

Cover Sheet

Overview

This is a chapter from the fourth edition of the e-book “**In Search of the Turkey Foot Road: Unraveling the mystery, charting new history, plotting the route**” (2014). To access other chapters, see the [online table of contents](#).

As described on pages 3 to 6 of [Addendum A](#), the fourth edition mistakenly claims that a dashed line route on the 1755 Fry and Jefferson map is an antecedent to the Turkey Foot Road. Shortly after publication, I realized that the dashed lines actually represent Christopher Gist’s second Ohio Company Tour. If that or another known mistake affects this or another chapter of the book, the relevant text will be highlighted in yellow, and the mistake will be briefly described in a comment that is accessible via a clickable comment icon.

In this and other chapters of the book, any supplemental information will be provided via clickable comment icons, inserted yellow sheets, or other readily identifiable means.

L. Dietle

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5. Before the Ohio Company road, early trade out of Wills Creek angered the French

Introduction

In his 1871 book “**Journal of Captain William Trent from Logstown to Pickawillany, A.D. 1752**”, Alfred Thomas Goodman⁸⁸ presents colonial records that are relevant to his study of William Trent’s journey to the Twightwee Indian town of Pickawillany, which was about 29 miles north of present-day Dayton Ohio. In addition to supporting that primary objective, Goodman interprets colonial records of Indian speeches and correspondence as meaning the Twightwee Indians built a road eastward from Pickawillany to Wills Creek in order to facilitate trade with the English. Although Indians frequently used road related metaphors when describing alliances, Goodman concludes that the Indians were describing the construction of a physical transportation route. Early editions of this book accepted Goodman’s conclusion, but further study has proven the conclusion to be wrong. As a result, much of this chapter is necessarily dedicated to explaining Goodman’s mistake.

Although Goodman’s interpretation of Indian communications is mistaken, there certainly were trading routes to Pickawillany and other points west from both Wills Creek and Harris’ Ferry that preceded the Ohio Company road⁸⁹. Trade along these early routes helped to precipitate the French and Indian War.

The Twightwee town is attacked by French-allied Indians in 1752

The French and English both realized that whichever nation managed to dominate the Ohio valley eventually would dominate all of North America. Before the Ohio Company road was built, several factors incited what is arguably the first battle of the French and Indian War – the French attack on Pickawillany in 1752⁹⁰.

One widely known factor that led to war was French knowledge of the scope and purpose of the Ohio Company’s land grant⁹¹ in the Ohio valley. Another significant factor, and the immediate cause of the Pickawillany attack, was the adherence of the Twightwee to the English, and the significant level of English trade at Pickawillany. After the Pickawillany attack, the French spread their influence eastward, resulting in widespread Indian depredations⁹² and open combat between regular military forces.

⁸⁸ Goodman was the secretary of the Western Reserve Historical Society at the time he wrote the book.

⁸⁹ The Ohio Company road is presented in some detail in the following chapter.

⁹⁰ Andy Hite, who is the manager of Piqua’s “*Johnston Farm and Indian Agency*” museum, disagrees with this contention, because regular French and English troops were not engaged at Pickawillany. His perspective is nuanced, and includes the view that events at Pickawillany were indicative of an economic issue that eventually escalated into war.

⁹¹ The Ohio Company land grant is described in the following chapter, and is cited in many eighteenth century articles as a cause of the North American subset of what was in actuality a world war.

⁹² One of Mr. Dietle’s ancestors, Mrs. Jacob Hochstetler, was killed during a September 1757 Indian raid in eastern Pennsylvania. She is an ancestor to many of the families who live in, or emigrated from, Somerset County, Pennsylvania.

The earliest evidence of the completion of any portion of the Ohio Company road was written on February 6, 1753, but Pickawillany was destroyed on June 21, 1752. This means the early westward trade out of Wills Creek, including trade with the Twightwee, did not follow the Ohio Company road. Instead, traders presumably followed the route through the Jennings Run water gap described by Gist on November 4, 1751 (Chapter 3) and shown on the Mayo and Fry and Jefferson maps (Chapter 4). The route forked at or near Barrelville, but both forks went to the Ohio valley.

Goodman claims a Twightwee road came to Wills Creek

Goodman claims that a Twightwee Road ran between Pickawillany and Will's Creek, by way of the Forks of the Ohio. He also claims that Pennsylvania traders headed west from Harris' Ferry (now Harrisburg) and accessed the Twightwee Road at the Forks of the Ohio.

Goodman references Lewis Evans' 1755 map ([Figure 0582](#)) to describe the route of the alleged Twightwee Road. Charles Greve's 1904 book "**Centennial History of Cincinnati...**" also describes trade between Pickawillany and Will's Creek. Other than Goodman's discussion of Evans' map, however, neither author attempts to prove that a Twightwee-built road went to Wills Creek.

Presenting historical conclusions without detailed proof is common. It is simply impossible to include enough information to prove every relevant topic when writing history, because the resulting text would wander too much to be easily understandable. Goodman's book was primarily about Trent⁹³, so proving the Twightwee route was not a priority. Goodman just briefly stated where, according to his lights, the Twightwee Road was located. He probably believed that his literal (but incorrect) interpretation of various Indian communications, and the detailed information provided on Evans' map, were proof enough.

This chapter reveals weakness in Goodman's and Greve's research

It is far easier to perform research now than it was for Goodman in 1871 and Greve in 1904. Consequently, this chapter 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 was the principal reason for the third edition of this book.

The information discovered while researching the second and third editions of this book supports Goodman's contention that trade with Pickawillany passed through the Forks of the Ohio from both Wills Creek and Harris' Ferry. A trading route from Pickawillany passed through Hockhocken and Logstown, and then split at the Forks of the Ohio, with one branch going to Harris' Ferry, and the other to Wills Creek.

Looking at the trading route from the opposite direction, both branches connected with Pickawillany, and trade along both of them incited the 1752 French attack on Pickawillany. From that opening round of combat, events escalated, and the French were displaced from the Ohio valley. As a result, English speaking people came to rule much of the territory that would eventually become the United States of America.

⁹³ Trent is also the individual who was commanded by Governor Dinwiddie to build a fort where present-day Pittsburgh is located. Using threat of force, a large French contingent expelled Trent's small band of men from the construction site.

Aside from the Ohio Company road, then, the only other westerly mid-eighteenth century trading route associated with Wills Creek is the route along Jennings Run that Gist references in his 1751 journal. As detailed in Chapter 6, the Ohio Company road clearly came into existence too late to be the pre-attack route to Pickawillany, and its alignment was clearly established with assistance from a non-Twightwee Indian named Nemacolin.

Even though Goodman and Greve were wrong about some things...

Goodman contends the Twightwee cut the route between Pickawillany and Wills Creek. His conclusion that the Twightwee built a physical road that came to be illustrated on Evans' map is based on misinterpretation of common road-related Indian metaphors.

Another weakness of Goodman's book is that most of the trade with Pickawillany was apparently carried out by Pennsylvanians, not Virginians. One of the questionable aspects of Greve's book is that he apparently misinterprets Goodman's route description, and as a consequence may have overstated the amount of early Pennsylvania trade passing through Wills Creek.

Even if both men were partially wrong, information certainly exists to support the idea that a certain amount of trade with Pickawillany occurred along a very early path from Wills Creek. This trade, and Twightwee trade with other states, helped to precipitate the first attack of the French and Indian War at Pickawillany in 1752.

The only known trading route heading westward from Wills Creek at the time is the one along Jennings Run that Gist describes, and the Mayo and Fry and Jefferson maps illustrate – the route handed down in tradition as the Turkey Foot Path. The route on the Fry and Jefferson map provided various options for travel to the Twightwee village of Pickawillany, including the route through Logstown, and paths connecting to Pickawillany from the Ohio River. The paths from the Ohio River could be accessed by floating down the river, or by taking the trail variations that went to the river. The route of the southwesterly fork on the Mayo map is unknown, except that it connected with the Ohio valley. Both forks shared a section of the Turkey Foot Path through the Jennings Run water gap.

The route Gist describes is the only known westward trading route out of Wills Creek that predates the 1752 attack on Pickawillany. In this sense, it is an important route that shaped America's history, regardless of whether the Twightwee Indians actually cut the route. Goodman's work on the subject of William Trent is significant and praiseworthy, and is important to this study because it brought the subject of trade with Pickawillany to light.

The use of metaphor in Indian communications

Introduction

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

Although this new understanding dramatically alters the interpretation of 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.

Evidence of road metaphors in Indian communications

Francis Parkman's 1851 book "**The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada**" includes a footnote about Indian metaphors:

An Indian orator is provided with a stock of metaphors, which he always makes use of for the expression of certain ideas. Thus, to make war is to raise the hatchet; to make peace is to take hold of the chain of friendship; to deliberate is to kindle the council fire; to cover the bones of the dead is to make reparation and gain forgiveness for the act of killing them. A state of war and disaster is typified by a black cloud; a state of peace, by bright sunshine, or by an open path between the two nations.

Parkman's footnote helps to explain a November 1764 Indian speech he quotes. That speech states in part:

The path of peace, which once ran between your dwellings and mine, has of late been choked with thorns and briars, so that no one could pass that way; and we have both almost forgotten that such a path had ever been. I now clear away all such obstructions, and make a broad, smooth road, so that you and I may freely visit each other, as our fathers used to do. I kindle a great council-fire, whose smoke shall rise to heaven, in view of all the nations; while you and I sit together and smoke the peacepipe at its blaze.

Look for similar metaphor in the Twightwee speeches quoted below.

The 1998 book "**Contact points: American frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830**"⁹⁴ includes a chapter by Jane A. Merritt titled "*Metaphor, Meaning, and Misunderstanding*" which describes the use of metaphor in communications between Indians and whites. Among other examples of metaphor, Merritt's chapter describes the use of road-related metaphors to express a wish for friendship, trade, and good communications.

An obvious example of road-related metaphor is provided in the 1838 book "**Life of Joseph Brant-Thayendanegea**". As documented in that book, Sir William Johnson's May 5, 1742 journal entry records this statement from the Indian Old Nickus:

Did not they tell you, when they invited you, the road of friendship was clear, and every obstacle removed that was in before? They scarce uttered it, and the cruelties were committed at the German Flatts, where the remainder of our poor brethren were butchered by the enemy's Indians. Is this a clear road of peace and friendship? Would not you be obliged to wade all the way in the blood of the poor innocent men, women, and children who were murdered after being taken?

Old Nickus' use of the terms "*road of friendship*" and "*clear road of peace and friendship*" make it absolutely clear he was speaking metaphorically. The communications between the Twightwee and the English are not quite so obviously metaphorical, yet metaphorical they are. Any conclusions about physical trading routes between the Twightwee and the English must rest on more than misinterpreted metaphor.

Despite Goodman's misinterpretation of the road-related metaphors, his book is invaluable to the study of events leading up to the French and Indian war. His misinterpretation is particularly understandable to us, since the first two editions of this book make the same mistake. In the

⁹⁴ The book is by Andrew Robert Lee Cayton, et al.

introduction to Volume I of the 1906 book “**History of Bedford and Somerset Counties...**”, E. Howard Blackburn wrote the following about history books:

...statements are made in such writings which, for the time, may seem correct, but which in the light of further investigation prove inaccurate; and it is the part of each writer to improve upon the work of all his predecessors in this respect.

In the context of engineering, one of Mr. Dietle’s colleagues⁹⁵ has a saying: “*There’s always more to everything.*” The same is true of the study of historical events.

Background information on Pickawillany

Goodman’s background information on the Twightwee nation

Goodman’s 1871 book⁹⁶ provides background information on the Twightwee Indians, as follows:

For many years prior to the advent of English traders in the West, the Miamis had a village on the west side of the Great Miami river, at the mouth of what afterward became known as Loramies creek⁹⁷. That point was visited by the Coureurs des Bois⁹⁸ at an early day, and had become a place of note long previous to the alliance of the Miamis with the English. From the latter it received the name of “Tawixtwi town” until the building of a stockade, when it was called Pickawillany, though in some accounts we find the name “Pick town” applied to it.

English traders dealt with the Miamis at an early day, even while the latter were fully pledged to French interests. The Pennsylvania factors⁹⁹ seem to have been special favorites, for they sold their goods at half the price asked by the Coureurs des Bois. This was a matter of importance to the Indians, and doubtless had much to do with their subsequent friendly alliance with the English. It was not, however, until the year 1747 that the Miamis withdrew from French interests. That year, the conspiracy of Nicholas occurred, which threatened for a time the annihilation of French power in the West. The Miamis were fully in the plot, and performed the part assigned them by the capture and destruction of Fort Miami, at the confluence of the St. Joseph and St. Mary’s rivers. In 1748, at a treaty held at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the Miamis fully committed themselves to the care and protection of the English, an event which was hailed with great satisfaction by the colonists, and was equally as distasteful to the French government.

⁹⁵ Manmohan Singh Kalsi, PhD, P.E.

⁹⁶ One of the resources Goodman used was a set of relevant papers from the English archives. In his book on Trent, Goodman wrote: “*Regarding the establishment of Pickawillany and its subsequent capture by the French as events of peculiar interest to every student of Ohio history, and believing that papers existed among the English Archives which would throw light upon the same, we applied to the American minister at London to extend his good offices in procuring copies of all such papers. How cheerfully the request was complied with is shown by the following letter from Mr. Motley.*”

⁹⁷ Loramie Creek flows into the Miami River at Latitude 40.188904°, Longitude -84.241431° about 2½ miles north of Piqua Ohio, in Miami County; see [Figure 0806](#). For a photo of the site of Pickawillany, see [Figure 0809](#).

⁹⁸ In the context of trade within Canada, Volume 8 of Washington Irving’s 1849 book “**The works of Washington Irving**” describes the Coureurs des Bois as follows: “*A new and anomalous class of men gradually grew out of this trade. These were called coureurs des bois, rangers of the woods; originally men who had accompanied the Indians in their hunting expeditions, and made themselves acquainted with remote tracts and tribes; and who now became, as it were, pedlers of the wilderness. These men would set out from Montreal with canoes well stocked with goods, with arms and ammunition, and would make their way up the mazy and wandering rivers that interlace the vast forests of the Canadas, coasting the most remote lakes, and creating new wants and habitudes among the natives. Sometimes they sojourned for months among them, assimilating to their tastes and habits with the happy facility of Frenchmen; adopting in some degree the Indian dress, and not unfrequently taking to themselves Indian wives.*”

⁹⁹ According to Samuel Johnson’s 1768 book “**A dictionary of the English language**”, a factor is “*An agent for another; a substitute.*”

In the notice of the Miami tribe, elsewhere given, full particulars of this alliance will be found. The Tawixtwi town immediately became a place of importance to the factors. A number of houses were erected for the accommodation of goods and peltries. These were ordinary log cabins, the trading being carried on below, while an “upper story” or “loft” was used as a place to stow away skins and combustible material.

Douglass’s mid-eighteenth century view of the Twightwee nation

Volume II, pages 227 and 228, of Doctor William Douglass’s posthumous 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 before his sudden October 21, 1752 death:

*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 Twichetwheels, a large nation, much superior in numbers to all our Six nations¹⁰⁰, 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 Pennsylvania, 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 Twichetwheels, 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 Pennsylvania. 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. ...*

Greve’s book mentions English traders at Pickawillany in 1748

Greve’s 1904 book ([Appendix 0070](#)) mentions that English traders were already using an Indian trail out of “Will’s Creek on the Potomac” in 1748 to engage in trading with the Twightwee Indians at Pickawillany. Page 56 of Greve’s book states:

¹⁰⁰ Some historians indicate that the size of the Twightwee population was overestimated by the British. This opinion is borne out by Volume V of the “**Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania**”, which indicates that on July 21, 1748 “*The Commissioners gave a handsome Entertainment to the Deputies of the Twightwees and the Indians who conducted them from Ohio, and after Dinner enter’d into a free Conversation with them about the Numbers and Situation of their Towns and those of their Allies; and by their Informations it appears that ... the Twightwees and their Allies have Twenty Towns, and that they count one thousand fighting Men...*”

In July, 1748, the Twightwees or Miamis, pledged themselves to an English alliance at Lancaster. English traders are said to have been employed along the Wabash¹⁰¹ as early as 1723, and this treaty gave them additional security. As a result the pack men of Pennsylvania and Virginia pushed forward into the valley of the Ohio, the first coming along the wagon roads through Lancaster to Harris' Ferry, now Harrisburg, thence by bridle path to Will's Creek on to the Potomac¹⁰², from which an Indian trail led to the forks of the Ohio; from this point they took another trail to the towns of the Miamis.

Although the above quote is not clear about the date the “...pack men of Pennsylvania and Virginia pushed forward...”, page 57 of Greve's book indicates that it was in 1748, 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.

As proven by William Trent's October 20, 1748 letter to Richard Peters (quoted in the preceding chapter), Greve's 1748 date concerning British trade in the Ohio valley is correct.

Greve's 300 traders statement traces to a 1755 statement about Pennsylvania traders

The immediate origin of Greve's “three hundred English traders” statement may have been Francis Parkman's 1884 book “**Montcalm and Wolfe**”, which predates Greve's similar statements by 20 years, and follows Goodman's book by 13 years. Parkman 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 Croghan¹⁰³. 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

¹⁰¹ The Wabash is a river in Indiana that forms part of the border with Illinois, and flows into the Ohio River. According to a historical marker in Mascouten Park, in West Lafayette, Indiana, the river was called the “Wah-bah-shik-ki” by the Miami Indians.

¹⁰² Greve's postulated trading route from Harris' Ferry to the Twightwee town via Wills Creek is analyzed later in the chapter.

¹⁰³ Page 59 of Goodman's book indicates that William Trent and George Croghan were brothers-in-law, stating: “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 the subject, and renders the brother-in-law relationship doubtful.

traded with the distant Osages. It is said that about three hundred of them came over the mountains every year.

The ultimate source of the “three hundred English traders” statement appears to be the October 1755 article “*Of the French incroachments in America*” in “**The Scots Magazine**”, which 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.

Greve seems to imply that the 300 traders were a combination of Virginians and Pennsylvanians, but the 1755 quote only refers to Pennsylvanians. In the preface to his 1904 book about Cincinnati, Greve eloquently states the difficulties faced by historians:

The task of writing an account of so limited a portion of the earth as a single city does not in itself seem a very difficult one. Only those who have attempted it can appreciate the amount of labor such a task involves and the number of omissions and errors that must necessarily creep into such a work.

Goodman describes the Indian trade

On page 42 of his 1871 book, Goodman presents a list of 59 individuals he was able to identify who were “*persons engaged in traffic with the Miamis in Ohio between 1745 and 1753*”. After the list, Goodman states:

The traders’ goods were carried on pack-horses, along the old Indian trails which led to all the principal towns and villages. The articles of traffic on the part of the whites were fire-arms, gunpowder, lead, ball, knives, flints, hatchets, rings, rum, medals, blades, leather, cooking utensils, shirts, and other articles of wearing apparel; tobacco, pipes, paint, etc.¹⁰⁴ In return for these the Indians gave skins of various animals, which were made into valuable furs by Eastern merchants. It was very seldom that an Indian got the advantage of a white man in these barterings. Some of the traders would run regular “caravans” of fifteen or twenty horses, making several trips during the year. It is impossible to give any definite account of the extent of this traffic, but it must have amounted to great value. Thousands of skins were doubtless furnished by the Indians at Pickawillany and their other Ohio towns.

Trade with Europeans fundamentally changed Indian culture. What was once primarily a hunting and agriculture based society was transformed into a market based society that left the Indians largely dependent on European trade goods.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ For a 1737 inventory of an Indian trader’s goods, see William M. Hall’s 1890 book “**Reminiscences and Sketches, Historical and Biographical**”.

¹⁰⁵ For a concise presentation of this topic, see the 1994 book “**The Evolution of Transportation in Western Pennsylvania**”, which was published by the Department of the Interior.

Goodman references a 1748 meeting in Lancaster

Pages 22 and 23 of Goodman's book state that at a July 19, 1748 meeting at Lancaster with Pennsylvania state commissioners, the Miami Indians:

...expressed themselves as desirous of securing the friendship and alliance of their English fathers, and requested that a road be opened from their towns to the English settlements, and that a large number of traders be sent among them.

Here is the actual record. According to Volume V of the "**Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania**", the Twightwee message was sent the previous fall "*address'd to all the Tribes of Indians at Ohio & elsewhere in Amity with the English, which was deliver'd to the Shawonese as living nearest to them, and by them communicated to Us*":

We, the Twightwees, are desirous to enter into the chain of Friendship with the English; and as You are the next to Us of the Indians in their Alliance, we entreat You to signify this our Desire to the other Indians, and that You and they will open us a Council Road to the English Governments. Make it so clear and open for Us that neither we nor our Wives or Children may hurt their feet against any Log or Stump; and when once You have cleared a Road for Us we assure you we will keep it so, and it shall not be in the power of Onontio¹⁰⁶ to block up or obstruct the passage. We further desire of You that when you have cleared a Council Road for us to the English, you and the other Indians will join your Interest to recommend us in the most effectual manner to them to be admitted into their Chain.

Although this may seem to be a reference to a physical road, it is a reference to friendly relations. The last word, "*Chain*", refers to the metaphorical chain of friendship. The answer sent back to the Twightwee indicates that the Twightwee request was interpreted as a desire for friendly relations:

We received your String of Wampum expressing your desire to enter into Friendship with our Brethren, the English, and praying our Assistance to obtain this for you. We are glad you are in this Disposition, and wou'd, by all means, encourage you in it; but we are afraid lest you shou'd have taken this Resolution too hastily. Are you proof against the solicitations that the Governor of Canada and his People will certainly use to engage your adherence to him? Can you withstand his Resentment? Consider this well, lest when we shall have recommended you to our Brethren the English, you shou'd prove unsteady, and so we shou'd lose their Esteem. Take, therefore, we urge you, time to consider & let us know your mind, & we will give you all the assistance in our Power.

The Twightwee reply confirms they were seeking "*Friendship of the English*". The "**Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania**" states: "*The Twightwees having received this answer, sent in the Spring a second Message address'd to all the Indians on Ohio in alliance with the English*":

Our Message in the Fall was not sent rashly or unadvisedly. We thought many Nights & Days of this Affair. We weighed every thing well relating thereto before we took the Resolution of seeking the Friendship of the English, and we now repeat to you our Assurances that this Request does not come from the Mouth only; no, it comes from the heart, and is what we ardently wish to accomplish, and that we may not fail of Success we desire your assistance and that of all the

¹⁰⁶ According to page 74 of the 1998 book "**Contact points: American frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830**", "*Onontio*" was a reference to the French Governor in North America.

Indians in the English Chain to help us to obtain this favour, and particularly we desire some of you will go along with us and present us to Onas¹⁰⁷.

On July 20, 1748, at Lancaster, Andrew Montour spoke on behalf of the Twightwee deputies, stating:

Brethren:

We present to You the Calumet Pipe, and pray we may be admitted to become a Link in your Chain of Friendship, & give you the strongest assurances if this favour be granted to us that we will keep it bright as long as the Rivers run.

Brethren:

We, the Deputies of the Twightwees, have it in Charge further to tell you that our Nation received a Calumet Pipe from some of the Allies, consisting of twelve Towns or Nations, with a Message to this Effect: That they had a Report among them that we intended to solicit the English to be received into their Friendship and Alliance. That if such Report was true they desired us to acquaint them with our Success, that they might apply for the same favour, which they earnestly desire, and said they would wait a Day & a Night for an answer.

Brethren:

You have now heard the Twightwees speak for themselves. We heartily join with them in their Petition. They are numerous, and tho' poor yet they are worthy of your Friendship, and as such we most heartily recommend them to you by this bundle of Skins.

On July 21, 1748, the commissioners replied:

As there is reason to think from the manner in which the Twightwees have made their Application for a Council Road to the English Provinces, that it is not a sudden or a hasty step, but well considered by them, & may take its rise from the different Treatment which Indians of all Nations meet with at the hands of the English from what they experience while in the French Interest, we are inclinable to think them sincere, and that when admitted into our Chain they will not likely break it.

A council road to this province is a measure which nearly concerns you, as it is to be laid out thro' your towns, and no doubt you have thought well of this, and conceive you may depend on the sincerity of their professions, and that it may be for our mutual benefit, or you would not join with them in making this request. At your instance, therefore, and from the opinion we have of your prudence and integrity, we consent that such road may be opened, and it may be depended on that on our part it will always be kept clean, not the least obstruction shall be suffered to remain in it.

At the Intercession of our good Friends & Allies the Six Nations we have granted you a Council Road, whereby you have free access to any of His Majestie's Provinces; we admit you into our Friendship and Alliance, and, therefore, now call you Brethren, an appellation which we hold sacred, and in which is included every thing that is dear. It obliges us to give you assistance on all occasions, to exercise unfeigned affection towards you, to take you into our Bosoms, to use our Eyes and Ears and Hands as well for you as for ourselves. Nothing is put in competition by an

¹⁰⁷ "Onas" was a name the Indians applied to Penn, and subsequent governors. The 1813 book "**Memoirs of the private and public life of William Penn**" states: "...the Indians perpetuated the memory of William Penn by giving the name of Onas to every succeeding Governor of Pennsylvania..."

Englishman with the Faith and Honour due to those whom our Gracious King pleases to take into his Protection, admit into his Chain of Friendship, and make them our Fellow Subjects. From that Moment they become our own Flesh and Blood, and what hurts them will equally hurt us. Do you on your parts look upon this Important Name of Brethren in the same Light; You must no more think of Onontio & his Children, all that sort of Relationship now ceases — His Majesty's Friends are your Friends, and his Majesty's Enemies are your Enemies. On these Conditions we accept your Calumet Pipe, and shall lay it up very carefully that it may be always ready for use when you and we come together. In token of our readiness to receive you into our Chain of Friendship, we present you with this Double Belt of Wampum as an Emblem of Union.

A treaty of friendship was signed on July 23, 1748, as recorded in Volume 5 of Hazard's "**Colonial records of Pennsylvania**". The treaty makes no mention of a road.

Was Goodman correct in interpreting Twightwee communications as being something more than a request for friendship and alliance? Was the "*council road*"¹⁰⁸ that was requested and granted a physical road or simply an allegorical reference to friendship? The answer is apparent. Goodman was wrong about the communications referencing a physical road. Clearly, the English adopted various Indian metaphors to communicate their desire for peaceful relations.

Goodman indicates the Twightwee Road came to Wills Creek

On page 24 of his book, Goodman indicates that several of the colonies helped the Twightwee Indians with their trail. He states:

Early in the year 1749, the governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia rendered the Ohio Indians much service in clearing the trail which ran from the Miami country to the forks of the Ohio, and from thence to the mouth of Willis (sic) creek at the Potomac. This road, leading directly to the forks, was easy of access to the Pennsylvanians, who had a good horse path from that point to Harris' Ferry, where Harrisburg now stands. From thence to Lancaster and Philadelphia was a wagon road. It was very expensive to the Virginians to be obliged to carry their goods north to the forks, and from thence to the Great Miami and the Wabash. The result was the Pennsylvanians sold their goods cheaper.

One wonders what Goodman bases the first sentence on. If evidence of such assistance really existed beyond Goodman's misinterpretation of road-related metaphors, it would presumably indicate where the route that allegedly interested Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia was located. It seems doubtful that Pennsylvania would help Maryland and Virginia improve the route from the Three Forks region to Wills Creek, and it seems equally doubtful that Maryland and Virginia would help Pennsylvania improve the route that connected Harris' Ferry with Three Forks. If such alleged state help was really given (which is extremely doubtful), it would more likely relate to the route between

¹⁰⁸ Another mid-eighteenth century example of the use of the term "*Council Road*" is a speech that was given to various western Indians, including Twightwee, on August 14, 1762 at Lancaster. That speech, which also includes the clear use of the "*Council Fire*" metaphor, states:

It gave me great satisfaction Yesterday, to hear you declare your Intentions to keep open the Council Road between your Nation & us. As a small Interruption on that Communication may be attended with dangerous Consequences to us both, I heartily join with you in keeping the Road open & perfectly clear from Obstructions, for our mutual use and advantage.

I likewise take it kind in you to heap up dry wood on our Council Fire, and I, on my part, shall still add more Wood to it, that the smoke thereof may be seen by the most distant Nations of Indians, to the sun setting, that are in Friendship with his Majesty's Subjects.

Three Forks and Pickawillany. The 1749 date means that any of the alleged help would be unrelated to the Ohio Company road.

Although Goodman's alleged "*help*" seems clearly to be the result of misinterpreted metaphor, the rest of the above quoted paragraph of Goodman is insightful. It is also frequently misunderstood, as explained below.

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

In the above quote, "*that point*" is clearly a reference to the Forks of the Ohio. In other words, according to Goodman, the Pennsylvanians came to the forks by a different route, and then traveled to Pickawillany along the "*the trail which ran from the Miami country to the forks of the Ohio*". Greve must have read and misunderstood Goodman's statement when (as previously quoted) he wrote "*the pack men of Pennsylvania ... pushed forward into the valley of the Ohio, the first coming along the wagon roads through Lancaster to Harris' Ferry, now Harrisburg, thence by bridle path to Will's Creek on to the Potomac*".

Other books also seem to have misunderstood Goodman

A number of books written after Goodman's 1871 book make statements similar to Greve, and could also be Greve's source. For example, Justin Winsor's 1895 book "**The Mississippi basin; The struggle in America between England and France**" was published after Goodman's book, and describes Pennsylvania traders traveling from Harris' Ferry to Wills Creek on the way to the Twightwee villages. Winsor, obviously drawing from Goodman's book, states:

The packmen of Pennsylvania and Virginia now pushed boldly into the Ohio valley. Those from the Quaker province had some advantage over their rivals in a better route, for, leaving Philadelphia, there was a wagon road through Lancaster to Harris's Ferry (Harrisburg), and a bridle path thence to Will's Creek on the Potomac, from which the path was continued by an Indian trail to the forks of the Ohio (Pittsburgh). From this point there was another Indian path to the Miamis' towns. On the west branch of the Susquehanna, from a point known as the Great Island, Indian paths ran also in different directions, and one crossed the mountains to the Alleghany. A late writer has said that, at many places in the mountains, these beaten tracks can still be seen.

The most obvious route from Harris' Ferry to Wills Creek was to head west using the main path that went directly from Harris' Ferry to the Forks of the Ohio, then turn southward onto a side path in the vicinity of Raystown. Why take such an out of the way detour through Wills Creek to the Forks of the Ohio? Logic suggests that Winsor and Greve simply misinterpreted Goodman.

A 1752 route from Philadelphia to the closest Twightwee village

The "**Pennsylvania Archives**" delineates the route from Philadelphia to the first Twightwee village, as described to the governor of Pennsylvania by Hugh Crawford and Andrew Montour on April 16, 1752; see [Figure 0514](#). Their route passed through the Harris' Ferry area, and clearly did not detour through Wills Creek. Instead, it passed through Frankstown, Two Licks, Round Holes, the Forks of the Ohio, Logstown, and "*Hockockon*", and then detoured through the Lower Shawenese Town on the way to "*the first Pict Town on a Branch of Ohio*". Mitchell's map ([Figure 0580](#)) shows the trader's route between Frankstown, Pennsylvania and Pickawillany that passes through Logstown and Hockhocken (Margaret's Town).

Frankstown is just east of Altoona, Pennsylvania, at latitude 40.443967°, longitude -78.354793°, about 64 miles north of Cumberland, Maryland and 94 miles due east of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania using present-day roads. According to page 53 of Wallace's book "**Indian Paths of Pennsylvania**", Two Licks was a well-known camping site about a quarter-mile east of where Ramsey Run enters Two Licks Creek. The mouth of Ramsey Run is at Latitude 40.591568°, Longitude -79.110433°, and is about 49 miles west of Frankstown using present-day roads.

According to page 79 of Wallace's book, Round Holes was located near Spring Church, Pennsylvania. Spring Church is located at Latitude 40.606541°, Longitude -79.489582°, and is about 23 miles west of the mouth of Ramsey Run, and about 34 miles northeast of the Forks of the Ohio at Pittsburgh. Clearly, at least some Pennsylvania traders took a relatively direct route from Philadelphia to Hockhocking (Margaret's Town), and did not pass through the Wills Creek area.

Hanna describes the path from Logstown to Pickawillany

Chapter VIII of Charles Hanna's 1911 book "**The Wilderness Trail**" includes a 42-page chapter titled "*The Pickawillany Path*" that provides a detailed look at events concerning Pickawillany. It describes the path from Logstown to Pickawillany as follows:

When Gist travelled from Logstown to the Lower Shawnee Town, he followed the Main Path as far as to Hockhocking, which led both to Lower Shawnee Town and to Pickawillany. This path divided some fifteen to twenty miles west of Hockhocking (now Lancaster, Fairfield County, Ohio), the main branch leading southwards along the Scioto to the Lower Shawnee Town at its mouth; and the newer branch leading westward to Pickawillany. The path forked at or in the neighborhood of Maguck, which stood on the Pickaway Plains, in the present county of Pickaway, some three and one-half miles south of Circleville. Maguck, according to Gist's distances, was fifteen miles southwest of Hockhocking. The distance between Lancaster, Ohio, and Circleville, to-day, by the Cincinnati & Muskingum Valley Railroad, is twenty-one miles; so that Maguck was quite that far from Hockhocking. On his map of 1755, Lewis Evans shows the trail leading from Hockhocking, or French Margaret's Town, westward to Pickawillany; and crossing the Scioto at a point a few miles north of a Delaware town which Evans locates on the west bank of Scioto, and which may be intended for Maguck. At the point where the trail reaches the west bank, Evans shows that it was intersected by a north and south trail connecting the Wyandot town on Sandusky Bay with the Lower Shawnee Town. From the point of this intersection, the Pickawillany Path leads in a southwest direction, "35 miles," to the head waters of the Little Miami River, and three miles beyond to the crossing of Mad Creek; thence, almost directly, west, "30 miles," to "Picque Town," or Pickawillany. Gist stated that, to have returned with Croghan from Mad Creek to Maguck, while on his way back to the Lower Shawnee Town, would have taken him some sixty or seventy miles out of his way. As a matter of fact, the site of Pickawillany is distant from the site of Maguck some sixty-eight miles west, and forty-five miles north; or about eighty-one miles on a direct line.

As no record of the path between these two points has been preserved, we can only assume that its general direction was northwest (though Evans's map makes the course southwest), across the present counties of Pickaway, Madison, Clark, Champaign, Logan, and Miami. One of the later Indian trails, which may have followed the course of the old Pickawillany Path, ran from the Scioto up the Darby Valley for some twenty miles, then proceeded in a northwest direction to Deer Creek, following that stream, possibly on the west side, to its head; thence across the head waters

of Buck Creek, crossing Mad River above the present city of Urbana; thence southwest across the head of Rush Creek to the Great Miami. Governor Horatio Sharpe wrote from Maryland to Governor Morris, December 10, 1754, that he had “received advice that about 300 French families have settled this Fall at the Mad Creek, a great deal on this side the Twigtwee Town, and not far from the Maguak [Maguck].”

The Kittanning Path met the Pickawillany Path

Albert Bushnell Hart’s 1919 book “**A teacher’s manual accompanying the Hart-Bolton American history maps**” indicates the Kittanning¹⁰⁹ Path met the Pickawillany Path at the present-day location of Pittsburgh, stating:

The use of the trails, especially by the Indians, led to their becoming the earliest land ways for the pioneers. Of these trails it is especially interesting to note the following ... from the Susquehanna, called the Kittanning Path, past the Indian village of that name to the future site of Pittsburgh; thence continued as the Pickawillany Path across the Middle Scioto, where it intersects the Great Warrior Path leading southward from Lake Erie, to Pickawillany village on the upper Miami...

According to Wallace’s book, a portion of the Frankstown Path (running from Frankstown to Kittanning, with a branch to Pittsburgh) was known locally as the Kittanning Path.

A 1754 route from Harris’ Ferry to the Twigtwee villages

The “**Pennsylvania Archives**” provides John Harris’ description of the route from Harris’ Ferry to Logstown in 1754 via Ray’s Town, Edmond’s Swamp, Kickenapaulin’s,¹¹⁰ and Loyal Haning; see [Figure 0515](#).¹¹¹ From Logstown, a route went to Pickawillany. Ray’s Town refers to the vicinity of what is now Bedford, Pennsylvania; Edmond’s Swamp refers to a site located about two and one half miles north of Buckstown, Pennsylvania; Kickenapaulin’s was at the site of the Quemahoning reservoir; and Loyal Haning¹¹² (Loyalhanna) refers to what is now Ligonier, Pennsylvania. Clearly, this route did not pass through the Wills Creek area, and was much more direct than the route Winsor and Greve describe. The circa 1753 map of the Ohio country **attributed to John Patten** ([Figure 0585](#)) also shows a path running through Raystown and Logstown, and then running deep into the Ohio Country to “*Miamis T*”. (See Eavenson’s 1949 book “**Map Maker and Indian Traders**” or Brown’s 1959 book “**Early Maps of the Ohio Valley 1673 to 1783**”.)

¹⁰⁹ According to William C. Reichel’s study of Moravian missionary John Heckewelder’s papers, published in Volume 1 of the 1876 “**Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society**”, Kittanning is “*corrupted from Kit-hánne, in Minsi Delaware, Gieht-hánne, signifying, the main stream, i.e., in its region of country.*”

¹¹⁰ John Armstrong had a military post at Kickenapaulin’s during Forbes’ campaign, and describes the place in a July 26, 1758 letter, stating: “*some of the Ground Cleared some time ago by the Indians*”. In an August 8, 1758 letter, Bouquet mentions Armstrong’s post, and states: “*I shall march to Loyal Hannon before the road is open from Kickeny Pawlins.*” In an August 15, 1758 letter, Col. Stevens writes that the post at Kickeny Paulins has been reinforced. In an August 16, 1758 letter, Saint Clair wrote “*A small retrench^t is picked out at Kikeny Pawlings.*” Thomas Barton’s August 18, 1758 journal entry locates Armstrong’s post at Quemahoning Creek, stating: “*We...encamp’d within 4 Miles of Major Armstrong’s Post at Quimahony Creek.*” In an August 23, 1758 letter, Bouquet wrote “*Col. Armstrong is to command at Kickeny Pawlins and along the Communication from the Gap of the Allegheny to the foot of Lawrell Hill*”. According to the March 11, 1975 issue of the “**Somerset Daily American**”, Armstrong’s fortification at Kickenapaulin’s was then still faintly discernible when the water of the Quemahoning Reservoir was low.

¹¹¹ The original Harris document is in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. See the article titled “*John Harris’ 1754 route to the Forks of the Ohio*” in the March 4, 2012 issue of the “**Pittsburgh Post Gazette**”.

¹¹² According to William C. Reichel’s study of Moravian missionary John Heckewelder’s papers, published in Volume 1 of the 1876 “**Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society**”, Loyalhanna is “*corrupted from Laweel-hánne, signifying, the middle stream.*”

A description of Harris' Ferry

Volume XII of Samuel Hazard's 1855 "**Pennsylvania Archives**" has an article titled "*At Harris Ferry*" which states:

Few places were at this time better known at home and abroad than Harris's ferry, now Harrisburg. It was on the high way from Philadelphia to all the forts on the Susquehanna, and the depository of troops and provisions. Its owner the first John Harris settled very early here, and established a ferry, he died in 1748, and was buried under his mulberry tree now enclosed. His son, John Harris, born about 1726, and founder of Harrisburg, was generally on very friendly terms with the Indians, and was relied upon very much by the whites for his advice and assistance.

A footnote about John Harris, the son, states:

John Harris (founder of Harrisburg.) born about 1726, died July 29th 1791, aged 65, buried at Paxton, fixed his habitation on the bank of the river, below the grave yard, and he dug the well now existing there, – about 20 years ago the cellar of one of his buildings was visible. He traded extensively with the Indians, and had connected with his house, a large range of sheds which were sometimes literally filled with skins and furs, mostly obtained by him in traffic with the Indians and stored there by the Indian traders who brought them from the Western Country. "These skins and furs were carried at an early day on pack horses to Philadelphia."

Rupp, from Napey's Harrisburg Directory, p. 225.¹¹³

Some traders did use a road from Harris' Ferry to the Potomac River

Doctor William Douglass's posthumously published 1755 book "**A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North-America.**" describes a road that connected with the Potomac River at a location relatively distant from Wills Creek. Douglass died on October 21, 1752¹¹⁴, so his book obviously references the period prior to that date. Volume II, page 313 of his book states:

The Indian traders set out from the beginning of May, and continue three or four months out; they buy the skins not of the Indians, but of settlers who deal with the Indians, called by the Dutch name of handelaars or traders; they purchase only with gold and silver, and carry their skins in wagons to Piladelphia; the road is about twenty miles below the foot of the blue mountains. They Travel from Philadelphia to Lancaster sixty miles (Lancaster is ten miles east of Sesquahana river) thence forty miles to Paxton or Harris's ferry, thence forty miles to Shippensburg in the province of Pennsylvania, thence forty-five miles to Potomack river (the width of Maryland is here about twenty miles) which divides Maryland from Virginia.

Page 332 of Douglass's book states:

...the Pennsylvania Indian traders purchase deer-skins and a few furs from the Indians of Delaware and Sesquahanna rivers, and from the handelaars, back of Maryland and Virginia...

Page 358 of Douglass's book states:

¹¹³ This is a citation within the footnote.

¹¹⁴ According to an article about Douglass in Volume 31 of the 1877 "**The New England historical and genealogical register**", "He died 'very suddenly,' in Boston, Oct. 21, 1752, in his own house in Green Dragon Lane, intestate."

In the trading road by Harris's ferry on Sesquahana river, the breadth of Maryland from Pennsylvania boundary line to Potomack river does not exceed eight miles, but higher it is said to widen again. N. B. Paxton on Sesquahana river, is the trading place in this road.

Where did Douglass's route to the Potomac terminate?

Douglass's stated distance from Shippensburg to the Potomac River seems to describe a route ending somewhere along the Potomac between the present-day locations of Williamsport and Hancock, Maryland.

Williamsport is near the mouth of Conococheague¹¹⁵ Creek. On February 28, 1755, Governor Morris wrote a letter to Sir John St. Clair from Philadelphia which stated:

There is an open Waggon Road from this Town to the Mouth of Conegoechege which I am told is a very good one, by which any Quantity of Provisions may be carried and along which the Northern Forces may march and join the Europeans at Winchester with only crossing three small Ferries...

According to page 44 of Paul A. W. Wallace's book "**Indians in Pennsylvania**", a path early settlers referred to as the "Virginia Path" or "Great Trail" ran between the present-day location of Harrisburg and the mouth of Conococheague Creek,¹¹⁶ and another path known as the Allegheny Path ran between the present-day locations of Harrisburg and Pittsburgh. Wallace's book indicates the Virginia Path continued on through Winchester, Virginia and into the Carolinas. What Wallace refers to may be the "Great Road" that is shown on the 1755 Fry and Jefferson map.

Lewis Evans' 1749 map of eastern Pennsylvania ([Figure 0475](#)) shows the "Allegheny Path" as a westward path from Harris' Ferry, and shows several roads connecting Harris' Ferry to the Potomac River. One is the road to Williams Ferry (Watkin's Ferry in 1744, now Williamsport, Maryland) that was laid out in 1735. Rupp's 1844 "**History of Lancaster County**" reports on the road briefly:

The Court of Nov. term, 1735, appointed Handle Chambers, Jacob Peat, James Silvers, Thomas Eastland, John Lawrence and Abraham Endless, to view and lay out a road from Harris Ferry towards Potomac, so as best to answer the necessities of the inhabitants.

Volume 3 of William Henry Egle's 1896 "**Notes and queries: Chiefly relating to Interior Pennsylvania**" provides Edward McPherson's detailed account of the Pennsylvania portion of this route. The proposed 1735 route was a source of contention, and the matter went unresolved for a number of years.

Evans' map shows this road passing southwest through Shippensburg from Harris' Ferry, ending at the Potomac River near the mouth of "Conegoge's Cr." (Conococheague Creek). There, at Williams Ferry, the route joined the "Great Wagon Road". On the Fry and Jefferson map, the "Great Wagon Road" is variously labeled "The Great Road from the Yadkin River thro Virginia to Philadelphia", "Indian Road by the Treaty of Lancaster", "Waggon Road", and "The Great Waggon Road to

¹¹⁵ According to William C. Reichel's study of Moravian missionary John Heckewelder's papers, published in Volume 1 of the 1876 "**Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society**", the word "Conococheague" is "corrupted from Guneukitschik, signifying indeed a long way! A name expressive of impatience manifested by a company of Indians traveling along the stream."

¹¹⁶ Philemon Lloyd's 1721 map "Powtowmeck above ye Inhabitants" ([Figure 0992](#)) identifies "An Indian Traders Habitation" at the mouth of "Cunnatechegue Creek".

Philadelphia". The road from Shippensburg to the mouth of Conococheague Creek is also shown on Nicholas Scull's 1759 map ([Figure 0789](#)).¹⁹⁰⁶¹¹⁷

Evans' 1749 map and the 1755 Fry and Jefferson map also show a road from Shippensburg that terminates on the Potomac River midway between the present-day sites of Fort Frederick State Park and Hancock, Maryland. This termination point was probably somewhere in the general vicinity of the southern end of the present-day Orchard Ridge and Pecktonville roads. Such a termination point matches Douglass's stated 45-mile distance from Shippensburg to the Potomac River nicely. For example, the southern end of Orchard Ridge Road is 45.3 miles from Shippensburg and 44 miles from the site of Fort Cumberland using present-day roads.

There had to be a reason that particular route ran southwest at such an early date, reaching a termination point on the Potomac River that was perhaps 20 miles west of William's Ferry. Logically, that reason may have something to do with using the Potomac River for transportation to and from some point farther west for fur trading purposes.

No wagon road existed from Conococheague Creek to Fort Cumberland in 1755

Several contemporaneous documents indicate that no road ran between Conococheague Creek and Fort Cumberland, even as late as 1755. According to the January 1902 issue of "**The West Virginia Historical Magazine Quarterly**", Washington wrote a May 14, 1755 letter to Major John Carlyle from Cumberland, stating:

Col. Dunbar's regiment was obliged to recross at Connogogee and come down within 6 miles of Winchester to take the new road to Will's Creek, which, from the absurdity of the thing, was laughable enough.

According to the same publication, Braddock's aide¹¹⁸ Robert Orme wrote the following in his journal:

It was above a month before the necessary ammunition and stores could be transported from Rock Creek to Conogogee, and as the Potomac was not then navigable, even by the smallest canoes, new difficulties arose in providing wagons to send them to Fort Cumberland. As no road had been made to Will's Creek on the Maryland side of the Potomac, the 48th regiment, which had crossed from Alexandria at Rock Creek and reached Frederick, was obliged to cross the Potomac at Conogogee and fall into the Virginia road near Winchester.

Although not documentary evidence, page 1342 of Scharf's 1882 book "**History of Western Maryland**" makes a confused reference to "*the Indian trail from Conococheague to the West*".

The Library of Congress copy of the June 23, 1755 Lewis Evans map shows some kind of route between Conococheague Creek and Fort Cumberland ([Figure 0003](#)). How early this route was in place

¹¹⁷ Nicholas Scull and his descendants are covered extensively in Volume III of the 1906 book "**History of Bedford and Somerset Counties...**"

¹¹⁸ According to Volume VI of the "**Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania**", Robert Orme ([Figure 0981](#)) was an aide to General Braddock. According to a July 18, 1755 letter he wrote to Governor Sharpe describing Braddock's defeat, Robert Orme was wounded in the thigh during the attack. Orme's journal is one of the primary sources of information on Braddock's campaign.

is not known, but obviously, it was not a wagon road in May of 1755.¹¹⁹ The lack of a wagon road, however, does not disprove the presence of a trader's path.

The Ohio Company boated between Conococheague Creek and Wills Creek

According to Alfred Procter James' 1959 book "**The Ohio Company: its inner history**", at least one group of traders (the Ohio Company of Virginia) used a boat for transportation between the mouths of Conococheague Creek and Wills Creek. James' statement probably relies on the February 6, 1753 Ohio Company record that states: "*Conococheegee ... from whence they may go by Water in the Companys Boat to their Store house at Wills Creek about forty miles...*" Going from Virginia to Wills Creek via the Potomac River makes sense, but it is less obvious why anyone would go through Wills Creek when traveling from Harris' Ferry to the Forks of the Ohio.

There were other routes connecting Harris' Ferry to Wills Creek

The Fry and Jefferson map ([Figure 0009](#)) shows a fragment of a wagon road going from Fort Cumberland "*to Philadelphia*", but the road was not complete. An April 24, 1755 letter from General Braddock to Governor Morris states: "*I have found it necessary to contract in Pennsylvania for Wagons and Horses to attend me over the Mountains, and have already discovered the very great Inconvenience of not having a Road from Philadelphia to Wills' Creek, as the March of these Wagons must for Want of it be greatly delayed, and consequently cannot join me so soon or in so good Condition as they otherwise might.*" Although still incomplete as a wagon road in 1755, the route may have existed as a path before then. Captain Snow's colored 1754 map ([Figure 0005](#)) illustrates an eastward route that probably is the same as the one on the Fry and Jefferson map; Snow labels it the "*Road to Pensylvania*". Curiously, Snow's map places the state line at Latitude 40°, which runs through the town of Somerset, Pennsylvania. If the "*Road to Pensylvania*" truly was so close to Latitude 40°, then it could be the route running eastward from Raystown. Given the schematic nature of both maps, it is not possible to draw any firm conclusions. It may be that Snow's map simply repeats the latitude error of the Mayo map.

Mitchell's 1755 map ([Figure 0580](#)) illustrates a route from the Wills Creek area to Raystown. From there, the map depicts a route to Philadelphia. The route from the Wills Creek area is shown to start out on the west side of Wills Creek and then cross over to the east side. It may, therefore, be intended to represent a portion of the "*Warriors Path: Through Manns Choice*" that Wallace illustrates as crossing to the east side of Wills Creek near Hyndman. Between Corriganville and Braddocks Run, this Warriors Path and the Turkey Foot Path followed the same route.

¹¹⁹ An improved road between Fort Cumberland and the mouth of Conococheague Creek was begun in 1758. A March 21, 1758 letter from General Forbes to Governor Sharpe states: "*And you will be so good to give your orders, about the Road leading from Williams's Ferry, to Fort Cumberland, espetially the Road from Colonel Cressop's to Fort Cumberland, which may be mended in some measure, by your people now at that Fort.*" A June 13, 1758 letter from Bouquet at "Conigogegh" to Sharpe states: "*As it will be of the greatest benefit to His Majesty's Service, to have a road of communication open from Each of the Provinces to Fort Cumberland. I am under the necessity of requesting of you, to have the straightest Road reconnoitred, leading from Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland: Recommending to those you appoint to mark it out. to report the time that 500 men will take to cut it:*" A June 28, 1758 letter from Sharpe to St. Clair states: "*I shall order Capt Dagworthy to begin to clear the new Road from Fort Cumberland to the Old Town Creek but he is too weak to spare many Men for that Service...*" A June 29, 1758 letter from Sharpe to Tasker states: "*...a Party of fifteen or Sixteen Indians about a fortnight ago fired upon six Men of a Party which had been ordered out under the Command of Ensign Beall to repair the Road between Fort Cumberland & the Old Town...*" The December 15, 1758 proceedings of the Lower House of the Maryland Assembly prove that the road was then complete between Cresap's and Fort Cumberland, stating: "*From Col. Cresap's to Fort Cumberland wants no clearing 15 Miles*".

Based on the Warriors Path map in Wallace's book, a traveler could have taken the Raystown Path from Harris' Ferry, turning south toward Wills Creek at Raystown, following what Wallace refers to interchangeably as the "*Warriors Path: Through Raystown*" and the "*Cumberland Path*" to Wills Creek. Based on the circa 1755 map included as [Figure 0012](#), and the similar "*Mr. Armstrong's rough draft of the country to the west of Susquehanna*" ([Figure 0787](#)), a traveler also could have followed a different Warriors Path from the Raystown Path to Isaac Colliar's place,¹²⁰ and then follow a path to Wills Creek. Curiously, Thomas Cresap's residence is not shown on these maps.

A provable 1751 route between Pennsylvania and Wills Creek

A table of distances to the Ohio in 1754, published in the "**Pennsylvania Archives**", appears to document a then-existing path between Cresap's and Wills Creek, stating: "*New store at the mouth of Wills creek on Potomack to Cressaps fifteen miles.*" Although no maps have been found that show a path from Thomas Cresap's residence¹²¹ to Wills Creek before 1755, the existence of such a path can be proven by logic. Page 57 of the 1884 book "**History of Bedford, Somerset and Fulton Counties...**" provides an undocumented clue, mentioning traders "*from the provinces of Maryland and Virginia, who passed over the Indian trail leading from Old Town, Maryland, to the Youghiogheny.*" Oldtown, 14 miles southeast of Cumberland, is well-known as the site of Thomas Cresap's early residence along the "*Great Warriors Path*", as documented on the historical marker shown by [Figure 0931](#). That path ran northward via Flintstone¹²² into Pennsylvania, passing through what is now Everett on the Raystown path. This provides a possible route to Cresap's residence for Pennsylvania traders. Christopher Gist's October 31, 1750 journal entry proves that the "*Great Warriors Path*" was then in existence, stating:

Set out from Colo Thomas Cresap's at the Old Town¹²³ on Potomack River in Maryland, and went along an old Indian Path N 30 E about 11 Miles.

The Ohio Company's July 16, 1751 instructions to Gist, quoted at length in Chapter 6, state:

...otherwise as soon as You can conveniently You are to apply to Col. Cresap for such of the Company's Horses, as You shall want for the Use of yourself and such other Person or Persons You shall think necessary to carry with You; and You are to look out & observe the nearest & most convenient Road You can find from the Company's Store at Wills's Creek to a Landing at Mohongeyela...

¹²⁰ John Jacob's book on the life of Michael Cresap states: "*Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of Colonel Thomas Cresap, was married to a Mr. Isaac Collier, from Pennsylvania, who was rather a dissipated character.*" A Collier Run joins the Potomac River southeast of Cumberland at Latitude 39.566862°, Longitude -78.725042°, about seven miles west of Thomas Cresap's residence.

¹²¹ Thomas Cresap was established in western Maryland by 1744. The Indian Chief Cannassatego gave a speech at Lancaster in June of 1744 that mentions "*...all those Lands lying two miles above the uppermost Fork of Potowmack or Cohonguruton river near which Thomas Cresap has a Hunting or Trading Cabin...*" Charles Anderson lived at Oldtown before Thomas Cresap, as shown by the 1736 map of [Figure 0990](#). Thomas Jefferson's 1787 "*map of the country between Albemarle Sound, and Lake Erie*" shows an Anderson living at the mouth of Flintstone Creek.

¹²² A historical marker at Flintstone titled "*The Warrior's Path*" states: "*War path of the five nations from central New York to the Carolinas. One of the longest Indian trails in America, crossed this highway about this point.*" The marker is located at Latitude 39.702000°, Longitude -78.564433°, in a schoolyard.

¹²³ A photo in the March 1972 issue of the "**Heritage News**" purports to show foundation stones from Thomas Cresap's fortified residence. The "*Shawnee Old Fields Village Archeological Site*" is property AL-II-B-010 on the Maryland Historical Trust's Inventory of Historic Properties. The 2011 National Park Service paper "**A Path Through the Mountains**" puts the Indian village site on the island located at Latitude 39.536748°, Longitude -78.609958°, and includes a magnetometer survey and an aerial cropmark photo ([Figure 0994](#)) that show several circular palisaded village sites. The same paper shows artifacts from Cresap's residence ([Figure 0993](#)), and details an archaeological dig at the Cresap site.

Logically, these instructions can only mean that a path between Oldtown and Wills Creek already existed in 1751.¹²⁴ The Ohio Company would not have asked Gist to take horses from Cresap's residence westward via Wills Creek, if no reasonable connecting path existed. Therefore, this path, combined with the "*Great Warriors Path*", provides another route that Pennsylvania traders could have taken westward from Harris' ferry via Wills Creek. The question is this: Why would anyone detour through Wills Creek on the way to the Forks of the Ohio when the Raystown Path went directly to the Forks of the Ohio?

Without specific documentary evidence that traders did travel through Wills Creek enroute from Harris' Ferry to the Forks of the Ohio, the mere *possibility* that they could have done so does not seem to vindicate Winsor and Greve. A route from Harris' Ferry to the Forks of the Ohio via Wills Creek is so roundabout that it seems somewhat implausible, unless it had something to do with the storehouse at Wills Creek. Even that seems somewhat implausible, because Harris' Ferry was the site of a trading post where one could presumably trade furs for goods. Goodman himself indicates the Pennsylvanians did have a more direct route from Harris' Ferry to the Forks of the Ohio, and John Harris described the route in 1754, as detailed above.

Traders congregated at Wills Creek by mid-November, 1753

According to Washington's journal from his 1753 trip to "*deliver a letter to the commandant of the French forces on the Ohio*", there was a "*new road*" from Winchester to Wills Creek by November 14, 1753. On that date, while at Wills Creek, Washington hired several traders to accompany him on his journey; this proves that traders were congregating by then at Wills Creek. At the time of Washington's November 13, 1753 journal entry, at least some portion of the Ohio Company road had also been built¹²⁵. Even though Washington's journal sheds light on the 1753 situation, it does nothing to clarify what the situation was at Wills Creek before the June 21, 1752 attack on Pickawillany, and before the Ohio Company road and the new road from Winchester had been built. It seems reasonable, however, to assume that traders began congregating at Wills Creek no later than the time Ohio Company goods became available at the storehouse.

What about Washington's letter to Bouquet?

Volume 2, pages 302 to 307 of Sparks' 1833 book "**The Writings of George Washington**" ([Appendix 0016](#)) provide a copy of a letter that George Washington wrote to Colonel Bouquet (General Forbes' second in command) on August 2, 1758. The following is an excerpt from the letter:

Several years ago the Virginians and Pennsylvanians commenced a trade with the Indians settled on the Ohio, and, to obviate the many inconveniences of a bad road, they, after reiterated and ineffectual efforts to discover where a good one might be made, employed for the purpose several of the most intelligent Indians, who, in the course of many years' hunting, had acquired a perfect knowledge of these mountains. The Indians, having taken the greatest pains to gain the rewards offered for this discovery, declared, that the path leading from Will's Creek was infinitely preferable to any, that could be made at any other place. Time and experience so clearly demonstrated this truth, that the Pennsylvania traders commonly carried out their goods by Will's Creek. Therefore, the Ohio Company, in 1753, at a considerable expense, opened the road. In

¹²⁴ Another bit of circumstantial evidence of a path from Cresap's to Wills Creek is the fact that Thomas Cresap performed the Wills Town survey, north of Cumberland, in 1745.

¹²⁵ The proof of this statement is found in the substance of the following chapter.

1754 the troops, whom I had the honor to command, greatly repaired it, as far as Gist's plantation; and, in 1755, it was widened and completed by General Braddock to within six miles of Fort Duquesne.

Here, at last, is a degree of vindication for Winsor and Greve. George Washington states that *"Pennsylvania traders commonly carried out their goods by Wills Creek"* before the Ohio Company road was built.

Washington's letter provides a valuable reference to the year the Ohio Company cut their road, and describes how the road was subsequently used. Other aspects of the letter should be interpreted cautiously because Pennsylvania and Virginia were rivals in terms of land ownership, trade with Indians, and the race to establish supremacy in the Ohio region. Washington was a dedicated Virginian. Based on his strenuous objections to a Pennsylvania route to attack Fort Duquesne ([Figure 0746](#)), some historians believe that Washington was trying to convince Forbes to use Braddock's road, in order to prevent the creation of a Pennsylvania military road that would later give Pennsylvania an additional advantage over Virginia¹²⁶. Washington's references to Pennsylvanians may be written with this objective in mind. Washington implies that Forbes should take his army to Fort Duquesne via Wills Creek, because Pennsylvanians explored the route issue years ago and came to the conclusion that it was the best route to the Ohio. However:

- As quoted above, several Pennsylvania traders described much more direct routes in 1752 and 1754, and even Goodman describes a more direct Pennsylvania route.
- As detailed in the following chapter, eighteenth century sources indicate that Pennsylvanian traders incited the French and Indians against the Virginia traders for competitive reasons.
- On August 9, 1758, Forbes wrote a letter to Bouquet that stated *"By a very unguarded letter of Col. Washington that accidentally fell into my hands, I am now at the bottom of their scheme against this new road, a scheme that I think was a shame for any officer to be concerned in, but more of this at meeting."*
- On September 4, 1758, Forbes wrote *"Therefore would consult G. Washington, although perhaps not follow his advice, as his Behavior about the roads, was in no ways like a soldier."*

While Washington's statement *"Pennsylvania traders commonly carried out their goods by Wills Creek"* is indeed plausible, it seems unwise to interpret it as meaning the most common Pennsylvania trading route passed through Wills Creek.

Did at least some Pennsylvania traders pick up their trade goods at Wills Creek?

One question that merits further exploration is whether some Pennsylvania traders picked up trade goods ([Figure 0726](#)) at Wills Creek before proceeding farther west.

¹²⁶ For example, on July 23, 1758, James Young, commissary of musters and paymaster general, wrote to Richard Peters that *"The Virginians are making great interest that our Rout may be by Cumberland, but I hope they will not succeed."* On September 2, 1758, Washington wrote a letter to the Lieutenant Governor of Virginia that included the statement *"In the conference I had with Colo. Bouquet ... I did among other things to avert the resolve of opening a new Road, represent the great Expence the Coloney of Virg'a had been at to support the War ... and after this demonstrated very clearly the time it wou'd take us to proceed on the old Road; and at how much easier expence, even if we were oblig'd to get all our provisions and Stores from Pensylvania; and no occasion for this surely. In fine I urg'd every thing then I could do now ... but urg'd in vain, the Pennsylvanians whose Interest present and future it was to conduct the Expedition thro' their Government, and along that way, because it secures their Frontiers at present, and the Trade hereafter ..."* On October 3, 1758, Colonel John Armstrong wrote to Peters *"The Virginians are much chagrined at the opening of the road through this government, and Colonel Washington has been a good deal sanguine and obstinate upon the occasion."* Also see Volume 2, page 22 of the 1906 book **"History of Bedford and Somerset Counties..."**.

The 1755 publication “**State of the British and French colonies in North America**” includes an article titled “*Some remarks on Nova Scotia, and the Ohio affair*” that states:

...in short, we are told, that the present French invasion had its rise from the Ohio company's building the store-house at Will's Creek. For the Indian trade, which before was carried on with Pennsylvania by the river Susquehanna, was by means of that store-house and a waggon-road, opened thro' the country, carried into Virginia by way of the Potomak: that the Pennsylvania traders considering this as an injury done to them, in revenge, infused jealousies into the minds of the Indians, that the English were going clandestinely to seize their lands: that the clamor among the Indians alarmed the French...

This is the account given by some who were acquainted with the whole transaction...

The Ohio Company's “store-house at Will's Creek” was built before Pickawillany was attacked, and the first known record of the Ohio Company's “wagon-road” was produced after the Pickawillany attack. George Washington confirms that it was cut in 1753. According to their second petition (Chapter 6), the Ohio Company “sent to Great Britain for a Cargo of Goods to begin their Trade, and purchased Lands upon the Potomack River, being the most convenient place to erect Store Houses” sometime after July 12, 1749, but no later than September 1749.¹²⁷

Volume II of Jared Sparks' 1834 book “**Writings of George Washington**” states:

The goods had come over from England, but had never been taken farther into the interior, than Will's Creek, where they were sold to traders and Indians, who received them at that point.

A footnote in Volume 6 of Williams and Kennedy's 1887 “**The National Magazine**” states:

Mr. Sparks ... is mistaken in saying the goods were all sold to traders and Indians at the mouth of Wills creek; for Mr. Gist, in his journal ... expressly states that the company had at least one trader in the Ohio Company selling goods for them.

The purpose of the footnote was to supplement the following sentence:

It has already been noticed that a trader was in the Ohio valley selling goods for the Ohio company. These goods had come over from England and had been taken into the interior as far as Wills Creek, now the city of Cumberland, Alleghany county, Maryland, where they were furnished to its agents, who took them to the Ohio country to sell to the savages, or they were sold to traders and Indians, who received them at that point.

Presumably, if that trader was hauling goods westward from the Ohio Company storehouse, he had some way of getting his pack animals to Wills Creek to pick up the goods – in other words, there must have been a bridle path to Wills Creek from somewhere. The 1887 article refers to Gist's November 26, 1750 journal entry:

¹²⁷ The Ohio Company's road was not yet cut when the goods arrived. On November 22, 1749 Thomas Lee of Virginia wrote a letter to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania that includes the following statement: “...your Traders have prevailed with the Indians on the Ohio to believe that the ... roads which the Company are to make is to let in the Catabas upon them to destroy them...”

Tho I was unwell, I preferred the Woods to such Company & set out from Loggs Town down the River NW 6 M to great Beaver Creek¹²⁸ where I met one Barny Curran a Trader for the Ohio Company, and We continued together as far as Muskingum.

According to the 1881 book “**History of Coshocton County, Ohio**”, the forks of Muskingum later became the town of Coshocton, Ohio. Coshocton is about 147 miles east of Piqua on present-day roads. This shows that at least one Ohio Company trader was pushing deeply into Ohio in November 1750, which suggests the Ohio Company stores had already arrived. The book states that Curran lived at “*The White Woman’s Town*” in 1750, and was one of George Washington’s escorts in 1753. “*Washington’s journal of a tour over the Allegheny Mountains*” refers to the trader as Barnaby Curran. The location of White Woman’s Town on Mitchell’s 1755 map ([Figure 0580](#)) suggests that Curran used the westward path out of Logstown.

Josiah Stoddard Johnston’s 1898 book “**First explorations of Kentucky**” states: “*Barney Curran was an old Indian trader long associated with George Croghan.*” The basis for Johnston’s statement is unknown, as is Curran’s original state of residency. Croghan was a major Pennsylvania trader who lived directly across the river from Harris’ Ferry, as detailed elsewhere herein.

On June 7, 1750, a conference was held by Richard Peters and the Seneca chiefs from Kuskuskies and Logstown at George Croghan’s house in Pennsboro Township. A speech given that day is recorded in the “**Colonial Records**” of Pennsylvania. The speech included the following statement:

...the Indians...ought to buy their Goods where they can be best served. The People of Maryland and Virginia who deal in this Trade may serve You as well as any Others from Pennsylvania or elsewhere...you do well to trade with the good People of Virginia and Maryland as well as with those of Pennsylvania, and to give them the Preference if you find they treat You better than our People...

Another record of the conference, also in the “**Colonial Records**”, states:

In a Conversation after the Conference The Indians desired Andrew to relate to me the particulars which passed about the Invitation of Cresap, viz., that last Fall Barny Currant, a hired Man of Mr. Parker, brought them a Message from Cresap to let them know that he had a Quantity of Goods, and from the true Love that he bore to the Indians he gave them ... an Invitation to come and see him; that he intended to let them have his Goods at a low rate—much cheaper than the Pennsylvania Traders sold them...and mentioned the rates that he and Mr. Parker would sell their Goods to them at, which is cheaper than the first Cost be they any where imported...

These records show that Thomas Cresap, Hugh Parker, and Barny Currant were already promoting Ohio Company trade in the fall of 1749. Cresap’s residence,¹²⁹ which he referred to as Skipton, was located at Oldtown, Maryland.

¹²⁸ Following the western side of the Ohio River, it is 7.2 miles from the site of Logstown to the mouth of the Beaver River, which is located at Latitude 40.697624°, Longitude -80.28903°, at the town of Rochester.

¹²⁹ In the 1755 Seaman’s journal, Cresap’s residence is described as follows: “*This place is on the Track of Indian Warriours, when going to War, either to the N^oward, or S^oward He hath built a little Fort round his House, and is resolved to keep his Ground.*” The warpath was still in use in 1763, as evidenced by a letter three Indian captains sent to “*Brother Tokeryhogan*” from Oldtown on May 15, 1763. The letter includes the statement “*At a Treaty held at Philadelphia in 1762, We desired we might be furnished with Provisions, Powder, Lead, Paint, Tobacco and a few Knives, as We Pass through the Frontiers of this Province, to and from War, and requested these Necessaries might be delivered to us by Colo Thomas Cresap, or his Son Daniel, at this place, which is in our Road as we go and come...*”

James McCabe's 1874 book "**The centennial history of the United States**" states:

A number of Indian traders had located themselves west of the Alleghanies, and in order to supply these with the articles needed for their traffic with the Indians, the Ohio Company built a trading-post at Wills' creek, within the limits of Maryland, on the site of the present city of Cumberland¹³⁰. Here one of the easiest of the passes over the Alleghanies began¹³¹, and by means of it the traders could easily transport their goods to the Indian country west of the mountains and return with the furs their traffic enabled them to collect.

McCabe's statement provides the important insight that it would not have been necessary for Pennsylvania traders to return to eastern Pennsylvania in order to carry on trade with the Ohio. They only had to return as far east as the Ohio Company storehouse. The 1888 book "**Kentucky**" by Perrin, Battle, and Kniffin states:

Of these trading corporations the Ohio Company alone showed early activity. Profiting by information gained from Indian hunters and traders, this company imported goods from England and had them transported to Will's Creek (Cumberland, Md.), from whence they were distributed to traders who carried them to the interior.

Presumably, at least a few of **the traders who carried the Ohio Company goods westward** were Pennsylvanians. This presumption comports well with Washington's 1758 letter. Even though Winsor and Greve apparently misinterpreted Goodman, there were probably some Pennsylvania traders who visited Wills Creek to pick up Ohio Company merchandise to take west into the Ohio valley. They could have traveled to Wills Creek from Pennsylvania by a variety of paths, and they did not need to return to Pennsylvania to obtain trade goods.

The Twightwee mention a road in 1750

Page 29 of Goodman's book quotes a portion of a speech the Twightwee (Miami) Indians gave at a May 17, 1750 meeting at George Croghan's house¹³², as follows:

We the Twightwees, who are now one with you, desire that the road which has lately been opened between us, being a new one¹³³, and therefore rough, blind, and not well cleared, may now be made plain, and that everything which may hinder the passage may be moved out of it so effectually as not to leave the least obstruction; and we desire this may be done, not only as far as where you live, but beyond you to the place where our brethren the English live, that their traders,

¹³⁰ McCabe can be forgiven for mislocating the Ohio Company storehouse by a few hundred yards. As Gist's journal indicates, the storehouse was actually just on the other side of the Potomac River from Cumberland, in Virginia.

¹³¹ McCabe was apparently thinking about the pass taken by the Ohio Company road several years after the storehouse was built. Few historians have noticed Gist's November 4, 1751 journal entry about the gap the traders then commonly followed. We seem to be the first to identify the location of that gap, and link it to an identifiable route.

¹³² The meeting at Croghan's house is documented in Volume V of the 1851 book "**Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania**".

¹³³ If this passage perchance refers to a physical road, it does not definitively prove that the road was everywhere entirely new. After all, when an old bumpy road is converted from two to four lane, or even when an old bumpy road is simply resurfaced, it is common for people to say things like "*that new road sure is nice*". The quote does specifically state that some sections were newly opened, "*and therefore rough, blind, and not well cleared*". Even this seemingly definitive statement admits to the distinct possibility that many sections followed existing transportation corridors. As the reader will see from aerial photographs that are provided in later chapters, a primitive "*road*" was in most cases actually a maze of impermanent individual routes that followed the terrain to make a corridor of paths headed in the same general direction; any one, or a combination of these routes would have been used in different time periods.

whom we desire to see among us, and to deal with us for the future, may travel to us securely and with ease.

Goodman indicates the meeting occurred at Croghan's home, which was at what is now Pennsboro, Pennsylvania. Pennsboro is located directly across the Susquehanna River from Harrisburg, which was then known as Harris' Ferry. This means that Croghan's home was along a route Pennsylvania traders definitely followed to Pickawillany. Is that route the newly opened road the Twightwee reference on May 17, 1750, or were they speaking of friendship and alliance in metaphorical terms? Even if it references a physical road to Croghan's Pennsylvania home (which is exceedingly unlikely) that would do nothing to support Goodman's contention that the Twightwee cut a road to Wills Creek.

Pages 29 and 30 of Goodman's book **quote the reply to the Twightwee speech:**

Brethren of the Twightwee nation: You have, by your deputies desired of us that we would open the new road between us and you wider, and take out of it everything that can possibly hinder our traveling safely and pleasantly to one another, and that the English traders may come more amongst you; and further, that you henceforth put yourselves under our care, and desire we will assist you with our counsel, and that you have entirely laid aside Onontio, and will no more be governed by his counsels. We declare ourselves well pleased with every part of your message, and will heartily join with you in making the road perfectly clear and free from all impediments.

Although these passages may seem to refer to a physical road, they are actually metaphorical references to friendship and alliance.

Governor Hamilton's August 1750 message to the Indians

Pages 29 and 30 of Goodman's book quote an August 1750 message from Pennsylvania Governor Hamilton to the Indians, which includes the statement:

I have proposed it to some of the best of our traders to carry on commerce with you, and to sell you their goods at as easy a price as they can afford, and by all means, to cultivate a good understanding with you, and they seem willing to do it; but as your towns are at a great distance from the Six Nations, and that several of your tribes seem still to be firmly attached to the French, the traders can not help expressing their apprehensions of the great danger there is in being intercepted, either in their passage to or return from your country, and that, unless some measures be concerted to preserve the road safe and commodious for their persons and effects, it will not be possible to extend their trade into a country so remote to any great degree. I mention this with the more earnestness, as I have lately received information that two of our traders, going from Loggstown¹³⁴ to the Twightwees, about three hundred miles from the first place, were either killed

¹³⁴ Wallace describes Logstown as being at Legionville, Pennsylvania, which is about 7 miles south of Rochester and the mouth of Beaver River. This agrees with the 1755 Mitchell map ([Figure 0580](#)), which describes Logstown as "built & Settled by the English several Years agoe." The mouth of "Logtown Run" is located across the river from Legionville, as shown by [Figure 0792](#), and the stream apparently commemorates the town. According to the article "Logstown Run continues to create flooding in Aliquippa" in the August 26, 2011 issue of the "Beaver County Times", the run now flows through a large culvert under Aliquippa's Franklin Street. The mouth of the run enters the Ohio River at Latitude 40.619661°, Longitude -80.236963°. On present-day roads, which follow the river, it is 18.4 miles from Legionville to the Route 279 bridge at the point in Pittsburgh. The 1777 deposition of Edward Ward concerning 1754 Indian village sites states: "about one-third of the Shawnees inhabited Loggs Town, on the west side (right bank) of the Ohio, and tended corn on the east side of the River..." Map number six in the "Board of Trade Maps", Volume 12 ([Figure 0097](#)) shows Logstown to be located on the Legionville side of the Ohio River. [Figure 0838](#) shows the land on the east side of the river, opposite to the mouth of Logtown Run.

or taken by the French or Indians, and that a party of French Indians have killed fourteen of our people belonging to Carolina. I say our people, for the inhabitants of Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, this province, and New York, are all one people, and if any be obstructed, robbed, or killed, all of us are equally affected, and must resent it alike. Some other stories are likewise told us, which, if true, make it evident that the road is by no means safe to travel. ... We give you four strings of wampum¹³⁵ in acknowledgment of your professions, and thereby assure you that we desire to bind the chain of friendship between us as firm as it can possibly be. ... Here give a string of four rows of wampum. ...Inasmuch as the road is insecure, and the traders make a difficulty of traveling in it while it is so, we give you this belt to remove out of it everything that renders it dangerous.

Governor Hamilton's message mentions traders going from Logstown to the Twightwee. This helps to confirm that the trading route between Logstown and Pickawillany on the 1755 Evans map already existed in 1750. Hamilton mentions Carolina, Virginia and Maryland traders. Lewis Evans (quoted and discussed below) specifically mentions Virginia traders. These statements help to support the existence of an early path leading west from Wills Creek.

Goodman's list contains mostly Pennsylvania traders

On page 42 of his 1871 book about Trent¹³⁶, 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 on Goodman's list were from Pennsylvania. Only one individual on Goodman's list could be identified positively 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. Hugh Parker¹³⁷ and Christopher Gist were from Maryland, and are associated with the Ohio Company. The Michael Cresap, Senior 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. Goodman presumably would be surprised if he knew how few of the 59 traders on his list were from Virginia.

¹³⁵ Ashbel Woodward's paper **"Wampum"**, presented to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia in 1868, describes Wampum in great detail. Various types of wampum were used for adornment, and *"were among the Indian race the universal bonds of nations and individuals, the inviolable and sacred pledges of word and deed. No promise was binding unless confirmed by gifts of wampum. The young warrior declared his passion for his Indian maid, by presenting wampum chains and belts, and her acceptance of the proffered present sealed the marriage compact. Like tokens accompanied every weighty message, and little reliance was put upon the messenger who brought not with him such assurances of good faith. They cemented friendships, confirmed alliances, sealed treaties, and effectually effaced the memory of injuries."* For an example of wampum, see [Figure 0743](#).

¹³⁶ William Trent was on his way to Pickawillany to deliver a present from Virginia when he learned of the French attack on Pickawillany. Although Trent did engage in activities on behalf of the province of Virginia, he and George Croghan were both residents of Pennsylvania. A memorandum in Volume 5 of the **"Minutes of the Provincial council of Pennsylvania"** helps to establish their residency 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..."*

¹³⁷ Parker's first name is not provided in Goodman's list.

Christopher Gist's 1751 journal mentions a road

According to Christopher Gist's January 9, 1751 journal entry while at "Muskingum a Town of the Wyendotts":

...this Day came into Town two Traders from among the Pickwaylinees (these are a Tribe of the Twigtwees) and brought News that another English Trader was taken prisoner by the French...

According to Gist's journal, on February 17, 1751, Andrew Montour delivered the following message from the Wyendott and Delaware Indians to the Twightwee nation:

Brothers the Twightwees, this comes by our Brothers the English who are coming with good News to You; We hope You will take Care of Them, and all our Brothers the English who are trading among You: You made a Road for our Brothers the English to come and trade among You, but it is now very foul, great Loggs are fallen across it, and We would have you be strong like Men, and have one Heart with US, and make the Road clear, that our Brothers the English may have free course and Recourse between You and Us...

Is Montour speaking of a physical road, or speaking in metaphorical terms? At least from the distance of centuries, the passage seems to reference a physical road—until one studies the Indian use of road metaphors. At the time he made this February 17, 1751 journal entry, Gist was performing exploration for the Ohio Company. Later, on July 16, 1751, the Ohio Company gave Christopher Gist instructions for his **next** trip. Part of those instructions were "You are to look out & observe the nearest & most convenient Road You can find from the Company's Store at Wills's Creek to a Landing at Mohongeyela". Gist's February 17, 1751 journal entry is therefore part of the documentary evidence that proves that trade with the Twightwee Indians preceded the Ohio Company's road. That trade required a physical trading path.

Page 64 of Greve's book mentions a February 24, 1751 meeting that was attended by both French and English representatives. Christopher Gist's journal relates a statement by one of the French-allied Indians:

...that their Father remembering his Children, had sent them two Caggs of Milk¹³⁸, and some Tobacco, and that he now had made a clear Road for them, to come to see Him and his Officers; and pressed them very much to come...

In the previous passage, "Father" is evidently the French Governor in North America. The 1998 book "**Contact points: American frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830**" describes the use of such relational metaphors.

Page 64 of Greve's book reports the immediate Twightwee reply:

The Twightwee king replied that it was true, that "the road was clear, but He understood it was made foul and bloody, and by Them—" and said that they had cleared a road for the English, and that the French had taken some of the English prisoners, "which We look upon as done to Us, and he turned short about and went out of the Council".

Page 64 of Greve's book also reports the final Twightwee reply:

¹³⁸ R. S. Dills' 1881 book "**History of Fayette County**" presents the story in a manner suggesting that the "milk" was brandy.

Two days later, the Twightwees delivered the final answer to the French Indians. “The Captain of the Warriors stood up and taking some Strings of Wampum in his Hand he spoke with a fierce Tone and very warlike Air—‘Brothers the Ottaways, You are always differing with the French Yourselves, and yet you listen to what they say, but we will let you know by these four strings of Wampum, that we will not hear any Thing they say to Us, nor do any Thing they bid us.’ Directing his speech to the French, he said, ‘we have made a road as far as the Sea to the Sun-rising, and have been taken by the Hand by our Brothers the English, and the Six Nations, and the Delawares, Shannoahs and Wyendotts, and We assure You it is the Road we shall go; and as You threaten Us with War in the Spring, We tell You if You are angry we are ready to receive You, and resolve to die here before we will go to You...’

In the previous passage, the word “road” appears to be used metaphorically. The passage clearly indicates that by February 24, 1751, the French had already threatened “*War in the Spring*”, and they were already using force to suppress English trade in the region. These scenes were the prelude to the French and Indian War.

The French were infuriated by a successful Virginia trader

If the quantity of available literature on the subject is any indication, then trade with the Twightwee nation was dominated by Pennsylvania traders. Nevertheless, the French were motivated to attack Pickawillany because of the success of a Virginia trader. Volume 14, page 92 of James Boswell’s 1752 “**The Scots Magazine**” describes an aborted French campaign against the Twightwee Indians:

According to advices from the British plantations in North America, a considerable army of French and Indians set out from Canada for the south-western parts of the continent, in order to strengthen their own, and ruin the British interest there particularly to destroy the nation of the Tooweehtoowees, who are friendly to the Britons; and to kill a certain Virginia trader, who, by his honest dealings with the Indians, has lately gained the affections of many, and greatly drawn their trade that way. ...the French army ... returned without success, their design having been discovered by the Tooweehtoowees before they approached...

The incident that Boswell’s 1752 article describes occurred before the fateful June 21, 1752 attack on Pickawillany. Boswell clearly states that the business success of an unnamed Virginia trader was one of the causes of the aborted French campaign against the Twightwee Indians. This provides obvious support for the existence of an early trading route out of Wills Creek.

Details of a failed 1751 French expedition against Pickawillany

Volume 2 of Hanna’s 1911 book “**The Wilderness Trail**” provides an October 29, 1751 letter from La Jonquire (Governor of Canada) that describes one of three failed attempts against the Twightwee town. Here is an excerpt that refers to Pickawillany by the French name of its chief, “*La Demoiselle*”:

The Sieur de Belestre, whom I had detached with 50 Alkonkins and Nipissingues, has surmounted all the obstacles which were, at every moment, set up against him. He left the Detroit with 17 men, the balance of the Indians having abandoned him; annexed herewith a copy of his Journal.

The following interesting facts may be gathered from the above-mentioned Journal:

1st. An Outaouais informed the chiefs of the Nepissingues and Alkonkins that on the day of the Sieur de Belestre’s arrival at Detroit, a woman had left the place for “La Demoiselle,” to warn

them of what was going on; that the residents of Detroit made good promises to M. de Celoron solely for the purpose of deceiving him, and that, should he go to “La Demoiselle,” he would find there only the Fort.

2d. Warriors who were returning from the country of the “Tetes Plattes” [Flat-heads, i.e. Cherokees, etc.], reported that they had passed at “La Demoiselle”; that there were but women in the Fort; that the said Fort was only partially built; that all the warriors were hunting, and dying of hunger.

3d. The Sr. de Belestre said to M. de Celoron that one hundred and fifty men were enough, on account of the small number of Miamis and the bad state of their Fort, to oust them or bring them back to M. de Villier’s post.

4th. Finally, the Sieur de Belestre did not find any one in the wigwams of the Miamis. They had all flown away the day before. He could not make an attack on the Fort, as he had very few men with him; however, he detached four men in order to secure some prisoners; failing to do so, they killed a man and a woman, the hair of whom he has handed to me...

This is the third attempt that fails. What shall the savages think, they who presently are perhaps aware of my plans? Shall not the English turn this to account to more and more bribe these nations? These overwhelming thoughts have caused me an incomprehensible grief. ...

On February 8, 1752, George Croghan sent a letter from the chiefs of the Lower Shawnee town to Governor Hamilton that stated:

All the nations settled on this River Ohio and on this side of the lakes are in friendship, and live as one people; but the French...trouble us much; they...have killed thirty of our brothers, the Twightwees. And we now acquaint you that we intend to strike the French...

A 1757 French book describes the factors that led to war with the English

An early French book makes clear that France considered the English trade that preceded the Ohio Company road to be a factor in their quarrel with Great Britain. In describing the events that precipitated the French and Indian War, page 14 of the 1757 French book “**The Conduct of the Late Ministry**”, states:

The English ministry, who never missed an opportunity of distressing the trade of France, envied her for a long time this communication¹³⁹ which she stood so much in need of. In 1749, some English traders began to carry on a contraband trade on the Ohio, and it was discovered that they were tampering with the Indians, in order to induce them to a war with France.

The book is silent about the 1752 attack on Pickawillany, but does describe the 1754 takeover of the English fort at the forks of the Ohio from the French perspective.

Later books mention trade between Virginia and the Ohio

After publication of the second edition of this book, several additional pieces of literature were found that mention Virginia and Maryland **traders who served the Ohio valley**. The 1760 edition of Smollett’s “**Continuation of the Complete History of England...**” and Anthony Robinson’s 1798 book “**A view of the causes and consequences of English wars**” – both quoted more extensively in

¹³⁹ The Ohio River.

the next chapter – mention Virginia traders who were opposed to an Ohio Company monopoly. Smollett's 1760 book states: "*The erection of this company was equally disagreeable to the separate traders of Virginia and Pennsylvania...*". Robinson's 1798 book states: "*The traders of Virginia and Pennsylvania were alarmed as well as the Indian nations...*".

The 1855 book "**Merchants' magazine and commercial review**" mentions trade between Virginia and the Twightwee nation, stating:

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.

In describing the situation following the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Francis Parkman's 1884 book "**Montcalm and Wolfe**" mentions Virginia traders 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 Céloron de Bienville thither in the summer of 1749.

George Alfred Henty's 1887 book "**With Wolfe in Canada: or, The winning of a continent**" obviously 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 Juniata¹⁴⁰ 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.

As noted above, such "*three hundred*" traders statements apparently trace back to a 1755 statement about Pennsylvania traders in the October 1755 issue of "**The Scots Magazine**".

¹⁴⁰ According to William C. Reichel's study of Moravian missionary John Heckewelder's papers, published in Volume 1 of the 1876 "**Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society**", Juniata is "*an Iroquois word. The Delawares say Juchniáda, or Chuchniada.*"

Jacob Piatt Dunn's 1919 book "**Indiana and Indianans**" describes Virginians trading with Pickawillany; however, he seems to reference Goodman's list of 59 traders, most of whom were from Pennsylvania:

...between 1745 and 1753 there were more than fifty Pennsylvanian and Virginian licensed traders engaged in the trade with the Miami towns, among whom were such well known frontier characters as Conrad Weiser, George Croghan, Hugh Crawford, Michael Cresap,¹⁴¹ Christopher Gist, Jacob Pyatt, and William Campbell.

The first offensive of the French and Indian War

Pickawillany was attacked by the French on June 21, 1752, and the English post there was destroyed. Page 33 of Goodman's book states:

Early in 1752, the Miamis suffered severely from the small-pox. During the year occurred the destruction of the English post at Pickawillany, all of which is detailed elsewhere. Soon after this, in a communication to his government, the governor of Canada expressed the opinion that, unless the alliance between the English and Miamis was broken off, the fall of Detroit would eventually ensue. In 1753, a large body of French from Canada moved to the southwest, and erected Forts Presque Isle, Le Boeuf, and Venango.

An early British account of the attack on Pickawillany

The 1757 book "**The Contest in America between Great Britain and France...**", while certainly written from the English point of view (and not without error), describes the situation as follows:

...they began to commit hostilities upon our people everywhere. They began first with plundering and pillaging our Indian traders, wherever they met with them; seized several of them by force of arms, confined them in prison there, and sent them to France as they do prisoners of war; laying a premium upon the heads of others, and threatening destruction to all the English that offered to come among the Indians.

With this they attacked and burnt our fort at Pickawillany upon the river Miamis in 1751, roasting our people alive that were in it, in the barbarous and inhuman manner of the Canadians and savages. All this was done in open violation, not only of the treaty of Aix, but of the treaty of Utrecht likewise, by which both nations are to enjoy full liberty of frequenting those countries for the sake of trade.

The above secondhand account is inaccurate in regard to the date of the Pickawillany attack, which actually occurred in 1752, but nevertheless captures the general British perspective.

Eyewitness reports of cannibalism after the 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." Trent's July 6, 1752 journal entry also states:

¹⁴¹ As noted previously, Michael Cresap, Junior was too young to have participated in such trade.

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 quotes the Twightwee eyewitness account of cannibalism:

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.”

Robert Callender writes to the Pennsylvania governor about the attack

On August 30, 1752, Indian trader Robert Callender¹⁴² wrote the following letter to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania from Carlisle, Pennsylvania:

Last night, Thomas Burney, who lately resided at the Twightwees’ town in Allegheny, came here and gives the following account of the unhappy affair that was lately transacted there: On the twenty-first day of June last, early in the morning, two Frenchmen and about two hundred and forty Indians came to the Twightwees’ town, and in a hostile manner attacked the people there residing. In the skirmish there was one white man and fourteen Indians killed, and five white men taken prisoners.

The party who came to the Twightwees’ town reported that they had received, as a commission, two belts of wampum from the governor of Canada, to kill all such Indians as are in amity with the English, and to take the persons and effects of all such English traders as they could meet with, but not to kill any of them if they could avoid it, which instructions were in some measure obeyed.

Mr. Burney is now here, and is willing to be qualified not only to this, but to sundry other matters which he can discover concerning this affair. If your Honor thinks it proper for him to come to Philadelphia to give you the satisfaction of examining more particularly in relation to it, he will readily attend your Honor upon that occasion, or make any affidavit of the particulars here. Such orders as your Honor pleases to send on this occasion, shall certainly be obeyed...

Virginia slowly learns of the attack on Pickawillany

Apparently, Virginia’s Lieutenant Governor Robert Dinwiddie ([Figure 0752](#)) had not yet heard about the attack by October 6, 1752. On that date, he sent a letter to the Board of Trade that did not

¹⁴² In a chapter about the Forbes Road, Volume 2, page 75 of the 1906 book “**History of Bedford and Somerset Counties...**” mentions “A packer named Calender (probably Robert) located on a glade to the east of Buckstown, known by the name of Calender’s Meadows, the place being near the head of a small stream that still bears the name of ‘Calender’s run.’ Here at the proper season of the year he had men employed to cut and cure hay from the natural grasses that grew here every summer. In passing over the road his train of pack-horses would stop here to rest and recruit. Necessarily some person or persons must have been permanently settled here to look after and care for his interests.” The August 1965 “**Laurel Messenger**” states, “Captain Robert Callender made hay for forage from glade grass at Calender’s Meadows, east of Buckstown, about 1759, at the source of Calender’s Run.” The location of “Calenders Meadow” is illustrated on the 1792 Reading Howell map ([Figure 0001](#)). Calenders Run is illustrated on the 1830 Melish map ([Figure 0784](#)). According to George Croghan’s April 26, 1756 account of “losses occasioned by the French and Indians driving the English Traders off the Ohio”, one of the losses was “One large Store House on the Ohio, opposite to the Mouth of the River Scioto, where the Shawanese had built their new Town, called the Lower Shawanese Town” that was owned by “William Trent, George Croghan, Robert Callender, and Michael Teaff, Traders in Company.”

mention it. Goodman's book reproduces the October 6 letter, beginning on page 69. Part of that letter states:

I beg leave to observe that the Twightwees, a large nation of Indians to the westward of the river Ohio, have taken up the hatchet (as they term it) against the French and the Indians in amity with them; that is, that they have declared war against the French and their allies, and that they solicited the friendship of the English and the nations of Indians on the Ohio; as this application was made before His Majesty's present was divided, the commissioners (I think) prudently laid aside part of the present for the Twightwees, which was much approved of by the other nations of Indians then at Logstown, and they sent two gentlemen with that present, to be delivered to the chiefs in the name of His Majesty, the King of Great Britain.

Trent reports to the Lieutenant Governor of Virginia

Beginning on page 73, Goodman's book provides a copy of a December 10, 1752 letter from Lieutenant Governor Dinwiddie to the Board of Trade that mentions the destruction of Pickawillany. Part of this letter states:

Since my last letter to your Lordships, Mr. William Trent, who was sent from the Ohio (by the commissioners from this) to the Twightwees, with part of His Majesty's present for that nation, returned some time since, and enclosed I send your Lordships a copy of his journal there and back to this government, by which you'll please observe the risk he run, and the miserable condition he found these poor people in; their town taken, and many of their people killed by the French and Indians in amity with them, and many of the English traders ruined, being robbed of their goods, some killed and others carried away prisoners; and all this, as I am informed, is under the conduct of the French from Canada, or New Orleans, on the Mississippi, the Indians having declared to our traders that the French promised to give them one hundred crowns for every white scalp they bring them; there are no other white people trading there but the English subjects and the French, so it is obvious they would encourage the Indians to murder our traders in cool blood. (Scalping is cutting the skin round the head, and by the hair drawing it off quite to the eyes.) The French traders from Canada have met our traders in the woods and robbed them of all their skins and goods; they have applied to me for protection, and power to make reprisals, which I by no means would grant, as we are at peace with the French, but I pray your Lordships' directions how to behave on such applications for the future, as I think the British subjects are under great oppression and severities from the French traders in their villainous robberies. And till the line is run between Pennsylvania and this, His Majesty's Dominion, so as to ascertain our limits, I can not appoint magistrates to keep the traders in good order, as the Pennsylvanians dispute the right of this government to the river Ohio. Since the arrival of Mr. Trent, as above, the Twightwees have sent one Thomas Burney, express, who brought me a belt of wampum, a scalp of one of the Indians that are at war with them and in the interest of the French, with a calumet pipe (being an emblem of peace with those they send it to), and two letters, copy thereof I here enclose to your Lordships; they are of an odd style, but are copied literally as I received them.

Certainly, the Ohio Company activities and Trent's fort building activities at the forks of the Ohio (Chapter 6) helped to precipitate the French and Indian War. From the various passages quoted

above, one can see that English trade from various states, including Virginia, also helped to precipitate the war¹⁴³.

A Twightwee raid on Wills Creek: The Jane Frazier story

During the course of the war, the Twightwee Indians once again allied themselves with the French, and ventured into the Wills Creek area on at least one raid. Local resident Jane Frazier was captured by the raiding party in October 1755, while on her way to Fort Cumberland. She was taken to Miami country, but eventually escaped and returned home, only to find her husband John Frazier had remarried. Her captivity story was sent to Cumberland by a descendant, Mrs. Cora H. Frey, of Logansport, Indiana, for verification.¹⁴⁴ The document ended up in the possession of James W. Thomas, who included it in the 1923 book “**History of Allegany County**”. Jane’s narrative ([Appendix 0062](#)) includes the statement, “*My captors belonged to the Miami tribe and their big town was situated on the great Miami River.*”

A State Road Marker (Latitude 39.624783°, Longitude -78.734500°) that is located immediately southeast of Cumberland, Maryland, briefly summarizes the Jane Frazier story ([Figure 0881](#)). According to the December 1971 issue of the “**Heritage Press**”, Frazier’s log house stood near the historical marker, and was razed in the 1960s when Route 51 was widened.

Documentary evidence supporting the Jane Frazier story

Although some may question the authenticity of Jane’s first-person account, it is supported by various pieces of documentary evidence. 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...*”

The October 9, 1755 “**Maryland Gazette**” states: “*By a person who arrived in town last Monday {October 6th} from Col. Cresap’s, we are told that last Wednesday (October 1st) morning the Indians had taken a man prisoner who was going from Frazier’s to Fort Cumberland, and had also carried off a woman from Frazier’s plantation, which is four miles on this side Fort Cumberland. The same morning they fell in with a man and his wife who had left their plantations, and were retiring into the more populous part of the country; they shot the horse on which the man was riding, but as it did not fall immediately he made his escape. The woman, it is supposed, fell into their hands, as neither she or the horse on which she was riding have been seen since or heard of.*”

A November 14, 1756 letter from Colonel Adam Stephen to Colonel John Armstrong, dated at Fort Cumberland, states, “*By a woman who once belonged to John Fraser¹⁴⁵ (his wife or mistress) and has now, after being prisoner with Shingas, &c, thirteen months, made her escape from Muskingum, we learn that Shingas and some Delawares live near the head of that river...*”

¹⁴³ For a 1756 article that describes the origins of the conflict in America, see [Appendix 0009](#).

¹⁴⁴ In 1946, another descendant, Ruby Frazier Frey, wrote the historical novel “**Red Morning**” about Jane’s capture and escape, and her return to Cumberland.

¹⁴⁵ The surname is spelled at least three different ways in 18th century records: Fraizer, Frazer, and Fraser. The spelling “Fraser” is said to be the common Scottish spelling, and was used by Jane in a 1774 petition. It is also used by a number of John and Jane’s descendants.

According to John Heckewelder, who knew Shingas personally, Shingas was the brother of the Delaware Chief King Beaver, and was “*a terror to the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania*” during the French and Indian war, who “*treated all those he had taken prisoners with affection*”.

Jane's husband John Frazier: Indian trader and gunsmith

The “**Pennsylvania Archives**” records that John Frazier was licensed as an Indian trader for the annual period beginning August 10, 1747. At one point, Frazier was engaged in trade with the Twightwee Indians. Volume V of the Pennsylvania “**Colonial Records**” records the October 11, 1750 examination of two traders as follows:

The Examination of Morris Turner and Ralph Kilgore were taken in Council, and being sworn to, were ordered to be enter'd as follows: These Examinants say that they are hired Servants of one John Frazier, of the County of Lancaster, in the Province of Pennsylvania, Indian Trader; that in May last they were trading for him among the Twightwees to whom they had sold a large quantity of Goods, and had received in Return more Skins than they could carry with their Horses at one time; that after having delivered one Parcel of their Skins at Allegheny, as they were returning for a Second with empty Horses, and were got within Twenty-five Miles, as they think, of the Twightwee's Town, on the Twenty-Sixth Day of May last, Seven Indians came into their Cabins a little before Sun-set, received Victuals from them, and dress'd and eat it, and behaved like Friends. That some time after their coming into the Cabin the Indians in the way of curiosity took up the Guns belonging to these Examinants and a Tomhock, and ask'd them for Knives to cut their Tobacco with, which as soon as they had given them they seized them and tied their Hands with Ropes, and told them they must carry them to their Fathers the French, and, accordingly, they took them along with them...

Washington's “*Journal to the Ohio*” describes arriving at Venango (the site of Franklin, Pennsylvania) on December 4, 1753, and going to John Frazier's former residence:

This is an old Indian Town, situated at the Mouth of French Creek on Ohio, and lies near N. about 60 Miles from the Loggs-Town...

We found the French Colours hoisted at a House which they drove Mr. John Frazier, an English Subject, from; I immediately repaired to it, to know where the Commander resided....

A February 14, 1754 message from Dinwiddie to the Council and House of Burgesses states that while at Venango, Washington “*ask'd the reason of taking Mr. Frazier's House from him, w'ch he had built and lived in upwards of twelve years. He s'd that Man was lucky that he made his Excape, or he w'd have sent him Prisoner to Canada.*”

A 1753 letter from Edward Shippen to Pennsylvania Governor James Hamilton shows that Frazier had been living at Venango as a gunsmith, stating, “*Weningo is the name of an Indian town on Ohio, where Mr. Frazier has had a gunsmith shop for many years. It is situate about eighty miles up the said river, beyond Logstown.*” On September 9, 1753, Shippen quoted from a letter from Frazier to a Mr. Young, stating, “*Here is enclosed a draught of the fort the French built a little the other side of Sugar creek, not far from Weningo, where they have eight cannon.*”

Frazier was living at the mouth of Turtle Creek in 1753.¹⁴⁶ The November 22, 1753 journal entry of Christopher Gist states, *"We set out and came to the mouth of Turtle Creek, about twelve miles, to John Frazier's, and he was very kind to us, and lent us a canoe to carry our baggage to the forks, about ten miles."* 1753 was not a good year for the fur trade. On August 27, 1753, Frazier wrote, *"I have not got any Skins this Summer, for there has not been an Indian between Weningo and the Pict Country hunting this Summer, by reason of the French."*

The map (Figures [0432](#) and [0433](#)) that accompanied Washington's January 17, 1754 *"Journal to the Ohio"*. shows that Frazier was living at Turtle Creek in 1754. Washington's October 31, 1753 journal entry states, *"The excessive Rains and vast Quantity of Snow that had fallen, prevented our reaching Mr. Frazier's an Indian Trader, at the Mouth of Turtle-Creek, on Monongahela, till Thursday the 23d."* Washington's January 1, 1754 journal entry states, *"...we left Mr. Frazier's House, and arrived at Mr. Gist's at Monongahela the 2d..."* The January 12, 1754 journal entry of George Croghan also shows that Frazier was an Indian trader, stating, *"I arrived at Turtle Creek about eight miles from the Forks of Mohongialo, where I was informed by John Frazier, an Indian trader..."* An English translation of Pouchot's Memoir, published in 1781, describes Frazier as a blacksmith.

In May 1754, Frazier warned the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania that a large body of Indians was *"coming with the French and eight pieces of Brass cannon..."*

Jane Frazier's 1774 petition to the Virginia House of Burgesses indicates that John Frazier was retreating from the Ohio valley in June 1754:

That your Pet'r's said husband had been concerned for many years in a trade with the Indians on the River Ohio, where he was in the Month of June 1754, when he received Intelligence that hostilities were Commenced or likely to take place, between this Colony & the said Indians, and thought it prudent to retire from that Country with his effect: He accordingly set off with his goods carr'd by Sev'l Horses to Return to Pensylvania & on his way, met with this Colony Troops under the command of George Washington Esq'r. at the place called Fort Necessity, or the Great Meadows: where Col'o Washington, expecting an Attack from the Enemy, pressed the s'd John Fraser's horses to be emploid in bringing some stores and a partie of men from Mr. Christopher Gist's, & also in bringing ammunition & Provisions from Col'o Cresup's to the s'd Meadows for Protection of the Forces; in consequence of which the s'd John Fraser was detained at the Meadows, until the Battle happened at that place & the Virg'a Troops Capitulated, when all the s'd John Fraser's goods were taken and Plundered by the Enemy (A particular Account of which was taken the day before the s'd Engagem't amounting to £2252.4, is hereto annexed) and were totally lost to him.

That the s'd John Fraser soon after Came to the City of W'msburg to Petition for a Recompence for his said losses, the event of which y'r Pet'r is wholly unacquainted with except that he declared on his return that he was offered a moietie of his loss, ...and nothing was done.

That the said John Fraser being of a dialatory disposition, never concerned himself further in the s'd Claim during his life; Nor should y'r pet'r have undertaken this long and fatiguing Journey, or

¹⁴⁶ A memorial tablet was erected in honor of John Frazier at Mount Braddock, Pennsylvania in 1917. The inscription states *"One thousand feet due south from this tablet, on the right bank of the Monongahela, stood the first white man's cabin west of the Alleghenies, built by John Frazier... Here George Washington was entertained...while on his mission from Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia to warn the French against building forts in the Ohio Valley."*

troubled this Hon'ble House on the Subject, but that she has been lately called on by two Merch'ts in Philadelphia for about seven hundred & fifty pounds, now due for the Purchase of part of the s'd goods, w'ch she cannot discharge, without the total ruin of herself & seven young children.

Y'r Pet'r, impelled by this Necessity, humbly submits the Claim afors'd to the Consideration of the House, and prays for such recompence for the loss sustained by the s'd John Frazer, in the Public service, as their Justice shall suggest.

A June 12, 1754 letter from George Washington to Robert Dinwiddie indicates that John Frazier was a lieutenant under William Trent, and like Trent, was absent when Trent's forces were ejected from the fort they were building at the present-day site of Pittsburgh:

Lieutenant Frazier, though not altogether blameless, is much more excusable, for he would not accept the commission, till he had a promise from his captain, that he should not reside at the fort, nor visit it above once a week, or as he saw necessary.

As documented above, the Frazier family was living near Fort Cumberland in October 1755, when Jane was captured. Another bit of evidence is George Washington's October 26, 1755 letter to Fort Cumberland Commissary Alan McLean, written from Fort Cumberland, that includes the statement, *"You are to see that the arms here in Store be immediately inspected by Mr Frasier; and those fit for duty, to be packed in Chests to be sent down to Winchester—the remainder to be repaired by Mr Frasier."*

John Frazier was still living near Fort Cumberland in 1757. A February 14, 1757 letter, written by Adam Stephan from Fort Cumberland, states, *"John Fraser Complains that Some of the Detachmt from Fort Frederick has Carried off a gang of His Horses brought in by the Cherokees & taken privately away from them & stabled at Cressops plantation until the Cherokees were gone out of the Way."*

By 1758, the Fraziers were living at Fort Bedford. Frederick Post's November 1, 1758 journal states, in regard to some Cherokees visiting Fort Bedford, *"Pesquitomen, finding Jenny Frazer here, who had been their prisoner and escaped, spoke to her a little rashly. ... Pesquitomen, before we went from hence, made it up with Jenny Frazer, and they parted good friends..."* Post's December 30, 1759 journal entry documents John Frazier living at Bedford, stating, *"...I...came late to Bedford; where I took my old lodging with Mr. Frazier."*

An independent reference to the Indian captivity story

Although not documentary evidence, Chapter XXVII of the 1884 book **"History of Bedford, Somerset and Fulton Counties"** provides an independent family tradition-based reference to Jane's Indian captivity story:

Jane Dunlap, whose first husband was John Frazier, Esq., was the mother of the first white child born in Bedford county. Capt. Richard Dunlap was killed by the Indians near Frankstown, in 1781. ... Mrs. Frazier, above mentioned, was probably of Scotch-Irish ancestry, and came to Pennsylvania from Virginia with her husband, John Frazier, in 1755. Her maiden name was Jane Bell. (See history of Bedford borough.) She experienced all of the dangers of pioneer life, and, in addition, was held a captive by the Indians for eighteen months. By her first husband, John Frazier, she was the mother of one son, William, and four daughters. ... After the death of her husband, she married Capt. Richard Dunlap, by whom she had one child, Nancy, who became the wife of John Williams. Mrs. Dunlap spent the later years of her life at the home of her son-in-law,

near Schellsburg, and there she died in 1815, aged about eighty years. She was a remarkably resolute and courageous woman, of exemplary life and Christian character. Her son, William Frazier, died in Harrison township, about the year 1844. ... James Z. Frazier, of Schellsburg, is a son of James Frazier, and a grandson of William Frazier, the first white child born in Bedford county.

Chapter XXIV of the same book states:

When the Virginians, under Washington and Burd, marched from Fort Cumberland northward to join other detachments of Forbes' army at Raystown, Fraser and wife accompanied them, and on their arrival at this point, a small log cabin was built on the right bank of the Raystown branch, just below the present iron bridge, where meals were cooked for officers. The place finally became known as Fraser's Inn. Their son William, whose birth occurred in 1759, was, it is claimed, the first white child born within the present limits of Bedford county. Fraser became one of the most prominent men in the region surrounding Fort Bedford. As shown in a chapter relating to the first settlement of the three counties, he was present at Fort Pitt, in 1768, during a grand council meeting held between the representatives of the province and the chiefs of the Six Nations and other tribes, and with Capt. William Thompson (also a resident of Bedford in, 1768) was chosen as a messenger to visit and warn off the trespassing settlers located west of the Alleghenies. When Bedford county was organized he was appointed one of its first justices of the peace, and served as such until his death, which occurred before the beginning of the revolutionary war. Subsequently his widow married Capt. Richard Dunlap. She was the mother of children by both husbands, and thus became the ancestor of the Frasers of Schellsburg and the Williamses of Napier, Rainsburg and Everett. She died in 1815, in Colerain township. Capt. Dunlap, her second husband, was killed in a fight with the Indians near Frankstown in 1781.

The Twightwee speak of clearing a road

Pages 100 and 101 of Goodman's book include information from Trent's journal regarding an August 1752 meeting at Shawanees Town¹⁴⁷. Page 100 states:

Then the Twightwees produced a black and white string of wampum, letting the Shawanees and Delawares know that when they went there before, they had cleared a road, but as it had been stopped by the French and Indians, they now clear it again.

Page 101 of Goodman's book quotes from a speech by the Twightwee to the English, as follows:

Brothers: When we first went to see you, we made a road which reached to your country, which road the French and Indians have made bloody; now we make a new road, which reaches all the way to the sun-rising, one end of which we will hold fast, which road shall remain open and clear forever, that we and our brothers may travel backwards and forwards to one another with safety...*

As with other such passages, it is initially difficult to understand whether these statements were intended to be interpreted in the literal sense, or the metaphorical sense, or both. Although they are metaphorical statements, the trading routes from Wills Creek and Harris' Ferry to Pickawillany did exist, and trade over these routes did incite the French to rise up against the English.

¹⁴⁷ According to Emily Foster's 1996 book "**The Ohio Frontier, An Anthology of Early Writings**", Shawanees Town was in the vicinity of Portsmouth, Ohio, which is along the Ohio River at the mouth of the Scioto River. It is referred to as Shawnoah or Lower Town on Mitchell's 1755 map ([Figure 0580](#)).

Goodman references Lewis Evans' 1755 map to describe the route

Taken in the literal sense, the Twightwee speech indicates that it was the Twightwee who initially “made a road” to the English. It is obvious from a footnote (which pertains to the asterisk in the previous quote) that Goodman believed the Twightwee speech was referring to the trail depicted on Lewis Evans' 1755 map ([Figure 0582](#)). The footnote states:

This refers to the trail from Pickawillany to the mouth of Wills creek; the following is a description of its course: “Beginning at mouth of Wills creek or Fort Cumberland; thence northwesterly over the Alleghany mountains forty-one miles to the forks of the Youghiogheny; thence southwest along the base of Laurel Hill twelve miles to Great Meadows, which is near the Pennsylvania line; thence northwest, over Laurel Hill, to Christopher Gist’s house, eight miles; thence in the same course six miles to Stewart’s cabin or crossing on the Youghiogheny; crossing the Youghiogheny to the north bank and following a course generally parallel with that stream forty one miles to the forks of the Ohio, where Pittsburg now stands...

The footnote describes the route in a manner that makes absolutely clear that Goodman was referencing Evans' map. If Goodman was correct, then the route to Turkeyfoot on Evans' map was a trail that was made by Ohio Indians to facilitate trade with the English. One must bear in mind, however, that in Goodman's day it would have been extremely difficult to access enough literature to realize that Indians often used road terms metaphorically, to describe friendship and alliance.

Before the metaphorical versus literal interpretation conundrum was understood, Goodman's view seemed believable, because the road on Evans' map ultimately goes to “*The Eng. Tawixtwi*”. In the same vicinity of the map, Evans uses larger characters to indicate “*Tawixtawi and Mine-amis*”, which are phonetic spelling variations of “*Twightwee*” and “*Miamis*”. In a footnote on page 84 of his book, Goodman mentions Evans' map and states that it indicates a distance of 456 miles from Wills Creek to Pickawillany.

Evans' route does connect Pickawillany to Wills Creek

One aspect of Evans' map that initially seems to support Goodman is the fact that the route between Pickawillany and Wills Creek appears as a continuous (except at the densely annotated Fort Duquesne area) solid line route with mileage increments given between landmarks. Another supporting element is a table ([Figure 0465](#)) in the lower right-hand corner of the map that gives distances from Wills Creek to various places along the Ohio, including a distance of 429 miles to “*Twichtawi or PiqueTown*” (Pickawillany). No other table on the map gives a distance to Pickawillany, suggesting that trade did occur between Pickawillany and Wills Creek.

The map identifies “*Picque T.*” as “*The Eng. Tawixtwi T. taken in 1752*”, and contains other references to French incursions on English territory. Evans' booklet about the map expresses his concern about the French incursions, and mentions the Pickawillany attack¹⁴⁸.

Evans' map was based on hearsay

The Evans map was a tremendous accomplishment for its day. It covered a huge amount of territory; [Figure 0003](#) is only a very small fragment of the overall map.

¹⁴⁸ At least at one time, people thought there was another attack at Pickawillany. A granite monument in the vicinity of the site of Pickawillany states: “Erected 1898 by the Piqua Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Memory of the Last Battle of the French and Indian War, Fought near This Spot 1763.”

As with all eighteenth century men who prepared maps covering a significant area, Evans did not work entirely from firsthand knowledge and his own surveys. It simply would have been impossible for one cartographer to survey such a large area. Instead, Evans had to rely to a large extent on information obtained from other sources, such as earlier maps, and hearsay from Indian traders and explorers. He wrote a booklet that accompanied the map, and explained that the map did not have the same level of accuracy throughout. Naturally, the frontier regions would have been the least understood areas of all. For example, he writes:

The Routs across the Country, as well as the Situation of Indian Villages, trading Places, the Creeks that fall into Lake Erie, and other Affairs relating to Ohio and its Branches, are from a great Number of Informations of Traders and others, and especially of a very intelligent Indian called The Eagle, who had a good Notion of Distances, Bearings and delineating.

Although Evans did not see Gist's draught of the western country until after his map was published,¹⁴⁹ he apparently gained access to Gist's journal while preparing his map. John Mercer wrote:

...you see Gists tract exactly pricked down in Evan's map & the distances mentiond in it prove that it was taken exactly from Gist's Journal...

Evans provides additional information on his resources 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...

A good example of an inaccuracy is the representation of Jennings Run. The stream is shown to head sharply southwest and join Wills Creek quite near Fort Cumberland. Jennings Run actually joins Wills Creek much closer to the Pennsylvania state line, and has a generally east-west orientation between Barrelville, Maryland and its mouth at Corriganville, Maryland. Evans illustrates Wills Creek as running diagonally, in a southeastern direction from the state line to Fort Cumberland. It actually runs generally south-southwest, then turns southeast through the Narrows, following a convoluted path to join the Potomac River. Here, frontier traders boating up the river from the Conococheague would disembark at the mouth of Wills Creek.

A brief description of the route on Evans' map, with modern place names

The June 23, 1755¹⁵⁰ Lewis Evans map¹⁵¹ ([Figure 0003](#)) shows a schematic, straight-line representation of a path from Wills Creek (Fort Cumberland) to a location just south of Three Forks (i.e. Turkeyfoot, present-day Confluence). From there, the path goes on to "*The Meadows*"¹⁵². The map shows the July 3, 1754 site of the battle at Fort Necessity with crossed muskets (located above the words "*The Meadows*"). From the Meadows, the road continues on past Gist's (now Mount Braddock) and through Stewart's Crossing (now Connellsville) and on to "*fort du Quesne*" (now Pittsburgh). From there, it goes on to an area marked "*Tawixtawi and Mine-amis*" (Piqua, Ohio). Based on the landmarks along the route, Evans illustrates the Ohio Company/Braddock's road and

¹⁴⁹ In a 1756 letter, Evans wrote, "*Since the publication of my Map, Mr. Gist... was some weeks in Philadelphia. When I shew'd him my Map, he could not be well persuaded at first but I had a perusal of his Draught...*"

¹⁵⁰ The title block on the Evans map states: "*Published according to Act of Parliament, by Lewis Evans, June 23, 1755 and sold by R. Dodfley, in Pall-Mall, London, & by the Author in Philadelphia.*" (See [Figure 0003A](#))

¹⁵¹ The 1755 Lewis Evans map was copied by Thomas Jefferys, even as late as 1787 ([Appendix 0063](#)).

¹⁵² "*The Meadows*" was the site of the Battle of Fort Necessity.

the road to Pickawillany via Logstown. The map also shows a road connecting Fort Cumberland with Ray's Town, Pennsylvania via what is now Brothersvalley Township, Somerset County, Pennsylvania. A brief article about Lewis Evans and his map is provided in Volume 2 of the 1898 "Maryland Geological Survey"; see [Appendix 0004](#).

Fort Necessity was located along Braddock's road

[Figure 0004](#) is a map from Robert Bruce's 1916 book "**The National road; most historic thoroughfare in the United States...**" which shows that Fort Necessity was located along Braddock's road.¹⁵³ The Fry and Jefferson map shows the same thing, and illustrates the path through Turkeyfoot as heading more directly to Gist's plantation. Nevertheless, because both the path and the Ohio Company's/Braddock's road swing far to the west past Gist's, a traveler on each one had to cross the Youghiogheny River twice. Since the routes merge on the Fry and Jefferson map enroute to the forks of the Ohio, the second crossing would probably have been at Stewart's Crossing (Connellsville).

Toner's 1893 edition of the "**Journal of Colonel George Washington**" ([Appendix 0007](#)) indicates that Fort Necessity was located on what eventually became a 234-acre tract that straddled Braddock's road. The actual route of Braddock's road is mapped and described in detail in Volume 4 of Hulbert's 1903 "**Historic Highways of America**" ([Appendix 0075](#)), which pertains to the studies done by Middleton, Sparks and Atkinson.

Evans describes the route from Wills Creek to Fort Duquesne

Lewis Evans' 1755 booklet about his map ([Appendix 0005](#)) describes the Wills Creek to Fort Duquesne route, mentioning "Turkey Foot". He writes:

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.¹⁵⁴ 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 Fields¹⁵⁵. 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.¹⁵⁶ And the three

¹⁵³ [Figure 0943](#) shows the section of Braddock's road where Braddock was originally buried. He was buried in the roadway to hide the burial site.

¹⁵⁴ This plural "roads" statement suggests that another route existed, in addition to the route of the Ohio Company/Braddock's road that Evans details.

¹⁵⁵ Charles A. Hanna's 1911 book "**The Wilderness Trail**" indicates that Shawnee Fields was "on the flat lands now in part occupied by the west side of the city of Cumberland." The Fry and Jefferson map shows the Shawnee Fields to be southwest of Fort Cumberland along the Potomac.

¹⁵⁶ Evans states that the road crosses the Youghiogheny "three Miles above the Joining of the three Forks, or Turkey Foot." Braddock's road was probably twice that distance from Turkeyfoot, so why the discrepancy? Did the Ohio Company road cross farther north than Braddock's road? While it may or may not be a clue, the 1826 Melish Map of Pennsylvania ([Figure 0471](#)) includes a label that puts "Great Crossings" at a location between the National Road and the Turkeyfoot, perhaps three or four miles south of the Turkeyfoot. Melish's more northern crossing location could also pertain to the "United States Road" that forks northwest from Braddock's road on the 1939 W.P.A. Addison Township "survey warrant" map ([Figure 0294](#)) that is discussed in Chapter 32 herein, or to the "Old Road" successor to Braddock's road that is described on pages 211 and 212 of the 1906 book "**History of Bedford and Somerset Counties...**".

Forks are three Miles above¹⁵⁷ 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.

Unfortunately, Evans' "swampy Ground" sentence was incorrectly quoted in the first edition of this book. That edition opined that Evans' "some little Compass round" may have been the Old Fort Hill Road, which is located north of Mount Davis. Considering Evans' actual language, this is an incorrect interpretation. Evans states that the two branches of the Youghiogheny are crossed **west** of the swampy ground. The swampy ground (now High Point Lake, [Figure 0534](#)) that the Old Fort Hill Road bypasses is located between two branches of the Youghiogheny. Evans' "swampy Ground" statement could possibly be referring to the Piney Grove/Wolf Swamp (Little Meadows) area east of the Casselman River.

In the above quote, Evans states: "*The Mountain, though pretty stony, may have a good Waggon Road made over it.*" This is similar to what Christopher Gist said in his November 4, 1751 journal entry, which reads "*The Ascent is no where very steep but rises gradually near 6 M, it is now very full of old Trees & Stones, but with some Pains might be made a good Waggon Road...*". This supports Mercer's contention that Evans obtained some of his information from Gist's journal.

Evans ends his book with a proposal for England to settle the Ohio despite the French, 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 illustrated the best road to Fort Duquesne that could be used for western migration from Virginia if the French were defeated – the Ohio Company/Braddock's road.

¹⁵⁷ Today, one usually thinks of the directions "above" or "below" to mean "north of" or "south of". In the above quote, "above" and "below" relate to the influence of altitude on the direction of water drainage. In other words, Evans meant "upstream from" and "downstream from". During the research for this book, it became very clear that explorers and later travelers made it a point to pay careful attention to the direction in which rivers and streams flowed.

What does it mean that Goodman was wrong about Evans' map?

Even though Evans' map is quite schematic, the portion between Wills Creek and Fort Duquesne can easily be interpreted to represent the Ohio Company/Braddock's road, instead of some Twightwee Road, because of the landmarks along it: The Meadows, Gist's, and Stewart's. Even though Evans' map was intended to represent the Ohio Company/Braddock's road, this does not impact Goodman's general conclusions about an early trading route out of Wills Creek, because the Ohio Company road did not yet exist when the English traded with Pickawillany¹⁵⁸. If, before the destruction of Pickawillany, some of that trade came out of Wills Creek, the traders presumably would have used the common trading route along Jennings Run that Gist identifies in his November 4, 1751 journal entry. The storehouse at Wills Creek already existed on that date, and traders such as Barny Curran and Hugh Parker were already taking Ohio Company goods far into the Ohio valley before Gist even began looking for a suitable location for the Ohio Company road.

Ohio Company records shed light on Goodman's Wills Creek contention

Ohio Company records are reviewed in the following chapter. One record makes clear that the Ohio Company road had not been built yet on May 22, 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. Another Ohio Company record proves that their road did not yet exist on April 28, 1752. Pickawillany was destroyed on June 21, 1752. The first record of a completed Ohio Company road is dated February 6, 1753; but at that time, it only went to a branch of the Ohio. The first record of a completed Ohio Company road to the Pittsburgh area is July 27, 1753. If the Ohio Company road did not come into existence until after Pickawillany was destroyed, then the trade between Wills Creek and Pickawillany did not follow the Ohio Company road. At least some of it must have followed the path that Gist implies and the Fry and Jefferson map illustrates.

On the Fry and Jefferson map (Figure 0010), the Ohio Company/Braddock's road and the antecedent to the Turkey Foot Road both cross the Youghiogheny and go to Gist's plantation. From there, two paths head north to recross the Youghiogheny. Then a single path goes on to the location of present-day Pittsburgh. In other words, even though the Evans map illustrates the Ohio Company/Braddock's road, and Goodman misinterpreted it as the earlier trading route, this does not matter much, because the Fry and Jefferson map proves that both routes crossed the Youghiogheny twice, just as shown on Evans' map, and passed Gist's residence. From there, routes headed north to Logstown, and connected with Pickawillany. Except for Evans' detour to the Meadows, his straight-line schematic representation could apply equally well to either the path or the road that are illustrated on the Fry and Jefferson map.

Trade after the destruction of Pickawillany

Horace Knapp's 1872 book "**History of the Maumee Valley**" indicates that the Ohio Company briefly attempted trade with the Twightwee region after Pickawillany was destroyed. Although the basis for this contention is unknown, the book states:

In 1752, Christopher Gist was appointed surveyor of the Ohio Company, and at his suggestion a trading post was established during the Fall of that year, at a point somewhat east of

¹⁵⁸ Although many sources state that the Ohio Company road followed an Indian trail antecedent out of Wills Creek, this viewpoint seems to be based on a conjecture by Veech that was picked up and repeated as fact in many subsequent books. In any case, if such an antecedent trail did exist, it was not the common trading route through the Jennings Run water gap that Gist identifies in his November 4, 1751 journal entry.

Pickawillany, which had been destroyed by the French during the Summer. It did not continue long; for the traders, learning of an intended visit from the French, hastily gathered up their goods and proceeded eastward. The site of this post can not now be determined.

Since this alleged trade occurred after Pickawillany was destroyed, it has little relevance to a discussion of the common trader's route that was in use before Pickawillany was destroyed. It may, however, be relevant to what is depicted on Evans' map.

Conclusion

Since much of the trade with the Twightwee seems to have involved Pennsylvanians, and since Indians often employed road metaphors to represent friendship and alliance, Goodman's contention that the road to Wills Creek on the Evans map is a Twightwee Road that came to Wills Creek is misguided. Even though Goodman was wrong, and Evans' map actually represents the Ohio Company/Braddock's road, it does not impact the general conclusion that an Indian trading path from Wills Creek preceded the Ohio Company road, and ran through Turkeyfoot (now Confluence), accommodating trade with Pickawillany. After all, Gist mentions and locates the common trader's route along Jennings Run in his second journal, and the Fry and Jefferson map illustrates a path from Wills Creek that passed through Turkeyfoot and supported several possible routes to Pickawillany:

- A branch of the path from Wills Creek connected with the Ohio River in a region where several paths identified in Mills' 1914 book connect with Pickawillany.
- A branch of the path from Wills Creek connected with a route to the forks of Ohio (now Pittsburgh) via Turkeyfoot, crossing the Youghiogheny River twice along the way. From the forks of Ohio, a well-trodden path was available to Pickawillany via Logstown and Hockhocken, and the Ohio River provided a water route to various paths that connected with Pickawillany.
- The path from Wills Creek connected with the Kanawha River upstream from the path on the Mitchell map that leads to Pickawillany from Shawnoah.
- The path from Wills Creek connected with the Monongahela River, which provided a downstream water route to various paths along the Ohio River that connected with Pickawillany.

As stated in Chapter 2, the path from Wills Creek to Turkeyfoot survives in the local traditions of Mount Savage, Maryland and Salisbury, Pennsylvania, and is called the "Turkey Foot Trail" or the "Turkey Foot Path".

As this chapter shows, Virginians did trade in the Ohio valley. 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 to the Indian town near the mouth of the Kanawha River would have followed the path through the Jennings Run water gap. This trading activity was a part of the general trading activity that incited the French attack on Pickawillany, and the French and Indian War. According to a 1752 article, the French had the extermination of a successful Virginia trader in mind when they made their first attempt to attack the Twightwee Indians.

The first road across Somerset County

It has long been accepted as a "fact" that the first road across the area that became Somerset County, Pennsylvania was the route the Ohio Company, Washington, and Braddock followed. For example,

page 617 of Sherman Day's 1843 book "**Historical collections of the State of Pennsylvania**" states:

The first opening through the wilderness of what is now Somerset CO., was made by no less a personage than Lieut. Col. George Washington, in 1754. ...This road crossed the southwestern corner of the county, passing the Yough'ogheny about two miles north of where the present national road crosses.

Sherman Day misses the fact that the road Washington followed was opened by the Ohio Company. According to our interpretation of Gist's journal, the Turkey Foot Path preceded the Ohio Company road by several years and was used for western trade, even if it could not accommodate wagon traffic. The 1906 book "**History of Bedford and Somerset Counties...**" ([Appendix 0037](#)) states history more accurately in this regard:

The road cut out by Washington, in 1754, toward the forks of the Ohio, and known as the "Braddock road," was the first to penetrate into what is now Somerset county that was passable for wagons. ... This road, however, only traversed the extreme southwest corner of the county for perhaps a distance of six or seven miles. It therefore did not serve as an aid to the first settlement of the county to the same extent that it would have done had its route been a few miles further to the north.

As proven above, Gist describes, and the Fry and Jefferson map shows, another trading route out of Wills Creek. That route went deep into the Ohio valley, and connected with a well-traveled path that went to Pickawillany via Logstown and Hockhocken. Whether any parts of these early trading paths were actually prepared by the Twightwee, as Goodman alleges, they were certainly used to trade with Twightwee. The parts of the route near Mount Savage, Maryland and Salisbury, Pennsylvania help to explain the local Indian/packer's path traditions associated with the eastern part of the Turkey Foot Road, and help to explain the pre-1779 settlements in the vicinity of present-day Salisbury and Confluence. This route was "a few miles further to the north", and (based on Gist) clearly preceded the Ohio Company road. The trade it accommodated had a significant influence on North American history, even though it was not yet a wagon road.

