The Logan Legacy Trail: 250 Years After Point Pleasant

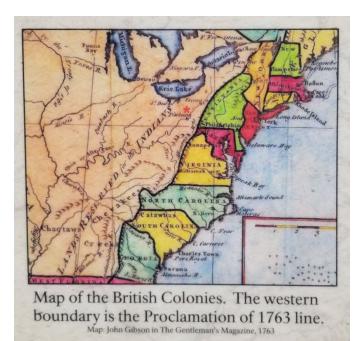
The year was 1774. The place was the Ohio River valley. While the inhabitants of the land, the Onondowagah (Seneca) and the Saawanooki (Shawnee), wanted peace for their families, they found themselves in the epicenter of a war zone. Their lives were about to change forever...

Geography was critical to the Seneca and Shawnee. In the rugged Appalachian Mountains, riverways provided key routes of transportation. The Allegheny River flows through the Seneca Nation's Allegheny reservation in western New York and then south through western Pennsylvania for total of 325 miles. The Monongahela River begins in north central West Virginia and flows for 130 miles north into southwestern Pennsylvania. The two great rivers meet at the Forks of the Ohio (at what is now Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) to form the Ohio River. The Ohio River then flows south and west for 981 miles to the Mississippi River. The name Ohio comes from the Seneca word Ohi-yo which translates to "Good River." This extensive transportation network made the Ohio River region valuable for the Seneca, Shawnee, and other tribes for trade and other purposes.

In the 1700's many of the Shawnee lived in what is now Ohio and West Virginia. Seneca tribal members travelled down the Allegheny River to the Ohio River region and it was there that local groups of the Seneca and Shawnee began to work together for common purposes. European colonists began crossing the Atlantic. Britain and France both established rival colonial governments in North America. Soon Britain and France were on a collision course with each other as they both vied for economic and military domination. In addition, colonial immigration led to the dispossession of the Lenape (Delaware) from their lands in what is now eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey; many of the Lenape migrated further west within Pennsylvania and on to the Ohio River region. The Lenape word for Seneca is "Mingwe" and that led English speakers to sometimes refer to Seneca living in the Ohio River region as "Mingo."

On May 28, 1754, a combined force of Seneca warriors and British colonial militia from Virginia attacked French forces at Jumonville Glen (near present day Uniontown, Pennsylvania). The Seneca were led by the Half King Tanacharison and the British were led by Lieutenant Colonel George Washington (who was then a 22 year old British officer). The combined Seneca and British forces won the skirmish but it ignited a conflict between Britain and France known as the Seven Years War. The war spread from North America to the Caribbean, Europe, Africa, India, and the Philippines. The part of the war that was fought in North America is usually referred to in history books as the French and Indian War. The war brought great upheaval to the Seneca, Shawnee, Lenape, settlers, and others in the Appalachian Mountains and the Ohio River region. The Seven Years War officially ended in 1763 with Britain victorious over France. In 1763, Britain declared a "Proclamation Line" that would be the boundary between the British colonies and Indigenous territories. That line would be the Eastern Continental Divide in the Appalachian mountains. Then in 1768, the Haudenosaunee (known to the British as the Six

Nations and known to the French as the Iroquois) signed a treaty with Britain agreeing that that boundary would be moved west to the Ohio River. The treaty was signed by a large delegation from the Haudenosaunee Confederation, two Lenape delegates, and a single delegate named Benevissica for the "Mingos of Ohio Shawanese." These two decades of events set the stage for further conflict that would erupt and engulf the region in 1774 and much of that conflict centered around a Seneca man named Logan and his Shawnee allies.



Now that the stage is set, I offer some personal commentary about the study of history. History books are great – in fact, I recommend a number of excellent sources at the end of this article. However, there are two drawbacks to learning about Logan, or any historical figure, solely by the act of reading from texts. First, history is usually told from the perspective of whoever is in a position of power. Second, books are books and there is nothing like the real world to gain insight and perspective. Regarding the first drawback, virtually all of the historical record about the life of Logan is written from the non-Indian perspective. In addition, much of what is written about him is presented as a small story that took place as part of a much larger narrative. As a member of the Seneca-Cayuga Nation currently living in West Virginia, I hope that I am successful in presenting this story from the Indigenous side. Second, as I introduce you to Logan, I invite you to travel what I call The Logan Legacy Trail and visit the actual sites where his story takes place. I will do that by both presenting the historical narrative and providing you with information about how to visit key sites. I hope this approach will benefit those wanting to learn about an important figure in the history of the Seneca-Cayuga Nation and the Eastern Shawnee Tribe.

Our journey begins. Logan was born around 1723 possibly around what is now Danby, New York. His father was an Onieda leader named Shikellamy and his mother was a Cayuga woman named Neanoma. Given that the Haudenosaunee are a matrilineal society, Logan would have been considered to be a Cayuga tribal member. References to Logan in history books often refer to him as Chief Logan. It does not appear that he was a "chief" in the sense of a formal tribal government leader, however as we shall see, he did become a leader within the Seneca and Shawnee community. His English first name is sometimes given as John and sometimes as James. The surname Logan was probably an honorific reference to James Logan who was a Pennsylvania colonial official who worked with Logan's father on relations between the Haudenosaunee and the British colony of Pennsylvania. As is common among the Seneca-Cayuga today, Logan probably also had a traditional Haudenosaunee name. His traditional name may have been Tachnechtoris, Sayughtowa, Tahgahjute, Talgayeeta, or Tocanioadorogon historical accounts vary. I will refer to him in this article as Logan. Other than the fact that he was partially raised by his stepmother Tutelo, and that he grew up near what is now Shamokin, Pennsylvania, we don't know much about his childhood. As a young man, he married a Cayuga tribal member and they had several children together. Apparently, none of their children survived into adulthood or they died as adults due to warfare, disease, or other causes. His first wife died in 1747 from a fever. His second wife was a Shawnee tribal member; but they had no children.

Our first stop on the Logan Legacy Trail, is Mifflin County, Pennsylvania. When Logan was about 42 years old in the summer of 1765, he moved into a cabin located near a spring on Tea Creek. In addition to the Haudenosaunee living in the area, there were non-Indian families that lived nearby. During this time, Logan experienced positive relationships with his non-Indian neighbors. This seems to have been a time of mutual respect for cultural differences and neighbors trusted each other. Logan was known in the community as a kind man. One story tells of a local non-Indian, Mrs. Brown, who had no shoes for her two-year old daughter. Mrs. Brown entrusted Logan to take the child to his cabin. Logan safely returned the child later that day after making the toddler a custom pair of deerskin moccasins. As discussed above, in 1768 the Haudenosaunee signed the first Treaty of Fort Stanwix ceding what is now Pennsylvania and West Virginia to the British. Logan lived in the area another three years. Around 1771, he moved to the Ohio River region. Today, the site of Logan's cabin is located near the town of Reedsville, Pennsylvania. When visiting this site, be cautious as there is no designated parking area and there is no sidewalk nor shoulder alongside the road. From the "Chief Logan" historical marker (GPS coordinates 40.674075, -77.600269), you can see nearby Tea Creek which Logan would have been familiar with during his years near what is now Reedsville.



Tea Creek near Logan's cabin site, Mifflin County, Pennsylvania

Our second stop is the site of the Seneca and Shawnee community along Yellow Creek in what is now Jefferson County, Ohio. Logan moved here around 1771. Since Yellow Creek was on the west side of the Ohio River, it was still Indigenous territory after the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix. The small community of Seneca and Shawnee fished the creek and the nearby Ohio River while the forested mountains to the west provided hunting grounds. Residents of the Yellow Creek community included Logan, Logan's second wife, Koonay (Logan's sister), Taylayne (Logan's brother; he was also known as John Petty), and Molnah (Taylayne's son). The community's strategic location and easy access to the Ohio River created transportation and trade opportunities for the residents. Who controlled the land on the east side of the Ohio River was in dispute. Although agreement had been made on part of the border between Virginia and Pennsylvania, the British colonies of Virginia and Pennsylvania both claimed that the Forks of the Ohio (Pittsburgh) and surrounding areas were part of their respective colonies. In fact, the two colonies had rival county governments; Pennsylvania established Westmoreland County and Virginia asserted the area was within Augusta County. Directly across the Ohio River from the Yellow Creek community, was a small non-Indian settlement called Baker's Bottom. Today the area of the Yellow Creek community is near a state highway rest area located at the intersection of Ohio State Roads 7 and 213. The address is 18007 Ohio Route 213, Irondale, Ohio (GPS coordinates 40.56924, -80.66604). While at the rest stop, find the historical marker captioned "Lest We Forget Chief Logan 'Tah-Gah-Jute'". This leads us to the next stop on the Logan Legacy Trail.



Logan "Tah-Gah-Jute" historical marker, Yellow Creek, Ohio

The third stop on the Logan Legacy Trail is where the Baker's Bottom settlement sat on the east side of the Ohio River. Baker's Bottom was centered around the farm of Joshua and Lucy Baker. Michael Cresap was a non-Indian from the Fort Cumberland, Maryland area who had led a number of attacks on Native Americans along the Ohio River and elsewhere. Some of Cresap's supporters lived near Baker's Bottom. Logan's sister Koonay regularly crossed the Ohio River and visited with Lucy Baker. On April 30, 1774, five men and two women from the Yellow Creek community responded to an invitation from the Baker's Bottom residents to canoe across the river for a visit. The visitors included Koonay, Koonay's two-month old baby daughter (the father was a non-Indian named John Gibson), Taylayne, and Molnah. Unknown to the Seneca and Shawnee visitors, a number of armed non-Indian men led by Daniel Greathouse (Michael Cresap was not at Baker's Bottom that day) hid in a back room of the Baker house. Rum was provided to the guests. At some point, Taylayne entered the Baker house without invitation and put on a military hat and coat that belonged to one of the non-Indian guests. Taylayne shouted "Look at me, I am a white man!" At that point, one of the non-Indian ambushers sprung out of his hiding place and shot Taylayne wounding him; another non-Indian pounced on Taylayne, stabbed him, and cut off his scalp. The non-Indians proceeded to murder all of the guests. As she was bleeding to death, Koonay pleaded with one of the attackers to not kill her baby. Koonay's baby daughter was the only person to survive the massacre. After the initial massacre, two canoes were seen approaching Baker's Bottom from across the river. The non-Indians lay in wait and when the canoes got close, they opened fire killing three more tribal members. Some witnesses reported that after the attack on the first two canoes, two more canoes were launched and three more Yellow Creek residents were fatally shot as they approached the shore. The historical accounts vary but it appears that 9 to 12 Seneca/Shawnee

were killed and another 2 to 8 were wounded. Today, the massacre site is located in Hancock County, West Virginia. To get there from the second stop on the Logan Legacy Trail, travel northerly on Ohio Route 7 to East Liverpool, Ohio, cross the second bridge (US 30) over the Ohio River into Chester, West Virginia (the first bridge is a suspension bridge that is over a century old and charges a toll to cross). From US 30, take the right exit and turn left onto West Carolina Avenue (West Virginia Route 2); Route 2 continues through Newell (as Washington Street), and then goes southerly along the Ohio River. About seven miles from Chester you will see the entrance to Mountaineer Casino, 1420 Mountaineer Circle, New Cumberland, West Virginia on your right; continue on Route 2 for another tenth of a mile and you will see the "Logan Massacre" historical marker (GPS coordinates 40.582745, -80.652881) on the left (east) side of the road; roadside parking is available.

As we continue our travels on the Logan Legacy Trail, we will take a short detour to Mason-Dixon State Park on the border between what is now West Virginia and Pennsylvania. In 1763, the British government hired Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon to survey the boundary between the colonies of Pennsylvania and Maryland. The boundary, later called the Mason-Dixon line, was to be denoted by a series of stone markers. As the surveyors worked their way west beyond Maryland, Indigenous guides assisting Mason and Dixon advised that they would have to stop when they reached the third crossing of Dunkard Creek because the area west of that point was Shawnee territory. The survey ended on October 9, 1767; a stone marker denotes the location where the survey ended. To see the stone marker, go to Mason-Dixon Historical Park; the address is 79 Buckeye Road, Core, West Virginia (GPS coordinates 39.71346, -80.11528). Park in the upper parking lot near the park office; the most direct trail to the historic marker is the M-D Marker Trail. The trail is steep and the round-trip is about 2 miles long, so dress appropriately, wear good hiking shoes, and bring a bottle of water.

After the massacre near Yellow Creek, Logan was emotionally devastated. His relatives had been murdered. He no longer had a family; he no longer had any living descendants. From his perspective, his life was over and his faith in coexistence with non-Indians was shattered. His grief turned to desperation and anger. He decided to exact revenge. Logan gathered a small group of followers and they began attacking non-Indian settlers living in what is now West Virginia and Virginia. On June 4, a group of warriors, presumed to have been Logan and his followers (one of whom was named Snake) attacked the William and Lydia Spicer farm between Dunkard Creek and Big Whitely Creek. William, Lydia, and five of their children were murdered and scalped. Two other children apparently survived but were presumed to have been taken captive. In the following days, three other residents of the Dunkard Creek area disappeared and were presumed to have been taken captive and a non-Indian hunter was shot. Two men were killed and scalped in view of a nearby fort.

As the attacks continued, fear among non-Indian settlers spread and they began erecting forts to defend themselves from Logan's Seneca and Shawnee raids. That brings us to the next stop on the Logan Legacy Trail. One of 1774 forts was a log palisade built around the residence of

Jacob Prickett at the confluence of Prickett's Creek and the Monongahela River. Known as Prickett's Fort, the site was never attacked by Logan's band. The fort eventually fell into disrepair and what was left of the site was probably destroyed during construction of a road in 1905, however, a life-size reconstruction of a 1774 fort has been built near the original site. It is not an exact replica of Prickett's Fort, however, it incorporates elements of various area forts to provide an approximation of some of the features of a typical local fort of that era. Today, Prickett's Fort is a state park. It is located in Marion County, West Virginia at 88 State Park Road, Fairmont, West Virgina (GPS coordinates 39.51723, -80.09482).



Prickett's Fort State Park, Fairmont, West Virginia

The sixth place on the Logan Legacy Trail, is the site of one of the Logan raids. On July 12, 1774, near the confluence of Simpson Creek and the West Fork River, Logan and seven followers discovered three men working in a flax field. They snuck up on the farmers, then fatally shot and scalped one of them - a man named Coleman Brown. Another one of the farmers was quickly subdued and the third one ran before being eventually caught. The two captured farmers were William Robinson and Thomas Hellen. Today, the site is located near the unincorporated community of Meadowbrook, in Harrison County, West Virginia near the intersection of State Route 24 and US Highway 19 (which is known locally as Shinnston Pike or State Route 20). Note that there is no place to park and no historical marker in this area, however, you can drive across a bridge (GPS coordinates 39.349848, -80.317797) on State Route 24 to gain a general overview of the area.

Six days after the flax field incident, Logan and his followers arrived in the Shawnee village of Wakatomika in what is now Ohio. Robinson and Hellen were forced to run the gauntlet. They were both severely beaten but survived. After surviving the gauntlet, Logan symbolically tied a

wampum belt around Robinson to signify that was adopting Robinson. A Shawnee family adopted Hellen. Logan took Robinson to his aunt's cabin and explained that her son was killed in the Yellow Creek massacre and that Robinson would be taking his place in the family. Logan had Robinson write a message in English on a piece of paper. The message was addressed to Michael Cresap and said, "What did you kill my people on Yellow Creek for?" The message stated that Logan had participated in three revenge raids since and was signed by "Captain John Logan." Logan explained that the letter would be left along with a war club to provide notice that he was responsible at the site of some future attack.

On July 26, Michael Cresap and some British colonial Virginia militia forces crossed the Ohio River and invaded Indigenous territory. After a skirmish in a swamp on August 2nd, the Virginians arrived in Wakatomica on August 3rd. Ready for battle, they found that Wakatomica and the other nearby Shawnee villages had been evacuated. The colonial Virginians burned the villages and the surrounding corn fields before returning to the Ohio River.

On August 7, three warriors killed seven children and took three more captive near the New River. Logan was believed to have been one of the attackers. The exact number of raids conducted by Logan and his followers in 1774 is not known. It is likely that some raids were committed by Logan's group and not recorded while other raids were done by other groups but blamed on Logan and his Seneca and Shawnee followers.

In September, Logan and his followers struck near Moore's Fort (also known as Byrd's Fort) in what is now Russell County, Virginia. The fort was another one of the defensive structures erected in 1774 during the time of the Logan raids. Daniel Boone was the commander of Moore's Fort at that time. On September 23rd, Logan's group captured two African Americans who were working in a nearby field. In an attempt to draw out the men stationed in the fort, the captives were forced to run the gauntlet within view of the fort. The twelve man detachment was too small to take on Logan's followers, so they did not come out. Logan then led his group to the John Roberts farm near Kings Mill. Logan's men killed and scalped the father, mother, and two daughters; one son was injured and left for dead, and 10-year old James Roberts was left unharmed. A local militia eventually arrived finding James, the victims, a war club bearing the letters LG (presumably short for Logan), and the note written by William Robinson for Logan back in July asking "What did you kill my people on Yellow Creek for?"

During 1774, the British Governor of Virginia was John Murray who was also known as the Fourth Earl of Dunmore. Dunmore had been advocating that Fort Pitt and the Forks of the Ohio (Pittsburgh) lie within the colony of Virginia – not Pennsylvania. In addition, in light of Logan's raids and anti-Indian sentiment generally, he was receiving pressure to push Seneca, Shawnee, and Lenape tribal members out of the colony of Virginia. On January 1, 1774, Dunmore supporters arrived at Fort Pitt and took over the Fort without firing a shot; they renamed it Fort Dunmore. That summer, under orders from Governor Dunmore, a militia unit was formed in what is now Lewisburg, West Virginia. Since the Forks of the Ohio were already in Virginia's control, the second part of Dunmore's plan was that the southern army would march west

across the mountains and then down the Kanawha River towards the Ohio River to kill or drive the Indigenous people away. Meanwhile, soldiers from the northern army left Fort Dunmore (Fort Pitt) and began travelling down the Ohio River. Indigenous forces consisting of mostly Shawnee, but including Seneca and Lenape warriors, rallied under the leadership of Shawnee war chief Cornstalk. When Cornstalk received intelligence that the northern army was travelling down the Ohio River towards Point Pleasant while the southern army was travelling down the Kanawha River towards the same point, he realized that it was best to attack before the two armies could meet and unite against the allied Indigenous forces. Cornstalk took the initiative and attacked the southern army at 6:45 a.m. on October 10, 1774 at Point Pleasant. As the battle proceeded, shooting from behind trees devolved into brutal hand-to-hand combat. The fighting eventually moved northerly and then easterly towards Crooked Creek. By the end of the day the Shawnee and their allies suffered about 40 killed and 70 wounded; while the British colonial Virginia militia casualties consisted of about 80 killed and 140 wounded. One of the Shawnee warriors killed during the battle was Pucksinwah whose sons Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa would later make their own contributions to history. As evening approached, the Shawnee withdrew from the battlefield and retreated across the Ohio River into Indigenous territory. Today, the battle is commemorated at Tu-Endie-Wei State Park. The state park is located at 1 Main Street, Point Pleasant, West Virginia (GPS coordinates 38.83982, -82.14087) where the Kanawha River flows into the Ohio River. Tu-Endie-Wei is a phrase in the Wyandotte language which translates to "the point between two waters." Cornstalk survived the Battle of Point Pleasant, but was murdered three years later by soldiers at nearby Fort Randolph. Cornstalk is buried at Tu-Endie-Wei State Park and there is a memorial at his gravesite.



Cornstalk's Grave Marker – Tu-Endie-Wei State Park, Point Pleasant, West Virginia

The Shawnee and their allies had retreated across the Ohio River, however, the British colonial Virginia forces had suffered roughly twice as many casualties. As the British southern army was recovering at Point Pleasant, Governor Dunmore and his northern army crossed the Ohio River invading Indigenous territory and established a base calling it Camp Charlotte; it was named for either Lord Dunmore's wife, Charlotte Stewart, or for the Queen of England, Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz – historical accounts differ. Two days after crossing the Ohio, John Gibson (the non-Indian father of the baby that survived the Yellow Creek massacre) found Logan and some of his followers talking near some trees. Logan had assumed that the baby had not survived the Yellow Creek massacre and when he saw John Gibson, Logan was overcome by sorrow and broke into tears. Logan, who was under a large elm tree, spoke the following words, "I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, Logan is the friend of the white men. I have even thought to live with you but for the injuries of one man. Col. Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This has called on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one." John Gibson returned to Camp Charlotte and wrote down the moving and immortal words. Logan's speech later became highly publicized in newspapers throughout the colonies and became an expression of the poor treatment of Indigenous persons by the British government and the colonists. The speech became known as Logan's Lament. Logan declined Gibson's offer to negotiate a formal end to hostilities probably because he knew that he was not a formal leader of the Seneca nor Shawnee tribal governments. However, Logan did verbally agree to end his part of the conflict. Today the site where the speech was given is preserved as Logan Elm State Memorial Park. It is located in Pickaway County, near Circleville, Ohio off of State Route 361 (GPS coordinates 39.50850, -82.95412). The elm tree under which Logan made his speech stood for another 196 years; it died after being struck by lightning in 1964. The park has a number of monuments and memorials commemorating other historical figures including Cornstalk, Nonhelema, and Micheal Cresap. One of the historical markers denotes where the Logan Elm once stood.



Postcard circa 1920 – Logan Elm, Pickaway County, Ohio

On October 19, 1774, Shawnee leaders met with Governor Dunmore and the other British colonial representatives at Camp Charlotte. According to the historical record, the Shawnee and the British signed a treaty referred to as the Treaty of Camp Charlotte. The location of the meeting is now located on a privately owned farm in Pickaway County, Ohio on Route 56 about 8 miles from Logan Elm State Memorial Park. There are two publicly accessible historical markers (GPS coordinates 39.53835, -82.84361) near the site along with some limited parking spaces. The main impact of the Treaty of Camp Charlotte was: 1) it ended formal military hostilities between the Shawnee and the British, and 2) the Shawnee ceded their lands in what is now West Virginia and Kentucky to the British. Interestingly, while there are references to the Treaty of Camp Charlotte and general descriptions of its contents in various historical sources, the location of the actual document is apparently not known.

Immediately after the events of 1774, Logan, the Ohio River Seneca (Mingo), and the Shawnee remained in what is now Ohio. Exactly six months to the day after the Treaty of Camp Charlotte, the Battle of Lexington and Concord was fought in Massachusetts starting the American Revolution. As he was loyal to the British Crown, Dunmore was under intense pressure to leave Virginia. He returned to Britain during the Revolution. The British government later assigned him to be Governor of the Bahamas. After the Revolution, westward immigration by non-Indians flooded into Ohio and by 1817, the Seneca and Shawnee were confined to a reservation near what is now Piqua, Ohio; another group of Seneca also had a reservation near Sandusky, Ohio. Most accounts state that Logan died in Ohio and that his burial place is not known; another account states that late in life Logan moved to the Cornplanter Seneca reservation in Pennsylvania where he died and was buried. The Trail of Tears to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) took place in 1832 and the Seneca and Shawnee reservations were established near each other. After a period together as The United Nation of Seneca and Shawnee, the tribes became

separate federally recognized tribes per the post-Civil War omnibus multi-tribe Treaty of 1867. Today, it is important for us as members of the Seneca-Cayuga Nation and the Eastern Shawnee Tribe to remember our roots in the lands along the Ohio River and the unique parallel paths of our tribes through history.

The Logan Legacy Trail can be found on Google Maps at: <u>https://www.google.com/maps/d/edit?mid=12zLW4YOrwz4W4HgSTF9ARpFa4my80Tg&usp=sha</u> <u>ring</u>

<u>Bibliography</u>

Chief Logan: An Anthology, edited by Ronald & Kristen Wenning (Wennawoods Publishing 2006)

Dunmore's New World: The Last Conflict of America's Colonial Era, by James C. David (University of Virginia Press 2013)

Dunmore's War, by Glenn F. Williams (Westholme Publishing 2017)

Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier, by Timothy J. Shannon (Penguin Books 2008)

<u>Point Pleasant 1774: Prelude to the American Revolution</u>, by John F. Winkler (Osprey Publishing 2014)

The Shawnees and the War for America, by Colin G. Calloway (Penguin Books 2007)

The Trigger, by David Preston, Smithsonian magazine (October 2019)

Copyright © Christopher B. Chaney, 2024.

All rights reserved.