

Chapter 4

In Shawnee Towns

Blacksnake and his men rejoined their colleagues at the cave at Hanging Rock to compare and trade their plunder. In the darkness of the sanctuary they laughed and bragged and displayed their prizes. The whitemen were stripped of all clothing save pantaloons and tow-linen shirt. Elizabeth was left in chemise and petticoat. The faces of most of the captives were smeared with vermilion to mark them as not to be killed, at least not immediately. A fire was built and the Indians sat around it on long poles laid flat on the ground. Men of importance took turns at making a speech and at its conclusion directed a captive to an Indian or group of Indians. According to custom, Elizabeth, a mother with children, was handed over to an Indian woman. She was allowed to keep her smallest with her, such as little Mary, but was separated from John. Some of the male captives were loaded down with heavy packs in preparation for traveling while others were kept behind. Blacksnake packed his horses with meat and plunder of all kinds and left camp in a hurry to return to his hungry family. The captives were left in a state of helpless uncertainty.

Just where John and Elizabeth were taken in these early days of their captivity is not known in any detail, but I can tell a story that likely applies to Sarah and Cornelius, who were then about ten and twelve years old respectively. It comes from the published narrative of Charles Johnston, an Irishman who was captured by the Indians and who lived with the children for some weeks.¹

The important section of Johnston's narrative for us begins at dawn on 20 March when a band of this same group of Indians attacked a party of whites coming down the Ohio River on a flatboat. The leader was the Pittsburg merchant, John May, on a business expedition to Kentucky. May steered to the north bank in response to the pleadings for help from two whites on shore. Johnston, a passenger in the boat, recalled thirty-five years later:

They called to us, and implored us to receive them on board our boat, declaring, that they had been taken prisoners by the Indians some weeks before, at Kennedy's Bottom in Kentucky; had been led by their captors across the Ohio, and had been so fortunate as to escape from their hands.²

The two were the David Thomas of the previous chapter and one Devine. But the story of escape was a pretext; they were luring boats to shore for the Indians to ambush. They would later claim that the Indians would have killed them had they refused. As May's boat grounded on the riverbank, the Indians led by Chickatommo, a Shawnee, opened fire with longrifles from hiding places. John May and Dolly Fleming, a woman passenger, were killed in the first volley. Four people were captured: Charles Johnston, Jacob Skyles, William Flinn and Peggy Fleming.

Johnston, now a prisoner, first noticed the children a few days later in a camp a few miles from the river. He recalled:³

About the time of the negro's arrival, six squaws, most of them old women, with two white children, a girl and a boy, the former about ten or eleven years of age, the latter perhaps a year or two older, joined us. They belonged to a family which had been taken prisoners in Kentucky, and from which they had been separated.

1 Charles Johnston, *A Narrative of the Incidents Attending the Capture, Detention, and Ransom of Charles Johnston, etc.*, (J.J. Harper, NY, 1827), reprinted in Garland 43. There is no evidence this man was any relation of the Johnstons in this book. This narrative has been told and retold with embellishments in many collections of Indian captivities.

2 Johnston narrative, 12.

3 The birthyears of the girl and boy would therefore be about 1780 and 1778, respectively, more-or-less in agreement with the approximately-known birthyears of Sarah and Cornelius.

The negro was probably Toney, Bailey's slave. Presumably the other members of our family whom Johnston did not see had already been moved out of the area.

Indians would brag of their successes and the Shawnee in this instance were no exception. On 21 March three weeks after the capture on Kennedy's Bottom, John Hay, a British partizan living at Miamitown, heard of the event and entered the following in his diary:

A party of Shawanese arrived from war at their village the 19th instant. - They have brought three Prisoners & a negro man... They also took nineteen persons near Limestown which they have all Prisoners except 2 or 3... One of the above Prisoners told Mr. Kinzie this morning the General St. Claire came down the Ohio, to the Bigg Miami, about Christmas last. This man's name is John Witherington, comes from a place called Limestown... This John Witherington's family is separated from him, he has a wife 7 months gone with childe & 7 children, which some of the other Parties have got Prisoners.⁴

The John Witherington was of course the John Worthington of the previous chapter. Since his family is known to have been safe in Mefford's Station in Kentucky at the time of his capture the woman with child could only be Elizabeth Quick.⁵ She and John and the children may have arrived by this time in Miamitown. In fact, Hay wrote in his diary on 24 March that he had just seen John Thompson in Miamitown.⁶ John Quick may have been close behind.

Meanwhile, according to custom, the prisoners taken from May's boat were handed over to various Indian groups. Johnston was given to a Shawnee warrior named Messhawa. According to Johnston the other captives were given to Shawnee or Cherokee, but not to Delaware or Wyandot, who were in his words "at peace" with the whites and "unwilling to incur the hazard of involving their people in war, by accepting any of the prisoners". We can assume therefore that the women holding Cornelius and Sarah were Shawnee. In spite of his captor's humanity as he called it, Johnston was twice forced by Messhawa to decoy travellers into ambush. In one instance, six men were killed. One night soon afterwards, Thomas and Devine, who were still with them managed to escape and return to Kentucky.⁷

The band then proceeded at a leasurely pace towards the interior of Ohio, following roughly the Scioto River. Johnston and Skyles were tied up each night but the children were allowed to roam about freely. Game seemed plentiful in spite of the rains of the previous month. They ate bear's meat, venison, turkey, and raccoon. Eventually, Skyles was taken off to the villages along the Maumee River. Johnston recalled "The others proceeded with me and the two white children

4 Hay's Journal, 259. See the reference in footnote 8 of Chapter 3. The John Kinzie referred to was another British trader. He remained on the American side after the Battle of Fallen Timbers. The figure of 7 children is consistent with the family as reconstructed in Table 2 of Chapter 6—with the exception of Alexander, Elijah and the child whose name is unknown.

5 The Thomas narrative states, "Mr. Thomas was a captive over 6 weeks (if so, he was taken in Feb. - I doubt it - L.C.D.) - & Worthington was taken to Detroit & ransomed & was about 6 months, when he returned to his family at Mefford's Station". Draper7S141. No Draper narratives have Thomas or Worthington's wives with them.

6 Hay's Journal, 260.

7 Johnston narrative, 27. The Bickley narrative has a Col. Lee's men meeting Thomas who was wearing May's blood-soiled coat. Draper7S103. The group considered attacking the Indians as they rested, drunk, at the mouth of Paint Creek on the Scioto, but thought better of it. Bickley recalled "...the Indians proposed that those who would agree to call a certain number of boats, ashore, shd. then be set at liberty - the others shd. be carried prisoners to their towns: Thomas and Devine made their choice - the others declined -". No doubt Thomas and Devine justified their actions; but they were damned by their compatriots afterwards. The Wade narrative implies Devine was later killed by revenging whites. Draper19S153. Certainly Thomas was the object of much gossip, which was remembered years later by Draper's interviewees. He was blamed for carrying off May's moneybags and for buying land north of Maysville with the money.

towards the towns on the river Sandusky”⁸.



Figure 1. Modern road map of the state of Ohio, showing roughly the path followed by the family towards Detroit.

One morning a few weeks later the prisoners witnessed a war dance put on by their captors. Elaborate preparations were made for it. A tall sapling was cut down, painted red, planted in the ground and decorated with scalps. The Indians applied vermilion to their faces and put feathers in their hair. They danced around the pole in a great circle, bobbing and chanting. Johnston interpreted their gestures as enactments of the injuries they had suffered at the hands of the whites: “their lands taken from them—their villages burnt—their cornfields laid waste—their fathers and brothers killed—their women and children carried into captivity”. They demonstrated with their tomohawks in cutting and clubbing motions just how they would revenge themselves

⁸ The path followed roughly the present Highway 23 through Ohio.

on the bodies of any whites they might encounter in the future.

Being a captive was a dicey business; there was always the possibility of being suddenly and capriciously killed. Chickatommo was a man to avoid. During the war dance he danced frenzily about seemingly losing control of himself. He then turned toward the children and in Johnston's words

... perceiving the two prisoner children near, who, like myself, had been attentive spectators of the dance, he snatched up a tomohawk that was at hand, and advanced toward them with a quick step and determined look. Alarmed at his menacing approach they fled: - he pursued. My humane friend Messhawa seeing the imminent danger to which they were exposed, bounded like a deer to their relief. The boy being older and stronger than his sister, she was the first to be overtaken by Chickatommo, and would have been the first to fall a victim to his rage; but at the moment when the fatal instrument was raised to strike her head, Messhawa had reached the spot. Coming up behind Chickatommo, he seized him around the arms, and with violence slung him back. He then darted toward the affrighted child, whom he reached in an instant, snatched her up in his arms and pursued the boy. Misconstruing the good intentions of Messhawa, he redoubled his exertions to escape, and they had run a considerable distance before he was overtaken. When his deliverer came up with him, he thought all was over, and gave a bitter shriek, which was answered by one more bitter from his sister, then in the arms of Messhawa and, who had not yet understood his object. They were both, however, soon undeceived. Although he spoke to them in an unknown tongue, his language from the manner of it, could not be misunderstood. They found that they had been mistaken, and that they had been pursued by a friend instead of an enemy. When this was ascertained, their little palpitating hearts were soon calmed into repose, and presently they arrived at our camp, walking by the side of Messhawa, who held each by the hand, and soothed them as they advanced with his caresses.⁹

We can imagine that Cornelius and Sarah continued under Messhawa's watch.

By the middle of April 1790 the band had reached Upper Sandusky. There on 28 April, François Duchouquet, a trader, ransomed Johnston from Messhawa for \$100 worth of silver broaches (the prevailing Indian currency). Before leaving his captor, Johnston noted "the women, and the two captive children set out for the Miami towns". Thus by sometime in May, Elizabeth and the children were likely being held in the towns along the upper Maumee River.

Had Cornelius and Sarah been spotted by the traders—or more especially by the traders' wives—at Sandusky, they might have been ransomed quickly. Such was the fortune of the Castleman and Martin children. Mary and Margaret Castleman and three Martin children were captured by Indians on 9 April of this year near Kings Creek in Virginia and transported through Ohio to Lower Sandusky. (Their father was the William Castleman of Chapter 2.) Mary Castleman, then thirteen, was ransomed by Elizabeth Coon Williams, the wife of a local trader, for \$30 worth of goods, while Margaret, then nine, was bought by Angus MacIntosh, another trader, for \$25.¹⁰ The Martin children were also taken out of the Indians' hands sometime before the fall of 1790. Our children were rather unlucky not to have been ransomed early on.

John Quick was almost certainly released within a few weeks. (A legend related by his granddaughter a century later has him released by the Indians—not escaping.¹¹) He may have

9 Johnston narrative, 51-52. In his remembrance Cornelius uses the word "Chickaboo" as a placename. Could it be he confuses the name with "Chickatommo"? See Chapter 2, footnote 17.

10 From the narratives of Mrs. Mary Wells, daughter of William Castleman (Draper19S233-4) and Adam Culp, son-in-law of Elizabeth Castleman (Draper19S223-225). Johnston met the Castleman girls at McIntosh's trading post at Lower Sandusky in the fall of 1790. Margaret returned home to Virginia in 1796, and Mary in 1800 (after an unhappy marriage to Isaac Williams, a half-breed). Thomas Martin worked for a time as a clerk for a merchant in Detroit.

11 From an article entitled "Oldest Office 'Girl' in City of Detroit" published in a Detroit newspaper (probably The Detroit News) in 1901 (supplied by Dot Zak). Judith Mitte was a daughter of Mary (Quick) Ramsey. Genealogical Section, Chapter E5.00.

been one of three “escapees” spotted by John Askin in Detroit as early as 15 April.¹² He may have been released, or allowed to escape, along with Worthington. Worthington mentions a companion in his audience with Maj. Murray, the commandant at Detroit:

that he & his companion had just escaped from the Indians, & now asked his protection. He gruffly replied he did not protect any such d--d rascals, & went into the fort. But shortly they were admitted to the fort - treated with great kindness - guard ordered not to admit any Indians; & three days after they were placed in a vessel & went down the lake...¹³

This reception of Worthington and companion (whoever he was) was typical of that accorded American escapees. Various narratives have British officers protecting Americans in the safety of Fort Lernoult, and of feeding and clotheing them until the Indian threat passed. They were then sent home most often by ship to Niagara, from whence they could make their own way through New York State. By June, Johnston, armed with a pass from Major Murray, had gone home in this manner.¹⁴



Figure 2. *Chickatommo the Shawnee*.¹⁵

This practice notwithstanding, the ransoming of a prisoner held by the Indians was another matter. Commandants at Detroit would now and then expend Crown funds to ransom white

12 BHC, John Askin Diary (9 March-13 June 1790).

13 Wade narrative Draper19S151-2.

14 Johnston narrative 86.

15 A fanciful representation from John Frost, *Heroes and hunters of the West : comprising sketches and adventures of Boone, Kenton, Brady, Logan, Whetzel, Fleeheart, Hughes, Johnston, etc.* (Peck & Bliss, 1858)

captives placed before them, but they discouraged the practice in the belief it would reduce the number of kidnappings. In July 1790 Maj. John Smith, Murray's replacement, reported as much in a letter to Lord Dorchester, Governor of Canada:

in the morning of fryday the 23rd July, about 7 o'clock three birch canoes, with Indians and white people, passed up the River & landed a little above the garrison, exposing...2 scalps in the head of one of their canoes, & giving the usual shouts for prisoners etc- I was informed they were Saguinays of Lake Huron, who had been down on a war expedition to the Ohio, & had captured & brought prisoners from thence, 4 men, 3 women & 6 children - Fearful that offering a ransom so eagerly might be the means of encouraging this practice, rather than of checking it - I desired it might be insinuated to the chief, that I was displeased with their conduct, inferring that it was your wish to check excursions of this nature, & that your Lordship would be not be satisfied with it.

Smith went on to say that he met with the chief and took charge of the prisoners anyway, but refused paying ransom. He added: "I have enclosed a return of the Captives Names to your Lordships secretary, for your information, with the account they give of themselves - The 2 scalps were purchased from another nation -"¹⁶ The return in this letter might include names of our family if we could find it, but that so far has not been successful..

Though the military were reluctant to ransom Indian prisoners, a few traders did so when it suited them or when they saw profit in it. The more sympathetic helped runaways out of pity, perhaps, but others paid ransoms with little hesitation as it gave them the excuse to extort long-term indentures. Johnston's experience with Duchouquet was atypical: he was allowed to leave after promising to reimburse the trader once he arrived home—and he apparently did so. Other ex-captives lacking Johnston's resources often indentured themselves at outrageous terms. This exploitation of ex-captives is only hinted at in the records; but it certainly occurred, and was probably condoned by the authorities, involving as it did various members of the British Indian Department.¹⁷

The captive soon learned of his ultimate fate. If within the first fortnight his face was painted black then he was destined to die, otherwise, red. These colors also signaled his availability for torment. An equivalent indicator was a belt of red or black wampum placed around his neck. If a man, he was usually forced to run the gauntlet on arrival at the home camp. The villagers, men, women and children, young and old, would arm themselves with switches and stand in two long, parallel lines, facing each other. Stripped to the waist and with his arms bound behind his back the captive was forced to run between the lines while the Indians lashed him over the head and body as hard as they could. It was done in festive mood. The Indians were delighted if they saw evidence of spirit or courage in the captive.

Women captives might also be required to run the gauntlet, but often were initiated in a less violent manner. According to the narratives women were very rarely executed or sexually or physically abused (beyond being made to work like any other Indian woman).¹⁸ Children old enough to care for themselves were generally not harmed once they reached the main camp—except by Indian children who might pepper them with stones or torment them in other ways. White infants and children not accompanied by mothers might be adopted by Indian women with little ceremony. Indians who adopted white children were often people who had lost their own loved ones, perhaps in battle or to the white man's diseases. The faces of adopted children would often be darkened with walnut stain to disguise them. It could be argued that Indians exhibited less racism than did whites.

A captive's fate, whether soldier or settler, depended on luck and the circumstances. If taken in battle or if the property of a family who "had manes to appease, or blood to retribute", he could

16 TPL, D.W. Smith Papers, S126, B3-1, 12-14. The return may be in the PAC, "Q" Series.

17 See for example Lord Dorchester's letter to Lord Grenville in PAC, "Q", 46-1, 34.

18 In the 18th century people shied from talking of such things. See the comments in footnote 21.

be subject to the disposal of an Indian council and then summarily tortured to death. If captured without a struggle he might, after a tryout period, be treated like family. The mood and disposition of the captor was also a factor in the captive's survival. (Johnston heard that William Flinn was later burned at the stake and eaten! Whether true or not we cannot say.) Blacksnake was a man of some scruple, and as far as the safety of our family was concerned, a man of his word. Messhawa showed his goodness in rescuing Sarah and Cornelius from the clutches of Chickatommo when he could easily have looked the other way.

John Quick's Return to Virginia, 1790

As unlikely as it may seem there is evidence John Quick returned to Virginia in the spring of 1790. In the records of the Brooke County Court papers show that on 3 May 1790, and again on 3 September 1790 (court was held quarterly), William Sutherland and John Quick sued each other for debt. (I am not absolutely certain this was our John Quick, though a William Sutherland had been a witness to the sale of John Quick's land in 1789.) The next record of this suit is in 1797, at which time Elijah Rittenhouse and Samuel Wright were called to testify. The outcome is not clear, although possibly it had something to do with John Quick's land sale. WVU, Brooke Co. W.Va., Co. Court, Box 2, Env. 2-5a, 1780-1798 on LDS 186218 and 220930. Apparently as a followup the following appears on page 153 in Order Book 1 (Circuit Court), Brooke Co. Courthouse, Wellsburg, W.Va.: "John Quick Vs William Sutherland Case this day (Wed. May 23, 1798) came the parties by their attorneys and the defendant by his attorney. Jury: Richard Brown Senr., John Glass, James Holmes, Valentine Mendal (Montle?), Hugh Cowan, Caleb Pumphrey, Saml. Vail, George Edginton, Wilhaus Vail, Beal Pumphrey, Benjamin Jackson, & William Congetters... find for the plaintiff twenty one dollars eleven cents in Damages... that the plaintiff do recover the Damages aforesaid with costs... Stay one month Says Pltfs. atty." Valentine Montle was a witness to John Quick's land sale. See Chapter 2, footnote 35. The court records almost never give details of the nature of these debts.

In the four years between 1790 and 1794 the Indians of the Maumee River Valley and the captives under their control lived a nomadic, unsettled existence—more so than was usual for the Indian way of life. Any number of times they were forced to move ahead of expeditions into their country, each incursion bringing destruction to their homes and crops. Elizabeth and the children would have followed these migrations. Certainly, by May 1790 she would have been delivered of the child she was carrying when captured.¹⁹ A white woman birthing a child in an Indian town required mental and physical stamina.

In September 1790 Gen. Harmar led his army from Fort Washington to search out and destroy the Indians at Miamitown. As usual, his approach was followed by spies. Indian women and children were packed off for safety to the Auglaize—present Defiance, Ohio. Fleeing there too were the traders, taking all the property they could carry on horseback or transport by canoe. By the time Col. John Hardin reached Miamitown in October with 600 of Harmar's army it was deserted. They torched the 80 houses and wigwams and all the cornfields they could find and then rejoined the army. On the following day Hardin returned to the scene with 400 horsemen and came upon the enemy they sought: eight to twelve hundred Shawnee and Potawatomi led by Blue Jacket and Little Turtle. Simon Girty, the hated "renegade", now a legend from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi, was seen among them wearing a long red cloak and riding a fine black horse.

Hardin sent word to Harmar to hasten with reinforcements; but Harmar, with little taste for actual fighting, refused. So Hardin and his men fought the Indians alone. In a three-hour battle they were cut to pieces. Hearing of the outcome, Harmar ordered a fullscale retreat back to Fort Washington. The engagement boosted the Indians' morale in spite of their loss of a number of

19 I have attempted to include this child in the family (Table 1 of Chapter 7).

men and the whole of their corn crop. It was clear that the Americans would be hard-pressed to clear out the many camps of Indian resistors between Fort Washington and Detroit without greater numbers and better leadership.

But they kept coming. Early in 1791 St. Clair was ordered by Congress to assemble an army and to build a series of forts between Fort Washington and the site of Harmar's defeat, with the object of supporting a proper military campaign down the Maumee River. The army assembled, consisting of 700 regulars and 700 militia, was poorly trained and insufficiently supplied with equipment and provisions. Fort Hamilton (now Hamilton, Ohio) was constructed in October some twenty-three miles north of Fort Washington and Fort Jefferson (now Jefferson, Ohio) was thrown up some forty-four miles further on. Morale among the militia, mostly draftees from Kentucky, was poor, and at Fort Jefferson 300 deserted en masse. Early in the morning of 4 November in a bitter cold driving rain, the army was attacked by 3000 Indians under Little Turtle and Blue Jacket, and utterly routed. St. Clair ordered retreat. The army fled in panic to Fort Washington. The army's wake was bestrewn with great quantities of tents, guns, axes, clothing, blankets, powder and horses, which were meticulously collected by the Indians. Over 800 Americans were killed, including many women camp-followers. The Indians lost 66 men. Not surprisingly, Indian raids on the Ohio increased in frequency in the following weeks.

Of all of the members of our family it is likely that Elizabeth was to suffer the most emotional and physical hardship. Certainly, at first, suddenly cut off from her husband's comfort and protection, she would have had to make an abrupt and painful adjustment. Some of what she went through can be gleaned from the story of Mary Kinnan, who was captured in Virginia and conveyed alone to the Maumee (and whom Elizabeth may have met). She recalled some years later her first entry to the Shawnee towns in these words:

On the 29th of June (1791) we approached the Shawnee towns; when we arrived within about half a mile of them they fired their guns, stripped the bark from five trees, painted themselves and me in a most horrid manner, and commenced the scalp-whoop:... This they repeated five times: they then seated themselves until a vast number of people, attracted by the well-known and pleasing sound, came from the town and shook hands with them: each person then struck me with great violence over the head and face, till I could not see, and till I finally dropt down senseless. They then recovered me and assisted me to walk into the town; having previously explained to me, that all the abuse which had been so liberally bestowed upon me, was to welcome me amongst them.²⁰

Not surprisingly, the Indians' cultural observances were not always appreciated by white people.

Mary Kinnan was bought by a Delaware woman and put to "slave labor", chopping and carrying wood in the coldest of winter weather. She remembered the Indian women as equally ferocious, cruel and obdurate as the men. Such treatment demoralized most white women. Certainly Peggy Fleming who was captured with Charles Johnston was thus affected. Johnston met her some weeks after the event and observed the following changes in her, which might have applied just as well to our Elizabeth:

[she] was no longer that cheerful, lively creature, such as when separated from us. Her spirits were sunk, her gayety had fled: and instead of that vivacity and sprightliness which formerly danced upon her countenance, she now wore the undissembled aspect of melancholy and wretchedness. I endeavoured to ascertain the cause of this extraordinary change, but she answered my inquiries only with her tears; leaving my mind to its own inferences. Her stay with us was only for a few hours, during which time, I could not extract a word from her, except occasionally the monosyl-

20 Mary Kinnan, *A True Narrative of the Sufferings of Mary Kinnan* (Elizabethtown, 1794), reprinted in Garland²¹. Mary Kinnan was captured at her house in Tygert's Valley, Randolph County, Virginia, on 13 May 1791. Her husband and only child were killed and scalped in front of her. In 1793 or 1794 she was helped by her brother to escape, and with passes from Commodore Grant and Lt. Gov. Simcoe, "went down the lake" (home).

lables yes and no. Gloom and despondency had taken entire possession of her breast; and nothing could be more touching than her appearance. Her emaciated frame, and dejected countenance, presented a picture of sorrow and of sadness, which would have melted the stoutest heart; and such was its effect upon me, that I could not abstain from mingling my tears with hers.²¹

In the soft early spring of 1792 great numbers of Indians left the headwaters of the Maumee River with their families to settle at the Auglaize.²² They were responding to rumors of the approach of another American army. As a result of subsequent events many would never return to Miamitown. Having shared their provisions with the Saguenay and others who had come from afar to help in St. Clair's defeat, and being miles from their traditional cornfields, they had little alternative but to plead food from the British. The British responded by clearing great quantities of corn, saltpork and dried peas from the stores in Fort Lernoult (shipped all the way from England). Supplies were transported in barrels from Detroit, along the Detroit River into Lake Erie, and then up the Maumee River to the foot of the rapids. From there the supplies were distributed to the Indians of the region. This supplying of provisions was seen by the British as essential if they were to retain any influence at all over the Indians. Indeed, it was also to prevent mass starvation.

At about this time a change occurred in the government of Canada that has a bearing on our story. In August 1791 the old province of Quebec was divided into Upper and Lower Canada (Lower Canada comprising the modern province of Quebec, and Upper Canada the modern province of Ontario). In June 1792 Colonel John Graves Simcoe arrived in Montreal to take up the post of first lieutenant governor of Upper Canada. Simcoe was a man of strong opinions, a veteran of the revolution, and a promoter of all things British. He intended for the British to act as mediator between the Americans and the Indians. He hoped to effect a peace and in the process establish an Indian buffer state in Ohio Territory. He hoped British agents and traders could still effect some control through the region—politically, as a buffer defense for Upper Canada, and economically, over the still-lucrative fur trade.

The area of the Glaize in which these events were transpiring was to all who saw it in the 18th century a place of great beauty. Oliver Spencer, another Indian captive who later wrote a memoir of his experience, described it in detail.²³ Spencer, a lad of ten, was captured on 7 July 1792 near Columbia Ohio, and conveyed to the Auglaize. He was cared for by Coo-Coo-Cheeh, the Shawnee mother of the wife of George Ironside.²⁴ Ironside was a trader and scout in the Indian Department who lived at his station on a high point opposite Coo-Coo-Cheeh's cabin, a few hundred yards above the mouth of the Auglaize. Spencer recalled:

On this high ground, (since the site of Fort Defiance, erected by General Wayne in 1794,) extending from the Maumee a quarter of a mile up the Auglaize about two hundred yards in width, was an open space, on the west and south of which were oak woods, with hazel undergrowth.

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- 21 These 18th century sentiments could be code for physical abuse. Johnston narrative, 65. Peggy Fleming was eventually ransomed by the Wyandot chief, King Crane and a white man named Wittaker, and sent home via Pittsburgh.
- 22 According to Mary Kinnan the Indians in the spring of 1792 feared an invasion from the south and moved from Miamitown to the Grand Glaize "a most beautiful place". The reference is given in footnote 20.
- 23 O.M. Spencer, *Indian Captivity: A True Narrative of the Capture of the Rev. O.M. Spencer by the Indians, In the Neighbourhood of Cincinnati* (New York, 1835), reprinted in Garland 53, 88-90. Through the efforts of his father and Lt. Gov. Simcoe he was eventually ransomed for £60 NY currency, and on 3 March 1793, "delivered over" to Col. England at Detroit.
- 24 George Ironside's wife was Tecumseh's sister. Thus Coo-Coo-Cheeh was possibly Tecumseh's mother. Ironside was born in 1760 in Scotland. In 1796 he moved to Amherstburg where he became storekeeper in the Indian Department. As clerk in the same department he penned many of the UCLPs from the Western District. He died in 1830.

Within this opening, a few hundred yards above the point, on the steep high bank of the Auglaize, were five or six cabins and log houses, inhabited principally by Indian traders. The most northerly, a large hewed log house, divided below into three apartments, was occupied as a warehouse, store, and dwelling, by George Ironside, the most wealthy and influential of the traders on the point. Next to his were the houses of Pirault (Pero), a French baker, and McKenzie, a scot, who, in addition to merchandizing, followed the occupation of a silversmith, exchanging with the Indians his brooches, ear-drops, and other silver ornaments at an enormous profit, for skins and furs. Still farther up were several other families of French and English and two American prisoners, Henry Ball a soldier taken at St. Clair's defeat, and his wife, Polly Meadows, captured at the same time, were allowed to live here, and by labour to pay their masters the price of their ransom; he by boating to the rapids of the Maumee, and she by washing and sewing. - Fronting the house of Ironside, and about fifty yards from the bank, was a small stockade, enclosing two small hewed log houses; one of which was occupied by James Girty, (brother of Simon), the other, occasionally, by McKee and Elliott, British Indian agents, living at Detroit.

From this station I had a fine view of the large village more than a mile south, on the east side of the Auglaize, of Blue Jacket's town, and of the Maumee River for several miles below, and of the extensive prairie covered with corn, directly opposite, and forming together a very handsome landscape.

Further north down the Maumee River at the foot of the rapids called Roche de Bout, McKee and Elliott had a second store and living quarters. Alexander McCormick had a post on the north side of the river above Fort Miami. On a farm of 20 acres or so he had four or five cabins with an apple and peach orchard.²⁵ McCormick, like McKee and Elliott, employed whites from time to time as servants and fieldhands to help with the labor of the negro slaves. Some of these men (and women) were ex-Indian captives working off indentures. We shall see that John Quick was among them, at least in 1792.

McCormick's store like Askin's and others was a tavern as well as trading post. The locals would drop in to trade, have a drink and a gossip. One of McCormick's ledgers has survived. Foodstuffs in bulk, such as "coaffey" listed at five shillings a pound, "Casteel soap" at four shillings six pence, and strips of muslin at ten shillings a yard. Payment was barter, mostly corn. His business over a man could quench his thirst with a "bole" sling or "tody" for two shillings six pence, or a "mug flip" at two shillings. Snacks on the side like "bread and chees" went for three shillings. Evidently, it had the ambience of a modern local pub. Tabs were also kept for Indians whose names were spelled phonetically. Goods traded with Indians were often indicated symbolically so they could be understood by both races. Two diagonal marks // stood for ball and shot.

One story of a captive who was single and determined to escape was told by Matthew Bunn in his book published in 1827.²⁶ Bunn had been a soldier on St. Clair's expedition and was captured in October 1791 near Fort Jefferson. Force-marched to Miamitown he was made to run the gauntlet, build huts for four or five families, cut and carry wood, dress deerskins and hunt raccoons. When meat was unavailable he lived on nuts. Much of his description deals with how he escaped and shows the difficulties our family might have experienced.

Bunn writes prisoners came to be known for miles around. White strangers on footpaths would be rigorously questioned. All travelers making their way down the Maumee River who ignored Indian "helloas" from shore were assumed to be runaways and liable to be followed. When Bunn did run away Angus McIntosh the trader would not help him ("he feared the Indians and would not help me"), neither did Alexander McCormick ("he replied that there was a great many rascals whom he would be glad to have slaves to the Indians all their days.") Neither man

25 *American State Papers, Public Lands*, 1, 518.

26 Matthew Bunn, *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Matthew Bunn* (Batavia, 1827), reprinted in Garland21.

betrayed him, however. Finally, Bunn was harbored by a most remarkable man, Thomas Smith, given food and a hiding place, and placed on a boat for Detroit. Later, when Bunn was recognized in Detroit and recaptured, Smith learned of his misfortune and paid his ransom of \$120.²⁷ Bunn was eternally grateful to Smith and described him in these 18th century terms:

Language is too poor to express the gratitude which I felt towards my kind deliverer, who would have no other motive in my deliverance than the love he cherished in his tender bosom for his fellow men, when suffering. My heart must cease to beat within my breast, before I can forget that worthy gentleman.

Bunn worked for Smith for two years to pay off his indenture.

Unlike Bunn, John Quick was a married man with a wife and (now) eight children, each to be tracked and no doubt feed when supplies ran low among the tribes. He would have stayed as close to his family as was possible, in the same village or nearby, and would have avoided hostile action that might have endangered his wife or his children. His was a delicate situation.

One factor almost certainly contributing to John's survival was his skill as a blacksmith. Most Indians lacked the skills necessary to repair iron tools and flintlock rifles. This is evidenced by the articles he used in trade in the local store. In the spring of 1792, he was "living with Col. McKee" bartering with Thomas Smith at Roche de Bout for seed potatoes, rum, flour, and a handkerchief—the latter probably for Elizabeth. He gave in exchange his own handiwork: a plough, a chain ("left at McCormicks"), and a bedstead, probably made of iron, in addition to various capots (Indian shirts) that he or Elizabeth had made. The reference in the ledger "To assignment for Billy a Munsee" (a clan of the Delaware) refers possibly to a messenger. John was dependent for news of his family on messages sent back and forth with whoever could take them. And this was no doubt carried out by the occasional Indian runner or British agent "on the King's business".

By 1791 Cornelius was twelve. According to his own words put down nearly sixty years later, he lived in Blacksnake's village, and possibly for a time in the man's house itself. From various narratives we know a little of the appearance of a chief named Blacksnake and how he lived. Thomas Ridout, who sought protection with a chief named Blacksnake in the summer of 1788, two years before the Quick family's capture, recalled "The Great Snake was an elderly man, robust and rather corpulent. His wife, a pretty, well-looking woman, nearly his age, walked very stately with a handsome staff with a head to it".²⁸ Oliver Spencer recalled a man named Blacksnake as "a plain grave chief of sage appearance".²⁹ It bears remembering many Indians lived much like white people. The Blacksnake described by Ridout lived with his wife in a house about 20 feet long by 14 feet wide, with sides and a roof that were ribbed in with small poles and covered with bark. There were no windows, just an opening at one end and a blanket to drape over the opening to keep out drafts. The chief and his wife slept on a raised bed on one side of the fireplace in the middle of the house, while Ridout slept on the other side on a bearskin on a bench

27 Thomas Smith was Welsh. He fought in the British army in the revolution and came to Detroit in 1779. In 1788 he was appointed clerk of the Court of Common Pleas. He was also a deputy surveyor and notary. In these years he was John Askin's junior partner, with the job of supervising Askin's store on the Maumee, their so-called "Miamis Company". This company (no doubt in the person of Smith) was instrumental in ransoming one of Martin Tofflemire's children. PAC, RG1, L3, 511, UCLP "T" Bundle Miscellaneous 1788-1794. There were probably others.

28 Matilda Edgar, *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War 1805-15; Being the Ridout Letters* (Wm. Briggs, Toronto, 1890). Ridout was captured on the Ohio River near Cincinnati on Good Friday 1788. He was conveyed to the White River and the Wabash, and then down the Maumee to Detroit. He was a man of some means, and perhaps for this reason was treated "with civility" by the 53rd Regiment at Detroit.

29 Spencer narrative.

also raised above the ground. The descriptions of Blacksnake that we have (if they refer to the same individual) picture an intelligent, relatively kindly person, in keeping with his treatment of our family.

Table 1. *Details from the Ledger of Thomas Smith, Maumee Country, Ohio, 1792-1793.*³⁰

Quick living with Col. McKee			Contra		
	ut rum ----	- 4 -	1792		
	er works for ----	£2 --	June 18	By making a plough	£1
	Potatoes for feed ---	- 12 -	Xr(?) 5	By a chain left at McCormicks	£1
	Blue Ber. Hkf per wife ---	- 10 -		By half of a bedstead	2.0.0
	To 1 quart rum ----	- 6 -		By making 2 Cappots(?)	- 12 -
	To 4 Sugar & 6 skaines Thread -	- 11 -		By making 2 shirts	- 8 -
8	To 2 Gall rum watred & keg	£1.12		By do. - 2 Indian do.	- 2 -
[prob]	To 21 lb flour Lent - - -	- 10 -	1793	By cash	- 8 -
April	To one pint Rum per moss(?)	- 3 -	Apl 14	By a deduction for milk etc.	£1.10.0
	To one quart from Rouleau	- 6 -			
	To one spirits paid	- 6 -			
	To assignment(?) for Billy a munsy	- 6 -			
1793					
Sept	To a black Trunk from McCormick's	£1.12.0			
25	To 1 Keg rum to purchase his wife	£13.4-			
	deld W Clarke(?) 88th(?) 30/- [a]				

Notes:

This is a transcript of what can be read of pages 7 and 8 of the ledger. The upper left and upper right hand corners of the left and right pages have been torn away. The debit side of the ledger is on the left side, page 7, the contra side on the right, page 8. The first entry is for the 8th of a month, probably April, of either 1792 or 1793. Some names mentioned elsewhere in the ledger are "McPherson, living with Col. McKee, Mar. 1792", "Peter Bonnet, living at Knaggs house, June-July 1792", "James Day, a white man living with the Shawnee", "Shaver, living at McCormicks", and "Johnson, living with Col. McKee, Feb. 1793". There are many others. The means whereby John Quick made his living are evident in the blacksmithed articles and clothing.

(a) The McCormick mentioned is Alexander McCormick, the "W Clarke (?)" probably Thomas Alexander Clarke.

In the winter of 1792-93, Ohio Territory was quiet; the chiefs were restraining their men in anticipation of a treaty with the Americans at Lower Sandusky the following year. In April 1793 John sought out Askin's store at the foot of the Rapids again. This time he lay down his homemade chain on the counter in front of Thomas Smith and requested a bottle of rum in exchange.³¹ Perhaps the rum would expedite a visit to Elizabeth. At this point she had been a prisoner three years.

In the spring of 1793 the Americans, British, and the Indians prepared for a conference at Lower Sandusky to discuss the disposal of Ohio lands. Tribes converged from all over the northwest, from the Maumee River, the Sandusky region, the Wabash, Canada, the Saginaw Bay region and west of Lake Michigan. It is said some came from the far west where they had yet to be touched by European culture and were still of the stone age. These men were the subject of comment even among their Indian brethren. They had no knowledge of guns. They carried spears, bows, and tomohawks, and were clothed in buffalo robes instead of blankets. (British scouts

30 BHC, Smith Papers, L4: Thomas Smith Ledger, 1779-1800, 7-8.

31 Smith Papers, *ibid.*, 222. This reference is also to be found in the records of John Askin in PAC, Askin Papers, Ledger 1791-2, MG19, A3, 54, 72. John is referred to as "Mr. Quick". This latter book, though part of the Askin papers, is written in the hand of Thomas Smith. The relationship between Askin and Smith as partners in the "Miamis Company" can be followed in JAP. More information on Smith has been given in footnote 27.

reported they were in a war-like mood as they had come without their families.) As the summer progressed the British, as they did the previous year, continued to supply the Indians at the Glaize with provisions of all kinds: corn, flour, salt beef, salt pork, dried peas, powder, ball and shot. Supplies in bulk were shipped from Detroit to the rapids and dispensed by McKee and Elliott's agents. In the meantime the Americans ordered a large force under General "Mad" Anthony Wayne, another veteran of the revolution, to prepare for another invasion of the Maumee country by 1 August, should the conference at Sandusky come to nothing.³²

It seemed preordained that the conference should have a null result. The council sent word to the American commissioners, comfortably quartered at Elliott's plantation near Amherstburg, that the Ohio River should be the new boundary line between the United States and the Indian lands. This, the commissioners replied, according to their instructions from Washington, was impossible. The talks were broken off. News of the breakdown spread quickly through the Indian towns. A new test in battle seemed inevitable. In October Wayne moved his well-drilled force six miles beyond Fort Jefferson to establish Fort Greenville (now Greenville, Ohio). As the winter was approaching he decided to delay his attack until the campaign season of the following year.

Six Quakers accompanied the commissioners at the 1793 conference. One of them, Jacob Lindley, recorded the following in his diary for 5 July, while living in the garrison at Detroit:

Had some conversation with an intelligent woman who had been taken prisoner in Kentucky, and separated from her husband and nine children. All had been favoured to meet again except one, which she says is now in Kentucky. She says, three hundred and ninety-five persons were taken, and scattered through the wilderness at the time they were, fourteen years ago."³³

I am convinced this must have been our Elizabeth.

At first, the building of Fort Greenville spread alarm through the Maumee towns. At the end of October, mistakenly thinking that Wayne was about to attack, McKee moved his heavy baggage and papers from his post at the foot of the rapids to Swan Creek, near the mouth of the Maumee River on Lake Erie. Whatever was to happen, and when, it seemed clear that Wayne meant business, whether he moved up immediately or not. Spies reported his army was practice-marched in open order to be ready for battle. Precautions were exercised each night by the raising of breastworks to guard against ambush and surprise. This soldier, evidently more intelligent than Harmar or St. Clair, was dubbed by the Indians as "the man who never sleeps".

John Quick also was busy. In September 1793 he bought a keg of rum from Thomas Smith to exchange for his wife.³⁴ He arranged to have it delivered to the man who would actually do the bargaining, Thomas Alexander Clark, an interpreter with the Indian Department. But the confusion about Wayne made difficult the tracking of Indian prisoners and Clark failed. It seems likely that preoccupied with running "the King's messages", he had little opportunity to see to the ransoming of a Dutchman's wife. Once it was learned from Simon Girty³⁵, who was then scouting to the southwest, that Wayne had encamped at Fort Greenville for the season the inhabitants of the region settled down to their usual winter routine. The ransoming of Elizabeth would have to wait for another time. The winter of 1793-94 was quiet but tense.

In April 1794, before the beginning of the campaign season, Lieut. Gov. Simcoe paid a visit to the Maumee River valley to inspect the defences of the region. He spent a week at the rapids

32 According to Mary Kinnan, on 1 August, 1793, her captives heard Wayne's army approaching and started for the Maumee rapids "taking only those things with which they could not dispose, and hiding or burying the rest".

33 MPHC, 17, 603-4 (1890).

34 Smith Papers, *ibid.*, 7-8.

35 Simon Girty, Alexander McCormick and Mathew Elliott are credited in various narratives and legends of the family as playing a role in obtaining the release of Elizabeth and the children. Documentary evidence has not been found.

conferring with McKee and arranging for the construction and garrisoning of Fort Miami, about a mile below McKee's on the other side of the river. He made a speech there to the Indians in which he talked of a coming war between the United States and Britain. He as much as guaranteed that in the battle to come Britain would support the Indians. He then returned to York. The tribes, not surprisingly, interpreted these words to mean that the British were prepared to put soldiers in the field. By the end of May the Glaize had become a great rendezvous place of the Indians preparing to meet Wayne with, they hoped, the active participation of British forces.

The days moved swiftly toward the great battle. On 16 June an Indian council resolved that if the local white traders knew what was good for them they would join the Indians, and so on 18 June the whites in the area adopted Indian dress (which may have included John Quick). On 20 June some 1500 warriors left the Glaize and moved south to engage the Americans. On 30 June the Mackinac tribe at the forefront precipitated a headlong attack on Fort Recovery, which had been constructed in December 1793 on the site of St. Clair's defeat, but it proved a mistake. Lacking artillery the Indians could not capture it. Many became demoralized and returned to their homes. Some 16 Indians were killed. (One dead on the field was said to be Chickatammo, the Shawnee.) McKee appealed to Colonel England, the new commandant at Detroit, to send provisions that might induce at least some Indians to stay and fight.

On 10 July in the midst of these uncertainties, Thomas Alexander Clark got down to business. He bought from Smith "1 Keg rum to purchase Quick's wife".³⁶ The inhabitants of the area were anticipating an imminent battle. If it went badly for the Indians it might also go badly for Elizabeth. It seems likely that this time Clark's efforts were successful and she was able to rejoin her husband.

At the end of July Wayne left Fort Greenville and advanced with his army in a cautious and professional manner to the Glaize. The Indians pulled back with their families to the foot of the rapids. The Americans burned all the bark cabins they could find at the Glaize and laid waste vast fields of green corn and piles of stored vegetables. On 5 August the Indians were joined by 53 militia volunteers from Detroit and Colchester in the New Settlement (Ontario) under Caldwell. On 19 August, 1300 Wyandot, Delaware, Shawnee, Miami and Ottawa, left McKee's encampment and took up a position further west of the rapids on the north bank of the river in a wood blown down by a tornado some years before. There on the drizzly morning of 20 August they encountered the forward scouts of Wayne's army.

In this engagement, now called the Battle of Fallen Timbers, the Indians and militia volunteers were beaten back, clearly out-generaled by Anthony Wayne. Retreating back down the Maumee towards Fort Miami the survivors attempted to enter the fort. To their astonishment they were refused. Major Campbell, the commandant, in addition, instructed his soldiers not to fire on the Americans. Thus it was that without formal British assistance the Indians were forced to flee all the way back to the mouth of the river. While fighting a rear guard action with the Wyandot, Caldwell's volunteers were mauled without mercy by the Kentucky horsemen. Their dead included Captain Daniel McKillop, Charles Smith the clerk at Detroit, and Charles Mungar, an ex-Indian captive from Maryland. American casualties came to 44 dead and 89 wounded. The Indian dead were no more than 50, mostly Wyandot. This was a first class British doublecross.

The battle over the Americans burned the log houses of Elliott, McKee and McCormick and all the storehouses and Indian huts they could find in the vicinity.³⁷ Then abruptly, on 22 August,

36 Smith Papers, *ibid.*, 17. The name of the principal is partly torn away. It reads: "(---)er Clerk", almost certainly for Thomas Alexander Clark. At the bottom of the entry is the note "see p. 324", which may have had particulars of the purchase. That page, unhappily, has been torn out. On 10 July 1794, some 10 days after the skirmish at Fort Recovery, many Potawatomis and Indians from Saginaw and Mackinac passed McKee's store on their way home. Clark may have ransomed Elizabeth before she was carried back to her captors' home camp.

37 No doubt many of McKee's and McCormick's papers were destroyed in these fires. Though none of

after a show of victory below the walls of Fort Miami, they withdrew to Fort Defiance. Since the Indians had been defeated Wayne had achieved his objective of forcing them to come to terms. Neither Britain nor the United States wanted the Battle of Fallen Timbers to precipitate into a general war. In November 1794 at the signing of Jay's Treaty, Britain agreed to cede the north-west posts to the United States. The Indians were abandoned by Britain to make their own deals with the Americans.

Quicks who were Employees of American Indian Affairs, 1829-1895

I have found several references to persons with the surname Quick who were Indians or employees of Indian Affairs of the US, and who may have been family descendants (Table 2).

Table 2. *Quicks who were Employees of American Indian Affairs, 1829-1895*.³⁸

Name	Source and Comments
A. S. Quick (employee)	Indian Office Report (1895), 513
John Quick	Indian Office Report (1864), 362-5. He pledged allegiance to US Government.
Johnny Quick (a Delaware)	C. J. Kappler comp., <i>Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties</i> (Washington, GPO), 4 Vols., 2. He signed the treaty with the Delaware, 24 September 1829 (7 Stat. L., 327).
S. R. Quick (employee)	Indian Office Report (1892), 847
S. R. Quick (employee)	Indian Office Report (1889), 220, 410 and (1890), 346
Thomas P. Quick	Indian Affairs, <i>ibid.</i> , 2. Treaty (and supplement) with Chippewa, Ottawa and Pottawotami September 26-27, 1833 (7 Stat. L., 431).

In 1831 Isaac McCoy, a Baptist missionary and surveyor, met "an old Delaware, whose English name was John Quick" in Kansas near the Missouri line. Quick requested on behalf of his people an actual patent for their lands. McCoy writes: "This is supposed to be the first instance of an Indian tribe asking for a patent for its land..."³⁹ Doesn't this sound like the John Quick we know? In 1980 I received the following communication from C. A. Weslager, author of *The Delaware Indians, A History* (Rutgers U. Press, 1972): "I can tell you that among the signers of the famous Greenville Treaty of July 24, 1814 was the mark of a Delaware named "Joon Queake, or John Queake". His name appears among the signers of the St. Mary's Treaty of Oct. 3, 1818, as John Quake. On Aug. 3, 1829, the U.S. negotiated a treaty with a splinter group of Delawares then living at Sandusky, Ohio, and one of the signers was Jonny Quick. In another agreement with the Delawares on Sept. 24, 1829, the name Jonny Quick, also appears". This unusually large number of individuals with the surname Quick implies some influence of our family on the Indians, and most particularly, on the tribe we should most expect it, the Delaware. I should like to think there is a story here.

McKee's ledgers are known to exist, one of Alexander McCormick's ledgers survives in the papers of his son William. PAO, HW20-148, Business Journals and Day Books, 1, 1792-5. This book, later used by the McCormick children as a scrapbook, contains many entries for New Settlement people. For instance, it records that Phillip Huckelberry sold 4 bushels of wheat to McCormick on 6 July 1794, just a few weeks before the store was burned. Charles Mungar has an account up to April/May 1794, when it stops abruptly without a reckoning up; Charles was killed at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. There is also an entry for Frederick Watsbock, a German preacher in early Detroit. (This is probably the "Frederick Watts Dutch minister", whose name appears in an entry in John Askin's Journal in 1792. BHC, John Askin Journals, Ms Askin J: J8, 1 October 1792 - 30 September 1793.) If this book were restored many entries now hidden would no doubt come to light.

38 *Biographical and Historical Index of American Indians and Persons Involved in Indian Affairs*, 6 (US Dept. of Interior, Wash. D.C., 1966)

39 Isaac McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*.

Six months after Jay's Treaty, on 15 June 1795 the chiefs of all the tribes in the old northwest converged on Fort Greenville to sign articles of peace with Anthony Wayne. Peace would involve the inevitable loss of territory. A line was drawn by American strategists from present day Cleveland along the Cuyahoga River to Fort Laurens. From Fort Laurens the line was continued due west to Fort Recovery. From Fort Recovery another line was drawn south to a point on the Ohio River just west of the Great Miami. All lands south and east of the lines were to be opened to American settlement; all lands to the north and west were to go to the Indians.⁴⁰ The treaty was signed on 3 August.

As part of the treaty all prisoners, white and Indian, were to be exchanged (at Forts Greenville, Wayne and Defiance). When the prisoners were collected together it was found that many white children, who had been captured when less than eight years old, had adopted Indian ways. To the chagrin of their parents they were unwilling to leave their Indian foster parents and had to be forcibly separated. Many of the youngest were seen to be marked on the face with knives, or scarred Indian fashion. According to a family legend, little Mary Quick was seen to have her ears pierced all around the lobe for the support of ornaments of Indian silver. The legend relates that in later years (among white strangers) she would pull down a cap full over her ears to hide her "disfigurement".

According to another legend Joseph Quick when found had his face deeply stained a rich dark brown to disguise him as an Indian. In spite of entreaties one child, a daughter apparently, either refused to leave her Indian foster family or simply could not be found.⁴¹ In future her parents if asked about her would describe her as simply "lost to the Indians", and in their pain and embarrassment would not elaborate. To this day we have no idea what her given name may have been or where she lived out her life.

40 The following is taken from J. E. Clark, *The Shawnee* (U. Press of Ky., 1977), 94-95 "... this treaty closed to the Shawnee the only territory they could possibly consider as a homeland. A few remained on two reservations in northwestern Ohio, but in 1832 and 1833 they were forced to leave for a reservation in Kansas. A new chapter was thus initiated in Shawnee history as they were pushed onto reservations and prohibited from pursuing their traditional nomadic way of life. By 1867 they were confined to three small reservations in Oklahoma..." Perhaps the one child who was "never recovered" actually did remain in Kentucky, or accompanied the Shawnee or some other band to the west.

41 The legends of the Quick family from which these passages are taken are collected in the concluding pages of Chapter 7.