When Jonquiere ordered Céloron to travel down the Ohio River in 1749 to plant plates showing the claim of the French King to the country they saw and to warn the English traders from any further dealings with the Indians in the entire area tributary to that stream, he started a chain of events that ended all French claims to territory on the North American continent fourteen years later. The plates that were buried had no immediate effect on the colonists, but the attempt to prevent trading did, and as could be expected, it was unsuccessful. Later in 1750, the French arrested John Pattin at Miami’s Fort and three other traders at various places, and their capture and subsequent removal to France caused vigorous protests from Governor Clinton of New York. These men were released in 1752, and Pattin returned to Philadelphia in October of that year.

During this period Jonquiere was preparing to build a string of forts along the Ohio and early in 1753 work on one at Boccalunce (Buckaloons) and one at Winingo (Venango) was started, Richard Peters having notified the proprietaries, on July 5, of work at these two points, “both of which places are in your Government and marked right on Pattin’s Map.” When this report reached Governor Dinwiddie, he sent George Washington to protest against the construction of any forts and to ascertain if possible the ultimate designs of the French, as both places were in the area claimed by Virginia as well as Pennsylvania.

At that time the location of the western line of Pennsylvania was not known. The charter stated that the province was to extend five degrees of longitude westward from the Delaware and there was doubt both as to the exact starting point and as to whether the western boundary was to be a straight line or one parallel to the Delaware River. The southern boundary line had been surveyed as a “temporary line,” in 1739, to a

1 Official Correspondence, 6:37, Penn Manuscripts, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
point 113 miles west of the circle of New Castle and 150.9 miles west of the Delaware River at Philadelphia, and it was understood that the end of this temporary line was on the same meridian as Three Springs. Opposition of the Indians had prevented any further survey work on this temporary line and in fact the proprietors had not yet bought the land west of this point from the Indians.

The reaction of the government of Pennsylvania to the building of forts by the French was different from that of Virginia. Governor Hamilton wanted to be sure that the forts were within his province and what the Indians, as well as the French, were going to do in the new situation. He must know where the western limit of the province was in regard to the Ohio River and selected John Pattin, who was then in Philadelphia after the return of the Argo on her first voyage in search of a northwest passage, to survey the route. In this he was undoubtedly influenced largely by Richard Peters, who had a high regard for Pattin's ability as a map maker and for his knowledge of the country obtained while trading with the Indians.

Pattin probably left very late in November, or early in December, 1753, as on December 7 Peters wrote Thomas Penn that "Patten, who drew the Draught of the Western Parts of this Province, is sent to Ohio with some Shawonese, which the Governor of Carolina seized, put into Prison and sent to our Governor to return them to their Friends, on condition of releasing any Carolina Indians taken by the Shawonese, who when in company with the French Indians come into the inhabited Parts of Carolina, and do much mischief and take away the Carolina Indians born there tho they live among the whites."

Governor Hamilton's instructions to Pattin were that he was to accompany the two Indians mentioned and deliver them to their friends on the Ohio, that on the way he was to see George Croghan, the Indian agent, at Aucquick (Aughwick) and consult with him about delivering the governor's message to the Indian chiefs; he was to take Andrew Montour with him as interpreter, he was to get all information possible of what the French were doing or proposed to do next summer, where

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2 *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, 5:751
3 In the present Huntingdon County, and numbered 4 on the accompanying map.
4 *Official Correspondence*, 6:51, 133, Penn Mss.
5 *Official Correspondence*, 6:145, Penn Mss.
the French were and in what numbers and under whose command, what forts they had built or intended to build and where they were in regard to Shannopintown. He was also "to take a particular Account of the Road from Carlisle, so as to know how far Westward Shanoppin is from thence, and whether to the Northward and how much so, and how far the French Forts are from Lake Erie or from the Straits of Niagara." In addition he was to learn the numbers of each tribe of Indians, how many were inclined to the French and how many to the English and who could be depended on and who not. The names of those carrying whiskey to the Indians and the quantities, the quantity of arms and ammunition sent to the Ohio Indians by Virginia and what use has been made of them, whether the Indians had had any general councils or "are to be concerted for their Defence against the French next Summer" were also to be ascertained. There were some other instructions about the Indians and "on your Return from Ohio You are to call on Mr. Croghan and desire his Letters to the Governor; and You may prudently examine where the Goods are which were left by the Commissioners in the Hands of Mr. Croghan and what he proposes to do with them, and whether any Orders have come from Virginia for the Delivery of the Goods left with Messrs Guest, Trent, and Montour." Under no conditions was he to let it be known that he had any other instructions than to deliver the Shawanese and to see to it that the message sent with them was well interpreted and conformed to by the Indians. He was also to keep a diary and set down in it everything that occurred worthy of his notice, and to destroy it in case of danger or sickness.

After the lapse of nearly two centuries and consideration of the means of communication available then in an almost trackless forest extending over the "Endless Mountains," these instructions seem rather a large order and their execution to require the training of a diplomat as well as an engineer and business man. At that time, George Croghan was under suspicion of double dealing by the state authorities, Montour acted as interpreter for both colonies, and Trent and Guest, or Christopher Gist, were in the employ of Virginia. At that particular time Gist was with Washington on his journey to Fort LeBoeuf.

Although Pattin kept a diary of his journey and submitted it to the

governor, it was not ordered transcribed by the Assembly as it contained "pretty much the same Account as Mr. Croghan of the publick Business done with the Indians," and Croghan's journal was incorporated in the minutes. No record can now be found of Pattin's diary. Croghan stopped at John Fraser's, at Turtle Creek, on December 12, 1753, and was told of Washington's stay with him on his return from Fort LeBoeuf. He obtained from Fraser the information about the French forts, troops and intentions that Governor Hamilton desired. On December 13, Pattin and Montour joined him at Shannopin's, and they went on to Logstown where the Indians told Croghan and Montour that they were prisoners, but, upon hearing of the release of the Indians who had accompanied Pattin from Philadelphia, there was no further trouble. A small detachment of French arrived the following day, and on the sixteenth Pattin was taken to the officers' tent and questioned, but was released on the insistence of the Indians.

Pattin and Montour arrived in Philadelphia about the middle of February, Croghan excusing his absence by saying that Trent had just arrived at the forks of the Ohio on February 3 "with the Virginia goods and tools and workmen to begin a fort." Croghan included in his letter all the news he thought of interest to the governor.

On the back of this letter is the following note: "Mr. Patten took down the Courses and Length of all the Roads from Carlisle to Shannopin on Ohio 2 miles above the Mouth of Mohongielo and on reducing them to a straight Line he finds the Distance to be one hundred and seven Miles and will attest the same when called on. Richard Peters. 25 February 1754. Carlyle is 100 miles from Philadelphia."

On February 20 the governor informed his council that Pattin and Montour had returned from the Ohio with the journal of Croghan and the diary of Pattin, which he requested be read and then be sent to the Assembly, and suggested that a map should be made by Pattin of the road. This map was prepared and sent to the council by the governor on March 2, 1754, and Pattin, Montour, West, and Peters were all examined by the council that day. William West submitted a determination of the latitude of a point one mile north of Shannopin as 40°27' N., taken by Col. Joshua Fry of Virginia on June 16, 1752, and the esti-

7 Colonial Records, 5:731, 732.
8 Official Correspondence, Penn Ms. 6:155, 156
mate of distances made by himself and some traders from Three Springs to Shannopin as 145 miles. Montour told of the distances from Logs-town and Laurel Hill to Winingo and, as well as Pattin, of the crooked-ness of the road from Three Springs to Shannopin. None of the distances were measured but were estimated from the time taken to travel them. The courses were all compass, sights being taken from one point to the assumed position of the next one. In his statement to the Assembly on the afternoon of the same day, Pattin said the road to the Ohio had never been measured but believed the actual distance would prove to be less than he had shown it on his map; he had "no other Way than by the Eye" of doing it.

The Assembly considered all the papers submitted, with Pattin's map, and referred them to a committee, one of whose members was Benjamin Franklin. The committee found that on the distances stated Shannopin was probably twenty-six miles beyond the western line of the province, but that the irregularities of the road would reduce this distance by some unknown amount, and that probably Winingo was within the province; the final report to the Assembly was: "We, the Committee appointed to answer the Governor's Message of the Second Instant, having made some Progress therein, find ourselves indispensibly obliged to answer that Part of the said Message wherein the Governor is pleased to say, 'He has undoubted Assurances that Part of his Majesty's Dominions within his Government is, at this Time, invaded by the Subjects of a Foreign Prince, who have erected Forts within the same;' and in Support thereof has since sent down to the House some Papers and Draughts; but considering they depend altogether for their Distances beyond the Three Springs, on the Computation made by Indian Traders as they have travelled from Place to Place, and the Incorrectness of John Pattin and Andrew Montour, in regard to their Observations of the Courses and Distances of the Roads, neither of them, as we apprehend, skilled in Mensuration, nor that it has ever been measured; we beg Leave, in an Affair of so much Importance, that the House will be pleased to declare their Sentiments on the said Papers by a Resolve of the House." The question was put "whether the Papers and Evidences, sent down and referred to by the Governor, do make it clearly appear that the Subjects

9 Colonial Records, 5:759-762.
of a Foreign Prince have erected Forts within the undoubted Limits of this Government," and the vote was no.\textsuperscript{11} In the end Pattin was awarded 50 pounds for his services in these matters while nothing was paid to George Croghan and only a few pounds to Andrew Montour.

No copy of Pattin's map of this road can be found in the official records nor in any of the map collections or historical societies in this country. In view of the difference of opinion between the governor and the assembly, it is possible that the map was not attached to the final records, or if it was, that it was withdrawn by Peters. Thomas Penn wrote to Peters on February 1, 1754: "I do not see it can be of any use to find the place where the French are settled, within the Bounds of Pennsylvania . . . . Our Government has now nothing to do but assist the Governor of Virginia . . . so that I desire no persons may be sent on such discoveries. Patten you write me in your Last Letter is gone with the Shawonese Indians, if he should bring you any such discoveries you need not be in haste to put them together . . . ."\textsuperscript{12} This letter evidently had not been received when the above actions of the Assembly were taken, and it is extremely probable that when it reached Peters he withdrew the map from the records.

The accompanying map has been made from the records of Pattin and present day knowledge of the actual locations of the points mentioned and the courses and distances given, as well as the distances by road, or computed distances, are shown. The average magnetic declination in 1750 in this area was about $4^\circ 30'$ W.\textsuperscript{13} Column 6 shows the true meridian courses of Pattin's observations while column 7 gives the actual courses between the points, and column 8 the actual distances.

The county lines, the Pennsylvania Turnpike, and the Lincoln Highway are shown for convenience. The line with short dashes is plotted from Pattin's courses, corrected for magnetic declination and distances, the various points being numbered as in the table; the line with long dashes is plotted with the same courses as above using the "computed" distances, or those used by the traders, the points being shown as 1A 2A, etc.; the solid line with points numbered as in the table shows the actual location of the road as the courses and distances should have

\textsuperscript{11} Pennsylvania Archives, eighth series, 5:3680-3681.
\textsuperscript{13} United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, Report, 1888, p. 212.
### Table of Courses and Distances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Computed Courses</th>
<th>True Distance by Compass</th>
<th>Meridian Course Distance</th>
<th>Actual Course Distance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Major Marsters</td>
<td>10 miles</td>
<td>N60°E Smiles</td>
<td>N60°E SMiles</td>
<td>11.2 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Jacob Paffs</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>W.S.W. 10</td>
<td>145° W</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Three Springs</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>N70°E 7</td>
<td>174°30′W</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Siding Hill</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>S70°W 5</td>
<td>564°30′W 358°W</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Contos Harbor</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>S70°W 5</td>
<td>365°W 335°W</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Rays Hill</td>
<td>at Crossing of James</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>N20°W 9</td>
<td>N50°E 515°W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Alleghany Gap</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>West, Smiles</td>
<td>N50°E 157°W</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Rays Town</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>N65°W</td>
<td>N65°E 35°W</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Shawanese Cabins</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>N60°W 5</td>
<td>N65°E 51°W</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Alleghany Mt.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>N75°W 4</td>
<td>N15°W 157°W</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Emmunds Swamp</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>N60°W 6</td>
<td>N65°E 51°W</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Cohomanhacy Creek</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>N10°W 5</td>
<td>N10°E 55°W</td>
<td>6.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Loyal Hamin</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>N30°W 10</td>
<td>N20°W 51°W</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. Forts of Road</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>West 10</td>
<td>385°W 38°W</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Shawanese's Run</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>N60°W 15</td>
<td>N65°E 56°W</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOUTHWESTERN PENNSYLVANIA**

**SHOWING**

**ACTUAL LOCATION OF ROAD FROM CARLISLE TO SHANNOPINTOWN**

**AND**

**LOCATION AS SHOWN BY JOHN PATTIN**

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**End of Temporary line**

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**Legend:**

- Actual location shown in Col. 7 & 8.
- Computed distance; Col. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.
- Courses & Distances; Col. 4 & 5.
- Number shown in lines refer to Col. 16 & 18.
- Lincoln Highway.
- Pennsylvania Turnpike.

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**Note:**

Base from modern map.
shown it, and the actual courses and distances in columns 7 and 8 are scaled from this line. The locations of the various points are those given by Hanna and Darlington and most of the locations are known within a mile or so and some of them exactly. The actual road joining these points was very crooked instead of being straight as shown.

Pattin's statement that his course and distance line was under rather than over the actual distance is correct, as his location of Shannopintown is 35 miles east, and somewhat north, of the correct location. It must be remembered that his courses were those supposed to reach the next point and in nearly all cases it was impossible to see the point itself—in fact on many lines mountains intervened along a line. The writer has followed many land surveys in the mountains made under much better conditions than this one which showed no closer results. The line shown using Pattin's courses and the trader's distances located Shannopintown 20 miles west and considerably north of its real location, but oddly enough the mean of the two sets of distances would show the location to be 17 miles east and 14 miles north of the actual one. Both of the locations of Shannopintown which can be made from Pattin’s data were well within the western boundary line of the province.

Peters stated that Carlisle was 100 miles west of the meridian of Philadelphia; actually it is 111 miles west of the Delaware River at Philadelphia. He also stated that the end of the temporary line was on the meridian of Three Springs and 144 miles west of the Philadelphia meridian, while the actual location as nearly as one can now locate this point, was 151 miles west of the Delaware River at Philadelphia and 2 miles east of Three Springs. Shannopin is actually 107 miles west of Three Springs; Pattin’s courses and distances made it 72 miles west and the “computed” distances 127 miles west. The actual location of Shannopin is 260 miles west of the Delaware River at Philadelphia as against 207 miles by Peters’ computation.15

It is unfortunate that no copy of Pattin’s map can now be found, as it might show some information of the country at that time which is not


15 Peters' memorandum on letter from George Croghan to Governor Hamilton, Official Correspondence, Penn Mss. p. 155.
now available. Not much importance was attached to it by the Assembly and of course with the advent of the British army engineers the exact location of the forks of the Ohio could have been known, and at any event after General Forbes' campaign, the definite ownership of the area as being English, instead of French, was settled.

When we take into consideration the facts that there was no way then by which the longitude of Shannopintown could be determined, that this survey was only a rough compass reconnaissance made hurriedly on horseback with no actual measurements and through a densely wooded and mountainous region, it is more remarkable that it was as close as it was, rather than that it was not accurate.

So far as the writer has been able to ascertain, this map of the road to Shannopintown was the first map to show any survey of a road west of the Allegheny Mountains and is very interesting for this reason.