Who Made the "Trader's Map"?

The Map Division of the Library of Congress has long possessed a manuscript map untitled, undated, and without a maker's name. No one knows when it was received nor from whom it came. It has been endorsed on the folder: "North America (Northwest Territory and New York) about 1753. Note—Fort DuQuesne, afterwards Fort Pitt, built in 1754, is not mentioned on this map. 'Logge T.' is mentioned. The various forts are mentioned and roads are given." Phillips describes it as a "Map of the Northwest Territory, showing the Hohio to the mouth of the Ouaback—the Oucspere or Cutawai rivers. Giving roads to Logge T, etc., Scale, 69 miles to a degree of latitude, 20 x 29 ms. anon. 1753?" ¹ This map was reproduced in Hanna's The Wilderness Trail,² where a title, "Trader's Map of the Ohio Country 1750-52," was imposed on the upper left-hand corner of the map itself, though it does not occur on the original. Hanna does not refer to the map in his text.

The writer's interest in this old map was aroused by the insertion of the words, "Sea Coal here," in three places where coal has actually been found. This is the earliest, or nearly the earliest, record of coal in the respective states. Unless the records of deLery's journey down the Ohio in 1739 show that he saw coal in Pennsylvania (which is unlikely), this note of coal along the Kiskiminetas River is the first written reference to coal in that state; in Ohio, on the Muskingum River, it is also the earliest known record;³ and in Kentucky, on "White Foul Creek,"⁴ it is second only to the record left by Dr. Thomas Walker, if the date of this map is as early as it may well be.

² C. A. Hanna, The Wilderness Trail (1911), II. 156.
³ Lewis Evans in his Analysis of a Map . . . , in 1755, says that he was told by traders that coal was on fire at the Ohio location in 1748.
⁴ Probably either Tygarts Creek or the Little Sandy River.
References to coal on early maps are very scarce. The first one the writer has found in an examination of nearly all of the early maps known to be extant, is that to “Charbon de terre” in Illinois on Joliet’s map of 1673-74. A somewhat different map, said to be Marquette’s, shows “Charbon de terre” on the Illinois River in the same general location. This map is on a larger scale than Joliet’s, and was published by Thevenot in 1681. The next map recording the presence of coal was made by Benjamin Winslow late in 1736, subsequent to his survey of the Potomac River for the Fairfax grant. This is the first map to show coal in the Appalachian region, and indicates two “cole mines” above the mouth of the Savage River. This same information is given on the map of the “Northern Neck of Virginia,” made by Jefferson and Brooke in 1746, from which the boundary lines of the Lord Fairfax grant were laid down, the information being from the survey and map of 1736. The Fry and Jefferson map published in 1751, shows a “cole mine” along the Potomac River, again the data was taken from the 1736 map. The next map showing coal is the “Trader’s Map,” the subject of this paper.

Correspondence with the librarians of the leading American collections of the country, careful study of the records of the Darlington collection, and correspondence with the secretaries of the historical societies interested in the history of this territory have failed to reveal any similar map or any manuscripts referring to this one; but numerous suggestions were made as to the possible map maker; those suggested being Christopher Gist, James Burd, Lewis Evans, Thomas Hutchins, and the various traders Evans mentioned as

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9 In the Darlington Room, University of Pittsburgh Library. An excellent collection, too little known generally.
giving him information for his map about the western country, Alexander Lowrey, Alexander McGinty and others.

This map in addition to the trails from Raystown and Wills Creek, along the Ohio, and westward to Miamis Town, and south to the Ohio River, shows travel routes past the Cross to Miami Fort, down the Miami River with details of rapids, along the west end and north shore of Lake Erie, and in the Detroit and Niagara rivers, and gives information about portages along the north shore of Lake Erie that must have been furnished by a traveller of that route.

So far as the record shows, Christopher Gist made one or two small maps of a limited area but we have no knowledge of his ability to make such a map as this one. Nothing exists to indicate that he ever made a trip in the northwestern part of Ohio or to Detroit or anywhere else on Lake Erie.

A comparison of the map with Gist's journal of 1750-51 shows these notable differences. The starting point of the map was evidently taken as the Ohio Company's warehouse at Colonel Cresap's, on the Potomac between Town Branch and Will's Creek; the streams immediately south and west of that point having been located in the Fairfax surveys of 1736 and 1746. The paths shown from there do not agree with Gist's courses and distances even generally, as might be expected. This, however, was an old Indian trail and known to many. The map does not show Loyalhannon, at which Gist stayed, although it was at least as large then as Shannopin's Town. The town of Muskingum is not named. Gist reached it December 14, 1750, and says it was five miles east of White-woman's Town, which is named. This was a much larger place and he stayed there some days. It does not show the large Delaware town on the Scioto River, reached by him January 27, 1751. Gist speaks of Maguck Town and does not mention French Margaret's shown on the map, although they are probably the same. The town on the Great Miami River is shown on the map as Miami's Town, and was usually called Pickawillany. Gist refers to it as Twigtwee Town. It was taken and burned by the French and Indians in 1752, and Evans' map mentions this. This map does not show the streams mentioned by Gist on the south side of the Ohio River west of the mouth of the Scioto River, nor does it show his path anywhere south
of the Ohio River. In view of these facts, it is evident that Christopher Gist cannot be considered as the maker of this map.

James Burd's name was suggested on account of the resemblance between his writing and the lettering on the map. While he traded in this region prior to 1752, and had a much better education than all but a few of the traders, there is no evidence to show that he ever made any maps in that period, nor that he was ever near Lake Erie, or on the Detroit or Niagara rivers. He certainly was not the maker of this map.

All students of this period know Lewis Evans' maps of 1749 and 1755, and of his ability as a map maker. It is evident that he did not make this map, however. The date of this map is certainly before 1753, for reasons stated hereafter. Evans in 1753 said that no coal had yet been found in Pennsylvania, while the map shows it was known before that time, and had he made this map he would certainly have shown coal along the Kiskiminetas River on his 1755 map, instead of merely referring to it in his "Analysis." His maps have been the subject of extremely careful research and no mention has been made anywhere of such a one as this. His livelihood came from surveys and maps, and his name added weight and value to any map; it is extremely unlikely that he would have allowed such a well-made map to go out without at least his name being on it. The spelling of various places on this map differs from his map of 1755, and the country around Detroit River is different as will be referred to later. There are no good reasons to lead to the conclusion that Lewis Evans made this map.

Thomas Hutchins' ability as an observer and geographer in a period about fifteen years later than this are well known. At this time he was only twenty years old and there is nothing in his record to show that he made any such map, or was in this locality until after 1752, and then only in western Pennsylvania.

There are no records extant to show that the traders who gave information to Lewis Evans for his map ever made any maps of any kind or that any of them had sufficient education or training to do such work. They can be dismissed from consideration.

After considering these names and rejecting them, a study of the

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available records showed that there was one man whose qualifications ought to be examined. This was John Pattin, or Patten. He appeared in colonial history in 1750 and was active until the middle or latter part of 1754, when he was killed by Indians while on an expedition seeking the Northwest Passage.

Pattin had been over all the routes shown on this map. He left an account of his travels including a statement of the distances between many of the points on the map. Finally, according to the testimony of a public officer of Pennsylvania, he submitted a map of this country drawn by himself. The map, however, cannot be found in any of the colonial records of Pennsylvania. Later, in 1754, he was sent on a mission to the Indian country by Governor Hamilton and submitted a report with a statement of distances from the settlements to the Ohio country. He also submitted a map which has disappeared.

Very little is known of John Pattin. He was a native of Wilmington in Pennsylvania, and was born in 1726. He was in the western part of Pennsylvania early in 1750, as he said, “he rode in four Days from Ohio the Frank’s Town Road to Peter Sheavers’, about four miles from Sasquehannah River, in June, 1750, which by the Traders Computation is two hundred and twenty miles.” This was probably late in June, for on July 12 he made some small purchases from John Harris, at Harris Ferry.

He left Wilmington August 24, 1750, and went to Miami Town (Pickawillany), to trade with the Indians. Running short of goods, he left his baggage in camp and went to French Miami Fort (now Fort Wayne) where on November 20 he was arrested by the Commandant, and kept in close confinement. He was sent under guard to Detroit. After being kept prisoner there for four months he was sent with a guard to Fort Niagara. He was then sent to Fort Toronto, thence down Lake Ontario to Fort Frontenac and on to Montreal, “which appeared to have about the same number of houses as Wilmington”; he was then sent to Quebec, from whence after a long confinement he was sent to Rochelle, France.

11 Examination by French, in Montreal, June 19, 1751.
13 Entry in a ledger of John Harris, Historical Society of Penna.
He, and two other traders who had been captured about the same time but at other places in Ohio, reached Rochelle in November, 1751, and at the instance of the Earl of Albemarle, Ambassador to France, were finally released and sent to Paris. He was in Paris about three months and asked redress for his lost goods of the French government, which was refused. He was sent to England and examined again, and while there talked to Thomas Penn; he sailed for America and reached Philadelphia probably early in October, 1752.

On October 16 he was summoned to appear before the Pennsylvania Assembly on the following day, when he made a verbal statement of his experiences and of what he had seen in the various Canadian places he had been. The Assembly voted thirty pounds for his relief, and instructed the Clerk to take down in writing the account which he gave of the manner of his being taken, and of the places in Canada through which he passed during his captivity, and to submit it at the next meeting, January 15, 1753.

On that day the Clerk brought to the Assembly "the account John Pattin gave of the several places in Canada through which he passed, when taken by the French, together with a map of that country, drawn by said Pattin." Richard Peters saw this map and reported to Penn it was the best map of that area yet made. He bought one copy of it for Thomas Penn, paying £5.8s for it, and was given a copy by Pattin for his personal use.

What is said to be this account is an unpublished manuscript of four pages, accompanied by a one page manuscript in the same writing entitled: "John Pattin's Account of Distances computed by Indian Traders." This account and table of distances and a reduced print of the so-called "Trader's Map" follow:

16 Pennsylvania Archives, 1st Ser., II. 233.
18 There was no notice of Pattin's return, or of his statement, in the Pennsylvania Gazette at the time.
A Journal or Account of the Capture of John Pattin

John Pattin of the Province of Pennsylvania, Indian Trader, says that some time in Nov. 1750 he went with Goods a trading to the Miamis, otherwise called the Twigtwee Town which lies near the head of that Western Branch of the Ohio called by the English Miamis River, but by the French La Riv: Rochers or Rocky River, and is about 200 miles by Water & 100 by land to where it empties itself into the Ohio, and from there up to Log's Town is about 450 Miles by Water. That this Miami Town was computed to have about 200 fighting men, all of the Twigtwee Nation settled therein and are some of those who left the French 7 or 8 years ago in order to trade with the English. That being informed here that there were some Indians a hunting at the Cross (a place about 65 Miles from the Miami Town where the French have erected a large Wooden Cross to be worshipped by their Traders who pass this way) he went thither & traded with them but wanting sundry Necessaries he went from thence to a Fort which the French have on a Branch of the Lake Erie called by them Miami River, thinking as there was peace between the English & French, he would be in no danger; but contrary to his expectation when he came there he was immediately seized & kept close confined; that the River at the Fort is about three Rods wide, on the other side of which about a mile & half from the Fort is the French Miami's Town, where there are about 150 Indians the remainder of those who came over to the English as mentioned before; that the Fort is small, stuck round with Pallisados and had at the Time he was there a Capt. Lieut: 250 Men, but that most of the men were traders, who were continually passing to & fro, & by what he could hear there were but about 9 or 10 who constantly resided there; that the French talk of destroying this Fort, & building one three Miles below on the other side of the River, in a Fork between the
What sort of land Fort Detroit

Miamis River & a River which leads to a Portage near the head of Wabach, that the Land from the English Miami’s Town to the French Fort is for the most part Savannahs & Plains, but here & there some fine Timber Land interspersed that from hence he was sent under a guard of 9 Men to Fort Detroit, which is about 240 Miles by Water, that the passage to this Place is down Miami’s River, which is full of small Falls, into Lake Erie & then up the Streights between Lake Erie & Huron, on the West side of which Streight stands the Fort about 40 Rods from the River, that it is a large Pallisadoed Fort, containing about 100 small Log & other Houses that there are about 200 Men settled in & about the Fort that they have got but one Swivele Gun mounted here, tho this is the most considerable settlement the French have in these Parts they raising Grain & Most Kind of Provisions to supply the other Forts about the Lakes; that great encouragement is given to young married People to settle there, the French designing to make it a large settlement if Possible; that the Streight is about a Mile across at the Fort, that there are Plantations all the way from Ft. Detroit to Lake Huron which is about three Leagues; that the French go in three days from Fort Detroit to Fort Sandoski, which is a small Pallisadoed Fort, with about 20 Men lying on the South side of Lake Erie, and was built the latter end of the Year 1750, that after being kept Prisoner about 4 Months at Detroit he was sent under a guard to Niagara Fort, their passage to which was down the River DeTroit into Lake Erie & from thence along the North side of said lake to the River Niagara, whence they Landed and travelled on Foot till they came opposite the Fort, and crossed over, that from F. Detroit to L. Erie is about Twelve Leagues & from the Mouth of Detroit River to the West end of Lake Erie is 12 Leagues also, that the Lake is computed 300 Miles in length that from the east End of L. Erie to Fort Niagara is about 70 Miles,
that the Falls of Niagara is about 3 Leagues above the Fort & a Mile above the Falls the French have a strong Stone trading house lately built with a design to prevent the Indians who cross the River Niagara at that place, from going to trade with the English at Oswego; that he was informed it was but a days Journey for an Indian from Niagara Fort to Boccalunce, an Indian Town on a Branch of the Ohio; that the Fort is built of hewed Logs, framed and fastened together with Iron Pins in many places, and is about 80 Yards in length & 50 in breadth, has fine large stone Barracks for the Soldiers, & mounts five Carriage and five swivel Guns besides some Chamber Peices, the Carriage Guns he supposes to be 6 or 4 Pounders that the Walls of the Fort, are about 1 Foot thick & those of the Barracks 2½ Feet, that there was during the time he stayed there a Capt. Lieut. Ensign, & 40 Men besides a Smith and Cooper who worked for the Indians, with whom there is a great trade carried on at this Fort from this Place he was sent to Fort Trunto which lies on the N. side of L. Ontario, and is a new Fort of the same kind & size as F. Niagara, and built with a design to hinder the Indians (who used to cross L. Ontario at this place) from going to Oswego, that this Fort was not quite finished, & was without Cannon, but had Embrasures made for that purpose that the French have gained a considerable deal of trade from the English by building this Fort and the Strong House above the Falls of Niagara, that it is computed to be about 110 Miles from Niagara Fort to Trunto; that Lake Ontario lies low, the water very smooth & clear; and deep enough for any Vessell whatever to sail in; that Lake Erie lies high, exposed to the winds is generally as rough as the Ocean, as navigable for large Vessels as Ontario, that both Lakes abound with plenty of all sorts of fresh Water Fish; that from Trunto he was sent down to Lake Ontario 120 Miles to Fort Cadaracqui or Frontenac, which lies near to the place where
the Lake begins to discharge itself into St. Lawrence and is situated on the North side of the River on a Peninsula, that it is a large & strong Fort built all of Stone, being about 100 Yards square & mounting 10 Carriage Guns, which he believes 6 Pounders that the Walls are about 12 Feet high & 4 or 5 thick & that it is the strongest Fort the French have about the Lakes, that the Situation of this Fort is very convenient to interrupt the Trade of the Indians with Oswego, that they had two Vessels there built after manner of our Brigs, about 60 or 70 Tonns each which they used for carrying provisions &c. to Fort Niagara that they likewise prepared the Timber for building another vessell of 36 Feet Keel in which they proposed as he understood to put some Cannon, in order to attack the English Fort at Oswego. That from Cadaraqui he was sent down the River St. Lawrence to Mont Real on the south side of which River he passed a French Fort called Nagalets 190 Miles from Cadaracqui, and another very strong one about 36 Miles above Mont-Real but as they did not stop at either, he cannot give any particular description of them; that Mont Real is about 180 Miles from Nagalets, appears to have about the same number of houses as Wilmington in this Province, is walled and Trenched round & otherways very strongly fortified, being a place of great trade with the Indians, that at the East end of the Town within the Walls is a high Hill, on the Top of which is a battery of 40 Guns, mostly 18 Pounders with out any Breast Work or Shelter for the Men, that the Walls about the Town are about 12 feet high and very thick at the bottom where the earth dug out of the Trenches was thrown up, but at the top where there are Embrazures for Cannon & holes for small Arms it is not above 3 feet thick that there are three large Gates, one at the East & West & the other at the N. West Sides of the Town, with strong Guard Houses over them, that the Powder House stands on the
N. West side of the Town near the middle between the West & N. West Gates & is built of stone & covered with lead, and has also a high Stone Wall round it that about a mile from the N. West Side of the Town on the side of a large hill lies the Priests Orchards & Gardens around which is a strong stone Wall, capable of being made, if occasion require, a place of considerable defence; That from Mont Real he was sent about 70 Leagues farther down the River St. Lawrence to Quebec, and that there are plantations on both sides of the River, all of the way, that Quebec is a larger Town than Mont Real, & Much stronger fortified, that there are about 200 Cannon in & about the Town & upwards of 100 Men were at that time daily employed in repairing the Fortifications, and building Barracks for the Soldiers that the Harbour is guarded by two large Batteries of at least 50 Guns each, one on the East the other on the South Side of the Town. Lastly that he was informed there were Batteries on the Island which lies about ½ a Mile below Quebec, but that he could not discover them tho he looked on purpose, in going down the River on his passage to Rochelle where they sent him after a long confinement in Quebec.

Another manuscript, from Massachusetts Historical Society, contains related information and is of sufficient importance to merit printing verbatim.

*John Pattins Acc.* of Distances computed by Indian Traders

From Log's Town to Pipe Creek (or Pipe Hill) 35 Mile
   do to the Mouth of Mouskindon 140
   do to Conhaway 200
From Conhaway to Salt River Lick 60
Muskendon to Hakhawkin 40
From Log's Town to Syotha River where the Lower Shawonese Town is 300 & odd Mile
From Lower Shawonese Town to Little Miami 100
Little Miamis to Great Miamis on Ohio 50
Great Miami on Ohio to the Mouth of Wawbach 100
The Mouth of Miami on Ohio to Miamis Town by water 200 & by Land 100
Low' Shawanese Town to Miami Town 150 by Land
Logs Town to three Legs 70 by do
3 Legs to Wendawets Town 40 do
Wendawets Town to Hawkhakin Town 100 do
Hawkhakin to Delaware's Town upon Saiota 15 do
Hawkhakin to Miamis Town English al:
Twigtwee 130 do
Miami Town to the Cross 65
The Cross to Fr. Miami Fort 40
Miami Fort to French Indian Miami Town 1½
Miami Fort to Fort Detroit
Note the River is 1½ Miles over at Detroit 240 by Water
Fort Schvil to Lake Huron 3 Leagues 9
Do to Lake Erie 12 Leagues 36
From one end of the Lake Erie to the other is about 300
From Fort Detroit they can go in 2 Days to Ft. Sandoski
From the West End of Lake Erie to the Mouth of Detroit is computed 12 Leagues 36
From The East End of Lake Erie to Fort Niagara 70
From Ft. Niagara to Ft. Trunto ab'
Inandaras que 110
Fort Trunto to Fort Cadaracqui at:
Frontenac 120
Fort Cadaracqui to Fr. Nagalet 120
Fort Nagalet to MontReal 180
Mont Real to Quebec 210
Miami River to Lake Erie is full of Ripling Water, has 3 Falls
River Detroit to Lake Huron is fine smooth Water no where less than three Fathom.

Note The French call what we name the Miami River which empties itself into Ohio the Rocky River and they call that Miami River which empties itself into Lake Erie & which is but about 3 Rods wide between the French Fort and the Miamis Town—The French talk of building a Fort in the Fork near where the Indian Town lies.

Note The Land for the greatest Part Savannah's & Plains but some fine Timber Land.

Note The Passage is down Ft. Miami River into L. Erie then up the Streight to Ft. Detroit which lies on the West Side of the Streams & the Pautawatomis lie on the South Side.

The map referred to by the Clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly is not on file with either of these papers and no reference is made to it in the account itself. A diligent search has failed so far to find any record of it anywhere.

Pattin was in Boston late in 1753, and William Clarke of that place wrote to Benjamin Franklin on March 18, 1754, enclosing an account he had some time before received from a "gentleman in this town as the substance of what he had collected from conversing with Mr. Pattin when he was last here," some months before. He asked Franklin if the account were true and a number of questions about the Indians, rivers, etc., mentioned in it, and then asked for Franklin's opinion about numerous Indian problems. The account mentioned cannot be found, and a diligent search and inquiry has failed to find Franklin's reply, which may possibly have been given at the Albany convention that summer.

Late in 1753 Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania instructed "John Patten, an Indian Trader, to accompany Croghan and Montour to Logstown." Pattin reached there January 13, 1754, and went back to Philadelphia with Montour after February 13, arriving there February 20, and was examined by the Governor and Assembly in regard to courses and distances of the road and the relative locations of Shannopin's Town, Logstown and Venango.

On March 2, 1754, Pattin and Montour appeared before the

*Pennsylvania Colonial Records, V. 707-708, 762.*
Governor and Council with a map of the Indian country, on which they had laid off the courses and distances of the path from Carlisle by way of Ray's Town to Shannopin's Town. They were before the Assembly again on March 6. "Pattin's Map of the Road, laid before us, makes it in a straight Line from the Three Springs to Shanopins, but Eighty-three Miles. . . . Andrew Montour and John Pattin say, that the Road is very crooked, and that having, by the Governor's Directions (to the said Pattin) observed the Courses and Distances with all Exactness in their Power, etc." 21

This second map, like the first one mentioned, has also disappeared and a careful search has so far failed to find any trace of it.

Pattin was on the schooner Argo in search of the Northwest Passage in 1753 and 1754, as a "draughtsman and mineralist." 22

On the first voyage six Labrador inlets were visited and a chart made of them, but these were with the papers relating to these cruises, which were left with Franklin. He probably gave them to Dr. John Pringle in London, and nothing is now known of their whereabouts.

Pattin was admittedly, and by the statements of many others, an Indian trader; when he was captured he said his goods and horses were worth £950, no inconsiderable sum in those days. No record can be found of his license to trade, nor any mention of him in the accounts which are still extant of the merchants who financed the traders. He was paid £50 by Governor Hamilton for his trip in 1754, while Croghan was allowed nothing.

There are several other statements in the Du Simitière collection in Philadelphia and in the House of Lords manuscripts in London giving other accounts of Pattin's experiences which have not been reproduced on account of lack of space.

There are no other documents in the archives in London to indicate that Pattin made a statement there nor is there a copy of this map in any of the British collections. 23

21 Ibid., 730-31, 750; Pennsylvania Archives, 8th Ser., V. 3679.
22 Captain Swain's Accounts, Historical Society of Pa. See also Penn Mss., Official Correspondence, 1753-1754, VI. 3, 51, Peters to Penn.
23 Careful searches were made in the House of Lords MSS. in the Public Record Office and the British Museum, and in the Penn Papers in Friends' Library. The Royal Geographical Society had no record of such a map. The Royal Institute of Great Britain now has no American manuscripts.
It is plain that Pattin had the knowledge of routes and distances from which this map could have been made. A comparison of the map with Pattin's account and his table of distances is very interesting.

The map covers the area west of a north and south line just east of the site of Cumberland, Maryland and a point about 70 miles east of Fort Niagara, to the "Oubach R." The account states only that he went trading with the Indians to Miami Town in November, 1750. This is the English town later called Pickawillany.

Fort Duquesne, built early in 1754 is not shown, nor are any of the other forts on the Allegheny River and Lake Erie—Forts LaBouef and Presque Isle, built in 1753; the latitude of the forks of the Ohio is what Lewis Evans in 1755 said he thought it was until he received Fry's observation, which put it about 10 miles north of Evans' original location.

The Indian trails from Shannopins Town westward into Ohio to Miami Town and the mouth of the Scioto River are about as described by the various traders, Gist, Croghan and others, and, of course, were well known to all traders.

The latitude of Miami Town is given by Father Bonnecamp as 40° 34' N., the map shows it about 40° 29'. Miami Town was burned by the French and Indians in June, 1752.

The Cross is shown about 64 miles from Miami Town, the account says it is 65 miles. The Cross is not shown on Father Bonnecamp's map showing the route of Celoron's expedition in 1749, but is shown by Lewis Evans on his map of 1755.

The location of French Miami Town and Miami Fort with respect to the river are as described in the account. The distance between them is shown about 5 miles, instead of 1 1/2 miles stated in the account.

The account says it is 240 miles by water from Miami Fort to Fort Detroit; the route shown on the map is exactly that distance. Fort Detroit is shown north of Lake St. Clair, however, instead of south of it. The description of the water route down the Maumee River given in the account is as it is shown on the map.

July 3, 1754, the Board of Trade and Plantations received from Mr. Boland, of Massachusetts, a copy of the statement of Pattin and the table of distances, evidently made from those in the Mass. Hist. Soc.

Hanna, Wilderness Trail, II. 264.
The account says Pattin was told by the French that Fort Sandoski—spelled the same both on the map and in the account—was built in the latter part of 1750. It was abandoned by the French in 1752 or 1753, possibly soon after Pickawillany was destroyed.

The Trader's Map shows Fort DeTroit about 5 miles south of Lake Huron, the account says that from "F. Detroit to Lake Huron is about three Leagues" (9 miles). As the fort is incorrectly located in both places this is a striking agreement.

The account says that from the fort to Lake Erie is about 12 leagues (36 miles); the map shows 40 miles.

The map shows a canoe, or boat route, along the north shore of Lake Erie, where Pattin says he went. The two portages of 40 and 2 perches shown on the map indicate either a good knowledge of the route or advice from one who had accurate information.

The account states that from the east end of Lake Erie to Fort Niagara is about 70 miles, which agrees with the map. The account says that 3 leagues and a mile, or 10 miles, above Fort Niagara is a "strong house"; the map shows it as 8 miles. Niagara is spelt conventionally in the account but "Niagaria" on the map.

The account says, "it was but a days Journey for an Indian from Niagara Fort to Boccalunce an Indian town on a Branch of the Ohio." The map shows "Batalonce" on the Allegheny River, about 70 miles from Ft. Niagara. This is evidently the place called "Buxaloon" in the Evans map of 1755. Hanna says this town was built before 1749, and Croghan is supposed to have had a warehouse there between 1750-1754.

The other proper names in the account are spelt the usual way. None of the Ohio names excepting Sandoski are mentioned.

The spacing of the meridians of longitude on the 39° and 43° parallels of latitude are correct, as nearly as they can be measured. Scale is 1 inch = 32.5 miles, which is that generally used on old charts—69.5 or 69 miles per degree of latitude.

The map of North America by Henry Popple, which was the latest one at that time, shows "Sandoski" and also spells Ohio "Hohio," as in the Trader's Map. Its date is 1733. Popple's map shows Le Detroit on the east side of the river, south of Lake St. Clair, and Fort de Detroit on the east side of the river, north of

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Lake St. Clair. Lake Erie is not the same on both maps, and Popple's map south of Lake Erie is entirely incorrect, and entirely different from the Trader's Map. The Henry Popple map is the only one found where "Hohio" and "Sandoski" are spelled as they are on the Trader's Map, and the only map found prior to 1753 where the same spelling of "Sandoski" is used as on the Trader's Map and in the "Journal or Account of John Pattin's Capture."

On Great Miami River the town is called, on Evans' map, "The Eng. Tawixtee's T. taken in 1752," while on the Trader's Map it is "Miami's T."

Evans' map shows the meridians of longitude as "West of Philadelphia," but also shows at the bottom the number of degrees "West of London"; the Trader's Map has the parallels of latitude numbered but nothing on the meridians of longitude. The above longitudes consider the first meridian shown as being 4° west of Philadelphia, as it evidently is from the correspondence shown. 75° 09' W. (longitude of Philadelphia) is added to bring them to the Greenwich meridian. Evans mentions that his latitude of Pittsburgh was furnished by Colonel Fry and that it placed Pittsburgh about 10 miles farther north than he had thought it to be. His original idea checks closely with that shown on the Trader's Map. His longitude was furnished by William Franklin. The figures for Fort Niagara check closely, as does the latitude of the mouth of the Detroit River, but the longitude of that point and the latitudes of the more southern points do not agree at all closely, as is to be expected.

The spelling of the map and the statement of distances show fairly close agreement, as can be seen in the table below.\(^\text{26}\) It must be

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Pattin's Account</th>
<th>Trader's Map</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muskingum</td>
<td>Mouskindon</td>
<td>Mouskindone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanawha</td>
<td>Conhaway</td>
<td>Conhawa-Kanahawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hocking</td>
<td>Hawkhakin-Hakhawkin</td>
<td>Hakhakkien-Hackhakkien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scioto</td>
<td>Saiota-Syotha</td>
<td>Siothai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shawnee</td>
<td>Shawonesse</td>
<td>Shawnas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>Hohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>Miamis-Miami</td>
<td>Miamis-Miami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wabash</td>
<td>Wawbash</td>
<td>Oubach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Legs</td>
<td></td>
<td>Three Ledges</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^\text{26}\) Comparative spelling in John Pattin's "Account of Distances" and the so-called Trader's Map.
remembered that most of the names were Indian and the spelling used was the hearer's rendition of what he heard, and few letters of that period use the same spelling of Indian names throughout, if they are used more than once.

The use of Hohio instead of Ohio was fairly common prior to 1700 on maps, but the shorter form had almost supplanted it by 1750. However, on a “Plan of Fort LeQuesne Built by the French at the Forks of the Ohio and Monongahela in 1754” the Allegheny is shown as “The Ohio or Hohio that is Fair River.” “This Plan was sent from America as it had been taken by some curious French Deserters.” In a letter from Governor George Thomas to Conrad Weiser, Philadelphia, May 14, 1745, regarding the actions of Peter Chartier, reference is made to “French Men at Hohio.”

Sandusky had only been established when this map was made and the name had not appeared, or only rarely, before 1718. Before 1755 the spelling “Sandoski” is used only by Popple, on the Trader’s Map, and in Pattin’s statement.

Paper having the same watermarks as those found in the Trader’s Map was used for the Evans maps of 1749 and 1755, and instances of its use as early as 1721 have been found.

From these records it can be seen that so far as we know now, Pattin was the only man in that country at that time who had travelled the routes from the French Miami Fort to Niagara and beyond; that he made an account of his journeys and a table of distances that agree exceedingly well with the map; that his spelling of Sandoski—and that on the map—are two of the three instances of that spelling at the time; and that the curious mistake of locating Fort DeTroit, north instead of south of Lake St. Clair is common to the map, table of distances, and account. How else could this have happened had not Pattin made the map? No similar mislocation occurs on any other map.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Detroit</th>
<th>Wendawets Town</th>
<th>Whitewomans Town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sandusky</td>
<td>Fort Detroit</td>
<td>F. Du Detroit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niagara</td>
<td>Sandoski</td>
<td>Sandoski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Niagaria</td>
<td>Niagaria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pautawatomis</td>
<td>Poutaovarami</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27 Published according to the Act by J. Payne in Paternoster Row, July 15, 1755.
The latitudes of the places that can be compared closely are more nearly accurate on the Trader's Map than on either Popple's or Evans' maps. Where Pattin obtained his data cannot now be told, but it is likely that some of it was obtained from French maps while he was in Paris; there were certainly no such data available in London at that time. It is doubtful if Pattin was questioned to any extent at the State Office, and certainly no record showing interest in his statement or knowledge of the country he traversed exists. It is certain that he showed some material, possibly the rough copy of his map, to Thomas Penn while there. Richard Peters does not say when Pattin first showed him the map, but it must have been prior to January, 1753; he is definite in the statement that at least three copies were made, one for the Pennsylvania Council, one for the Proprietaries for which he paid Pattin £5.8, and one for his own personal use. It is very likely that Pattin had a fourth copy for himself, and the fact that the Library of Congress map has no title, date or signature, leads one to think that it was Pattin's copy which he never finished. If the original map was made entirely in Philadelphia, it is logical to assume that the copies were. How he acquired the experience to do such excellent workmanship as the map shows, cannot now be known.

If the writer's assumption is correct that this is Pattin's map, the information about coal in Pennsylvania must have been obtained before October, 1750 and probably in 1748 or 1749, as far as Ohio and Kentucky were concerned.

When this map was made, an appropriate title would have been: "A Map of the Ohio Country, as of November, 1750, showing also the Places in Canada west of Niagara visited by John Pattin during his Captivity by the French, 1750-1751. Made by John Pattin in Philadelphia, December, 1752."

Pittsburgh

Howard N. Eavenson