

Addendum A

Fourth edition errata & supplemental material

Overview

This evolving addendum to the fourth edition of the book “**In Search of the Turkey Foot Road**” is provided by Mr. Dietle to convey supplemental information and corrections. This version of the addendum was published on the Internet on September 20, 2015. The hyperlinks to figures numbered 1003 and above and appendices numbered 82 and above will work over the Internet. The hyperlinks to figures numbered less than 1003 and appendices numbered less than 82 will only work if this addendum file is located in the same folder as the files that were included on the DVD of the book.

1. Introduction

The big picture in Fayette County

The reason the then-new Turkey Foot Road was routed across Laurel Ridge and Chestnut Ridge during the Revolutionary War was to avoid crossing and recrossing the Youghiogheny River (an inherent disadvantage of Braddock’s road), to take advantage of critically important natural forage that was available where Mill Run enters Indian Creek, and to create a road that was shorter than Braddock’s road, and in better condition.

The route across Fayette County (Page 10)

The Shenandoah Road crossing site (correction)

Page 11 of the fourth edition states: “*The route exited the James Smith survey approximately at Latitude 40.067423°, Longitude -79.524547°. A 1939 aerial photo shows traces that indicate the Turkey Foot Road continued on the same compass heading, crossing Shenandoah Road somewhere near Latitude 40.072694°, Longitude -79.526789° (Figure 0846).*” For the reasons described herein in notes pertaining to Chapter 34, the coordinates for the Shenandoah Road crossing are no longer believed to be accurate.

2. The Indian and bridle path traditions

Greenville Township, Pennsylvania (Page 18)

A tradition of a trail northward from Braddock’s road

A 1911 issue of the “**Meyersdale Republican**” includes an article titled “*A Chapter of Early History of Meyersdale*”. The article was written by John M. Olinger, who was the grandson of an early pioneer at the site of Meyersdale. According to the article, “*Mr. Olinger’s grandfather located here in 1776*”

and originally owned the land on which the greater portion of the town of Meyersdale is now situated.” The article states:

After he bought this land he returned to his family in York county, gathered his few goods, and started in a two-horse wagon for his new home. He came by the way of Hagerstown and Cumberland, Md, following Gen. Braddock’s trail, the route over which the National _____ was later built. A few miles west of the present site of Frostburg, Md., he left that trail, and struck out for Pocahontas, or a point near that ancient village, where stood an inhabited hut in which he put up for the night. He tethered his horses out in the open to help themselves with grass and leaves. Next morning, he fed his two horses a loaf of bread, his horse feed having given out. As the country between Pocahontas and Sparta (now Meyersdale) was at that time an almost impenetrable forest, he secured the services of two men of the family whose hospitality he had enjoyed, to help him from there to his new home. It took from early morning until late in the evening to make this last state of the journey. The Pocahontas people who sheltered him and his family were quite poor, yet they gave the best they had and sent the two men along without any pay.

This Olinger family tradition, if true, indicates the 1776 existence of a road or trail that ran from Braddock’s road to the vicinity of the eventual site Pocahontas. Such a route may have included a section of the Turkey Foot Road, and is a possible candidate be the antecedent to Finzel Road.

3. Gist’s journal indicates that a packer’s path followed Jennings Run in 1751

Introduction (Page 21)

The Mount Pleasant tract and Normand Bruce

In pursuit of the naming basis of Jennings Run, footnote 48 on page 21 of the fourth edition suggests further research to see if the “*Mount Pleasant*” tract near present-day Frostburg is the “*Mount Pleasant*” tract that was surveyed for Joseph Jennings in 1743. The “*Mount Pleasant*” tract near Frostburg adjoins Doctor David Ross’s 1765 “*Workmans Desire*” tract.¹ This suggests that it is the “*Mount Pleasant*” tract that was surveyed for Normand Bruce in 1767 and references “*a Ridge called Workmans Desire*”.

Jennings Run may not have been named yet in the 1745 timeframe. Thomas Bladen’s 1745 Wills Town survey (Unpatented Certificate 383, [Figure 0987](#)) refers to Jennings Run as “*a Run that falls into Wills Creek*”, rather than referring to it by name. Jennings Run had already been named by 1765, because it is referenced as a landmark in Ross’s 1765 “*Workmans Desire*” tract.

¹ This information is based on Francis Deakins’ December 10, 1787 document that includes the statement “*The patented Lands to the Westward of Fort Cumberland are Recorded in this Book From Folio A to 25*”. The official title given by the Maryland State Archives is “**Land Office (Military Lots Ledger) Liber A, 1787, pp. 1-25 List and Description of Patented Lands MSA SE2-1**”.

The common traders route followed Jennings Run (Page 21)

Disputing Mulkearn

The footnotes in Louis Mulkearn's 1954 book "**George Mercer papers relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia**" make several mistakes concerning Christopher Gist's November 4, 1751 journal entry. Given the stature of Mulkearn's book, these mistakes require attention.

In regard to Gist's statement "*This Gap is the nearest to Potomack River of any in the Allegany Mountains, and is accounted one of the best, tho the Mountain is very high...*", Mulkearn's footnote 185 incorrectly indicates "*the Mountain*" is Wills Mountain, even though the previous footnote correctly describes the gap as being between Dan's and Piney mountains. The gap that Gist describes as beginning four miles west of the storehouse, is a gap in the next ridge west of Wills Mountain.²

In regard to Gist's statement "*this Gap is directly in the Way to Mohongaly, & several Miles nearer than that the Traders commonly pass thro, and a much better Way*", Mulkearn's footnote 186 indicates that the gap the traders commonly pass through is the Narrows. At four miles from the storehouse, place Gist refers to as "*this Gap*" is about four times farther from the Potomac River, compared to the Narrows. This means that the Narrows cannot be what Gist references as the gap "*the Traders commonly pass thro*". Obviously, however, traders from Wills Creek who used the Jennings Run water gap would also pass through the Narrows.

4. The Fry and Jefferson map shows a path from Wills Creek to Turkeyfoot, and beyond

The main conclusion of Chapter 4 may be incorrect

Introduction

Chapter 4 of the fourth edition concludes that the dashed line routes from Wills Creek to the Kanawha River on the Fry and Jefferson map are an early path that anteceded the eastern part of the Turkey Foot Road. This conclusion may be incorrect. At the very least, the dashed lines west of the split on the west side of the Monongahela River illustrate Christopher Gist's second tour. Unlike Gist's first tour,³ no documentary evidence has been found that proves his second tour followed a path.

The Board of Trade map

Map number six in the "**Board of Trade Maps**", Volume 12 (Darlington Digital Library [DARMAP0610](#)) uses red lines⁴ to illustrate the inbound and outbound routes of Christopher Gist's second tour in the region west of the Monongahela River. The map, perhaps incorrectly, indicates that Gist crossed the Monongahela River below the Youghiogheny River. The map does not show Gist's route east of the Monongahela River.

² On the 1950 topographical map, the ridge just west of Cumberland, Maryland is identified as Haystack Mountain south of the Narrows, and as Wills Mountain north of the Narrows. On the 1898 topographical map, both of these mountains are identified as Wills Mountain.

³ Gist's first journal mentions some paths, and villages his first tour passes through are on paths described by traders.

⁴ The Board of Trade map states: "*The Black dotted Lines shew the Courses of Christopher Gists first Tour—and the Red dotted lines the Courses of his Second Tour.*"

The location where the route splits west of the Monongahela River is where Gist's party camped from December 21, 1751 to January 7, 1752. They tarried there so long because Gist's son was suffering from frostbite. Gist's journal reveals that his return route brought his party back to the same campsite on March 11, 1752.⁵ While much of the return route followed the Ohio River closely, the outbound route down the Ohio Valley was more distant from the river.

The means whereby Gist was able to return to his old campsite is unknown, but may suggest that he camped where a path divided into two branches. On the other hand, Gist's first journal reveals that he used instruments to aide in navigation, and this could explain how he was able to return to his old campsite.

West of the Monongahela, the Fry and Jefferson map shows Gist's second tour

After the dashed line route on the Fry and Jefferson map splits west of the Monongahela River, the route is a reasonably close match to the outbound and return routes that are illustrated in red on the Board of Trade map. This suggests that the cartographer for the Fry and Jefferson map had access to a copy of the Board of Trade map. On February 22, 1752, Gist's journal entry mentions "*a high Hill from whence we could see the River Ohio*". This entry appears to be the basis for the annotation "*The Ohio seen from this Hill*" on the Fry and Jefferson map, and suggests that the cartographer also had access to Gist's second journal.

Above the Kanawha River, the tributaries that enter the south side of the Ohio River are the same on both maps, albeit with somewhat different spellings. Curiously, however, the tributaries do not appear in the order Gist describes them in his second journal.

The Fry and Jefferson map also shows parts of Gist's first tour

With more study, is now clear that the Fry and Jefferson map also uses dashed lines to illustrate parts of Gist's first tour, which began at Old Town, Maryland, passed through Loyalhanna and Shannopin's Town, and ended on the Yadkin River.⁶ Although the outbound part of Gist's first tour clearly followed contemporaneous Indian and trader's paths, no documentary evidence has been found that his second tour did so.

Differences between the maps

The river crossing location — The most significant difference between the Board of Trade map and the Fry and Jefferson map is the location where the route crosses the Monongahela River. The Fry and Jefferson map shows the route crossing the Monongahela River above the Youghiogheny River, and the Board of Trade map shows the route crossing the Monongahela River below the Youghiogheny River.

Gist's journal does not specify where he crossed the Monongahela River on November 15, 1751. Nevertheless, in his 1893 book "**Christopher Gist's journals...**" Darlington reports that Gist crossed

⁵ On March 11, 1752, Gist reports that he has returned to "*our old Camp, where my Son had been frost-bitten. After We had got to this Place in our old Tract, I did not keep any exact Account of Course and Distance, as I thought the Rivers & Creeks sufficiently described by my Courses as I came down.*" On March 12, 1752, Gist reports: "*I set out for Mohongaly crossed it upon a Raft of Logs from whence I made the best of my Way to Potomack—I did not keep exactly my old Tract but went more to the Eastward and found a much nearer way home.*"

⁶ The dashed line routes on the Fry and Jefferson map are not identified as documenting Gist's first and second tours, but the map states: "*The Course of the Ohio or Alliganey River and its Branches are laid down from Surveys and Draughts made on the Spot by Mr Gist and others in the years 1751, 2, 3 & 4.*"

the Monongahela River below the Youghiogheny River on November 15, 1751. The apparent basis for Darlington's statement is his personal copy of the Board of Trade map.

In order to cross the Monongahela River below the mouth of the Youghiogheny River, Gist would first have to cross over the Youghiogheny River. Gist's second journal makes no mention of such a crossing, which would be a surprising landmark omission if the crossing occurred.

Gist's journal does, however, mention being next to Licking Creek on November 17, 1751. The Fry and Jefferson map shows the route as crossing Licking Creek after crossing the Monongahela, while the Board of Trade map shows the route crossing "*Shurtee's Cr*" (Chartiers Creek). Although the Fry and Jefferson map shows the route as crossing above and south of "*Shurtees Cr*", in reality, the route probably had to cross the waters of Chartiers Creek somewhere. The representation of the waters of the Monongahela is quite crude on the Board of Trade map, and Licking Creek is not illustrated. Both maps show the route splitting into northern and southern branches west of Chartiers Creek.

The return route upriver — Another significant difference between the Board of Trade map and the Fry and Jefferson map is the location where Gist's return route ceases to follow the Ohio River upstream.

Both maps show the more southern, outbound route down the valley as turning right to parallel the Kanawha River,⁷ and reaching the Ohio River at a point opposite the mouth of the Hocking River.⁸ Upon reaching the Ohio River, the route turns upstream and follows the river closely on both maps.⁹ The route leaves the Ohio River at the Little Kanawha River on the Fry and Jefferson map, and at "*Necnecmokeesy*" on the Board of Trade map. This is the second major route difference between the maps.

The fort on Chartiers Creek — The Board of Trade map seemingly shows the return route connecting with the "*Fort erecting by the Compa*" at the mouth of Chartiers Creek. This is an insignificant difference between the maps, since both maps are distorted and out of scale. On the Board of Trade map, the illustration of the fort is very large, and this is probably the only reason the return route seems to connect with the fort.

What about the route east of the Monongahela River on the Fry and Jefferson map?

East of the Monongahela, parts of Gist's outbound second tour are difficult to plot accurately¹⁰ because of the time Gist spent exploring the countryside. Nevertheless, it is clear that Gist first veered northwest, and then veered southwest, before crossing the south branch of the Youghiogheny River. The dashed line route that curves around the north side of Negro Mountain on the Fry and Jefferson map could conceivably be a cartographer's attempt to roughly convey what is described in Gist's second journal. If that is what the dashed line route represents, the cartographer can perhaps be

⁷ The Kanawha River is listed as the "*Great Konhaway*" on the Fry and Jefferson map, and as the "*Great Conhaway*" on the Board of Trade map. In the location where the route generally parallels the Kanawha River, the Board of Trade map has the inscription "*Where the Compa propose to build the 2d Fort*".

⁸ The Hocking River is referred to as the "*Hokhoking or the Long Necked Bottle*" on the Fry and Jefferson map, and as "*Hockockeen Creek*" on the Board of Trade map.

⁹ Although no route along the Ohio River is actually shown on the Board of Trade map, it is implied because the route comes to the Ohio River at one place, and departs from the river at another place.

¹⁰ It may be more effective to plot backwards from the estimated location of Gist's first camp on the west side of the Youghiogheny River.

forgiven for not understanding that the first portion of Gist's westward journey was approximately the same as Braddock's subsequent road.

Since other dashed lines on the map clearly represent portions of Gist's first and second tours, it seems reasonable to think that the dashed lines between Wills Creek and the Monongahela River also may be intended to represent the outbound route that is described in Gist's second journal.

Under the theory that the dashed lines between Wills Creek and the Kanawha River represent Gist's second tour, the two sets of dashed lines in the vicinity of Gist's plantation are difficult to explain. Are they intended to illustrate Gist's exploration of the area, or do they illustrate an actual through route that veers northward to the Forks of the Ohio?

Introspection

After studying this subject for so long, it is a humbling experience to discover that the dashed line route to the Kanawha River on the Fry and Jefferson map represents Gist's second tour. The worst part is knowing that some individuals who are exposed to Chapter 4 will never see this addendum. Still, there is a certain sense of pride in finally figuring out that the route represents Gist's second tour, when others seem to have missed it.

The journal from Gist's second tour is provided in Darlington's exemplary 1893 book "**Christopher Gist's journals...**" Darlington's copy of map number six in the "**Board of Trade Maps**", Volume 12 was acquired in 1882. Darlington's book includes copies of various early maps, including the Fry and Jefferson map, but fails to note that west of the split, the Fry and Jefferson map shows essentially the same second tour route as the Board of Trade map.

Prior to publication of the fourth edition, I sought out the most eminent living authority on the Fry and Jefferson map that I could find to review Chapter 4. This individual, who has published some remarkable research on the Fry and Jefferson map, also failed to note that west of the split, the Fry and Jefferson map shows essentially the same second tour route as the Board of Trade map.

One has to understand that the Ohio Company almost certainly didn't want its hard-earned geographical knowledge published. The presence of the first and second tours on the Fry and Jefferson map is almost certainly the result of pirating the valuable information that the Ohio Company supplied to the Board of Trade. The outbound part of Gist's first tour included existing paths, so including these paths added value to the map by documenting actual physical routes that people could use. The cartographer may have assumed, or may have even had information indicating, that the second tour also followed existing paths that would likewise add value to the map.

It seems unlikely that the route of Gist's second tour was included as a novelty, like something the National Geographic Magazine might publish to highlight the accomplishments of an intrepid cross-country explorer. That sort of novelty publication would only make sense if the route on the map is specifically associated with the explorer by name. It is not. At the time of the map, it was also not novel for traders to be traveling to, and beyond, the Kanawha River.

I do not know, and may never know, whether Gist's second tour followed existing paths, although to me, it seems likely that he did. What is clear, though, is that Gist's first and second tours are represented on the Fry and Jefferson map with dashed lines.

Fry knew the country between Wills Creek and Fort Duquesne (Page 25)

Fry takes an instrument reading

A bit of documentary evidence that Joshua Fry continued studying the western country after his 1751 map making activities is provided in Volume V of the “**Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania**”. On page 751, William West describes Fry as taking an instrument observation of the sun on June 16, 1752, “*at a Place about a Mile North of Shanoppin’s Town*”. Page 761 gives the latitude of Shanoppin’s Town that was based on the reading, and gives William West’s description of distances from Sideling Hill to Rays Town, Edmund’s Swamp, Kekinny Paulins, Loyalhannin, and Shanoppin’s Town.

Caiuctucuc, at the mouth of Wills Creek (Page 28)

Shawno Fields Deserted

Pages 28 and 206 of the fourth edition reference the “*Shawno Fields Deserted*” that are identified on the 1755 Fry and Jefferson map. Although the Barton archeological site near Pinto, Maryland is described as being used by the Shawnee for crop cultivation, there were other deserted Shawnee fields along the Potomac River that were considerably closer to the present-day site of Cumberland. There was also an Indian village about three miles above Pinto. The facts supporting these statements are included below to provide a better understanding of the extent of the deserted Shawnee occupation sites above Cumberland.

Lewis Evan’s booklet about his 1755 map states: “*The North Branch is scarce passable with Canoes beyond the Shawane Fields, some three or four Miles above Will’s Creek.*” Four miles along the river would be somewhere in the general vicinity of the Allegany County Fairgrounds. The fairgrounds are located on David Ross’s interestingly named May 3, 1762 survey “*Buck Lodge*”, which extends a little ways north of Carpendale, West Virginia. The name “*Buck Lodge*” may be a reference to the Indian occupation site Evans describes.

Thomas Bladen’s June 1, 1746 “*Sugar Bottom*” survey is located in the horseshoe bend of the Potomac River near Pinto, Maryland, as shown by Veatch’s map ([Figure 0467](#)). The property description identifies an Indian village three miles upriver:

Beginning at a bounded elm Tree standing at the lower end of a Bottom above a place called Andersons Bottom, about Three miles below the Upper Old Town on the North Branch of Potowmac...

Thomas Bladen’s November 8, 1746 “*Three Springs Bottom*” survey is located downstream from “*Sugar Bottom*” astride Warrior Run, and mentions the same Indian village. The “*Three Springs Bottom*” property is described as being located:

Opposite to a place called Andersons Cabbin about four miles Below the Upper Old Town on the North Branch of Potomac.

Cresaptown is located on “*Three Springs Bottom*”. Francis Bridges reports that a significant amount of archaeological work was done at the Cresaptown ball field roughly twenty years ago, and lots of Indian artifacts were found.

Thomas Cresap’s May 4, 1752 “*Little Meadows*” survey is located immediately north of Pinto, Maryland, and very close to “*Sugar Bottom*”. The beginning point of the property is:

By the side of a small ridge near some Sink holes about a quarter of a Mile from potowmack river near the upper old Indian Town.

The Maryland property that is located just upriver from “*Little Meadows*” on the Veatch map is named “*Indian Purchase*”.

The path ran past Gist’s residence (Page 35)

Part of the route on the Fry and Jefferson map matches Gist’s second tour (correction)

Page 35 of the fourth edition states:

*The path on the Fry and Jefferson map does not represent Gist’s second Ohio Company tour. Map number six in the “**Board of Trade Maps**”, Volume 12 ([Figure 0097](#)) shows that Gist’s second tour crossed the Monongahela River below the Youghiogheny River.*

The first sentence of the quote is incorrect. In the area west of where the route splits into two branches, the [Fry and Jefferson map](#) illustrates essentially the same route as the Board of Trade map.

The Monongahela River fording site

If the Fry and Jefferson map ([Figure 0010](#)) provides a reasonably accurate depiction of the curve in the Monongahela River that is located above the mouth of the Youghiogheny River, then the dashed line route from Wills Creek crosses the Monongahela River at Glassport, Pennsylvania. No other maps have been observed that show a path through this area, and the suitability of the area for a fording site is unknown.

Gist also had a house at Wills Creek

In addition to his house at Mount Braddock, Christopher Gist also had a house at Wills Creek. His November 14, 1753 journal entry states:

Then Major George Washington came to my house at Will’s Creek, and delivered me a letter from the Council in Virginia, requesting me to attend him up to the commandant of the French fort on the Ohio river.

Other individuals probably had cabins or houses in the immediate vicinity of the Ohio Company storehouse by 1753 as well, but Gist provided written documentary evidence concerning his house. Unless evidence of other early residences can be found, Gist’s houses at Wills Creek and Mount Braddock appear to be the earliest documented residential structures along the dashed line route from Wills Creek that is shown on the Fry and Jefferson map.

Indian paths in Ohio (Page 39)

A 1753 Indian village at the mouth of the Kanawha River

While, strictly speaking, the Fry and Jefferson map ([Figure 0581](#)) shows the dashed line route from Wills Creek as going to the mouth of the Hocking River, the route can also be interpreted as following the north side of the Kanawha River to the Ohio River. On a straight line, it is 31.8 miles between the mouths of the Hocking and Kanawha rivers.

Scarrooyady's October 3, 1753 speech at a conference in Carlisle, recorded in Hanna's 1911 book "**The Wilderness Trail**", implies the existence of an important trading post at an Indian village at or near the mouth of the Kanawha River:

The French look on the great number of your Traders at Ohio with envy; they fear they shall lose their Trade. You have more Traders than are necessary, and they spread themselves over our wide country at such great distances that we cannot see them or protect them. We desire you will call back the great number of your Traders, and let only three sets of Traders remain, and order these to stay in three places which we have appointed for their residence, viz., Log's Town, the Mouth of Canawha, and the Mouth of Mohongialo. The Indians will then come to them and buy their goods in these places, and nowhere else. We shall likewise look on them under our care, and be accountable for them. We have settled this point with Virginia in the same manner...

Scarrooyady's reference to Virginia suggests that Virginians were also trading at the three referenced trading points. Atkinson's 1876 book "**History of Kanawha County**" describes a mid-eighteenth century Indian village near the mouth of the Kanawha River:

There was once, in the early history of this country, a Shawnee Indian town at the mouth of Old Town Creek, which empties into the Ohio near where Point Pleasant now stands. It is supposed that it was deserted by them about the year 1760. While plowing in a field at that place, not many years ago, some eighty or more gun barrels were found. An anvil, hammers, and other blacksmith's tools were also discovered. Several of the mounds in that vicinity have been excavated, and tomahawks, gun barrels, pewter basins, and other old relics have been disinterred; proving, conclusively, that over a century and a quarter in the past, the Indians had a populous town on the banks of the "La Belle Riviere," and roamed unmolested in the pursuit of wild game...

Old Town Creek empties into the Ohio River 2.5 miles below the mouth of the Kanawha River, at Latitude 38.874521°, Longitude -82.137599°. This may be the location of the "*Shawane T*" that is illustrated on Evans' 1755 map ([Figure 0582](#)). The presence of trade goods in mounds, and the presence of so many gun barrels, suggests that the village on Old Town Creek was an important center for trade with the English or French. This expands the understanding of trail number 6 in William C. Mills' 1914 book "**Archeological Atlas of Ohio**", which Mills describes as "*one of the most important fur routes between the Lakes and the Virginia country*". Mills' statement, the village on Old Town Creek, and Scarrooyady's October 3, 1753 speech help to explain the routes Gist used between Monongahela and Kanawha rivers, which are represented on the 1755 Fry and Jefferson map and the Board of Trade map.

There were other Indian villages in the area as well. Mitchell's 1755 map illustrates "*Kiskonmintoes T.*" along the Ohio River, midway between the Kanawha and Hocking Rivers, while Evans' map illustrates it as "*Kisnkemintas old T*", and illustrates "*Wanduxales old T*" opposite the mouth of the Little Kanawha River.

An early Pennsylvania trader deep in the Ohio Valley

During his second tour, Gist's journal entry from February 23, 1752 reports crossing over "Letort's Creek", and Gist's return route crosses the creek near its mouth on both the Fry and Jefferson and the Board of Trade maps. In his 1893 book "**Christopher Gist's Journals**", Darlington reports:

Le Tort's Creek, a small stream, empties into the Ohio, thirty miles above Point Pleasant, so called for James Le Tort, an early trader with the Indians on the Ohio. He was a French Huguenot, and lived near Philadelphia in his childhood; afterwards on the banks of the Susquehanna, and built a cabin about 1720, at Le Tort's Spring, where Carlisle, Cumberland County, Pa., now stands. He was often employed as interpreter by the Provincial authorities. Trading on the Allegheny and Ohio, from 1729 to 1739, he appears to have had a trading camp or station at this point, since well known as Le Tort's Rapids or Falls.

The Shawnoah to Pickawillany path on the 1755 Mitchell map (Page 41)

Shawnoah was moved due to flooding

George Croghan's 1765 journal corroborates Captain Harry Gordon's 1766 observation that Shawnoah was moved to the opposite bank of the Ohio River, and explains why. Volume 2 of Hanna's 1911 book "**The Wilderness Trail**" states:

When George Croghan made his voyage down the Ohio in May, 1765, he arrived at the mouth of the Scioto on the 23d, and notes in his Journal under that date: "On the Ohio, just below the mouth of the Scioto, on a high bank, near forty feet, formerly stood the Shawnesse Town called the Lower Town, which was all carried away, except three or four houses, by a great flood of the Scioto. I was in the town at the time. Though the banks of the Ohio were so high, the water was nine feet [deep] on the top, which obliged the whole Town to take to their canoes, and move with their effects to the hills. The Shawnesse afterwards built their Town on the opposite side of the River, which, during the French war, they abandoned, for fear of the Virginians, and removed to the Plains of the Scioto."

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

Dating the Ohio Company Storehouse and the arrival of trade goods at Wills Creek

A footnote on page 14 of the fourth edition cites a secondary source as indicating the Ohio Company storehouse was built circa 1750. A faded "*ohio Company by Hugh Parker*" record appears to show that the Wills Creek storehouse was already in operation in July 1750. Some of the entries from that month, which appear to document Parker's labor, include:

- *hauling two canoe loads*
- *hauling goods from Jam__to the Store*
- *making 20 Indian Shirts*
- *making 3 Shirts & one pear trousers for the treaders*
- *hauling goods to unload the Boat*
- *helping a Cart load of goods with me and my horses one way toward Carolinas.*

- *Work Done in the Store...*

The Ohio Company's storehouse is the earliest known commercial building that was located along the path that anteceded the eastern part of the Turkey Foot Road.

The following letter, quoted from the 1892 book "**Barons of the Potomack and the Rappahannock**", shows that the first shipment of Ohio Company goods had not yet been delivered to Parker in the spring of 1750. The letter, which was written from George Mason to Lawrence Washington on May 27, 1750, states:

As the Gent^m Mr. Parker offers for Security are utter Strangers to Me, I cannot take upon Me to say whether I think them sufficient or not; but as Mr. Parker's Affairs are circumstanced, I imagine they are the only Security He can at this Time give, and therefore I most readily concur in the same Opinion with You that it's better to accept them than delay sending up the Goods any longer; for we have already given to our Rivals the Pennsily^{ns} too many Advantages over us by suffering them to engage the Interest of the Indians, and raising in them numberless Prejudices against the Ohio Compy. While We, instead of fulfilling our Engagements and complying wth our Promises in Supplying them wth Goods, have lain quite still, as if we were altogether unconcerned in the Matter: for these Reasons I shou'd look upon anything that put stop to the Trade for this Season, as utterly destructive of our whole Scheme, and think it ought carefully to be avoided; and I have really so good an Opinion of Parker that I can hardly think He'll offer to defraud us; be sides I believe his All depends on discharging this Trust with Honor and Integrity.—But as the Company have ordered that he shou'd give Security, and have relyed on us to take it, we ought by all means to observe their Directions; and I make no Doubt, let the event be what it will, that they will approve what we have done; as they must be convinced We act upon no other motion than the Interest of the Company.—I therefore agree to accept the Security MR. Parker offers till a Gen^l Meeting of the Company, at w^{ch} Time they may accept or reject them as they think proper, —but I hardly think the Instrument of Writing Mr. Parker showed me authentic, and am of the Opinion they ought to bind themselves wth him in a Penal Bond under their Hands and Seals; but as this cannot be done immediately I suppose there can be no Risque in letting him have a Load of Goods now, and desiring him to have such a Bond signed agst he comes down again. Had M^r Chapman been at Home, I sh^d have consulted him upon it; as he is not, I give you my own sentiments, and am wth my comps to the Ladys

S^r Y^r most humble serv^t

George Mason

I wrote to stop our second Cargoe till next Spring.

Douglass's mid-eighteenth century view of the Twightwee nation (Page 50)

A 1751 plan to drive the English out of Twightwee country

On page 50 of the fourth edition, a period quote from William Douglas states: "*in the spring 1751, some French parties with their Indians, seized three of our traders*". Volume V of the "**Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania**" describes this event in 1751 council minutes that appear to be from April. The minutes also report on French intentions to destroy English traders among the Twightwee:

The Governor further informed the Council that George Croghan had been in Town and given him the following Intelligence, which he obliged him to put down in writing, namely, that the French Indians had made Prisoners of three of the Traders' Men and taken their Goods, and by the Description given of them by the Indians they must have been his Men; that it was reported that a Body of French and Indians had determined for the Twightwee Country to destroy the English Traders there as soon as the Season would permit...

As described below, Croghan made a large purchase from the Ohio Company. This suggests that some of his employees may have been carrying trade goods westward from Wills Creek.

A 1754 route from Harris' Ferry to the Twightwee villages (Page 58)

Patten makes a map

Page 58 of the fourth edition references John Harris' description of the route from Harris' Ferry to Logstown in 1754 via Ray's Town, Edmond's Swamp, Kickenapaulin's, and Loyal Haning, and includes a "circa 1753 map of the Ohio country attributed to John Patten" as [Figure 0585](#). Volume V of the "**Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania**" describes Mr. Patten and Mr. Montour being examined in council on February 27, 1754, and lists the distances and compass headings of a road from Carslile to Shanoppin's Town, "an Indian Town on the River Ohio near the Mouth of Mohongialo", that went through Ray's Town, Edmund's Swamp, Kackanapaulins, and Loyal Hannin. The minutes of the meeting describe a map that Patten and Mountour presented to the governor and council that shows the route. William West¹¹ was also examined, and attested to the accuracy of the courses and distances on the map. Whether this is a reference to the same map that is included as [Figure 0585](#) is unknown, but it is documentary evidence of Patten being engaged in map making.

The Pennsylvania government was unaware of the course of early western paths

It seems interesting that as late as 1754, the Pennsylvania government was still relying on Indian traders for descriptions of Pennsylvania trading paths. An October 12, 1747 council record, recorded in Volume V of the "**Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania**", describes the situation:

...Mr. Weiser concurring in Sentiment that an handsome Present shou'd be made to the Indians on Ohio & on lake Erie... The Board thereupon took into Consideration what wou'd be the best method to take in order to be sure that the Present wou'd be safely delivered, & to proper Indians. ...since none were acquainted with the Indians or the Road to them but the Indian Traders, & there was a necessity to make use of them, it was therefore resolved that a Letter shou'd be wrote to Mr. Croghan, letting him know that the Council had determin'd to make an handsome Present to those Indians to the value of £200, that they wou'd bear the Expençe of their Carriage to the Indian Country, & therefore that he wou'd provide a Waggon to carry them to Harris' Ferry, & Horses to carry them thence...

¹¹ William West is one of the individuals who provided input for the 1755 Lewis Evans map.

Where did Douglass's route to the Potomac terminate? (Page 60)

On page 61 of the fourth edition, the "1906" at the end of the first complete sentence is a typographical error. The relevant 1906 information was moved to footnote 117.

Did at least some Pennsylvania traders pick up their trade goods at Wills Creek? (Page 65)

As described below, Alfred Proctor James' 1959 book "**The Ohio Company: Its Inner History**" indicates that George Croghan, an important trader who had a residence in Pennsylvania, made a very large purchase from the Ohio Company. This suggests that Croghan picked up goods at Wills Creek for the western trade.

Other major traders out of Wills Creek

As described in the fourth edition, a record from a June 7, 1750 conference at George Croghan's house indicates that "*Barney Currant*" was then considered to be a hired man of Mr. (Hugh) Parker (of the Ohio Company). James' 1959 book "**The Ohio Company: Its Inner History**" indicates that fur traders Barney Curran and Aaron Price purchased goods from the Ohio Company with a double indemnity bond of £792:18:2-½ on September 14, 1750, and paid the bond in full by August 20, 1752. This large of a purchase shows that they were major players in the Indian trade. Gist's November 26, 1750 journal entry indicates that he met Curran, "*a Trader for the Ohio Company*", on great Beaver Creek, and traveled with him as far as Muskingum (Coshocton, Ohio). The large purchase during the previous month casts Gist's November 26, 1750 journal entry in a new light, suggesting that Curran was trading in personally owned goods that were purchased from the Ohio Company with a promissory bond, rather than acting strictly as an employee of the Ohio Company.

James' book indicates that the Ohio Company received a bill of sale from Aaron Price on March 1, 1751 for various household goods, livestock, and grain, and for the services of a servant woman for a year and a half. Elizabeth Oliver Lee's 2008 doctoral dissertation indicates that Price was a Maryland trader, and gives the date of sale as March 1750, at a cost as £60. Hanna's 1911 book "**The Wilderness Trail**" identifies Price as "*a Trader at Lower Shawnee Town in January, 1750*", and quotes from a February 8, 1752 letter to Governor Hamilton that is signed by Aaron Price, four other Indian traders, and four Indian Chiefs from the Lower Shawnee Town that indicates the French "*threaten to cut us off, and have killed thirty of our brothers the Twightwees, and we now acquaint you that we intend to strike the French.*" This letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania indicates that Aaron Price had some kind of Pennsylvania ties.

The Twightwee mention a road in 1750 (Page 68)

More evidence that the English used metaphor

Page 69 of the fourth edition includes a partial quote from the 1750 English reply to a Twightwee speech. Another part of the reply, which is found in Volume V of the "**Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania**", helps to clarify the metaphorical meaning of the reply:

You are as yet like the Hands of Infants, they cannot take hold of the Chain of Friendship with as much Strength as those of riper Years, but We advise you to take as strong an Hold of it as ever you

can, and to form a Union that nothing can break through. If any Tree should fall and block up the Road between us, be sure let us all put our Hands to it and unitedly and amicably like Brethren throw it out of the Road.

The French were infuriated by a successful Virginia trader (Page 72)

Was George Croghan the 'certain Virginia trader'?

Appendix B of Alfred Proctor James' 1959 book "**The Ohio Company: Its Inner History**" is titled as being a list of the sale of Ohio Company goods to various individuals on credit. On that list, George Croghan, a prominent Indian trader from Pennsylvania who had a residence near Harris' Ferry (Harrisburg), defaulted on a bond to the Ohio Company agent George Mason, and this default eventually resulted in a £2,000 judgment against Croghan in 1767. Some portion of the judgment was a penalty, but penalty aside, the sheer size of judgment indicates that Croghan made some kind of large purchase from the Ohio Company.

Whether the bond was related to the purchase of trade goods or the purchase of furs from the Ohio Company is unknown. The former seems much more likely, for three reasons. First, the Ohio Company would presumably make more money selling their furs if they excluded seemingly unnecessary middleman such as Croghan. Second, it seems somewhat more likely that the Ohio Company would dispose of their furs at a Virginia or Maryland port. Third, Croghan had many other credit related debts with east coast merchants, so it would not be surprising if he also bought a significant amount of trade goods on credit from the Ohio Company. Considering this analysis, it seems likely that Croghan used the bond to purchase trade goods from the Ohio Company, and he and his employees carried the goods westward from Wills Creek.

Various secondary sources indicate that Croghan was involved with the Indian trade at Pickawillany, and some even say that he is the individual responsible for establishing the trade there. Croghan's trading activity at Pickawillany is confirmed by July 19, 1751 correspondence¹² from Lieutenant Benjamin Stoddert to William Johnson describing information received from French traders:

who said there was an army gone up the other side of the lake with which there were two hundred Adirondack Indians under the command of Monsieur Beletre and Chevalier Longueuil, and that their design was against a village of the Miami's where the English are building a trading house of stone, and that they are to give the English warning to move off in a peaceable manner; if they refused, force was to be used. ...

¹² Stoddert's correspondence can be found in Volume V of the "**Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania**" and Volume 6 of "**The National Magazine; A Monthly Journal of American History**", May 1887. There are slight variations between the two publications. In the former publication, the first part of the correspondence reads: "...there passed by here a few days ago some canoes of French Traders who say there is an army gone up the other side of the Lake, with which was two hundred of the Onondack Indians under the Command of Monsieur Belletré and the Chevalier Longville, and that their Design was against a village of the Twightwees where the English are building a Trading House of Stone, and that they were to give the English warning to move off in a peaceable manner, which if they refused they were to act with Force..." Also see Volume 2 of Hanna's book "**The Wilderness Trail**".

This is the village where George Croghan generally trades with all the Indians of which are firmly attached to the English, for which reason the French call them rebels, and are going to bring them into subjection. Two of the chiefs are to have no mercy; the others, if they submit, are to be pardoned.

This is clearly a reference to Belestre's unsuccessful advance on Pickawillany that is described in La Jonquire's October 29, 1751 letter (see Chapter 5, pages 71 and 72, and below). Stoddert clearly identifies Croghan as a major trader at Pickawillany.

Volume 2 of Hanna's "**The Wilderness Trail**" also provides evidence that Croghan traded at Pickawillany, by listing some of the items Croghan documented on April 24, 1756, as "*losses occasioned by the French and Indians driving the English Traders off the Ohio*". The largest loss that Hanna reports from "*Croghan & Company*" is "*goods, in the hands of Thomas Burney and Andrew McBryar, at the taking of the Twightwee's Town (Pickawillany), to the value of £331,15s.*" These two individuals happen to be the traders who were hidden by the Indians during the June 21, 1752 attack on Pickawillany, and escaped.

Various secondary sources indicate that the French put a high price on Croghan's head. This bounty is substantiated by the October 11, 1750 deposition of Morris Turner and Ralph Kilgore (traders among the Twightwee for John Frazier), which includes the statement "*that they had offered one thousand dollars for the scalps of George Croghan and James Lowry, imagining if they were taken off, as they had great influence with the Ohio Indians, they could easily gain over those Indians to them.*"

Christopher Gist's January 30, 1751 journal entry regarding a council meeting at Shannoah states that George Croghan informed the council:

That two Prisoners who had been taken by the French, and had made their Escape...brought News that the French offered a large Sum of Money to any Person who would bring to them the said Croghan and Andrew Montour the Interpreter alive, or if dead their Scalps...

Croghan's journal describes a statement that was made by a chief of the Six Nations at a May 21, 1751 Logstown council that was called by the French interpreter Joncoeur. Croghan describes the chief's statement to Joncoeur as follows:

"Fathers—I mean you that call yourselves our fathers, hear what I am going to say to you: you desire we may turn our brothers the English, away, and not suffer them to trade with us again. I now tell you, from our hearts, we will not; for we ourselves brought them here to trade with us, and they shall live among us as long as there is one of us alive; you are always threatening our brothers what you will do to them, and in particular that man, (pointing to me;) now if you have any thing to say to our brothers, tell it to him, if you be a man, as you Frenchmen always say you are, and the head of all nations. Our brothers are the people we will trade with, and not you. Go, and tell your Governor to ask the Onondago council, if I don't speak the minds of all the Six Nations;" and then returned the belt.

This Indian speech indicates that Croghan had been singled out for destruction because he was a particularly influential Indian trader.

When the French bounty on Croghan is considered in the context of Croghan's extremely large purchase from the Ohio Company, and his known trading activity at Pickawillany, one can reasonably wonder if Croghan might be the "*certain Virginia trader*" described in the 1752 "**Scots Magazine**" that the French hoped to kill at Pickawillany. It seems possible that he may have been referred to as a Virginia trader if he and his hired men were delivering trade goods to Pickawillany from the Ohio Company's store house¹³ that was located on the Virginia side of the Potomac at Wills Creek.

This possible identity of the "*certain Virginia trader*" is presented merely as a tentative theory for future research, and nothing more. It is certainly within the realm of possibility that some other trader at Pickawillany who was equally abhorred by the French was the "*certain Virginia trader*" the French wanted to destroy, and might even be the unidentified trader who was killed during the June 21, 1752 attack on Pickawillany.

Several 21st century historians mention Croghan's cooperativeness with Virginia. The 2003 book "**Builders of Ohio**" by Tine and Pierce attributes this cooperativeness to the possibility that if the Ohio Company were successful in settling their land grant, this would increase the value of a large grant of land Croghan had obtained from the Iroquois nation.¹⁴ Skrabec's 2010 book "**The World's Richest Neighborhood**" indicates that Croghan viewed the Ohio Company as a vehicle for obtaining military support to oppose French interference in the Indian trade. Whatever his motives were, Croghan did cooperate with the Ohio Company to a certain extent, and did make a large purchase from them.

Details of a failed 1751 French expedition against Pickawillany (Page 72)

More information on Belestre's failed expedition

A letter written to Virginia Governor Dinwiddie by Thomas Cresap in late 1751 is included in Hanna's 1911 book "**The Wilderness Trail**". The letter includes a description of Bellestre's expedition:

Mr. Montour informs me that he had a brother who was interpreter between the French and Indians for a considerable time past, at a Fort called Detroit, on Lake Eare; but he has now left them and come to the Ohio, and gives the following accot.:

That the French had built a new fort at a place called Kyhogo on the west side of Lake Eare; and that there was a great number of French gathered together last fall, in order to cut off a nation of Indians called Pickolines, who came from the French about four years ago, and settled on the branches of the Ohio; but the Taways and Chipos interfered, and told the French in a public council, which was called, and a large belt of wampum delivered, that they understood that they were about

¹³ Charles A. Hanna's 1911 book "**The Wilderness Trail**" states that in February 1754 "*Croghan tarried at the Forks of the Ohio, from whence he wrote Peters and Hamilton that William Trent (Croghan's partner in trade) had just come out with the Virginia goods, and workmen and tools to begin a fort; and as he could not speak the Indian language, Croghan was obliged to stay and assist him in delivering the goods.*" This shows at least one instance of Croghan being involved with delivering Virginia goods to Indians, although Hanna does not indicate whether the goods belonged to Trent, Croghan, both men, the government of Virginia, or the Ohio Company. Regardless of the ownership of the Virginia goods, the incident shows Croghan cooperating with Virginia trading activity, rather than opposing it. At the July 5, 1753 meeting of the Ohio Company, Trent is described as being the company's factor.S

¹⁴ This is apparently a reference to the land near Pittsburgh that the Indian chiefs Johonisse, Scarayoday, and Teedyuscung deeded to Croghan on August 2, 1749. See Darlington's book "**Christopher Gist's Journals**".

to go and strike their brothers, the Picks, which, if they did, they should assist them, and strike the French; upon which the French desisted going last fall, but threatened to go this spring.

But tho' they did not then go themselves, they sent a party of Indians which they had brought with them from Canada, to the number of seventy, called Adarundacks, sent by the Governor of that place; which Indians, in their way to the Picks, called at the Ottawas, all painted for war.

The Ottawas enquired where they were going; on which they showed them the belt of wampum and hatchet they had received from the French, and told them they were going to war against the Twightwees. The Ottawas told them that the Twightwees were married and intermarried among them, and the Ottawana King, upon the Capt. of the Arundacks insisting to go on, threw down his Tomhawk on the ground, and told them that if they moved one step further, he would have their scalps, or else they his.

Whilst they were parleying, three of the Adarundacks stole off unperceived, and went to the Twightwees, and scalped an old man and women in the corn-fields, and carried them off; but the rest did not proceed. The Twightwees followed them on their tracks, till they came near the French Fort, which made them imagine it was the Ottawas that had struck them; and were preparing to revenge it; till the Pianguisha King's son, who was married to an Ottawana woman, came and told them who it was that had done it; and that it was the French that had set them on. Upon which the Twightwees sent out three men, who brought in two French scalps; and they now want to see how the French will take it before they proceed any further.

Volume V of the “**Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania**” includes a February 8, 1752 letter from George Croghan to the governor of Pennsylvania that describes French depredations against the Twightwee nation before the June 21, 1752 attack on Pickawillany:

The enclos'd is address'd to you by the Chiefs of the Shawonese, and as far as I can understand it is to assure You that they with the Rest of the Nations in those Parts are determin'd to be revenged on the French for the thirty Men of the Twightwees that the French have killed this Winter...

As described on page 148 of the fourth edition, as a result of French actions against the Twightwee nation, the Indian Half King invited the Virginians to “*build a strong house at the Fork of the Mohongalio*” on June 11, 1752, ten days before the successful June 21, 1752 Pickawillany attack. This helps to connect the dots between the French treatment of the Twightwee nation and the eventual war in Pennsylvania, and should have been cross-referenced in chapter 5.

Later books mention trade between Virginia and the Ohio (Page 73)

Hanna's 1911 book “**The Wilderness Trail**” includes an excerpt from a 1751 letter that was written to Virginia Governor Dinwiddie by Thomas Cresap of Maryland. Both men were involved in the Ohio Company. The letter includes the statement: “*one James Finley and another are suspected to be taken and carried off by the French, who make a practice of taking off our men every year...*” A James Findley had a small account with the Ohio Company from a July 1750 purchase.

The article “*George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741-1782*” in a 1922 issue of “**The Pennsylvania magazine of History and Biography**” describes a Virginia trader who was taken captive deep in the Ohio country:

In January, 1753, a party of seven Pennsylvania traders and one Virginia trader were attacked by seventy French and Indians at a place about one hundred and fifty miles below the Lower Shawnee Town on the Kentucky River. All their goods were lost. Two of the traders escaped and six were taken prisoners to Montreal...

This event is described in William Trent’s April 10, 1753 letter to Governor Hamilton, which is recorded in Hanna’s 1911 book “**The Wilderness Trail**”. The Virginia trader was Jabez Evans, as proven by various contemporaneous correspondence recorded in Hanna’s book, including a June 9, 1753 letter from Montreal and a June 12, 1753 letter from Conawagos Town that are signed by Evans and the other captives. In these letters, the traders are described as being from Pennsylvania—and the majority of them were. The October 12, 1753 deposition of Alexander McGinty, one of the captives, describes a party of seven traders being captured on January 26, 1753, including “*Jabez Evans, of the Province of Virginia*”.

An early British account of the attack on Pickawillany (Page 75)

A 1752 letter from Virginia mentions the attack on Pickawillany

The book “**French Policy defeated**” was published in 1755, and provides a running “*Account of all the hostile Proceedings of the French Against the Inhabitants of the British Colonies in North America For the last Seven Years.*” One item that is included is a British description of the attack on Pickawillany that is drawn from a 1752 letter written to England from Williamsburg, Virginia. The description is relevant to this study because it indicates that the account of the Pickawillany attack was based on information received from returning Indian traders. This helps to confirm Virginia’s participation in trade with Indians that were located deep in the Ohio valley. The book states:

By a Letter received at Williamsburg in Virginia, from a Gentleman in the back Part of the Country, Oct. 20, 1752, it was advis’d, That several of the Indian Traders were come in, and confirmed the Account they had before received of the Indian Wars, with some additional Circumstances of Horror. A Party of French Indians called Tawaws,¹⁵ assisted by some French, laid Siege to the Twightwee Town, when most of the fighting Men were out hunting, and scarce any left but the Women, old Men, and a few Traders; notwithstanding which the Town made a brave Resistance, and killed 36 of the French and Tawaws, but were at last overpowered by Numbers, and all, who were so unfortunate as to fall into the Enemy’s Hands, put to Death in a most cruel manner. Among the rest was an old Chief of the Twightwees, who, from his great Friendship to the English, was used to be called the Old Briton. Him, and one of the Shannoal Kings, they eat. They ripped up some of the white Mens Bellies, and eat their Hearts and Livers, with many other shocking acts of Barbarity. These six Nations are so exasperated with this inhuman Treatment of their Allies, that they and all the Ohio Indians have declared War against the French, and laid themselves under a solemn Oath, to eat

¹⁵ The name “Tawaws” is apparently a reference to Ottawas.

every Frenchman they can lay their Hands on, and not to leave Man, Woman, or Child of the Tawaw Nation alive. The Twightwees have sent to the Westward to assemble their numerous Tribes. Tomahawks and black Wampum are continually passing from one Town to another, and nothing but Revenge and Blood is to be heard of among the Indians.

Eyewitness reports of cannibalism after the attack (Page 75)

The individuals who escaped the Pickawillany attack were Croghan's men

As described on page 75 of the fourth edition, William Trent's 1752 journal reports that Thomas Burney and Andrew McBryer were the "only two men that escaped, when the town was attacked". A footnote in Darlington's 1893 book "**Christopher Gist's Journals**" reports that the accounts of "George Croghan & Co." indicate that the company "lost goods, in the hands of Burney and McBryer at the taking of the Twightwee Town, to the value of £331, 15s." As recorded in Volume 3 of "**The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie**", in a November 13, 1754 message to Governor Sharpe that was borne by Thomas Burney, Governor Dinwiddie recommended Thomas Burney as a messenger to the Twightwee nation.

Trent reports to the Lieutenant Governor of Virginia (Page 77)

As recorded in chapter 5 of the fourth edition, a December 10, 1752 letter from Dinwiddie to the Board of Trade mentions letters of an odd style that he received from the Twightwees. One of the letters, recorded in Volume 2 of the "**Historical Collections of Ohio**", states:

Elder Brother! This string of wampum assures you that the French King's servants have spilled our blood and eaten the flesh of three of our men. Look upon us and pity us for we are in great distress. Our chiefs have taken up the hatchet of war. We have killed and eaten ten of the French and two of their negroes. We are your Brothers.

A Twightwee raid on Wills Creek: The Jane Frazier story (Page 78)

Misplaced material

To a degree, the Jane Frazier story interrupts the overall theme of Chapter 5. In hindsight, this material should have been incorporated as an appendix, or as a separate chapter.

The Twightwee aligned with the French after Pickawillany was destroyed

Page 78 of the fourth edition includes the statement: "During the course of the war, the Twightwee Indians once again allied themselves with the French..." A February 10, 1753 letter from Governor Dinwiddie to Cresap and Trent helps to date the realignment. The letter begins with the statement: "I rec'd y'r Letter of the 22d ult'o for which I thank You, and am very sorry that part of the Twightwee are gone to the French."

The article "Plantation News" in the January 21, 1755 issue of the "**Whitehall Evening Post, Or, London Intelligencer**" states that a letter "from the Camp at Will's Creek, dated the 9th of November states that an Express was arrived from the back Parts of the said Province with Advice that the French...have...begun a Settlement with 300 Families in the Twightwee Country, on this Side the South West-End of Lake Erie..." This settlement, although perhaps exaggerated in size, shows that a

significant alliance between the Twightwee and the French had already taken place a year before the October 1755 capture of Jane Frazier.

6. Contrary to conventional wisdom, the Ohio Company did not cut the Turkey Foot Road

Other traders were jealous of the Ohio Company (Page 102)

As recorded in the 1912 book “**Stratford Hall and the Lees**”, a November 22, 1749 letter from Virginia Governor Thomas Lee to Pennsylvania Governor Hamilton reveals that Pennsylvania traders were already fomenting distrust of the Ohio Company. The letter includes the statement:

I am sorry that so soon I am obliged to complain to You of the insidious behaviour, as I am informed, of some of the Traders from your Province, tending to disturb the Peace of this Colony and to alienate the Affections of the Indians from Us.

His Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant to some Gentleman and Merchants of London and some of both sorts of this Colony, a large quantity of Land West of the Mountains, the design of this Grant and one Condition of it is to erect and Garrison a Fort to protect our trade (from the French) and that of the neighboring Colonies, and by fair open Trade to engage the Indians in Affection to his Majesty’s Subjects to supply them with what they want so that they will be under no necessity to apply to the French, and to make a very strong Settlement on the Frontiers of this Colony, all which his Majesty has approved and directed his Governor here to assist the said company in carrying their laudable design into Execution; but your Traders have prevailed with the Indians on the Ohio to believe that the Fort is to be a bridle for them, and that the Roads which the Company are to make is to let in the Catawbias upon them to destroy them, and the Indians naturally jealous are so possessed with the truth of these insinuations that they threaten our Agents if they survey or make those roads that they have given leave to make, and by this the carrying the King’s Grant into execution is at present impracticable. Yet these are the Lands purchased of the Six Nations by the Treaty of Lancaster.

I need not say any more to prevail with you to take the necessary means to put a stop to these mischievous practices of those Traders. We are informed that there is Measures designed by the Court of France that will be mischievous to these Colonys which will in Prudence oblige us to unite and not divide the Interest of the King’s Subjects on the Continent.

The referenced “*Gentlemen and Merchants*” are obviously the Ohio Company, given the described conditions of the grant. The statement “*they threaten our Agents if they survey or make those roads that they have given leave to make*” is in harmony with the conclusion that the Ohio Company road was not made until 1753, and helps to explain why, as of November 22, 1749, the road had not yet been surveyed or made. Preparing a new road was impractical due to the referenced threats.

A tradition relating to the name of Georges Creek (Page 111)

Page 111 of the fourth edition relates the tradition that Georges Creek was named after Nemaocolin’s son George, and a footnote indicates that several people who claim to be descendants of George say his Indian name was Lonacona. Georges Creek is identified as “*Lonaconina*” Creek on Benjamin Winslow’s 1736 map, which is titled “*Plan of the upper part of Potomack River called Cohongorooto.*”

Survey'd in the year 1736.” Only a short section of the creek at present-day Westernport is illustrated on the map. As Christopher Gist’s November 15, 1753 journal entry proves, by 1753, Lonaconina Creek was already known as Georges Creek (see page 116 of the fourth edition). This change in the name of the creek is harmonious with the tradition that George and Lonacona are two different names for the same individual.

Scarrooyady declares war in response to the Pickawillany attack (Page 114)

The first and second messages

The fourth edition only includes Scarrooyady’s third message to the French. Volume V of the “**Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania**” describes the first message as forbidding the French to continue their march toward the Heads of Ohio, and quotes the second message as inviting the French to a council at Logstown before proceeding farther on their march. The same book also quotes the French response to the second message, which includes the statement:

I am commanded to build Four Strong Houses, viz.: at Weningo, Mohongialo Forks, Log’s Town, and Beaver Creek, and this I will do. As to what concerns Onas and Assaragoa¹⁶ I have spoken to them and let them know they must go off the Land and I shall speak to them again; if they will not hear me it is their own Fault, I will take them by the arm and throw them over the Hills; All the Land and Waters on this side Allegheny Hills are mine, on the other side their’s...

Scarrooyday interacts directly with the Twightwee

Pages 673 and 674 of the same book include the minutes from an October 3, 1753 meeting between commissioners and Indians. A Twightwee speaker addresses “*Brother Onas*” as follows:

The Ottawas, Cheepaways, and the French have struck Us. The Stroke was heavy and hard to be born, for thereby We lost our King and several of our Warriors, but the Loss our Brethren the English suffered We grieve for most.

The speech was interpreted by Scarrooyday, who also spoke at the meeting. This shows direct contact between Scarrooyady and the Twightwee nation.

More linkage between the construction of Trent’s fort and the attack on Pickawillany

The 1836 book “**Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society**” quotes a 1754 speech that Conrad Weiser was to give to the Six Nations.¹⁷ First, the message describes the delivery of at least two of Scarrooyady’s messages to the French, and then states:

They sent repeated Messages to the Gov^{rs} of Pennsylvania and Virginia to apprise them of their imediate danger, telling them they would find nothing but the ashes of their Houses and their Bones if they did not forthwith send warriors and build them a House to fly to. Having a late Example before their Eyes, in that the French had fallen upon their Bretheren the Twightwees on a sudden, and killed them in their Houses as well as some English who were then trading with them.

On this Melancholy Account the Governor of Virginia agreeable to the request of the Indians, send people to Build a House at the Mouth of the Mohongahila, but before they had finished it, the French came down the River with a thousand Men and Eighteen Cannon and told the people who were

¹⁶ The governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

¹⁷ The speech was prepared as a response to a July 1, 1754 speech given by the Six Nations, and was approved at a July 3, 1754 meeting held at Albany.

building it, and were but Forty four in Number, that they must either fight or give up possession, which last they were obliged to do on Account of the Superior Force of the French.

Was Dunlap's path the antecedent to the Ohio Company/Braddock's road? (Page 139)

The location of Dunlap's path

One additional bit of evidence concerning Dunlap's path is found in an October 1776 act of the legislature of Virginia that establishes the boundary between Augusta County and the District of West Augusta. Part of the boundary is described as running "from Catfish-Camp to Redstone Old Fort" and "thence along Dunlap's old road to Braddock's road..." Redstone Old Fort is Brownsville. This act sheds no light on when Dunlap used the path, but it provides one more bit of evidence identifying where Dunlap's path was located. Dunlap's path forked from Braddock's road about a quarter mile from Half-King's rock, and went to Nemaquin's Creek (now known as Dunlap Creek), in the environs of Brownsville.

Pittsburgh is at the fork of Monongahela (Page 148)

Indians request a British fort on the Ohio River

Page 148 of the fourth edition includes a June 11, 1752 Logstown speech by Half King that asked the Virginians to "build a strong house at the Fork of the Mohongalio". As quoted in Volume V of the "Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania", a letter that George Croghan wrote to the governor of Pennsylvania from Logstown on December 16, 1752 states:

We have seen but very few of the Chiefs of the Indians they being all out a hunting, but those we have seen are of opinion that their Brothers the English ought to have a Fort on this River to secure the Trade, for they think it will be dangerous for the Traders to travel the Roads for fear of being surprised by some of the French and French Indians, as they expect nothing else but a War with the French next Spring.

8. The circa 1775 Leibundgutt traditions

The tradition of the first covered wagon into the Salisbury area (Page 155)

In regard to the book "The Peter Leibundgutt Journal", page 155 states:

In her introduction, Mast relates the family tradition that Peter Livengood was the first Amishman to bring a covered wagon over the Allegheny Mountains, and indicates that he used the Turkey Foot Road to do so. As presented below, the date of his trip was likely circa 1775.

Pages 156 to 157 of Chapter 8 evaluate the difficulty of bringing a wagon through the Jennings Run area. The Olinger tradition (described above) indicates that a 1776 road left Braddock's road a few miles west of the site of Frostburg, and ran to or near the site of Pocahontas. Livengood could have avoided Jennings Run, while still crossing the Allegheny Mountain on the Turkey Foot Road, if he used the road described in the Olinger tradition to reach the vicinity of present day Pocahontas.

9. Colonel Morgan's 1779 road to Pittsburgh

The winter of the deep snow (Page 201)

In a February 11, 1780 letter to President Reed, Colonel Brodhead wrote: "*Captⁿ Finley is arrived and informs me that the Snow is four feet deep upon the Mountains.*"

12. The circa 1745 to 1801 path from Cumberland to Jennings Run, and northward

An Indian village at Corriganville (Page 214)

Page 213 of the fourth edition analyzes Thomas Bladen's 1745 Unpatented Certificate 383 for a 915-acre tract known as "*Wills Town*", and concludes that "*the town field*" referenced by the survey is part of an Indian village named Wills Town that was located on the site of present-day Corriganville, Maryland. The town location is based solid analysis. The statement that the town name was "*Wills Town*" was, however, based on an *inference*. Mr. Dietle inferred that the antecedent basis for the phrase "*the town field*" in the survey is the "*Wills Town*" name of the tract. Without an antecedent basis, the proper legal reference would be "*a town field*", rather than "*the town field*". Some may consider an inference based on legalistic sentence construction to be skating on some rather thin ice.

Francis Deakins' 1787 summary¹⁸ of the 1762 Level Ridge survey mentions: "*a small Run where Brury Cox had a hunting Cabbin on a level in the fork of Jennings Run that leads to Wills creek below Wills Town*". This is conclusive evidence that an Indian village named Wills Town was located along Wills Creek, and north of Jennings Run. It is also harmonious with the inference that the town field described by the Wills Town survey was the town field of an Indian village named Wills Town.

The Indian war road is mentioned by other early documents (Page 215)

On July 16, 1763, at one o'clock in the morning, James Livingston wrote to Colonel Bouquet from Fort Cumberland about recent Indian depredations. The letter describes the warriors path and 1763 residences that were located along Wills Creek:

When Mr Tomlinson informs me, that he came to Jos Mounts house and found a Hog killed and laid upon a Shelf in the house, bleeding fresh, by which he conjectures, they had not been gone more than half an hour and we tracked them from thence along the old Warrior roads that leads up Wills Creek towards Bedford, soon after I perceived a great Smoke coming through the Gap of Wills Creek, which makes me conjecture they have burnt all the houses upon the Creek, but have not had time to be satisfied of it, as night drew on.

This is the earliest known reference to houses located along Wills Creek, above Cumberland. The letter also reveals that there was more than one Indian path along Wills Creek, north of Fort Cumberland.

¹⁸ The title used by the Maryland State Archives is "**Land Office (Military Lots Ledger) Liber A, 1787, pp. 1-25 List and Description of Patented Lands MSA SE2-1**".

13. Doctor Wellford's 1794 travel journal

Wellford's 'Forks of the Yough' is near present-day West Newton (Page 220)

The original route of the Turkey Foot Road crossed the Glade Road at Ruffs Dale

The 1776 survey of John Amberson (Emerson) and John McClintock (Book U, page 291) describes their 228-acre property as being located on "*Buffelow Lick Run*". At the time of the survey, The Emerson-McClintock property was nearly surrounded by unclaimed land.

An abstract of a November 8, 1780 deed (recorded May 22, 1783) describes John Emerson's sale of property located on Lick Run and the Turkey Foot Road. The property is described as being bounded by the properties of Denis Raixdon, George Fisher, Joseph DeVoss, John Conrad, and Hans Tarr. Lick Run is now known as Buffalo Run, which passes through Ruffs Dale.

Somehow, Emerson's 1780 property sale went awry, because Emerson deeded the property to Joseph DeVoss on April 15, 1790. This transaction was recorded on February 10, 1791. Joseph Devoss was one of the property owners adjoining John Emerson's property in 1780, as described above. Devoss's 1793 survey for 371-acres (Book A-16, pages 42 and 43) is located on the Glade Road, just a few yards west of Buffalo Creek, and a bit of it covers the southernmost part of Ruffs Dale. Based on the shape of DeVoss's survey, Devoss's property is clearly a combination of Emerson's 1776 property and another property that bordered Emerson's property on the west.

As described above, the owners of the land that was adjacent to Emerson's property in 1780 were Joseph Devoss, Denis Raixdon, George Fisher, John Conrad, and Hans Tarr. Devoss's survey shows that George Fisher (Book A-59, page 5) and John Conrad (Book C-46, page 31) were still adjoining property owners in 1793. This further substantiates that Devoss's property included the Emerson property. On modern roads, Devoss's property is the same four miles from the Woodrow property that Dr. Wellford describes in his 1794 journal.

The reference to the Turkey Foot Road and Lick Run in Emerson's November, 8 1780 deed is significant because the deed was written the year after the northern part of Turkey Foot Road was cut as a military road by Providence Mounts, This proves that the military road crossed the Glade Road at Ruffs Dale. Moving from fact to inference, one can infer that the Turkey Foot Road may have merged with Braddock's road in the general vicinity of Hunker. For orientation purposes, Braddock's road was the antecedent to Preacher Street, which runs from Latitude 40.196628°, Longitude -79.610697° to Latitude 40.198107°, Longitude -79.616281°.

The new knowledge that the Turkey Foot Road passed through Ruffs Dale helps to explain why the Jacobs Creek fording site that Veech describes is so far west. The fording site allowed a shorter, more direct route, avoiding the meandering path of Braddock's road in the Mount Pleasant area.

The location of Mrs. Woodrow's farm along the Turkey Foot Road

Doctor Wellford's 1794 journal describes Mrs. Woodrow's place as being north of Jacobs Creek on the Turkey Foot Road, 14 miles from Amos Strickland's place. After crossing the Youghiogheny River at Budd's ferry, Wellford turned right (south) onto the Turkey Foot Road just west of Buffalo Run, and arrived at Mrs. Woodrow's place after traveling four miles.

Because Wellford does not refer to the man of the house, one can surmise that Mrs. Woodrow was a widow when Wellford stayed at her place on the night of November 23, 1794. The only known candidate is Mary Woodrow, the widow of the John Woodrow¹⁹ who lived in East Huntington Township. According to Volume six of the “**Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania**” (1917), the will of John Woodrow is dated December 25, 1792, was proven on January 3, 1793, and names five minor children.²⁰ This makes Mary Woodrow a widow at the right time to be Doctor Wellford’s hostess.

John Woodrow’s 1786 survey (Book D-115, pages 111 and 112) does not reference the Turkey Foot Road, and neither do the adjacent surveys of John Bier (Book A-12, page 230), David Hunter (Book Q, page 314), David Vance (Book C-208, page 223), and James Duncan (Book A-22, page 96).²¹

Woodrow’s property is located four miles from where the Turkey Foot Road crossed the Glade Road near Buffalo run. From the location where the northern end of Kendi Road terminates on Route 981, Woodrow’s property extends south one mile on both sides of Kendi Road. Most of the boundary lines of Woodrow’s 1786 property still survive as the boundary lines of modern property tracts. Working clockwise, the approximate locations of some of the surviving Woodrow boundary features are:

- An outside corner at the intersection of Smith’s Hill Road and Route 981 (Latitude 40.146133°, Longitude -79.577181°)
- Crosses Route 981 at (Latitude 40.146338°, Longitude -79.573201°)
- an outside corner at (Latitude 40.143209°, Longitude -79.566243°)
- An inside corner at (Latitude 40.136213°, - Longitude 79.566576°)
- Crosses Kendi road at (Latitude 40.132838°, Longitude -79.569322°)
- Crosses Cherry Hill road at (Latitude 40.137439°, Longitude -79.577642°)

Forks of the Yough (Page 221)

Page 221 of the fourth edition quotes secondary sources that indicate that the term “*Forks of the Yough*” is a reference to the space between the Monongahela and Youghiogheny Rivers. Franklin Ellis’ 1882 book “**History of Fayette County, Pennsylvania**” provides a bit of evidence in the form of a 1783 petition for a road “*from Beeson’s Town, in the Forks of Youghiogheny, to the Salt-Works, and then eastward to Bedford’s Town*”. Beeson’s Town is now known as Uniontown, which is located roughly midway between the Monongahela and Youghiogheny Rivers.

Salisbury was laid out in the year of Doctor Wellford’s trip (Page 228)

Page 228 of the fourth edition states: “Page 550 of the 1884 book “**History of Bedford, Somerset and Fulton Counties...**” indicates that the town of Salisbury was laid out in 1794...” The 1794 date appears to be wrong, because the circa 1815 town survey ([Figure 0531](#)) indicates that the town was laid out on April 15, 1796.

¹⁹ According to Gresham’s 1890 book “**Biographical and Historical Cyclopedia of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania**”, John Woodrow “*was a leader in an alarm of Indians in the neighborhood, on account of which they call him ‘Colonel.’*” George Dallas Albert’s 1882 book “**History of the County of Westmoreland, Pennsylvania**” reports that John Woodrow was “*a farmer, and a descendant of Puritan stock*”.

²⁰ The 1917 book “**Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania**” states: “*John Woodrow of Westmoreland, dated December 25, 1792, proved January 3, 1793; wife Mary; children: William, John, Margaret, Mary and Rachel, all minors; wife, Samuel Cuning, James Woodrow and Robert Newell executors; witnesses, John Hill, William Latta and Henry Evans.*”

²¹ I have reviewed every survey from south and east Huntington townships that I could find, and none mention the Turkey Foot Road.

14. The west side of the Allegheny Mountain

Lowry Hollow (Page 243)

Mr. and Mrs. George Lowry are pictured in [Figure 1026](#). The pictures are from Volume II of the 1918 book “**History of the Alleghany Evangelical Lutheran synod of Pennsylvania**”. According to that book, George Lowry was elected as a Deacon of Saint John's Lutheran Church in 1849, when the log church on the east side of town was still in use, and was serving as an Elder in 1888.

15. The east side of the Allegheny Mountain

The early northern variation across Camp Misery (Page 251)

More information on Camp Misery

By comparing John Halteman's January 4, 1785 “*Camp Misery*” survey for 405-1/2 acres ([Figure 0587](#)) to James Agin's September 2, 1785 survey for 277 acres ([Figure 0586](#)), and to the Greenville Township warrant survey map ([Figure 0292](#)) it becomes clear that the “*Camp Misery*” survey includes the Agin property. The warrant survey map shows the adjacent 277-acre Halteman and Agin properties as being warranted on August 22, 1785, and surveyed on September 2, 1785.

According to Carol Eddleman, Somerset County Survey book 1, Page 198 describes John Haltiman's September 2, 1785 survey for 277 acres using language that is virtually identical to the language used on the Agin survey, and states that Haltiman's 277-acre tract adjoins the Agin property.

A Jackson family tradition (Page 252)

Error correction

Page 252 of the fourth edition mentions “*Mr. Dietle's grandfather Adam Dietle's place*”. The word “*grandfather*” should have been “*great-grandfather*”.

The Peter D. Miller farm (Page 260)

Thomas Vickroy was indeed a surveyor

In reference to the Thomas Vickroy who owned property in Greenville Township, a footnote on page 260 of the fourth edition states:

This could possibly be the Thomas Vickroy described on page 494, Volume III of the 1906 book “History of Bedford and Somerset Counties...”, who surveyed the city of Pittsburgh in 1773.

Thomas Vickroy performed the James Agin survey ([Figure 0586](#)) in Greenville Township on September 2, 1785. This proves that a Thomas Vickroy was indeed a surveyor, and suggests that he is the individual described as surveying Pittsburgh in 1773. Here is the relevant text from the 1906 history book:

Thomas Vickroy, son of Hugh Vickroy, was born October 18, 1756, in Cecil county, Maryland. In 1772 he went to Bedford county, Pennsylvania, where he learned surveying under Thomas Smith,

and was employed by George Wood and other deputy surveyors. In 1773 he laid out the city of Pittsburg to the satisfaction of all concerned. In 1812 he built Shade Furnace, and afterward operated it for a number of years. About 1784 he was appointed deputy state surveyor, an office which he held for a long period. He served with the rank of commissary in General Clark's Indiana campaign.

The 1785 Haines surveys along the state line (Page 262)

F. Warner

Page 262 of the fourth edition states: “A present-day homestead having a yard centered at Latitude 39.72498°, Longitude -78.94622° appears to have been a homestead on the Henry Haines survey along the winding route of the Turkey Foot Road in 1939.” Based on the Greenville Township map from the 1876 Beers county atlas ([Figure 0280](#)), this homestead was the residence of F. Warner in the 1876 timeframe.

Fred Wagner's place, on the Turkey Foot Road

The following notice appeared in the October 7, 1885 issue of the “**Somerset Herald**”:

Petition to vacate a public road from a point on Turkeyfoot road at or near Fred Wagners, in Greenville township to a point on a public road leading to Pocahontas, at or near Solomon Engels house in said township. S. P. Sweitzer. John Knupp, Herman Johnson r viewers.

The [1870 county map](#) shows that Solomon Engle's place was located at the intersection of McKenzie Hollow Road and the Old Mount Savage Road, approximately at Latitude 39.743063°, Longitude -78.925827°. The location of Fred Wagner's place has not been identified.

18. The route through Corriganville

Ninian Cochran's store on the Turkey Foot Road in 1797 (Page 275)

The tracts at the site of Corriganville

Page 176 of the fourth edition has the following sentence:

Based on the 1787 Veatch map of lots west of Fort Cumberland, Corriganville is situated on tracts that were originally named “Joseph's shirt”²² and (although difficult to read) “Horable Bottom”.

The list of tracts should have included the Wills Town tract.

Scenic Devil's Backbone at Corriganville (Page 279)

Volume I of Scharf's 1882 book “**History of Western Maryland**” provides another name for Devil's Backbone:

Some of the limestones are slightly bituminous, and are often crossed by wide seams of quartz, which more strongly resist the atmosphere and elements, and are thus left standing in prominent belts, while the adjoining rock is worn away. Such features often constitute great buttresses of fantastic shapes, extending down from great elevations, and always form attractions to the observant and

²² Joseph's shirt was surveyed for Michael Cresap and William Deakins in 1766.

curious. One of these, of more than usual interest, is situated on the northwest slope of Wills Mountain, only a few miles beyond Cumberland. It has been a standing object of awe to the ignorant and superstitious, who dread to be near it during the evening or night, and who have given it the significant name of Devil's Sliding-place.

19. The Hays Mill Path shared part of the route

Mysterious stone piles (Page 298)

The old stone piles ([Figure 783](#)) that Mr. McKenzie found are located on a distinctive curve of the North Branch of Jennings Run. The 1860 Walker map of Somerset County ([Figure 448](#)) illustrates a sawmill at the same location as the stone piles. This proves that the stone piles were indeed a part of a sawmill, as we suspected. They are probably the remains of the Witt sawmill that is illustrated in the same general area on the 1841 Walter Rodgers Johnson map ([Figure 511](#)).

The 1794 Pleasant Union route is shown by the George Wyman survey (Page 298)

[Figure 502](#) illustrates the road to Hays Mill in red, but inadvertently omits part of the route that is shown on the 1794 George Wyman survey. A close examination of the Wyman survey ([Figure 501](#)) reveals that it actually shows two sections of the route, and one section is missing from Figure 502. The missing section is important, because it shows the location of the road between the Stone/River tract and Pleasant Union. The missing section is well east of Shirley Hollow Road.

Hays mill in the vicinity of present-day Wellersburg (Page 305)

The 1834 “**Annual Report of the Geologist of Maryland**” reveals that the North Branch of Jennings Run was then known as the “*Wellers’ branch of Jennings’ run*”.

22. An 1827 road closure document

The Mule Field route from Mile Lane to Robertson’s Stone House (Page 330)

How Francis Bridges learned of local traditions

Francis Bridges reports that when he was young, it was his father who identified the foundation of the Mule Field stagecoach stop to him. It was also his father who told him that the route that included the switchback and the sunken road down to the Robertson stone house was an old stagecoach road. While out in the woods one day with his father, they encountered the sunken road. Francis asked what the old ditch was, and that is when his father explained that it was the old stagecoach road.

Interpreting the 1827 survey (Page 338)

Site of the round barn

Footnote 539 describes a field on Level Ridge that is known as Round Barn Field. In 2015, Margaret Robison’s son-in-law Tim Carney showed Francis Bridges the site of the round barn. The barn was located on a small knoll at Latitude 39.705957°, Longitude -78.864627°. Tim does not know when the barn was built, or who built it. The location of the barn may have been selected on the basis of the

good drainage provided by the knoll, combined with the proximity of a stream to provide livestock with water.

23. The pre-1804 Bear Camp route theory

Another sunken road by the Mattingly place (Page 344)

[Figure 0266](#) shows a sunken feature on the old Mattingly farm that Sam White and Wilbert Paul identified as a sunken road that came out on Mile Lane where Bear Camp Lane comes out. The left bank is gradual in nature, and the right bank is more abrupt. One possible reason for this difference is provided in the book: The wire fence along the right bank may have prevented the right bank from being trodden down by cattle. Although this seems to be a reasonable explanation for the period that the fence has been present, there may also be another equally sound reason. If the field were plowed from left to right across the sunken feature, to throw the overturned sod downhill, the left bank would be pulled down by the plow.

Trying to tie all the Mount Savage area information together (Page 350)

The first known cabin in Arnold's settlement

As described in Chapter 23 of the fourth edition, David Ross's 1762 "*Level Ridge*" survey states: "*Beginning at a bounded White Oak standing on the North side of a ridge about twenty perches near the point of a ridge near a small run where Brury Cox had a hunting cabin...*" Jonathan Arnold's 1842 "*Union of Tracts*" deed ([Appendix 0042](#)) shows that the "*Level Ridge*" tract begins at a distinctive inside corner. The overlay of [Figure 0025](#) locates this inside corner relative to modern landmarks, and near the stream mentioned in Ross's 1762 survey. If it is correct to interpret the survey as meaning that the cabin was near the beginning point of "*Level Ridge*" and along the stream, the cabin would have been located in the general vicinity of Latitude 39.707050°, Longitude -78.867580°.

Since the reference is to where "*Brury Cox had a hunting cabin*", the use of the past tense seems to mean that the cabin had been built much earlier, and was dilapidated or entirely gone by 1762.²³ Its one-time existence is harmonious with the presence of an antecedent trail through the area.

Francis Bridges found a "*Brewer Cox*" in the 1733 list of taxables for the Monocosie Hundred, Prince George's County, Maryland. Whether this relates to the same individual who had a hunting cabin on Level Ridge is unknown. The list is found in the "**Calendar of Maryland State Papers No: The Black Books**". Some of the individuals in the Monocosie Hundred were known as the "*Long Hunters*", who traveled far in search of game.

Mr. Bridges also found Brury Cox listed in William H. Rice's book "**Colonial Records of the Upper Potomac**". Brury Cox was living in Virginia near the mouth of the Little Cacapon River, approximately at Latitude 39.498478°, Longitude -78.499374°, and is mentioned in local 1754 and 1761 surveying projects.

²³ Cox's hunting cabin may have been constructed lightly, and may have been built directly on the ground, which accelerates rot. It may have even been nothing more than a simple bark cabin (the use of bark cabins is mentioned in Francis Deakins' 1787 records of land patents west of Fort Cumberland).

24. The later nineteenth century route directly out of Mount Savage

1937 Allegany County Board of County Commissioners meeting notes (Page 355)

Another Drees-related reference to the Turkeyfoot Road

Page 355 of the fourth edition describes a September 14, 1937 request by Albert Drees to the County Commissioners to repair the Turkey Foot Road near Finzel, Maryland. One of Albert Drees' relatives identified the farm; it is centered approximately at Latitude 39.720722°, Longitude -78.920760°. A 1949 Allegany County Circuit Court abstract of a November 17, 1948 property release from a bank to Anthony Drees also mentions the Turkey Foot Road:

Grant and convey. Lot of ground located in Election District 13, Allegany County, Maryland, known as South side of Turkey-foot Road, part of Military Lot #504. Conveyed in a deed from Harvey E. and Annie M. Baker, dated August 19, 1939, and recorded in Liber 194, folio 178. I hereby certify that the foregoing Mortgage was released on the 18th day of October, 1949, and recorded in Liber 218, folio 303, one of the Mortgage Records of Allegany County, Md.

The 1787 military lot 504 is located somewhere between Albert Drees' property and the Finzel Road,²⁴ astride Sampson Rock Road. The former residence of Anthony Drees is located at Latitude 39.719625°, Longitude -78.928415°. Since the property release does not mention the state line, the property may be a section of Lot 504 that does not border the state line. In any case, a 1939 aerial photo proves that Sampson Rock Road was the only publicly maintained road that crossed lot 504, and on that basis, Sampson Rock Road appears to be the referenced Turkey Foot Road. The matter might be resolved to better satisfaction by finding and reviewing the survey for the Anthony Drees property, which may show and name the road.

Francis Bridges reports that Russell Blank and other older residents in this area describe the Sampson Rock Road as being the Turkey Foot Road. Francis states that this route was used after the industrialization of Mount Savage, and indicates that coal and fireclay were mined on Big Savage Mountain, and a good road crossed the mountain near Sampson's Rock. Mr. Blank told Francis that the route that crosses into Pennsylvania to cross Big Savage Mountain and connect with McKenzie Hollow Road was referred to as the Stage Coach Road. Mr. Blank's family once owned the Charlie Geary farm on Blank Road, where the 1817 Fredrick Rigert stone house is located.

²⁴ This rough estimate is based on measuring distance from some of the present-day features that are shown on the overlay of [Figure 0025](#).

25. The Somerset-to-Cumberland toll roads

The Somerset and Cumberland Turnpike (Page 357)

An 1842 article mentions the completion of a Maryland section of the turnpike

A November 19, 1842 fluff article in Volume 63 of the “**Niles National Register**” describes the completion of a Maryland section of the turnpike that included the Turkey Foot Road:

In connection with the improvements of Cumberland, it deserves to be mentioned that a turnpike road of about six miles has just been finished, along the valley of Wills creek and the north branch of Jennings’ run, to the Pennsylvania line—which gives a continuous turnpike road from Cumberland to Pittsburg, but ninety-eight miles long. The portion of this road, thirty-four or thirty-five miles between the Pennsylvania Line and the town of Somerset, in the county of that name, was constructed by the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, and was a part of the consideration, or bonus paid it ... The road, though rough, is judiciously ... upon easy grades, and as materials for improve ... road abound upon its line, the objective, on the ... of its roughness, will be obviated as soon as its importance is developed. It is now the shortest, and will be rendered the most certain route of travel between Pittsburg and the Atlantic. It will, I should suppose, be constituted the great post route, as it will assuredly give the greatest dispatch to the mails; and as I see, has already attracted the attention of the Pittsburgers for this purpose. It has also attracted the notice of the stage proprietors, an active and sagacious class of citizens, who are quick to discern the course of travel, and prompt in providing for its accommodation.

This road is, as I have stated, the shortest turnpike road from Cumberland to Pittsburg. It passes through the towns of Berlin and Somerset, in Somerset county, and Mount Pleasant, in Westmoreland county, Penn. ...

Nor can this road to Somerset fail to draw an extensive trade to Cumberland—penetrating, as it does, the heart of Somerset, one of the most fertile and best cultivated counties in Pennsylvania. The industrious farmers of that county will now enjoy a convenient market for their surplus productions, an advantage of which they have hitherto been measurably deprived, by their remote position, in the midst of the mountains. The extensively and favorably known glades butter is chiefly the production of Somerset county, and is destined to reach your market by a new and speedier route than that over which it has been transported in years past.

The article was written by “S. J. A” of Frostburg. One significant aspect of the article is that it reveals that the Maryland section of the turnpike, which was authorized by law in 1833, was not completed until late 1842. Although some aspects of the article are clearly promotional in nature, many of the things the author predicted did indeed come true. The road did become a mail and stage route, and the current embodiment continues to promote commercial intercourse between Somerset County and Cumberland.

A Somerset County portion of the turnpike was mentioned in 1834

The 1834 “**Annual Report of the Geologist of Maryland**” mentions “*crossing the Savage, over the Somerset turnpike in Pennsylvania*”, proving that this Pennsylvania section of the turnpike was already open in 1834.

The Wellersburg and West Newton Plank Road (Page 360)

The 1852 “**Gazetteer of the state of Maryland**” provides a very early reference to the “*Somerset plank turnpike*”, and mistakenly indicates that Wellersburg is in Maryland:

Wellersburg, p. v., Alleghany co. Situated on the N. fork of Jennings Run, and on the line of the Somerset plank turnpike, 10 m. N. W. of Cumberland, and 176 m. W. N. W. of Annapolis.

Parts of the plank road were made public in 1872 and 1874 (Page 363)

An 1884 photo

[Figure 1021](#) shows what the plank road through the Jennings Run water gap looked like in 1884, ten years after it became a county road. The photo shows a location where the Plank Road, and the antecedent Turkey Foot Road, were shoehorned between Jennings Run and the steep face of Little Allegheny Mountain. By 1884, the road at this location was shored up by a retaining wall. Considering the erosive effects of Jennings Run flood waters, this particular section of the Turkey Foot Road would have been difficult to travel with wagons in the years before the retaining wall was established.

29. The route through the Salisbury area

Ord Street, and the 1876 fording site (Page 388)

It initially seems puzzling that the Casselman River fording site remained active long after the first bridge was erected in 1819. An initial theory was that it may have been frowned upon to bring cattle drives across covered bridges. In a discussion of this theory, Francis Bridges brought up an irrefutable point: Cattle and draft animals could drink from the river if the ford was used, but could not if the bridge was used. This is probably the principal reason that the ford is still shown on the 1876 Beers map, and is probably the reason fording sites at a variety of locations are still visible on 1939 aerial photos. Horses were still being used for drawing wagons in the 1930s.

A description of Salisbury (Page 388)

The 1832 “**Gazetteer of the State of Pennsylvania**” describes Salisbury as follows:

Salisbury, p-town, Elk Lick t-ship, Somerset co., near the Little Youghioghney river, distant 17 miles S. of Somerset borough, contains 30 dwellings, 2 taverns, 2 stores, 1 German Reformed church.

Wallace’s description of the Salisbury route (Page 392)

The old log church and a theory relating to the naming of Salisbury

Volume II of the 1918 book “**History of the Alleghany Evangelical Lutheran synod of Pennsylvania**” has a section titled “*St. John’s Lutheran Church Elk Lick, Pa.*” that states:

The history of the congregation was not an easy one to write. This was made so from the fact that it had to do with some of the years of three centuries, and the absence of the early records. The writer spent much time in considering all available records and comparing various histories. In these records and histories he has found evidence to confirm about all the statements made, though some few of the dates may vary a little.

This is one of the oldest congregations in Somerset County, and dates back to about 1778. Tradition has it that ministers from the East visited the settlement from time to time, preaching in private houses and baptizing children. Who these ministers were is no longer known. From the old records of the Berlin congregation it is believed one who signed his name J. W. Litzel was among the first of these ministers. In 1765, Rev. Litzel (sometimes spelled Lizel) was preaching in Northampton and Lehigh Counties. One of the towns in which he preached in Northampton County was called Salisbury. Nothing is recorded of him in the East after 1769. Sometime in the 1770's he is found among the pioneers of Berlin and Salisbury, preaching in Somerset County, and perhaps in Alleghany County, Md., and Preston County, W. Va.

The tract of land upon which Salisbury was founded was known as "John's Fancy." It belonged to John Markley. The village was founded by Joseph Markley, April 15, 1796. The town has had five names: John's Fancy, Quiertown, Brushtown, Shiretown, Salisbury and Elk Lick. It is believed the name Salisbury was first given to it by this Lutheran pastor, Rev. J. W. Litzel, in honor of the Salisbury Church in Northampton County, from whence he came, which in turn was doubtless named for the Saltzburg emigrants to America. We have never heard another theory as to the name Salisbury, and are inclined to believe this is its origin.

In 1794, Rev. Frederick William Lange became pastor. The first baptism recorded by him was May 1, 1795.

In 1809, during Rev. Lange's pastorate, the first church building was erected. The building was constructed jointly by the Lutheran and Reformed congregations and used by them until 1853. It stood in the east end of the town, near the old cemetery on the hill overlooking the village. The cost was estimated at \$600. It was a two-story log house, weather-boarded on the outside and lined on the inside. A gallery extended along three sides, with a high pulpit on the north side.

While the theory relating to the name Salisbury is interesting and seems plausible, the basis for some of the other names is unknown—and perhaps suspect—because the circa 1815 town survey ([Figure 0531](#)) already gives the name as Salisbury. The April 15, 1796 founding date is from the survey.

33. From Harnedsville to the Fayette County line

The Cross Roads church (Page 443)

Volume II of the 1918 book "**History of the Alleghany Evangelical Lutheran synod of Pennsylvania**" has a section titled "*Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, Ursina, Pa.*" that states:

Trinity Lutheran Church, Ursina, was organized A. D. 1795, in Turkeyfoot Township, the second township of the new county, having been formed from Brothers Valley Township, A. D. 1773. Among the list of taxpayers in A. D. 1796, we find persons with whom we have to deal, namely, David Ankeny, James Campbell, Thomas Mitchel, William Tissue and David Ream. The early settlers in this section, aside from the Jersey colony, came mainly from the Kittanning Valley, from Maryland and Virginia. Following the old Turkeyfoot road down Whites Creek to the Castleman River, which it crossed near Harnedtsville, crossed the Hog-back Ridge, where Ursina now is, thence across Laurel Hill Creek, where the old stockade stood, and up the Lick River to Steward's Crossing, near

Connellsville.²⁵ *On the south side of Hog-back Ridge passes another noted highway, crossing the former road midway between Harnedtsville and Ursina on what was lately the farm of Joseph B. Davis. A number of people settled at this cross-road and decided to have a schoolhouse and a church. The following is found in the recorder's office, Somerset, deed book, volume four, page 395: "The condition of the above obligation is such that whereas the said David Ream hath sold unto the said trustees, above named, of the Dutch and English churches (meaning congregations), a certain piece of land containing one acre, which is to be six rods broad and the rest in length, situated in Somerset County, in Turkeyfoot Township, called and known by name of the Cross-roads, including the schoolhouse in the northwest side of the road. Now, the said David Ream shall and truly convey unto the said trustees of the English and Dutch Presbyterian and Lutheran churches, or their successors, by a sufficient deed of warrantee, the above mentioned land, with its appurtenance, on or before June 4, 1801, provided all the purchase money shall be by them completely paid unto the said David Ream, his heirs, then the above to be void, else to remain in full force and power and value in law. Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of witnesses, Jacob Metzgar, William De Haven and Thomas Johnston. This purchase was made September 17, 1800. Received by the hands of the trustees, the full sum of four pounds and ten shillings, it being the sum of the purchase money of said land; I say received by me (David Ream)." In deed book, volume six, pages 175-177. Deed dated June 5, 1813. This was acknowledged the same day, and recorded June 22, 1813. This contract between David Ream and the parties above named, and Jacob Brunner, trustees of the Presbyterian and Lutheran congregations, was unexecuted, and this deed was made under order of court to execute the same.*

A "Presbyterian" (German Reformed) and Lutheran Church was built here, and services were held in it many years before the second schoolhouse was built, but it was consumed by fire. The oldest man living in Addison Township (David Mitchell, being eighty-nine years in 1911), says "that when a lad I frequently attended services there in the old log church." He lived there his entire lifetime; so did his father. Another evidence of a place of worship there is the old graveyard containing several hundred graves, at the six poplars which are near the cross-roads. Three generations by the name of Richard Green are buried here; the first died 1808; the last 1827.

The parenthesized reference to David Ream receiving the money for the grounds in 1813 seems to be in error, because the David Ream that sold the property to the church died in 1803, and is buried at the Crossroads cemetery. A photo of his tombstone is included as [Figure 0902](#).

A 1906 description of Ursina (Page 446)

Surgery on Alexander Hanna

Pages 422 and 447 of the fourth edition describe a fight where Alexander Hanna received a serious knife wound in the abdomen. Volume II of the 1918 book "**History of the Alleghany Evangelical Lutheran synod of Pennsylvania**" has a section titled "*St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Addison, Pa.*" that describes surgery performed on Alexander Hanna by the Reverend Philip Mockenhaupt, M.D.:

His surgical skill is well shown in his saving the life of Alexander Hannah, who was disemboweled in a fight. In warm water he washed and revived the bowels, uniting the severed one by inserting a

²⁵ This road related text is obviously based on the 1884 book "**History of Bedford, Somerset and Fulton Counties...**" The reference to Connellsville is explained in Chapter 33, page 441.

piece of tallow candle as a support, and in this regard anticipated recent surgery, in its discovery of the value of similar devices. This incident is well authenticated.

34. The route across Fayette County

Another Fayette County mystery

It is something of a mystery why the new Turkey Foot Road was not simply cut as a portage road to the environs of present-day Connellsville on the navigable portion of the Youghiogheny River, where supplies could have easily been floated downriver to Fort Pitt. Considering the urgent need to rush supplies to Fort Pitt in support of Brodhead's impending campaign, perhaps there simply was not enough time or manpower for boat or raft building activities during the spring and summer of 1779. Whether or not such a supply route was ever used during the revolution is a topic that is ripe for additional research.

Several possible connecting roads existed, if established early enough. One road turned southwest from the Turkey Foot Road on William Douglass's 1794 survey (see [Figure 0706](#)). As shown by [Figure 0691](#), another road branched southwest from the antecedent to Englishman Hill Road at a location west of the 1794 James Smith survey. At least by the time of the 1817 Melish Manuscript map ([Figure 0681](#)), the antecedent to part of Englishman Hill Road merged with a road that went to Connellsville. One of these three routes to Connellsville is likely to be the road that is mentioned by Cornelius Woodruff's 1788 survey ([Figure 0389](#), Book C-218, page 299), Thomas Meason's 1795 survey ([Figure 0768](#), Survey Book C-138, Page 237), and Zachariah Connell's 1794 survey ([Figure 0393](#)) of the site of present-day Connellsville.

Providence Mounts was a miller who was living in the environs of Connellsville when he cut the northern part of the Turkey Foot Road. He was already supplying flour to Colonel Morgan in 1777, as described in Chapter 9. Morgan had storehouses built at Mounts' mill in 1778,²⁶ and was experienced at organizing large scale boat building activities, as also described in Chapter 9. It can be reasonably assumed that both Mounts and Morgan were well aware of the potential advantage of boating supplies down to Fort Pitt from Mounts' mill. Whether this potential advantage was ever exploited during the Revolutionary War is presently unknown.

The Smith surveys show the Turkey Foot Road (Page 477)

The described Shenandoah Road crossing site is incorrect

Pages 477 to 478 of the fourth edition state *"If you look closely at the aerial photo on [Figure 0691](#), you can see remnants of the route on the Thomas Moore survey."* Page 12 states: *"The route exited the James Smith survey approximately at Latitude 40.067423°, Longitude -79.524547°. A 1939 aerial photo shows traces that indicate the Turkey Foot Road continued on the same compass heading,*

²⁶ This is from Max Savelle's 1932 book **"George Morgan Colony Builder"**. As a bit of documentary evidence regarding the storehouses at Mounts' mill, the 1832 Revolutionary War pension application of Providence Mounts' son Thomas states *"Thomas Mounts was drafted in the Fall of AD 1779 or 1780 in Westmoreland County, State of Pennsylvania in a company commanded by Lieutenant Lewis Flemming and Ensign Joseph Davis of the Pennsylvania Militia, and served as a private in said company for three months. Sixteen men were drafted and placed under Flemming's command as a guard which guard was placed over military stores that were deposited at Mounts' mill where there were two houses built purposely for military store houses."*

crossing Shenandoah Road somewhere near Latitude 40.072694°, Longitude -79.526789° ([Figure 0846](#)).”

As described below, the coordinates for the Shenandoah Road crossing are no longer believed to be accurate. If it can be assumed that the schematic straight line route representation on the James Smith survey²⁷ is accurate at the borders of the survey²⁸, the above-quoted description of the approximate coordinates where the 1794 route exited the James Smith survey are reasonably accurate. To avoid confusion, these coordinates are hereafter referred to as the “*exit coordinates*”.

Shultz Lane comes out on Spruce Hollow Road at Latitude 40.064994°, Longitude -79.523871°, near where the eastern end of Spruce Hollow Road terminates on Breakneck Road. The 1939 USDA photo APV-113-29 shows a faint trace of a roadbed on the south side of Spruce Hollow Road ([Figure 1022](#)). This faint trace reveals that Shultz lane is part of an older road that follows the same compass heading as the route of the Turkey Foot Road that is schematically represented on the 1794 James Smith survey.

The James Smith survey indicates that Breakneck Road crosses the 1794 route of the Turkey Foot Road about where Spruce Hollow Road terminates on Breakneck Road, making Shultz lane, and the road traces that continue northward from Shultz Lane toward the exit coordinates on APV-113-29, a candidate to be a variation of the Turkey Foot Road. Just north of Spruce Hollow Road, APV-113-29 shows two road traces that are parallel to Shultz Lane, and come out on Breakneck Road at Latitude 40.065117°, Longitude -79.523479° ([Figure 1022](#)). These traces are exactly where the schematic representation on the 1794 James Smith survey locates the Turkey Foot Road. [Figure 1019](#) shows the ground where these traces were located.

As can be understood by referring to [Figure 0691](#), the exit coordinates are on the west side of a ridge that runs north-northwest along the border between the Thomas Moore and James Smith surveys. In order to travel to the exit coordinates from the intersection of Spruce Hollow Road and Breakneck Road, one has to follow Shultz Lane, and then climb a steep section of hillside. An easier route northward from Shultz Lane exists on the east side of the ridge, in the form of a deeply sunken road roadbed²⁹ ([Figure 1020](#)) that is situated between the ridge and Breakneck Road. We lost the sunken road on the east side of the ridge when we came to an area that was torn up recently by logging activity. The sunken road begins near Shultz Lane at roughly Latitude 40.066840°, Longitude -79.523100°, travels northeast to roughly Latitude 40.067896°, Longitude -79.521802°, and then turns generally northeast to roughly Latitude 40.068892°, Longitude -79.522814°. A portion of the sunken road near Shultz Lane is visible on APV-113-29 ([Figure 1022](#)). We lost the sunken road near the last set of coordinates. Mr. Hann’s grandfather remembers some ruts running through the area beyond and north of the last set of coordinates, where houses are located now, in 2015. As he described it, these ruts were parallel to Breakneck Road. Judging from the location of the houses, at least the northern end of the sunken route seems to have served as the antecedent to Breakneck Road.

²⁷ On [Figure 0691](#), the inside corner of the James Smith survey near the exit coordinates was easy to locate relative to the aerial photo due to the shape of the fields on the Thomas Moore survey. The accuracy of the location of the James Smith has been confirmed using the Fayette County plat map book that was published by the Mercury Publishing Company in 1999.

²⁸ Mr. Dietle interprets the straight line representations of roads on warrant surveys as being drawn to show the approximate locations where the road crossed the boundary of the survey.

²⁹ The deeply sunken roadbed on the east side of the ridge was shown to a group of Turkey Foot Road researchers by Jeffrey Hann’s friend Matt Shultz, who lives on Shultz Lane. Part of the sunken road near the Shultz buildings shows up on April 7, 1994 Google Earth satellite imagery.

In summary, the route split just north of Spruce Hollow Road, with the western branch to the exit coordinates climbing the steep hillside and then apparently following the west side of the ridge, and the eastern branch (the heavily used sunken road) avoiding the steep hillside and following the east side of the ridge. This sunken road on the east side of the ridge is far superior to the steep 1794 route leading to the exit coordinates, and may be the route Veech described as going to Cathcart's mill. Neither route is likely to be the original military road, because the 1780 deed to Hatfield for the property at the present-day Pleasant Valley Country Club describes that property as being on both sides of the Turkey Foot Road. Since the military road was cut in 1779, the reference to the Turkey Foot Road on the 1780 deed seems to be a concrete reference to the original military route.

The exit coordinates from the 1794 Smith survey are a little too far north to be a logical route to the country club property, and the 1794 route climbs a steep hillside that simply would not have to be climbed on the way to the country club property. This suggests that at least the northernmost part of the route on the Smith surveys may not be the 1779 military route.

The evidence for a route variation on the west side of the ridge is the 1794 exit coordinates on the west side of the ridge, a road and traces of roadbed on the west side of and generally parallel to the ridge on APV-113-29 (see [Figure 0691](#)), and a now abandoned farmstead, far from modern roads, that was located approximately at Latitude 40.069003°, Longitude -79.525042°³⁰. Although this farmstead was more recently accessed by a different route, the route of the Turkey Foot Road that is shown on the 1794 Smith survey points directly at this farmstead, like an arrow. This farmstead would have originally been located along some old road, and the reason it was so far off the beaten path may be because it was built along a variation of the Turkey Foot Road that already existed in 1794. Route traces on the 1939 USDA photo APV-113-29 connect this farmstead to what is now Shultz Lane. These route traces appear as crop marks between the exit coordinates and the abandoned farmstead, and then continue on as an easily identifiable road³¹ on the west side of the ridge that follows the same compass heading as the route shown on the James Smith survey.

Based on the exit coordinates and the abandoned farmstead, Mr. Dietle *infers* that the route on the west side of the ridge that is visible on APV-113-29 may be a remnant of one variation of the Turkey Foot Road. Mr. Dietle incorrectly believed that this route crossed Shenandoah Road somewhere near Latitude 40.072694°, Longitude -79.526789°, based on a rut near Shenandoah Road that was visible on several aerial photographs, and based on what appeared to be northerly oriented crop marks across a field that is located just north of the coordinates. Mr. Hann and Mr. Wilson searched the purported crossing site for ruts, but found none. Mr. Hann searched the woods on the north side of the field, and found no roadbed. Instead, he found the woods to be filled with large rocks (basketball sized and larger) that would prevent wagon travel. Mr. Dietle searched the same section of woods and found no evidence of an abandoned wagon road. These facts mean that the above-quoted coordinates for the purported Shenandoah Road crossing site are incorrect.

A possible Shenandoah Road crossing site

Where either of the above-described road branches went north of Shenandoah Road is presently unknown. One candidate site where the Turkey Foot Road may have crossed Shenandoah Road is

³⁰ Although this now abandoned farmstead is difficult to see on the 1939 aerial photos, it shows up very clearly on the 1959 USDA photo APV-2-162 and the 1967 USDA photo APV-1-131.

³¹ Traces of this old road still show up on present-day leaf-off satellite imagery. It does not show up on present-day summertime satellite imagery, which means that it is no longer being used.

located at Latitude 40.072541°, Longitude -79.525465°. An old sunken roadbed at these approximate coordinates (now filled in) traveled north to cross Spruce Run and traveled south to cross South Spruce Run.

Jeffery Hann discovered this sunken roadbed, which crosses his cousin David Butler's yard, by using April 7, 1994³² and April 29, 2005 Google Earth satellite images. David Butler reports that this old sunken roadbed traveled north from his yard and crossed Spruce Run at a place made obvious by the grooved banks of the stream. David Butler's property was formerly the home place of Jeffrey Hann's grandfather. Mr. Hann's grandfather referred to the sunken feature as a "ditch" that crossed the yard. When asked about the size of the ditch, he said it was three to four feet wide and about one to two feet deep, which matches the description of an abandoned sunken road. He also reported that this "ditch" ran north through the woods and crossed Spruce Run, describing a crossing location with grooved banks that matches David Butler's description. Mr. Hann's grandfather also reported that the "ditch" continued south from Shenandoah Road and crossed Butler Run (South Spruce Run). He does not remember the ditch continuing south of Butler Run, he just remembers a rather steep old crossing site at the bend in the creek. The crossing site is shown in [Figure 1027](#), along with what appears to be a trace of a road across a field on the Thomas Moore survey that may have connected with the 1794 route.

Mr. Hann's grandfather reports that the whole farm was stripped for coal, and for that reason, a lot of the area along Butler Run where the old crossing site was located has been filled in. (The filled in stream bank is made obvious by a cement block that is embedded into the steep north bank of the stream.) He also reports that the W.P.A. took stone from Butler Run to work on Shenandoah Road, and may have changed the course of Butler Run in the process.

Based on its location, and the fact that it crossed South Spruce Run, one can theorize that the sunken road across David Butler's place *may* be an embodiment of the Turkey Foot Road. This is merely a theory, presented as a topic for additional research.

Two possible routes north of Shenandoah Road

What follows are wobbly theories that are built on top of the theory that the sunken road across David Butler's yard may be a variation of the Turkey Foot Road.

Spruce Run is located about 245 yards north of the theoretical Shenandoah Road crossing site at David Butler's place. The terrain along most of the north side of Spruce Run is a relatively steep hillside, however this hillside is broken by two northerly oriented draws. The west draw³³ ([Figure 1015](#)) is located about 380 yards north of the theoretical Shenandoah Road crossing site at David Butler's. Because the grade of the west draw is considerably less than the grade of the rest of the hillside, the west draw is the most logical place for a road heading north from David Butler's yard. Following this draw requires crossing the hillside at a higher elevation than the east draw that the nearby Breakneck/East Keefer Road follows, which explains why the east draw ultimately became the favored route, and continues in use to the present day.

A bit of evidence on the 1939 USDA aerial photograph APV-113-300 also suggests that the west draw may have formerly been used by an old road: A farmstead on the north side of Spruce Run that was located at the lower end of the west draw, at approximately Latitude 40.076104°, Longitude

³² The sunken feature shows up more clearly as a road on the 1994 imagery.

³³ Jeffrey Hann reports that his great aunt's 1854 deed at the draw does not mention a road.

-79.524255°. In 1939 that farm was located back at the end of a long lane that is now known as Londonderry Lane. Many times, the reason a farmstead is located back a long lane like this is because the farmstead was initially located along a road that was subsequently abandoned. This farm may have initially been located along a variation of the Turkey Foot Road. Although it would take more research to prove it, the farm on the 1939 photo may be the “*M. Bathel*” residence that is illustrated on the north side of Spruce Run on the 1858 Barker map of Fayette County.

A primitive road does run up the west draw, coming out into a field at the top of the draw approximately at Latitude 40.077721°, Longitude -79.525006°. From there, a visible farm road runs across the field to a farmstead that is located on Gault School Road at Latitude 40.078779°, Longitude -79.524704°. As noted above, the route up the west draw is a wobbly theory that is built on top of another theory. It is absolutely no surprise that a road runs up the west draw, because old shortcut roads from the horse and buggy days exist all over the mountains of Pennsylvania. Parts of the road we walked that runs up the draw (Figures [1016](#), [1017](#), [1018](#)) may have been worked over by modern machinery, and cannot positively be identified as an old road. Whether it has anything to do with the Turkey Foot Road seems unlikely. The road is mentioned only because it lies in one of only two draws on the north side of Spruce Run that could have been exploited by a variation of the Turkey Foot Road if the road took a more or less direct route to the Cathcart mill at Wooddale.

In summary, it must be clearly stated that, at least in the area where we looked, we found no road up the west draw that has the deeply sunken appearance that other known parts of the Turkey Foot Road have in steep terrain. Perhaps this informs us that we should be looking more closely at Londonderry Lane, and the rocky area it passes through. Did the road across David Butler’s yard connect with the east draw via Londonderry Lane, running past the 1868 “*M. Bathel*” residence? We do not know, but Jeffrey Hann’s grandfather reports that the house at the dead end of Londonderry Lane is an old house, and we do know that the sunken road across David Butler’s yard appears to be generally aligned with the end of Londonderry Lane.

Questions, questions, questions

Is it safe to assume that a variation of the Turkey Foot Road took a more or less direct route to Wooddale through one of the aforementioned draws, or did it perhaps turn east along the Spruce Run valley and then follow Pleasant Valley? North of Shultz Lane, was the route on the east side of the ridge ever referred to as the Turkey Foot Road, and did it come into use after the named 1794 route on the west side of the ridge? Why did the route on the west side of the ridge come to be called the Turkey Foot Road, when the 1779 military route seems to have passed through the country club property on a more direct route to the Jacobs Creek fording site? Was the route on the west side of the ridge situated there to access favorable farm land, while through traffic favored the easier route on the east side of the ridge? Was the route on the east side of the ridge an antecedent to Breakneck/East Keefer road? In the area north of Spruce Hollow Road, should we be thinking of Breakneck/East Keefer road, and the routes on the east and west sides of the ridge, as examples of three variations of the same general through route? Since Indians liked good farmland and direct routes, did the routes on the east and west sides of the ridge have Indian path antecedents? Was the route that ran through David Butler’s yard and up the east draw a variation of the Turkey Foot Road, or just a typical old time shortcut road between farms? Such questions are presently unanswerable, and reveal the extreme difficulty of delineating the route in areas not covered by surveys. Such questions also help to hammer home the point that any study of a primitive road is a study of a maze of route alterations that occurred over time.

Faced with a maze of parallel alignments, determining which specific alignment was originally cut by Providence Mounts and Charles Clinton is, in most places, impossible. It is also not really the point, because the route variations in their totality comprise the historic road that served our forbearers.

The farm back Mowry Lane (Page 457)

The fourth edition identifies the farm where, by tradition the first cabin in the Indian Creek settlement was built by Moses Collins, and goes on to theorize that the reason the present-day farmstead is set back so far from the present-day main road is because it was originally “*located along a variation of the Turkey Foot Road that existed in 1794, at the time of the Newbold survey.*” Knowing that there were indeed many route variations, this theory is still eminently supportable. Nevertheless, the fourth edition failed to note that the 1794 Newbold survey ([Figure 0572](#), Book C-149, Page 280) actually illustrates the Turkey Foot Road as only clipping the western part of the Moses Collins property.

The old Collins burial ground is located along Route 381 at Latitude 39.933859°, Longitude -79.447105°, near the leveled feature on the Mowry farm that is described in Chapter 34. The cemetery further confirms that the Mowry farm is the old Moses Collins place. [Figure 1013](#) shows the cemetery, and also reveals that the shelf-like terrain just above the cemetery would be a natural place for a primitive road, because a road there would avoid the steeper hillside in the background.

Mill Run got its name from Reuben Skinner’s mill (Page 461)

[Figure 1010](#) shows the mill race at the site of Reuben Skinner’s mill, and [Figure 1012](#) shows the water runoff area. The race sits above a ravine where the mill structure would have been located.

Hawk Road (Page 476)

The route from Hawk Road to Quail Hill Road

During a field trip in November, 2013, Jeffrey Hann, Al Wilson, and Lannie Dietle had a brief roadside visit with local resident Jesse Nicholson, who (as reported in Chapter 34) is familiar with where the Turkey Foot Road went west of Hawk Road. He clarified that one branch went up to Mick Lilley’s place (the Vought property), and another branch went to what is locally known as Lilley Hollow, at the bottom of Quail Hill. Mr. Hann reports that April 2005 Google Earth satellite imagery shows a road that continues westward from Hawk Road, and forks at Latitude 40.046169°, Longitude -79.497639°. The satellite imagery shows the right hand fork going to Mick Lilley’s. Although the left hand fork is interrupted by the quarry, Mr. Hann reports that a road on the west side of the quarry that extends toward Lilley Hollow is visible on the April 2005 imagery at Latitude 40.048994°, Longitude -79.507942°, and appears to be the branch toward Lilley Hollow that Jessie Nicholson described. Field work is needed to confirm that this is indeed the sunken road to Lilley Hollow that Mr. Nicholson described. In addition to the two branches described above, Mr. Hann reports that the April 2005 satellite imagery suggests a road heading more to the south, toward Fairview Road. [Figure 1024](#) identifies the general area where the Turkey Foot Ran in the region immediately west of Hawk Road.

Mr. Hann has performed a preliminary investigation of the region between Hawk Road and Quail Hill Road by walking south from Mick Lilley’s place on Quail Hill Road, to a point near the eastern rim of the stone quarry. He found a promising abandoned sunken road that appears to match Jessie Nicholson’s description of the Turkey Foot Road, but has not yet performed field work establishing that this sunken road continues east to Hawk Road. More details will follow as additional field work is performed.

Locating Hatfield's mill (Page 481)

Correction

In the first paragraph of this section, “Route 962” should be “Route 982”.³⁴

Susan Grabek's theory related to the Adam Hatfield Property (Page 481)

Correction

In the penultimate paragraph of this section, “Route 962” should be “Route 982”.³⁵

Evaluating Susan Grabek's Hezekiah Lindsey land theory

Chapter 34 of the fourth edition presents Susan Grabek's theory that Hezekiah Lindsey once lived on the Adam Hatfield property³⁶ that became the present-day Pleasant Valley Country Club. Lindsey's deed to Hatfield locates the property as being on both sides of the Turkey Foot Road, and both sides of Mounts Creek. The deed is perplexing, for several reasons. Firstly, the known 1794 route of the Turkey Foot Road ([Figure 0691](#)) turns north toward Wooddale before reaching Hatfield's property, and according to Judge Veech's circa 1858 book,³⁷ ran past Cathcart's mill, at Wooddale. Secondly, the Hatfield property is all located on one side of Mounts Creek, as shown by his survey ([Figure 0551](#)). Thirdly, the 300-acre size of the Lindsey property is different than the 235 and three-quarter acre size of Hatfield's property, but matches the size of the nearby Cathcart property. Fourthly, the Cathcart property is situated on both sides of Mounts Creek, and—according to Veech—on the Turkey Foot Road.

Grabek's theory is relevant to the study of the Turkey Foot Road because Lindsey's 1783 deed to Isaac Meason mentions that the property is on Mounts Creek and the Turkey Foot Road. The reference to the Turkey Foot Road on Lindsey's property was a loose end that has puzzled Mr. Dietle for years. This puzzlement resulted in detailed correspondence with Grabek and others who share an interest in Fayette County history. As a result of this group effort, Mr. Dietle believes that enough information has been collected to thoroughly verify Grabek's theory as being factual, and to create a plausible theory related to the reference to the Turkey Foot Road in Lindsey's deed.

Examining the evidence

The July 5, 1780 deed from John Meason to Adam Hatfield—One new piece of information is a July 5, 1780 deed from John Meason that transfers property to Adam Hatfield that William Perry transferred from John Meason. The property is described as being located on Mounts Creek and adjoining Chestnut Ridge, and including a small improvement with a spring on the Turkeyfoot Road. The property is also described as adjoining lands that were lately the property of Robert Morrison, deceased. The price was 100 pounds “*old rates current money of Pennsylvania*”. The witnesses were

³⁴ Correction provided courtesy of Alan Wilson.

³⁵ Correction provided courtesy of Alan Wilson.

³⁶ Hatfield also had a property on Jacobs Creek near Cherry's mill that was patented by Ralph Cherry in 1787. This property cannot be the Lindsey property, because it is on the wrong creek. (Property identified by Jeffrey Hann.)

³⁷ “**The Monongahela of Old**”, by James Veech. First printed and distributed in unfinished form circa 1858, this book was later completed by his daughter Mrs. E. V. Blaine, and published in 1892. This book states that the Turkey Foot Road: “*passed by Cornelius Woodruff's old place, descended the Chestnut ridge, and crossed Mountz's creek at Cathcart's, or Andrews' Mill, and crossed Jacob's creek about a mile below the old Chain Bridge, there leaving this county...*”

Isaac Meason and James Worthington. This deed was written a year after the Turkey Foot Road was cut, and therefore seems to be a reference to the original 1779 military route.

William Perry was the sheriff of Westmoreland County from 1777 to November, 1780, which suggests that John Meason may have purchased the property at a sheriff's sale. If the property was sold at a sheriff's sale, there may have been some residual controversy surrounding ownership that would explain the additional deeds that are described below.³⁸

The 1780 deed was recorded on page 71 of Fayette County Deed Book A. The page number appears to be particularly relevant, because a July 17, 1784 deed from John Meason to Adam Hatfield that is described below is recorded on the same page, as if it concerns the same property.

The February 7, 1783 deed from Hezekiah Lindsey to Isaac Meason—Page 414 of Westmoreland County Deed Book A records a February 7, 1783 deed ([Appendix 0082](#)) from "*Ezekiah Lindsey*" of Hempfield Township to "*Isaac Mason*". Hezekiah Lindsey, who signed with his mark, described the property as being: "*On both sides of Mountses Creek and on both sides of the Turkey foot Road Containing three hundred acres it being the same land that I live on in the year of one thousand seven hundred and seventy*". The property is described as adjoining the lands of Richard Stephenson, deceased, John Carr, and Robert Morrison, deceased. Since Lindsey is described as living in Hempfield Township when the property was sold, he was no longer living on the property at the time of the sale. Isaac Meason paid Hezekiah Lindsey five pounds for the property. The deed was witnessed by Samuel Moorhead and Nathan Young.³⁹

The February 7, 1783 deed was recorded in Westmoreland County because Fayette County had not yet been formed at the actual date of the transaction. The deed was transacted when the property was still part of Westmoreland County, but was sealed and delivered on March 9, 1784, and recorded in Westmoreland County on November, 7, 1784, after the property had become part of the then-new Fayette County, which was formed on September 26, 1783.

The July 17, 1784 deed from John Meason to Adam Hatfield—Page 71 of Fayette County Deed Book A records a July 17, 1784 deed from John Meason to Adam Hatfield for an improvement that was made by "*Ezekiel Lindsey*" that Hatfield was living on at the time of sale. The deed states that the property is "*the same tract that Meason conveyed to Hatfield some time past, and the same improvement that was conveyed to said John Meason this day by Isaac Meason.*"⁴⁰ Curiously, the price of the property was only five shillings Pennsylvania currency—a token payment. This five shilling payment is much less than the five pounds that Isaac Meason paid Hezekiah Lindsey for the tract on February 7, 1783. The deed was witnessed by Isaac White and Isaac Doyl.

As noted above, this July 17, 1784 deed is recorded on the same page of Fayette County Deed Book A as the July 5, 1780 deed from John Meason to Adam Hatfield. Since Fayette County was formed from part of Westmoreland County on September 26, 1783, the 1780 deed actually relates to a transaction that occurred while the property was still part of Westmoreland County.

The September 26, 1783 formation date of Fayette County means that the July 5, 1780 deed from John Meason to Adam Hatfield was definitely not recorded in the Fayette County deed book in 1780—

³⁸ Information on William Perry, and the theory relating to the possibility of a sheriff's sale, were provided by Grabek.

³⁹ The deed was found by Grabek.

⁴⁰ The abstract for this deed was found by Grabek, who observes: "*Perhaps Hezekiah Lindsey noted that he had lived on the land in 1770 to substantiate his claim to the land. Maybe Lindsey's mention of the date he had lived on the land is an indication that there was some controversy over his claim to ownership of the land.*"

because that was before Fayette County even existed. It seems obvious that since the July 5, 1780 deed was recorded on the same page as the July 17, 1784 deed, they were both recorded on the same day, and no earlier than July 17, 1784, and they both relate to the same property. It also seems fairly obvious that the unusual step of recording a 1780 Westmoreland County property transaction in a Fayette County deed book in 1784 was taken to add clarity to the history of the property, and perhaps to assist Hatfield in claiming priority on the property dating to 1780 should he eventually decide to obtain a warrant from the state.

1784 documents reference Hatfield’s mill—The summary of the 1804 Circuit Court case of “*Lessee of George Hunter against Isaac Meason, Esquire, and Christopher Wells*”⁴¹ ([Appendix 0040](#)) states:

Ejectment for 400 acres in Bull Skin township.

The plaintiff claimed under a warrant to Jacob Frelick, dated 30th July 1784, for 400 acres, lying on both sides of the Turkey Foot road, leading to Fort Pitt, about five miles from Hatfield’s mill, on the waters of Yohiogeney, including both sides of Maple Run, and the place called the Mill Seat, and likewise a large spring, a cabin, and cleared land. Interest to commence from 1 March 1780. In consideration of 5s. Frelick conveyed to Hunter on the 18th May 1796.

The description in the warrant did not correspond with the lands in controversy. There was a cabin called Lindsay’s,⁴² between 100 and 150 yards from the Turkey Foot Road, and between 3 and 4 miles from Hatfield’s mill. Near it was a good spring, some few trees deadened, but no land cleared. A branch of Poplar run, formerly called Maple run, came within half a mile of this small cabin, but there was no mill seat within several miles of it.

In the case summary, the words “*lying on both sides of the Turkey Foot road, leading to Fort Pitt, about five miles from Hatfield’s mill, on the waters of Yohiogeney, including both sides of Maple Run, and the place called the Mill Seat, and likewise a large spring, a cabin, and cleared land*” matches the wording⁴³ in the July 30, 1784 Jacob Frelich warrant for 400 acres, and the corresponding July 30, 1784 land application.⁴⁴

The land application and warrant prove that Hatfield’s mill already existed on July 30, 1784. This implies that the mill was already built or at least under construction at the time of the July 17, 1784

⁴¹ Volume 4 of Jasper Yeates’ 1871 book “**Reports of cases adjudged in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania: with some select cases at nisi prius, and in the Circuit Courts.**” George Hunter’s August 26, 1802 journal entry indicates that Christopher Wells purchased the Michael Entlich tract that Entlich held under a claim of Isaac Mason, and was living 1.5 miles from Woodruff’s, and kept a tavern there. Hunter’s August 27, 1802 journal entry refers to Wells as “*Welsh*”, stating: “*Left Woodruffs at 6 am, passed 1½ Miles to My place where one Welsh a shoemaker lives...*”

⁴² The identity of this Lindsey individual has not been determined. George Hunter’s August 26, 1802 journal entry mentions an “*old improvement*”, and his August 27, 1802 journal entry states that he gave Deputy Surveyor McClean “*peremptory directions to survey the 400 Acres for me agreeably to my warrant which called for Lindseys improvement which he promised to do & return the same to the Land Office as soon as possible...*” This helps to explain the reference to the “*cabin called Lindsay’s*” in the 1804 case summary: Hunter is stating in his journal that the “*cleared land*” that is referenced in the Frelich warrant is the Lindsey improvement. (The Frelich warrant does not specifically state that the “*cleared land*” is Lindsey’s improvement).

⁴³ The spelling in the land application is primitive.

⁴⁴ The warrant and land application were found by Grabek. In both documents, the applicant’s surname is spelled “*Frelich*”. On the land application, the applicant “*George Hunter Druggist*” is crossed out, and replaced with “*Jacob Frelich*”. The accompanying July 30, 1784 affidavit of Robert Flemming states that “*the land was improved in the fall or some time in the month of November in the year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Eighty*”. The documents make no reference to Lindsey’s improvement.

deed from John Meason to Adam Hatfield—a deed that states that Hatfield was already living on the property.

George Hunter's August 26, 1802 journal entry regarding the contested property states:

Here we were overtaken by a heavy thunder storm which beat against us without effect, being defended by our oil skin coats — went on to Woodruffs on the Turkey foot road 15 miles more & then put up for the night, having rode 30 miles this day. Here were informed that Michael Entlich who lived on my Tract of Land 1½ miles⁴⁵ from this on the same road westward westward, had sold the same, which he held under the Claim of Isaac Mason to a Mr Wells who keeps Tavern there ...

This part of the journal entry suggests that George Hunter thought that his property, the subject of the lawsuit, included at least part of Thomas Meason's "Middlesex" tract.⁴⁶ A July 14, 1796 journal entry indicates that he thought it also included land to the east of the "Middlesex" tract, including at least some of the Connell property.⁴⁷ The eastern edge of the "Middlesex" tract is approximately 1.2 road miles from the estimated location⁴⁸ of Woodruffs residence. Its western edge is about 1.8 road miles from the estimated location of Cornelius Woodruff's residence. The known Frelich tract is located on the eastern⁴⁹ edge of the "Middlesex" tract, toward Woodruff's, on a now-abandoned section of the Turkey Foot Road that is located between the eastern end of Hawk Road and Cavanaugh Road.

The statement "about five miles from Hatfield's mill" in the Frelich warrant and land application is difficult to evaluate. The 1784 route past Hatfield's mill is unknown, but using four different theoretical cross-country routes between those locations, the distance from the mill to the western edge of the Frelich property appears to be approximately 4.4 to 4.8 miles.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ From the estimated location of Cornelius Woodruff's residence, 1.5 miles is about midway along the length of present-day Hawk Road.

⁴⁶ Thomas Meason's November 7, 1792 warrant for the "Middlesex" tract describes the property as: "Two hundred acres of land about halfway between Cornelius and willam Woodruff's on both sides of the Turkey foot road including a piece of natural cleared Meadowd ground on the North of the road and including a Spring on the South side." The land application contains an October 20, 1792 affidavit by two Justices of the Peace that states: "each of the Above two Described tracts of Land according to the Best information we have had Remains Vacant & unimproved". (The land application document also includes an application by Elizabeth Meason). The warrant documents were found by Grabek.

⁴⁷ Zachariah Connell's May 6, 1796 warrant describes his property as "Four hundred acres of Land Including an Improvement on the Popular Run and joining lands of Adam Shaffer, Christian Serrff, Joabb Woodruff and others in Bullskin Township". The warrant documents were found by Grabek. Cornelius Woodruff sold his place to his son Joab on August 28, 1791. Connell's survey ([Figure 0391](#), Book C-36, Page 282) illustrates the west and north sides of his tract as bordering Andrew Froelich's property. The warrant survey map shows the west and north sides of Connell's property as being bordered by William Cale's property. Hunter's July 14, 1796 journal entry describes "400 Acres Tract of Land which I had bot of Wm. Perry & warranted in the name of Jacob Frailey. This Land is in the possession of Michael Entlich who keeps a Tavern there, has about 70 Acres Clear, has built a Log House & Barn. He claims 200 Acres by virtue of a Purchase from Isaac Mason. This Land is on the waters of Salt lick Creek; my warrant includes the 200 Acres in the possession of Entlich & as much more to the eastward thereof, which last part contains the millseat & is claimed by Canel of Canel's Town..." Salt Lick Creek is now known as Indian Creek. The reference to the waters of Salt Lick Creek means that Hunter believed that the property was located in the drainage basin of Indian Creek.

⁴⁸ The estimated location of Woodruff's residence is based on the residence location shown on the 1792 Reading Howell map of Pennsylvania ([Figure 0001](#)), and the location of Ernie Schultz's spring-fed house ([Figure 0727](#)), which likely uses Woodruff's spring. The road miles are based on the Turkey Foot Road.

⁴⁹ Jacob Frelich's property is just east of Thomas Meason's "Middlesex" property, as proven by Thomas Meason's June 10, 1795 "Middlesex" survey for 211-3/4 acres on the Turkey Foot Road ([Figure 0768](#), Book C-138, Page 237). William Cale took out a warrant for at least part of the Frelich property in 1794.

⁵⁰ "In Search of the Turkey Foot Road" states that it is about 5.1 miles from Hatfield's mill to the western edge of the "Middlesex" property. That statement, while true, is the shortest route using modern roads: Route 982, Swink Hill Road, Englishman Hill Road, Quail Hill Road, and Laws Road. Based on review of the 1817 Melish manuscript map, I now believe that there was a shorter route between Hatfield's mill and the section of the Turkey Foot Road that is identified

Other surveys reference Hatfield's mill in 1785 and 1787—Thomas Meason's 1785 survey (Book C-120, Page 246) and warrant⁵¹ ([Appendix 0084](#)) also mention Hatfield's mill. The survey states that Thomas Meason's property was “*about a half a mile north of the Turkey foot road 2 miles or there about from Hatfield Mill...*”, and the warrant makes a nearly identical statement. This provides no additional clarity regarding the location of Hatfield's mill, because Thomas Meason's property was roughly equidistant from the Hatfield and Cathcart properties, as shown by the Bullskin Township warrant survey map ([Figure 0530](#)). Meason's survey does, however, further confirm the early existence of the Hatfield mill.

One other document also confirms the early existence of Hatfield's mill. Thomas Moore's tract (Book C-130, Page 148) was located along the east side of Adam Hatfield's tract, as shown by the Bullskin Township warrant survey map ([Figure 0530](#)). Moore's December 14, 1787 warrant⁵² ([Appendix 0085](#)) describes the property as “*Four hundred Acres of Land, including a Deer Lick in the forks of a run that turns Hatfield's mill adjoining said Hatfield's land and land of Isaac Meason Esqr on Mounts Creek*”. This clearly places Hatfield's mill on the country club property, and proves that the mill was operational (turning) in 1787.

Hatfield's 1786 survey identifies the location of his mill—Hatfield's 1786 survey ([Figure 0551](#)) describes his 235 and three-quarter acre property at the present day country club as “*Situated on Mounts Creek in Bullskin Township Fayette County and Surveyd the 25th Day of July 1786 in Pursuance of a Warrant dated the 4th Day of Februy (sic) 1786*”. The property is illustrated as adjoining Mounts Creek, the Hourbaughs claim, property owned by Robert Bell, and property owned by the heirs of Robert Morrison.

Based on a comparison of the warrant survey map ([Figure 0530](#)) and Adam Hatfield's 1786 survey ([Figure 0551](#)) to the 1905 topographical map of the area ([Figure 0682](#)), Hatfield's millrace was clearly the antecedent to the millrace that is shown on the 1905 map, although the source *may* have changed slightly by 1905. Heminger Mills was located immediately south of the location where Country Club Road terminates on Pleasant Valley Road (Route 982). The location of Hatfield's mill was likely a little farther south, as can be determined from the straight line representation of the race and the squiggly line representation of the runoff on Hatfield's survey ([Figure 0551](#)). Hatfield's property was already a country club in 1939, but a large section of the millrace is still visible in USDA 1939 aerial imagery ([Figure 0691](#)).

Hatfield's 1786 land application identifies improvements beginning in 1780—Hatfield's 1786 land application ([Appendix 0083](#))⁵³ was witnessed by “*John Measson*” and “*Isaac Measson*”, and states:

*Adam Hatfield appleys for 200 acres of Land Situate in Fayette County, Bullskin Township with an Impt on Mountses Crick adjoining Robert Bell and Messen, & Robert Morrison Decect and the Chestnut Rige Wr. Is^d Intfrom 1 October 1780*⁵⁴

on the Smith surveys ([Figure 0691](#)). The 5.1 mile statement also fails to take into account the fact that taking the Turkey Foot Road between Mick Lilley's current residence and Hawk road would have been shorter than taking Quail Hill Road to Hawk Road via Laws road.

⁵¹ The warrant was found by Grabek.

⁵² The warrant was found by Grabek.

⁵³ The land application was found by Grabek.

⁵⁴ Grabek interprets this phrase as an abbreviation meaning “*Warrant Issued - Interest from 1 October 1780*”.

Fayette County

And the under Suscribers justices of the Pice fro said County Do Certify to the secretary of the Land office of Pennsylvania that the above Discribed Tract of Land was Iproved In this Fall of the year 1780 witness our hands and seals this 21st of December 1786

Although the stated acreage does not match that of Hatfield's July 25, 1786 survey, both the survey and the land application locate the property as being on Mounts Creek and adjoining the Robert Bell and Robert Morrison properties, and a Meason property. This shows that the land application and the survey relate to the same piece of property. The July 5, 1780 and February 7, 1783 deeds also describe the property as being adjacent to the Robert Morrison property. The land application also indicates that Hatfield's improvements to the property began in the fall of 1780, soon after Hatfield originally purchased the property from John Meason.

Interpreting the evidence

I believe that the above facts substantiate Grabek's theory that Hezekiah Lindsey was the former owner of Adam Hatfield's property at the present-day country club. It appears that John Meason made a good faith purchase of land along Mounts Creek from Sheriff William Perry that included the present-day country club property, and sold the land to Adam Hatfield on July 5, 1780 for 100 pounds, and Adam Hatfield started improving the property in the fall of 1780 and was living there on July 17, 1784, and already had a mill on the property on July 30, 1784. Hezekiah Lindsey had a prior claim to a 300-acre property on both sides of Mounts Creek that had to be settled in order to provide Hatfield with a clear title. Lindsey's 300 acres encompassed the perhaps smaller John Meason purchase from William Perry. Isaac Meason resolved this vexing issue by paying Lindsey five pounds for the 300-acre property on February 7, 1783. Isaac Meason conveyed the portion of the property on the east side of Mounts Creek to John Meason on July 17, 1784, and on that same day, for the token payment of five shillings, John Meason gave Adam Hatfield a new deed for property purchased from William Perry that he had already "*conveyed to Hatfield some time past*"—the property on the east side of Mounts Creek that Hatfield was already living on, and had already built a mill on.

The Meason family members were land speculators, and they would have been way too savvy to buy a property for five pounds on February 7, 1783 and then turn around and sell it for five shillings on July 17, 1784—except in the described circumstances where they had already sold the property to Adam Hatfield for 100 pounds in 1780.

This interpretation is harmonious with the fact that a 113-acre property on the other side of the creek from the Hatfield property was surveyed by Isaac Meason on July 1, 1788. This may be a remnant of the 300-acre Lindsey property that was not sold to Adam Hatfield. Hatfield's land application indicates that he thought he had about 200 acres that was located next to a property owned by a Meason. Hatfield's estimated 200 acres, when added to Meason's surveyed 113 acres, come fairly close to the estimated (presumably unsurveyed) 300-acre size of the Lindsey property.

The Hatfield and Cathcart deeds both reference the Morrison claim

The July 5, 1780 deed from John Meason to Adam Hatfield describes the property as adjoining lands that were lately the property of Robert Morrison, deceased. The property conveyed by the February 7, 1783 deed from "*Ezekiah Lindsay*" to "*Isaac Mason*" is also described as adjoining the lands of Robert Morrison, deceased. Hatfield's 1786 survey ([Figure 0551](#)) shows his property as adjoining land owned by the Heirs of Robert Morrison. Hatfield's 200-acre land application also mentions that the property

adjoins the property of Robert Morrison, deceased. These facts are harmonious with Lindsey's land being the country club property.

The Morrison property included at least some of the April 22, 1816 survey of Edward Chambers and John Galloway (Book C-37, Page 165) that was patented by Edward Chambers in 1815, and included at least some of the July 2, 1812 John Galloway survey (Book C-78, Page 14). As shown by the warrant survey map ([Figure 0530](#)), the Chambers property did not share a border with the Cathcart tract, but the original Morrison claim did, as proven by the May 17, 1788 survey of John Kithcart (Cathcart), Junior (Book C-93, Page 283), and by the October 18, 1787 deed from John Christy and Samuel Osburn to John Kincart that is recorded on pages 697 and 698 of Fayette County Deed Book C-1.⁵⁵ Likewise, the Galloway tract bordered the Cathcart tract, as shown by the warrant survey map.

A November 2, 1815 affidavit by Isaac Meason accompanied the land application related to the July 2, 1812 John Galloway survey. This affidavit identifies when the Morrison property was settled, stating that the Galloway land:

was first improved in or about the year 1773 or 1774, and not before, by Robert Morrison, who to his certain knowledge was driven off his land through the fear of the Indians in the late war, his family being forced in the fort of the deponent, and that the said Robert Morrison after serving a tour of duty against the Indians, returned and died of a fever.

This shows that Morrison was living on the property during at least part of the Revolutionary War, which began in 1776. Robert Morrison was still alive in early 1778, because bought several articles at the estate sale of James Loudon.⁵⁶ Robert Morrison's will was proved on April 27, 1779, and references his tract of land that was known as "*Lick Place*". His will also identifies a wife, three daughters, and an unborn child.⁵⁷

Discounting a weaker alternate theory

One other theory exists concerning the reference to the Turkey Foot Road by the Lindsey deed. Cathcart's property was located on Mounts Creek and on the Turkey Foot Road (according to Judge Veech), and bordered Robert Morrison's property claim, and was the same 300-acre size that is described in Lindsey's deed to Isaac Meason. Since property sometimes changed hands rapidly in those days, some may wish to investigate, and try to determine if Lindsey and Hatfield ever owned the Cathcart property, which was on both sides of Mounts Creek and the Turkey Foot Road. A count against this theory is that John Kincart's 1787 deed is for property being purchased from Samuel Osborne and John Christy, rather than from Hatfield.⁵⁸ I discount this theory completely, because it does not reconcile with the known location of Hatfield's mill in the 1784 to 1787 timeframe. This theory is mentioned only as a strawman,⁵⁹ since readers are sure to notice that both the Cathcart and the Lindsey properties had 300 acres, and both bordered the Morrison claim.

When Hezekiah Lindsey sold his property to Isaac Meason, it was described as adjoining the lands of Richard Stephenson, deceased. Grabek found a 1774 letter written by Valentine Crawford to George Washington that mentions a letter Crawford wrote to his brother, Richard Stephenson, in Berkeley

⁵⁵ The Cathcart deed was found by Grabek.

⁵⁶ The estate sale papers from the probate record of James Loudon were found by Grabek. The "early 1778" estimate of the sale date is based on the estate appraisal being made in December 1777.

⁵⁷ Will abstract, "**Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania**", Volume 5, 1912 (Found by Grabek).

⁵⁸ Grabek reports that the Cathcart deed does not reference the Turkey Foot Road.

⁵⁹ A strawman is a sham argument that is presented so it can be defeated.

County, Virginia. With this information, Grabek was able to locate the 1776 will of Richard Stephenson in a book about Berkeley County wills. The executors were James Stephenson and George Summers. There was also a 1777 record concerning Stephenson's land in Yohogania County, Virginia—which overlapped Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. A property west of Adam Hatfield's property, and mostly west of Mounts Creek, is warranted to James Stephenson and George Summers, in trust. Grabek located the warrant application and survey for the property, and found they are both for the heirs of Richard Stephenson, and also found that the property adjoined other land of Richard Stephenson. The property of James Stephenson and George Summers shares a corner with the 113-acre Isaac Meason property that is on the west side of Mounts Creek, adjacent to the Hatfield property. Since Lindsey's property is described as adjoining the property of the heirs of Richard Stephenson, and Hezekiah Lindsey's property is described as being on both sides of Mounts Creek, this supports the theory that Hatfield only purchased part of the property Isaac Meason bought from Hezekiah Lindsey. Grabek observes that these discoveries remove any doubt that Hatfield may have owned the Cathcart property. Although Cathcart's property bordered the heirs of Robert Morrison, it could not have bordered the Richard Stephenson property. Only Hezekiah Lindsey's land could have bordered the Stephenson property.

What could the reference to the Turkey Root Road mean?

As stated above, The July 5, 1780 deed from John Meason to Adam Hatfield and the February 7, 1783 deed from Hezekiah Lindsey to Isaac Meason reference the present-day country club property as being located on the Turkey Foot Road, however, Veech states that the road ran past the Cathcart mill. As shown by [Figure 0681](#), the 1817 Melish manuscript map of Fayette County shows a road “*To Turkeyfoot Settlement*” [1] that splits into three branches west of Chestnut Ridge. The left hand fork merges with a road to Connellsville, the middle fork goes to the mill on the country club property [5], and the right hand fork [7] passes near the Cathcart mill [4] at Wooddale. Assuming that Grabek's theory is correct about the location of the Lindsey property, as Mr. Dietle does, the reference to the Turkey Foot Road on the 1780 and 1793 deeds suggests that the middle fork was the 1779 military route of the Turkey Foot Road. Additional analysis of the three branch roads is included below.

The location of the Turkey Foot Road varied considerably over time in many areas, so it might theoretically be conceivable that at some point in time, a variation of the Turkey Foot Road went to Lindsey's property, and then turned north along Mounts Creek to Cathcart's mill; however, no evidence has been found that the road between Hatfield's and Cathcart's mills was ever referred to as the Turkey Foot Road. The more likely scenario is that the routes northward from the exit coordinates on the Smith survey are route variations, and one or both of them went to Cathcart's mill.

The reference to the Turkeyfoot Road in the July 5, 1780 deed from John Meason to Adam Hatfield seems to be a clue regarding the location of the road that was cut in 1779 by Providence Mounts. Four things are certain:

- Hatfield's 1780 property is on a more direct heading to the Jacobs Creek fording site that Veech describes, compared to Cathcart's's property.
- The July 5, 1780 reference to the Turkey Foot Road on Hatfield's deed was written only year after Providence Mounts cut the military road that became known as the Turkey Foot Road
- The July 5, 1780 reference to the Turkey Foot Road on Hatfield's deed predates the Turkey Foot Road references on the November, 1794 Smith surveys by over 14 years.

- The 1817 Melish map shows roads connecting Hatfield's mill to the Jacobs Creek fording site Veech describes.

It seems reasonable to believe that the route through Hatfield's property is the original military route, and the route or routes that went to Cathcart's mill are later variations. It also seems reasonable to suspect that some portions of the roads connecting Hatfield's mill to the Jacobs Creek fording site on the 1817 Melish manuscript map may represent portions of the military route.

The diagonal route between Chestnut Ridge and Cathcart's mill (Page 484)

Mr. Hann's shortcut route

We know from warrantee surveys ([Figure 0691](#)) and the 1796 Vought property transaction (page 478) that an alignment of the Turkey Foot Road came up through the Owen Biddle survey, crossed through the Vought property, served as the antecedent to the Quail Hill Road⁶⁰ across the 1794 Peter Smith survey, and then turned north through the 1794 James Smith survey, crossing Breakneck Road about where Spruce Hollow Road does today.

Area resident Jeffery Hann ([Figure 1025](#)) has found a more direct and level alternate route that begins on the Vought property at Latitude 40.052507°, Longitude -79.501598°,⁶¹ generally follows the ridgeline, and fades out near the intersection of Breakneck Road and Spruce Hollow Road. A 1939 aerial photograph clearly shows that this route came up through the correct location on the Owen Biddle property to be a variation of the Turkey Foot Road. The eastern part of the route Mr. Hann describes is visible between the "n" in "Thompson" and the "R" in "Robert" on [Figure 0691](#). During his initial investigation of the road, Mr. Hann walked the old roadbed as far as Latitude 40.059360°, Longitude -79.519451°. Leaf-off satellite imagery shows that from these coordinates, the old roadbed makes a beeline toward the intersection of Breakneck Road and Spruce Hollow Road. Much of the route is visible on April 19, 2005 Google Earth satellite imagery.

Mr. Hann eventually returned with Mick Lilly and Alan Wilson to document as much as the route as could be detected between Quail Hill Road and Breakneck Road. [Figure 1009](#) shows where Mr. Hann's shortcut route is located relative to modern roads, and relative to the route shown on the 1794 Smith surveys. Figures [1003](#), [1005](#), [1006](#), [1007](#), [1008](#), and [1011](#) are photographs of the sunken road. [Figure 1004](#) shows the general nature of the terrain between the northern end of the traceable part of the shortcut route and the intersection of Breakneck and Spruce Hollow roads. [Figure 1014](#) was taken in the opposite direction, from Shultz Lane, looking back to where [Figure 1004](#) was taken.

Mr. Hann states that the old sunken road varies in depth, being as deep as six feet at some locations, and other places being barely visible. Mr. Hann also recorded the following coordinates along the route: Latitude 40.058266°, Longitude -79.517227° and Latitude 40.055396°, Longitude -79.508772°. He found two pieces of iron ore and an old iron pin while walking the old roadbed with a metal detector. The significance of the iron ore is unknown, but it is not unusual for old abandoned roads to be temporarily resurrected for commercial use. The sunken road has short sections of parallel roadbeds, which probably represent places where bad sections of road were bypassed.

⁶⁰ Al Wilson reports a family tradition, told by his uncle Hack, that the Quail Hill name comes from a family surname pronounced "kwa-ell".

⁶¹ According to Jeffrey Hann, the large excavation south of these coordinates, on the south side of Quail Hill road, is a stone quarry that has been in operation about 60 years. Mr. Hann's grandfather worked at the quarry in his younger days.

The old roadbed that Mr. Hann discovered would have been a preferred route for a horse drawn wagon, compared to the Quail Hill route, because it follows the ridge. The antecedent to Quail Hill Road descended the mountainside, after which horse drawn wagons would have had to climb back uphill on their way toward Cathcart's mill. The roadbed Mr. Hann discovered is more level, and easier on horses, on the way to the intersection of Breakneck Road and Spruce Hollow Road. Mr. Hann's sunken road starts about where a known section of the Turkey Foot Road passed through the Vought property, and it goes exactly to where a known section of route goes, and it gets there by an easier and shorter route, with less grade. Clearly, it is a variation of the Turkey Foot Road.

Whether Mr. Hann's shortcut route came before or after the route shown on the Smith surveys is unknown and probably unknowable, but as a through route toward Fort Pitt it is definitely superior to the route shown on the 1794 Smith surveys. There is an intriguing chance that as a wagon road (as opposed to a bridle path), Mr. Hann's shortcut route came first, possibly as the wagon road Providence Mounts was working on in the fall of 1779. The rationale behind this statement is the directness of the route Mr. Hann documented, compared to the route on the Peter and James Smith surveys. The antecedent to part of Quail Hill Road on the 1794 Peter Smith Survey, and the antecedent to part of Englishman Hill Road that appears on other surveys, may have simply been upgraded to wagon road status in the due course of time to support various farms along Englishman Hill Road, and to support commerce with Connellsville and Uniontown. None of this is provable, but at the very least, there is no particularly strong reason to believe that the 1794 route is the more likely course of the 1779 wagon road. To the contrary, knowing how talented the 1779 road builders were at selecting a direct route through other regions, it seems more likely than not that Mr. Hann's route is the 1779 route, and that it turned west somewhere near the Shultz place to head toward the Jacobs Creek fording site, passing through the Hatfield property on the way.

Three forks near Chestnut Ridge

Pages 484 to 485 of the fourth edition describe [Figure 0681](#), which shows a portion of the 1817 Melish manuscript map of Fayette County. The map reveals that the then-existing alignment of the Turkey Foot Road split into three roads west of Chestnut Ridge. The most important aspect of the map, relative to this research, is that the center road goes to a mill on Hatfield's property, which may explain the reference to the Turkey Foot Road on Lindsey's deed, as described above in the discussion of Grabek's theory.

Some analysis of the three roads on the 1817 map seems in order, since they have some relation to the Turkey Foot Road. The analysis begins with a fourth road: The road between the present-day country club and Wooddale. Based on the proximity of this road to Mounts Creek, and the place where it crosses the creek, it appears to be the antecedent to at least some parts of Medsger Road. It is located east of the most recent mill site on Cathcart's property, just like Medsger Road, and crosses over Mounts Creek and Spruce Run about where Medsger Road does, and then it runs some distance east of Mounts Creek across the Hatfield property, just like the present-day Pleasant Valley Road does after Medsger Road merges with Pleasant Valley Road. Based on these facts, one can have a reasonable degree of confidence that the road between Cathcart's and Hatfield's properties on the 1817 map is the antecedent to Medsger Road. The 1817 road continues south to Connellsville, although it obviously deviates from the path of present-day Route 119.

One thing the 1817 map shows clearly is the bow in Mounts Creek between the mill on Hatfield's property and present-day Swink Hill Road. The map does not show Swink Hill Road, but it does show

the little stream that Swink Hill Road follows. Here, the antecedent to Medsgar Road deviates significantly from present-day Route 119, because it crosses over the stream that Swink Hill Road follows. This part of the old 1817 road down to Connellsville evidently still survived as a trail in 1902, because a trail is shown at what seems to be the correct location on the [1902 topographical map](#) of the area (Look below the second “L” in “*Bullskin*”).

Referring back to the three roads that fork from the Turkey Foot Road on the 1817 map ([Figure 0681](#)), the left hand, southern fork almost touches the source of the aforementioned stream, and therefore must have passed through somewhere near where Englishman Hill Road nearly touches the source to that stream today (Latitude 40.050775°, Longitude -79.537851°). That stream has two branches; the northern branch is not shown on the 1902 topographical map, but terrain identifies the ravine where it is located. The northern branch of the stream runs up the ravine where Swink Hill Road makes a sharp 90° turn at Latitude 40.056543°, Longitude -79.535704°, and so the left hand fork of the 1817 road ran south of the 90° turn of Swink Hill Road. With this information in hand, one can see that left hand, southern road is probably the antecedent to Englishman Hill Road that is shown on the early surveys that are superimposed on a 1939 aerial photo on [Figure 0691](#).⁶²

The right hand, northern fork on the 1817 map crosses Spruce Run and Butler Run (South Spruce Run). This places the northern fork east of Latitude 40.072460°, Longitude -79.537463°, where Spruce Run and Butler Run join on the country club property. The northern road fork is also located west of Latitude 40.079829°, -79.508829°, where Spruce Run is joined⁶³ by another stream flowing down off of Chestnut Ridge. This narrows the location of the right hand, north fork of the road down to somewhere in the general vicinity of the east and west draws that are located at Latitude 40.077714°, Longitude -79.525007° and Latitude 40.078295°, Longitude -79.520430°. Breakneck Road follows the latter draw, and continues on to the Cathcart property as East Keefer Road.

The place where the right hand, northern fork crosses Butler run cannot be the section of route shown on the 1794 Smith surveys, or Mr. Hann’s shortcut route, which do not cross Butler Run. Butler Run is not accurately depicted on the 1817 map, however the northward continuation of either of the aforementioned routes had to continue on to cross Butler Run at some location.

South of Butler Run, the right hand, northern fork of the road is illustrated as turning southeast to the place where the three roads join. That means that south of Butler Run, the right hand road is unlikely to be Breakneck Road, which turns more to the southwest. From this, one can deduce that in the area south of Spruce Hollow Road, the right hand road on the 1817 map may have been the route shown on the 1794 Smith surveys, or Mr. Hann’s shortcut route. For both of these routes, see [Figure 1009](#). Between these two known possibilities, the 1817 route seems more likely to be Mr. Hann’s shortcut route, because the Smith surveys show a rather abrupt turn northward from present-day Quail Hill Road, and Mr. Hann’s shortcut route has a more gradual northward turn that is more harmonious with

⁶² The old road that branched southwest from the antecedent to Englishman Hill Road on the surveys shown on [Figure 0691](#) is probably the road that is illustrated as a trail crossing East End Road approximately at Latitude 40.040768°, Longitude -79.554752° on the 1902 topographical map, and continues southwest toward Connellsville, merging with Breakneck Road near Gilmore’s/White’s mill, which was located approximately at Latitude 40.032617°. Longitude -79.562212°. Most of the route of the 1902 trail can be identified on the 1939 USDA aerial photo APV-112-24. (One of Mr. Hann’s relatives lives near the aforementioned coordinates, and Mr. Hann informed Mr. Dietle of the abandoned road that ran northward to Englishman Hill Road and southward to Breakneck Road from these coordinates.) This 1902 trail is unlikely to be the left hand, southern branch that is shown on the 1817 map, because it would have come out on the road from Hatfield’s mill too close to Connellsville.

⁶³ The streams merge roughly at Latitude 40.079894°, Longitude -79.508675°.

the route shown on the 1817 map. This is certainly not a definitive conclusion, because the 1817 map is quite schematic in nature.

The course of the right hand, northern fork onto the Cathcart property at Wooddale is initially confusing, because the intersection between it and the antecedent to Medsger road is north of the mill site, whereas the present day East Keefer Road crosses the Pleasant Valley Road right at the mill site. The location of the intersection on the 1817 map is easily explained, because, unlike the present-day Medsger Road, the 1817 antecedent did not terminate at present-day Keefer Road. Instead, it continued on a straight course north of Keefer Road. This explains why the right hand, northern fork on the 1817 map intersected the antecedent to Medsger Road north of the mill site. The northern part of the right hand road on the 1817 map appears to be the direct antecedent to East Keefer Road.

Now we turn to analysis of the middle of the three roads on the 1817 map. This road runs just north of the mill on the country club property. In order to understand where that mill was located, one has to compare the mill race that is shown on the 1817 map ([Figure 0681](#)) to the mill race that is shown on the 1902 topographical map. They both draw water from the same place on Butler Run (even though the race and the junction of Spruce Run and Butler Run are poorly illustrated on the 1817 map) and therefore they can reasonably be assumed to be the same mill race.⁶⁴ The 1902 mill site was located very near where the road from Pennsville terminates on the Mount Pleasant Road. That intersection is located at Latitude 40.069152°, Longitude -79.540875°, near the clubhouse.

By comparison, Hatfield's 1786 survey suggests that his mill was located a little farther south. To understand this, review Hatfield's survey ([Figure 0551](#)) and the associated green line on the overlay of [Figure 0691](#). The straight double line on Hatfield's survey apparently represents the mill race, and the wavy double line apparently represents the runoff from the mill. The turn in the double line representation was located roughly at Latitude 40.067808°, Longitude -79.541494°. This is south of the 1902 mill site, and east of and above present-day Route 982. Judging from terrain, the mill would likely have been located a little west of, and below the level of Route 982. The 1817 map is too schematic to tell which mill site was being used in 1817. Regardless of where the mill was located in 1817, the middle road passes north of the mill, so it cannot be the antecedent to the western part of Spruce Hollow Road.

The middle road is well south of Spruce Run, so it also cannot be the antecedent to Shenandoah Road. Considering that the left hand fork appears to be the antecedent to Englishman Hill Road (and therefore may be the antecedent to the western part of Quail Hill Road), one possible candidate to be a portion of the middle road may be the now abandoned section of Miller Road,⁶⁵ which used to run between Breakneck Road and Spruce Hollow Road. Miller Road now dead ends at Latitude 40.060449°, Longitude -79.527285°, but the 1858 Barker map, the 1872 township map, the 1902 topographical map, and 1939 USDA aerial photography ([Figure 1023](#)) clearly show the now abandoned section of Miller Road heading north and coming out on Spruce Hollow Road approximately at Latitude 40.063976°, Longitude -79.529545°. Although just an educated guess at this point, the middle road may have also been an antecedent to part of Kelley Road to Pennsville, which now has its eastern

⁶⁴ The source of the mill race on the country club property may have been moved a little bit east to Butler Run by 1817, or the 1817 and 1902 maps may simply fail to show the dam that is illustrated on the 1786 survey as being at or directly below the junction of Spruce Run and Butler Run.

⁶⁵ Jeffrey Hann identified the abandoned section of Miller Road as a possible candidate for part of the middle road, and said that David Butler told him that it used to go through from Breakneck Road to Spruce Hollow Road as a township road.

terminus on Pleasant Valley Road at Latitude 40.069132°, Longitude -79.540889°, just north of the mill sites.

It is not yet possible to determine where the three roads joined. All that can be said with any degree of certainty is that they joined somewhere east of the ravine where Swink Hill Road makes a sharp 90° turn at Latitude 40.056543°, Longitude -79.535704°. It seems likely that the three roads joined somewhere between Breakneck Road and the western end of present-day Hawk Road (Latitude 40.042335°, Longitude -79.482293°).

The most important aspect of the three 1817 roads is not where they joined, or which roads they antecede. The aspect that is most relevant to this study is that the middle road offers a possible explanation as to why the Lindsey deed mentions a Turkey Foot Road, as described above.

An 1802 description of the chain bridge (Page 485)

Origin of the great road

Page 485 of the fourth edition quotes from an 1802 article about the chain bridge “*near Judge Mason’s, on the great road leading from Uniontown to Greensburg*”. This “*great road*” is interesting to those who study the Turkey Foot Road because it crossed Jacobs Creek between two other early fording sites: The locations where Braddock’s road is believed to have crossed Jacobs Creek at Bridgeport⁶⁶, and the location where Veech indicates the Turkey Foot Road crossed at Dexter. It is difficult to understand why Braddock’s road swung so far east to cross, when it could have taken a more direct route, crossing Jacobs Creek at the fording site that was used by the great road before the chain bridge was built. This fording site was at or very near the site of present-day Iron Bridge, Pennsylvania.

The origin of the great road deserves to be studied. Ellis’ 1882 book “**History of Fayette County, Pennsylvania**” provides a clue in the form of a 1788 petition for a “*Road from Zachariah Connell’s to Isaac Meason’s, on Jacob’s Creek.*” This is interpreted as being a petition for a road between the present-day sites of Connellsville, where Zachariah Connell once lived, and Iron Bridge, Pennsylvania, which is located across the creek from where Isaac Meason once lived.

The same book also provides another clue, stating:

The first road viewed and laid out by order of the court of Fayette County, in December, 1783, was that from Uniontown to the mouth of Grassy Run, on Cheat River, this being part of a road which had been petitioned for to the Westmoreland County Court (before the erection of Fayette), to run from Stewart’s Crossings (Connellsville), through Uniontown, to the Cheat. It was ordered to be opened, cut, cleared, and bridged, thirty-three feet wide.

A petition was presented to the same court for “a road from Union Town to the Broadford on the River Youghiogheni,” ...

Broad Ford is in the immediate environs of Connellsville. Taken together, these 1783 to 1788 petitions call for a new road between Uniontown and Iron Bridge, Pennsylvania. Such a road is shown on the 1792 Reading Howell map, and is interpreted as being the “*great road*” referred to in the 1802 article. Whether this road was preceded by an earlier path is unknown.

⁶⁶ Braddock’s road is believed to have crossed Jacobs Creek roughly where present-day Hammondsville Road crosses.

If Veech is right about where the Turkey Foot Road crossed Jacobs Creek, the Turkey Foot Road had to cross over Braddock's road south of Jacobs Creek, before merging with Braddock's road farther to the northwest. It seems extremely likely that the place where the two roads crossed would have been very close to where the great road ran through. In other words, the three roads probably formed something roughly akin to a six-point intersection—if not literally, then at least functionally.

If Veech's Dexter-area Jacob's Creek crossing site is accepted as valid, the Turkey Foot Road ran generally west-northwest from Wooddale or the country club to Dexter—which may have brought it through somewhere roughly in the vicinity of present-day George's Trading Post. Braddock's Road ran north-northeast from the western end of Country Club Road (near present-day George's Trading Post) to the Hammondville area. The great road ran from somewhere in the general vicinity of the western end of Country Club Road to Iron Bridge. From the approximate location where Braddock's road and the Turkey Foot Road intersected, the great road was a much more direct route north to Mount Pleasant. As such, it can be thought of as a shortcut to Braddock's road.

This "*shortcut*" concept may help to explain a strange annotation that Al Wilson identified on the 1857 Barker map of Westmoreland County. That map uses a dashed line to show the route of "*Braddock's Old Road*" across the county. This dashed line doesn't follow the circuitous route of Braddock's original road between Jacobs Creek and Mount Pleasant. Instead, it crosses Jacobs Creek about where the present-day "*Old 119*" (Route 3105) does at Iron Bridge, and then ran just to the west of, and roughly parallel to, "*Old 119*" (Route 3105), Route 819, and Eagle Street. In its route northward from Jacobs Creek, the dashed line route of "*Braddock's Old Road*" meets Route 31 right where present-day Braddock Road travels northward from Route 31.

Taken together, the information above suggests that the part of the great road between the George's Trading Post area and Mount Pleasant served as a shortcut to Braddock's road, and this shortcut eventually came to be called "*Braddock's Old Road*".

A mile below the chain bridge was on Meason property (Page 486)

The route of the Turkey Foot Road near, but south of, the Jacobs Creek fording site has been impossible to determine. If one variation came from Wooddale, logic seems to dictate that it would have detoured around the distinctive knob known as Penny Hill,⁶⁷ which is located at Latitude 40.101616°, Longitude -79.563008°.

If the Turkey Foot Road went through the environs of Walnut Hill, as Mosler's 1969 article in the "**Evening Standard**" indicates, then a route from Wooddale would have crossed over Braddock's road in that general area. According to a map on page 118 of Norman L. Baker's 2013 book "**Braddock's Road...**", the southern part of Valley View Drive, the portion of Kingview Road that is east of Walnut Hill and just west of Route 119, and the western part of Country Club Road, are the current alignments of Braddock's road.

Baker's delineation of Braddock's road along part of Kingwood Road and Country Club Road appears to be correct. In 2014, Fayette County resident Al Wilson identified the landscape scar of this section of the road using 1939 USDA aerial photographs. A comparison between 1902 and 1936 topographic maps shows that the old roadbed was still in use in 1902, connecting directly with Country Club Road, but had been abandoned by 1936. Mr. Wilson makes the salient point that the Turkey Foot Road from

⁶⁷ The name of the distinctive Penny Hill knob was provided by Fayette County resident Alan Wilson.

Wooddale may have followed this section of Braddock's road toward Walnut Hill, rather than simply crossing over Braddock's road.

Mr. Wilson has determined that a vote to build the old octagon schoolhouse on Walnut Hill was held in 1837. This schoolhouse was located at the present day intersection of Valley View Drive and Kingview Road, and proves that at least one of those roads was already established by 1837.

Mr. Wilson has also identified an old roadbed on the northern flank of Walnut Hill that provides a level detour circling around the highest part of Walnut Hill. He spotted the roadbed on a 1939 aerial photo, but has not had the occasion yet to search for it on the ground. If Mosler is right that the Turkey Foot Road came through the Walnut Hill area on its way to Dexter, this roadbed is a potential candidate route that is also compatible with Mr. Wilson's theory that the Turkey Foot Road may have temporarily merged with Braddock's road east of Walnut Hill.

Mr. Wilson points out that if Mosler is wrong about the Turkey Foot Road going through the Walnut Hill area on the way to Dexter, the only other logical route possibility from Wooddale seems to be the valley of Rankin Creek, just south of Penny Hill.

Perhaps someday, with the fullness of time, we will have more than theories between Wooddale or the country club and Dexter. If proof is ever found, it will most likely be in the form of old deeds that mention the route. As more and more abstracts and transcripts of old deeds become available on the Internet, perhaps someone will eventually find the proof that is needed to determine whether the route traversed the Rankin Creek valley or Walnut Hill. In the meantime, Mosler's article, which is likely based on a local Walnut Hill tradition combined with information from Veech's book, makes a Walnut Hill route seem more likely than a route along Rankin Creek. At this date, it is impossible to know whether Mosler was describing a route that came from Wooddale or the country club.

Swampiness

Chapter 34 of the fourth edition mentions swampiness along the portion of Jacobs Creek between Iron Bridge and State Route 1059 (Dexter Road/Overholt Drive). This swampiness can be observed on a 1939 USDA aerial photo that shows wide backwaters surrounding an island near State Route 1059. Alan Wilson remembers such backwaters along Jacobs Creek from his youth. He also points out that Jacobs Creek can be treacherous, and that people have lost their life to it during his lifetime.

The June 2009 report of the Jacobs Creek Watershed Association, which is titled "**Jacobs Creek Watershed Implementation and Restoration Plan**", provides insight regarding what the natural state of Jacobs Creek would have been in the 1700s and 1800s. Page 27 describes an assessment that was performed by walking along the creek from Bridgeport to Scottdale. The report describes poor flow, and deposits of sediment that were several feet deep in some areas. The condition was in part caused by large fallen trees that impeded flow and collected debris. Storm flooding had increased the width of the creek in some areas to the point that no obvious low flow channel was evident. This explains why the stream is illustrated as a swampy area between the site of chain bridge and Route 1059 on the 1902 topographical map of the area.

The Jacobs Creek crossing site

The portion of Jacobs Creek between Iron Bridge and State Route 1059 has experienced a significant amount of industrial activity, including railroad and vehicular bridges, that may have obliterated any physical remnant of the Turkey Foot Road. For example, the 1910 "*New Map of the Connellsville*

*Coke Region*⁶⁸ shows four different rail lines along Jacobs Creek in the region between Dexter and McClure.

Braddock's ford across Jacob's Creek (Page 487)

Correction to Figure 847

In [Figure 0847](#), "*Mounts Creek*" should have been "*Jacobs Creek*".⁶⁹

Mount Pleasant

On page 488 of the fourth edition, footnote 742 provides some brief background information on Mount Pleasant. The 1832 "**Gazetteer of the State of Pennsylvania**" describes Mount Pleasant as follows: "...contains about 150 dwellings, 3 taverns, 7 stores, 1 Baptist and 1 Methodist church. It was incorporated 7th Feb., 1828."

A review of the mysteries near Jacobs Creek (Page 488)

Page 488 provides one good answer to the question: "*Why did the Turkey Foot Road cross over Braddock's road south of Jacobs Creek, only to join it somewhere north of Jacobs Creek?*" A corollary question is: "*Why did the Turkey Foot Road ford Jacobs Creek so far west of the Braddock's road fording site, and so far west of the fording site at present-day Iron Bridge, Pennsylvania?*" The answer to both questions is that the Turkey Foot Road was engineered for directness, avoiding a circuitous section of Braddock's road near Mount Pleasant. Instead of following Braddock's circuitous route through the present-day Mount Pleasant area, or merging with Braddock's Road at or north of Mount Pleasant, the Turkey Foot Road took a more direct route that passed through Woodrow's property and crossed the Glade Road at Ruffs Dale. The directness of the route is a testament to the ability of the 1779 road cutters.

Speculation regarding the Westmoreland County route (Page 489)

Doctor Wellford's statement that he turned right onto the Turkey Foot Road "*about 5 miles from Cherry's Mill*" is incorrect, and therefore, the Westmoreland County route theory presented on page 489 is incorrect. Doctor Wellford turned right from the Glade Road onto the Turkey Foot Road just west of Buffalo Run, at Ruffs Dale.

The reference to the Turkey Foot Road and Lick Run in Emerson's November, 8 1780 deed is significant because the deed was written the year after the northern part of Turkey Foot Road was cut as a military road by Providence Mounts. As described above, this proves that the military road crossed the Glade Road at Ruffs Dale.

⁶⁸ This map was found by Jeffrey Hann.

⁶⁹ Correction provided courtesy of Alan Wilson.

35. Other nearby Turkey Foot Roads

An 1859 reference to the ‘Turkey Foot turnpike’ in Milford Township (Page 491)

James Hanna’s 1819 will mentions the Turkeyfoot Road

Page 491 of the fourth edition lists two Milford Township properties on the west side of Scrub Glade Creek that straddled the Turkey Foot Path: The 1775 survey of Aquila White, and property sold by John Pringey and his wife Abigail in 1808. Eber Cockley’s notes indicate that John Prinkey purchased the latter property on April 27, 1801 from John Leach and his wife and Abraham Stooky and his wife.

James Hanna’s January 6, 1819 will describes his home place in Milford Township as being bounded by the land of John Gebhart; land he purchased from Christian Ankeny and John Prinky; a new clearing on the Turkeyfoot Road; and the Livezy and Painter tracts. The Milford Township warrant survey map shows a John Gebhart tract that included the mouth of Scrub Glade Creek, and the 1818 Melish manuscript map shows a Hanna residence just west of the Gebhart tract. This seems to place the Hanna residence on or near the Abraham Stookey tract that is shown on the warrant survey map, just east of the Thomas Livezy/Samuel Rodgers tract. That tract is west of Scrub Glade Creek and south of the Aquila White tract. This information allows the road that Hanna’s residence is located along on the 1818 Melish map to be identified as the Turkey Foot Road. As an extremely rough approximation, this seems to put Hanna’s residence somewhere in the vicinity of Latitude 39.911058°, Longitude -79.193219°, and perhaps along a now-abandoned road that continued northeast from the easterly turn of the Casselman Road that is located at Latitude 39.908435°, Longitude -79.195936°. This now abandoned section of road is shown on the 1921 topographic map of the area.

Page 498 of the fourth edition states:

Samuel Rodgers had a 346-acre tract called “Birds Nest” that was “Situated on the West side of the Scrub Glade Creek and on both sides of the Old Turkey foot Path...”

The “*Birds Nest*” tract included the 200-acre Abraham Stookey tract and the 146-1/2-acre Samuel Rodgers/Thomas Livezy tract that borders the Stookey tract on the west.

Chris Kraft reports that James Hanna settled on the 146-1/2-acre Samuel Rodgers/Thomas Livezy portion of the “*Birds Nest*” tract, but the legal claim for the tract was not resolved until April 24, 1824, after his death, when the final payment was made and the tract was conveyed to his wife. Since Hanna did not yet own the property outright in 1819, this may explain why his 1819 will describes the home place as being bordered by the Livezy tract. The 1818 Melish map locates Hanna’s home near and west of a creek that crosses the Stookey tract. This places the home very near the border between the Abraham Stookey tract and the Samuel Rodgers/Thomas Livezy tract.

This study suggests that a portion of the Casselman Road that is located southwest of Latitude 39.908435°, Longitude -79.195936° may be the present-day alignment of what was once known as the Turkeyfoot Road. How well it may correlate to the 1818 route is unknown.

An 1879 reference to the Turkeyfoot Road in Milford Township

The September 3, 1879 issue of the “**Somerset Herald**” references the Turkeyfoot Road from Somerset as follows:

On a petition of citizens of Milford township for viewers to view the site of a bridge over Middlecreek, in Milford township, where the old Somerset and Turkeyfoot road crosses said creek, the Court appointed J. R. Scott surveyor; John Weller and Josiah Heminger, viewers.

The Turkeyfoot Road near Uniontown (Page 494)

A 1929 reference to the Turkeyfoot Road

The September 9, 1929 issue of the “**Connellsville Daily Courier**” makes the following reference to the Turkeyfoot Road near Uniontown:

Half of Uniontown drank muddy water and bathed in the murky water yesterday and today as the result of one of the heaviest mountain rains in years on Saturday night.

The old Turkeyfoot road was practically destroyed by the flood and the mountain streams carried tons of the mountain side into the Coolspring reservoir, this creating a very thick, muddy water which supplies Uniontown.

Early maps that show roads connecting Bedford to Uniontown (Page 495)

The route across Simon Shunk’s property in Brothersvalley Township

On [Figure 0822](#), the portion of the road from Berlin to Turkeyfoot that is shown on the W.P.A. warrant survey map of Brothersvalley Township is highlighted in red. This road is shown as crossing Simon Shunk’s properties, but Shunk’s surveys (Book A-74, Pages 297 and 298) do not show the route. The Somerset County survey of the two properties ([Figure 1028](#)) does show the route, and refers to it as the “*Turkey Foot Road*”. Moreover, it shows both the route shown on the warrant survey map, and a more direct route. Simon Shunk appears to have already been located on these properties in the mid-1780s, because he is mentioned as an adjoining land owner by Casper Hoover’s land records.⁷⁰

Part of the border of Shunk’s 47-acre tract is still identifiable on a present-day Brothersvalley Township plat map. For orientation purposes, this tract includes the place where the western end of Owl Hollow Road terminates on the Garrett Shortcut Road at Latitude 39.918151°, Longitude -79.039597°.

The Sanner Lutheran Cemetery

The 1971 book “**Sanders Saga**” indicates that the Sanner Lutheran Cemetery was located on “*the old Berlin-Turkeyfoot road*”. The basis and accuracy of the statement is unknown. The cemetery, which is also known as Saint John’s Lutheran Church Cemetery, is located on Humbert School Road at Latitude 39.928204°, Longitude -79.121228° in Black Township. Volume 41, Number 3 of “**The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine**” (1986) references 1782 to 1850 records from Sanner’s Lutheran Church, showing that the church was established at an early date.

A 1906 description of a road from Somerset to Turkeyfoot (Page 496)

Newspaper references to the Turkeyfoot Road from Somerset

The March 7, 1883 issue of the “**Connellsville Daily Courier**” makes the following reference to the Turkeyfoot Road near Somerset:

⁷⁰ See Somerset County Survey Book I, page 207.

A turn-table for the convenience of locomotives coming in over the Boswell-Somerset cut-off is in course of erection at the old intersection of the Turkeyfoot road and the S. C. branch, immediately south of town, and Somerset is beginning to present the appearance of an active railroad center.

The November 21, 1911 issue of the “**Somerset Herald**” makes the following reference to the Turkey Foot Road near Somerset:

Mr. George W. Parker Monday morning purchased from A. J. Colborn, Esq., ten acres of ground lying directly south of the borough, facing the Turkey foot road. The price paid was eight hundred dollars.

37. A roundabout route on the 1755 Evans map

The packer’s path over Wills Mountain at Kinton’s Knob (Page 512)

Charles A. Hanna’s 1911 book “**The Wilderness Trail**” reports that Thomas Kinton was “*at Pickawillany in February, 1751*”.

38. The old Glade Road

A Westmoreland County perspective

In describing Mount Pleasant, Boucher’s 1906 book “**History of Westmoreland County Pennsylvania**” provides a Westmoreland County perspective of the Glade Road:

It was on one of the main thoroughfares between the east and the west; the old road known as the Glade road had been built by the state, and was the principal highway leading from Somerset to West Newton, and thence to Pittsburgh. Later the Somerset and Mt. Pleasant turnpike was organized. Upon this road the town depended for communication with other parts of the world. This road was generally known as the Plank road, because it was actually planked in the late fifties. The planking was a failure, but parts of it are now very greatly improved, and from Jonesville to Mount Pleasant it is one of the finest roads in the county.

39. A floating sensation

The significance of early Connellsville and West Newton (Page 529)

Page 530 of the fourth edition gives an 1818 description of Connellsville. The 1832 “**Gazetteer of the State of Pennsylvania**” describes Connellsville as follows:

The town was incorporated into a borough by act 1st March, 1806, and contains from 100 to 120 dwellings, 2 churches, 3 schools, 9 stores, 5 taverns, 2 grist mills and 1 saw mill, driven by water and one air foundry.

40. Fort Cumberland

Captain Snow's map mis-illustrates the location of the storehouse (Page 537)

Barton's 1758 description of the Ohio Company storehouse

Reverend Thomas Barton's journal entry for September 7, 1758 describes the Ohio Company storehouse as a large building located on a hill on the Virginia side of the Potomac River, approximately 400 yards south-southwest from Fort Cumberland. He reports that the storehouse was then being used as a hospital, and was guarded by thirty men.

Harmonizing the Seamen and Lewis journals with Sharpe (Page 537)

Correction

On page 538 of the fourth edition, the introductory statement "*Page 89 of Lowdermilk's book states*" should have read: "*Page 79 of Scharf's 1882 book "History of Western Maryland" states*".

A 1758 magazine explosion at Fort Cumberland (Page 539)

Barton's 1758 description of Fort Cumberland describes earthworks

Reverend Thomas Barton's journal entry for September 7, 1758 provides a description of Fort Cumberland 20 days before the magazine explosion. He states that the fort was originally a 100-foot square stockade built of excessively light timber, and had four bastions. He describes that nearly three sides of the fort had been reinforced with a 12 foot tall, 20 foot thick earthen-filled reinforcement constructed with squared logs, and also describes an associated dry ditch that was unfinished at the time. He indicates that the fort had ten embrasures that were each armed with a four pounder cannon. Like other observers before him, Barton describes Fort Cumberland as being poorly situated, because of surrounding hills. Barton reports that the fort could be attacked by cannon fire from the hill where the Ohio Company storehouse is located, and from a hill that is located about 300 yards northwest of Fort Cumberland.

Barton also reports that there were several fine fenced in vegetable gardens on the banks of the river, about 40 yards from the fort. His journal entry ends with the description of the pyramidal-topped square post monument with an inscribed lead plate that is included on page 267 of Lowdermilk's "**History of Cumberland**".⁷¹

Vaughn's 1787 description of Fort Cumberland describes an earthen fort

Thomas Barton's 1758 description of large earth-filled reinforcements helps to explain Samuel Vaughan's 1787 description of an earthen fort at Cumberland:

...when came to Fort Cumberland where are 13 or 14 good framed houses & thought will rapidly increase as being at the head of the North branch of the Patomack 100 or 120 yards over

⁷¹ Barton's journal is reproduced in "**The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography**" 95 (1971).

The remains of the Earth fort is upon the hill commanding the turn of the River & the Creek which is formed thus here ends the Allagany Mountain.

Vaughan visited Cumberland 29 years after Barton, and apparently all that was left of the fort was the remains of the 20 foot thick reinforcement Barton described. Page 79 of Scharf's 1882 book "**History of Western Maryland**" also mentions earthworks: "*Mr. Jesse Korn's has a distinct recollection of climbing over the remaining earth-works when a boy...*"

42. In support of an Indian path antecedent

At the mouth of Wills Creek (Page 557)

Documenting the Indian village at Oldtown

Philemon Lloyd's 1721 map "*Patowmeck Above Ye Inhabitants*" shows an Indian village named "*King Opressa's Town*" just east of the north branch of the Potomac River, in the vicinity of the mouth of the north branch. The map, which has to be rotated 120° to match the river to present-day maps, also illustrates the Warriors Path running through the town. This Indian village is the antecedent to Oldtown, Maryland, which is about 15.6 miles southeast of the Cumberland Narrows on modern roads. The presence of this Indian village, and the villages at Corriganville, LaVale, and Cash Valley, help to substantiate the existence of a connecting path through the Narrows.