

Addendum A

First edition errata & supplemental commentary

Introduction

This evolving addendum to the first edition of the book “**In Search of the Turkey Foot Road**” is provided to convey supplemental information and corrections. This version of the addendum was published on the Internet May 7, 2011.

You can help identify errors, oversights, and new information

Please report any mistakes you discover to 1@korns.org so they can be evaluated and possibly included in an updated version of this addendum. Initially, the potentially evolving addendum will be maintained online at <http://www.korns.org/>. Ultimately, it will be maintained at the Mount Savage Historical Society.

Front Matter:

Companion DVD

The front matter should indicate that the figures and appendices reside on the companion DVD, along with a hyperlinked PDF copy of the book.

Chapter 3:

The Twightwee Indian road

Christopher Gist's November 4, 1751 journal entry

Page 29 quotes from the first entry in Gist's second journal. In reference to the Braddocks Run water gap that he was then traveling, Gist writes, “*this Gap is directly in the Way to Mohongaly, & several Miles nearer than that the Traders commonly pass thro*”. The “*several miles nearer*” portion of this passage was mistakenly interpreted as referring to the comparative overall lengths of the routes. When read carefully in the context of the entire journal entry, its meaning is different, and quite plain. Gist is simply stating the Braddocks Run water gap is closer than Jennings Run to the Potomac River.

This strengthens the conclusion that Gist's first journal entry indicates that traders commonly traveled a packer's trail that followed the Jennings Run water gap. When studied in the context of Ohio Company history, Gist's journal entry and the Fry and Jefferson map establish that the antecedent to the Turkey Foot Road already existed in the vicinity of Corriganville and Barrelville in 1751, before the Ohio Company road.

In a better organized book, Gist's journal entry and the Fry and Jefferson map each would be presented in individual chapters preceding Goodman's information about the Twightwee road. Presented in that order, the material would better prepare the reader to digest the Goodman material. This chapter reorganization was accomplished in the second edition.

Scrutinizing Goodman & Greve

It is far easier to perform research now than it was for Goodman in 1871 and Greve in 1904. Consequently, the third edition of this book reveals weakness and error in several of their statements. Goodman does little to prove his assertion that the Twightwee Road came to Wills Creek, and proper diligence requires that his assertion be scrutinized. Likewise, Greve's assertion of significant Pennsylvania trade passing through Wills Creek requires scrutiny. The first and second editions of this book failed at this obligation, and simply accepted most of Goodman's and Greve's statements at face value. The detailed examination of Goodman's and Greve's claims is the principal reason for the third edition of this book. The details of the evaluation of the statements of Goodman and Greve are too extensive to include in this addendum, and readers are referred to the third edition of the book.

Goodman's conclusions concerning the Twightwee trading route are based on examination of various speeches and correspondence between the Twightwees and the English that seem to describe clearing and maintaining a physical road. Unfortunately, Goodman was unaware that Indians habitually employed road metaphors when referencing friendship and alliance.

Although this new understanding dramatically alters the interpretation of the various speeches and correspondence, it does not invalidate the conclusion that an important trading path out of Wills Creek preceded the Ohio Company road and influenced North American history. A 1752 record has been found that states that an initial, aborted attack on Pickawillany was motivated by the success of a Virginia trader.

Examining Greve's alleged route from Harris' Ferry to Wills Creek

Goodman indicated that the road from Harris' Ferry went to the forks, where it met the road from Wills Creek. Greve wrote "*the pack men of Pennsylvania ... pushed forward into the valley of the Ohio, the first coming along the wagonroads through Lancaster to Harris' Ferry, now Harrisburg, thence by bridle path to Will's Creek on to the Potomac*". A route from Harris' ferry to the forks of the Ohio via Wills Creek is so roundabout that it seems implausible. Greve's statement suggests that he, or someone who influenced him, simply misunderstood Goodman.

This issue is addressed in detail in the third edition of the book, and two more direct Pennsylvania trading routes are described.

Regarding Evans' map

Page 27 of the first edition quotes Evans' description of sources for his map. Evans provides additional information as follows:

I must not omit my Acknowledgement to Mr. William West, for several valuable Notes about Potomack, the Forks of Ohio, and Parts adjacent...

One thing about Evans' map that seems to support Goodman is that the route Goodman describes between Pickawillany and Wills Creek appears as a continuous (except at the densely annotated Fort Duquesne area) solid line route with mileage stated along it. Another supporting element is a table in the lower right hand corner that gives distances from Wills Creek to various places along the Ohio, including "PiqeTown" (Pickawillany). No other table on the map gives a distance to Pickawillany, suggesting that the trade with Pickawillany was indeed from Wills Creek. A paragraph on the lower left hand corner of the map describes the 1752 French attack at Pickawillany. The map contains other concerned references to French incursions on English territory. Evans' booklet about the map expresses his concern about French incursion, and mentions the Pickawillany attack.

Page 16 quotes Evans on the subject of his map, including his statement "*On swampy Ground, which is a considerable Obstruction to a direct Passage; but yet manageable by taking some little Compass round.*" Unfortunately, the Evans quote contains a significant omission regarding the swampy location. Here are Evans' words in greater length:

The North Branch is scarce passable with Canoes beyond the Shawane Fields, some three or four Miles above Will's Creek. The Portage from this Branch to Ohio is yet unsettled, by Reason of the bad Roads and Hills. But, as at this Time, it may be an Object of Enquiry, some Account of the Ground will not be unacceptable. From Will's Creek the Ground is very stony for the greater Part of the Way to the Allegeny Mountain; but not so much so from the Shawane Fields. The Mountain, though pretty stony, may have a good Waggon Road made over it. On the North West Side of this Chain of Hills, there is all along a great Deal of swampy Ground, which is a considerable Obstruction to a direct Passage; but yet manageable by taking some little Compass round. From this Westward you cross two Branches of Youghiogani; the greater, which is the most Westerly, at three Miles above the Joining of the three Forks, or Turkey Foot. And the three Forks are three Miles above the Lawrel Hill, thro' which Youghiogani precipitates by a great Fall of nearly thirty feet, and continues to run with great Rapidity for two or three Miles further. At this Time to go from the Crossing to Youghiogani below the Falls, they are obliged to go by the Meadows, there cross Lawrel Hill, and return again Northward, and by that Means take near thirty Miles to reach the Navigable Water of this River: Whereas if a

Road could be made near the Fall, fifteen or twenty Miles might be saved in the Way to Fort du Quesne. There is a good Ford through Youghiogani, and the Ground all the Way good and sound; and a Road may easily be made along it. Lawrel Hill, though small, is a Ridge very hard to cross, by Reason of its Steepness; but at the Meadows is the best Pass we know of yet towards Virginia; there a Waggon, which would require four Horses to travel with, may be drawn up by Six. Probably a Pass may also be found for Wheel Carriages to the North of the Falls; and if there should, it would much improve the Portage between Potomac and Youghiogani, and reduce it to fifty Miles, whereas it is now but little short of Seventy. If we have the good Fortune of being Masters of the Ohio the Navigation of Youghiogani will be of Importance, since it is passable with flat-bottomed Boats, capable of carrying four or five Tons, from the Mouth to the Foot of the Rift below the Falls. A Horse Path may be conducted in six or seven Miles without much Expense from the great Crossing to the Head of navigable water. From this to Fort du Quesne you may go down in a Day, but it requires at least Three to return up the Stream.

Page 93 mentions that Evans' "*some little Compass round*" may be the Old Fort Hill Road. Considering the corrected text above, this is an incorrect interpretation, as Evans states that the two branches of the Youghiogheny are crossed west of the swampy ground. The swampy ground (now High Point Lake) that the Old Fort Hill Road bypasses is located between two branches of the Youghiogheny.

Evans' "*swampy Ground*" statement could possibly refer to the Piney Grove/Wolf Swamp (Little Meadows) area east of the Casselman River; if so, he describes ground traveled by the Ohio Company road. Evans' "*The Mountain, though pretty stony, may have a good Waggon Road made over it.*" statement is similar to Christopher Gist's description of what subsequently became the route of the Ohio Company road.

Even if Evans did intend his map to represent the Ohio Company road, it does not matter to our overall conclusions, because the Ohio Company road did not yet exist when the English traded with Pickawillany. If some of that trade came out of Wills Creek, then the traders presumably would have used the common trading route that Gist identifies in his November 4, 1751 journal entry.

The Ohio Company's instructions to Christopher Gist (at the bottom of page 43) indicate that the Ohio Company road had not been built yet on July 16, 1751. Gist, searching for a place to put the Ohio Company road, began his journey on November 4, 1751 and did not return until March 29, 1752. An Ohio Company record (page 48) proves that their road did not yet exist on April 28, 1752. The first record of an Ohio Company road that we found is dated February 6, 1753, but on that date it is only known to have connected to a branch of the Ohio. The first record of a completed Ohio Company road to the Pittsburgh area is July 27, 1753 (page 49). Pickawillany was destroyed on June 21, 1752.

The fact that the Ohio Company road did not come into existence until after Pickawillany was destroyed proves that any trade between Wills Creek and Pickawillany did not follow the Ohio Company road. On the Fry and Jefferson map, the Ohio Company road and the antecedent to the Turkey Foot Road both cross the Youghiogheny and go to Gist's Plantation. From there, two trails head north to re-cross the Youghiogheny. Then a single trail goes on to the location of present-day Pittsburgh. In other words, if Evans does indeed intend to illustrate the Ohio Company road, and Goodman misinterpreted it as the earlier Twightwee route, our overall interpretation is not affected, because the Fry and Jefferson map proves that both routes crossed the Youghiogheny twice, just as shown on Evans' map, passed Gist's residence, and then headed north.

Evans ends his book with a proposal for England to settle the Ohio, while "*avoiding the scandalous engrossing the land by private Persons or public Companies*". This may be why he details a route from Wills Creek, even though the depicted route was blocked by Fort Duquesne at the time his map was published. Contrary to Goodman's interpretation, Evans probably illustrated the best road to Fort Duquesne that could be used by settlers at the time, and that was the Ohio Company road. It could not actually be used for settling the Ohio until sometime after Fort Duquesne was captured from the French on November 25, 1758.

Hypotheses concerning the two roads out of Wills Creek on Evans' map

Pages 26 to 28 contain two hypotheses concerning the two roads out of Wills Creek that are shown on Evans' map. A now obvious third hypothesis is that one of Evans' roads is the Ohio Company road, and the other is the so-called Hayes Mill Path, which was an antecedent to the Turkey Foot Road in the region between Cumberland and Barrelville. A 1762 document has also recently come to our attention that references a French and Indian War road running leading up the west side of Wills Creek.

The probable source of Greve's "three hundred English Traders" statement

Greve's 1904 book is quoted as stating:

The English traders had already founded their most advanced post at the Great Miami or Twightwee town, Pickawillany, in 1748; this was on the Big Miami, one hundred and fifty miles up the stream from the Ohio. It is said that at this time, during a single season, three hundred English traders led their pack horses and dragged their boats from the mountains across the portages into the Ohio Valley.

The origin of Greve's "*three hundred English traders*" statement is probably Francis Parkman's 1884 book "**Montcalm and Wolfe**", which states:

These traders came in part from Virginia, but chiefly from Pennsylvania. Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, says of them: "They appear to me to be in general a set of abandoned wretches;" and Hamilton, governor of Pennsylvania, replies: "I concur with

you in opinion that they are a very licentious people. Indian traders, of whatever nation, are rarely models of virtue; and these, without doubt, were rough and lawless men, with abundant blackguardism and few scruples. Not all of them, however, are to be thus qualified. Some were of a better stamp; among whom were Christopher Gist, William Trent, and George Croghan. These and other chief traders hired men on the frontiers, crossed the Alleghanies with goods packed on the backs of horses, descended into the valley of the Ohio, and journeyed from stream to stream and village to village along the Indian trails, with which all this wilderness was seamed, and which the traders widened to make them practicable. More rarely, they carried their goods on horses to the upper waters of the Ohio, and embarked them in large wooden canoes, in which they descended the main river, and ascended such of its numerous tributaries as were navigable. They were bold and enterprising; and French writers, with alarm and indignation, declare that some of them had crossed the Mississippi and traded with the distant Osages. It is said that about three hundred of them came over the mountains every year.

Parkman's reference to three hundred traders predates the similar statement of Greve by 20 years, and follows Goodman's book by 13 years. A much earlier source of the "three hundred English traders" statement has been found. The article "Of the French incroachments in America" in the October 1755 issue of "**The Scots Magazine**" states:

By the treaty of Utrecht, confirmed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle, it is expressly stipulated, that the French shall have liberty of trading into the country of the Indians in friendship with the English; and that the English shall have the same liberty with respect to the Indians in friendship with the French: notwithstanding which, they have plundered and murdered many of our people in the country of the Iroquois, and publicly declared that they would make prisoners of all that they should find trading there for the future, and confiscate there effects. By these menaces the English traders have been deterred from passing into the country of the friendly Indians, although before these hostilities more than 300 traders went yearly from the single colony of Pennsylvania.

George Croghan

Page 29 of Goodman's book indicates that the May 17, 1750 meeting at George Croghan's home occurred at what is now Pennsboro, Pennsylvania. In that meeting, a statement by the Twightwee Indians seems to make it clear that Croghan's home was along the route which Pennsylvania traders followed to Pickawillany. Pennsboro is located directly across the Susquehanna River from Harrisburg, which was then known as Harris' Ferry.

Page 557 of Flemming's "**History of Pittsburgh and Environs**" states:

We have seen from what has been printed in the earlier part of this chapter, and from the abstract of Croghan's will, that he was a half-brother of Major Ward, the man who surrendered the Virginia Fort to the French in 1754...

William Trent

Page 59 of Goodman's book indicates that William Trent and George Croghan were brother-in-laws. The sentence reads *"In 1750, Captain Trent formed a partnership with the celebrated George Croghan, his brother-in-law, to engage in the Indian trade."* Volume 1 of Washington Irving's 1855 book **"Life of George Washington"** may be the earliest to suggest that George Croghan and William Trent were brothers-in-law. Page 84 of Hanna's 1911 book **"The Wilderness Trail"** analyzes this subject, and renders it doubtful.

Although Trent did engage in activities on behalf of the province of Virginia, both he and George Croghan were residents of Pennsylvania. A memorandum in Volume 5 of the **"Minutes of the Provincial council of Pennsylvania"** helps to establish the residency of George Croghan and William Trent by stating that both were *"appointed Justices of the Peace and of the Common Pleas in the County of Cumberland, by a Commission bearing Date the Tenth Day of March, 1749..."*.

Twightwee trade with Virginia and Maryland

On page 19, the August 1750 message of Governor Hamilton to the Indians mentions traders going from Loggstown to the Twightwees, and mentions Carolina traders using the same road. This travel to the Twightwees from Loggstown helps to confirm that the portion of the road west of Fort Duquesne on Evans' map was the Twightwee road. Evans also mentions Virginia traders, supporting the existence of a trading path to Wills Creek.

If the quantity of available literature on the subject is any indication, trade with the Twightwees was dominated by Pennsylvania traders. After publication of the first edition, several additional pieces of literature have been found that mention traders from Virginia and Maryland who served the region drained by the Ohio River.

The 1855 book **"Merchants' magazine and commercial review"** states:

The Ohio region, where the traders of Pennsylvania and Virginia resorted, was inhabited by the Twightwees, since called the Miamis, and who before the war were very friendly to the English, the Delawares, who had roved thither from Pennsylvania, the Wyandots, Shawanese, and many others, each of them raising several hundred warriors.

On page 42 of his 1871 book about Trent, Goodman presents a list of 59 individuals he identifies as *"persons engaged in traffic with the Miamis in Ohio between 1745 and 1753. A portion of them probably belonged to Virginia..."*. A literature search indicates that most of the traders were from Pennsylvania. Only one individual on Goodman's list could positively be identified as a Virginian: Jabez Evans. Samuel Evans' 1851 book **"Colonial records of Pennsylvania"**, Volume 5 provides the 1753 *"Deposition of Alexander Maginty, of Cumberland County, Indian Trader"* which mentions six other traders, including *"Jabez Evans, of the Province of Virginia"*. The 1875 **"Potter's American monthly"**, Volumes 4-5, also indicates that Indian trader Jabez

Evans was from Virginia. Christopher Gist was from Maryland, and was associated with the Ohio Company. The Michael Cresap, Sr. that Goodman lists was probably the son of Thomas Cresap of Oldtown, Maryland, however Michael was born on June 29, 1742, and therefore was far too young to be an Indian trader in the time “*between 1745 and 1753*”. One trader on Goodman’s list was from New York. Of the remaining individuals, those who could be identified were from Pennsylvania.

In describing the situation following the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Francis Parkman’s 1884 book “**Montcalm and Wolfe**” mentions Virginia traders on in the Ohio valley, stating:

The treaty had done nothing to settle the vexed question of boundaries between France and her rival. It had but staved off the inevitable conflict. Meanwhile, the English traders were crossing the mountains from Pennsylvania and Virginia, poaching on the domain which France claimed as hers, ruining the French fur-trade, seducing the Indian allies of Canada, and stirring them up against her. Worse still, English land speculators were beginning to follow. Something must be done, and that promptly, to drive back the intruders, and vindicate French rights in the valley of the Ohio. To this end the governor sent C eloron de Bienville thither in the summer of 1749.

George Alfred Henty’s 1887 book “**With Wolfe in Canada: or, The winning of a continent**” apparently paraphrases Parkman’s 1884 book, stating:

In 1749 the Marquis of Galissoniere was governor-general of Canada; the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had been signed; but this had done nothing to settle the vexed question of the boundaries between the English and French colonies. Meanwhile the English traders from Pennsylvania and Virginia were poaching on the domain which France claimed as hers, ruining the French fur trade, and making friends with the Indian allies of Canada. Worse still, farmers were pushing westward and settling in the valley of the Ohio.

In his 1891 book “**The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin**”, Frederick J. Turner, Ph. D. (Professor of History, University of Wisconsin) obliquely mentions trade out of Wills Creek, stating:

At the outbreak of the last French and Indian war, however, it was rather Pennsylvania and Virginia traders who visited the Ohio Valley. It is said that some three hundred of them came over the mountains yearly, following the Susquehanna and the Juniata and the headwaters of the Potomac to the tributaries of the Ohio, and visiting with their pack-horses the Indian villages along the valley. The center of the English trade was Pickawillany on the Great Miami.

Very little of the information in these new references can be traced actual documentary evidence.

Gist's February 17, 1751 journal entry

Page 21 includes a statement that begins with the words “*One of his written directives from the Ohio Company for that exploration was...*”. The statement should read “*One of his written directives from the Ohio Company for his next exploration was...*”. This correction further strengthens the conclusion that the Twightwee Road preceded the Ohio Company road.

Cannibalism after the Pickawillany attack

At least two eyewitness accounts refer to cannibalism that occurred after the attack. William Trent kept a journal of a 1752 trip to visit the Twightwee Indians. When he was at “lower Sawanees town”, he encountered traders Thomas Burney and Andrew McBryer, whom he described as the “*only two men that escaped, when the town was attacked*”. Trent’s July 6, 1752 journal entry describes their eyewitness account, and includes the sentence “*One of the white men that was wounded in the belly, as soon as they got him they stabbed and scalped, and took out his heart and eat it.*” On the same day, Trent writes:

They killed one Englishman and took six prisoners, one Mingoe and one Shawanees killed, and three Twightwees; one of them, the old Pianguisha king, called by the English Old Britain, who, for his attachment to the English, they boiled, and eat him all up.

In his 1902 book —History of Ohio, Rowland H. Rerick states:

As soon as they could take a, French scalp in retaliation, the Maumees of Pickawillany sent Burney with it and a message to the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania, saying: “We saw our great Piankeshaw king taken, killed and eaten within a hundred yards of the fort, and before our faces. We now look upon ourselves as a lost people, fearing our brothers will leave us; but, before we will be subject to the French, or call them our fathers, we will perish here.”

Jane Frazier

Another bit of information has been found to substantiate Jane Frazier’s written account of Indian captivity. According to Goodman’s book, William Trent’s October 4, 1755 letter to the governor of Pennsylvania, written from the “*Mouth of Conicocheegue*”, states:

...an express going to the governor of Maryland, with an account of the inhabitants being out on Paterson’s creek, and about the fort. The express says there is forty killed and taken, and that one whole family was burnt to death in a house. The Indians destroy all before them—firing houses, barns, stockyards, and everything that will burn. Jenny McClane, the girl that lived with Frazier, was taken just by the fort; the man that was with her had his horse shot through, but it carried him off...

Douglass' view of the Twighwees

Volume II, pages 227 and 228, of Doctor William Douglass' 1755 book "**A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North-America.**" describes his view of the Twightwee situation, indicating that the Pickawillany storehouse was a Pennsylvania affair:

Our Indian traders inform us, that below lake Erie, upon the river Ohio, called by the French La Belle Riviere, and the great river Ouabache, which jointly fall into the grand river of Mississippi, are the most valuable lands in all America, and extend 500 to 600 miles in a level rich soil. Luckily for us, the French, last war, not being capable of supplying the Indians of those rivers with goods sufficient, these Indians dealt with our traders, and a number of them came to Philadelphia to treat with the English; hitherto they have faithfully observed their new alliance; these Indians are called the Twichetwhees, a large nation, much superior in numbers to all our Six nations, and independent of them. This gave the government of Canada much uneasiness, that so considerable a body of Indians with their territory, trade, and inlet into the Mississippi, should be lost from them; accordingly the governor of Canada in the autumn 1750, wrote to the governors of New-York and Pensylvania, acquainting them, that our Indian traders had incroached so far on their territories by trading with their Indians; that if they did not desist, he should be obliged to apprehend them, wherever they should be found within these bounds; accordingly in the spring 1751, some French parties with their Indians, seized three of our traders, and confined them in Montreal or Quebeck; the Twichetwhees, our late allies, resented this, and immediately rendezvoused to the number of 500 to 600, and scoured the woods till they found three French traders, and delivered them up to the government of Pensylvania. Here the matter rests, and waits for an accomodation betwixt our governor and the French governor, as to exchange of prisoners; and as to the main point of the question, in such cases the French never cede till drubb'd into it by a war, and confirmed by a subsequent peace. However, it is probable that in a few years our settlements, if well attended to, will be carried thither, if with the protection of the Indians of that nation, they are countenanced by our governments. ...

Since most of the trade with the Twightwees appears to involve Pennsylvanians, Goodman's contention that the Twightwee Road came to Wills Creek seems to rest on an inconsiderable foundation. Nevertheless, as chapter 3 shows, there was a trading path out of Wills Creek that predated the Ohio Company road, and it followed through the Jennings Run gap. As shown by the 1751 Fry and Jefferson map, branches of that path connected with the mouth of the Kanawha River (now Point Pleasant, West Virginia) and with the forks of the Ohio (now Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania). As the Evans map illustrates, the route from Pickawillany came to the forks of the Ohio. It seems reasonable to believe that in the days before the Ohio Company road, a significant

portion of the Virginia and Maryland traders who traveled to Pickawillany and the mouth of the Kanawha River would have used the path through the Jennings Run water gap. This trading activity was a part of the general trading activity that initiated the French attack on Pickawillany, and the French and Indian War.

Chapter 4: Re-Evaluating Ohio Company road history

The third theory

The first edition of this book contained a “*third theory*” that speculated that the term “*three branches on Ganyangaine River*” in the second petition could mean “*Giethánne*” or “*Alliganey*” instead of Youghiogheny. It is now noted that the word “*Youghogane*” is used in a May 1751 meeting resolution that the second petition references. This invalidates the third theory. Clearly “*Ganyangaine*” and “*Youghogane*” both reference the Youghiogheny River.

The earliest known record of an Ohio Company road was February 6, 1753

Page 51 includes a section subtitled “*Some form of the Ohio Company road was finished by late 1752*”, and quotes an Ohio Company record indicating that some form and portion of the Ohio Company road was finished by the date of the Ohio Company record. The record, which had been incorrectly reported as being made November 22, 1752, now has been identified as a record from the February 6, 1753 meeting of a committee of the Ohio Company at Marlborough, Stafford County. The meeting record addresses the inquiry of John Pagan Mercht about the treatment German Protestant settlers would receive. This correction also impacts other chapters that repeat the date. This correction does not alter the conclusions of the book.

The interpretation of Figure 0012 as West Newton

Part of the material in Chapter four rests on the conclusion that the “*Three Forks of the Yohiogain*” on the map of Figure 0012 represents West Newton, rather than Turkey Foot. As a result of new information that has been received, that conclusion is now in doubt. The new information does not alter the basic overall conclusion of the chapter; i.e. the Ohio Company did not cut the Turkey Foot Road.

The interpretation of the Figure 0012 map was based in part on Doctor Wellford’s 1794 reference to the West Newton area as the “*forks of Yough*”; partially on the Indian naming convention where two rivers joining to form a third is called “*three forks*”; and partially on a comparison between the Figure 0012 map and the actual shape of the Youghiogheny River at West Newton.

After publication of the first edition, Mr. Dietle received copies of several maps¹ that are contemporaneous with Figure 0012 and illustrate the route of Braddock's road. Although some of the maps depict the waterways at Turkey Foot with a fair degree of accuracy, Gist's, Orme's, and Gordon's maps depict the very same waterways in a manner that strongly resembles Figure 0012. The Confluence area is referred to as "*Turkeyfoot*" on Gist's map, "*Three Forks*" on Orme's map, and "*Turkey's Foot*" on Gordon's map.

Given the similarities among the waterway representations on these three maps, as well as on the British map in Figure 0012, one might suspect that the Three Forks illustration on the first of them influenced the others. Based on the illustration similarities, Figure 0012 might represent the Confluence area, rather than West Newton. The conclusion that Figure 0012 represents the West Newton area is suspended.

The most likely of the three theories

On page 33, the words "*one seems less likely than the other two*" should read "*The second theory seems more likely than the first and third theories.*"

The upper Fork of Monhonganly

Page 45 includes the following remark about Gist's "*the upper Fork of Monhonganly*" statement:

As described in detail elsewhere in this chapter, the location where the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers joined was then sometimes called the "fork of Monongahela". Gist's referenced "upper fork" location may be there or at the mouth of the Youghiogheny.

When read more carefully, Gist's journal entry cannot be interpreted as potentially referencing the location where the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers joined. He wrote "*...the upper Fork of Monhonganly, from whence the River is navigable all the Way to the Ohio*", which means that there was a length of the Monongahela River between the "*upper Fork*" and the beginning of the Ohio River.

The Ohio Company road, however poor, was capable of handling wagon traffic

Page 64 includes the conclusion that reads, "*This proves that by the summer of 1754 the Ohio Company road, however poor, was indeed capable of handling wagon traffic.*" This sentence, while correct, should include the additional words "*to Gist's Plantation*".

Additional supporting evidence has been found on this topic. Page 134 of Volume II of the 1853 edition of the "**Pennsylvania Archives**" states that there is a 52-mile-long wagon road from Wills Creek to the Great Meadows in 1754, as follows:

FROM MOUTH OF WILLS CR. ON POTOMAC.

¹ The maps were provided by Cumberland Road researcher Steve Colby, courtesy of Braddock's Road researcher Bob Bantz, in response to a question about the location of Braddock's road relative to the Pennsylvania stream known as Braddock's Run, near Great Crossings.

New Store at the Mouth of Wills Creek on Potommick, to Cresaps, 15 miles.

From Wills Creek to ye Great Meadows, a Waggon Road, 52

From ye Great Meadows to Gists, . . . 10

To the Crossin of Ohiogany, . . . 6

To the Mouth of Mehongiello, . . . 40

108

From Rags town to ye Big Meadows, . . . 70

Indorsed—Distances to Ohio, 1754.

This wagon road, which is shown on the Fry and Jefferson map, is obviously the Ohio Company road.

Faris' Glades roads statement

Page 74 includes a block quote from John Thomson Faris' 1920 book "**On the trail of the pioneers: romance, tragedy and triumph of the path of empire**". The first sentence is incompletely quoted, and should read as follows:

Those who chose this route went by the old Conestoga road to Lancaster, then to Carlisle by a rough track, and on to Pittsburg by way of Bedford and Fort Ligonier, or by a route which bore to the left, four miles from Bedford, and passed through Somerset.

Washington's attack on Jumonville

According to Volume II of the 1755 book "**Family Library**", a June 12 [1754] letter from Virginia states:

The French had Intelligence of four or five Waggons with Provisions, going to our Camp at Ohio, and immediately sent a Party of thirty-five Men to intercept them, which coming to the Ears of Capt. Washington, one of our Officers, he went himself directly with forty-five Men, and had an Engagement on the 1st Instant, in which seven of the French were killed, and all the rest taken Prisoners, except three, who made their Escape, but were afterwards met by some Indians in Alliance with us, who killed and scalped them. The Prisoners came down to Williamsburgh Yesterday, and are all confined, except the Officers; one of whom is Monsieur le Force, a Person of high Rank and Distinction.

Volume 1 of Neville B. Craig's 1846 "**The Olden Time**" states the circumstances of Washington's attack on Jumonville as follows:

It is true, as M. de Contrecoeur wrote to Marquis Duquesne, that Washington came upon the French by surprise; but this circumstance, so far as being a matter of censure, is not only considered allowable among the stratagems of honorable warfare, but an object of prais in the commander who effects it with success.

Declaration of war

England did not declare war on France until May 17, 1756, long after Braddock's defeat. The declaration is printed in Volume XXV of the 1756 "**The London Magazine**", and includes the following statement:

We have therefore thought proper to declare war; and we do hereby declare war against the French king, who hath so unjustly begun it...

Did the French Attack Loggstown in 1754 as Smollett's 1760 book describes?

The 1839 "**North American Review**" suggests that Smollett was mistaken about the Loggstown attack and was actually describing the Pickawillany attack. The "**North American Review**" states "*The attack on Loggstown, spoken of by Smollett and Russell, was doubtless this attack on the Miamis post.*"

Dr. Wills De Hass' 1851 book "**History of the early settlement and Indian wars of Western Virginia**" dismisses Smollett's account of the Loggstown attack because he could find no record of the existence of a trading post at Loggstown. This is now known to be an invalid argument, because of early records that became more widely known long after De Hass wrote his book.

According to Darlington's 1893 book "**Christopher Gist's journals**", Conrad Weiser's journal indicates that George Croghan had a trading post at Loggstown in 1748, and Christopher Gist's November 25, 1750 journal entry includes the statement "*In the Loggs Town, I found scarce any Body but a Parcel of reprobate Indian Traders, the Chiefs of the Indians being out a hunting...*". According to Hanna's 1911 book "**The Wilderness Trail**", Croghan's 1756 account of "*losses occasioned by the French and Indians driving the English Traders off the Ohio*" included "*One Store House at the Loggstown, twelve miles from Fort Du Quesne, on the northwest side of the Ohio*", and storehouses at various other locations. Mulkearn & Pugh's 1953 book "**A traveler's guide to historic western Pennsylvania**" indicates that when Conrad Weiser visited Loggstown in 1748, he found in excess of 20 English traders engaged in business there.

In a chronology of the war, volume 29 of the 1759 "**The Gentleman's Magazine**" states that in April 1754 "*M. De Centrecoeur destroys Logg's town.*" Some of the dates in that chronology are, however, highly questionable. Volume 2 of the 1826 book "The Universal Chronologist" gives the date as May 14, 1754, stating "*M. De Contrecoeur destroyed Loggs Town, in North America.*"

Loggstown was located about 17.5 miles downriver from the forks of the Ohio. Given their goals, it would have made sense for the French to disrupt trade at Loggstown, in addition to disrupting Trent's fort building activities at the forks.

For whatever reason, Loggstown was abandoned by its inhabitants some time prior to June 26, 1754. George Washington's June 26, 1754 journal entry, made while attempting to cut a road to Redstone, includes the following statement:

An Indian arrived bringing news that Monacatoocha had burned his village, Logstown, and was gone by water with his people to Red-Stone, and might be expected there in two days.

According to Hanna's 1911 book "**The Wilderness Trail**":

Monacatoocha, or Scarrooyady (also called Scrunevattha), it will be remembered, was the Oneida chief who was delegated by the Onondaga Council to be the overlord of the Shawnees, and for that reason his residence was fixed at Logstown, their chief town.

Monacatoocha may have simply been intimidated by the French presence nearby at Fort Duquesne, or he may have left due to the attack on Logstown that Smollett alleges.

Why the present-day West Newton area was important

In the sentence that reads "*The 1829 Young and Finley map of Pennsylvania (Figure 0088) shows a direct route to Connellsville following the Glade Road from Somerset, and also shows the much longer roundabout route through Turkey Foot.*", the word "Glade" should be deleted.

Chapter 8:

The mystery of Clinton's 1779 road

A section of road is still known as the Turkey Foot Road

A section of road south of Mill Run Reservoir is still known as the Turkey Foot Road today. Its fidelity to the eighteenth century route is unknown.

Chapter 11:

The circa 1791 to 1801 path from Cumberland to Jennings Run

Tomlinson's mill site

Chapter 11 mentions the Tomlinson's mill that is shown on a map and identified in a Maryland statute. John Tomlinson owned a number of parcels of land, which complicates the task of identifying the site of his mill. One possible candidate property is lot 3431, which is located north of the present-day site of Corriganville on the 1787 Veatch map of lots west of Fort Cumberland. Much more research on the subject is needed.

The old Indian War road on the west side of Wills Creek

The 1762 Frederick (now Allegany) County, Maryland survey of “*Herts Field*” for Doctor David Ross mentions an early road along the west side of Wills Creek. It may be an antecedent to the Turkey Foot Road, and may in turn have the Warriors path as its antecedent. The survey states:

I have carefully laid out for and in the name of him the said David Ross all that Tract of Land called Herts Fields lying and being in Frederick County ?? Beginning at two bounded white Oaks standing at the point of a piney hill, on the East side of Gladens Run about three(?) miles up said run and about sixty or seventy perches on the West side of the old Indian war road that leads up on the West side of Wills Creek a Draught of potomack river...

Although there is a Gladdens Run in Pennsylvania that runs through Kennells Mill and into Wills Creek one mile north of the state line, no similarly named stream could be found in Maryland. It is probable that Pennsylvania’s Gladdens Run was considered to be in Maryland at the time. The Mason and Dixon line would not be established for another four years.

A supporting piece of information is the 1762 “*Wills Town*” survey of David Ross that was located on the west side of Wills Creek, and supposedly all in Frederick County, Maryland. The “*Wills Town*” survey clearly extends well into what is now Pennsylvania, and proves that Maryland considered the state line to be well north of its present location before the Mason Dixon line was surveyed. The 1787 Veatch map of lots west of Fort Cumberland illustrates the “*Wills Town*” tract as being truncated by the Mason Dixon line.

In regard to Mason and Dixon’s survey activities, Pennsylvania’s 1916 “**Annual Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs**” indicates that the Wills Creek area was surveyed in 1766, as follows:

The new direction was produced to the westward as far as the valley west of Little Allegheny Mountain, where another latitude station was made, near the present village of Wellersburg, Pennsylvania, and at this station the western extension of the line stopped for the year 1766. The notes read:

"1768 Brought the Sector, &c. From the Warrior Mountain to the foot

June 6-7-8 (on the east side) of Savidge Mountain, the second Ridge of the Allegany Mountains..."

No property with a shape similar to “*Herts Field*” could be found on the W.P.A. map of early Southampton Township, Pennsylvania surveys ([Figure 0296](#)) or on the 1787 Veatch map of lots west of Fort Cumberland ([Figure 0467](#)).

Chapter 17: The route through Corriganville

Original property names

Based on the 1787 Veatch map of lots west of Fort Cumberland, Corriganville is situated on tracts that were originally named ‘*Joseph’s shirt*’ and (although difficult to read) ‘*Horable Bottom*’.

Chapter 18: The Hays Mill Path Shared the Route

A detailed description of the route

The third edition of the book provides a detailed description of the route of the Hays Mill path from Hayes Mill to Barrelville.

Chapter 22: The pre-1804 Bear Camp route theory

Bear Camp

The Bear Camp tract was originally surveyed for Normand Bruce on April 3, 1767, and patented to him on November 1, 1768 (patented certificate 432). The survey does not mention the Turkey Foot Trail.

Chapter 30: Winding Ridge to Turkey Foot

Background information on Harnedsville

The February 1963 issue of the ‘**Laurel Messenger**’ provides additional information on the early history of Harnedsville. The article notes that an Indian village consisting of 23 circular house outlines and 85 fire pits was excavated on the east side of the Casselman River in 1935. Eight other types of artifacts were also found. The presence of an Indian village means that there was at least one local Indian trail to it, and probably several. The article does not estimate the age of the Indian village.

Chapter 31: The route north of Harnedsville

Cornelius Woodruff

The words “*would have been the antecedent to present-day Route 31*” should have been “*would have connected to the antecedent to present-day Route 31*”.

Miscellaneous

About the GPS coordinates

The GPS coordinates provided in the book can be entered into internet mapping services to locate the referenced sites. Several internet mapping services, such as “*Google maps*”, allow the user to switch between map, satellite, and topography views. In “*Google maps*”, enter the latitude and longitude coordinates without the degree symbols, separated by a comma, into the “*search maps*” edit field.

Some mapping services, such as “*Google maps*”, have a feature that allows the user to display the locations of all GPS coordinates that have been entered during a particular session. By using this method, the user can easily plot out maps and satellite images that show the route. The exact software controls will vary among service providers, and will vary as revisions to the mapping software occur. With the current version of “*Google maps*”, the software displays all recently entered GPS coordinate sets on the lower left hand corner of the page, and the user can show or hide the location of any of them by checking or un-checking boxes.

The GPS coordinates can also be used in navigation systems to generate directions.