mind to go in spite of his wife’s objections. In the winter of 1789 Castleman would move his family to the river hill, a little above the mouth of Kings Creek, to await the spring thaw.³⁵

35 Narrative of Mrs. Mary Wells, Draper19S225-236 (Recorded 8 October 1863). Mrs. Mary Wells, daughter of William Castleman, was 13 in 1790. On 9 April she was captured by Indians on the Ohio River opposite presentday Newburgh, West Virginia, and taken to Detroit. Later in Detroit she met John Quick and spoke with him. She recalled: “John Quick lived on Kings Creek - went down the river (to Ky.) & there he & family were taken early in 1790 - & Mrs. Mary Wells met him at Detroit & they were surprised to meet each other, having met on Kings Creek. He had much trouble in redeeming his

The popular times for embarking from the upper Ohio River were the early spring and late fall. In both seasons there was high water, in the spring from the melting snow and in the fall from October rains. The most convenient embarkation point was old Redstone Fort (Brownsville), some thirty miles south of Pittsburgh at the mouth of Dunlap's Creek on the Manongahela. At low water when the Manongahela could not support boats, emigrants commonly set off from Pittsburgh, the Wheeling region, or even from small places like Holliday's Cove.

People were determined to go west for better opportunities. They were flocking there in ever-increasing numbers. According to observations from Fort Harmar on the river, over the three short years between 1786 and 1789 some 900 flatboats carrying an estimated 24,000 emigrants passed by. By 1788 the population of Kentucky had increased to about 74,000. In July of that year Arthur St. Clair, a veteran officer of the revolution, was sent down the river to Marietta to take up his post as the first governor of the new Northwest Territory. Limestone (Maysville), described by a contemporary as "a very dirty place", had all of twenty cabins. Louisville, at the falls of the Ohio, had a few houses, a jail, a courthouse and a fort. Lexington, the largest town in the territory, had a population exceeding 700. This was sure, if not spectacular, growth.

But a journey to Kentucky on the Ohio River needed planning and money as well as courage. For many traveling on their own, the boat was of the first importance, having to accommodate the wife and children safely, their household goods, farm implements and horses. The journey to Limestone would take about seven days.

We know our family went down the Ohio River to Kentucky, but we have no evidence how they did it. Whether they traveled alone or with some kind of guidance remains a mystery. Had any of the Rittenhouses, Quimbys, Halls or others of the extended family accompanied them, it would have appeared in other family legends, which it has not. Various legends and records that survive simply state "they went down the river". Assuming they did go as a family group, and on their own boat, John, like others before him, would have commissioned a craft at a local boatyard. If it were of a typical size it would have measured some forty-five feet long by twenty wide and it would have been expensive. Demand in Brownsville and Pittsburgh for riverboats had pushed prices there up to \$4 a foot, or \$3 a foot at the small yard in Holliday's Cove. In either case the cost of the vessel alone would have come to \$135—or £27 Virginia currency. They would also need cash to buy land once they reached Kentucky.

John and Elizabeth had some cash from the sale of their land. On 4 April 1789 they sold the northern section of 116 acres for £43.10 to a Samuel Wright and the remaining 285 acres for £106.19.6 to a neighbor, George Armstrong.³⁶ The land sold to Wright was the hilly section, no doubt covered in trees, rocky outcrop and peavine. The land sold to Armstrong was the more desirable low ground—the buildings and the cleared ground near the creek. The sale of the land completed, our family would probably have made their way down to Holliday's Cove to take up a

family - got his wife & a daughter. Got means at Detroit to redeem them - heard nothing of them since". (By 1814 Mary's mother was insane, her condition no doubt exacerbated by the fate of her children.) William Castleman, in fact, never did attempt the journey to Kentucky. More information on the Castlemans is given in footnote 10 of Chapter 4.

36 The Wright and Armstrong deeds are in WVU, Ohio Co. Deed Book, 1, 231-2 and 2, 41, respectively, on LDS175139. Witnesses to the former at "assise time 1789" were William Sutherland, Robert Woods and James Mitchell, and to the latter at "November Term 1789" were William Sutherland, Van Swearingen and Valentine Montle. Woods was the surveyor of Ohio County. Swearingen, known as "Indian Van", was the former sheriff of Washington County, Pennsylvania (elected 1781). At this time he lived at Cox's Fort, Wellsburg, Virginia. The fact that the deeds are in both John and Elizabeth's names (both signed—though the original documents are unavailable for examination) leads one to suspect that her father (Edward King?) was a previous owner of the land. (According to English common law, a married woman had no property rights save that property belonging to her before her marriage; it could not be sold without her consent.) The date of the second deed may indicate that our family left Virginia not before mid-November.

rented shack near the boatyard. We can imagine that the boat was put together by shipwrights working to the then prevailing design through that summer and early fall.

To the children, if not to the adults, the boat taking shape would have promised heaps of adventure. Designs of the day varied so we must guess at its appearance from artists' renditions. The first part of the boat to be constructed was a raft of square hewn timbers eight or ten inches thick in the form of a rectangle. On the raft was built a real log cabin made from four-inch planks. The farm implements, oxen and horses were stabled forward. An open space for the family was in the rear. The whole ungainly baggage was intended to be steered by a single strong man wielding a long oar pivoted from the stern. Two other hands were required to man the sides of the vessel with shorter poles to push away snags in the river. The maneuvering of this craft was definitely a family undertaking. All and sundry about them would have offered advice on how to handle the boat on the river, and what to do in case of Indians. We have reason to believe the boat was not readied until late in the fall, much later in the year than planned.

Figure 4. *Settler's flatboat*, from Edwin Tunis, *Frontier Living* (World Pub., Co., 1961). Used by permission.



It would be a charge to the imagination to really know the scene once they got underway. One can imagine a fine cool morning, crisp and clear. In the bow of the boat ten-year-old Cornelius has the job of pushing on a pole to get the boat moving from the shore. John Senior leans on the great oar and yells "We're away". Waving from the shoreline are his father Cornelius, stepmother Elizabeth, and numerous cousins. Nervous horses kick in their stalls below, as the flatboat inches to the middle of the great river. Little do they know they will never see again the people they have left behind.

The current takes them gently to the grand speed of four miles an hour. Next morning they pass Fort Harmer at the mouth of the Muskingum River. They wave at the inhabitants they can see on the shore. Two days later, after uncomfortable, sleepless nights, they pass the settlement at the mouth of the Great Kenawha River. They find that the boat is very clumsy. Long stretches at the great oar are necessary to keep the bow from swinging erratically about in spite of the laziness of the current. Everyone, including the littlest, takes turns watching sharply for rocks, sandbars, and sunken trees as they drift along. Every sundown John anchors in mid-stream, as do the other boatmen they can see, to prevent being surprised by the Indians they sense are lurking behind every tree on the shore.

