

Addendum A

Second edition errata & supplemental commentary

Introduction

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

You can help identify errors, oversights, and new information

Please report mistakes, oversights, and new information to 1@korns.org for evaluation and possible inclusion in an updated version of this addendum. Initially, the evolving addendum will be maintained online at <http://www.korns.org/>. Ultimately, it will be maintained at the Mount Savage Historical Society.

Front Matter:

Companion DVD

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

Chapter 5: The Twightwee Indian Road

Scrutinizing Goodman & Greve

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

evaluation of the statements of Goodman and Greve are too extensive to include in this addendum, and readers are referred to the third edition of the book.

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

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

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

In the second edition, Greve's 1904 book is quoted as stating:

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

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

These traders came in part from Virginia, but chiefly from Pennsylvania. Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, says of them: "They appear to me to be in general a set of abandoned wretches;" and Hamilton, governor of Pennsylvania, replies: "I concur with you in opinion that they are a very licentious people. Indian traders, of whatever nation, are rarely models of virtue; and these, without doubt, were rough and lawless men, with abundant blackguardism and few scruples. Not all of them, however, are to be thus qualified. Some were of a better stamp; among whom were Christopher Gist, William Trent, and George Croghan. These and other chief traders hired men on the frontiers, crossed the Alleghanies with goods packed on the backs of horses, descended into the valley of the Ohio, and journeyed from stream to stream and village to village along the Indian trails, with which all this wilderness was seamed, and which the traders widened to make them practicable. More rarely, they carried their goods on horses to the upper waters of the Ohio, and embarked them in large wooden canoes, in which they descended the main river, and ascended such of its numerous tributaries as were navigable. They were bold and enterprising; and French writers, with alarm and indignation, declare that

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

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

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

George Croghan

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

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

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

William Trent

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

Although Trent did engage in activities on behalf of the province of Virginia, both he and George Croghan were residents of Pennsylvania. A memorandum in Volume 5 of the "**Minutes of the Provincial council of Pennsylvania**" helps to establish the residency of George Croghan

and William Trent by stating that both were “*appointed Justices of the Peace and of the Common Pleas in the County of Cumberland, by a Commission bearing Date the Tenth Day of March, 1749...*”.

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

Goodman indicated that the road from Harris’ Ferry went to the forks, where it met the road from Wills Creek. Greve wrote “*the pack men of Pennsylvania ... pushed forward into the valley of the Ohio, the first coming along the wagonroads through Lancaster to Harris’ Ferry, now Harrisburg, thence by bridle path to Will’s Creek on to the Potomac*”. A route from Harris’ ferry to the forks of the Ohio via Wills Creek is so roundabout that it seems implausible. Greve’s statement suggests that he, or someone who influenced him, simply misunderstood Goodman. This issue is addressed in detail in the third edition of the book, and two more direct Pennsylvania trading routes are described.

Douglass’ view of the Twighwees

Volume II, pages 227 and 228, of Doctor William Douglass’ 1755 book “**A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North-America.**” describes his view of the Twightwee situation:

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

Since most of the trade with the Twightwees appears to involve Pennsylvanians, Goodman's contention that the Twightwee Road came to Wills Creek seems to rest on an inconsiderable foundation. Nevertheless, as chapters 3 and 4 show, there was a trading path out of Wills Creek that predated the Ohio Company road, and it followed the Jennings Run gap. As shown by the 1751 Fry and Jefferson map, branches of that path connected with the mouth of the Kanawha River (now Point Pleasant, West Virginia) and with the forks of the Ohio (now Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania). As the Evans map illustrates, the route from Pickawillany came to the forks of the Ohio. It seems reasonable to believe that in the days before the Ohio Company road, a significant portion of the Virginia and Maryland traders who traveled to Pickawillany and the mouth of the Kanawha River would have used the path through the Jennings Run water gap. This trading activity was a part of the general trading activity that initiated the French attack on Pickawillany, and the French and Indian War.

Chapter 6: Re-Evaluating Ohio Company road history

The first theory (correction)

On page 48, the summary of the first theory inexplicably names the Casselman River, rather than the Youghioghney River. The summary was supposed to have read "*The 80-mile length statement was an exaggeration, and the second petition was just describing progress to the Youghioghney River on the now well known Ohio Company road.*" When reviewing a draft shortly after it is written, a writer often sees what he thinks he wrote, rather than the actual printed words. This mistake is an example of the phenomenon. Such mistakes are easier to catch with the passage of time. The sentence was expanded to include the (wrong) waterway name for the second edition. During proof reading, the sentence did not stand out as an obvious revision, and was not closely scrutinized.

The third theory (correction)

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

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

Page 66 includes a section subtitled "*Some form of the Ohio Company road was finished by late 1752*", and quotes an Ohio Company record indicating that some form and portion of the Ohio Company road was finished by the date of the Ohio Company record. The record, which had been incorrectly reported as being made November 22, 1752, now has been identified as a record from the February 6, 1753 meeting of a committee of the Ohio Company at Marlborough, Stafford County. The meeting record addresses the inquiry of John Pagan Mercht about the

treatment German Protestant settlers would receive. This correction also impacts the dates given in footnote 13 in Chapter 1, the last paragraph of page 42 in Chapter 5, and the last paragraph on page 58 in Chapter 6. This correction does not alter the conclusions of the book.

Darlington's 1751 date for Ohio Company road construction (correction)

On page 61, the second sentence inadvertently implies that Darlington was correct about the 1751 date of the Ohio Company road. The actual intent of the sentence would have been clearer if it had stated “*Although wrong about the 1751 date, he was technically correct that the Ohio Company road went to Turkey Foot, because Turkey Foot was a name for both the confluence of the rivers and the surrounding region.*”

Washington's attack on Jumonville

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

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

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

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

Declaration of war

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

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

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

The 1839 “**North American Review**” suggests that Smollett was mistaken about the Logstown attack and was actually describing the Pickawillany attack. The “**North American Review**”

states “*The attack on Logstown, spoken of by Smollett and Russell, was doubtless this attack on the Miamis post.*”

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

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

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

Smollett is vindicated by the July 1754 issue of “**The Universal Magazine**”, which states:

Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, dated May 24, 1754, brought by the Tryal, Captain Cuzzins, Last night came advice from the back parts of this province, that the French had taken the block-house and the truck-house, erected by the Virginians, cut off all our traders but two, and have taken goods, furs, and skins, the the value of 20000 l. at least; a sad stroke to many here. This is on the river Ohio, at a place called Logstown, about 190 miles from hence due west. How they will be dislodged time will shew.

This report indicates that the French attack on Logstown took place sometime before May 23, 1754. George Washington’s attack on Jumonville’s party did not occur until May 28, 1754.

The 1754 “**The Gentleman’s Magazine**” includes an article titled “*Conduct of the French in America*” that states:

They took the Block-house and Truck house erected by the Virginians at Logs Town on the Ohio, cut off all the traders but two, and carried of in goods, furs, and skins, to the amount of 20,000 l. sterling, so that the skin-trade in that part is totally obstructed.

John Dobson's 1763 book "Chronological Annals of the War, from its Beginning to the Present Time" also mentions the French at Logstown, stating:

To accomplish these designs, the French attack'd and took one of the small Forts belonging to the English, in the Straight of the River Monongahela, obligating Mr. Ward and his little Garrison of 44 Men to capitulate, and retire. They afterwards made themselves Masters of the fort of Logs-town on the River Ohio, in the Territory of Virginia.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chapter 12:

The circa 1754 to 1801 path from Cumberland to Jennings Run

Gladdens Run

Based on the fact that the Mason Dixon line had not yet been established in 1762, Chapter 12 speculates that the Gladdens Run that is mentioned in the 1762 Frederick County, Maryland "Herts Field" survey of David Ross is the stream that is still known by that name in Pennsylvania.

A supporting piece of information is the 1762 "Wills Town" survey of David Ross that was located on the west side of Wills Creek, and supposedly all in Frederick County, Maryland. The "Wills Town" survey clearly extends well into what is now Pennsylvania, and proves that

Maryland considered the state line to be well north of its present location before the Mason Dixon line was surveyed. The 1787 Veatch map of lots west of Fort Cumberland illustrates the “*Wills Town*” tract as being truncated by the Mason Dixon line.

Tomlinson’s mill site

Chapter 12 page 127 mentions the Tomlinson’s mill that is shown on a map and identified in a Maryland statute. John Tomlinson owned a number of parcels of land, which complicates the task of identifying the site of his mill. One possible candidate property is lot 3431, which is located north of the present-day site of Corriganville on the 1787 Veatch map of lots west of Fort Cumberland. Much more research on the subject is needed.

Chapter 18: The route through Corriganville

Original property names

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

Chapter 19: The Hays Mill Path Shared the Route

A detailed description of the route

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

Chapter 23: The pre-1804 Bear Camp route theory

Bear Camp

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

Chapter 31: The route north of Harnedsville

Cornelius Woodruff (correction)

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

Chapter 35: A floating sensation

Examining Ellis’ Turkey Foot Road statement (correction)

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

This correction invalidates two paragraphs on page 311; the paragraph beginning with “*From the above information, there appears to have been...*”, and the paragraph beginning with “*As presented in Chapter 34, Ellis’ 1882 book also...*”.

Miscellaneous

About the GPS coordinates

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

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