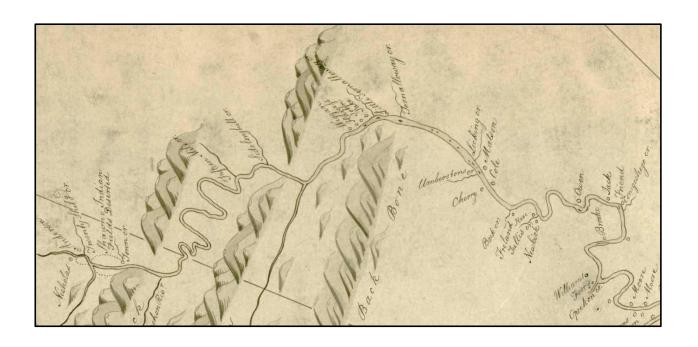
# Finding Fort Tonoloway A French and Indian War Fortification on the Western Frontier of Maryland

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Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of the Interior.

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### Introduction

This study examines Fort Tonoloway, a little-known palisaded fortification erected in late July – early August of 1755 by Lt. Thomas Stoddert and a small contingent of men. The location of the fortification, designated by Governor Horatio Sharpe in what was then the frontier of Maryland and the westernmost point of European- and African-American settlement, was placed in an area that contained a small dispersed community of farms centered on the North Bend of the Potomac River. The primary goal of Fort Tonoloway was to provide a safe haven for local settlers and families during enemy raids as well as to enhance the security of the frontier. Initially funded by a private subscription, the fortification and the garrison placed there was actively supported by the Maryland government through mid-1756. Governor Sharpe was eventually forced to abandon Fort Tonoloway sometime between late May to June of 1756 due to contraction of the western frontier, as well as the General Assembly's insistence on constructing a new fortification, what would become Fort Frederick, no further west than the North Mountains and closer to more populated areas. While many historic maps and secondary sources locate Fort Tonoloway west of Little Tonoloway Creek, the precise location of the fortification is unknown.

The primary goal of this project is twofold: 1) to conduct historical research into primary and secondary source documents and to integrate this with a variety of survey and analytical methods to identify the most likely location for Fort Tonoloway; and 2) to develop an archaeological research design that will provide the best opportunity to recover material evidence supporting the presence of the fortification.

This document is divided into six chapters. Following this, the first chapter consists of a narrative history that is organized into several topical subchapters and serves to contextualize the construction, support and abandonment of Fort Tonoloway and provide a more detailed physical history of the ca. 26-acre Fort Tonoloway State Park property. The narrative begins by providing a broad historical context for the period describing the events that led to hostilities between the British and French and their relationship with Native American groups. The narrative continues with subchapters addressing the settlement of the North Bend vicinity, the Ohio Company of Virginia, the construction of French forts on the Ohio and the battle of Fort Necessity, the ill-fated assault of General Edward Braddock on French positions, and post-Braddock provincial strategy and the initial construction of frontier fortifications in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. Governor Horatio Sharpe's decision to construct For Tonoloway and the three North Mountain Forts is reviewed in detail placing his decision within the context of colonial politics, and documenting what is known about each of these early Maryland fortifications. The narrative continues by reviewing the decision to construct Fort Frederick, and the continued devastating raids, as well as summarizing the conclusion of the conflict with the Forbes Expedition and the surrender of French forces. The post-war period begins by a review of Pontiac's War and its impact on western Maryland, and transitions into the occupation of Fort Tonoloway ridge by the Brent family and subsequent occupants between the late eighteenth century through mid-nineteenth century. Additional subchapters discuss the project area during the Civil War and what is known about its agricultural development from the late nineteenth through early twentieth centuries. The narrative concludes with the donation of the 26-acre parcel to the State of Maryland and the development of the property in the 1960s as Fort Tonoloway State Park.

Chapters that follow the narrative history document the several research and analytical components designed to inform future archaeological investigations. The second chapter addresses the methods and findings of the pedestrian reconnaissance survey. GPS enabled maps are provided that depict the location of Fort Tonoloway State Park and pre-State Park landscape features identified during the reconnaissance survey as well as a review of LiDAR – derived digital terrain models. Using a widely adopted method of military terrain analysis that guides research, documentation and mapping of battlefields, the third chapter will adapt the KOCOA battlefield analysis techniques to the identification of battlefield defining features, documenting the natural and cultural landscape resources that are present within the Fort Tonoloway State Park as well as the broader region. This chapter also summarizes mid-eighteenth-century weapons and military tactics utilized during the French and Indian War. Three GIS-based maps, one each at small, medium and large scale, have been generated in support of the military terrain analysis showing the location of battlefield defining features within and beyond Fort Tonoloway State Park.

The fourth chapter builds upon an inventory of French and Indian War fortifications in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia and is designed to develop a broader understanding of the factors that may have influenced siting, and materials used in construction of Fort Tonoloway. It outlines a generalized tripartite typology of fortifications that is organized around the identification of several important characteristics including construction, funding, location, materials, features / size, garrison size, funding, and purpose. The fifth chapter summarizes previous archaeological findings from limited and extensive archaeological investigations at French and Indian War fortifications in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. In doing so, it provides a preliminary understanding of the types of archaeological resources that survive at French and Indian War sites and anticipates what may be found in Fort Tonoloway State Park. Finally, the final chapter presents an archaeological research design for the 26-acre Fort Tonoloway State Park parcel and adjacent lands. The research design assesses the integrity of the existing landscape of Fort Tonoloway ridge, briefly reviews what is known about the fortification, defines the study area further delineating it into 'high' and 'moderate' potential to contain archaeological resources associated with Fort Tonoloway, and presents the most appropriate method for conducting a preliminary archaeological survey of the property. The primary goal of the research design is to identify the location of Fort Tonoloway and to document cultural deposits and features associated with its construction, occupation and abandonment between 1755 and 1756. An annotated bibliography of primary and secondary sources that have historical relevance to understanding Fort Tonoloway is also provided.

## 1 FORT TONOLOWAY AND THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

Native Americans, French and English in Eastern North America, 1700 – 1750

The English Colonies

Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, the English colonies of North America experienced a significant population growth, nearly doubling in size every 25 years. Immigrants were attracted to the mid-Atlantic colonies, Pennsylvania because of its religious tolerance, as well as Maryland as a haven for Catholics. Philadelphia was the largest city in North America during this period and was a primary destination for many European immigrants. These immigrants were composed of predominantly working-class individuals including artisans, craftsmen, laborers and farmers. Along with colonial policies and an improving economy, this early eighteenth-century population growth also supported a westward migration.<sup>1</sup>

Particularly in the colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, immigrants of European descent<sup>2</sup> began to move westward seeking independence, land and prosperity. Following the royal charter of King Charles II in 1681 that granted William Penn the proprietary colony of Pennsylvania, Penn began to carry out a systematic acquisition of Indian territory. Although driven by a desire for land, William Penn was perceived by the Lenape Indians (Delaware) as one who dealt fairly with them. This positive socio-political relationship also carried over into extensive trade. Penn purchased significant quantities of land along the north side of the Delaware River from the Lenapes and also made purchases in the vicinity of what is now northern Delaware and northeastern Maryland beginning in the late seventeenth century and into the first quarter of the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Westward migration occurred first into the counties surrounding Philadelphia and to its south, then into the lower portion of the Susquehanna River valley by the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Settlement in the Cumberland Valley followed soon thereafter. In 1736 Pennsylvania representatives purchased significant acreage from the Iroquois confederacy including what are now Franklin, Adams, York and Cumberland counties. However, at that point in time, the land sold to Pennsylvania was still occupied by Delaware and Shawnee people whom the Iroquois considered as dependent peoples.<sup>4</sup> This purchase opened up the 'legal' settlement of these lands just west of the Monocacy River valley.

Migration in Virginia was driven by both population growth, the detrimental effect of tobacco monoculture on Tidewater lands, as well as the general lack of available lands. In 1722 Governor Spotswood signed a treaty with the Iroquois confederacy that recognized the Blue Ridge Mountains

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> T. H. Breen & Timothy Hall, Colonial America in an Atlantic World: A Story of Creative Interaction, p257. (New York: Pearson – Longman, 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Predominantly German, Irish and Scots-Irish.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Michael N. McConnell, A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its People, 1724-1774, pp: 54. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1992).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> James D. Rice, Nature and History in the Potomac Country: From Hunter-Gatherers to the Age of Jefferson, pp: 204-205. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009). At a Council in Philadelphia in 1732, Iroquois representatives confirmed that Pennsylvania was a 'link' in the Covenant Chain and claimed that Delaware and Shawnee were dependents to the Six Nations.

as the boundary between Virginia and the Iroquois peoples.<sup>5</sup> The Virginia Piedmont began to be settled fairly rapidly in the early 1730s. Most of these European settlers were of English descent and came from the east and the Tidewater region. Despite the 1722 treaty limiting European settlement to east of the Blue Ridge, the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia saw similar southward migration from Pennsylvania and the establishment of isolated settlements during the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Governor William Gooch actively promoted settlement of the western frontier as a means of providing a buffer between the Indians and more settled eastern (Tidewater) communities, but also to promote Virginia's interest in the Shenandoah Valley above the French, and to counter Lord Fairfax's claims to the same land. In the early 1730s, Governor Gooch issued land warrants to predominantly German and Scots-Irish settlers from Pennsylvania enticing them to travel south and settle the rich Shenandoah Valley. However the Great Valley of Virginia was also the route taken by the Iroquois confederacy in their annual travels and on their raids to Virginia and the Carolinas. Invariably conflict erupted between the illegal Shenandoah Valley settlers and Native Americans. Ultimately Governor Gooch, with the assistance of William Beverley and Thomas Lee, negotiated a settlement with the Iroguois confederacy between 1743 and 1744 purchasing their settled and unsettled lands in the Shenandoah Valley for a total of 500 pounds in both currency and goods.

Maryland followed a similar trajectory of western migration as Pennsylvania. Driven by a desire for land, initial migration into the Maryland Piedmont and the Monacacy River valley by settlers of European descent occurred in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. In 1732 Lord Baltimore actively encouraged western settlement by issuing a proclamation that offered 200 acres of land to families, and 100 acres to single men, that would settle land in the area between the Susquehanna and Potomac rivers. 6 Migration to western Maryland came from more populated regions in the east but also from the north as settlers from Pennsylvania moved into and through the Monocacy River valley. By 1748 the Monocacy River valley possessed significant numbers of new immigrants on isolated farms and in clustered communities and additional isolated households were located further west causing the General Assembly to establish Frederick County. Frederick Town, or Frederick, was established as the county seat. By 1739 the first land, a 260-acre parcel at the confluence of Conococheague Creek and the Potomac River, was granted to Charles Friend.8 The colonies of Virginia and Maryland met with the Iroquois in Lancaster, Pennsylvania in 1744 to settle a land dispute about settlers in the Great Valley. The parties ultimately signed a treaty that clarified the 1722 Albany treaty. In exchange for agreeing that the boundary between English and the Iroquois was the Alleghany Mountains and not the Blue Ridge Mountains, the Iroquois received additional payments for this lands from each colony.9 Settlement in the Conococheague area and along the upper Potomac River progressed rapidly following this agreement. A small land holding established in 1739 by Jonathan Hager, then known as Elizabeth Town, grew into a clustered settlement during this period. By the mid-eighteenth century, the westernmost settlements in Maryland were clusters of small farms located in the Tonoloways, two drainages that terminated at the North Bend, the northernmost point of the

<sup>5</sup> Although the provincial government believed its territory extended westward an indefinite distance, the 1722 Treaty of Albany codified a temporary relationship with the Iroquois nation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> William H. Browne, ed., Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1732-1753, p25. Archives of Maryland, Vol. 28. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1908).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> By the mid-eighteenth-century Frederick County extended west towards the Appalachian Mountains.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Edward Smith, Historic Resource Study, Williamsport, Maryland, p1. (National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1979).

<sup>9</sup> Rice, Nature and History in the Potomac Country, pp. 209.

Potomac River. The Tonoloways settlement spanned both sides of what would become the Mason-Dixon line.<sup>10</sup>

Land ownership for most British colonies involved claiming or settling a parcel, obtaining a warrant to authorize a survey, surveying and geographically defining the occupied land, and lastly obtaining a patent by the governing authority. Frequently large tracts of land that were patented or unpatented were subsequently sold and divided into smaller parcels. Settlement of new lands by European immigrants brought increased income to provincial landlords, increased provincial claims to additional western lands, and provided a physical buffer between the wealthier more settled eastern communities and Native American peoples. Settlement of western frontier lands by British colonists in the first and second quarter of the eighteenth century often brought them in contact with remnant Delaware, Seneca and Shawnee who had historically occupied this land for centuries.

Each of the mid-Atlantic colonies actively pursued what they perceived to be beneficial relationships with Native American peoples within and bordering their province. These relationships centered on both land acquisition and trade. Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, each provincial government individually and jointly pursued treaties with the Iroquois confederacy, a group of five and later six Indian nations, 11 that allowed them to purchase vast tracts of land, many of which had seen sporadic settlement by Europeans for several decades. These land acquisitions benefitted each province in that they provided a legal means of settling new lands. 12 The settlement of new lands provided funds for provincial landlords and promoted territorial interests on a national and international stage.

Trade was also a vitally important relationship which saw the English provinces compete with France, and with each other, to forward their own interests. Gifts of British goods, and the promise of continued future trade, was a near universal expectation when provincial representatives met with Indian representatives. Charles Polke and Thomas Cresap were Maryland traders who respectively settled at the North Bend on the Tonoloways ca. 1734 and Shawnee Oldtown in the early 1740s to establish western trading posts on the Potomac River in these locations. In particular, traders from Pennsylvania made the greatest inroads into the Ohio Valley region travelling there in the 1740s and establishing trading posts at Logstown, Pickawillany and Lower Shawnee Town. The Pennsylvania traders were well-received by the Indians and prospered through the exchange of guns, ammunition, and cloth in return for beaver pelts and other furs.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The Tonoloways, also called the Conoloways in Pennsylvania, were two creeks that drained into the north side of the Potomac River. Little Tonoloway or western creek, and (Big) Tonoloway Creek both drain the eastern flanks of the Tonoloway and Cove ridges respectively.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The Iroquois Confederacy, or Haudenosaunee [People of the Longhouse] were composed of the Mowhawk, Onandaga, Oneida, Cayuga, Seneca peoples, and after 1722 the Tuscarora people.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> While untold numbers of Europeans settled in Indian lands with or without permission from their provincial government, these early settlers were still illegal in the sense that the land which they entered had not yet been acquired. By signing treaties that ceded land, and paying the Indian peoples for that land, the provinces could legally

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Matthew C. Ward, Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754-1765, p23. (Pittsburgh: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1997).

### New France

The territory of New France developed out of the incipient and informal interior fur trade established by French explorers in the early seventeenth century. Development of an extensive network of interior trade with Native peoples was promoted by large monopolies with royal charters, as well as numerous independent traders. Overseen by investors known as the Company of One Hundred Associates, New France was taken over by decree as a province of the Crown in 1663. By the early 1700s, New France consisted of five colonies occupying a vast but sparsely settled territory. Despite attempts by the Crown to promote increased settlement of the colonies, New France never possessed the population of its eastern English colonies.

By the mid-seventeenth century, the French were battling the Iroquois for control of the fur trade. The French had aligned themselves with the Huron as trading partners, while the Iroquois had aligned themselves with the Dutch, and later English. In an effort to control the trade in beaver pelts, the Iroquois repeatedly attacked French outposts and colonies in the mid-seventeenth century. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the French had finally defeated the Iroquois who subsequently met in Montreal in 1701 where a treaty was signed. In addition to making peace, the treaty stipulated that the Iroquois would remain impartial if and when armed conflict broke out between the French and English.

Between 1700 and 1750, France's territorial holdings in New France largely followed the Ohio and Mississippi River drainages extending from what is now Newfoundland and the Labrador Sea on the north, to Louisiana and the Gulf of Mexico on the south, to the western side of the Mississippi River. The eastern boundary of New France was less definable and depended upon the presence of traders from the British colonies and relations with Native Americans.

While the French dominated trade and relations in what is now Canada, their extent into and presence within the Ohio Valley was limited. Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, the French witnessed increased competition for the fur trade by traders from the English colonies, particularly Pennsylvania. As displaced Delaware, Shawnee and Seneca peoples moved westward into the upper Ohio Valley region in the first half of the eighteenth century, the Pennsylvania traders that had built relationships with them earlier migrated there too and established trading posts. Deer hides were the primary trade item that Native Americans traded to the Europeans in the Ohio River valley.<sup>16</sup>

Between 1744 and 1748 the French were officially at war with Britain.<sup>17</sup> While most of the military engagements took place in the northern English colonies of New York, Massachusetts, and Maine, the Iroquois and several Ohio Valley Indians did attack French positions at the behest of the colonies of Pennsylvania and New York.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The fur trade was driven by the demand for beaver pelts by hat makers in Europe. Beaver fur was found to have superior felting qualities and felted beaver hats became fashionable and therefore desirable in the late sixteenth to seventeenth centuries.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> As a result of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1712 France ceded several of its territories in New France, including Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, to Britain. It also recognized Britain's relationship with the Iroquois.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> McConnell, A Country Between, pp. 36-39, 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> King George's War is considered by historians to be a continuation of a conflict in Europe that carried over to North America. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in October of 1848 officially ended the conflict.

Wanting to discourage any English traders, as well as to re-establish positive relationships with the new Delaware and Shawnee towns in the upper Ohio Valley, the French turned their focus to this region in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. By the late 1740s, the French finally acted to check the gains of Pennsylvania traders in the upper Ohio Valley. In mid-1749 French commander Celeron de Bienville took several hundred soldiers and marched to the Ohio Valley on orders to make treaties with the Indians. On his way to the Alleghany River, Celeron de Bienville also planted lead plaques proclaiming France's right to and claim of Ohio Valley lands. Where he encountered British traders, Celeron de Bienville demanded that they abandon their trading posts.

### Native Mid-Atlantic North America

Native mid-Atlantic North America, <sup>19</sup> was a broad region that witnessed significant change and social upheaval during the first half of the eighteenth century. That change came in the form of treaties, land sales, voluntary and forced migration, internation conflict, and conflict with the British and French colonies.

The Iroquois Confederacy, or Six Nations, was perhaps the largest group of Native Americans that had an influence on the mid-Atlantic region for the longest period. Scholars believe the Iroquois Confederacy, a group of associated yet distinct nations speaking the Iroquoian language and possessing similar cultural traditions, formed sometime in the mid-fifteenth century. In existence prior to the arrival of the Europeans, and possessing a vast tract of land in what would become the northeastern United States, the powerful Iroquois Confederacy directly influenced geopolitical relations within and between England and France for much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and inter-ethnic relations with and between other Indian peoples for many centuries.

In the early eighteenth century the Iroquois Confederacy initiated sporadic armed conflict with many competing Native peoples west and north of them as well as the French in an attempt to gain control over the lucrative fur trade and the powerful position of controlling exchange with European nations.<sup>21</sup> During the late seventeenth century, much of the Ohio Valley region became depopulated as a result of Iroquois raiding and warfare.<sup>22</sup> Following peace with New France in 1701, and a promise of neutrality in any future conflict between England and France, the Iroquois turned their attention southwards and initiated raids that extended deep into the mid-Atlantic region reaching northern North Carolina. Many of the Native nations living in this broader region, particularly the Catawbas and Cherokees, suffered from repeated Iroquois attacks launched via the Great Warrior Path, a north-south oriented system of foot paths following the Great Valley extending from New York into the Carolina Piedmont.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> For the purposes of this background, Native mid-Atlantic North America is defined as the vicinity of what would become the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee and North and South Carolina.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> McConnell, A Country Between, pp. 52-53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The Iroquois Confederacy was composed of five nations, the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca, until 1722 when the Tuscarora people also joined.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Some scholars have debated that the 'Beaver Wars' were actually periodic raids on regional peoples in an attempt to capture prisoners who would then be incorporated into larger Iroquoian society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Francis Jennings, Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America, pp. 24. (New York: Norton, 1988).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> McConnell, A Country Between, pp. 15-16.

Late in the seventeenth century what would come to be called the Covenant Chain, an intercultural alliance between the Iroquois Confederacy and the provincial government of New York, was initiated. The alliance, enforced by treaties and councils, grew over time throughout the eighteenth century to include many other Native nations and most of the English colonial provinces, referred to as 'links' in the chain.<sup>24</sup>

Responding to increased pressure from larger numbers of settlers moving westward from more populous centers in Pennsylvania and Maryland, the Susquehannock, Delaware [Lenape] and Shawnee who had occupied the Susquehanna River Valley for several generations moved further west ultimately settling in the then relatively empty Ohio River Valley. By the second quarter of the eighteenth century, these peoples created towns and trading posts and developed communities in the vicinity of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers.<sup>25</sup>

Social, political and economic relationships between Native Americans and European colonial governments, traders and settlements brought both great risk and great reward. In their interactions with Europeans over the course of several centuries, Native Americans suffered from disease and sickness that often proved fatal, dramatically impacting regional populations. Increased disagreements over land and trade frequently ended in conflict between European governments and their Indian allies, often with varying outcomes. On the other hand, peace and alliances with European governments also made Native nations stronger and more able to act on their own desires. Trade and exchange was a significant driver for both European governments and Native nations alike during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While Native Americans grew to be dependent upon European trade goods, they used them in ways that fit within cultural norms and served their own objectives. Ultimately like their European counterparts most indigenous peoples, and particularly the displaced Shawnee and Delaware of the Ohio Valley, sought social and political autonomy and peace and security. 27

<u>European Settlement of the North Bend of the Potomac River and Frontier Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, 1730s – 1750s.</u>

By the second quarter of the eighteenth century the Cumberland Valley in Pennsylvania and Maryland, and the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia was beginning to be populated by individual farmsteads and 'plantations.' Early patents, many dating to the 1730s, record the date and location of European settlement. Patents and early residences centered primarily on roads, drainages, springs and prime farmland, often creating small clusters. Despite the residential clusters, settlement during the second quarter of the eighteenth century was largely isolated with many households separated from one another often by several miles.<sup>28</sup> The 1736 Winslow map documenting the course of the upper Potomac River appears to confirm the sparse nature of settlement during this period. Winslow's map shows that between Harpers Ferry and Big Pool, Maryland settler names appear frequently on both

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Jennings, Empire of Fortune, pp: 28-30; McConnell, A Country Between, pp: 55-57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Jennings, Empire of Fortune, pp: 23-24; Rice, Nature and History, pp: 198-199.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> McConnell, A Country Between, pp: 34-37; See also Kathleen L. Ehrhardt, European Metals in Native Hands: Rethinking Technological Change, 1640-1683. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2005).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> McConnell, A Country Between, pp. 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> The size of most original patents, often 50 to several hundred acres, suggests that with the exception of extended families where more than one household might exist, the nature of original of original European settlement was quite rural.

sides of the river. West of Big Pool, Maryland however European names become less frequent (Figures #1 and #2).<sup>29</sup> Prior to the French & Indian war then, these areas were considered the western frontier or 'back country'<sup>30</sup> for the provinces of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

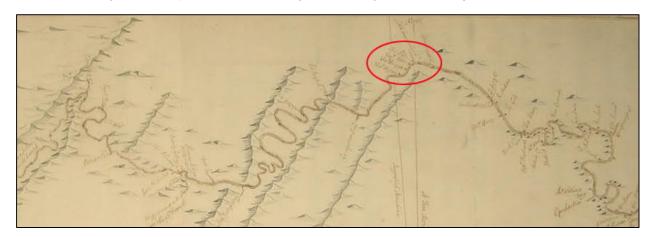


Figure #1: Detail, A Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River called Cohongorooto, showing natural features as well as the location and names of early settlers. The encircled area depicts the early settlement west of and adjacent to the Tonoloway drainages. Benjamin Winslow, 1736.

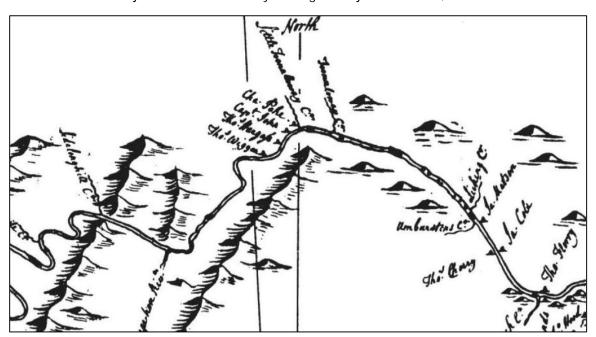


Figure #2: Detail, A Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River called Cohongorooto, showing the North Bend vicinity and the residences located there. Benjamin Winslow, 1736.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Winslow's primary objective was to map the Potomac River, and not to record the names and locations of settlers. It is also understood that he and his party did not stray too far from the river corridor. In this sense it is an imperfect assessment of colonial settlement however his map does provide useful information regarding early European settlement along the Potomac River.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> The back country is the term most often used by contemporary researchers to refer to the western frontiers. Other terms used during the period of the French & Indian war include 'back settlements,' 'back parts,' 'back people,' 'back inhabitants,' 'the westward,' 'western settlements,' and 'western parts.'

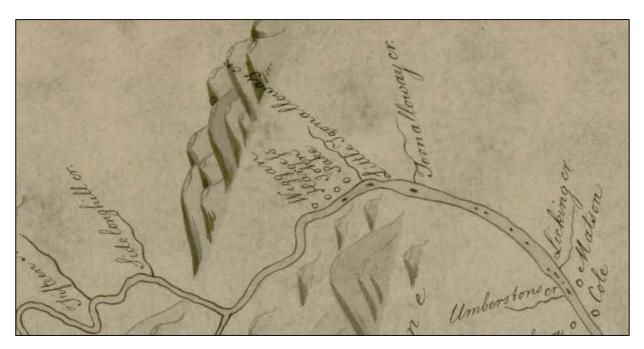


Figure #3: Detail, *A Map of the Northern Neck in Virginia*, showing the surnames Poke, John, Hargess and Wiggan in the area west of Little Tonoloway Creek. These are the same surnames that appear on the 1736 Winslow map above as well as the 1737 William Mayo map. Peter Jefferson and Robert Brooke, 1747.

By the late 1730s and into the 1740s, the first land patents had begun to be issued for the area in the vicinity of the North Bend, the northern most bend in the Potomac River. North of the Potomac, in what is now Washington County, Maryland and the southern part of Fulton County, Pennsylvania, a small but broadly dispersed community known as the Tonoloways was established.<sup>31</sup> While the earliest land patents in this area suggest formal land ownership in the 1740s, actual occupation and settlement likely occurred a decade earlier.<sup>32</sup> A 1733 tax list for Prince George's County, Maryland documents the presence of some of the earliest settlers in what would become Washington County, Maryland including Thomas Hargess, and a Capt. John.<sup>33</sup> An examination of the 1736 Winslow map shows that the vicinity west of and adjacent to Little Tonoloway Creek included, from east to west, Cha. Poke [Charles Polke], a Capt. John; Thos. Hargass (Hargess), and Thos. Wiggans (Wiggon) (Figures #2 and 3).<sup>34</sup>

Charles Polke, a trader, migrated from Carlisle, Pennsylvania and by the mid-1730s had arrived at the North Bend where he established a residence and trading post. In 1742 Polke, along with a number of other citizens, signed a petition to establish a new county created from Prince George's.<sup>35</sup> Historic maps identify that Polke's residence and trading post was located just west of Little Tonoloway Creek. Polke died in 1753 just prior to the violence that would precipitate the French and Indian war.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Within what would become Fulton County, Pennsylvania, the Tonoloway community was further identified as the Great Cove and Little Cove.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Thomas Hargis patented 150 acres named Darling's Delight in 1743; Charles Polke patented 100 acres named Henthorn's Rest in 1746;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Donna V. Russell, 1733 Frederick County Taxables. Western Maryland Genealogy, Vol. 3, No. 3 (July 1987): 99-103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Benjamin Winslow, A Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River called Cohongorooto, 1736. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>35</sup> Kester, Charles Polke, Indian Trader, p. 449, 455. Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 90, No. 4 (Winter 1995): 447-466.

The sparse nature of permanent settlement in the North Bend region and larger vicinity is also supported by early traveler accounts. In 1747, the diary of a Moravian minister noted the scarcity of residents along a road, or path, between Hagerstown and Old Town. "From Jonathan Haeger [Hagerstown, Maryland] to Colonel Chrassaop [Cresap, at Old Town], where the North Branch of the Patowmak is crossed to enter Virginia, is a distance of some 70 miles, mostly over mountains. In the first thirty miles to Charly Poak one meets a house now and then, but for the last forty miles, from Charly Poak's to Colonel Chrassop's, no house nor water can be found." 36

Beyond and west of the North Bend, in a flood plain on the north bank of the Potomac that Europeans named Shawnee Oldtown, Col. Thomas Cresap, a trader, had settled on the former location of Charles Anderson a Swedish trader. Anderson, who was present at Oldtown ca. 1736, and Cresap, who had arrived by the early 1740s, likely occupied the westernmost outposts of settlement in what would become Maryland during the first half of the eighteenth century (Figure #4).<sup>37</sup>

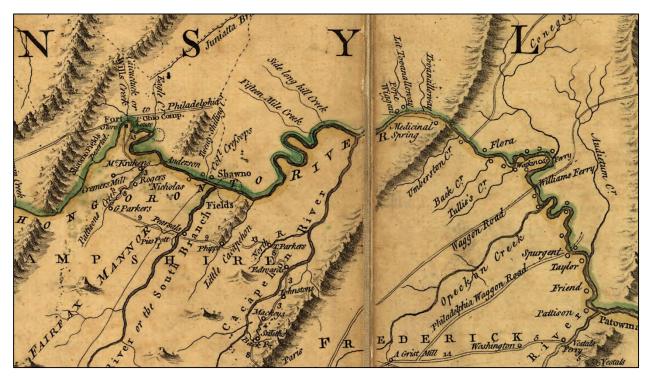


Figure #4: Detail, A Map of the most Inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole Province of Maryland with part of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and North Carolina, showing the area north and south of the Potomac River between Wills Creek (left) and Antietam Creek (right). Note 'Col. Cressops' residence at Old Town.

Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, 1751.

The development of transportation infrastructure leading to and through the vicinity of North Bend and the Tonoloways settlements logically extended from more populous regions to the east and north. Formal roads frequently followed former and/or current Indian paths running through the Monocacy

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Kester, Charles Polke, Indian Trader, p:451. Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 90, No. 4 (Winter 1995): 447-466.
<sup>37</sup> John Bedell, Jason Shellenhamer, Charles LeeDecker, Stuart Fiedel, River and Mountain, War and Peace. Archaeological Identification and Evaluation of Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park, Hancock to Cumberland (Mile Markers 123 to 184), Volume I, p47. Prepared for the National Park Service. Prepared by The Louis Berger Group, Inc. (Washington, D.C.: The Louis Berger Group, Inc., 2011).

and Cumberland valleys. In 1739 Prince George's County court records document that a road was ordered to be laid out between what is now Frederick and the confluence of the Potomac and Conococheague Creek, what would become Williamstown, Maryland.<sup>38</sup> Six years later in 1745 the same road was ordered to be extended westward from its terminus at Conococheague Creek following the Potomac and crossing Licking Creek to the Tonoloway Hill. The road supervisor for the section of road between Licking Creek and Tonoloway Hill was Charles Polke.<sup>39</sup> Two years later in 1747, the road was again ordered to be continued westward, this time extending from Tonoloway Hill through Old Town to a point called Nichol's Neck near present day Cumberland, with bridges to be constructed at Licking Creek (east of the North Bend) and Sideling Hill Creek (west of the North Bend).<sup>40</sup> Therefore over the decade spanning the 1740s, a road along the north side of the Potomac River had been completed between what is now Williamsport and Cumberland, Maryland, a total of approximately 60 miles.

By 1743 at the latest some form of road extended west of what is now Hancock, Maryland. In a February 28, 1743 66-acre land grant to Colmore Bean, the recording document noted that it lay in the vicinity of Little Tonoloway Creek "on the left hand side of the main road that goeth from Little Conolleway to the Old Town and near where the said wagon road crosses Conoloway Hill" [Emphasis added]. Likewise, early Court Order books from Frederick County, Maryland record the construction of additional roads. In the March 1748 term, the court ordered a road constructed from the mouth of the Conococheague Creek "to the Pennsylvania line;" from Nicholls Creek (near Cumberland) to Fifteen Mile Creek, and from Fifteen Mile Creek to the Great Tonoloway of which Charles Polke was appointed road supervisor. Clearly a number of early roads were being created, however informally, that facilitated transportation and communication between points east and west (Figure #5).

The quality and condition of most roads in the mid-eighteenth century depended upon a variety of factors. First and foremost, the assigned road supervisors had to devote a substantial amount of time and manpower to clear and level a workable road corridor. Secondly, terrain and other physical conditions directly impacted how fast a road could be completed and the individual characteristics of a road (e.g. course, width, levelness, etc.). Mid-eighteenth-century descriptions of the earliest formal 'roads' in the vicinity of the North Bend record the nature of these corridors. Between 1747 and 1748, a group of Moravian missionaries recorded their travels through Maryland and Virginia. In the spring of 1748, a Brother Gottschalk traveled a road between Jonathan Hager's residence and Old Town to visit with Col. Thomas Cresap. He noted that "the road is a single narrow path, frequently hardly recognizable, partly because traveling is not very frequent there, and partly because the path is blocked

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Prince Georges County Court Book T (1733 -1739), pp: 495, 505. Clerk's Office, Prince George's County Courthouse, Upper Marlboro, Maryland.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Prince Georges County Court Book BB1 (1743 – 1746), pp. 285. Clerk's Office, Prince George's County Courthouse, Upper Marlboro, Maryland.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Prince Georges County Court Book EE (1746 – 1749), pp: 451. Clerk's Office, Prince George's County Courthouse, Upper Marlboro, Maryland.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> This 66-acre tract was later sold by Bean to Joseph Flint, a land-owner known to reside north-northwest of Fort Tonoloway State Park.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Frederick County Court Book B (1748-1752), pp: 15, 22, and 24. Clerk's Office, Frederick County Courthouse, Frederick, Maryland.

with trees and overgrown with grass and weeds. A person has to be very careful lest he take a cow path. The angels will certainly do their part."<sup>43</sup>

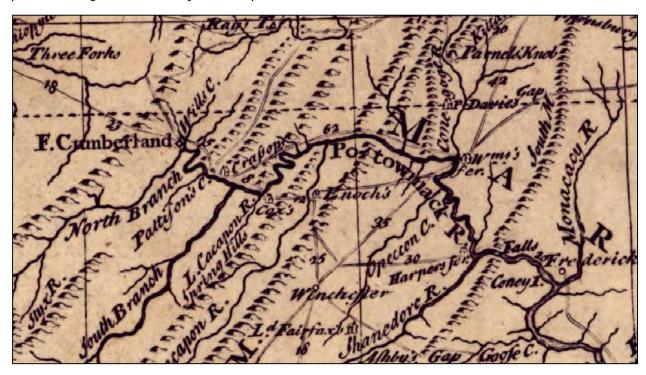


Figure #5: Detail, A General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America, showing the course of the Potomac River between Fort Cumberland (left) and current day Williamsport (right). Note road following north side of Potomac River and linking Williams Ferry with Fort Cumberland and likely the road improved by Governor Horatio Sharpe as requested by John St. Clair for General John Forbes in 1758. Lewis Evans, 1755.

In March of 1748, nearly the same time as Moravian Brother Gottschalk, George Washington, acting as surveyor for Lord Fairfax, crossed the Potomac River from Virginia into Maryland and spent a night at Charles Polke's. His diary records the event as well as his unedited opinion of the 'road' between Charles Polke's and Col. Thomas Cresap's at Old Town. "Sonday 20<sup>th</sup> finding y. River not much abated we in y. Evening Swam our horses over and carried them to Charles Polks in Maryland for pasturage till y. next morning. Monday 21<sup>st</sup> – We went over in a Canoe and travell'd up Maryland side all y. Day in a Continued Rain to Collo. Cresaps right against y. mouth of y. South Branch about 40 miles from Polks. I believe y. Worst road that ever was trod by Man or Beast [Emphasis added]." 44

While fords were largely opportunistic crossings where topography and shallow water cooperated,<sup>45</sup> formal ferries began to be established crossing the Potomac River in prominent locations by the 1740s. One of the more prominent ferry locations in the upper Potomac River was at the confluence of Conococheague Creek and the Potomac River. In 1744 the Virginia General Assembly established a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, Moravian Diaries of Travels Through Virginia, pp. 79. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 12 (July 1904): 55-82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Donald Jackson, ed., The Diaries of George Washington, Vol. 1, 1748-1765, p12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Many historic fords used by early European settlers were also used by Native Americans and were directly associated with the location of Indian paths. Fords are said to have crossed at Conococheague Creek (Williamsport), the North Bend (Hancock), and at Old Town.

ferry on the land of Evan Watkins at Maidstone on the Potomac River.<sup>46</sup> By 1749 Frederick County, Maryland granted a ferry operation at the same place to Edward Wyatt.<sup>47</sup> The ferries operated throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and were to become important in the efficient movement of troops and materials during the French & Indian war.

In 1748 the Maryland General Assembly created Frederick County out of the western portion of Prince George's County, Maryland.<sup>48</sup> The small but growing town of Frederick was established as the county seat. Shortly thereafter Linton Hundred, encompassing what is now the Hancock, Maryland vicinity, was created as the westernmost administrative district of Frederick County. The Tonoloway Baptist Church, a structure that was constructed in what is now Fulton County, Pennsylvania about a half mile north of the Mason-Dixon line, was established in 1752 to serve the broader Tonoloways settlement.

### The Ohio Company of Virginia, 1747 - 1754

In 1747 Thomas Lee, a member of the Governor's Council, petitioned Virginia Governor William Gooch on behalf of the Ohio Company for an expansive land grant on the Ohio River. <sup>49</sup> The goal of the Ohio Company and its membership of prominent political elites was to expand settlement in Virginia to the Ohio Valley region, to expand trade with Native Americans, and to reap significant profits in the process. Governor Gooch declined the request and in January of 1748 Lee, George Mercer and their associates took their request to the King of England. Using their connections in London and offering to share the profits, the King agreed to grant the investors 200,000 acres of land in March of 1748. However, the grant also contained stipulations that the Ohio Company would settle 100 families in seven years, build a town, and construct and garrison a fortification.

Between 1748 and 1750, the Ohio Company hired two well-known contractors to assist in the realization of their scheme. In 1748 they hired Col. Thomas Cresap, a trader and frontiersman of some repute, to lay out and establish a road from his residence just east of and adjacent to the Alleghany Mountains to the Monongahela River. With the assistance of Nemacolin, chief of the Delaware Indians, Cresap carried out his task between 1748 and 1750. The road generally followed a series of interconnecting Indian paths.<sup>50</sup> In 1750 the Ohio Company also hired Christopher Gist, a surveyor and experienced frontiersman, to explore their lands in the Ohio Valley and to "take an exact account of the soil, quality, and product of the land." Gist made three trips into the Ohio interior in 1750, 1751 and 1753 and recorded his experiences and thoughts in journals. Gist recorded in his journals that he thought the Native Americans of the Ohio Valley suspected he was mapping and recording their land for future settlement by British colonies. The Indians were indeed suspicious of Gist because the taking and settling of lands by European governments had been a consistent part of their common experience over the past century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Acts of the Virginia General Assembly, 1744.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Edward Smith, Historic Resource Study, Williamsport, Maryland, pp. 3; Scharff, History of Western Maryland, pp. 419.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> The creation of a new county was in itself an acknowledgement that population was beginning to grow and the settlers in the more western communities were demanding a more convenient and responsive seat of government.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> The petition of the Ohio Company anticipated the end of armed conflict between France and England,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> A portion of this road formalized by Cresap and Nemacolin would be used by General Edward Braddock on his westward march to take Fort Du Quesne in 1755.

In order to further their interests, and directly following a failed negotiations by Pennsylvania at Logstown in 1751,<sup>51</sup> in 1752 Joshua Fry as representative of the Virginia government, Christopher Gist as representative of the Ohio Company, and several others met with representatives of the Iroquois, Delaware and Shawnee Indians at Logstown, a small frontier trading town on the Ohio River northwest of what would become Pittsburgh. The treaty signed at Logstown stated that the Iroquois, Delaware and Shawnee would allow Virginia settlements to live peaceably east of the upper Ohio River. The Iroquois representative, a man named Tanaghrisson and known as the 'Half King,'<sup>52</sup> also requested that the British construct a fortification or "strong house" at the mouth of the Monongahela River for the protection of their families in times of need.

Unlike the Pennsylvanians, Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia agreed to fund the construction of a fortification at the confluence of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers. In mid-February of 1754, a contingent of Virginia troops under the command of William Trent arrived at the confluence and began constructing a fortification that would come to be called Fort Prince George.

### The French Reaction and the British Counter, 1753 – 1755

The Pennsylvania and Virginia negotiations at Logstown in 1751 and 1752 clarified for the French the British intent to establish a permanent presence in the Ohio Valley. The partial success of the British negotiators with the Iroquois, as well as the Delaware and Shawnee, meant that the French trade in the Ohio Valley and beyond would be reduced and suffer irreparable damage. The French answer was to reinforce their physical presence and militarize their land claims in the Ohio Valley. Over the course of two years, French troops constructed three new fortifications in the upper reaches of the Ohio River. Fort Presque Isle was constructed on Lake Erie in 1753, Fort Le Boeuf was also constructed near present day Waterford, Pennsylvania in 1753, and Fort Machault was constructed near present day Franklin, Pennsylvania on the Alleghany River in 1754.

Following on the Logstown Treaty of 1752 in which the Iroquois acknowledged the right to English settlements in the Ohio Valley, in late 1753 Virginia Governor Dinwiddie sent George Washington to Fort Le Boeuf on the Ohio River as an emissary of the provincial government. Washington's assignment was to formally convey to the French that the Ohio Valley was British territory and to request that the French abandon the region. According to Washington, the French politely refused stating

"it was their absolute Design to take Possession of the Ohio, and by G--- [God] they would do it, for tho' they were sensible, that the English cou'd raise two Men for their one; yet they knew their Motions were too slow & dilatory to prevent any Undertaking of theirs. They pretended to have an undoubted right to the river from a Discovery made by one La Sol 60 Years ago, & the use of this Expedition is to prevent our

<sup>51</sup> Known as the Logstown Council of 1751, Pennsylvania representatives met with Native Americans, and later French representatives, at Logstown in an attempt to secure their claim in the Ohio Valley. While English diplomacy won the day, the Quaker-led provincial government of Pennsylvania refused to erect a fortification on the Ohio for security and safety as requested by Native Americans. See Everett, Pennsylvania's Indian Diplomacy, pp: 251-253.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Tanaghrisson was, in effect, the Iroquois representative of the Ohio Valley Indians. He therefore was beholden to the larger Iroquois Confederacy but also to the native peoples living in the Ohio Valley.

Settling on the River or Waters of it, as they have heard of some Families moving out in order thereto." 53

During his trip as ambassador to Fort Le Boeuf, Washington also was able to view the area in the vicinity of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers in an effort to recommend suitable land for the construction of Virginia's fortification.

Hearing that the British had begun constructing Fort Prince George at the confluence of the Monongahela and Alleghany, the French sent a significant contingent of troops under the command of Claude Pierre de Contrecoeur to prevent the English incursion. In late April of 1754, the French arrived at Fort Prince George and obtained the surrender of the much smaller Virginia contingent. The French then began the construction of their own larger fortification, Fort Du Quesne, in the same location.

In April of 1754, George Washington was sent westward again to supervise the construction of a road to Fort Prince George, and ultimately to take command of and defend it. In the course of carrying out his orders, Washington learned of the surrender of the Virginia troops. With the assistance of a small body of Native American warriors provided to him by Tanaghrisson, Washington continued to proceed towards the forks of the Ohio River. Washington and his Virginia and Indian forces arrived at a location he called "the Meadows," nearly 40 miles southeast of the forks of the Ohio River. Knowing that French forces were nearby, Washington noted in a letter to Governor Dinwiddie that "We have with Natures assistance made a good Intrenchment, and by clearing the Bushes out of these Meadows Prepar'd a charming field for an Encounter." Two days later, Washington again wrote Dinwiddie noting that "we have already began a Palisadoe Fort and hope to have it up tomorrow." The fortification, known as Fort Necessity, was completed in early June.

Hearing from Tanaghrisson that a small contingent of French troops were moving towards them, but encamped a short distance away, Washington took 40 men, met up with Tanaghrisson, and then moved towards the French encampment as a group. Believing the French to have hostile intent, Washington and his Virginians and Indian allies attacked the encampment killing many, capturing several, and killing the commander Joseph Coulon de Villers de Jumonville. Washington and his forces immediately retreated to their fortification at Great Meadows knowing that the primary French force at Fort du Quesne had been notified of their presence.<sup>56</sup>

As these Runnors went off to the Fort [du Quesne] on Sunday last, I shall expect every hour to be attackd and by unequal number's, which I must withstand if there is 5 to 1 or else I fear the Consequence will be we shall loose the Indians if we suffer ourselves

<sup>54</sup> Jackson, Diaries of George Washington, Vol. 1: 1748-1765, pp: 174-210; George Washington to Governor Dinwiddie, May 27, 1754. W. W. Abbot, ed., The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series, Vol. 1, 7 July 1748–14 August 1755, pp: 104. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983).

<sup>53</sup> Jackson, Diaries of George Washington, Vol. 1: 1748-1765, pp: 14

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> George Washington to Governor Dinwiddie, May 29, 1754. W. W. Abbot, ed., The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series, Vol. 1, 7 July 1748–14 August 1755, pp: 107. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> George Washington to Governor Dinwiddie, May 29, 1754. W. W. Abbot, ed., The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series, Vol. 1, 7 July 1748–14 August 1755, pp: 107. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983).

to be drove Back, I dispatchd an express imediately to Colo. Fry with this Intelligence desiring him to send me Reinforcements with all imaginable dispatch.<sup>57</sup>

Tanaghrisson unsuccessfully attempted to convince other Ohio Valley Indians to join with the British in defense of Fort Necessity.<sup>58</sup> Washington too awaited reinforcements from Winchester and other places. Although 100 additional troops eventually arrived in support of Fort Necessity, Washington did not consider them adequate to defend against the quantitatively superior French and Indian forces.

The French responded quickly. A 600-troop force, composed of French regulars and Indian allies, led by Louis Coulon de Villiers, the brother of the slain French commander, marched towards Washington and Fort Necessity. Arriving at Fort Necessity on July 3<sup>rd</sup>, the French attacked and forced Washington and his troops to retreat within their fortification. Realizing he was outnumbered, and under a negotiated truce, Washington accepted the terms of surrender on July 4<sup>th</sup>, and he and his troops were allowed to retreat eastward. Washington notified Governor Dinwiddie of the battle and loss of his position. Shortly thereafter the news of the British surrender at Fort Necessity reached London. The Crown's response was to begin to organize a substantial force of British regular troops to be sent to America whose primary objective was to attack French positions, beginning at Fort du Quesne, and remove them from the Ohio Valley they now controlled.

Simultaneous with the initial armed conflict between the British and French in the Ohio Valley, a number of provincial colonial governments including Maryland and Pennsylvania held a meeting with representatives of the Iroquois Confederacy in July of 1754 in Albany, New York. The goal of the meeting was to reinforce existing treaties and alliances with the Iroquois and to develop a coherent colonial strategy for defending English land and settlements. During the meeting, the Pennsylvania representatives purchased from the Iroquois Confederacy a significant tract of land including current Bedford and Fulton counties on what would become the southern border of Pennsylvania. This land, however, was still occupied by the Delaware and Shawnee who were not consulted as to the purchase of their land and were not invited to the Albany meeting.<sup>59</sup>

While Britain was preparing an invasion force under the command of General Edward Braddock, because of his 'military skill and abilities' in July of 1754 the King appointed Governor Horatio Sharpe of Maryland Lieutenant-Colonel of all British forces in colonial America with orders "to oppose & repell the common Enemy." On July 18th, 1754 the Maryland General Assembly approved raising L6,000 to be used "towards the assistance of the Virginians, now attacked and invaded by the French."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> George Washington to Governor Dinwiddie, May 29, 1754. W. W. Abbot, ed., The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series, Vol. 1, 7 July 1748–14 August 1755, pp: 107. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> McConnell, A Country Between, pp: 108-110. McConnell surmises that a rift was growing between the Iroquois and other Indian peoples living in the Ohio Valley, namely the Delaware and Shawnee. While politically the Ohio Valley Indians were aligned with the English through the Iroquois, the small English forces that came to their defense, and the growing military presence of the French in their own land left this relationship to question.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> White, The Middle Ground, pp: 243. As White notes, this was yet another point of contention between the Ohio Valley Indians, and the English and Iroquois Confederacy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Lord Baltimore to Governor Horatio Sharpe, July 6, 1754. William H. Browne, ed. Correspondence of Governor Sharpe, 1753-1757, pp: 72 -73. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> J. Hall Pleasants, ed., Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1752-1754, pp:547-548. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1933).

By early September of 1754, despite being rebuffed by the Virginia General Assembly in his request for a bill to raise L 20,000, Dinwiddie wrote Governor Sharpe informing him that he would at least send 100 men to Wills's Creek, "to join the Independt Companies, & to endeavor to secure a Pass over the Allegany Mountains by erecting a Fort leaving a sufficient Number of Men therein with a proper Quantity of Provisions to facilitate our operations next Spring." Over the next two months, a small fortification, initially named Fort Mount Pleasant but renamed Fort Cumberland, was constructed under the command of Colonel James Innes at the confluence of Wills Creek and the Potomac River.

Governor Horatio Sharpe began to organize the colonial defenses in early Fall of 1754. Along with assistance from Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, and Governor Dobbs of North Carolina, Sharpe believed he would be able to raise an army of approximately 700 men "to carry the Fort called Fort Du Quesne which the French have built upon the River Monongahela before a Reinforcement can be sent the Garrison from Canada or the French Settlements," and to garrison Fort Cumberland, and another fort he intended to construct. 63 In January of 1755, Governor Sharpe set out on a trip west to Wills Creek and Fort Cumberland. The goal of the trip was to arrange provision contracts, to find the best means of transportation, and to prepare the fortification for the arrival of General Edward Braddock and his army. At Fort Cumberland he met the British deputy quartermaster Sir John St. Clair. Sharpe and St. Clair returned from Fort Cumberland via the Potomac River in canoes in February of 1755. During the journey east, they determined that the Potomac would not be navigable for the transportation of military equipment and supplies and that the British army would have to travel over land routes to Fort Cumberland and the Ohio Valley.<sup>64</sup> In a letter to Governor Horatio Sharpe in November of 1754, Governor Morris of Pennsylvania presaged the future difficulties of transporting large numbers of troops and supplies to the western frontier. Although he noted that there was a good 'wagon road' from Philadelphia to Watkin's Ferry at Conococheague on the Potomac, he also acknowledged that despite the fact that they had been trading with the Ohio Valley Indians for several decades, "I cannot learn that we have any thing more than a Horse Way thither through the Woods and over the Mountains."65

General Edward Braddock and his British forces arrived in Hampton, Virginia in February of 1755. In April of the same year he met with the governors of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, as well as New York and Massachusetts to convince them to raise funds for a concerted joint attack on the French. However, the governors could not follow through on the funding and troop levels promised and only provided him with limited provisions and equipment.

Arriving at Fort Cumberland in the Spring of 1755, Braddock and his forces awaited reinforcements and supplies. In late May, Braddock and approximately 2,100 troops left Fort Cumberland for Fort du Quesne. The progress of the entire army was slow in part because they were required to widen an

62 Governor Dinwiddie to Governor Sharpe, September 5, 1754. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Sharpe, 1753-1757, pp. 96-97. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>63</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Sir. Thomas Robinson, October 25, 1754. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Sharpe, 1753-1757, pp: 104-105. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to General Edward Braddock, February 9, 1755. William H. Browne, ed. Correspondence of Governor Sharpe, 1753-1757, pp: 167-168. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>65</sup> Governor Robert Morris to Governor Horatio Sharpe, November 14, 1754. William H. Browne, ed. Correspondence of Governor Sharpe, 1753-1757, pp: 125-126. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

existing road to accommodate heavy artillery that followed. Braddock, however, had decided to lead a 'flying column' of approximately 1,300 men, a swift moving regiment, leaving behind the slower moving third of his forces that was hauling artillery and supplies under the command of Colonel Thomas Dunbar. On July 9<sup>th</sup>, advancing across the Monongahela yet still several miles from Fort du Quesne, Braddock and his forces were surrounded and surprised by an advance force of French and Indians commanded by de Contrecoeur. Facing a fusillade from two sides, and not being able to fire in return upon the concealed French and Indian troops, Braddock's advance troops retreated in chaos, and in the process hampered the ability of the entire force to counter and advance. Chaos ensued, General Braddock was shot several times and died a few days later, most of the British supplies and equipment were abandoned and captured, and the surviving troops including Colonel Dunlop's slower moving forces retreated to Fort Cumberland.

The defeat of the British forces by a smaller but well-positioned enemy using frontier military tactics, the significant loss of British lives, and the death of General Braddock, stunned the provincial governments. As George Washington, present at the battle as a volunteer and aide-de-camp to Braddock noted a month later, "its true, we have been beaten – most shamefully beaten – by a handful of Men! Who only intended to molest and disturb our March: Victory was their smallest expectation; but see the wondrous works of Providence! the uncertainty of Human things!" 66

As a result of General Braddock's death, Colonel Dunbar became the commanding officer of the remaining British and provincial forces. After recuperating at Fort Cumberland for a short period, Dunbar made the decision to return to the east with his forces ultimately deciding to winter in Philadelphia. The total abandonment of the western frontier by the British army sent to capture Fort du Quesne was an unanticipated move and one that sent shockwaves of fear through colonial settler communities. In a letter to Governor Robert Dinwiddie written from Fort Cumberland only a week after the Battle of the Monongahela, George Washington presaged the coming disruption and terror that Virginia's westernmost settlers would endure over the next three years. "I Tremble at the consequences that this defeat may have upon our back settlers, who I suppose will all leave their habitation's unless there are proper measures taken for their security [sic]." 67

### The Consequences of General Edward Braddock's Defeat

Braddock's defeat at the Monongahela River in early July of 1755, and the subsequent retreat of the remaining British forces, consummated a shift in the European balance of power in the Ohio Valley region and in the western frontier portions of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. Whereas by early 1755 English traders had a long established presence in the Ohio Valley region, and through the Virginia Company the British had begun to construct a fortification at the forks of the Ohio, by mid-1755 the French had driven the English traders out and rebuffed the British attempt to dislodge them.

From the perspective of the Ohio Valley Native Americans, they had begun to question the value of their relationship to the British as well as to the distant Iroquois Confederacy. The Delaware, Shawnee, and other Indians viewed the Ohio Valley as their own land and held a coherent position that neither

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 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> George Washington to Robert Jackson, August 2, 1755. W. W. Abbot, ed., The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series, Vol. 1, July 1748 – August 1755, pp. 349. (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 1983).
 <sup>67</sup> George Washington to Governor Robert Dinwiddie, July 18, 1755. W. W. Abbot, ed., The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series, Vol. 1, July 1748 – August 1755, pp. 339. (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 1983).

the French nor English should occupy it. In this sense they viewed both European powers from the same perspective. The long-term relationship of the Iroquois with the English colonies via the Covenant Chain, and Delaware and Shawnee trading relationships with Pennsylvania necessarily disposed the Ohio Valley Indians to the British. However, despite repeated requests for assistance, the Ohio Valley Indians found the English unwilling or unable to adequately respond to mid-century French advances into the Ohio Valley and to dislodge the increasing number of fortifications erected there by them. In addition, the sale of 'Iroquois' lands to Pennsylvania in the 1730s and 1740s, while the Delaware and Shawnee still occupied it, did nothing to strengthen the relationship between the Ohio Valley Indians and the Iroquois. Lastly, while the French presence in the Ohio Valley was largely limited to trading posts and military installations, the English via the Virginia Company had the expansionist goal of settling and dispossessing the Ohio Valley Indians of their land.<sup>68</sup> With the removal of the British presence in the Ohio Valley in July of 1754, and again in July of 1755, the Ohio Valley Indians established a new relationship with the more powerful French.

The French convinced most of the Ohio Indians, and particularly the Delaware and Shawnee under their leaders Teedyuscung and Shingas, to conduct raids on the English colonies. The goal of the raiding parties was to drive the English from their land, a result which suited both the French and the Indians. In return for Native American assistance, the French provided weapons and clothing, as well as food and shelter to native families.<sup>69</sup> Correspondence of Jean Daniel Dumas, the French commander of Fort du Quesne, and Philippe de Rigaud the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor General of New France, document that the French encouraged and directed systematic attacks on the English colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. In a letter to the minister of the Navy, the Marquis de Vaudreuil wrote of his efforts in America. "I apply myself particularly to sending parties of Indians into the English colonies. I also do my best to multiply them as much as circumstances permit. Nothing is more calculated to disgust the people of these Colonies and to make them desire the return of peace." Dumas kept detailed records of the raiding parties and reported back to de Vaudreuil their strength, the locations they attacked, the number of prisoners and scalps brought back, as well as the strength and position of the British.

...Sieur de Rocheblave, with another cadet, a corporal, a militiaman, and 20 Shawnees attacked the gateway of a little fort, three leagues [9 miles] above Fort Cumberland. Several families and 30 men had remained there. They killed four Englishmen, whom the savages scalped; wounded three who dragged themselves inside the fort; and took three prisoners. ... A party commanded by M. de Celoron had a fight near Cressep's fort, in the rear of [Fort] Cumberland. They killed eight Englishmen, whose scalps the Indians were unable to take, as they found themselves, in the dusk of the evening, within musketfire of the fort. We had two savages killed and one wounded. ... The garrison of Fort Cumberland is unpaid. It is much diminished by sickness, which has been prevalent there all winter and is so now. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of June, grass was growing in the roads of the Cumberland communication. Messengers no longer came any further

68 McConnell, A Country Between, pp: 115-120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> McConnell, A Country Between, pp: 120. McConnell argues that this relationship benefitted both the French and native peoples, and that Native Americans were not pawns of the French.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Machault, June 8, 1756. E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, pp: 413. (Albany, New York: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1858).

than Winchester because of our savages who are always in the field. Not a grain of Indian corn has been planted from this post to Kaneghuigik [Conococheague], which is 25 leagues away from it toward the sea. The entire frontier of the three provinces is in the same condition. It was thought that Fort Cumberland would very soon be abandoned, as more than three months have passed since a wagon or bateau had come there. The English are in constant fear of being attacked. They have scouts out to be informed of our approach.<sup>71</sup>

In terms of inciting terror, taking prisoners, and inflicting casualties the French and their Indian allies were extremely successful. In July of 1756, Dumas wrote,

It is by means such as I have mentioned, ...varied in every form to suit the occasion, that I have succeeded in ruining the three adjacent provinces, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, driving off the inhabitants, and totally destroying the settlements over a tract of country thirty leagues [90 miles] wide, reckoning from the line of Fort Cumberland. M. de Contrecoeur had not been gone a week [November 5, 1755] before I had six or seven different war parties in the field at once, always accompanied by Frenchmen. Thus far, we have lost only two officers and a few soldiers; but the Indian villages are full of prisoners of every age and sex. The enemy has lost far more since the battle than on the day of his defeat [e.g. Braddock].<sup>72</sup>

The Marquis de Vaudreuil echoed Dumas' confidence in their military efforts when he wrote in early 1758 that "all our parties have carried terror among our enemies to that point that the settlements of the English in Pinsilvanie, Mariland, and Virginia are abandoned. All the settlers have retreated to the city or into the forest [sic]."<sup>73</sup>

In the late summer of 1755 and extending into mid-1758, the French and Indian raids on the western frontiers increased in both frequency and scope. Settler families and small communities residing in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, and Pennsylvania and Maryland's Cumberland Valley, suffered repeated visits from the enemy. The French and Indian forays into the English colonies' western frontier used the element of surprise, attacking individuals and small groups in their fields, on errands, or performing daily tasks from concealment, and even attacking palisaded residences and fortifications. With the goal of inflicting maximum damage, many individuals encountered were killed and scalped, prisoners were taken, and homes and agricultural structures burned and crops and livestock destroyed. The raiding parties disappeared before a response could be organized by local settlers or regional militia. <sup>74</sup> Period newspaper descriptions of these atrocities, many based on eyewitness accounts of survivors or second-hand accounts from militia members, recorded the devastation in early 1756. "Our accounts from the westward are truly alarming. All the slaughters, scalpings, burnings, and every other barbarity and mischief that the mongrel French, Indians and their chieftain, the devil, can invent

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent, Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania, pp: 93-98. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1941).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Francis Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, Volume I, pp. 342-343. (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1905).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent, Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania, pp: 109-110. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1941).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics int the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815, pp. 245. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

are often perpetrated there and approach us [Annapolis] nigher and nigher." "By a person come to town this day from Frederick County, we are told, that last Sunday Two Boys near Lawrence Wilson's, in that County, were kill'd and scalp'd; and a son of one Mr. Lynn was found dead and scalp'd; himself and three more of his Family missing. At the little Cove, all the houses were Burnt last Week." In December of the same year additional raids occurred. "About three Weeks ago a Dutchman and Woman were found scalped in the Road, between Isaac Baker's and the Temporary Line: and last Friday Se'nnight one William Gilliland was shot through the Head and scalped by an Indian, who had concealed himself near the Road." By the end of the 1750s the physical devastation of the Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia western frontiers, prior to 1755 a broad area that saw increasing numbers of European settlers starting farms and forming small communities, was complete. Travelling through the western Pennsylvania frontier in the early 1760s, Moravian John Heckewelder documented this abandonment further noting the "blackened ruins of houses and barns, and remnants of chimneys," a landscape he characterized as a "howling wilderness." and save a landscape he characterized as a "howling wilderness."

The frontier settler families and communities were no match for the larger, well-armed, quick moving raiding parties. When informed of the presence of the enemy, they had two options, to flee or find shelter and defend themselves. Fleeing often resulted in death or capture. Because most settler families possessed few guns, 77 defending an unfortified shelter only delayed the inevitable. For these reasons most settler families chose, or were forced, to flee eastward for the protection afforded by more populous areas. The eastward exodus of settler families from the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia resulted in the migration of the western frontier itself. As the backcountry became depopulated, a new more eastern frontier was established. Writing from Conococheague in February of 1756, Joseph Mayhew stated "we are in the greatest Distress here, besides the Danger we are exposed to, and the Shortness of our Crops. We are now full of People, who have been obliged to leave their Plantations, to avoid falling into the Hands of the Savages." By early September of 1755, the effectiveness of the enemy raiding was noted by Governor Sharpe when he informed Governor Dinwiddie that "I am told the Country is entirely deserted for 30 miles below [east of] Fort Cumberland since Col. Dunbar marched."

### Provincial Strategy and Frontier Fortifications, 1755 - 1756

Dumas' claim of 'ruining' the three colonies was not far from the truth. The total defeat of the largest British military force in the Colonial mid-Atlantic in July of 1755 left the provincial governments and their western frontier settlements totally undefended. Despite several Colonial military engagements with French forces in the first half of the eighteenth century, and most recently between 1744 – 1748, few colonies possessed defensive fortifications or standing militia. Where they existed, pre-1750 fortifications were old and were placed to defend more populated eastern areas. In his Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania, a summary of the state of the colony and a direct response to the French

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> See Maryland Gazette, March 4, 1756, p3; December 23, 1756, p3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Paul W. W. Wallace, The Travels of John Heckewelder in Frontier America, pp. 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to the Lords of Trade, February 8, 1756, pp. 353. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Maryland Gazette, February 26, 1756, p3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Governor Dinwiddie, September 2, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp. 279. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888). As the crow flies, Hancock, Maryland and the Fort Tonoloway vicinity is approximately 30 miles east of Cumberland, Maryland.

'invasion' of the Ohio Valley published in early 1755, William Smith stated that "In Pennsylvania, we have but one small Fortification, and that raised and supported at the Expense of Private People. ... We are otherwise entirely naked, without Arms or Ammunition, and exposed to every Invasion, being under no obligation to military Duty."<sup>80</sup>

The governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia expressed genuine concern for the safety of their western settlers. Isolated attacks of combined French and Indian forces on western frontier settlements had in fact already occurred in both Maryland and Pennsylvania before Braddock's defeat on July 9, 1755. In November of 1754, Governor Morris of Pennsylvania had conveyed to Governor Sharpe the news "that about 60 French Indians were seen very lately on their way toward the Fort on Ohio & that 200 more were about to follow them to be employed against our [Maryland's] back Settlements this Winter." In late June and early July of 1755, Governor Sharpe wrote to various recipients reporting on the province's casualties as reported from the western frontier. "This Morning I received letters from Colo Innes Commandant of Fort Cumberland, & Colo Cresap advising me that on last Monday morning a party of French Indians fell upon some of the distant Inhabitants of Frederick Cty of whom they killed three with the loss of only one of their own Party & Carried Eight Prisoners away." "I have received Advice that fifteen more of our distant Inhabitants are killed or carried away by Indians a party of whom have been seen not far from Conegogeek [Conococheague] which is near 100 miles within our Settlements."

Yet despite their concern, the Governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania could not single handedly initiate an adequate defense of their colonies. Governor Morris of Pennsylvania and Governor Sharpe of Maryland, in particular, faced representative bodies that were reluctant to act decisively and allocate funding for the defense of their citizens. In Pennsylvania, the Quaker dominated General Assembly was at first focused on improving relations with Indians and reluctant to fund any actions that might result in military engagement. Nonetheless, Governor Morris was hopeful noting, "but if they have any regard for the Lives and safetys of their Constituents, they will certainly strengthen the Hands of the Government so as to enable it to repell these cruel invasions." <sup>83</sup> In Maryland, Governor Sharpe complained about the Lower House's reluctance to approve funding for the support of the province. The stalemate stemmed from the Lower House's insistence to impose any new tax on citizens and that any monies raised for the defense of the colony come from Lord Baltimore's existing proprietary income streams, namely licenses and taxes. Sharpe, as Lord Baltimore's agent, argued in support of the Proprietor but ultimately had to compromise. <sup>84</sup> Inaction by the colonial governments was also due in part to the fact that provincial capitols and major centers of population were located in the extreme eastern portions of the colonies. Therefore, the violence

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<sup>80</sup> William Smith, A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania, p16-17. (New York: Reprinted for Joseph Sabin, 1865).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Sir Thomas Robinson, November 5, 1754. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 104. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Lord Baltimore, June 28, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 232. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888); Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecelius Calvert, July 5, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 238. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888); See also Maryland Gazette, July 3, 1755.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Governor Robert Morris to Governor Horatio Sharpe, November 2, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 305. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>84</sup> Louis M. Waddell, Defending the Long Perimeter, pp: 180-182. Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies,

and societal disruption facing the western settlements was not experienced first-hand. Many citizens, and particularly the elected representatives, came to see the western settlements as a physical buffer that prevented enemy incursions into more settled eastern communities. As Governor Sharpe aptly noted in mid-1755, "as the Gentn whose Counties are not so immediately exposed did not so sensibly feel for the Sufferings of the poor peoples as they would were they less retired from Danger." 85

In addition to the General Assembly's reluctance to fund the defense of the province, Governor Sharpe also noted the consequences of the lack of a standing militia and their ill-preparedness in terms of adequate arms and training. "The Militia of this Colony are near 16,500. One third of whom at least are entirely destitute of Arms & many of the Guns that are the property of the Rest are very bad & scarcely fit for use. For want of a proper Militia Law (which the assembly has been frequently in vain solicited to make) the people are undisciplined as well as badly armed & cannot be compelled to serve in Defence of the Country." 86

As a result of the sporadic attacks in the more remote settlements in Frederick County, and despite being rebuffed in his request for funding for the protection the western settlements by the Maryland General Assembly, Governor Sharpe determined to act independently. On July 9, 1755 Sharpe wrote to Lord Baltimore notifying him that he would travel to Frederick and beyond with the goal of meeting with local 'military officers' and to try and raise a small company of soldiers. "I intend to have 80 Men furnished from their several Companies by Lot or otherwise which I shall form into one Company of Rangers." The task of the rangers would be to patrol the western frontier of Maryland "till the barbarians shall decline to infest our borders."

Sharpe petitioned the Lower House of the General Assembly to fund a company of between 60 and 100 men to range or patrol the western frontier for the protection of the settlers living there as well as the protection of the province. The Lower House responded positively, committing to "make a suitable Provision for the paying and maintaining Eighty Men, including Officers, for four Months ...for ranging on the Frontiers of this Province, to protect the same against the Incursions and Depradations that may be attempted or made by the French, or their Indian Allies." <sup>88</sup>

In addition, he also used his contacts among the citizens and Gentlemen of Annapolis "to encourage subscriptions, ...for the Defence & protection of the Frontiers, whereby I hope & expect to be enabled to raise a hundred or two in a very few days." By the time he was ready to leave, the subscriptions were successful raising enough funds that Sharpe was confident that they "will at least

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Lord Baltimore, July 9, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 241. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888). See Carl N. Everstine, The General Assembly of Maryland, 1634-1776, pp: 335-346. (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Michie Company, 1980), for a good summary of the differences between the Lower House and the Governor during this period.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to the Lords of Trade, February 8, 1756, pp: 353. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>87</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Lord Baltimore, July 9, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 241-242. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to the Lower House; Response of the Lower House. Maryland Gazette, July 3, 1755, p3. The temporary nature of the funding, not to exceed 4 months, was to become a point of contention between Governor Sharpe and the Lower House of the Maryland General Assembly.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecelius Calvert, July 15, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 251. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

enable me to keep up a Company of Rangers for the Protection of the Frontiers."90 Sharpe left Annapolis in mid-July with "a Number of Gentn & Voluntiers who had entered into an Association to bear Arms & protect our Frontiers where Indian Parties have lately done much mischief," arrived at Fort Cumberland in late July, and had returned to Annapolis by early August. While stopping at Conococheague, Sharpe heard of the rumors that Dunbar's forces, then at Cumberland, would abandon the frontier. "This news so soon after the Depredations of the Indians & the General's Defeat had much alarmed & thrown our distant Inhabitants into great Consternation, they concluded that when the Troops should retire from the Frontiers the Enemy would repeat & renew their Devastations & that twas better for them to fly naked & leave their habitations than remain an easy Prey to an enraged & cruel Enemy, who may now have free & uninterrupted Access to these two infatuated & defenceless Colonies."91 During his trip west, Sharpe witnessed first-hand the terrordriven stream of families fleeing from Indian attacks. The Governor met with these "distant inhabitants" in an attempt to urge them to remain, assuring them that he was doing everything in his power to provide protection. "Some that were retiring to their Friends in the more populous Parts of this & the neighbouring Provinces I persuaded to return back with Assurances that a sufficient Body of Troops would be left at Fort Cumberland for the Security of that Place & that I would take proper Measures to prevent the Inroads & Incursions of any French or Indian Parties [Emphasis Added]."92

This trip westward, and his compelling interactions with fleeing settlers, was an important moment for Governor Sharpe and for the future defense of the Maryland colony. The 'proper measures' for securing the defense of the provincial frontier promised during this trip by Governor Sharpe were twofold: 1) the construction of "small forts," one "on Tonallaway Creek & Three under the North Mountain," and 2) the manning of these fortifications with "a small Garrison with orders to them to patrol from one to the other to Fort Cumberland." Sharpe likely left small contingents of men from his own travelling party, and those he recruited from Frederick County militia, to help construct and man these fortifications because after he returned to Annapolis he stated that the forts were "garrisoned with small parties of Volunteers that I carried up with me [emphasis added]." According to Governor Sharpe, the stated purpose of the small fortifications was "in case of Alarms to receive the neighbouring Families into their Protection." The expense of ordering and garrisoning the small fortifications was to be paid through both public monies approved by the Lower House, as well as the privately raised subscriptions.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecelius Calvert, July 23, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 260-261. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888); Maryland Gazette, July 24, 1755, p3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecelius Calvert, August 11, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp. 262. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecelius Calvert, July 23, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 260-261. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888); Governor Horatio Sharpe to Lord Baltimore, August, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 273-274. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888); Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecelius Calvert, August 11, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 262. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888); Maryland Gazette, August 7, 1755, p3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecelius Calvert, August 11, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 262. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888); Governor Horatio Sharpe to Governor Dinwiddie, August 11, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 265-267. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888); Governor Horatio Sharpe to William and John Sharpe, August 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp:

It is interesting to note that prior to this trip west, correspondence of Sharpe documents that his only stated intention was to meet with the military leaders of Frederick to raise a company of rangers for the defense of the frontier, and to inspect Fort Cumberland. No mention was made of the need for, or intent to order the construction of small fortifications. It is therefore plausible that this particular decision was made during his trip west, perhaps after meeting with terrified settlers, and realizing that some government-sponsored effort needed to be undertaken. Indeed, Sharpe himself noted how his interactions with fearful settlers had changed the intended purpose of his trip. "This convinced me that my Journey to Fort Cumberland thro the County was more expedient than I had before conceived & I was glad to find that my Presence & the promises that I made them that I would take effectual measures for their Protection & security prevailed on some that I met retreating & on others that had passed me to return back & resolve to remain on their respective Plantations." In subsequent correspondence, Sharpe hoped that his commitments to the western settlers had "made and left them pretty well satisfied & contented."

In addition to the immediate need for protection of the westernmost Maryland settlers, as a military-trained officer Sharpe also saw the broader strategic picture of his actions. The forts he ordered to be constructed were not placed randomly, but were "to be built at proper Distances from each other." 16 It is assumed that the criteria defining the fortification's 'proper distances,' was to include 1) their placement near enough to settled areas so that settlers could use them as a shelter in times of emergency, and 2) a distance short enough from each other that ranging militia could safely patrol to and from. In an August of 1755 letter to Virginia Governor Dinwiddie, Sharpe described the small forts he had ordered built and the men he had garrisoned them with, but he encouraged Dinwiddie to view his actions in a regional context. "I would propose to have a Line of small Forts or Block Houses built in both provinces & if it can be so agreed in Pens also whereby I think the Enemy would be deterred from sending any more parties to commit Devastations on our Borders by the Difficulty they would find in securing a Retreat." In this sense, Sharpe viewed the fortifications he initiated as a small piece in the defense of a broader western frontier.

The neighboring colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia also initiated formal defense of their western frontiers but did not begin their efforts until late 1755 to early 1756. Pennsylvania received criticism from many provincial governments for its perceived inaction immediately following Braddock's defeat in July of 1755. Only two fortifications had been ordered to be constructed by Governor Morris, both in established communities in the Cumberland Valley. During his trip to Carlisle in July of 1755, Morris heard of Braddock's defeat and ordered the settlers in this growing community to build a log fortification. A second fortification was ordered to be constructed in Shippensburg, southwest of

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<sup>267-268. (</sup>Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888); Maryland Gazette, August 14, 1755, p3. It is believed that the phrase 'under the North Mountain' refers to cardinal directions. From Annapolis, Maryland, the colonial government seat, 'under the North Mountain,' would likely mean east of, or before one reaches the mountain when travelling east to west.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to William and John Sharpe, August 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 267-268. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>95</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Lord Baltimore, August 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 273-275. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Lord Baltimore, August 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 273-275. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Governor Dinwiddie, August 11, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 265-267. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

Carlisle. "I ...returned to Philadelphia having at the request of the people laid the Ground for a Wooden Fort in the Town of Carlisle and directed one of the same kind to be formed at Shippensburgh." Militias for the garrison of the forts and defense of the communities were also formed form the population. Beyond this initial action, however, no financial support for or overall provincial strategy in defense of the colony was implemented.

In conveying information about the regional Indian raids in both Virginia and Maryland Daniel Dulaney, a representative of Frederick County, Maryland, commented on Pennsylvania's lack of preparation in early December of 1755 noting that

The people of Pennsylvania have flattered themselves that the Indians would spare them, and indeed, it was so late before they were attacked, that many people suspected they had some grounds to rely upon the mercy of the savages. ... No measures having been taken in Pennsylvania for the defence of the back people, they have been attacked also, and as they were quite defenceless, have suffered extremely [sic].<sup>99</sup>

William Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts, echoed these sentiments as well noting in late December of 1755, "I can't but Attribute, ...the present Confusion and Distress of Pennsilvania, principally to the Government's being just now beginning to recover from its principals of non-Defence, & the people's being unacquainted to Attacks from the Indians & making a stand against them." 100

Two significant events that occurred in November of 1755 prompted the provincial Government of Pennsylvania to proactively respond to the very real threats on their western frontier. From early November of 1755 through February of 1756, a series of Delaware Indian raids occurred on the sparsely settled communities of Big and Little Cove, and the Tonoloway and Conococheague settlements in what are now Fulton and Franklin counties, Pennsylvania. The attacks killed many settlers and burned numerous plantations. Likewise, in late November of 1755, the Moravian Missionary settlement of Gnadenhutten (now Leighton, in Carbon County, PA), was raided with many people killed and the village burned. Later in early January of 1756 Indians attacked Pennsylvania troops stationed there to quard the remainder of the town.<sup>101</sup>

Like those in Virginia and Maryland, settlers in Pennsylvania also fortified their own residences and plantations and built palisades and other defensive works. A total of L 60,000 of public funds allocated to construct and garrison fortifications and also for the raising of militia forces was approved by the Pennsylvania General Assembly on November 27, 1755. A committee was then formed to implement a plan. They ultimately agreed on a 'chain of forts' in what was then Northampton and Cumberland counties extending in a northeast to southwest direction supported by patrolling militia. Three forts were constructed in Northampton County in January 1756 under the leadership of Benjamin Franklin, Fort Allen in Gnadenhuttten, Fort Hamilton in what would become Stroudsburg, and Fort Norris near present day Kresgeville. Four additional forts were also constructed in early 1756 west of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> William A. Hunter, Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753-1758, pp: 171, 184, 437-439. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1960).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Daniel Dulaney, Military and Political Affairs in the Middle Colonies in 1755, pp. 22. The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1879): 11-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> William A. Hunter, First Line of Defense, 1755-1756, pp. 230. Pennsylvania History, Vol. 22 (1955): 229-255.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Hunter, Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, pp: 177, 182, 230, 367-368.

Susquehanna River in Cumberland County, Fort Pomfret Castle near Richfield, Fort Granville near Lewistown, Fort Shirley in Shirleysburg, and Fort Lyttleton under the leadership of George Croghan. The extent of the Pennsylvania effort was noted by Governor Sharpe. In a May of 1756 letter he noted "a great part of the L 60,000 granted by the Pennsilvanians has been expended in building Forts & keeping Troops on the Frontiers of that Province the Settlers." 103

Shortly following Braddock's defeat, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia offered George Washington a commission as Colonel in charge of all armed forces in Virginia. Washington was charged with defending the broad Virginia western frontier. One of his first tasks was to immediately begin raising a Virginia regiment composed of 16 companies. Washington also ordered the erection of several small fortifications concentrated predominantly in northwestern Virginia. By September of 1755 Fort Dinwiddie, located on the Jackson River in what is now Bath County, Virginia, had been erected. A month later, two small palisaded fortifications on Patterson's Creek were begun, one of which would become Fort Ashby and a second as Fort Cocke, both of which were located just south of Fort Cumberland.<sup>104</sup>

Washington established his headquarters in Winchester, Virginia. Construction of Fort Loudoun located in the same community, a fortification he had petitioned Governor Dinwiddie for, was begun shortly after its authorization by the Virginia House of Burgesses in March of 1756. Virginia's military officers met in two Councils of War, one at Fort Cumberland on July 10, 1756, and a second at Augusta Courthouse on July 27, 1756. Both councils, following the lead of the Virginia General Assembly, decided that Virginia needed a 'chain of forts' in both Frederick and Augusta counties extending from Fort Maidstone on the Potomac on the north to the Mayo River on the south. The Fort Cumberland council agreed upon the construction of three forts including one at the confluence of Sleepy Creek and the Potomac River, one at Henry Enoch's on the Great Cacapon River, and one at Fort Upper Tract. The Augusta council laid out the locations of fortifications in Augusta County and to the south. Like Maryland and Pennsylvania, the locations of each of the Virginia fortifications were planned for their convenience to existing populations and settlements, as well as their distance from one another to facilitate communication and patrolling. The properties of the virginia fortifications and patrolling.

Several of the planned fortifications in Virginia's extensive chain of forts were never built. Washington ultimately realized the herculean task of all that was required of him: defending the Virginia's long frontier against Indian raids; maintaining companies of qualified soldiers; adequately garrisoning the existing forts; and conducting regular patrols. In a letter to Governor Dinwiddie in early August, Washington explained that although the General Assembly's demands weren't followed explicitly, he

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Hunter, Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, pp: 183-189, 365, 378.

Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecelius Calvert, May 5, 1756. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp. 409. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

Norman L. Baker, French & Indian War in Frederick County, Virginia, pp. 18, 24, 29. (Winchester, Virginia: Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society, 2000).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Robert L. Jolley, Archaeological Investigations at Fort Loudoun (44FK0593), pp: 67-68. Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia, Vol. 60, No. 2 (June 2005): 67-106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Norman L. Baker, French & Indian War in Frederick County, Virginia, pp: 67-69.

was doing his best. "This will be the best chain that can possibly be erected for the defence of the people, and that the Assembly aimed at that." 107

Washington, like many of his Maryland and Pennsylvania contemporary military strategists, realized that the erection of fortifications, either in frontier communities or more settled areas, could not protect the majority of settlers from all French and Indian raids. While fortifications might provide shelter for those nearest them, the 'chain of forts' in all three provinces was a porous defense, one that could not prevent fast moving, quick striking raiders from sowing violence and destruction. Because of this Washington advocated an offensive effort, one that would take the battle to the French in the Ohio Valley.

Governor Sharpe's Defensive Fortifications: Fort Tonoloway (Stoddert's Fort) and the Three North Mountain Forts, 1755 – 1756

As previously noted Fort Tonoloway, or Stoddert's Fort, was ordered to be constructed along with three other small fortifications 'under the North Mountain' during Governor Horatio Sharpe's trip west in late July to early August of 1755. The first mention of a fortification in the Tonoloway vicinity appears in a letter written by Governor Horatio Sharpe to Ceclius Calvert on August 11, 1755, only a few days after returning to Annapolis from Fort Cumberland. In it he states that he believed he had convinced fleeing settlers that he would help secure their safety, "which I hope will be effectually done by the small Forts that I have ordered to be built, one on Tonallaway Creek & three under the North Mountain in each of which I shall place a small Garrison with Orders to them to patrol from one to the other to Fort Cumberland & in case of Alarms to receive the neighbouring Families into their Protection. The Subscription that has been made in this County & some other Parts of the Province has enabled me to take this step for the Security of our Frontiers." 108

Unlike other French and Indian War fortifications, <sup>109</sup> the precise location of Fort Tonoloway as conveyed in primary source documents was never provided in any detail. As noted above, Governor Sharpe initially described its location as 'on Tonalloway Creek.' <sup>110</sup> Perhaps because of its small size and the brevity of its tenure, Fort Tonoloway does not show up as a labelled fortified location on any mid-eighteenth-century maps of the region.

Primary source documents do, however, suggest a general location for Fort Tonoloway. In a September 15, 1755 letter, Governor Horatio Sharpe notes the recent lack of Indian raids but also the abandonment of the frontier by the same settlers. "But the people who dwelt beyond Tonalloway Creek

Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp. 262. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888). Sharpe's familiarity that the fortification was located 'on Tonalloway Creek' suggests that he may have had a general role in suggesting a location for its construction.

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George Washington to Robert Dinwiddie, August 3, 1756. W.W. Abbot, ed. The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Service, Vol. 3, April 1756 – November 1756, pp: 312-323. (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1984).
 Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecelius Calvert, August 11, 1755; Governor Horatio Sharpe to Governor Robert Dinwiddie, August 11, 1755; Governor Horatio Sharpe to William and John Sharpe, August 11, 1755. William H.
 Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 262, 265, 267. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888). See also Maryland Gazette, August 14, 1755, p3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Many French and Indian War fortifications, and particularly those built in Virginia and Pennsylvania, reference a landowner and or residence at which the fort was to be built on or near. Unfortunately in the case of Fort Tonloway no land owner was noted suggesting that the land upon which it would be constructed was unclaimed or unpatented land.

<sup>110</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecelius Calvert, August 11, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe Vol. 1, 1753, 1757, pp. 262. (Paltimore Manuland Historical Society 1999). Sharpe's familiarity

where Lieutt. Stoddert & 15 Men have built a Stoccado Fort have I am informed all left their plantations [Emphasis Added]." The reference to Stoddert's stoccado fort as lying 'beyond' Tonoloway Creek suggests that it was west of this drainage in the vicinity of a community of early settlers. Mideighteenth-century maps that show the confluence of Tonoloway Creek and the Potomac River document only one small community of settlers located just west of Little Tonoloway Creek. The 1736 Winslow survey of the Potomac River, and the 1747 Peter Jefferson and Robert Brook map of the Northern Neck in Virginia each depict four households adjacent to one another and west of Little Tonoloway Creek including from east to west the surnames Poke (Charles Polke), John (Captain John), Hargess (Thomas Hargess), and Wiggan (Thomas Wiggon) (Figure #2 and #3). In addition, the 1751 Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson map of Virginia and Maryland also depicts two households in the same location, west of Little Tonoloway Creek, Pone (Charles Polke) and Wiggan (Thomas Wiggon) (Figure #4). In each of the three maps, no other households or habitations are noted as lying north of the Potomac River for a significant distance beyond Tonoloway Creek. Thus, the presence of this small community of Maryland settlers immediately west of Tonoloway Creek suggests that Stoddert's stocaddo fort was built in this vicinity.

The only known map to depict what is believed to be the location of Fort Tonoloway is a <u>copy</u> of a January 1, 1756 map titled 'Sketch of the Provinces of New Yorke, New Jersey, Pensilvania, Maryland & Virginia.' The copy was drawn by James A. Burt on July 1, 1874 from an original held in the British Museum (Figures #6 and #7).

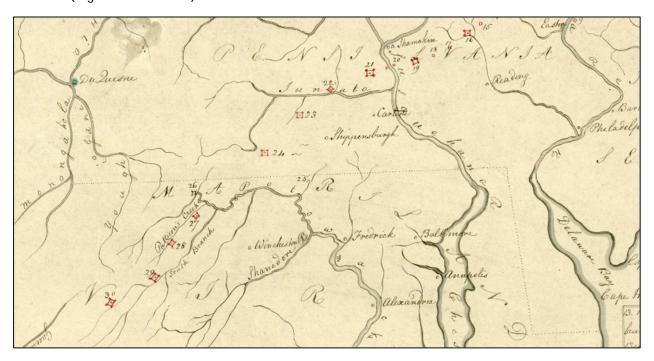


Figure #6: Detail, *Sketch of the Provinces*, showing the northeast-southwest oriented 'line of forts,' displayed as red squares, in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania. James A. Burt, 1874.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecelius Calvert, September 15, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp. 287. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Thomas Hargess surveyed the 225-acre Darling's Delight on October 23, 1739.

<sup>113</sup> Fort Tonoloway was also built within a few miles of the Big and Little Cove community in what is now

The map shows the broader mid-Atlantic region and major fortifications in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania outlined in red. The key notes that fortification #25 is 'a small fort built by Maryland.' The Maryland fort, believed to be Fort Tonoloway, is located west of a major drainage that is believed to be Little Tonoloway or Tonoloway Creek. At the time of the drawing of the original map in 1756, there was only one fortification that had been constructed by the Province of Maryland.

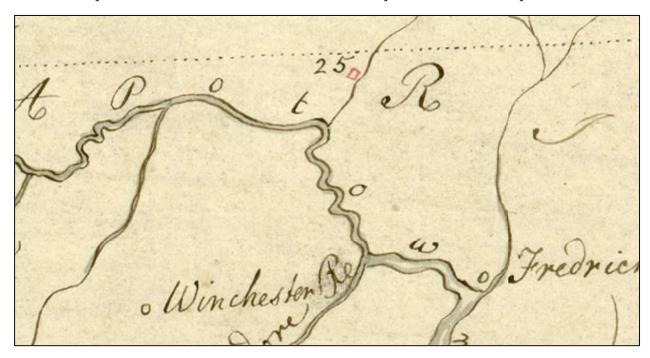


Figure #7: Detail, *Sketch of the Provinces*, showing the location of fortification #25, keyed as 'a small fort built by Maryland.' James A. Burt, 1874.

By late August of 1755, Governor Sharpe also mentions that he had placed a garrison of 20 men on the western frontier. "...Beside Capt Dagworthys Company (that followed the Genl) which is now at Fort Cumberland, we have a Command of 20 on our Frontiers which are supported by a subscription." In early September, Sharpe clarified that this small garrison was indeed stationed at Fort Tonoloway. "...We have beside them a Command of about 20 at a small Fort on Tonallaway Creek for the Protection and Satisfaction of the distant Inhabitants, which as well as the [Maryland] Company is supported out of the Subscription Fund." 114 Additional correspondence suggests that the garrison at Fort Tonoloway reflected a total of 15 – 20 men. 115

Governor Horatio Sharpe to Governor William Shirley, August 29, 1755; Governor Horatio Sharpe to Governor Robert Dinwiddie, September 2, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 273, 279. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>115</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecelius Calvert, September 15, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 287. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888); See also Maryland Gazette, October 9, 1755, p3. Based on an analysis of equipment sent to and received by Stoddert in July of 1755, Robert Ambrose notes that the garrison at Fort Tonoloway likely included Stoddert, two sergeants, and two drummers, leaving a total of 15 soldiers. This may account for the references to both 15 and 20 men stationed at Fort Tonoloway. See Robert Ambrose, Stoddert's Fort. Maryland's Defender in the Tonoloways, p5. (Big Pool, Maryland: Fort Frederick State Park, January 2016).

The small garrison of 15 – 20 men at Fort Tonoloway was likely represented by a portion of the Frederick County or provincial militia, some of the 80 rangers that Governor Sharpe had wanted to raise to protect the western provincial frontier. In charge of the Fort Tonoloway garrison was Lieutenant Thomas Stoddert. Stoddert was born ca. 1712 to James and Elizabeth Stoddert in Charles County, Maryland. Records indicate that Thomas Stoddert had purchased real estate in Frederick County, Maryland and may have been residing there by the late 1740s. Like many of his contemporaries, Stoddert was a planter and slave owner and presumably made his living cultivating tobacco. Stoddert was a planter and slave owner and presumably made his living cultivating tobacco. The July of 1755, Thomas Stoddert was in Annapolis. The July 10, 1755 Maryland Gazette noted that on July 5th Thomas Stoddert "came to Town from Frederick County" with news that many frontier settlers had fled eastward to escape Indian attacks. It is possible that during his stay in Annapolis, Stoddert may have met with Governor Sharpe, or his representative, to convey frontier news and/or request assistance. It is also possible that Stoddert may have accompanied Governor Sharpe and his entourage back to Frederick County.

In addition to garrisoning the new fortification at Tonoloway, Sharpe also provisioned it. Records document that on July 22, 1755 Stoddert received a shipment that included "half a Barrell of Gunpowder, Seventy Seven weight of Lead, two Cags of Musquet Ball, two Halberts, two Drums and eight Kanteens." Ranger Robert Ambrose has suggested that the type and quantity of this shipment fits well with the primary source documents that place between 15 and 20 men in the Tonoloway garrison. He states that the two halberds (a spiked axe on a long pole) were likely for two sergeants who served under Stoddert. The two drums were also likely for two drummers. According to Ambrose, "Two sergeants conform to military norms of the British Army. A British squad of inspection was between 6 to 8 men under the command of a sergeant." The two sergeants would each command 5 men, and along with two drummers and Lieutenant Stoddert, would compose the ranging company of 20 men.<sup>119</sup>

Primary source descriptions of Fort Tonoloway are vague on what was built and how it may have appeared. Several descriptions refer to it as possessing a palisade or stockade. Sharpe himself described the Tonoloway fortification as a 'stoccado fort.' Stockades of the French and Indian War period erected by provincial governments in remote frontier locations were generally constructed of vertical

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecelius Calvert, September 15, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 287. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888). Hence the alternate name for Fort Tonoloway, Stoddert's Fort.

<sup>117</sup> Early Colonial Settlers of Southern Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck Colonies. Thomas Stoddert, Person ID 1001687. Electronic resource: https://colonial-settlers-md-va.us/getperson.php?personID=1001687&tree=Tree1. Accessed September 25, 2019; Grace L. Tracey, Pioneers of Old Monocacy: The Early Settlement of Frederick County, Maryland, 1721-1743, pp: 328, 354. (Baltimore, Maryland: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1987).

<sup>119</sup> Account of the Committee Appointed to Inspect the Arms and Ammunition Accounts Relating Thereto, March 15th. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp. 335-336. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888). The account notes that the shipment was "sent to Frederick for Lieutenant Stoddert, Delivered 22d July 1755." It is assumed that 'Frederick' means Frederick County, possibly the site of Fort Tonoloway, and not 'Frederick Town' which was the original name of the town of Frederick, Maryland; Ambrose, Stoddert's Fort, p5. Ambrose also notes that quantity of ammunition, e.g. lead and musquet balls, would indicate that the 20 men would have been well-armed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecelius Calvert, September 15, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp: 287. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

logs of a height to make it insurmountable. The stockade also likely included loop holes or slots for firing, platforms in various locations, as well as two to four bastions at the fort corners. The stoccado fort constructed at Tonoloway would likely have been large enough to encompass at least one or two structures, possibly a barracks for sheltering the men, and also possibly a secondary structure for storing supplies and munitions. Because the primary purpose of Fort Tonoloway, as stated by Governor Horatio Sharpe on numerous occasions, was to provide shelter for settlers in times of emergency, the fortification would also have had to be large enough to provide an interior space where numerous families could stay for a prolonged period. Given these criteria, and if other provincial forts constructed during the same period are any guide, Fort Tonoloway may have had stockade walls measuring a minimum of 100 feet in length and enclosing an area no smaller than 10,000 square feet.

Only two short months after its erection, Fort Tonoloway played a critical role as a place of refuge for many families living in its vicinity. In late September of 1755, a large party of Delaware Indians raided the Fort Cumberland area killing and carrying off many settlers. In a message sent eastward, it was said that the same Indian raiding party had passed by Col. Cresap's residence at Old Town. In an attempt to flee before the oncoming Indians, many settlers ran to Fort Tonoloway for shelter.

...Another Person, who left Stoddert's Fort last Sunday, acquaints us, that the Inhabitants of that Part of the Country were in the greatest Consternation; that near 80 Persons were fled to said Fort for Protection, and many more gone off in the greatest Confusion to Pennsylvania; This, it seems, has been occasioned by an Express that was sent Lieutenant Stoddert and the Neighbourhood, by Col. Cresap, advising them, that a Party of 17 Indians had passed by his House, and had cut off some People, who dwelt on the Town-Creek, which is a few Miles on this Side Col. Cresap's: .... It is said that Mr. Stoddert, who has a Command of 15 Men, invited a few of the Neighborhood to join him and go in Quest of the Enemy, but they would not be persuaded; whereupon he applied himself to Major Prather for a Detachment of the Militia either to go with a Party of his Men in Pursuit of the Savages, or garrison his Fort, while he made an Excursion. 122

In response, Governor Sharpe ordered county militias to organize and proceed westward "to Act offensively against the Enemy that has done such Mischief and Still infests our Borders." Several small "well equipped" companies composed of volunteers from Prince George's County were quickly organized and sent westward "to assist our Friends in Frederick." It is not known if the Indians attacked Fort Tonoloway or just moved through the vicinity.

A second round of raids in the vicinity of the Tonoloway settlement occurred again in late January to late February of 1756. Another large party of Indians had passed through the Pennsylvania and Maryland area killing settlers and causing many families to flee to Fort Tonoloway, as well as Coombs Fort, a neighboring fortified residence just north of the Mason-Dixon line in the vicinity of what is

Two to four bastions, projecting portions of the stockade, at the fort corners would have allowed defenders to fire along the line of the stockade, thereby preventing the likelihood of an enemy breech.

<sup>122</sup> Maryland Gazette, October 9, 1755, p3.

Order of Governor Horatio Sharpe, October 18, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1753-1761, pp. 82-83. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1911).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Maryland Gazette, October 16, 1755, p3; October 23, 1755, p3; November 6, 1755, p3.

now Warfordsburg, Pennsylvania. A report from Isaac Baker, a commissioned officer in the Maryland militia, dated February 29, 1756, describes the devastation and violence he and his small force encountered.

...On our March to Tonaloways: About 5 miles on this Side [east] of Stoddert's Forte we found John Myers's House in Flames, and 9 or 10 Head of large Cattle killed, besides Calves, and several Horse-kind and Sheep. About 3 Miles and a half further up the road we found a Man (one Hynes) killed and scalped, with one Arm cut off, and several Arrows sticking in him; we could not bury him, having no Tools with us for that Purpose. Half a Mile further (within a Mile of Stoddert's Fort) we found Ralph Matson's House burnt down, and several Sheep and Hogs killed. When we came to Stoddert's Fort, we found them all under Arms, expecting every Minute to be attacked: From thence we went to Combes's Fort, where we found a young Man, about 22 Years of Age, killed and scalped; there were only four Men in this Fort, two of which were unable to bear Arms, but upwards of forty Women and Children, who were in a very poor Situation, being afraid to go out of the Fort, even for a Drink of Water; the House catch'd Fire, during the Time the Indians were surrounding the Fort, and would have burnt down, but luckily there was some soap-suds in the House, by which they extinguish'd it. ... we returned to Combes's and buried the young Man, and left ten of our Men here to assist them to secure their Grain, which as soon as they have done, they purpose to leave that Fort, and go to Stoddert's. From hence we went to Stoddert's Fort where we laid on Friday Night; and Yesterday, on our Way down here, we buried the Man we left on the Road<sup>125</sup> [Emphasis added].

Baker's report again demonstrates that Fort Tonoloway served its primary purpose well: that of a defensible shelter for neighboring families. During the February 1756 Indian incursion, Fort Tonoloway may have sheltered upwards of 100 individuals, men, women and children, for a temporary period. According to Baker, the fortification was well-armed and expectant of additional Indian attacks.

The Maryland Gazette faithfully recorded the violence that motivated most settlers to flee eastward. "Our accounts from the westward are truly alarming. All the slaughters, scalpings, burnings, and every other barbarity and mischief that the mongrel French, Indians, and their chieftain, the devil, can invent are often perpetrated there and approach us nigher and nigher. By a person come to town this day from Frederick County, we are told, that last Sunday Two Boys near Lawrence Wilson's, in that County, were kill'd and scalp'd; and a son of one Mr. Lynn was found dead and scalp'd; himself and three more of his Family missing. At the little Cove, all the houses were Burnt last Week. The house of Ralph Matson, about Half a Mile from Stoddert's Fort, was burnt on Tuesday last Week; some Sheep which were in a Pen near the House, the Indians flung in the Fire alive, others they kill'd, and some they scalp'd." 126

An undated [March of] 1756 letter by Robert Lloyd, then a representative of the Lower House, also mentions the February violence in the Tonoloways and passes on information that the Indians had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Maryland Gazette, March 11, 1756, p3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Maryland Gazette, March 4, 1756, p3.

likely advanced to Fort Tonoloway. "By a messenger that came to Town on Fryday night tis reported that the Indians had retreated from Combs's fort and had laid siege to Stodderts." 127

Fort Tonoloway, and Stoddert's garrison stationed there, continued to be actively supported by the Maryland government through the Spring of 1756. Records document that Stoddert was provided pay and provisions through May 16, 1756. However by early May of 1756, additional correspondence suggests that the Maryland General Assembly was contemplating abandoning Fort Tonoloway. The relevancy of Fort Tonoloway emerged as debate began on where to build a new, stronger fortification in Maryland and how it would fit into the broader strategic plans for the region.

Correspondence of George Washington's suggests that even the commander of the Virginia forces was aware of the Maryland debate and the implications for the Tonoloway fortification. In a May 8, 1756 letter to Captain Robert Stewart, Washington noted that "Stoddarts Fort" was being used to store flour, and possibly other provisions and ordered the Virginia captain to ensure that it was secure. Two days later Washington again wrote Stewart this time acknowledging that Fort Tonoloway might be destroyed. "...If Stoddarts Fort is to be burnt; I would have you send a pretty strong Guard to bring off the Flour, as soon as you can." The burning or destruction of a fortification, particularly structures and a stockade constructed of logs, was typical prior to abandonment. Both the French and the English adopted the practice throughout the colonial period to prohibit a fortification from falling into the enemy's hands. Washington's letters clearly point to the fact that in early May of 1756 Fort Tonoloway was storing victuals, possibly belonging to the Virginia Regiment. However, even if it was used to store victuals, those supplies had to be protected, implying that some level of garrison was still maintained there.<sup>129</sup>

By late August of 1756, Governor Horatio Sharpe confirmed the destruction of Fort Tonoloway. In a letter to Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, Sharpe conveyed that he was forced to abandon Fort Tonoloway because it had outlived its usefulness. "...The latter [Fort Shirley, Pennsylvania] about 20 miles Eastward of Ray's Town & 25 North of one I had built near Potowmack on Tonallaway Creek, which our Assembly by the Act they made last Session for granting a Supply for the Defense of this Province obliged me to abandon & destroy because it was five or six miles beyond our present Settlements [Conococheague] [Emphasis Added]." 130

Very little primary source documentation can be found explaining why Fort Tonoloway was abandoned. However according to Governor Sharpe, it was directly tied to the approval of funding for the defense of the province, a L 40,000 Supply Bill that ultimately passed both houses of the General Assembly on May 14, 1756. The bill called for the construction of a new fortification and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Robert Lloyd to Unknown Recipient, [March], 1756. MS #2018. H. Furlong Baldwin Library, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Accounts for Pay, pp. 350, 674. J. Hall Pleasants, ed., Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, February 1755 – October 1756. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1935).

The George Washington to Captain Robert Stewart, May 8, 1756; George Washington to Captain Robert Stewart, May 10, 1756. John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799, Vol. 1, 1745-1756, pp. 364, 366-367. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Governor Robert Dinwiddie, August 23, 1756. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp. 468. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888). See also Governor Robert Dinwiddie to Governor Horatio Sharpe, September 2, 1756. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp. 477. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

several block houses at or west of the North Mountain and for its garrison with 200 men. One can only surmise that the expense of pay and provision for the garrison at Fort Tonoloway was deemed by the General Assembly as being redundant, and not funded in the approved bill. The position of the General Assembly, that Fort Tonoloway had to go, is understandable particularly in the context of the fact that few permanent settlers were left in the vicinity of the Tonoloways after the devastating Indian raids of February and March 1756. The precise date for the abandonment of Fort Tonoloway is not known, but it likely occurred sometime after May 16, 1756, perhaps in the weeks following the passage of the May 14, 1756 Supply Bill.

Indian raids in settler communities along drainages north of the Potomac River in Pennsylvania and Maryland continued into the later Summer of 1756. In late August a Maryland militia found evidence for a large group of Indians travelling in the Tonoloway Creek and Licking Creek vicinity that had previously raided the Conococheague settlement. In an account of the militia tracking the Indian party, Fort Tonoloway was spoken of in the past tense. "That first Night we lay near Tonalloway, where Stoddert's Fort was, and the next Morning went to Combs's Plantation [Emphasis Added]." 131

Very little is known about the three other fortifications ordered to be constructed by Governor Horatio Sharpe "under the North Mountain" during his trip west to Frederick County, Maryland in July of 1755. 132 Primary source documents dating from late 1755 to early 1756 do not mention these three fortifications, where they were located, or describe their purpose or appearance in any way. It is not until the late Summer of 1756, a year after first mentioning he ordered their construction, when Sharpe generally describes them. In a September 25, 1756 report to the Lower House on the status of Fort Frederick, Sharpe also noted "there are several Block Houses or Stoccado Forts built on and near the North Mountain, particularly on the Plantations of Evan Shelby, Isaac Baker, Allen Killough, and Thomas Mills. They were raised before I went to the Frontiers. Neither can I give you the Dimensions or a particular Description of them." Sharpe's description of the North Mountain forts suggests that they were fortified residences located in or near settler communities.

Residential fortifications, or private forts, were constructed throughout the Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia western frontiers during the course of the French and Indian War. Generally built out of necessity, and explicitly for the safety and protection of their owners and neighbors, these private forts are not well-documented and therefore dating their construction and describing their appearance is difficult. Like a provincial fort, a fortified residence was constructed out of materials at hand, generally logs, and less frequently stone. They consisted of one or more residential and/or agricultural structures that had been strengthened with a variety of features such as shutters and loopholes and were generally surrounded by a modest wooden stockade for defense. In this sense their size and form resembled a small provincial fort.<sup>134</sup> Unlike provincial forts however, private fortifications were not strategically

Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecelius Calvert, August 11, 1755. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757, pp. 262. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Maryland Gazette, September 2, 1756, p3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Report to the Lower House, September 25, 1756, pp: 615. J. Hall Pleasants, ed., Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1755-1756. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1935). Even though he ordered three fortification to be built 'under the North Mountain' in August of 1755, Sharpe lists four small fortifications in the same location in September of 1756.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Col. Cresap, residing at Old Town in extreme western Frederick County, had fortified his residence in May of 1755. A description of Cresap's fort by one of the officers accompanying Braddock to Fort du Quesne the small size and informal nature of private forts. "He has built a little fort around his house and is resolved to keep his ground."

located for defense, but were adaptations to the conditions of existing settler homesteads, many of which pre-dated the French and Indian War. Like many provincial forts, the primary purpose of private forts was to provide shelter and protection in times of emergency. Many private forts also came to serve as garrisons for small ranging militia forces.

Although precise dates of construction are not known, the fortifications erected by Evan Shelby, Isaac Baker, Allen Killough and Thomas Mills were likely built between August 1755 when Governor Sharpe returned from his trip west, and February of 1756 when Isaac Baker, Evan Shelby were first commissioned as militia officers tasked with ranging the frontier. Indeed, in September of 1756 Sharpe noted that these fortifications were built "before I went to the Frontiers," presumed to directly imply his June of 1756 trip to Frederick County to supervise the construction of Fort Frederick. Provincial records indicate that Baker and Shelby first started receiving payments for troops and provisions as commissioned officers in early February and mid-March of 1756 respectively. Isaac Baker received a shipment of arms and ammunition in early February of 1756, and Thomas Mills received a shipment of ammunition "for the Back parts of Frederick" in October of 1755. Captain Alexander Beall and Major Prather were also recorded as heading small militia forces and receiving pay and provisions from mid-March of 1756. 1756.

Although by early 1756 the quantity of both provincial and private forts was growing in the western frontier of Maryland, as a military officer Governor Sharpe had a dim view of their effectiveness and prospect. In February of 1756 he wrote, "there are no works in this Province that deserve the name of Fortifications; just behind and among our most western Settlements are some small Stoccado or Palisadoe Forts to which the Inhabitants may carry their wives & Children for Protection in Case of Alarms, while themselves unite & endeavor to prevent any small Parties of Indians making incursions & destroying their stock & Habitations; besides these there is one larger tho in my Opinion not much more capable of Defence, on potowmack about 46 miles beyond our Settlement, it has been distinguished by the Appellation of Fort Cumberland & is at present garrisoned by 400 men from Virga & this Govt." 137

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Report to the Lower House, September 25, 1756, pp: 615. J. Hall Pleasants, ed., Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1755-1756. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1935). Governor Sharpe made numerous trips west during his tenure as Governor of the Maryland Colony. Because it is impossible to guess which trip Governor Sharpe was referring to, it is assumed to have been his most recent, taken in June of 1756.

to the Lower House, April 1, 1756; Accounts of Governor Sharpe, February – May 1756, pp. 336, 350, 674. Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1755 – 1756. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1935). In October of 1757, Isaac Baker signed an acknowledgement stating that he had received L 20 from Governor Sharpe as a reward "for fortifying a hill" near his home "for the Security and Use of the Neighborhood." It is not clear from this source if this refers to Baker's fort, believed to have been built between August 1755 – February 1756, or an expansion of his existing fort or a new, separate enclosure in the same location. Generally land owners were not paid for any defensive works they erected on their own private property unless it was requested by the Governor or General Assembly. The date of the signed acknowledgement, October 22, 1757 came immediately following the July 1757 Indian raids on the Maryland Conococheague settlements suggesting that perhaps Governor Sharpe ordered an expansion to the existing Baker's fort because of this. See Calendar of Maryland State Papers No. 5 – Executive Miscellanea., October 22, 1757, pp. 8. (Annapolis, Maryland: Hall of Records Commission No. 11, 1958), and Joseph Chapline to Governor Horatio Sharpe, July 20, 1757, pp. 335-341. J. Hall Pleasants, ed., Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1757-1758. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1938).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to the Lords of Trade, February 8, 1756, pp: 353. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

# <u>Frontier Contraction, the Construction of Fort Frederick, and Continued French and Indian Raids,</u> 1756 - 1757

By the Summer of 1756, settlers fleeing to points eastward had left the western frontier nearly abandoned. In doing so, the western frontier itself was redefined. From mid-1756 onwards it was commonly accepted that the western most settlements were considered to be those on the Conococheague drainage, located in the Cumberland Valley of Maryland. In a May 1756 letter to Cecelius Calvert, Governor Sharpe acknowledged that "if we do nothing for the protection of the Frontiers God knows what will be the Consequence. Conegochiegh [Conococheague] is already our most western settlement." George Washington, writing to Virginia Governor Dinwiddie in early September of 1756, described a mass exodus. "The frontiers of Maryland are abandoned for many miles below the Blue Ridge, as low as Frederick Town, through which place I am credibly informed no less than 350 wagons, transporting the affrighted families, passed in the space of three days. ...[Conococheague] is now more than any the theater of bloodshed and cruelty." 139

As previously noted, a Supply Bill passed by the Maryland General Assembly on May 14, 1756 allocated L 11,000 for the construction and garrisoning of a new fortification. Debate on the best location for this fortification between the Upper House and Governor Sharpe on the one hand, and the Lower House on the other hand, was strenuous. In a letter to the British Secretary of War Henry Fox, Sharpe stated, "...they in tend to appropriate part of the Money for building a Fort on the Frontiers of this Province & garrisoning it with 200 men, but as the Fort is to be 60 Miles on this Side Fort Cumberland & the Men to be all disbanded next Winter, I am afraid the Money will be expended without contributing much to the Security of the Inhabitants of this Province or promoting the Common Cause. ... I have recommended the building a strong Fort on an Eminence at the conflux of the North & South Branches of the Potowmack [near OldTown]." In the end, the Lower House won insisting that it be constructed east of the North Mountains. "... We are informed, that the most commodious Part of the Frontier, for constructing a Fort and Block Houses for the Defence thereof, is on or near the North Mountain, and not beyond it."

Shortly after the passage of the Supply Bill, on May 31, 1756 Governor Horatio Sharpe headed west to the North Mountains to select a site for and to oversee the construction of a new fortification in this location. As reported by the Maryland Gazette, "his Excellency our Governor, accompanied by some Gentlemen of this City, set out for the North Mountain, where, we hear, he intends to remain some Time, to have a Fort constructed, and to put the Frontiers in a better Posture of Defence." The fortification, soon to become known as Fort Frederick, was begun in mid-June. "By a Gentleman

143 Maryland Gazette, June 3, 1756, p3.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecelius Calvert, May 5, 1756, pp. 408. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> George Washington to Governor Robert Dinwiddie, September 8, 1756, pp. 464. John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Writings Of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799. Vol. 1, 1745-1756. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Board of Trade, June 2, 1756, pp. 435. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

Governor Horatio Sharpe to Henry Fox, May 3, 1756, pp. 404. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Lower House to Governor Horatio Sharpe, April 30, 1756, pp. 399. J. Hall Pleasants, ed., Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1755-1756. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1935).

who is just returned from the North Mountain, we are informed, ...that the Men raised for that Service have begun a Fort, near the Plantation on which one Johnson lately dwelt." <sup>144</sup>

Upon his return to Annapolis on August 15, 1756, Governor Sharpe described the status of his efforts at Fort Frederick.

...As I apprehended that the French would e'er long teach their Indian Allies to approach & set fire to our Stoccado or Wooden Forts I thought proper to build Fort Frederick of stone, which step I believe even our Assembly will now approve of tho I hear some of them sometime since intimated to their constituents that a Stoccado would have been sufficient & that to build a fort with Stone would put the Country to a great & unnecessary Expence, but whatever their Sentiments may be with respect to that matter I am convinced that I have done the best & that my Conduct therein will be approved of by any Soldier & by every impartial person. The Fort is not finished but the Garrison are well covered & will with little Assistance compleat it at their leisure. Our Barracks are made for the Reception & Accommodation of 200 Men but on Occasion there will be room for twice that number. It is situated on the North Mountain near Potowmack River about 14 miles beyond Conegochiegh [Conococheague] & four on this Side of Licking Creek.<sup>145</sup>

According to Governor Sharpe, the generally stated purpose of Fort Frederick was "for the better Security of the Inhabitants, ...garrisoned with 200 Men ...for that Service." 146 Unlike earlier smaller fortifications ordered to be constructed, Fort Frederick was the largest fortification built for the defense of Maryland to date and its size, materials, and garrison reflected its desperate defensive function of 'holding the line.' While Fort Frederick could and likely did shelter local inhabitants, its primary purpose was to serve as a bastion of defense housing numerous militia companies, as a base for ranging troops protecting the western frontier, and ultimately as a supply base, staging post and point of departure for Maryland and British troops.

Indian raids continued in Maryland into the Summer of 1756, only this time the contraction of the frontier allowed them to penetrate into the Cumberland Valley. In late July, the Maryland Gazette reported that Indians attacked and killed residents living near the mouth of the Conococheague. In late August, the Indians returned again capturing Fort Granville and the troops stationed there in Pennsylvania, then "they made a Descent into this Province & cut off some People that lived more than 12 Miles on this Side [east] our Fort [Frederick]. This accident so terrified our Back Inhabitants that Hundreds of them have abandoned their plantations & one of our most flourishing German Settlements is on the Brink of being entirely broke up." Raids resumed again in very late 1756. In December of that year, the Maryland Gazette reported "About three weeks ago a Dutchman and

<sup>145</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Cecelius Calvert, August 21, 1756, pp. 465. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>144</sup> Maryland Gazette, June 17, 1756, p3.

Governor Horatio Sharpe to Lord Loudoun, May 31, 1756, pp. 432. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).
 Maryland Gazette, July 29, 1756, p3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to John Sharpe, September 15, 1756, pp. 485. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888); Maryland Gazette, August 26, 1756, p3.

Woman were found scalped in the Road, between Isaac Baker's and the Temporary Line: and last Friday Se'nnight one William Gilliland was shot through the Head and scalped by an Indian, who had concealed himself near the Road, about a Mile and a half on this Side Fort Frederick." Attacks continued within sight of and in the area surrounding Fort Frederick through the first half of 1757 demonstrating the extent of the penetration of French & Indian raiding parties. 150

Due to the continued attacks in the Cumberland Valley, and largely in response to reports that a large party of French and Indian raiders were seen heading east from the Fort Necessity area, Governor Sharpe and a contingent of armed men left Annapolis for Fort Frederick. "Next Day [June 18, 1757] his Excellency, with some Gentlemen of this Place, set out for Frederick County. On Monday Morning a number of young Gentlemen of this Place, well Arm'd, went Volunteers from hence, to join what other Force is or may be raised for our immediate Defence.<sup>151</sup> Sharpe returned to Annapolis on June 24, 1757 following his reinforcement of troops stationed at Fort Frederick.<sup>152</sup>

The Indian attacks were particularly bad in the vicinity of the Maryland Conococheague settlement. Joseph Chapline, a commissioned militia officer, was ordered by Governor Horatio Sharpe in April of 1757 to take his troops to Baker's fort and range in the defense of the frontier. Chapline's correspondence with and reports to Governor Sharpe over the course of three months informed him of the plight of the settlers among whom he was living, their plea for military assistance, and his fear that the settlement would be lost in the face of continued Indian raids. Chapline and his group of 60 "mostly good woodsmen" arrived at Baker's fort in the Conococheague settlement in early May of 1757. He noted that while "the people were encouraged to provide, to sow and plant Corn," that news and reports from points west caused great alarm. "We are in Hopes that we shall keep the Settlement from moving, as we shall use all the Care and Diligence we can to deter the Enemy from breaking in on that Quarter." By early June of 1757 Indians were reported in the Great Cove vicinity of Tonoloway Creek in Pennsylvania and by mid-July the Conococheague settlement had experienced numerous attacks many of which were accompanied by loss of life and property. In desperation Chapline wrote on July 20, 1757,

in Behalf of, our Settlement, I beg Leave to acquaint your Excellence, that from the several Murders committed amongst us, and other Mischief by the Indians, within these Ten Days past, is like to break us up, and certainly will, except some Assistance can be had speedily. ... There is above Two Thirds of the Inhabitants, between Conococheague and South Mountain, have slew into Heaps; many of which are removing quite away, and the rest will I expect soon, if there is no Notice taken of them by your Excellency. It is with Concern that I repeat it again, but I am very sure that if we have no Relief at the Return of this Messenger, the greater Part of the People will leave the Settlement, which if they do, what few of us that would willingly stay, will not be able.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> Maryland Gazette, December 23, 1756, p3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> Maryland Gazette, March 24, 1757, p3; April 21, 1757, p3; June 16, 1757, p3; June 23, 1757, p2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Maryland Gazette, June 23, 1757, p2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> Maryland Gazette, June 30, 1757, p3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Correspondence of Joseph Chapline at Fort Baker, Maryland, pp: 335-341. J. Hall Pleasants, ed., Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1757-1758. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1938).

In a letter to Lord Baltimore in mid-September 1756, Governor Horatio Sharpe described the then bleak outlook for the western frontier and the current defensive arrangements of the Province in Frederick County. "The Flight of the Pensilvanians from the Western Parts of that Province has left our Northern Frontier beyond Monaccasy much exposed, the Enemy has now free Access to us thro Pensa & if some Measures are not speedily taken for the Defence of that Colony neither Fort Frederick nor its Garrison can be of much Service, for our People will follow the Pensilvanian's Example, a Passion very different from true Patriotism or Courage seeming to have entire Possession of their Souls. Beside the Garrison of Fort Frederick we have at present 200 men from the Militia of Baltimore & Prince Georges Counties distributed on this Side that Fort & about Conegochiegh [Concococheague], yet that Settlement is I am advised almost broke up & several hundred Persons have lately retreated thence & retired to the more populous part of the County." In a comment that foreshadowed events of 1758, Sharpe concluded his letter to Lord Baltimore by stating that the colonies individual efforts at building fortifications and general defense were "in vain" and recommended that another "united Exertion of ...strength" be undertaken soon. "Let a Body of Men be marched to the Westward & Another Expedition be undertaken by these Colonies before the Enemy have farther strengthened themselves on the Ohio." 154

### The Forbes Expedition, the Fall of French Canada, and the Treaty of Paris, 1758-1763.

In late June of 1757, William Pitt was appointed the British Secretary of State in charge of military strategy in North America. Convinced he could reverse the British colonies' fortune, Pitt devised a broader regional approach to defeating the French including a second attempt at capturing Fort du Quesne. In December of 1757 Pitt appointed General John Forbes, a Scottish soldier, and tasked him with taking Fort du Quesne.

General John Forbes arrived in America in April of 1758. After the bulk of his Scottish Highland troops arrived in June, Forbes and his near 3,000 strong regular army and near 5,000 provincial militia from Pennsylvania and Virginia set out for Fort du Quesne from Philadelphia. Instead of following Braddock's route to the Ohio Valley, Forbes decided on a shorter route, but one which had no adequate road. To remedy this, provincial governments of Pennsylvania and Maryland were tasked with road construction through their colonies. While the majority of Forbes' troops traveled through Pennsylvania, a contingent of British supplies and a guard of 100 men under Lieutenant Jocelyn and three hundred men from the 'Lower Counties' under Major Wells was sent via Maryland. 155 To accommodate them, and the transport of numerous wagon loads of supplies, Governor Sharpe ordered Captain Shelby to survey a route from Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland and estimate its difficulty and expense. Shelby's June 25, 1758 report recommended a path along the north side of the Potomac through what would become Hancock, Maryland. "I have reconnoitered the Country that lies between this Place & Fort Cumberland & am of opinion that a good Road might be made between these two Forts by the following Rout, ... from the Foot of Sidling Hill to the Mouth of little Tonalloway Run the Distance is 7 miles over a gravelly Soil, I believe 100 men might make it a good Road in 2 Days, the Distance from little Tonalloway Run to Tonalloway Creek is two miles, there is

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to Lord Baltimore, September 13, 1756, pp. 480. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> John St. Clair to Governor Horatio Sharpe, June 27, 1758, pp. 213. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, 1757 – 1761. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1890).

already an old Waggon Road but it will require Widening & some Digging I suppose a hundred men would finish it in one Day." Governor Sharpe ordered the same road to be opened (widened) on June 28, 1758. "I ordered Capt. Alex Beall with our Troops on Monday last to Throw a Bridge over Licking Creek & by a Report made me this Day I expect all the Piers of it will be finished to morrow Evening, the next Day Capt. Joceline with 30 men of the Royal Americans will relieve Capt. Beall & I suppose the Bridge will be finished next Saturday. After that Capt. Joceline will proceed to open a Road between this Place [Fort Frederick] & the Foot of Sidling Hill." The new road, or at least the widening of an existing wagon road in most locations, passing by the former site of Fort Tonoloway, was completed by mid-July.

The widened road through Maryland along the north side of the Potomac became a strategic corridor in Britain's offensive push against the French (Figure #8). In responding to an inquiry regarding routes and distances Col. Henry Bouquet, an officer in the British army, noted the road cleared by the Maryland troops and provided a table of distances between Fort Cumberland and Fort Frederick. The table of distances recorded that from Sideling Creek to Stoddert's Fort was 12 miles, and that from Stoddert's Fort to Fort Frederick was another 12 miles. 157



Figure #8: Detail, A Map of Pennsylvania Exhibiting not only the Improved Parts of that Province, but also its Extensive Frontiers, showing the course of the Potomac River between Fort Cumberland (left) and Conococheague Creek at Watkins Ferry (right). Note road following north side of Potomac River likely the road improved by Governor Horatio Sharpe as requested by John St. Clair for General John Forbes in 1758.

Robert Sayer and J. Bennett, 1775.

Elsewhere along the front of conflict British forces, led by Lieutenant Colonel John Bradstreet, captured and destroyed Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario in August of 1758. Fort Frontenac, a former trading post turned French fortification, was an important victory for the British as it controlled supplies sent down the St. Lawrence River to fortify French positions, as well as trading goods exchanged with Indian tribes. This victory was timely for the British because it bolstered their military prestige, throttled French trade with the Indians, as well as led many Indians supported by the French to question their alliance. Two months later, in part led by the efforts of General John Forbes, negotiations at Easton, Pennsylvania with thirteen Native American nations including the Iroquois,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> Captain Shelby to Governor Horatio Sharpe, June 25, 1758, pp: 212; Governor Horatio Sharpe to John St. Clair, June 28, 1758, pp: 214. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, 1757 – 1761. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1890).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> S. K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent, and Autumn L. Leonard, eds., The Papers of Henry Bouquet, Volume II: The Forbes Expedition, pp: 653. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1951). This table of distances is not dated but based on its association with other dated letters is believed to be ca. 1758. If it was produced in 1758, it is not clear why Stoddert's Fort was mentioned as it would have been destroyed, and possibly burnt, two years previous. Perhaps this reflects the fact that the location of the former fortification was still quite well known and still served as a landmark for travelers.

Delaware and Shawnee took place. The treaty coming out of the negotiations at Easton stipulated that the Indians would no longer fight with the French; that significant parts of western Pennsylvania originally ceded by the Iroquois were returned; that a reliable trade would continue; that permanent hunting grounds would be established for Indians in the Ohio Valley; that the Pennsylvania government would continue to deal directly with the Delaware and Shawnee (and not the Iroquois Confederacy); and that no European settlements west of the Allegheny Mountains would be made until future negotiations with Indians were concluded. The defeat of Fort Frontenac and the Treaty of Easton were devastating to the French as previous relationships with their Indian allies disintegrated and they were abandoned as a large English force marched towards Fort du Quesne. 158

Although ill for the majority of his campaign, General Forbes led his forces closer to Fort du Quesne. Realizing their position was untenable in the face of a quantitatively superior opponent, the lack of supplies and Indian allies, on November 24, 1758 the French destroyed and abandoned Fort du Quesne escaping down the Mississippi River. Over the course of the next two years, the British would launch attacks and lay siege to major French fortifications, including Quebec and Montreal, capturing all of formerly French-held territory by the end of 1760. For all intents and purposes the French & Indian war was over. The Treaty of Paris, signed on February 10, 1763, officially ended the conflict. France ceded their control of Canada, the eastern half of French Louisiana, and numerous other territories to the British.

#### Pontiac's War and the Mason-Dixon Line, 1763 - 1767

Following a brief period between 1758 and 1763 where the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia experienced relative peace, by the Spring of 1763 Indian discontent with the socio-economic relationships established with the British came to a head. Led by Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, Indians in the vicinity of what would become Detroit laid siege to a British held fort there. General resentment of British rule soon spread to the Ohio Valley. Indians there took up arms against British outposts, sending raiding parties to the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. Delaware and Shawnee parties again began raiding western Pennsylvania and Maryland in mid-1763 sending families and settlers fleeing eastward. A July of 1763 contribution to the Maryland Gazette noted the despair.

Every day, for some time past, has offered the melancholy scene of poor distressed families driving downwards through this town with their effects, who have deserted their plantations for fear of falling into the cruel hands of our savage enemies, now daily seen in the woods. And never was panic more general or forcible than that of the back inhabitants, whose terrors at this time exceed what followed on the defeat of Gen. Braddock, when the frontiers lay open to the incursions of both French and Indians. While Conococheague settlement stands firm we shall think ourselves in some sort of security from their insults here. But should the inhabitants there give way, you would soon see your city and the lower counties crowded with objects of compassion, as the flight would in that case become general. Numbers of those who have betaken themselves to the fort, as well as those who have actually fled, have entirely lost their

<sup>158</sup> Walter Borneman, The French and Indian War: Deciding the Fate of North America, pp: 143-150, 162-164. (New York: Harper Collins, 2006).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> Matthew Ward, Breaking the Backcountry, pp. 219-226. (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003).

crops, or turned in their own cattle and hogs to devour the produce, in hopes of finding them again in better condition should it hereafter appear safe for them to return. ... We were so sensible of the importance of Conococheague settlement, both as a bulwark and supply to this neighborhood, that on repeated notice of their growing distress Capt. Butler, on Wednesday last, called the town company together, who appeared under arms on the court-house green with great unanimity.<sup>160</sup>

In Virginia, George Washington observed the same effect on the settlers of northern and northwestern Virginia. "Another tempest has arisen upon our frontiers, and the alarm is spread wider than ever. In short, the inhabitants are so apprehensive of danger, that no families remain above [north of] the Conococheague road, and many are gone from below it. The harvests are, in a manner lost, and the distresses of the settlements are evident and manifold." <sup>161</sup>

Although raids into western Pennsylvania continued into the summer of 1764, Pontiac's allied tribes began to negotiate for peace with the British. The Indian raids on colonies western frontiers became less frequent and by the Fall of 1764 ceased altogether.<sup>162</sup>

Beginning in 1763 and lasting four years, surveyors Charles Mason and Jermiah Dixon surveyed the boundary between four colonies, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia in an effort to solve an ongoing boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland. By April of 1765 they began the survey of the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania. In 1767, agreement on the boundary was reached between the two colonies and a map recording their survey was issued the following year (Figure #9).



Figure #9: Detail, A Plan of the West Line or Parallel of Latitude which is the Boundary between the Province of Maryland and Pennsylvania, showing the mountain ranges and drainages on either side of what would become Hancock, Maryland. Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dion, 1768.

Joseph Flint was one of the earlier settlers of what would become the Hancock, Maryland vicinity. Records document that he was present in what was then Frederick County, Maryland, and a witness to the 1753 appraisal and inventory of Charles Polke's estate, suggesting that he was likely a neighbor as well. In November of 1755 Flint patented a 50-acre parcel, located northwest of and adjacent to what would become Fort Tonoloway State Park, called Flint's Chance. Eight years later in September of 1763 Flint resurveyed Flint's Chance, adding an additional 208 acres of what was called 'vacant'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> Maryland Gazette, July 19, 1763, p3. See also Col. Thomas Cresap to Gov. Horatio Sharpe, July 15, 1763. In William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 3 (1761-1771), p104. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1895)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> George Washington to Captain Robert Stewart, August 13, 1763, pp. 402. John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799, Vol. 2, 1757 - 1769. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931)

<sup>162</sup> Matthew Ward, Breaking the Backcountry, pp. 235-250. (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003).

land to the original patent. The 'vacant' land would contain the future site of Fort Tonoloway State Park (Figure #10).<sup>163</sup>

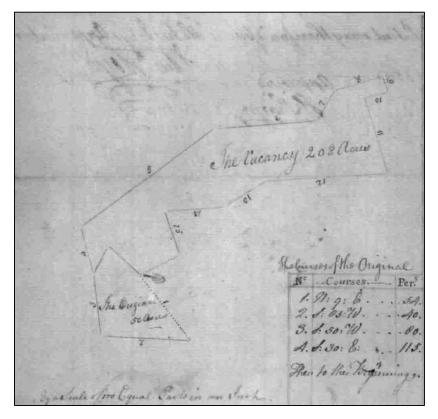


Figure #10: Detail, *Resurvey of Flint's Chance*, showing the vacant lands acquired by Joseph Flint containing the former site of Fort Tonoloway. Patented September 29, 1763.

## The Brent Family, Hancock and Expanded Peace and Prosperity in Western Maryland, 1767 - 1860

Beginning in the mid-1760s, western Maryland experienced an extended period of peace. The lack of armed conflict with the French and their Indian allies finally convinced Marylanders that normal life was again possible. Settlers gradually began to re-occupy Frederick County and points west, re-staking their claims in lands they once held, or establishing claims on unoccupied lands.

Throughout the War for Independence Maryland, like other colonies, actively prepared for and participated in the defense of their country, mustering and supplying militias, and marching to battle in the Continental army. Major armed conflict however avoided Maryland. The same year the Declaration of Independence was signed, Washington County was created out of Frederick County, Maryland.

Shortly following the resurvey and patenting of Delecarlia, a 6,895-acre tract of land owned by John Ridout and surrounding what is now Fort Tonoloway State Park on the north side of the Potomac River, in November of 1775 his half-brother Thomas Ridout was sent "into the back country one hundred and forty miles N.W. from Annapolis, there to settle a Tract of Land on the Banks of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Frederick County Patent #1413 November 1755, Flint's Chance; #3437 September 29, 1763, Resurvey of Flint's Chance.

Potomac, belonging to my brother." Thomas Ridout's description of the Fort Tonoloway State Park area is telling and is based on his experience and observations of the area only 11 years after the cessation of Pontiac's War.

I arrived in one of the most uncultivated and sequestered spots that ever imagination fancied. A few servants preceded me, and others followed. I had to settle a tract of land extending eight miles on the above mentioned river, and to form a Plantation for the more immediate use of my brother. A spot for this purpose had already been fixt on, and a log house had been raised after the custom of this part of the country, but yet wanted a chimney, window, door and a floor. These were effected in a short time, and before the middle winter set in, I was sheltered. My little cottage was on the declivity of a hill surrounded by woods on all sides, excepting the front which looked to a little orchard of about three hundred paces extent, and bounded by the river, wide as nearly as much more. ... I cleared about 100 acres of land, got a stock of Kine, Sheep, Hogs and Poultry made an addition to my first Habitation, and in two years had the pleasure to lodge my Brother and Family during the season of Baths in Virginia. ... Seeing everything flourish ... I became almost reconciled to this way of life. ... I had also a few tenants settled, and was considered a chief of the neighborhood. ... I left the back woods in the 3<sup>rd</sup> September, 1778, went to Annapolis, and there embarked for the West Indies. 164

It is interesting to note that while a survey of the John Ridout lands may designate the location of a fortification<sup>165</sup> (Figure #11), no mention is made of the former site of Fort Tonoloway by Thomas Ridout. Living there for nearly three years, and becoming familiar with the locality, one would assume that he might have mentioned the stronghold if it was still visible in the landscape. This may imply that only 20 years after its construction, there was no visible trace of the former Maryland fortification.

In 1767, Joseph Flint sold the southern portion of his Resurvey of Flint's Chance, a tract encompassing 104 acres and fronting the Potomac River, to George Brent. All of the land sold to Brent had, four years earlier, been characterized as 'vacant.' If Fifteen years later in 1782 George Brent died leaving his real property to his son Thomas C. Brent. It is not clear if George Brent resided on the former Flint lands. If Brent Hads.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Thomas Ridout, Reminiscences of Thomas Ridout. 220-221. Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 22, No. 3, (September 1925): 215-234.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> While there is definitely a rectilinear shape in this location it is unclear what it may represent (e.g. a fortification, a flag, or something else altogether).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> Frederick County Patent V-123, October 3, 1767.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> Brent – Blackwell – Widmeyer Family Cemetery, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, Hancock, Maryland.

<sup>168</sup> George Brent also purchased Hawthorn's Rest from Christian Matson and Edmond Polke in 1779.

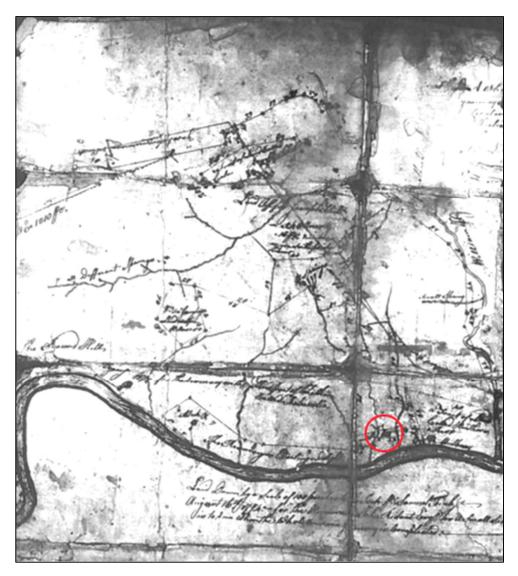


Figure #11: The 1776 survey of lands owned by John Ridout north of the Potomac River showing what is believed to be a symbol for a fortification (circled in red) and located between two drainages.

It is Thomas Brent who is believed to have constructed a late eighteenth-century residence on the Brent parcel overlooking the Potomac River.<sup>169</sup> In March of 1793 Thomas Brent resurveyed his father's land, as well as portions of several adjacent land grants including Hanthorn's Rest, Darling's Delight, Flint's Chance, Caledonia, Force Tract, and Delecarlia. The land contained in the resurvey totaled 426-acres and was renamed Brent's Chance. A patent was later granted for the land in May of 1796 (Figure #12).<sup>170</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Paula Stoner, Brent House. Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, WA-VI-004. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Trust, July 1978). The residence, composed of a brick wing and a frame with brick nogging wing, was located on what is now Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park property. The residence burned in the 1970s.

<sup>170</sup> Washington County Patent #163, Brents Chance, 406-acres. Washington County Courthouse, Hagerstown, Maryland.

Finding Fort Tonoloway Preservation Maryland

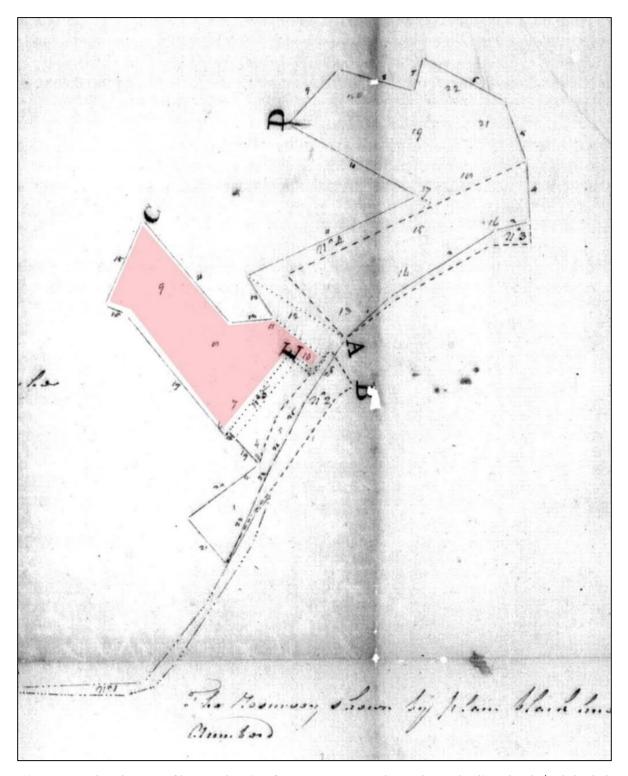


Figure #12: Plat of Brent's Chance, showing George Brent's purchase of Joseph Flint's lands (red shaded area), containing what is now Fort Tonoloway State Park. Thomas C. Brent, 1793.

In 1774, Joseph Hancock Jr.'s petition to establish a ferry at or near the North Bend of the Potomac River was granted by the Maryland General Assembly. Hancock operated the ferry for only a short period of time. By 1789 at the latest, Williams Town was laid out on land owned by William Russell

adjacent to the North Bend of the Potomac River. Lots were sold the same year. For the next two decades the fledgling town was referred to alternately as Hancock or Williams Town, until about 1810 when the latter name disappeared (Figure #13).<sup>171</sup>

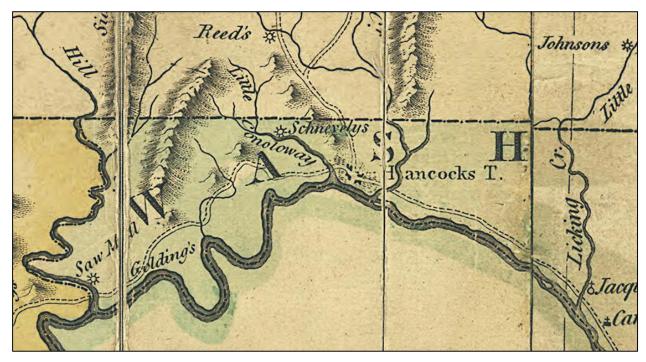


Figure #13: Detail, *Map of the State of Maryland*, showing the North Bend vicinity and 'Hancocks Town' in the late eighteenth century. Dennis Griffith, June 20, 1794.

By the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century the Brent family, like other residents in the North Bend vicinity, was actively engaged in agriculture. The 1793 survey of Brent's Chance, and the patent that issued from that, provided them with prime agricultural flood-plain lands north of and adjacent to the Potomac River. Census records for the first few decades of the nineteenth century document that Thomas C. Brent (Figure #14) was head of a household that contained ten slaves in 1810, 15 in 1820, and 17 in 1830. Brent's agricultural productivity, and his family's wealth, was predicated on the labor of enslaved African Americans.<sup>172</sup> Thomas C. Brent died in 1831 and his real estate passed to his son, George Brent.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> Ralph H. Donnelly, Origin of the Town of Hancock, pp: 1-2. Hancock file. Western Maryland Reading Room, Western Maryland Regional Library, Hagerstown, Maryland. A portion of Thomas C. Brent's Brent's Chance, called Brent's Addition, was annexed to the western end of the town of Hancock in the mid-nineteenth century. Hancock was incorporated as a town by the Maryland General Assembly in 1853.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> Population Statistics, Washington County, Maryland. Third Census of the United States, 1810; Fourth Census of the United States, 1820; Fifth Census of the United States, 1830.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Brent – Blackwell – Widmeyer Family Cemetery, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, Hancock, Maryland.

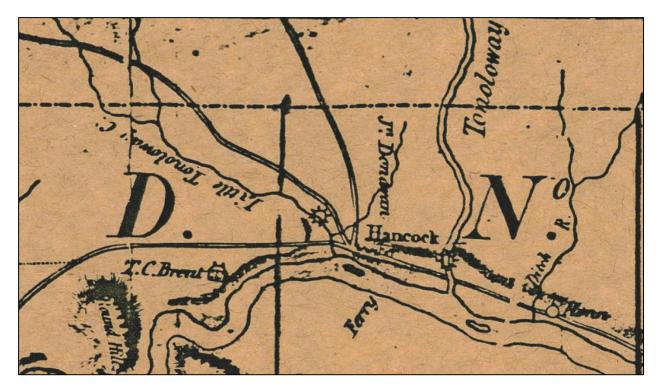


Figure #14: Detail, A Map of Frederick and Washington Counties, State of Maryland, showing Hancock and the Brent residence (left) west of town. Charles Varle, 1808.

As the call to link the Tidewater region of Maryland and Virginia to the Ohio River with a canal began to grow, Virginia and Maryland explored their interests. Initial surveys were undertaken by the Virginia Board of Public Works between 1820-1822, and in 1823 Congress approved funding for an additional survey. The Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company was chartered by the Virginia General Assembly in March of 1825 and granted the privilege of selling subscriptions for the purpose of construction of a canal. Following much debate on the final cost of the project, in May of 1827 Congress passed an Act directing the purchase of 10,000 shares of stock of the company, valued one million dollars. Construction of the canal began the following year in 1828 (Figure #15).<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> Harlan D. Unrau, Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Historic Resource Study, pp: 49-56. (National Park Service, Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park, 2007).



Figure #15: Detail, survey of the route of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal showing Hancock, Maryland and the Brent residence (lower left). Geddes and Roberts, 1827.

During excavation of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal just upriver from Hancock in 1837, argillomagenisian limestone was identified. George Shafer formed a company to produce hydraulic cement in 1838.<sup>175</sup> By 1839, the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal had been completed to Hancock, Maryland stimulating trade and commerce with Baltimore, Maryland and other eastern ports.<sup>176</sup>

George Brent continued to farm the lands associated with his estate (Figure #16). Brent was listed as a head of household owning 6 slaves in 1830; 4 slaves in 1850 and 9 slaves in 1860. In 1850 his occupation was listed as farmer. A decade later the value of his real estate was listed as \$15,000, and the value of his personal estate was listed as \$2,000.177

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> Round Top Cement Mill. C&O Canal Trust. Electronic resource: https://www.canaltrust.org/pyv/round-top-cement-mill/, Accessed August 17, 2019. In 1863 the company would come to be known as the Round Top Hydraulic Cement Company.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> The Chesapeake & Ohio Canal functioned until 1924 when a major flood caused damages too significant to repair. 
<sup>177</sup> Population Statistics, Washington County, Maryland, Fifth Census of the United States, 1830; Sixth Census of the United States, 1840; Seventh Census of the United States, 1850; Eighth Census of the United States, 1860; Slave Schedule, Washington County, Maryland, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850; Eighth Census of the United States, 1860.

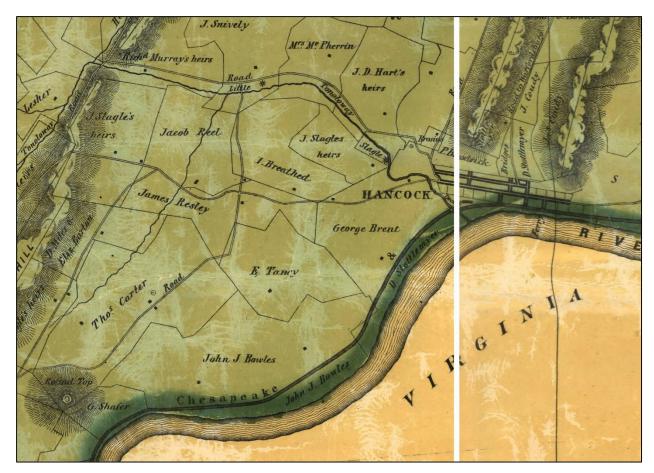


Figure #16: Detail, *A Map of Washington Co., Maryland*, showing Hancock and the George Brent estate and residence overlooking the Potomac River west of it. Thomas Taggart, 1859.

## The Civil War and Late Nineteenth- to Early Twentieth-Century Agriculture and Industry, 1861-1933

Because of its location situated adjacent to the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal and the Potomac River, Hancock, Maryland witnessed significant activity during the Civil War. A Federal garrison under the command of Brigadier General Frederick W. Lander was stationed at Hancock in late 1861 to guard the upper Potomac River. On January 1, 1862, Confederate forces under the command of General Stonewall Jackson advanced north from Winchester, Virginia with the goal of disrupting transportation and communication along the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Arriving opposite Hancock on the Virginia side of the Potomac, Jackson demanded the surrender of the town. Lander refused, and Jackson commenced the shelling of Hancock where his artillery was positioned on Orrick's Hill. Jackson and his Confederate forces retreated to Romney on January 7, 1862.<sup>178</sup> A skirmish west of Hancock, Maryland occurred in early August of 1864 while Confederate forces were moving west along the Baltimore Pike towards Cumberland and encountered

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> Hancock, CWSAC Battle Summary. National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program. Electronic resource: http://www.cr.nps.gov/hps/abpp/battles/md001.htm. Accessed October 1, 2019; Ranger Robert Ambrose, Fort Frederick State Park. Electronic mail communication, October 1, 2019.

a Federal battery.<sup>179</sup> Two period images from 1862 document the Federal occupation of Hancock, one of which shows the town from the vicinity of Fort Tonoloway State Park (Figures #17 and #18).

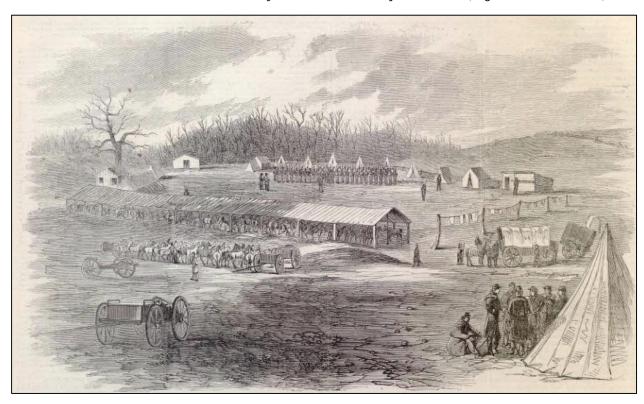


Figure #17: Encampment of Captain Patterson's Cavalry Scouts, Near Hancock, Maryland. Harper's Weekly, February 1, 1862.

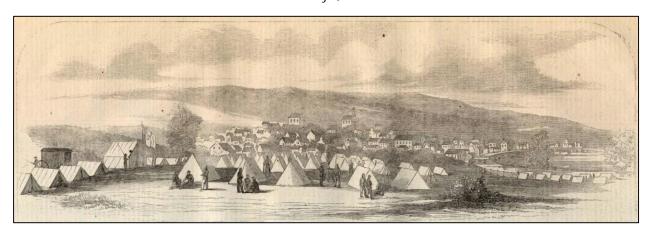


Figure #18: Hancock, Maryland, from the Camp of Abllier's 'Bully Dutchmen' – Ninety-Eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers, as seen looking east towards Hancock from the vicinity of Fort Tonoloway State Park. Harper's Weekly, November 8, 1862.

Following the Civil War, in September of 1869 Jacob S. Widmeyer purchased 144.5 acres from George and Anna Brent (Figure #19). The deed stipulated that the Brent's reserved the "family burying ground

<sup>179</sup> War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I – Volume 37, Part 1 – Reports, Correspondence, pp:188-189. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891).

containing a space of 56 feet square (situate on the hill about 300 yards from the mansion house) with the liberty of free access to the same at any and all times hereafter for the purpose of burying." The parcel contained what would become Fort Tonoloway State Park.

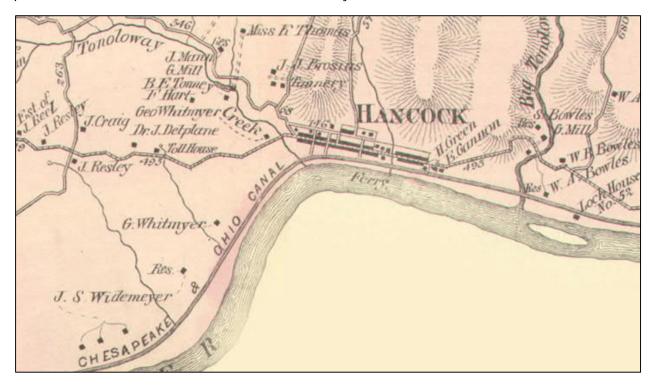


Figure #19: Detail, *Hancock, Dist. No. 5*, showing residence of J. Singleton Whitmire / Widmeyer (lower left). Atlas of Washington County, 1877.

The 1870 census records a Jacob S. Widmeyer as a 37-year old farmer possessing real estate valued at \$3,000 and a personal estate of \$855.00. In addition to his wife and seven children, two farm laborers, Henry Smith and Harry Samuel were also living within their household. The 1880 census continued to report Widmeyer's occupation as farmer.

The first mention of the location of the former Fort Tonoloway in the nineteenth century occurs during the Widmeyer tenure. In his History of Western Maryland, J. Thomas Scharf briefly talks about the history of Hancock noting the presence of

...the old Brent Estate, which was held by the Brent Family for more than a century. On this place is a prominent knoll, upon the summit of which, during the earliest period of settlement, the inhabitants of that section erected a stone block-house, which, in times of border peril, afforded them a refuge against Indians. The property on which the fort was situated, the site of which now is in full view from the Potomac River, is now owned by Singleton Whitmire<sup>183</sup> [Emphasis added].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Washington County Deed Book KK:2-21, September 15, 1869. Washington County Courthouse, Hagerstown, Maryland.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Population Statistics, Washington County, Maryland, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> Population Statistics, Washington County, Maryland, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> J. Thomas Scharf, History of Western Maryland, pp. 1255. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Louis H. Everts, 1882).

Singleton Whitmire, of course, is Jacob Singleton Widmeyer. Scharf's description of the fortification as consisting of a 'stone block house' does not conform to any primary source mid-eighteenth-century descriptions of Fort Tonoloway, or descriptions of other mid-eighteenth-century provincial or private fortifications in Maryland, Virginia or Pennsylvania. It is not clear where Scharf obtained his description of Fort Tonoloway, but it is likely that the fortification was constructed of wood, not stone.<sup>184</sup>

By the late nineteenth century, the area surrounding Hancock began to turn its adjacent hillsides into productive orchards. Initiated by Edmund P. Cohill, apple orchards were planted over hundreds of acres. With the arrival of the West Subdivision of the Western Maryland Railroad in Hancock in 1904, the railroad shipped the apples and other fruits to many national and international locations. By the early twentieth century, many of the family owned orchards were eventually bought out by national companies. Fruit production in the vicinity of Hancock reached its peak in the mid-twentieth century representing thousands of acres of orchards.<sup>185</sup>

Between the early 1890s and the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century, the tract that would come to contain Fort Tonoloway State Park was held by a number of short-term owners including James R. Smith (1893-1906), Brent G. Smith (1906 – 1918), Raymond J. Funkhouser (1918 – 1920) and George R. Moler (1920 – 1925). 186

The Civilian Conservation Corps and the development of Fort Tonoloway State Park, 1933 – 2020

In 1933 the Civilian Conservation Corps was established. Several camps were established in the state of Maryland, each camp containing crews of up to 200 young men. Camp SP-1, located at Fort Frederick, was established in April of 1934 and lasted through July of 1937. Camp SP-1 restored the deteriorated Fort Frederick rebuilding its stone walls, constructing several new buildings, and conducting archaeological investigations.

During the tenure of SP-1 at Fort Frederick, the Maryland Department of Forestry explored the possibility of obtaining a small grant of land from Charles Locher, a resident west of Hancock. In 1925 Locher had purchased a then 115-acre parcel from George R. Moler overlooking the Potomac River. <sup>187</sup> It was this parcel, local residents believed, where Lieutenant John Stoddert constructed Fort Tonoloway in 1755.

Oral history accounts dating to the second quarter of the twentieth century continued to locate the former Fort Tonoloway on the land of Charles Locher. A local publication issued for Hancock's Homecoming celebration in August of 1930 noted that the "fort was built just north-west of the old

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> In a 1992 letter to the Fort Frederick State Park Manager, Marion Golden, Secretary of the Hancock Historical Society recalled that her father, Arthur White, came to Hancock in 1919 when he was 12 years old. He stated that he remembered the remains of Fort Tonoloway as being stone. He could not, however, remember precisely where the remains of the Fort were within the current Fort Tonoloway State Park. See Marion Golden, Secretary, Hancock Historical Society to Ralph Young, Fort Frederick State Park Manager, October 1, 1992. Fort Tonoloway File, Western Maryland Reading Room. Western Maryland Regional Library, Hagerstown, Maryland.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> Hancock's Orchard Industry. Electronic resource: https://www.hmdb.org/marker.asp?marker=5933. Accessed October 3, 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> Washington County Deed Books, 101:281 August 31, 1893; 124:704, November 16, 1906; 153:461, April 4, 1918; 158:48, May 1920; 171:587, 1925. Washington County Courthouse, Hagerstown, Maryland.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> Washington County Deed Book 171:587, 1925. Washington County Courthouse, Hagerstown, Maryland.

Brent graveyard on the farm now owned by Mr. C. H. Locher in front of which a very large burying ground used to be. ... The site of Fort Stoddert is well remembered and described by Mr. Walt Widmyer." 188

The State of Maryland, through the Roads Commission, Department of Forestry, and the Maryland Historical Society, approached Charles Locher ca. 1936 hoping to convince him to donate the land believed to contain the fortification. The plans were to have Camp SP-1 at Fort Frederick construct a reproduction stockade and block-house as the centerpiece of a park focused on recreation and historical interpretation. <sup>189</sup> In mid-1938, Charles Locher deeded a 26.3 acre parcel to the State of Maryland called the Fort Tonoloway Reservation. The land was to be used "for forest recreation and park purposes." <sup>190</sup> Although preliminary plans for the development of Fort Tonoloway State Park were drafted (Figures #20 and #21), they were never implemented by the State as SP-1 Fort Frederick camp was disbanded in July of 1937.

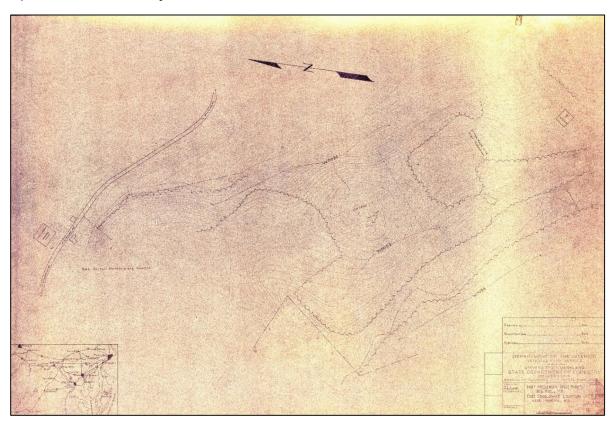


Figure #20: Fort Frederick State Park, Big Pool, MD. Fort Tonoloway Location, Near Hancock, MD. J. C. Lane. 1936.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> Marion Golden, Secretary, Hancock Historical Society to Ralph Young, Fort Frederick State Park Manager, October 1, 1992. Fort Tonoloway File, Western Maryland Reading Room. Western Maryland Regional Library, Hagerstown, Maryland.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> J. Alexis Shriver, Director of Historical Markers. Investigation of the Site of Tonoloway Fort, October 24, 1936. Fort Tonoloway file, Maryland Historical Trust, Crownsville, Maryland; F. W. Besley, State Forester. Fort Tonoloway, November 14, 1936. Fort Tonoloway file, Maryland Historical Trust, Crownsville, Maryland.

<sup>190</sup> Washington County Deed Book 207:275, 1938. Washington County Courthouse, Hagerstown, Maryland.

Finding Fort Tonoloway Preservation Maryland

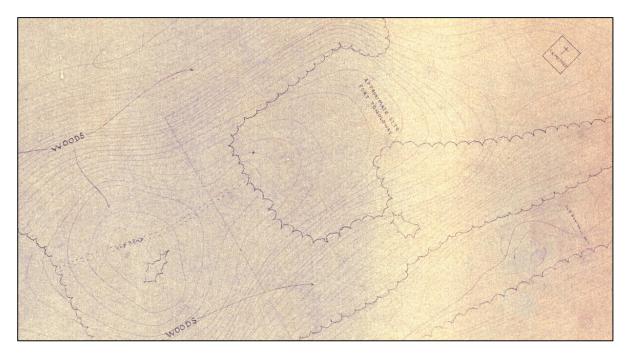


Figure #21: Detail, Fort Frederick State Park, Big Pool, MD. Fort Tonoloway Location, Near Hancock, MD, showing 'old road,' 'approximate site of Fort Tonoloway' (top center), and Brent cemetery (upper right). J. C. Lane, 1936.

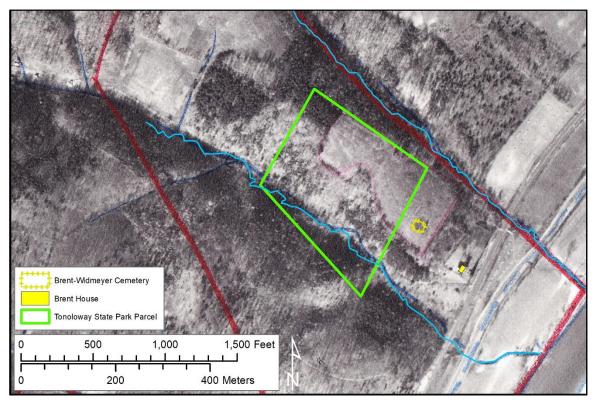


Figure #22: Aerial photograph, December 2, 1937, showing the Locher-owned Fort Tonoloway ridge with the Brent House, the Brent – Widemeyer Cemetery, and a large cleared field along the spine of the ridge. Fort Tonoloway State Park outlined in green.

The earliest aerial photograph of the Fort Tonoloway vicinity was taken in late 1937 (Figure #22). It documents the patchwork of fields and forest west of Hancock, Maryland. On Tonoloway ridge, a large open field is seen occupying the highest area and most level ground and incorporating the Brent-Widemeyer cemetery. The Brent house can still be seen overlooking the railroad and former canal.

The Fort Tononloway Reservation gifted to the State by Charles Locher stood vacant until 1960. In that year development that included the construction of an entrance road, visitor parking, a bathroom, as well as water fountains, grills and picnic areas were initiated. The new park opened in 1961. A decade later, the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park, a linear park bordering the north side of the Potomac River, was created by the U.S. Congress in 1971.

Due to funding and staff related issues, Fort Tonoloway State Park was closed to the public in 1982. For several years in the early 1980s, Fort Tonoloway State Park was used by the Boy Scouts as a seasonal camp. The Fort Tonoloway State Park is currently administered under the Department of Natural Resources, Maryland Park Service, Fort Frederick State Park in Big Pool, Maryland.

# 2 Reconniassance Level Pedestrian Survey

Between December 11 – 12, 2019, Rivanna Archaeological Services, LLC conducted an intensive reconnaissance-level pedestrian survey of the ca. 26-acre Fort Tonoloway State Park project area. The goal of the reconnaissance survey was to compile an inventory of visible cultural features present within the Fort Tonloway State Park project area, mapping their location and documenting their characteristics (See Appendix One).

#### Methods

The reconnaissance level pedestrian survey was undertaken with a three-person crew. The project area was divided up into six sub-areas, defined by prominent physical features. Each sub-area was systematically walked on transects spaced approximately 25 feet apart. Potential cultural features were marked on the ground with pin flags. Following the conclusion of the survey in each sub-area, the characteristics of each cultural feature were documented, photographs taken, and the feature mapped.

A Trimble Geo7 GPS receiver outfitted with a Zephyr antenna was used to record, with sub-meter accuracy, the locations of all cultural features. Maps documenting the pedestrian survey were produced using ESRI ArcMap 10.5 software. Three of the four concrete monument corners bounding the ca. 26-acre Fort Tonoloway State Park were also located and mapped. The fourth corner (southwest) was never located and its location was mapped based on the presence of surveyors flagging tape in a tree.

#### Site Conditions

Because the survey occurred in mid-December, conditions were ideal for sight lines and walking. Trees had all lost their leaves, and shrubbery and ground cover had died back. The project area ground surface, however, was not visible for most areas of the survey. Heavy leaf litter covered the ground in most all areas and significant tree fall was clustered in limited areas (Figure #23).



Figure #23: Fort Tonoloway State Park showing area of downed trees.

## Survey Findings

A significant number of landscape features were identified and documented within the Fort Tonoloway State Park project area. For purposes of analysis, the landscape features can be grouped into two broad categories: 1) features related to the establishment and use of Fort Tonoloway State Park and dating to the ca. 1960-1982 period; and 2) features related to the pre-1938 period of private ownership and use.

Three types of features dating to the ca. 1960-1982 Fort Tonoloway State Park period were identified and documented. These features can be broadly characterized as 1) circulation features; 2) buildings and structures; and 3) small recreational landscape features (Figure #24).

The single circulation feature dating to the State Park period is the well-defined entrance and loop road with parking area (A). Built in 1960, the State Park entrance road was constructed following the northwest-southeast oriented ridge line and links Locher Road and State Route 144 (Western Pike) on the west with a circular loop and formal vehicular parking on the east. The entrance road is a broad, level corridor, measuring approximately 18 - 20 feet in width, and constructed on a cut and fill method. No trees grow in this circulation feature, but leaf litter and dead trees and limbs cover limited areas. The loop road is a narrower corridor, measuring only 15 feet wide, and terminating in a broad parking area at its eastern end. The outer boundary of the loop road is defined by an extruded asphalt curbing as is the entire parking area (Figure #25).

Two structures are present within the Fort Tonoloway State Park project area, a restroom facility (B) and a pump house (C). The restroom facility, located within and surrounded by the loop road, is an approximately 10.0 x 12.0-foot structure built of cinder block with a frame roof and asphalt shingle covering. The restroom has two separate entrances also defined by cinder block walls paralleling the long side and set approximately 5.0 feet from the structure. Individual doors provide entrances to each stall (Figure #26).

The pumphouse structure is located approximately 150 feet north of the restroom facility. Adjacent to and north of the beginning of the loop road. The pumphouse is an approximately 8.0 by 8.0-foot structure also built of cinder block with a frame roof and asphalt shingle covering. A single door in the west façade provides entrance to the structure (Figure #27).

The small, recreational landscape features found scattered adjacent to and within the area circumscribed by the loop road consist of cooking grills, water fountains, a fire pit / iron ring, and two wooden posts. Five cooking grills, manufactured by the Hancock Iron Works in Pontiac, Michigan, were identified. The grills were made predominantly of cast iron and other unidentified metals, were mounted on a pole, and stood approximately 2.5 feet tall (Figure #28). Three water fountains were also identified. The water fountains were constructed of stone, possessed a broad base with a 0.8-foot tall stepping platform, and stood approximately 2.8 feet tall (Figure #29). A single cast iron fire ring, presumed to be used to contain a camping fire, was also identified (Figure #30). Two isolated wooden posts, three feet tall, were identified north of and adjacent to the restroom facility. The posts are believed to have held park signage. A downed electrical /telephone pole was also located in the northeast corner of the project area east of the restroom facility and pumphouse (Figure #31).

Finding Fort Tonoloway

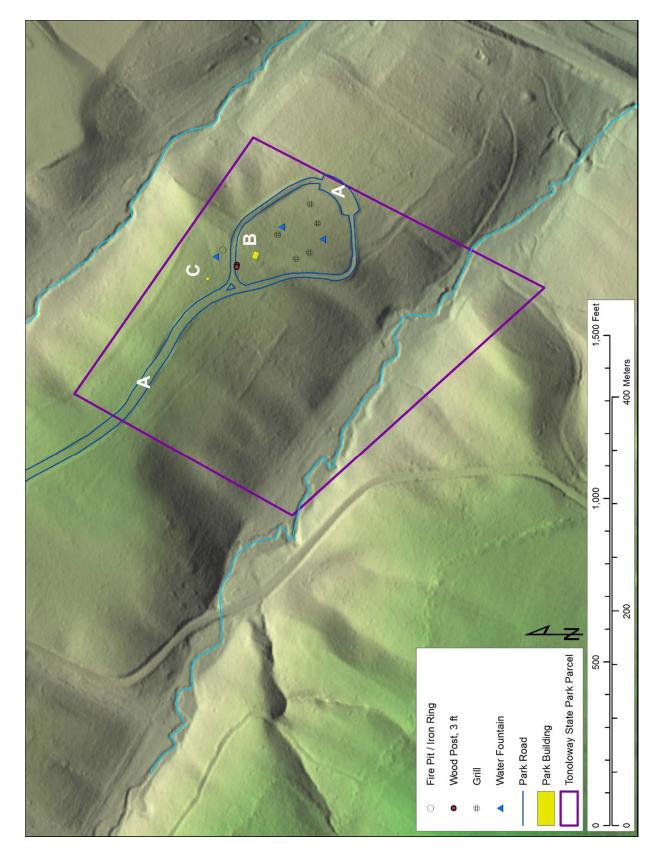


Figure #24: Map showing types and location of landscape features associated with the development of Fort Frederick State Park.



Figure #25: Eastern side of loop road (A), looking south. Note asphalt curbing on left.



Figure #26: Cinder block restroom facility (B), looking north.



Figure #27: Cinder block pump house (C), looking north.



Figure #28: Typical cooking grill set on pole.



Figure #29: Typical stone water fountain. Note broad base and stepping platform.



Figure #30: Cast iron fire ring.



Figure #31: Downed electrical / telephone pole and wire in northeast portion of project area.

Four types of features dating to the pre-1938 period of private ownership and use were identified and documented within the ca. 26-acre Fort Tonoloway State Park project area. These features can be broadly characterized as 1) circulation features; 2) rock alignments; 3) earthen berms; and 4) water control and retention features. Because most of the features identified dating to the pre-1938 period were part of a much broader cultural landscape than the ca. 26-acre Fort Tonoloway State Park project area, every effort was made to map them extending beyond the project area boundaries (Figure #32).

Circulation features were limited to remnant road traces. At least four distinct road traces (D - G) were identified, all located in the southern and southeastern portions of the project area. Most of the road traces were narrow, approximately 10-foot wide, earthen corridors that followed the topography (Figure #33 and #34). The road traces appear to link the Brent House (WA-VI-004) with the earthen dam (D) and the ridge top agricultural fields (E, F), and the dam with what is now Locher Road (G). Based primarily on their location and the fact that they are associated with the continued use and occupation of the Brent House, the road traces are believed to date from the nineteenth century to 1938 when Fort Tonoloway State Park was established (Figure #32).

A single northwest-southeast oriented rock alignment, documented in three sections, was identified running along the top of the ridge just south of the entrance road (H). The rock alignment consisted of medium to large natural stone forming a linear feature that stretched a cumulative 475 feet in length. It is not yet clear what this feature represents. The presence of the different sized and shaped stone suggests they may have been cleared from an agricultural field, however their linear alignment may also suggest a secondary use as erosion control or perhaps a boundary marker. Difficult to date, the stone alignment certainly is associated with the use of the ridge top agricultural fields from the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries (Figure #35).

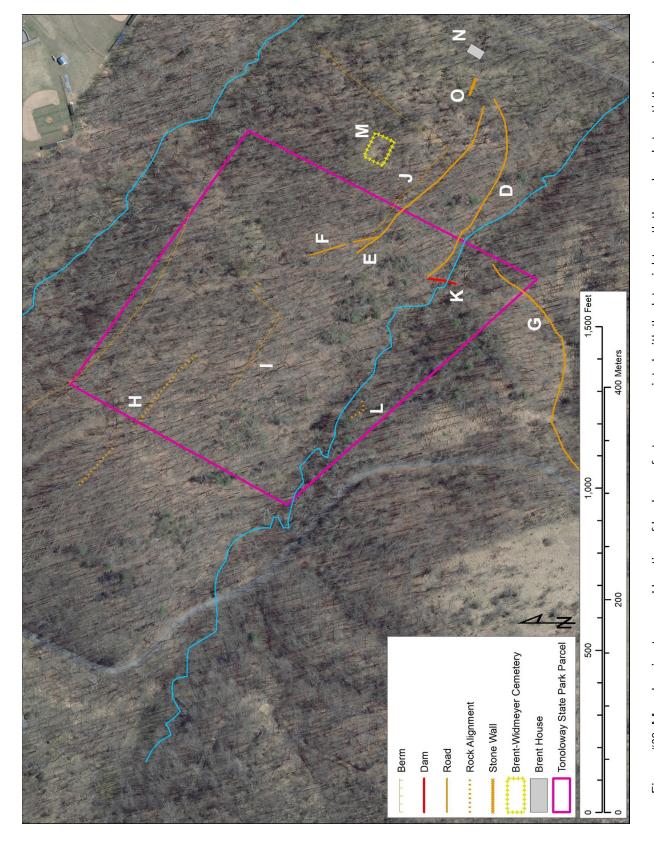


Figure #32: Map showing types and location of landscape features associated with the late eighteenth through early twentieth century development of the Fort Frederick State Park parcel.



Figure #33: Road trace (G), looking northeast, connecting the earthen dam with what is now Locher Road.



Figure #34: Road trace (D) looking southeast towards Brent House.



Figure #35: Rock alignment (H), showing stone sitting above and within leaf litter.

Two L-shaped earthen berms (I and J) were documented. Berm I measured approximately 400 feet in length and was located in the center of the project area. Berm J is an L-shaped approximately 850 feet long and surrounds the Brent-Widmeyer Cemetery on its southern and eastern sides, only 100 feet of which was located predominantly within the 26-acre Fort Tonoloway State Park project area. The earthen berms consisted solely of a well-defined boundary between a relatively flat area and the point where the adjacent slope began to fall rapidly. Based on analysis of 1937 aerial photograph of the project area, the earthen berms likely represent the edge of a cleared or plowed field where soils had been pushed or carried by erosion over time. The earthen berm likely dates to the use of the ridge top fields for agricultural purposes, from the nineteenth century through 1938 (Figure #32).

Two water retention and control features were also identified. An approximately 7.0-foot tall dam (K), approximately 8.0 feet wide at its top and 15.0 feet wide at its base and measuring 85 feet in length, was identified in the extreme southeast corner of the project area. Cut through by the southwestern drainage, the dam was constructed of both earth and stone. Significant large stone were identified both within the earthen dam as well as on its downstream side (Figures #36 and #37). While it is clear that the dam created a small pond on the drainage, its purpose is not yet understood. The 1936 CCC map of the future Fort Tonoloway State Park notes that the dam was associated with an 'old sawmill.' No sign of a raceway funneling the water to a mill downstream could be found. In addition, it is not yet clear how this dam relates to a second, larger dam located approximately 600 feet further downstream. The dam is tentatively dated to the nineteenth century.



Figure #36: Northern end of earthen dam (K) looking west and showing large rock on downstream side.



Figure #37: Southern end of earthen dam (K) looking west and showing large rock on downstream side.

A spring and associated rock clustering or alignment (L) were identified in the southwestern portion of the project area adjacent to the western drainage. The spring, seeping from a concave-shaped earthen bank, was located on the western side of the western drainage. Surrounding the spring and placed on the slope of the concave bank was a clustering of large-sized field stone. The concentration of field stone in this location, suggests that it was intentionally placed here, most likely to protect the adjacent spring from soil erosion. The feature is likely associated with the occupation of the Brent House and may date to the nineteenth century (Figures #38 and #39).



Figure #38: Spring site (L), looking southwest, showing rocks on slope of concave-shaped bank in western drainage.



Figure #39: Spring site (L), looking northwest, showing rock on slope of concave-shaped bank in western drainage.

Located southeast of and immediately outside of the Fort Tonoloway State Park project area additional cultural features were documented and mapped including the Brent-Widmeyer Cemetery; the Brent House, and a stone wall segment and associated earthen berm. The Brent-Widmeyer Cemetery (M) is located approximately 110 feet east of the parking area located at the eastern end of the Fort Tonoloway State Park Road. The area was enclosed by a wire fence, the corner posts of which are still standing. Grave markers dating from 1782 to 1913 document the use of the cemetery by the Brent and Widemeyer families (Figure #40). Southeast of the Brent-Widmeyer Cemetery is the Brent House site (N). The house site is composed of two extant chimney stacks, one brick and one stone, as well as a stone-lined cellar with eastern bulkhead. The house is located on a terrace overlooking the Potomac River floodplain. The house is believed to have been originally constructed ca. 1793, and added onto over time (Figure #41). Between the Cemetery and House site is an approximately 210 by 275-foot terrace, most likely a remnant house garden, defined by a 1.5-foot tall and 30-foot long drylaid rock wall segment at its southeast corner (Figure #42), and an approximately 1.5-foot tall earthen berm surrounding its northern, eastern and southern sides (O). LiDAR data shows this area possesses plow furrows oriented in a northeast-southwest direction.



Figure #40: Brent-Widemeyer Cemetery (M).



Figure #41: Brent House (N), looking north, showing chimney stacks and stone foundation.



Figure #42: Dry-laid stone wall (O), looking north, with a small garden terrace behind it.

# Fort Tonoloway

No surface features dating to the mid-eighteenth century and potentially associated with the construction and use of Fort Tonoloway were identified within the 26-acre project area. If the French and Indian War period fortification existed within the Fort Tonoloway State Park project area, it is likely that all surface traces of it were erased by the two centuries of domestic and agricultural use of the site that followed.

# 3 MILITARY TERRAIN ANALYSIS

#### Introduction

Battlefield mapping methods promoted by the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) conceptualize battlefields in terms of a pair of nested geographical spaces traditionally termed 'core area' and 'study area,' although the latter term is being replaced by 'battlefield' or 'maximal battlefield.' The core area of a battlefield is defined by the area of direct combat where opponents engaged one another and inflicted and endured casualties. The study area, or maximal battlefield, encompasses all surrounding terrain through which battle participants moved or maneuvered before, during, and after the engagement. In addition to containing related troop movements, the battlefield study area should also embrace terrain sufficient to "define the tactical context and visual setting" of the battlefield. By definition, the core battlefield is wholly contained within the maximal battlefield boundary.<sup>191</sup> Delineating battlefield boundaries and contained core areas ideally incorporates a tripartite approach that includes 1) identification of landscape features or locales referenced in the battle's primary source documents, 2) interpretation of the landscape in terms of inherent military probability or military terrain analysis, and 3) examination of military engineering constructions and, if possible, the spatial distribution of durable battle-related artifacts.

Military Terrain Analysis and KOCOA

Military terrain analysis commonly uses the five military aspects of terrain often encapsulated by the acronym KOCOA:

Key and decisive terrain;

Observation and fields of fire:

Cover and concealment;

Obstacles:

Avenues of approach.

Key terrain refers to any location or area whose capture or retention gives an advantage to either side of an engagement. Typically, key terrain dominates the surrounding landscape, either topographically or through some other quality, so that it enhances offensive or defensive movements. Decisive or critical terrain is key terrain that must be controlled to ensure a successful mission; it may not be present in every battle situation.

Observation is a function of terrain that allows a military force to see its own elements as well as those of the enemy in addition to allowing for the identification of key aspects of the surrounding landscape. In Civil War settings, the highest terrain often provided the best opportunities for observation. Field of fire defines the effective area covered by a weapon or group of weapons and is directly related to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> David W. Lowe, Battlefield Survey, pp: 23-24. (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program, 2000); Kristen McMasters, Battlefield Survey Manual, American Battlefield Protection Program. Revised 2016, pp: 4, 27. (Washington, D.C.: National Park Services, American Battlefield Protection Program, 2016).

observation. Dead space refers to battlefield areas that, although within maximal weapon range, cannot be covered by observation or fire from a particular position because of intervening obstacles.

Cover refers to protection from enemy fire while concealment refers to protection from observation. Fields of fire are limited by terrain that offers both cover and concealment to the enemy.

Obstacles are any obstruction, natural or cultural, that impede or disrupt or block the movement of a military force. Existing obstacles are landscape features already present on the battlefield, including natural examples such as rivers, swamps, and steep escarpments, as well as cultural examples, such as fence lines, railroad embankments, and canals. Reinforcing obstacles are those deliberately placed upon a battlefield to stop, slow, or control enemy movement. These include earthworks and abatises.

Avenues of approach are routes taken by attacking forces that lead to mission objectives and key and/or decisive terrain. Typically, a good avenue of approach allows ease of movement as well as opportunities for concealment, cover, observation, and fields of fire. In contrast, avenues of withdrawal or retreat lead away from objectives and key/decisive terrain and ideally share the same qualities as good avenues of approach. Mobility corridors define particular types of avenues of approach and withdrawal in which specific aspects of terrain, such as topography or hydrology, act to constrict or channel movement.

#### Battlefield Defining Features

Battlefield defining features are geographical elements, both natural and cultural, mentioned in primary battle documents that allow the engagement to be tied to specific locations identifiable in the landscape today.<sup>192</sup> Defining features can include such things as historic residences, roads, streams and rivers, fords and bridges, ridge lines, hilltops, and valleys, and even woodlots, fence lines, and fields. Sometimes, these features appear in primary sources not simply as landmarks but because they also formed parts of the military terrain and played roles in structuring how combatants were positioned within and moved through the landscape as a battle developed. Battlefield defining features vary greatly in terms of the confidence with which they can be identified in the landscape today. Names of towns, houses, and other landscape features often have endured down to the present day or can be reconstructed with relative ease with the aid of historic maps and other documents. On the other hand, place names can change with time and, in cases, place names may have been used incorrectly by historic actors, especially those new to and relatively unfamiliar with a specific landscape, so care must be taken in the identification of defining features. Other features such as smaller streams, ravines, and hilltops that might be referenced in primary sources are typically not named and not mapped and necessarily remain vague and difficult—often impossible—to confidently identify in the landscape today. Similarly, many cultural landscape features such as fence lines, wood lots, outbuildings, and lesser roads and tracks are relatively ephemeral and often simply no longer survive. Three battlefield defining features maps, each at a different scale, have been generated to document the location of prominent natural and cultural features that would have been present during the period when Fort Tonoloway was active (Figures #44 – 46). A list of battlefield defining features compiled from primary sources for the period between 1740 – 1760 for the Finding Fort Tonoloway project are summarized in Appendix Two.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> Lowe, Battlefield Survey, p1; McMasters, Battlefield Survey Manual, pp: 21-22.

Mid-Eighteenth-Century Weapons and Military Tactics

In order to adequately conduct a military terrain analysis for Fort Tonoloway, it is essential to know what weaponry would have been available to each of the combatants, to obtain a better understanding of their use limitations, and to broadly characterize the military goals and objectives and supporting tactics used during this period.

Unlike the forces stationed in the several French fortifications in the Ohio River valley, most Native and French raiding parties were, out of necessity, small in size. Particularly when attacking communities and militia outposts deep in English North America, their goal was to kill, take prisoner, and terrorize the colonial settlers, and then quickly move on. To accomplish this, they needed to have a force built for secrecy and speed. Native and French forces were most successful in attacking colonial settlers when utilizing the tactics of stealth and surprise. They sought 'soft' targets, generally catching settlers unawares, and attacking undefended or under-defended communities. Although direct attacks on small and large fortifications did occur, they were less frequent.

Native Americans allied with the French were supplied with European arms and often used flintlock muskets in their attacks on colonial fortifications and settler communities. Native Americans also possessed their own weapons. Excepting European firearms, the most common was the bow and arrow and the club, hatchet or tomahawk.

About 3 Miles and a half further up the road we found a Man (one Hynes) killed and scalped, with one Arm cut off, and several Arrows sticking in him. 193

About three Weeks ago a Dutchman and Woman were found scalped in the Road, between Isaac Baker's and the Temporary Line: and last Friday Se'nnight one William Gilliland was shot through the Head and scalped by an Indian, who had concealed himself near the Road. 194

Arrows could be accurately fired from a distance of approximately 60-90 feet, 195 and clubs, hatchets and tomahawk were weapons used only in close range combat, as well as for scalping victims. Thus, like flintlock muskets, Native Americans using these weapons on an attack at Fort Tonoloway would have to do so only after surmounting the ridge itself.

The farms, plantations and larger communities established by settlers of European descent were encouraged by colonial governments. Many were recent immigrants taking advantage of opportunities to establish farmsteads in new lands and creating a livelihood for themselves. The small farms and plantations they built used local materials hewn from the land. As such they served two primary goals, providing shelter, and supporting agricultural production. None of the settler farms and plantations were intentionally constructed as defensive fortifications.

Frontier settlers generally provided for themselves. To this end, they only possessed weapons that could be used to sustain themselves living in remote, isolated areas. Guns were an essential tool for surviving in the wilderness. The guns they possessed however, generally flintlock muskets and rifles,

<sup>193</sup> Maryland Gazette, March 11, 1756, p3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> Maryland Gazette, March 4, 1756, p3; December 23, 1756, p3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> Robert Ambrose, Park Ranger. Fort Frederick State Park, Big Pool, Maryland. March 18, 2020. Personal communication. The estimate for bow and arrow range is using a flat trajectory only, and not an arching trajectory.

were mostly used for hunting. Not every family possessed a gun, and not every gun was new or well-taken care of, and ammunition and black powder generally had to be purchased. Other weapons, such as knives, axes and hatchets, could be used for protection but had other functional uses in a plantation setting.

By the mid-eighteenth century, most colonial settlers were very familiar with Native Americans. Based on colonial government policy, settler relationships with Native American tribes were varied and ranged from peaceful cohabitation with limited trade and exchange, to periods of strife and violence where raids were a part of frontier life. Because of this, colonial settlers were aware of Native American warfare tactics, and if they had not experienced an attack themselves, they knew what to expect. When attacked, settlers generally sought shelter if possible. While a residence could be fortified, a small frontier fort offered better protection as well as greater numbers of defenders.

Colonial militia throughout the mid-Atlantic were only slightly better outfitted than settlers in frontier communities. The arms they possessed could be guns they owned, many of which were aged and in poor condition. Arms and ammunition were also provided, generally in times of crisis, by the colonial government. In early 1756, Governor Horatio Sharpe described the preparedness and fitness of the Maryland militia in general.

The Militia of this Colony are near 16,500. One third of whom at least are entirely destitute of Arms & many of the Guns that are the property of the Rest are very bad & scarcely fit for use. For want of a proper Militia Law (which the assembly has been frequently in vain solicited to make) the people are undisciplined as well as badly armed & cannot be compelled to serve in Defence of the Country. 196

Colonial settlers and militia utilized two strategies in defending themselves and the communities they protected. They ranged between communities in an attempt to identify and discourage French and Native raiding parties, and after an attack they pursued French and Native raiding parties with a goal of inflicting casualties and recovering kidnapped victims. In either capacity, colonial militia tended to adopt Native strategies, organizing into small well-armed parties that provided them the ability to move quickly through the landscape, using stealth to track, discover, and attack enemy positions. In June of 1756 a newspaper recounted the unorthodox strategies, characterized by European military leaders as guerilla or irregular warfare, that settlers and colonial militia used to accomplish their goals.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of May Colonel Cresap, his two sons, and about sixty others, set off from Old Town (where Colonel Cresap lives) for Fort Cumberland: On the 24<sup>th</sup> they were join'd by Lieutenant Gist, 23 Volunteers, and 14 Nottoway Indians: They all march'd together as far as the Bare Camp, which is about 40 miles beyond Fort Cumberland, and there divided into two parties; Lieutenant Gist, the Captain of the Nottoways, and 36 men, proceeded in the Road, and Cresap, with the Rest of the white Men, and the 13 Nottoways, struck off into the Woods: Soon after their Separation, Lieutenant Gist fell in with a large Party of the Enemy, who not being able to distinguish our Men on Account of their being painted and dressed like Indians, asked them whence they came, wither they were going, and who they were: Upon this Mr. Gist, a son of Major

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> Governor Horatio Sharpe to the Lords of Trade, February 8, 1756, pp. 353. William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 1, 1753-1757. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1888).

Prather's, and the Nottoway Captain gave them their Fire, and a great Skirmish ensued, wherein three of the English were killed, and some wounded; how many of the Enemy were killed is not certain; but it is imagined that their Loss must have been considerable, as the Action continued near an Hour. 197

European military traditions were rooted in the 'Laws of War,' accepted conventions that placed restraints on warfare and particularly the behavior of troops and the treatment of captives. According to Goetz, this behavior included the requirement of wearing a 'distinctive uniform,' and the respectful treatment of wounded and prisoners. 198 Traditional European military strategy, applying superior troop numbers, fire power and tactics, did not adapt well to conditions in British North America. The French forces learned this fairly quickly. Canadian born Governor Vaudreuil encouraged and directed Native raiding parties to utilize tactics that would result in the greatest military success and instill the most fear in settlers of the English frontier. In an August of 1756 letter reporting on his accomplishments in fighting the English, Vaudreuil noted the following.

... A party commanded by M. de Celoron had a fight near Cressep's fort, in the rear of [Fort] Cumberland. ... We had two savages killed and one wounded. ... Finally, M. Dumas writes me that for more than a week he has done nothing but take in scalps; that no English party comes out without losing men, and that it was impossible for him to report exactly all the raids made by our savages. 199

The standard mid-eighteenth-century European military armament was a flintlock pistol, musket or rifle. In addition to frequent mis-fires, flintlock arms took time to reload, required frequent cleaning, and had a limited range and accuracy. Pistols were used largely for self-defense and close combat as their effectiveness was relatively short range, approximately 45 – 90 feet. Smoothbore muskets, the most common military weapon in the mid-eighteenth century, had an effective range of between 180 - 240 feet. Rifles, possessing grooved barrels, had the longest and most accurate range, often between 250 to 300 vards.200

Cannons and other heavy artillery pieces were used by regular army European forces in defense of, and assaults upon, large fortifications. General Braddock brought smaller artillery along on his ill-fated attempt to capture Fort Du Quesne. The use of heavy guns in British and French North America, however, was accompanied by other problems. Transporting heavy guns from one point to another was problematic. Very few roads extended into the colonial frontier that were sufficient for the accommodation of large numbers of troops and heavy guns. As was demonstrated by both Braddock and Forbes, transporting artillery to attack French positions on the Ohio required travel by river, or the construction of new or the improvement of existing roads, both of which required time, labor and funding.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> Maryland Gazette, June 10, 1756, pp. 2-3.

<sup>198</sup> Nicole Goetz, A Country Dangerous for Discipline: The Clash and Combination of Regular and Irregular Warfare during the French and Indian War, pp: 102-103. In The Age of Gunpowder. An Era of Technological, Tactical, Strategic, and Leadership Innovations. Emory Endeavors in History, Volume V (2013): 100-115.

<sup>199</sup> Marquis de Vaudreuil to Minister, August 8, 1756. Stevens and Kent, Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Robert Ambrose, Park Ranger. Fort Frederick State Park, Big Pool, Maryland. March 18, 2020. Personal communication.

In the majority of British North America however, cannon and other artillery pieces were generally absent on the colonial frontier. Particularly in frontier communities characterized by dispersed rural settlements, isolated farms and plantations, poor roads, and a lack of high value targets, their strategic usefulness was questionable.

### Fort Tonoloway and the French and Indian War

As research has documented, Fort Tonoloway was most likely erected between July and August of 1755 and demolished sometime shortly after May 1756. In addition to serving as a garrison for between 15 – 20 Maryland troops, Fort Tonoloway provided shelter for neighboring families, and served as a strategic defensive post for the Colonial Government of Maryland. No primary or secondary source accounts were located that document armed conflict at Fort Tonoloway. Two regional Indian incursions however, one in late September of 1755 and a second in February of 1756, are known to have passed through the Fort Tonoloway vicinity along the Pennsylvania – Maryland border. Indeed, one second-hand account of the February of 1756 incursion stated that the Indians had "laid siege to Stodderts" fortification, and that the occupants of the fortification were found "all under arms, expecting every minute to be attacked." The goal of these Indian incursions was to attack vulnerable and poorly defended British positions, the individual farms, small communities, and undermanned military fortifications in the western frontier, killing many inhabitants and taking others prisoner, and generally striking fear in settler communities and Colonial governments.

While KOCOA is most useful in battlefield contexts, because of the lack of primary and secondary source documents recording armed conflict, the fundamental principles of military terrain analysis have necessarily been adapted to meet the historical contexts of Fort Tonoloway, the site of a small mid-eighteenth-century military fortification. Because Fort Tonoloway cannot be considered a battlefield, and given the paucity of primary source documents that describe in great detail its location, use and history, as well as the uncertainty of armed conflict at Fort Tonoloway, the military analysis that follows is based on several assumptions including: 1) Fort Tonoloway is located somewhere in Fort Tonoloway State Park or along the northwest-southeast oriented topographic ridge that contains it; 2) that a compilation of Battlefield Defining Features relevant to contextualizing Fort Tonoloway necessarily incorporates the natural and cultural geographic elements known to be present in the broader Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania region between ca. 1740 – 1760.

The following military terrain analysis of the 26-acre Fort Tonoloway State Park project area builds upon and utilizes the following data: 1) primary and secondary source documents that identify and locate those natural and cultural features (e.g. roads, rivers, fords, forts, settlements, etc.) important to contextualizing Fort Tonoloway during the French and Indian War; 2) eighteenth and nineteenth-century period maps depicting the vicinity of Fort Tonoloway and its larger region; 3) LiDAR-derived digital surface maps; and 4) the natural and cultural features identified and mapped during the reconnaissance level pedestrian survey.

#### Key and Decisive Terrain:

Fort Tonoloway State Park is located on a low northwest – southeast oriented ridge line between two drainages. The ridge measures approximately 900 feet wide between drainages, and approximately 2,400 feet long as measured between Locher Road on the northwest and the Western Maryland Rail Trail on the southeast. Elevations range between 600 feet asl in the northwest to 480 feet asl in the

southeast. To the southeast is the Potomac River floodplain, an approximately 600-foot wide strip of level soils adjacent to the Potomac River. To the northeast and southwest are additional ridges and drainages each oriented similarly. To the northwest is the historic mid-eighteenth-century east-west oriented wagon road, now the Western Pike (Rte. 144) (Figure #43).

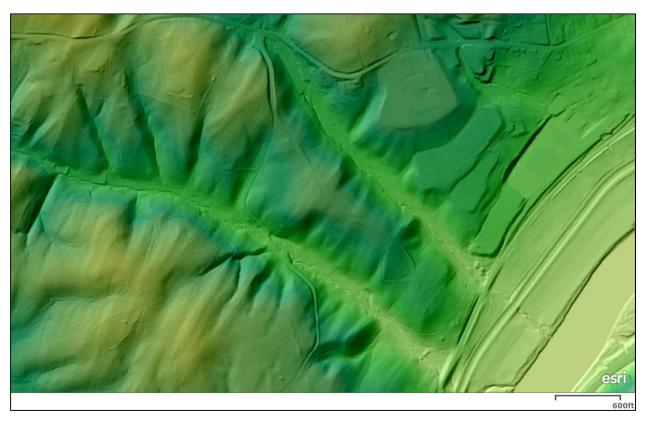


Figure #43: Map showing topographic relief of the Fort Tonoloway State Park ridge (center), defined by a drainage to its northeast and southwest, and the Potomac River to its east (lower right).

Given the 900-foot width of the ridge upon which Fort Tonoloway was located, and assuming that the most common flintlock armament was a smooth bore musket with a range of accuracy of between 225 – 300 feet, enemy combatants could not hold an adjacent topographic high point and command a technical firing advantage over Fort Tonoloway. Therefore, armed engagement and combat at Fort Tonoloway, assuming the use of flintlock muskets, would necessarily have to occur on the ridge itself at close range. French and Indian forces wishing to attack Fort Tonoloway would have to surmount the ridge itself and approach the fortification to obtain an accurate range of fire. Because of this, the ridge upon which Fort Tonoloway is located would have been key terrain upon which Maryland militia forces relied for their defense. Likewise, in order to dislodge the militia outpost stationed in Fort Tonoloway, enemy forces would seek to capture the ridge upon which Fort Tonoloway is located.

Because the primary function of most small French and Indian War fortifications built in 1755 was to provide a defensible shelter in case of emergency for neighboring families, Fort Tonoloway would necessarily had to have been sited in a strong defensive position. The location of Fort Tonoloway along this ridgeline, on a topographically prominent elevation, would have been a strategically defensive position. The site would have been difficult to attack from three directions: the Potomac

River floodplain to the southeast, and from the adjacent drainages to the northeast and southwest. Only an attack from the northwest direction would have provided ease of access to an enemy.

In addition to being located in a readily defensible location, Fort Tonoloway would also have been required to be sited within a reasonable distance of settler communities. Indeed, it is believed that during a trip west in the summer of 1755 Governor Sharpe may have had a direct influence on the placement of Fort Tonoloway. Given a primary goal of providing protection to settler communities in times of need, Fort Tonoloway was located at the North Bend, in the midst of a small established community of settlers located west of Little Tonoloway Creek. Fort Tonoloway was also within a few miles of other settled communities such as the Coombs Tonoloway settlement near what is now Warfordsburg, Pennsylvania. Primary source documents and historic maps show that the North Bend settlement was established in this location no later than the mid-1730s.

#### Observation and Fields of Fire:

The heavily wooded nature of the mid-eighteenth-century North Bend vicinity, and much of the colonial frontier, meant that long range observation of the movement and approach of enemy forces was near impossible. Observation of the enemy and one's own forces was achieved largely through chance encounters of ranging forces, written communication carried by messengers, and information obtained from settlers fleeing eastward. Even in the more settled areas of the English colonial frontier, French and Native raiding parties moved with ease using the concealment provided by forests to approach targets unobserved.

French and Indian forces however likely knew of Fort Tonoloway's location and might be able to observe the signs of its presence from a distance. The existence of the neighboring North Bend settlement, and specifically Charles Polke's trading post, had been known to Native Americans for some time. The cleared areas surrounding Fort Tonoloway and the North Bend community, and the need for fires for cooking and heating purposes, likely enabled the observation of the Fort Tonoloway vicinity from a considerable distance.

From their position at Fort Tonoloway, Lt. Stoddert's forces would have had limited opportunities to observe the enemy from a distance. It is assumed that the immediate vicinity of Fort Tonoloway, and possibly a substantial portion of the ridge line upon which it was built, would have been clear cut for the purposes of constructing the fortification, establishing a defensible perimeter, as well as to provide wood for fuel. Therefore the viewshed from Fort Tonoloway would have been restricted, extending only to the nearest adjacent ridge to the northeast, northwest and southwest, and to the Potomac River floodplain and points southeast. While the occupation of high terrain might enable colonial forces to identify distant settled communities, the impenetrable dead space provided by the forest canopy made observations of humans moving through the landscape difficult if not impossible.

Given the lack of artillery pieces in rural frontier areas, the limited range of the bow and arrow and flintlock arms, the field of fire for most armed engagement during the French and Indian War was limited. French and Native raiders had to approach within 200 feet of a target before launching an effective assault. Likewise colonial settlers could not effectively defend themselves, and had to withhold fire, until the enemy could be seen and was within firing range.

#### Cover and Concealment:

Given the heavily forested nature of the North Bend vicinity and the larger western frontier of Maryland, cover and concealment played a central role in military tactics for both sides. Primary source accounts note that Native raids on European settlements often involved two scenarios. Concealed Native raiders often surprised settlers in vulnerable open positions such as along road corridors, in fields, or performing daily chores. Road corridors, features that were utilized on a daily basis by colonial settlers, appeared to be frequently targeted by Natives.

Last Friday Se'nnight one William Gilliland was shot through the Head and scalped by an Indian, who had concealed himself near the Road, about a Mile and a half on this Side Fort Frederick.<sup>201</sup>

About 3 Miles and a half further up the road we found a Man (one Hynes) killed and scalped, with one Arm cut off, and several Arrows sticking in him.<sup>202</sup>

In this scenario, cover and concealment would favor the attacker who could use woods and dense forest and vegetation to hide and observe targeted landscape features, waiting for an unsuspecting settler to come along. If a settler had time to react to an attack, fleeing was likely a primary option, again providing the advantage to an attacker.

Native raiders also frequently directly attacked fortified settler positions. The decision to attack a fortified settler position might be made based on the size and strength of the attacking and defending parties, the relative isolation of the defending fortification, and the presence of known ranging militias who could respond.

Sieur de Rocheblave, with another cadet, a corporal, a militiaman, and 20 Shawnees attacked the gateway of a little fort, three leagues [9 miles] above Fort Cumberland. Several families and 30 men had remained there. They killed four Englishmen, whom the savages scalped; wounded three who dragged themselves inside the fort; and took three prisoners.<sup>203</sup>

By a messenger that came to Town on Fryday night tis reported that the Indians had retreated from Combs's fort and had laid siege to Stodderts.<sup>204</sup>

In this scenario, if settlers could reach a fortified position, generally a palisaded defensive work or enhanced structure, then their chances of survival dramatically increased. Palisaded forts frequently possessed raised firing platforms and/or bastions, and fortified structures often had barricaded windows with firing positions, that allowed provincial militia and armed settlers enhanced observation and advantageous fields of fire. In addition, the cleared area immediately surrounding a palisaded fort or fortified structure prohibited effective concealment and limited the range and effectiveness of firearms when firing from a more distant tree line or area of concealment. As noted in a 1756 letter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> Maryland Gazette, December 23, 1756, p3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> Maryland Gazette, March 11, 1756.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> Letter of Marquis de Vaudreuil, August 8, 1756. In Stevens and Kent, Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania, pp: 93-98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> Robert Lloyd to Governor Horatio Sharpe, [Early March] 1756. Maryland Historical Society, Robert Lloyd, MS #2018.

from Marguis de Vaudreuil, French and Native raiders respected the lack of concealment and fields of fire that covered the area immediately surrounding a fortification.

... A party commanded by M. de Celoron had a fight near Cressep's fort, in the rear of [Fort] Cumberland. They killed eight Englishmen, whose scalps the Indians were unable to take, as they found themselves, in the dusk of the evening, within musketfire of the fort.<sup>205</sup>

Cover and concealment could also aid colonial settlers and militia. Parties of militia pursuing French and Native raiders used concealment provided by forests to their advantage tracking, and less frequently, skirmishing with the enemy. The cover of an adjacent forest might also increase the survival chances of a settler fleeing an attack. Settlers and militia were more likely to be intimately familiar with the local natural terrain and could use this knowledge to advantage.

#### Obstacles:

Natural obstacles that impeded, but did not block, the advance and retreat of armed forces included mountain ranges, steep slopes, drainages, and the Potomac River. The Ridge and Valley physiographic province of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, geologically characterized by northeast-southwest trending long mountain ridges and intervening valleys and drainages, dictated the location and settlement of colonial communities, but also created obstacles for land travel.

In peaceful times, transportation in an east-west direction utilized paths of least resistance as roads were led by topography and generally sought gaps, passes and shallow fords to surpass mountains and drainages. When concealment and stealth became a necessity for land travel during the French and Indian War, and particularly knowing that formal thoroughfares might be targeted for ambush, natural obstacles such as mountains and drainages made travel difficult.

From a Colonial government point of view, early fortifications were placed close to settled areas but also placed strategically to guard well-known passes and gaps through mountains. Colonial governments also used obstacles such as mountains and drainages to their advantage. For example, by mid-1756 the North Mountain, a geographic feature regularly mentioned by Governor Sharpe and the Maryland General Assembly, became the new western frontier of Maryland anchored by Fort Frederick. The North Mountain, a narrow ridge extending from the Pennsylvania-Maryland border on the north to the West Virginia-Virginia border on the south, defined the western limit of the Great Valley and was chosen as a strategic point by Maryland where settlers and militia would make a defensive stand.

Cultural obstacles were likely limited to colonial fortifications. Once constructed, unless they were the target of an attack, French and Native forces seeking to be undetected while traveling through the English colonies avoided these locations as many possessed units that would patrol a specific area on a regular basis. While it is not known if Fort Tonoloway possessed any earthworks, other period fortifications like Fort Necessity did utilize trenches surrounding the palisade perimeter to reinforce defensive capabilities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Letter of Marquis de Vaudreuil, August 8, 1756. In Stevens and Kent, Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania, pp: 93-98.

### Avenues of Approach and Withdrawal:

Roads in mid-eighteenth-century North Bend vicinity were informal thoroughfares at best. Prior to the French and Indian War, period descriptions characterize them as roads in name only. Describing the east-west road paralleling the Potomac River that connected Hagerstown with Col. Thomas Cresap's residence in 1747, a Moravian missionary noted that

The road is a single narrow path, frequently hardly recognizable, partly because traveling is not very frequent there, and partly because the path is blocked with trees and overgrown with grass and weeds. A person has to be very careful lest he take a cow path.<sup>206</sup>

Despite the rough nature of roads, they were important thoroughfares for colonial settlers, both for settled communities and for migrants moving further west. Roads naturally connected settled communities with one another and were important to commerce and communication. Because of the propensity for colonial settlers to use local roads, and because of the adjacent foliage that provided cover and concealment, they were also frequent targets for French and Native raiders.

While French and Native raiding parties might target roads as features with potential to encounter settlers, they likely did not travel on them for any length of time while approaching or withdrawing, for fear of being detected. The need for cover and concealment dictated the avenues of approach and withdrawal taken by each side. When necessary, bushwhacking became the preferred method of travel.

A September of 1756 report recounting an attempt to track and capture a recent raiding party provides an example of how French and Native forces and settlers and colonial militia moved through the landscape, utilizing roads when they needed to, but also creating their own path through undeveloped land climbing mountains and fording creeks.

That first Night we lay near Tonalloway, where Stoddert's Fort was, and the next Morning went to Combs's Plantation, and thence through several deserted Plantations, to a Place where one Ryley had a Fort; here we discovered the Tracks of several Indians who had gone down Great Tonallaways since the Rain fell on Sunday Night; these Tracks we followed about a Mile to a Place of one Elias Stillwell, where we found a very large Indian Camp, which seemed to have been a Place of general Rendezvous for a considerable Time past, for there had been six fires. ... On the 26<sup>th</sup> we left Hicks's, crossed a Branch of Big Tonalloway, and came down the Ridge, between that and Licking Creek. On the Ridge we fell in with a Track of Indians, which was much larger and more beaten than that we made, it seemed to come from the Big Cove or Sugar Cabbins, and to go towards the Rendesvous at Stillwell's, above mentioned; as this Track seemed to have been made before this Rain, we proceeded down Licking Creek to Mills's, and thence returned the same Night to Fort Frederick.<sup>207</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> Kester, Charles Polke, Indian Trader, p:451. Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 90, No. 4 (Winter 1995): 447-466.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> Maryland Gazette, September 2, 1756.

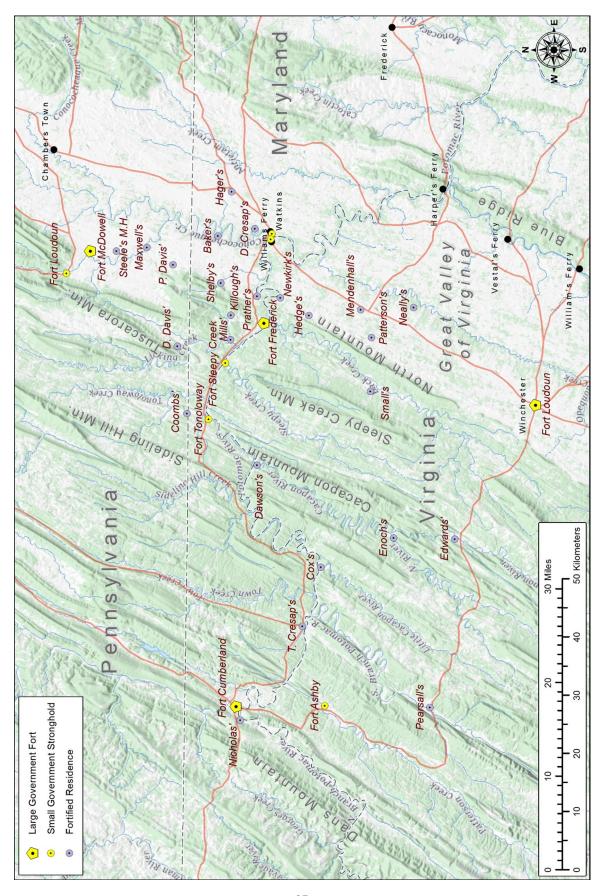


Figure #44: Battlefield Defining Features within broader Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia area surrounding Fort Tonoloway.

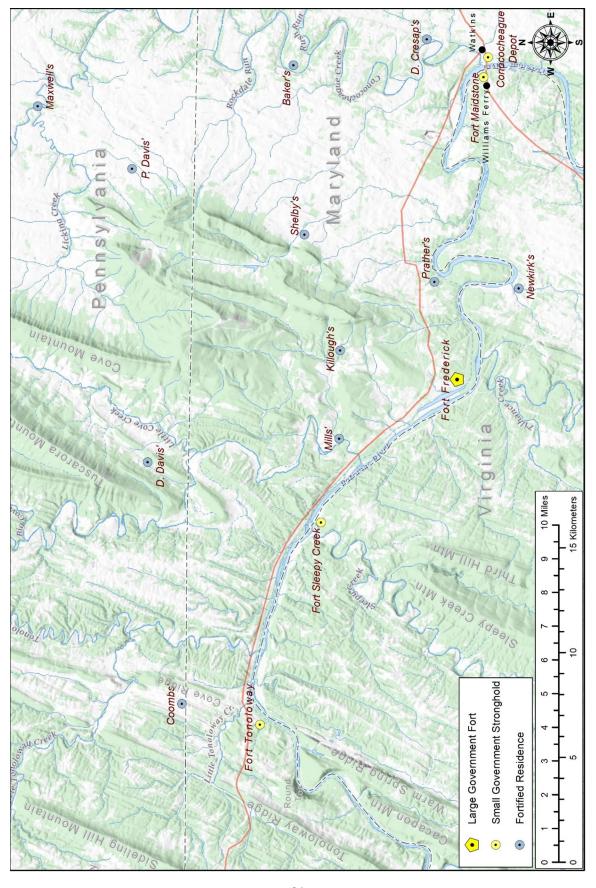


Figure #45: Battlefield Defining Features within the Potomac River corridor surrounding Fort Tonoloway.

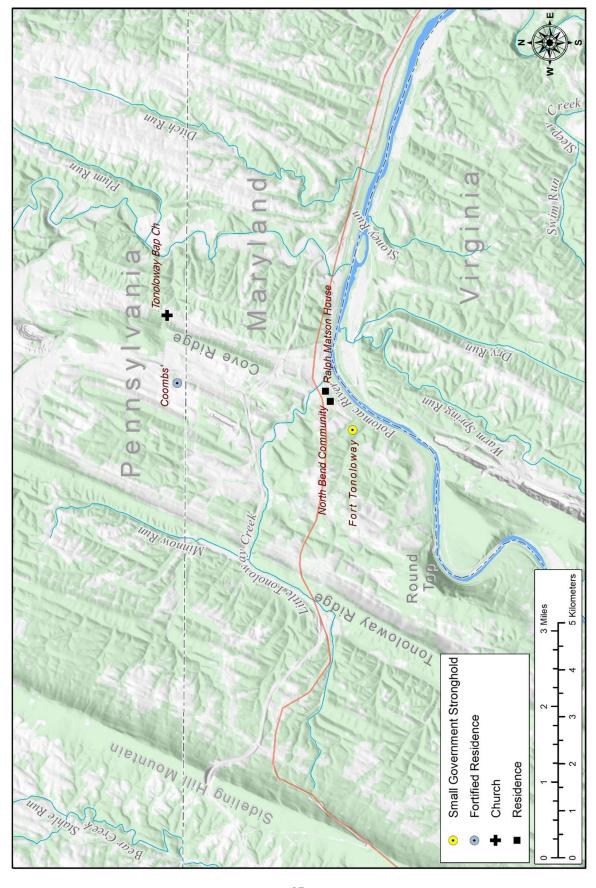


Figure #46: Battlefield Defining Features within the vicinity of Fort Tonoloway.

# 4 French And Indian War Fort Typology

The following is a generalized typology of fortifications erected throughout the French and Indian War, particularly during the period between 1755 and 1757 when violent raids were most prevalent. The typology is based on an inventory, relying primary and secondary sources, that has identified fortifications erected by colonial governments or their citizens and records the individual characteristics of location, form, materials, function, and historical descriptions. The inventory of fortifications is not comprehensive in nature but focuses primarily on forts located in the vicinity of the Potomac River corridor in both northern Virginia, southern Pennsylvania, and Maryland. The goal of the typology is to develop a fuller regional historical context for Fort Tonoloway, and to better understand the most salient factors that influenced the intent, placement, form, and construction materials of colonial frontier fortifications.

The typology of French and Indian War fortifications is organized based upon several important identified characteristics including who built and funded the fortification, the location, materials and size of the fortification, who used the fortification, and the stated functions or general purpose of the fortification. For each type of fortification, a brief description of each identified characteristic is provided, as well as several examples<sup>208</sup> of fortifications in Pennsylvania, Maryland or Virginia that are grouped in this type.

The tripartite typology of fortifications includes 1) fortified private residences and plantations; 2) small government strongholds; and 3) large government forts.

#### Type 1 – Fortified Private Residences and Plantations

Construction	Constructed	by	private	property	owners	often	with	the	assistance	of	adjacent

Funding Generally funded through private resources and labor, but also less frequently through

public funds.

Location Private fortifications were not strategically situated as they were built on the locations of existing 'plantations.' Private residences and plantations were most frequently fortified because of their location in remote, isolated but broadly settled areas, or unprotected areas.

Materials Generally residences were built of wood (log) and were fortified with the same. Palisades or stockades, where present, were constructed of logs.

Features /Size Fortifications of existing residences may have included strengthening and securing all doors and windows and constructing defensible positions (loop holes) to fire from. A small-scale palisade was also often constructed. Tall and large enough to surround a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> While many of the examples of private residences and plantations were built prior to the French & Indian War, the dates associated with each refer specifically to the fortification and not the construction of each residence or plantation.

fortified structure, a palisade provided space to accommodate numerous families if needed and protected other important resources such as springs and wells.

Garrison

Garrisons of private fortifications were generally small-sized although they could swell to crowded conditions during times of crisis. Garrisons consisted of private citizens, families and extended families generally a mixture of men, women and children. Anyone who could use a gun and contribute to the defense of the fortification was essential. Several men might be given commissions as militia officers to organize and lead ranging parties. Infrequently, and generally during times of stress, groups of provincial militia were assigned to reside and patrol the area using the private fortification as a base.

**Purpose** 

Generally built as a defensible shelter in anticipation of Indian attacks and in times of need. Because they were located on plantations, one or more structures could also serve as a store house for food and supplies.

Examples

Thomas Cresap's Fort (by May of 1755)

Located just south of Oldtown, Maryland overlooking the Potomac River, Cresap's Fort was built sometime prior to May of 1755. Thomas Cresap had established a residence and trading post in this location by the mid-1740s. The only description of Cresap's Fort comes from a member of the Braddock expedition of 1755 who described the compound: "he hath built a little Fort around his House and is resolved to keep his Ground." Cresap's fortification was again described in July of 1755 in the Maryland Gazette. "Saturday last, Mr. Thomas Stoddert came to Town from Frederick County, and informs us, that many Families from the back Settlements, are come in as far as Col. Cresap's, where they are fortifying themselves against the Indians:" Cresap's Fort was attacked repeatedly by Indians between 1755 and 1763 and served as a shelter for his own family, as well as adjacent neighbors. Between 2008 and 2010 the Louis Berger Group conducted archaeological investigations designed to identify the location of Thomas Cresap's trading post and fortification. The excavation of several small units confirmed the location of the fortification on a high terrace overlooking the Potomac River. Material culture dating from 1740-1770 period was recovered. Few nails or brick were found however implying log construction for the residence and fortification. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p51; Baker, 2000, p148; Bedell et al, 2011, pp51-60).

Thomas Mills' Fort (ca. August of 1755 to April 1756)

Located on the east side of Licking Creek near Pectonville, Maryland. Believed to be one of the three 'North Mountain' forts requested to be constructed by Governor Sharpe in July of 1755. Although a precise date for the construction of Mills' Fort is not known, Mills is first mentioned as receiving arms from Maryland in March of 1756, implying that he was stationed at a fortified and garrisoned site. In April of 1756, Governor Sharpe noted that a party of Indians was reported as having "done some Mischief on the Frontiers, near Mills's Fort." In September of 1756, the Maryland Gazette transcribed a report of the findings of a ranging party of militia that had gone

out in search of Indians. On their way back to Fort Frederick, the ranging party, "proceeded down Licking Creek to Mills's, and then returned the same Night." No historical descriptions of Mills' Fort have been found. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p140; Baker, 2000, p171).

Isaac Baker's Fort (ca. August of 1755 to August 1756)

Located on the west side of Conococheague Creek, near Fairview, Maryland. Believed to be one of the three 'North Mountain' forts requested to be constructed by Governor Sharpe in July of 1755. Although the precise date for the construction of Baker's Fort is not known, Isaac Baker is first commissioned as an officer in the provincial militia and told to raise a party of 20 men by Governor Horatio Sharpe in February of 1756. Payment for service and shipments of armaments were also sent to Baker throughout 1756-1757. It is assumed that this also meant he had a fortified base of operations, possibly his own residence. In August of 1756 a provincial officer and his troops were ordered to range between Fort Frederick and the Conococheaque settlement, and "to march [there] by the Way of Baker's Fort and not to advance beyond Fort Frederick." Beginning in April of 1757, Captain Joseph Chapline and a small contingent of troops were stationed at "Baker's Fort" during the repeated attacks on Maryland's Conococheague settlement during the Spring of that year. In correspondence between Chapline and Governor Sharpe, Chapline mentions increasing "our Company, including ourselves, to nearly Seventy Men," implying a fortification large enough to house a substantial force. Chapline also notes that in July of 1757, approximately "Seven Hundred Souls" still remained in Conococheague. In October of 1757, Isaac Baker's signature acknowledged receipt of L20 as payment for fortifying a hill near his home "for the Security and Use of the Neighborhood." The timing of this payment and receipt suggests that Baker may have been asked to expand his own residential fortification, or perhaps build a new one, subsequently stationed by Capt. Joseph Chapline, to provide increased protection for the larger Conococheague settlement and the large numbers of people still residing there. No historical descriptions of Baker's Fort have been found. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p27; Baker, 2000, p139).

Evan Shelby's Fort (ca. August of 1755 to September 1756)

Located on the plantation of Evan Shelby called Maiden's Choice, on Broadfording Road leading from Conococheague Creek to Fort Frederick, Maryland. Believed to be one of the three 'North Mountain' forts requested to be constructed by Governor Sharpe in July of 1755. Evan Shelby is first commissioned as an officer in the provincial militia and told to raise a party of 20 men by Governor Horatio Sharpe in February of 1756. Payment for service and shipments of armaments were also sent to Shelby throughout 1756-1757. It is assumed that this also meant he had a fortified base of operations, possibly his own residence. Shelby's Fort reportedly burned in 1763. No historical descriptions of Shelby's Fort have been found. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p183; Baker, 2000, p184).

Allen Killough's Fort (ca. August of 1755 to September 1756)

Located on the plantation of Allen Killough, east of Pectonville, Maryland near Fairview Mountain. Very little is known about Allen Killough's Fort. No historical descriptions of Killough's Fort have been found. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p224; Baker, 2000, p165).

Thomas Prather's Fort (ca. 1756)

Located on the plantation of Thomas Prather, approximately three miles east of Fort Frederick near the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal community of Four Locks, Maryland. Prather was an early resident of the Conococheague settlement of Maryland, arriving in the mid-to-late 1740s. Thomas Prather was commissioned as an officer in the provincial militia in the Fall of 1755. Payment for service and shipments of armaments were also sent to Prather throughout 1756-1757. It is assumed that this also meant he had a fortified base of operations, possibly his own residence. In April of 1764 Col. Thomas Prather was noted as living "near the Mouth of Conococheague & commands the Militia of Frederick County within this Province." Very little is known about Thomas Prather's Fort. No historical descriptions of Prather's Fort have been found. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p225; Baker, 2000, p181).

Nichols' Fort (by November 1755)

Located on the plantation of John Nichols, approximately five miles southwest of Fort Cumberland on the north bank of the North Branch of the Potomac River, near Cresaptown in Alleghany County, Maryland. Nichols' fort was located on the extreme western frontier of Maryland, and as such was quite isolated. Because of this Nichols' Fort likely started out as a palisaded residential complex but was likely improved defensively and expanded upon by troops stationed there. In November of 1755 it was described by Captain Charles Lewis as "about five miles from Fort Cumberland, well built, with four bastions." (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p145; Baker, 2000, p174).

Coombs Fort (September of 1755 to January 1756)

Located on the plantation of either Joseph or Edward Coombs in the vicinity of Warfordsburg, Pennsylvania, approximately 2.0 miles north of the Mason Dixon line. The settlers living in the upper Tonoloway, Big Cove and Little Cove vicinity used Coombs' Fort as a shelter during Indian raids between the Fall of 1755 and Spring of 1756. A Fort Coombs is first mentioned in primary source documents in early February (Pennsylvania Gazette, February 12) and early March (Maryland Gazette, March 11) of 1756, although it is quite likely built in late 1755. Because Coombs' Fort is mentioned repeatedly in the early 1756 period, it is assumed that it was successful in providing a defensive shelter for adjacent families. However, Isaac Baker's report of dated February 29, 1756 noted that the families defending Coombs' Fort were securing their grain and then fleeing to Fort Tonoloway. No historical descriptions of Coombs' Fort have been found. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p43; Baker, 2000, p147; Hunter, 1960, p557).

David Davis' Fort (by March 1756)

Located on the plantation of David Davis in Little Cove, Franklin County, Pennsylvania. David Davis' Fort is first mentioned in the Pennsylvania Gazette on March 18, 1756 during which Indians attacked his compound. Very little is known about David Davis' Fort. No historical descriptions of Davis' Fort have been found. (Source: Ansel, 1984, p224; Hunter 1960, p 368, 427, 558).

Phillip Davis' Fort (by March 1756)

Located on the plantation of Phillip Davis, southwest of Welsh Run in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, approximately 11 miles northwest of Hagerstown, Maryland. Phillip Davis' Fort was included in a plan for the defense of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania submitted by Davis himself to Governor Morris in March of 1756. Very little is known about Phillip Davis' Fort. No historical descriptions of Davis' Fort have been found. (Source: Ansel, 1984, p69; Baker, 2000, p150; Hunter, 1960, p368, 428, 558-559).

McDowell's Fort (by November 1755)

Located on the plantation of John McDowell on the west side of Conococheague Creek in Markes, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, McDowell's Fort was actually a fortified mill, known also as McDowell's Mill. McDowell's Mill was chosen as a location for a fortification by Governor Morris in July of 1755. McDowell's Fort was erected by local residents on a plan submitted by Governor Morris and consisted of a rectangular palisade with bastions on four corners enclosing the mill and several other small structures. Because of its strategic location near a pass in the Kittatinny Mountains, McDowell's Fort was also garrisoned by Pennsylvania militia between March and December 1756. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p138; Hunter, 1960, p424-436, 561).

Cox's Fort (by April of 1756)

Located on the plantation of Friend Cox east of the confluence of the Little Cacapon and Potomac rivers in Little Cacapon, West Virginia. Cox's Fort, serving as a shelter for the small settlement in the vicinity of the plantation of Friend Cox, is first mentioned in April of 1756. Cox operated a ferry at this location and it was a well-known crossing point of the Potomac River. George Washington called Cox's Fort a "trifling stockade," suggesting it was not larger or well-fortified. Very little is known about Cox's Fort. No detailed historical descriptions of Cox's Fort have been found. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p48; Baker, 2000, p147).

Edwards' Fort (by October of 1755)

Located on the plantation of Joseph Edwards on the Cacapon River approximately 0.4 mile north of Capon Bridge, West Virginia. The precise date of construction of Fort Edwards is not known however correspondence between October 1755 and April of 1756 mentions Edwards' plantation and that it was a rallying point and short-

term garrison for Virginia forces suggesting that a defensive fortification had been built. Portions of Fort Edwards have been archaeologically documented and found to possess a palisade approximately 107 feet long and at least 71 feet wide with a single structure in the center. The palisade had at least one corner bastion and one mid-wall redan. (Sources: Baker, 2000, p152; McBride, 2013, p139-157).

## Type 2 – Small Government Strongholds

Construction Constructed using local or regional volunteers, and/or provincial government-funded

militia labor, over a period of several weeks.

Funding Generally funded through public resources approved by provincial governments.

Funds were often very limited and almost always inadequate.

Location Small government strongholds were generally placed in two types of locations: 1) a

strategically defensive location designed as a deterrent against Indian raids, such as along a frequently travelled road or adjacent to a mountain pass; or 2) in a location designed to provide shelter and protection such as in an isolated area adjacent to a settler community. As the western frontiers contracted, these small government

strongholds migrated from points west to east.

Materials Generally built of wood (log) as it was the most plentiful material, but sometimes also

using earth and rock. Palisades or stockades, where present, were constructed of logs.

Features / Size Small-sized government funded strongholds were generally put up fairly quickly with

limited resources and labor, and in this sense they strongly resembled private fortifications. Generally, they consisted of one or more structures including a barracks and block house, as well as an adequately sized palisade. The palisade could be simple, enclosing a small space and a few structures, or more complex, with characteristics drawn from European fortification design. A small-sized government stronghold

might also have additional defensive features such as earthworks.

Garrison Generally garrisoned by a provincial commissioned officer with limited numbers of enlisted, volunteer or conscripted supporting troops. The garrison was generally small,

numbering between 10 and 50 individuals. In emergencies, the population in the fortification might swell and also be defended by regional families who arrived seeking

shelter.

Purpose A small government stronghold had multiple functions including 1) a shelter and

protection for communities in times of need; 2) a defensible stronghold designed to deter Indian raids serving as part of a larger strategic military plan of defense; and 3) a

position from which to small launch patrolling and ranging parties.

Examples Fort Tonoloway (by August of 1755)

Believed to be located on a low ridge west of Little Tonoloway Creek approximately 0.8 of a mile southwest of Hancock, Maryland, Fort Tonoloway was ordered

constructed by Governor Horatio Sharpe on a trip west to Frederick County, Maryland in late July of 1755. Described variously by Sharpe as "a Stoccado Fort," and "a small Fort on Tonallaway Creek for the Protection and Satisfaction of the distant Inhabitants," the fortification was constructed by Lieutenant Thomas Stoddert, a commissioned officer in the Frederick County militia, and his garrison of 15 to 20 men. Although no detailed primary source descriptions of Fort Tonoloway have been found, the fortification's primary purpose was as a shelter for neighboring families and it would likely have possessed a palisade with enough interior space to accommodate numerous families, as well as one or more structures. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p194; Baker, 2000, p189; Browne ed., 1888, p267, 279, 287, 353).

#### Conococheague Depot (by October 1755)

Located in Williamsport, Maryland at the confluence of Conococheague Creek and the Potomac River. The first mention of Conococheague serving as an official provisioning base was in October of 1755. It is likely that a fortification was built there during this period as well. Like Fort Maidstone in Virginia, the Conococheague Depot was located at an important crossing of the Potomac River and became a significant fortification for Maryland and the Conococheague settlements in Frederick County. It served as a supply base for Fort Cumberland, as well as Forbes 1758 campaign. The settlements in the vicinity of Conococheague Depot were attacked numerous times by French and Native radiers. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p40).

### Fort Necessity (May of 1754)

Located 9 miles southeast of Uniontown, Pennsylvania on Route 40. Fort Necessity was a small base camp built by George Washington and his troops after learning of the surrender and French occupation of the former Fort Prince George. In May of 1754 Washington described Fort Necessity as "a good Intrenchment" and "a Palisadoe Fort" surrounded by a cleared field. It was built out of necessity as a defensive position in a large open field called Great Meadows. Fort Necessity was archaeologically documented in the 1950s as a circular palisade, approximately 53 ft in diameter, with earthwork trenches outside of the palisade. (Sources: Harrington, 1957; Stotz, 2005, p95).

### Fort Lyttleton (by December 1755)

On orders from Governor Morris and the Pennsylvania Assembly, in December of 1755 George Croghan began the construction of a fortification at the Sugar Cabins, in present day Littleton, Pennsylvania. The fort was one of five forts proposed to be constructed in Cumberland County by the Pennsylvania Assembly in late 1755 to be garrisoned by a total of 250 men. The orders Croghan was working from described a "stockadoe" approximately "fifty feet square, with a Block-house on two of the corners, and a barrack within, capable of Lodging Fifty men." Fort Lyttleton was garrisoned by Pennsylvania militia up through the Forbes Expedition of 1758. (Sources: Burns, 2013; Burns, 2015; Hunter, 1960, 410-424; Hunter 1964, p250-254).

Fort Shirley / Croghan's Fort (by September of 1755)

Originally a small trading post built on Aughwick Creek at Shirleysburg, Pennsylvania by George Croghan. It was fortified by Croghan in September of 1755. "As I live 30 Miles back of all Inhabitance on ye frontier I have been obligd To Rase a Volunteer Company on My own Expence and am building a Small Stockade fort to Secure what Litle Estate I have left which Men and My Self will be Ready att any time to Serve his Magesty when Calld. On." The stockade was finished in mid-October of 1755. Again in mid-November 1755 Croghan wrote, "I have butt a Stockcade fort at Aughick, and have about 40 men with me there, butt how long I shall be able to keep itt, I realy can't tell." In February of 1756, Governor Morris described Fort Shirley as "Something larger than fort Lyttleton." Fort Lyttleton was a 50-foot square palisade. Archaeological investigations have documented Fort Shirley to be a 134 x 165-foot palisade including bastions on four corners. Fort Shirley was garrisoned by Pennsylvania militia from early 1756 until its abandonment in September of 1756. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p126; Burns, 2010; Burns, 2013; Burns, 2015; Hunter, 1960, p394-405).

#### Fort Loudoun, Pennsylvania (Between November and December of 1756)

Located on the east side of the west branch of Conococheague Creek in Franklin County, Pennsylvania. Constructed as part of Pennsylvania's 'Chain of Forts' in late 1756. John Armstrong described the construction of the fortification in late November of 1756: "I'm making the best preparation in my power to forward the New Fort, as well as to prepare the Barracks, &c., all the others for the Approaching Winter. ... Today we begin to Digg a Cellar in the New Fort; The Loggs & Roof of a New House having there been Erected by Patton before the Indians burn's his Old One. We shall first apprise this House, and then take the benefit of it, either for Officers Barracks or a Store House, by which means the Provisions may the sooner be mov'd." In July of 1758, General John Forbes described both Fort Lyttleton and Fort Loudoun as containing "only two or three houses each, inclosed with a Stockade of 100 feet square." When complete, the fortification possessed a stockade, barracks and store house. Archaeological investigations documented a 127-foot sided square-shaped palisade containing a barracks / store house, and stone lined well. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p126; Hunter, 1960, p463-473; www.fortloudounpa.com).

## Fort Ashby (November 1755)

Located on the plantation of Charles Seller on the east bank of Patterson's Creek approximately 5.0 miles south of the Potomac River in Fort Ashby, West Virginia. Fort Ashby was ordered to be constructed on October 26, 1755 as part of George Washington's Chain of Forts and was built by Captain John Ashby and his rangers. According to Washington's instructions, the fort was to be quadrangular with sides of 90 feet with bastions. Archaeological investigations in 2007 and 2017 documented the fort as a square-shaped palisade with 110-foot long sides, with large bastions at each corner. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p19; Baker, 2000, p138; www.fortashby.org).

Fort Sleepy Creek (by August 1756)

One of the Chain of Forts ordered to be built by the Virginia General Assembly. George Washington gave instructions in late July of 1756 for a fort to be at Sleepy Creek. It is believed that the fortification was likely constructed on high ground at Stephen Boyle's plantation adjacent to the confluence of Sleepy Creek and the Potomac River in Morgan County, West Virginia. Very little is known about Fort Sleepy Creek. No historical descriptions of Fort Sleepy Creek have been found. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p187; Baker, 2000, p184).

Fort Maidstone (by September of 1755)

Located on the plantation of Evan Watkins (Watkins Ferry), directly across from Williamsport, Maryland in Berkeley County, West Virginia. Given its important location at a well-known crossing of the Potomac, and its relevance to a contracting western frontier, Fort Maidstone was considered an important fortification for Virginia and was used as a base where troops would bivouac and supplies could be stored. Maidstone was the northernmost fortification in Virginia's 'Chain of Forts.' The fortification was garrisoned by numerous Virginia troops throughout the war. Fort Maidstone operated in conjunction with Maryland's Conococheague Depot on the north side of the Potomac. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p131; Baker, 2000, p167).

## Type 3 – Large Government Forts

Construction

Constructed using government-funded militia or regimental labor, often with the oversight of military engineers. Because of the large size and complicated nature of these fortifications, private contractors were also frequently employed to assist in construction. Duration of construction lasted months or years.

**Funding** 

Publicly funded through provincial governments and/or the British Crown. More robustly funded than smaller government strongholds.

Location

Early on in the war, these substantial fortifications were placed in areas closer to existing settlements in more defensible positions to provide maximum protection against raids, and also as a base for ranging militias. Later in the war, they were placed in more forward areas in the western frontier to provide strongholds convenient for launching future attacks and offensive sorties. In most cases, these large forts were placed on strategically located positions such as high ground, near major roads and settlements, etc.

Materials

Generally built of wood (log), but also incorporating earth and stone.

Features / Size Large-sized fortifications predominantly based on military designs and possessing numerous defensive features. Frequently multi-sided polygons with bastions and firing platforms on numerous corners containing several structures for housing, storage, munitions and administration. Often taking many months or over a year to build.

Garrison

Generally garrisoned by large numbers (e.g. several 100s) of provincial militia or British regular troops. Troop levels ebbed and flowed.

Purpose

These fortifications were designed to be held long-term. They were built large enough to house several hundred troops, be readily defensible, and provide storage for munitions and supplies. Often, they were considered positions from which advances would be made against the enemy, either small ranging parties in search of raiders, or larger bodies of forces designed to attack French positions.

Examples

Fort Cumberland / Fort Mount Pleasant (by September of 1754)

Originally a small trading post, Fort Cumberland is one of the better documented fortifications of the French & Indian War. Construction of a fortification at the location of the confluence of Wills Creek and the Potomac River in Cumberland, Maryland was begun in September of 1754 by Col. James Innes and Virginia troops with funding from the British Crown. Originally named Fort Mount Pleasant, Innes was named commander of the fortification with a garrison of between 50 - 60 Maryland troops. After visiting Fort Mount Pleasant in December of 1756, Governor Horatio Sharpe decided it was inadequate and argued for a much larger and better situated fortification. He described it as a "small Stoccado Fort ...; but as the Fort they have finished is exceedingly small its Exterior Side not exceeding 120 feet I conceived it requisite or rather absolutely necessary to have another much larger raised on an adjacent & more elevated piece of Ground which I have ordered the Maryland Company to proceed on & I hope they will be able to finish it this winter." In February of 1756, Governor Sharpe described Fort Cumberland a large fortification "tho in my Opinion not much more capable of Defence, on Potowmack about 46 miles beyond our Settlements. It has been distinguished by the Appellation of Fort Cumberland & is at present garrisoned by 400 men from Virg. & this Gov." Several primary source maps show the large size of the fortification. It was described as 200 yards long and 46 yards wide, and built of logs. Fort Cumberland served as a staging ground for General Edward Braddock's forces in their final push to take Fort du Quesne in July of 1755. Fort Cumberland saw numerous attacks by French and Indian forces but it was never taken. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p62; Baker, 2000, p148; Browne, 1888, p136, 222, 234, 266, 279, 353 423; Mathews, 1932).

Fort Frederick (Between June 1756 and November 1757)

Funded by the Maryland Assembly, with supervision of its construction provided by Governor Horatio Sharpe, Fort Frederick is located on the north side of the Potomac River approximately 1.25 miles southeast of the community of Big Pool, Maryland. According to Governor Sharpe, "...As I apprehended that the French would e'er long teach their Indian Allies to approach & set fire to our Stoccado or Wooden Forts I thought proper to build Fort Frederick of stone. ...The Fort is not finished but the Garrison are well covered... Our Barracks are made for the Reception & Accommodation of 200 Men." Archaeological investigations have documented the size and shape of the fortification. Now reconstructed, Fort Frederick is a 250-foot

squared stone fortification with bastions on four corners, containing two barracks and one officer quarters, with one gate, and an interior well. Fort Frederick was garrisoned with 200 troops who generally performed ranging duties. Fort Frederick served as a crucial supply base for the Forbes campaign in 1758. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p100; Baker, 2000, p157; Browne, 1888, p415, 418, 466).

Fort Loudoun, Virginia (Between Spring 1756 to Fall 1758)

Located in Winchester, Virginia, and intended as the headquarters and supply depot for George Washington of the Virginia regiment and designed by him. Due to labor shortage, illnesses and military obligations on Virginia's frontier, the construction of Fort Loudoun took over two years to complete. In early 1758, a contractor wrote to Washington describing Fort Loudoun's progress. "The third barrack is intierly covered in, and the last one now aframing in order to raise, the parapet on the last curtains up, the last Bastin is lay'd over with logs and two of the ambuziers done and now is about the other four, we have done all the joyner's work in the second barrack, ... our stone masons has been sick ever since you have been away and our stone work is much behind hand. The well has been almost full of water but is now cleared and they are at work in it again and there is near 90 foot deep." Describing Fort Loudoun in 1760, Reverend Andrew Barnaby noted, "It is a regular square fortification, with four bastions, mounting twenty-four cannon; the length of each curtain, if I am not mistaken, is about eighty yards. Within, there are barracks for 450 men. The materials of which it is constructed, are logs filled up with earth; the soldiers attempted to surround it with a dry ditch; but the rock was so extremely hard and impenetrable, that they were obliged to desist." Archaeological investigations at Fort Loudoun documented portions of one side of a palisaded fortification. Plans for Fort Loudoun, drawn by George Washington, document that he intended it to be a square-shaped fortification with 240-foot long sides containing four barracks, officers quarters, a magazine, a well, and a sally port. (Sources: Ansel, 1984, p121; Baker, 2000, p165; Jolley, 2005, p66-106; Jolley, 2013, p102-121; Poque, 2013; Powell, 1990).

Fort Bedford / Fort Raystown (June 1858)

Ordered to be constructed by Govenror William Denny in mid-1758, Fort Bedford was constructed by an advance brigade of General John Forbes campaign on the Juniata River in Bedford County, Pennsylvania. The purpose of Fort Bedford was to supply Forbes' forces and serve as a base camp upon their arrival. Based on a 1763 plan of Fort Bedford, it was built as an irregularly shaped star-fortification with five bastions containing numerous structures. Fort Bedford was constructed of wood. (Sources: Turner, 2015, p81-89).

Fort Ligonier (Between August and September of 1758)

Constructed on the north bank of the Loyalhanna Creek in Ligonier, Pennsylvania in advance of General John Forbes march to capture Fort du Quesne. A plan of Fort Ligonier, drawn upon its completion in 1758, documents that it consisted of a square-shaped fortification with bastions at four corners containing officers' quarters,

barracks, a storehouse, powder magazine and armory, surrounded by a much larger triangular-shaped polygon containing batteries, and numerous additional structures. Fort Ligonier was the location of an October of 1758 battle between French and Indian forces and British and Pennsylvania defenders. Archaeological investigations documented an inner fort containing four log buildings, a 200-foot square log wall with bastions projections on four corners, surrounded by a 1,700-foot long breastwork or retrenchment enclosing approximately 3.5 acres. (Burns, 2015; Hunter, 1960, p543; Stotz, 2005, p120).

# 5 Archaeological Investigations At French And Indian War Fortifications

## Primary Source Descriptions of the Construction of Colonial Eighteenth-Century Fortifications

In November of 1755 and January of 1756, French-allied Delaware Indians attacked the mission town of Gnadenhutten, killing many people and burning the village. As a result, Governor Robert Morris appointed Benjamin Franklin and others to build several wooden forts in Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania General Assembly supported the effort with funding of L 60,000. Franklin and a party of 130 men set out to build several forts. In a January 25, 1756 letter to Governor Morris, Franklin describes the process of construction and the materials used in building Fort Allen.

Tuesday morning we looked round us, Pitched on a Place, mark'd out our Fort on the Ground, and by 10 o'clock began to cut Timber for Stockades and to dig the Ground. By 3 in the afternoon the Logs were all cut and many of them halled to the Spot, the Ditch dug to Set them in 3 Feet deep, and that Evening many were pointed and set up. The next Day we were hinder'd by Rain most of the Day. Thursday we resum'd our Work and before night were pretty well enclosed, and on Friday morning the Stockade was finished and part of the Platform within erected, which was compleated the next morning. ...It is 125 feet long, 50 feet wide, the stocadoes most of them a Foot thick; they are 3 Foot in the Ground and 12 Feet out, pointed at the Top.<sup>209</sup>

In his autobiography, first published in 1791, Franklin again describes the construction of Fort Allen.

The next morning our fort was planned and marked out, the circumference measuring four hundred and fifty-five feet, which would require as many palisades to be made of trees, one with another, of a foot diameter each. Our axes, of which we had seventy, were immediately set to work to cut down trees and, our men being dexterous in the use of them, great despatch was made. Seeing the trees fall so fast, I had the curiosity to look at my watch when two men began to cut at a pine; in six minutes they had it upon the ground, and I found it of fourteen inches diameter. Each pine made three palisades of eighteen feet long, pointed at one end. While these were preparing, our other men dug a trench all round, of three feet deep, in which the palisades were to be planted; and our wagons, the bodies being taken off, and the fore and hind wheels separated by taking out the pin which united the two parts of the perch, we had ten carriages, with two horses each, to bring the palisades form the woods to the spot. When they were set up, our carpenters built a stage of boards all round within, about six feet high, for the men to stand on when to fire thro- the loopholes. We had one swivel gun, which we mounted on one of the angles, and fired it as soon as fixed, to let the Indians know, if any were within hearing, that we had such pieces; and thus our fort, if such a magnificent name may be given to so miserable a stockade, was finished

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> Thomas L. Montgomery, ed., Report of the Commission to Located the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania, Vol. 1., pp: 194-196. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: W. Stanley Ray, 1916).

in a week. ... This kind of fort, however contemptible, is a sufficient defense against Indians, who have no cannon.<sup>210</sup>

Significantly later than Franklin, in an 1842 memoir describing his late eighteenth-century experiences in the Ohio Valley, Spencer Records provided a description of a general fortification.

I will for the information of those that never saw a stockade fort, describe one, and lay down a plat thereof. In the first place, the ground is cleared off, the size they intend to build the fort, which was an oblong square. Then a ditch was dug, three feet deep, the dirt being thrown out on the inside of the fort. Logs, twelve or fifteen inches in diameter and fifteen feet long, were cut and split open. The top ends were sharpened, the butts set in the ditch with the flat sides all in, and the cracks broke with the flat sides of other[s]. The dirt was then thrown into the ditch and well rammed down. Port-holes were made high enough that if a ball should be short in, it would pass overhead. The cabins were built far enough from the stockades to have plenty of room to load and shoot. Two bastions were constructed at opposite corners with port-holes about eighteen inches from the ground. The use of these bastions was to rake the two sides of the fort, should the Indians get close up to the stockades, so that they could not shoot them from the port-holes in the sides. Two gateways were made fronting each other with strong gates and bars so that they could not be forced open. Some forts had a bastion at each corner.<sup>211</sup>

# Archaeological Investigations at French and Indian War Fortifications

The following fortifications located in Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania have been archaeologically excavated to varying degrees. The summaries below reflect archaeological information obtained from readily accessible archaeological reports or from secondary source materials summarizing the archaeological findings.

Thomas Cresap's Fort (MD) <sup>212</sup>

Archaeological investigations were conducted on a terrace south of Oldtown approximately 1,000 feet north of the Potomac River. While no material evidence for structures or fortifications was identified, archaeologists did recover a significant collection of domestic, personal and architectural artifacts dating from the 1740-1770 period. At this location in western Maryland during the third quarter of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> Benjamin Franklin, The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, 1706-1757, pp: 226-227. (Bedford, Massachusetts: Applewood Books, 1903).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> Spencer Records, Spencer Records' Memoir of the Ohio Valley Frontier, 1766-1795. Indiana Magazine of History, Vol. 55, No. 4 (December 1959): 323-377.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> John Bedell, Jason Shellenhamer, Charles LeeDecker, and Stuart Fiedel, River and Mountain, War and Peace: Archaeological Identification and Evaluation Study of Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park, Hancock to Cumberland (Mile Markers 123 to 184), Volume I, pp: 58-60. (Washington, D.C.: The Louis Berger Group, Inc., May 2011).

the eighteenth century, there were only a limited number of residences including Thomas Cresap's fortified trading post as well as those of a few neighbors.<sup>213</sup>

Fort Frederick (MD) 214

Archaeological Investigations at Fort Frederick were conducted by the CCC and the Maryland Department of Forestry between 1934 and 1937 continued through 1936. Restoration of Fort Frederick was also begun by the CCC and National Park Service in 1934. Unlike other French and Indian War fortifications, because Fort Frederick was constructed of stone, much of the old walls were still in place albeit in poor shape. Between 1973 and 1978, additional archaeological investigations were conducted focusing on specific research questions associated with the reconstruction of specific features including a powder magazine, the barracks, and associated utility lines. The fortification was found to possess 3.0 to 4.0-foot thick stone walls 360 feet in length with bastions at each corner. Stone foundations of several long rectangular structures, most likely barracks, were documented. Other significant features identified included a well, and a drain and catch-basin. More recent archaeological research conducted in 2000 by Greenhorne & O'Mara, Inc. focused on obtaining additional information on the location of the powder magazine, the appearance and function of the Officer's Quarters, and determining how the fortification was used for defense. Archaeological evidence documented that catwalks most likely ran along the interior of the curtain walls and that the bastions possessed ramparts and platforms constructed of earth. The powder magazine was unable to be definitely located. The Officers Quarters were found to possess fireplaces, where as the store house did not. Examination of the barracks found that it was likely an open-bay structure with few partitions.

A significant amount of material culture dating from the mid-eighteenth to the twentieth century has been recovered from Fort Frederick.

Fort Edwards (VA) 215

Archaeological investigations have occurred at Fort Edwards over a period of several years between 1990 and 2004. The goal of these investigations was to both find the fort and to identify, define and understand its features. Archaeological investigations determined that agricultural plowing had adversely impacted cultural deposits and features associated with a significant portion of the mideighteenth-century fort site. Only a small portion was found to contain intact cultural deposits. Despite the plowing which likely truncated a number of cultural features and deposits, archaeological

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> See Col. Thomas Cresap to Gov. Horatio Sharpe, July 15, 1763 neighbors in vicinity of Oldtown. In William H. Browne, ed., Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. 3 (1761-1771), p104. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1895).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> Fort Frederick (18WA20). Electronic resource: https://apps.jefpat.maryland.gov/neh/18WA20-%20Fort%20Frederick%20Finding%20Aid.aspx. Accessed January 26, 2020. St. Leonard, Maryland: Maryland Department of Planning, Jefferson Patterson Park Museum; Varna G. Boyd, Archaeological Investigations Report, Fort Frederick State Park, Washington County, Maryland. Volumes 1 and 2. (Greenbelt, MD: Greenhorne & O'Mara, Inc., 2001). 
<sup>215</sup> See William M. Gardner, In Search of the Stockade: Archaeological Testing at Fort Edwards, Hampshire County, West Virginia. (Woodstock, Virginia: Thunderbird Archaeological Associates, 1990); W. Stephen McBride, "For the Protection of Your Lives and Fortunes...": Archaeological Explorations at Fort Edwards. Hampshire County, West Virginia. (Lexington, KY: Wilbur Smith Associates, 1998); W. Stephen McBride, Report of the 2004 Archaeological Investigations at Fort Edwards (46HM75). Hampshire County, West Virginia. (Lexington, KY: McBride Preservation Services, 2005); W. Stephen McBride, "To Preserve the Forts, and the Families Gathered into Them:" Archaeology of Edwards's Fort, Capon Bridge, West Virginia. The Archaeology of French and Indian War Frontier Forts, pp: 139-157. (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2013).

investigations did identify several portions of a stockade wall, some with intact post-molds, as well as a structural foundation and several cellar or trash pit features.

The stockade trenches were composed of trenches measuring 1.5 to 2.0 feet wide and approximately 3.0 to 3.5 feet deep. Set within the trenches were the remains of vertical posts ranging in size from 4 to 10 inches in diameter, but predominantly 8 to 10 inches in diameter. As identified through archaeology, the several stockade sections documented an 'irregular' fortification shape that measured approximately 71 by 107 feet and possessed corner bastions and mid-wall redans. The tentative form of the fortification appeared to resemble Benjamin Franklin's plan for Fort Allen (Figure #47).

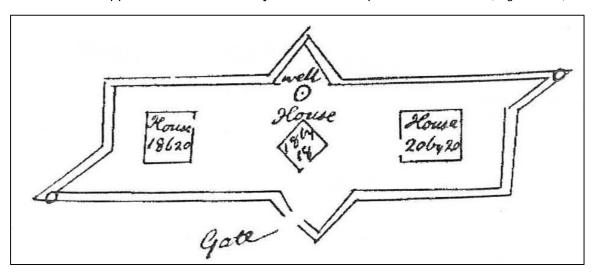


Figure #47: Plan of Fort Allen, Pennsylvania.

A centrally located large pit measuring 16 x 28 feet with a limestone foundation, possibly representing the cellar of Edwards' residence, was also identified. Several other pits, interpreted as storage cellars to as yet unidentified structures, were also identified. These pits were consistently sized and measured between 3.5 to 4.0 feet long, 2.0 to 2.5 feet wide, and 1.0 to 2.0 feet deep.

Material culture recovered from the Edwards Fort site dates from the mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth century and consists of significant quantities of domestic artifacts including ceramics, glass, animal bone (pig, cow and deer), and gunflints, an assemblage which points to settler occupation, as opposed to solely military occupation.

## Fort Dinwiddie (VA) 216

Limited archaeological investigations were conducted by Harold MacCord over a three-day period in 1971. During mechanical trenching and manual cleaning the dry-laid stone foundations of the Jacob Warwick residence, a 17-foot square structure, upon whose property the fortification was constructed was identified. In addition, shallow ditches measuring approximately 1.5 feet in width and presumed to be the remains of a palisade trench, were also identified. An insignificant number of artifacts were recovered during trenching.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> Howard A. MacCord, Fort Dinwiddie Site, Bath County, Virginia. Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia, Vol. 27, No. 2 (1973): 145-150.

## Fort Chiswell (VA) 217

Salvage excavations undertaken by University of Virginia graduate student Thomas Funk and the Virginia Historic Landmark Commission in advance of the construction of a highway interchange. Three structures, dating from the mid-to-late eighteenth century, were identified during excavation. Remnant architecture included evidence for a log cabin with brick chimney ends, as well as running stone foundations, and stone hearths and a chimney base. A significant amount of eighteenth-century material culture was recovered from the site including domestic ceramics, architectural items, personal items, faunal remains, and Native American lithic remains.

## Fort Ashby (VA) 218

Between 2002 and 2017 Stephen W. McBride led several seasons of archaeological investigations at the site of Fort Ashby. Investigations documented four segments of stockade including remnants of two bastions. The stockade trench extended to a depth of approximately 4.0 feet below grade in places. Post molds, split to form a flat dimension, measured between 4 and 19 inches in diameter. The absence of a trench and post-mold in the bastions suggests that they were constructed of horizontally laid logs with earthen fill. In addition, several shallow trenches suggest supports for a firing platform, and storage or trash pits were also identified. The fortification possessed slightly curved bastions and measured approximately 66 feet square, differing from the 90-foot dimension as ordered by Washington. Stockade posts of the bastions were round and smaller, while the corner posts were square and larger.

Significant material culture was recovered from Fort Ashby including smoking items, buttons and other fasteners, ceramics, gun flints, musket balls, etc.

## Fort Loudoun (VA) 219

In 1992 Thunderbird Archeological Associates conducted archaeological excavations at Fort Loudoun, however no report of investigations was issued. Between 2002-2003, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR), Winchester office in association with the Archaeological Society of Virginia (ASV), Northern Shenandoah Virginia chapter, conducted archaeological investigations on the site of Fort Loudoun, located in Winchester, Virginia. The goals of the VDHR-ASV investigations was three fold, 1) to identify and define the size, shape and construction materials of the stockade; 2) to identify and define the construction and function of two structures within the stockade; and 3) to recover material culture of the French and Indian War occupation of the site.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> Thomas C. Funk, Excavations at Fort Chiswell: An Archaeological Perspective of Virginia's Western Frontier. M.A. Thesis, University of Virginia, 1976. University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia; David K. Hazzard and Martha W. McCartney. Interim Report Archaeological Investigations at Fort Chiswell, Wythe County, Virginia. August – September 1976. Report on file at Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> Stephen W. McBride, Report of the 2007-2008 Archaeological Investigations at Ashby's Fort (46MI58). Mineral County, West Virginia. (Lexington, KY: McBride Preservation Services, 2009); Stephen W. McBride, Kim Arbogast McBride, and Greg Adamson, Frontier Forts in West Virginia: Historical and Archaeological Explorations, pp: 31-33. (Charleston, West Virginia: West Virginia Division of Culture and History, 2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> Robert L. Jolley, Archaeological Investigations at Fort Loudoun (44FK0593): A French and Indian War Period Fortification, Winchester, Virginia. Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia, Vol. 60, No. 2 (2005): 67-106.

Design plans for Fort Loudoun in Washington's hand imply the construction of a square fortification with bastions on each corner with numerous structures located adjacent to and within the stockade (Figure #48).

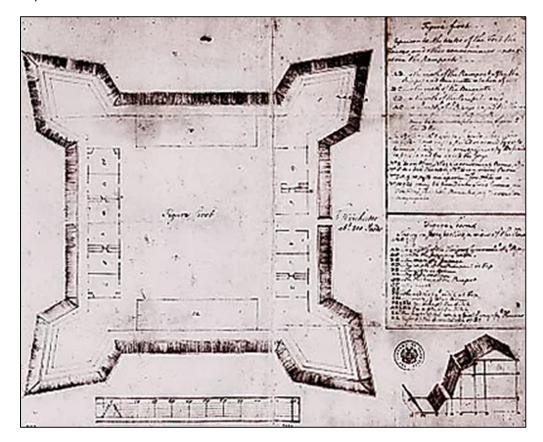


Figure #48: Plan for Fort Loudoun, Virginia. George Washington, ca. 1756.

During excavation of three exploratory trenches, several French & Indian War era features were identified buried under later fill soils and occupation deposits dating from the late eighteenth to the twentieth century. The French and Indian War features included one structure, one post-hole, and three dug features. Structure 1 was a well-defined structural wall built of limestone, possessing a builder's trench, and dating to the French & Indian War period. The limestone wall was found within the area believed to be a military barracks as identified on a Washington generated map of the fortification. Post-hole 4, located in trench 2, was identified as a French & Indian War feature based on the vertical provenance. The post-hole was not excavated. Other features included a linear drainage trench, an unidentified linear trench blasted through limestone bedrock, and an unidentified pit feature containing French and Indian War era material culture.

Material culture recovered from the Fort Loudoun site included ceramics, glass bottles and jars, hand wrought nails, pane glass, musket balls, gun flints, and gun parts, as well as clothing fasteners and smoking pipes, and animal bone.

## Fort Necessity (PA) 220

Archaeological investigations, both preliminary and comprehensive in nature, were conducted at the Fort Necessity site in 1901 by Archer Hulbert, in 1931-1932 by Harry Blackford, and in 1952-1953 by J. C. Harrington. The first reconstruction of Fort Necessity occurred in 1932 shortly following its establishment in March of 1931 as a National Battlefield under the War Department. A more accurate reconstruction of the fortification was constructed in the early 1970s following the work of J. C. Harrington.

Unlike his predecessors Harrington, a trained archaeologist, documented a circular-shaped stockade that had been partially impacted by the archaeological work in 1931-1932. The stockade possessed only one opening 3.0 feet wide, measured approximately 53.0 feet in diameter and was approximately 2.2 to 2.5 feet wide. Remnant posts, many of which were burned, were documented within the stockade trench suggesting that the French burned the fortification after its abandonment by Washington's forces. Analysis of the remnant posts documented that they were split white oak, measuring 7 – 13 inches in diameter, and placed with the flat side facing outward. In addition, small unsplit posts, likely used as filler for open spaces, were also identified on the inside of the stockade. Although noted in historical records, no physical evidence of a small storehouse was identified.

A series of earthen works, or 'entrenchment,' was also identified by Harrington adjacent to and outside the stockade. The earthworks consisted of an inner and outer ditch on either side of a low parapet. The ditches extended approximately 2.0 feet below 1754 grade. The height of the original parapet was not determined.

Although quantitatively limited, material culture recovered from the Harrington investigations confirmed the short-term, military nature of the fortification. Wine bottle glass, tobacco pipe stems, and a tea pot lid were recovered.

#### Fort Ligonier (PA) 221

Several phases of archaeological investigations were undertaken at Fort Ligonier including by Eugene M. Gardner in 1947, by Jacob L. Grimm between 1961 and 1965, 1970 and 1972 under the auspices of the Carnegie Mellon University, and most recently by Jonathan Burns Juniata College students. Investigations documented an 'inner' fortification and an 'outer' retrenchment. The stockade of the inner fortification was composed of predominantly vertically set white oak logs forming an approximately 130-foot square and possessing corner bastions. Some post molds, measuring approximately 9 to 10.5 inches in diameter, were found within the stockade trench which measured nearly 3 feet deep in places. The southeast curtain wall and a portion of the northeast curtain wall was constructed of two parallel rows of horizontal logs with earth between forming a 10-foot wide barricade wall. Located inside the stockade were several structures. The outer retrenchment was an irregularly-shaped polygon surrounding the fort composed of log construction. Other cultural features

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> J. C. Harrington, New Light on Washington's Fort Necessity. (Richmond, Virginia: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1970).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> Jonathan A. Burns, Archaeology of Pennsylvania's Colonial Frontier: Forts Shirley, Lyttleton, and Ligonier. Paper presented at the Pennsylvania Statewide Conference on Heritage, July 8 – 10, 2015; Jacob L. Grimm, Archaeological Investigations of Fort Ligonier, 1960-1965. Annals of Carnegie Museum, Vol. 42 (1970).

documented included a powder magazine measuring 14.0 by 19.0 feet, an approximately 20 by 40-foot refuse pit, a wooden cattle pen, a privy, and ash pits.

Over 81,000 European and Native American artifacts were recovered between 1960 – 1965 from the Fort Ligonier site.

# Fort Lyttleton (PA) 222

Archaeological investigations at Fort Lyttleton were undertaken by Juniata College faculty and staff over the last few years. A period map of Fort Lyttleton documents that it was of British design, possessing a palisade, gate, four bastions, and numerous buildings interior to the fort. Archaeological investigations to date have focused on broader survey goals associated with land acquisition and stewardship. Archaeological survey has recovered a significant mid-eighteenth-century material cultural assemblage including ceramics, personal items, munitions, etc.

## Fort Shirley (PA) 223

Archaeological investigations at Fort Shirley were undertaken by AXIS, Inc. and IUPUI, Penn State University and Juniata College faculty and students between 2009 and 2014. A non-invasive GPR survey as well as extensive shovel testing and unit excavation documented the location of portions of a stockade that measured approximately 134 feet by 165 feet with 65-foot bastion projections. Additional features documented at the fortification included an unidentified structure in the northeast corner of the stockade, pits, a cooking pit, and a privy.

Material culture recovered from the fortification included a significant quantity of Native American artifacts, including trade beads, copper and personal items, reflecting its role as an early trading post established by trader George Croghan.

# Fort Loudoun (PA) 224

Archaeological investigations at Fort Loudoun were undertaken by the William Penn Museum between 1977 and 1980 identified nearly the entire perimeter of the stockade. The fortification was largely square-shaped and measured approximately 127 feet across. The stockade trench was found to be 'U'-shaped and remnant posts were found to be buried 18 – 30 inches into sterile subsoil. Standard

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> Jonathan A. Burns, Commerce and Conflict on Central Pennsylvania's Colonial Frontier: Archaeology at Forts Shirley and Littleton. Juniata Voices, Vol. 14 (2013): 143-170; Jonathan A. Burns, Archaeology of Pennsylvania's Colonial Frontier: Forts Shirley, Lyttleton, and Ligonier. Paper presented at the Pennsylvania Statewide Conference on Heritage, July 8 – 10, 2015. <sup>223</sup> Timothy A. Carn, The Material Culture Remains of a Multi-Ethnic Frontier: An Initial Spatial Analysis of Fort Shirley (36HU94). MA Thesis, IUPUI, 2014; Jonathan A. Burns, Commerce and Conflict on Central Pennsylvania's Colonial Frontier: Archaeology at Forts Shirley and Littleton. Juniata Voices, Vol. 14 (2013): 143-170; Jonathan A. Burns, Archaeology of Pennsylvania's Colonial Frontier: Forts Shirley, Lyttleton, and Ligonier. Paper presented at the Pennsylvania Statewide Conference on Heritage, July 8 – 10, 2015; Jonathan A. Burns, Croghan at Aughwick: History, Maps, and Archaeology Collide in the Search for Fort Shirley. PAST Journal, Volume 33 (2010): 1-18. 224 Barry C. Kent, Exploratory Excavations at the Site of Fort Loudoun, Peters Township, Franklin County, Pennsylvania. Ms. on file, Section of Archaeology, State Museum of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, 1977; Barry C. Kent, Discovery of Fort Loudoun, Franklin County, Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania Archaeologist, Vol. 48, No. 3 (1978): 42-47; Stephen G. Warfel, Excavations at Fort Loudoun: The Archaeology of a Provincial Fort on the Pennsylvania Frontier. Ms. on file, Section of Archaeology, State Museum of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, 1980; Stephen G. Warfel, Archaeology at Fort Loudoun (36FR107). The 1981 Field Season. Ms. on file, Section of Archaeology, State Museum of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, 1981; Dee Dee Joyce, The 1982 Field Season at Fort Loudoun (36FR107). Ms. on file, Section of Archaeology, State Museum of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, 1983.

posts measured approximately 8-inches in diameter while smaller 3-inch diameter posts were used to fill the gaps between larger posts. Evidence for shooting platforms were identified in three corners of the fortification. A single gate was found to be present in the northern curtain wall. Additional features identified included the original settler residence of Matthew Patton, a stone-lined well, post-holes and molds associated with barracks structures, cellars, linear drains, and midden deposits.

## Summary of Archaeological Findings

Stockade – All of the forts summarized in this section possessed stockades that were highly variable in size, form, and materials. Stockades were generally square-shaped and ranged in size from 66 feet per side (Fort Ashby) to 130 feet per side (Fort Ligonier), but some were also rectangular and ranged from 71 by 107 (Fort Edwards) to 134 by 165 feet (Fort Shirley). The only circular stockade was a 53-foot diameter one at Fort Necessity. Most stockades possessed some type of bastion at each corner. While most stockades were constructed of larger diameter vertical posts with intervening spaces blocked by smaller diameter posts behind, some also possessed horizontal log construction, generally associated with earthen interiors, and often forming corners or bastion extensions. Stockade trenches were generally dug to a depth of 2 – 3 feet below historic grade and the vertical posts stuck within and the earth backfilled and tamped down. Post diameters generally averaged 9 – 10 inches, were frequently split, with larger diameter often squared posts at the end of curtain and bastion walls. Because of the great depth of the stockade trenches, many survived subsequent agricultural plowing and residential construction. Post-molds were frequently found at the base of the stockade trenches.

Structures – The quantity and presence of structures was heavily dependent upon the size, purpose and longevity of the fortification. Material evidence was generally lacking for structures located within the stockades. This may be due to an archaeological focus on defining the size and shape of a stockade, as well as the fact that many structures may not leave material signatures. Of those structures archaeologically identified, some consisted of remnant stone foundations, others were suggested by the presence of a large sub-floor pit or cellar.

Cultural Features – Numerous non-structural cultural features, some of which had been truncated by subsequent agricultural plowing or other human activity, were archaeologically identified within the fortification stockades. These features included trash or disposal pits, wells, drainage trenches, and privies. Some sites also possessed pre-mid-eighteenth-century Native American features such as cooking or trash pits.

Material Culture – Material culture was found at most fort locations however the quantity depended upon the methods of archaeological investigation as well as the fort size, purpose and longevity. There appears to be some consistency in the differences noted in material culture recovered from sites that had settler components, and those that were strictly military sites. Settler sites tended to have more artifacts related to domestic subsistence including specific types of ceramics and glassware, while military sites had less of these categories. All fortification sites had some level of artifacts related to armaments or munitions. A few sites also possessed Native American artifacts such as points, trade beads or copper.

# PAGE 109 – 113 REDACTED FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL SENSITIVITY

Finding Fort Tonoloway Preservation Maryland

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#### Ambrose, Robert.

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A comprehensive summary of the evidence documenting the establishment, abandonment and location of Fort Tonoloway / Stoddert's Fort. This manuscript draws on a variety of primary and secondary manuscripts, cartographic sources, as well as interviews with local residents.

## Ansel, William H., Jr.

1984 Frontier Forts Along the Potomac and Its Tributaries. (Parsons, West Virginia: McClain Printing Company).

A useful summary of the fortifications erected by Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia along the Potomac River area. Many of the known fortifications are discussed with individual multi-page entries, while others are summarized very briefly.

Babits, Lawrence E., and Stephanie Gandulla, eds.

The Archaeology of French and Indian War Frontier Forts. (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida).

This edited volume covers a significant geographic territory including Canada, Illinois, Michigan, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. The volume includes useful articles by Hart on the adaptation of officers and soldiers in building frontier forts drawing on European military engineering; Jolley on the archaeology of Fort Loudoun, Virginia; McBride on the archaeology of the private Fort Edwards in Capon Bridge, West Virginia; and Warfel on the archaeology of Fort Loudoun, Pennsylvania.

#### Baker, Norman L.

2000 French & Indian War in Frederick County, Virginia. (Winchester, Virginia: Frederick County Historical Society).

A general historical summary of the French and Indian War and Virginia's response in planning frontier fortifications. A significant part of the book is given over to brief summary descriptions of frontier forts located in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia.

#### Beattie, D.

The Adaptation of the British Army to Wilderness Warfare, 1755-1763. In Marteen Ultee, ed., Adapting to Conditions: War and Society in the Eighteenth Century, pp: 56-83. (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press).

An edited collection of articles that addresses the evolution of European warfare in the eighteenth century. Daniel J. Beattie authored an article titled 'The Adaptation of the British Army to Wilderness Warfare, 1755-1763.' Beattie uses primary sources to document the composition of regular and provincial troops, their behavior, and the tactics and goals of the officers who led them.

Bedell, John, Stuart Fiedel and Jason Shellenhammer.

A Path Through the Mountains: The Archeology and History of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park. Prepared for the National Park Service, National Capital Region. Prepared by The Louis Berger Group, Inc.

A summary level historical review of the Native American and European settlement of the Potomac River corridor. The authors briefly summarize the broad historical developments and context, but provide more detailed information on individuals and their homesteads as well as archaeological sites that fall with Cheseapeake & Ohio Canal property.

Bedell, John, Jason Shellenhamer, Charles LeeDecker, and Stuart Fidel.

2011 River and Mountain, War and Peace: Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study of Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park. Hancock to Cumberland (Mile Markers 123 to 184). Volume 1. Prepared for the National Park Service. Prepared by The Louis Berger Group, Inc.

This report addresses the historical development of, and the architectural and archaeological resources located within, a 61-mile stretch of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal located between Hancock and Cumberland, Maryland. In addition to summarizing the broad archaeological context for Native American occupation of the project area, the volume also has chapters on the Shawnee and the Colonial Frontier. Of note, the report (p50) states that a total of 16 shovel test pits were excavated around the ruins of the Brent house because it was believed to be a

possible site for Charles Polke's trading post and residence. A total of 200 artifacts were recovered all of which dated to the post-1793 period.

Bedell, John, Charles LeeDecker, Stuart Fiedel, and Jason Shellenhamer.

Through the Great Valley and Into the Mountains Beyond: Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study of Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park. Sandy Hook to Hancock (Mile Markers 59 to 123). Volume 1. Prepared for the National Park Service. Prepared by the Louis Berger Group, Inc.

This report addresses the historical development of, and the architectural and archaeological resources located within, a 64-mile stretch of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal located between Sandy Hook and Hancock, Maryland. In addition to summarizing the broad archaeological context for Native American occupation of the project area, the volume also has a chapter on the French and Indian War.

Breen, T. H. and Timothy Hall.

2004 Colonial America in an Atlantic World: A Story of Creative Interaction. (New York, New York: Pearson Longman).

This book is a collection of short essays summarizing the people and events who occupied colonial eastern North America. The book is oriented towards a college level curriculum but does provide succinct summaries of important events placing them in a broad, encompassing context. Several chapters possess good information relevant to understanding the French & Indian war and its causes and consequences.

Browne, William H., ed.

Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1753-1761. Letters to Governor Horatio Sharpe, 1754-1765. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society). Archives of Maryland Online, Volume 31. Electronic resource: http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000031/html/index.html.

The Maryland Archives Online are an invaluable searchable database of government documents from the late seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. This volume contains letters written to Governor Horatio Sharpe during the period of the French and Indian War.

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The Maryland Archives Online are an invaluable searchable database of government documents from the late seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. This volume contains letters written to and from Governor Horatio Sharpe between 1757 and 1761.

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The Maryland Archives Online are an invaluable searchable database of government documents from the late seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. This volume contains letters written to and from Governor Horatio Sharpe between 1753 and 1757.

## Brugger, Robert J.

1988 Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634-1980. (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press).

A wide ranging, broad history of Maryland that addresses the Colony's establishment in the 1630s through to the late twentieth century. In particular, Brugger provides an excellent historical context for the Proprietary period and the rule of the Lords Baltimore.

#### Burns, Jonathan A.

Archaeology of Pennsylvania's Colonial Frontier: Forts Shirley, Lyttleton, and Ligonier. Paper presented at the Pennsylvania Statewide Conference on Heritage, July 8 – 10, 2015.

A Powerpoint presentation largely devoid of narrative that portrays archaeological work accomplished at three Pennsylvania fortifications, Fort Shirley, Fort Lyttleton and Fort Ligonier. The document is more meaningful when reviewed in association with Burns' 2013 article (see below).

2013 Commerce and Conflict on Central Pennsylvania's Colonial Frontier: Archaeology at Forts Shirley and Lyttelton. Juniata Voices, Vol. 14 (2013): 143-170.

Article discusses the archaeological research undertaken by Penn State University field school classes at Fort Shirley and Fort Lyttleton, fortifications constructed by Pennsylvania. Much of the paper addresses the material culture remains recovered from both fortifications.

#### Carn, Timothy A.

The Material Culture Remains of a Multi-Ethnic Frontier: An Initial Spatial Analysis of Fort Shirley (36HU94). Masters Thesis, Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

Carn uses four years of archaeological research to conduct a spatial analysis of material culture recovered from investigations undertaken at Fort Shirley in Pennsylvania. Carn uses material culture to answer research questions about ethnicity, activity areas within the fortification, and intercultural interaction. He concludes that Native Americans were present at Fort Shirley during its operation and that artifact location and densitiy within the fortification varied based on functional categories and ethnic attribution.

## Darlington, William M.

1893 Christopher Gist's Journals, with Historical, Geographical and Ethnological Notes and Biographies of his Contemporaries. (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: J. R. Weldin & Co.).

A dated but valuable account of the travels of Christopher Gist as representative of the Ohio Company between 1750-1753. In particular, the diaries (journals) recount Gist's understanding of the Ohio Valley Indians perception of him as a British representative there to take and settle their land. The lands through which he passed are described in terms of soil, water and topography.

## Donnelly, Ralph.

Report of the Sub-Committee on Land Grants and Locations of the Fort Tonoloway Research Committee, September 21, 1993. Fort Tonoloway research file. Fort Frederick, Big Pool, Maryland.

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1879 Military and Political Affairs in the Middle Colonies in 1755. The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 3, No. 1 (11879): 11-31.

This article is a direct transcription of a letter written in December of 1755 by Daniel Dulaney, a lawyer and representative to the Maryland General Assembly, to Charles Carroll in Annapolis. Dulaney writes about the conflict between England and France as well as political issues between the Crown and colonies, between General Braddock's forces and the Province of Maryland, between each colonial province, and between the General Assembly and back country settlers. As a representative of Frederick County, Dulaney's perspective provides unique insight into the perception of Braddock's defeat and the associated reaction of provincial governments.

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A dated historical summary of the decisions and actions of Horatio Sharpe during his tenure as Governor in Annapolis, Maryland. The historical information is largely taken from correspondence sent and received by Governor Horatio Sharpe.

## Everett, Edward G.

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The author reviews Pennsylvania's official and unofficial relationship with Native American groups as seen through the perceptions and actions of traders. Pennsylvania's desire to build a defensive alliance on the western frontier to counter French intrusions into the Ohio River valley provide broad context for the French and Indian War.

#### Everstine, Carl N.

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A broad synopsis of the Maryland General Assembly. In particular chapter 9, Deepening Confrontation with Lord Baltimore, 1749-1756, provides a good context for understanding the differences between the Lower House, and the Upper House, the Governor, and the Proprietary during the French and Indian War period.

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Correspondence of George Washington. The transcribed letters provide broad context for the war and Virginia's immediate and long-term military strategy for defending its western frontier and settlements. The letters also provide detail on the horror of the Indian raids, and the need for and construction of fortifications, both private and provincial defenses.

#### Foster, James W.

Maps of the First Survey of the Potomac River, 1736-1737. The William and Mary Quarterly, Vol 18, No. 2 (April 1938): 149-157.

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A general but comprehensive summary of the Maryland provincial government's reaction to the threat from French & Indian forces. The summary focuses primarily on the tenure of Horatio Sharpe and his interactions with the Maryland General Assembly and other provincial governors and governments. Only a brief mention is made of Fort Tonoloway and other fortifications funded by Maryland.

The Co-operation of the Southern Colonies in the Forbes Expedition against Fort Duquesne. The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 36, No. 1 and 2 (January and April, 1928): 1-16; 145-160.

Giddens highlights an often under emphasized story, that of southern colonies cooperation with the British to make the Forbes expedition a success. The author reviews the initial British request for help, the trials of Governors to encourage funding and military assistance in support of the enterprise, and the arduous task of recruiting troops, and preparing supplies and transportation routes. Part two of the article reviews Governor Sharpe's efforts to persuade an adequate response from Maryland's General Assembly.

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A generalized but excellent summary of European and Native American military tactics used during the French and Indian War. The article focuses on the gradual adoption by both the British and French of the colonial settler and Native American way fighting (e.g. guerilla or irregular warfare), and the implications that this strategic and tactical means of warfare had on the conflict, as well as future warfare.

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The 1736 Survey of the Potomac River. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 122, No. 1 (2014): 2-39.

Article provides historical context for the first mapping of the Potomac River by Benjamin Winslow in 1736. Drawing from Winslow's diary and other primary sources, this article goes into much greater historical detail than Foster's article on the same subject (see above). Of note the article mentions the Winslow survey team passing Tonoloway Creek and names several residents living there.

Navigation on the Upper Potomac River and Its Tributaries. Second edition. (Hagerstown: Western Maryland Historical Library).

A comprehensive and informative history of the navigational history of the Potomac River from the Colonial period. The volume addresses both the individual and institutional history of navigating the Potomac. It also provides a section by section description of the Potomac that contains historical information.

Hinke, William J. and Charles E. Kemper, eds.

Moravian Diaries of Travels Through Virginia. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Volume XI, (October 1904), No. 2: 134-153.

A transcription with editorial notes on the diaries of travels taken by Moravian missionaries in the mid-eighteenth century. Of note, the diaries mention stopping at the residence of one Carl Bock [Charles Polke] and the fact that between Polke and Col. Cresap no house was encountered for 35 miles.

Hofstra, Warren J.

2007 Cultures in Conflict: The Seven Years' War in America. (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield).

An edited volume that addresses the war from six different perspectives including Britain, France, Canada, American colonies, Iroquois and Ohio Indians. Of note are chapters by Timothy J. Shannon addressing the Iroquois experience over the course of the conflict, and Eric Hinderaker addressing the Ohio Indians experience over the course of the conflict. Both articles present arguments for understanding the context for decision making and actions of each culture.

"The Extention of His Majesties Dominions": The Virginia Backcountry and the Reconfiguration of Imperial Frontiers. Journal of American History, Vol. 84, No. 4 (March 1998): 1281-1312.

This article, while not addressing the French and Indian War per se, provides essential context for understanding the decisions and actions of residents in the Virginia backcountry, that area west of the Blue Ridge Mountains, as well as the Colonial Government of Virginia during the mid-eighteenth century. Particularly when discussing Governor Gooch's development of encouraging western settlement in the early eighteenth century as a buffer against Indian incursions and conflict, the author describes the nature of dispersed rural white settlement, property holding and agricultural livelihood in the Shenandoah Valley.

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Breaking the Appalachian Barrier: Maryland as the Gateway to Ohio and the West. (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company).

This book focuses on the importance of Maryland and Ohio and the transportation networks linking them from the period 1750-1850. While the subject matter does not directly address the French & Indian war, the book does devote several chapters to summarizing the historical context for colonial Maryland and Native Americans prior

to 1750, and the actions of the French and their Indian allies and the settlers and provincial governments through 1763.

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Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753-1758. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission).

Although written over a half century ago, Hunter's volume on Pennsylvania forts is comprehensive and far reaching. He summarizes the broader context of the French & Indian war, the actions of the Provincial government, and the location and erection of both small and substantial fortifications in all parts of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

1955 First Line of Defense, 1755-1756. Pennsylvania History, Vol. 22 (1955), pp. 229-255.

Article provides excellent historical context for pre-1755 relations between the provincial government of Pennsylvania and regional Indians, the impact of Braddock's defeat and the violent raids that followed, the inaction and subsequent reaction of the Pennsylvania government to form a military strategy for defense, and the erection of fortifications in the western frontier of Pennsylvania. Maps show locations of Pennsylvania fortifications.

#### Jackson, Donald, ed.

1976 The Diaries of George Washington, Volume I: 1748-1765. (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia.

Volume I of the Washington diaries records his 1748 trip west and visit to Charles Polke's trading post at what would become Hancock, Maryland. In the same volume Washington also recounts his trip on behalf of Governor Dinwiddie to the Ohio Valley and the French Fort Le Boeuf in 1753.

#### James, Alfred P.

1938 The Nest of Robbers. The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, Vol. 21, No. 3 (September 1938): 165-178.

Article provides historical context for French decision making between and actions taken from Fort du Quesne between July 1755 and 1758 by Claude-Pierre de Contrecoeur the Commander of Fort du Quesne, Jean-Daniel Dumas the Commander who succeeded de Contrecoeur, and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Governor of New France. Footnotes in the article list primary sources for letters from the above officers that provide rich context.

## Jennings, Francis.

1988 Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America. (New York: W. W. Norton).

This book possesses historically oriented and necessarily overlapping chapters that provide a broad contextualization for both European and Native American actions and events during the mid-eighteenth century. The chapters address in detail the motives and calculations of both individuals, representative and governments that ultimately led to the prolonged but undesirable battle for empire between French and their Native allies and the English Crown and colonies. Possesses a very good foundation from the Native American perspective.

## Jolley, Robert L.

Archaeological Investigations at Fort Loudoun (44FK593): A French and Indian War Period Fortification. Winchester, Virginia. Archaeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. 60, No. 2 (2005): 67-106.

Jolley provides a brief context of Virginia's role in the French & Indian War, the role of then Col. George Washington in arguing for, designing and supervising its erection. Jolley's research focuses on uncovering archaeological evidence for the design and layout of the fortification and to document the life of the Virginia soldiers living on the frontier.

#### Kester, John G.

1995 Charles Polke: Indian Trader of the Potomac, 1703-1753. Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 90, No. 4 (Winter 1995): 447-466.

A very good historical narrative on the life of Charles Polke, an early settler of western Maryland who established a trading post at what would become Hancock, Maryland. Discussion includes the life of an Indian trader, and briefly talks about the North Bend area in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

#### Kisch, Conrad S.

Tactical and Practical Problems in the French and Indian War. Nordic Association for American Studies, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1990): 38-48.

A general accounting of European military practices and the limits of mideighteenth-century arms, Native American warfare tactics, and the changing alliances and relationships that characterized the French and Indian War.

#### Koontz, Louis K.

1925 The Virginia Frontier, 1754-1763. (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins Press).

A dated historical narrative of the role of Virginia in the French and Indian War. Of note are chapters which address 'Frontier Forts,' a summary of the Councils of War addressing the need for and location of Virginia fortifications, and 'Pioneer Forts, Stockades' that presents very brief descriptions of forts on the Virginia frontier.

## Land Records of Washington County, Maryland

Var. Land records, patents, warrants, rent rolls, wills, and guardian accounts available at the Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, and the Washington County Courthouse, Hagerstown, Maryland.

## Lydon, James G.

1986 Struggle for Empire: A Bibliography of the French and Indian War, 1756-1763. (New York: Garland Publishing).

A generally useful book that provides a listing of French & Indian War sources through 1986. The chapters are conveniently divided by subject matter. Of note are chapters on 'Indian Relations,' 'Military Organization,' 'Forts and Topography,' and 'War in the South' focusing on Maryland and Virginia.

## Maryland Gazette, (Annapolis, Maryland)

Var. Archives of Maryland Online. Electronic resource: http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/html/mdgazette.html.

Valuable primary source information on the events of the French and Indian War and Pontiac's War in Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia during the 1754 – 1763 period. In particular, articles address British forces, Governor Horatio Sharpe, the Maryland General Assembly, the western settlements, Indian raids, provincial militia, fortifications, etc.

# Maryland Historical Mapping.

Fort Tonoloway Land Owners (Washington County). Electronic Resource: http://mdhmapping.com/fort-tonoloway-washington-county/. Posted May 5, 2019.

A short but well-researched document briefly summarizing early landholders in the Fort Tonoloway vicinity. The document utilizes primary source information including land patents, newspaper accounts, and period maps to try and located Fort Tonoloway.

## State of Maryland

Calendar of Maryland State Papers, No. 5. Executive Miscellanea. Publication of the Hall of Records Commission, No. 11. (Annapolis, Maryland: Hall of Records Commission).

Originally bundles of loose papers recovered in the mid-nineteenth century, this volume deals with the Proprietary period and transcribes a variety of written sources including petitions, accounts, court proceedings, depositions, reports, certificates and orders, among many other documents.

#### McBride, W. Stephen

"To Preserve the Forts, and the Families Gathered into Them": Archaeology of Edwards's Fort, Capon Bridge, West Virginia. In Lawrence E. Babits and Stephanie

B. Gandula, eds., The Archaeology of French and Indian War Frontier Forts, pp: 139-157. (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2013).

Author summarizes the broad historical context of the French and Indian War, the particular historical context of Joseph Edwards' settlement and fortification, and the archaeological findings of investigations at this 'private' fort in what is now West Virginia. The archaeological findings are of value in providing context for future archaeological work at Fort Tonoloway.

McBride, W. Stephen and Kim A. McBride.

2011 Methods in the Archaeology of Colonial Frontier Forts: Examples from Virginia and West Virginia. In Clarence Geier et al., eds. Historical Archaeology of Military Sites: Method and Topic, pp: 123-134. (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press).

The authors present a model for conducting archaeological research on Colonial period fortifications in Virginia and West Virginia. A summary historical background describing the contexts of colonial life, the raids on settlers, and settler's and state government's responses to the violence. Various fort design types are discussed as well as the materials used in construction.

2010 Excavations at Three French and Indian War Forts: Insights into Fort Design and Construction. Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology, Vol. 26: 43-60.

The authors examine archaeological findings of three forts including Edwards' Fort in Hampshire County, West Virginia, Ashby's Fort in Mineral County, West Virginia, and Vause's Fort in Montgomery County, Virginia, summarizing the differences in fort design and construction.

McBride, W. Stephen, McBride, Kim Arbogast, and Greg Adamson.

2003 Frontier Forts in West Virginia – Historical and Archaeological Explorations. (Charleston, West Virginia: West Virginia Division of Culture and History).

A generalized presentation of Colonial and Post-Colonial fortifications found in West Virginia. The book includes chapters on the context for the construction of each fort, strategic decisions in the placement of forts, and provides examples of seven forts where archaeology has been conducted summarizing the findings.

McConnel, Michael N.

1992 A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724 – 1774. (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press).

This is a wonderfully written book which contextualizes the events of the mideighteenth century from the perspective of the Native peoples occupying the Alleghany Plateau and Ohio River Valley. The author discusses in detail the identity of Native American peoples living in the area, where they came from and why they migrated to the area, the motivations of each group, their interactions with European

powers and the Iroquois nations, and a sensitive contextualization of the events and Native American reactions that led to widespread violet conflict. It is an essential source for the Native perspective.

#### Meyers, James P. Jr.

1999 Pennsylvania's Awakening: The Kittanning Raid of 1756. Pennsylvania History, Vol. 66, No. 3 (Summer 1999): 399-420.

An historical narrative documenting the reasons behind, and the events of the Kittanning Raid, Pennsylvania's only proactive military response to the ongoing French and Indian attacks on the western frontier. The author provides significant context and draws from numerous primary sources for historical detail.

## Minderhout, David J., ed.

Native Americans in the Susquehanna River Valley, Past and Present. (Lewisburg, Pennsylvania: Bucknell University Press).

This book addresses the Native American peoples who occupied the Susquehanna River Valley. The author devotes a major chapter to archaeologically informed history of native occupation. Most importantly the author summarizes the Susquehannocks and Lenape who were present in the Susquehanna River Valley at the time of the arrival of the Europeans; who they were, where they came from, their cultural practices and interactions with the French and English, and why they left.

#### Montgomery, Thomas L., ed.

Report of the Commission to Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania, Vol. I. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Clarence M. Busch, State Printer).

A general description of the fortifications of Pennsylvania based on primary sources and oral historical information. The chapter titled 'Frontier Forts in Cumberland and Juniata Valleys' authored by J. G. Weiser addresses forts in Bedford, Franklin and Fulton counties, Pennsylvania adjacent to the Mason-Dixon line.

## O'Callaghan, E. B., ed.

Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York procured in Holland, England and France by John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq., Agent. Vol. X. (Albany, New York: Weed, Parsons and Company).

This is a series of volumes of transcriptions of manuscripts, primarily correspondence. Volume X contains transcribed letters from French officials located in both France and New France, from the period 1745 to 1761, covering the period of the French and Indian war. The letters provide detailed context on the relationship between the French and their Indian allies and the efforts at directing repeated attacks on provincial western settlements.

Papenfuse, Dr. Edward C. and Sarah Patterson, eds.

2009 Dr. Arthur G. Tracey Patent / Tract Index and Map Locations for Carroll, Frederick, and Washington Counties. Maryland State Archives. Electronic resource: http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov/msaref07/tracey\_fr\_wa\_cr/html/index.html.

This searchable online resource is an e-book scan of microfilm copies of research conducted by Dr. Arthur G. Tracey. Begun in 1943 and completed a decade later, Dr. Tracey researched original land patents for Carroll, Frederick and Washington counties, Maryland, traced out their metes and bounds, and platted their location on maps. He also recorded interesting information about the patents including grantee names, as well as roads and other significant landscape information.

#### Parkman, Francis.

1905 Montcalm and Wolfe, Volume 1. (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company).

This book is a late nineteenth-century history of the French and Indian War. Of note, the volume contains excerpted letters from French commanders and their strategy of guiding Native American raids on Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia colonial settlers.

Pearl, Susan G., Marina King, and Howard S. Berger.

1991 Historic Contexts in Prince George's County. (Upper Marlboro, Maryland: Prince George's County Historic Preservation Section).

Of interest in this manuscript that covers a broad variety of subjects including settlement patterns, transportation history, and cultural history is a paper by Susan G. Pearl titled 'Early Roads in Prince George's County, 1696-1900.' Pearl notes a 1739 survey of roads in Prince George's County, Maryland, then encompassing what is now Washington County, Maryland.

#### Pleasants, J. Hall, ed.

1938 Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1757-1758. Archives of Maryland Online, Volume 55. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society). Electronic resource:

http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000055/html/index.html.

The Maryland Archives Online are an invaluable searchable database of government documents from the late seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. This volume contains minutes of the Lower and Upper Houses of the General Assembly of Maryland as well as miscellaneous records from the period between 1757-1758.

1935 Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1755-1756. Archives of Maryland Online, Volume 52. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society). Electronic resource:

http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000052/html/index.html.

The Maryland Archives Online are an invaluable searchable database of government documents from the late seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. This volume contains minutes of the Lower and Upper Houses of the General Assembly of Maryland as well as miscellaneous records from the period between 1755-1756.

1933 Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1752-1754. Archives of Maryland Online, Volume 50. (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society). Electronic resource:

http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000050/html/index.html.

The Maryland Archives Online are an invaluable searchable database of government documents from the late seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. This volume contains minutes of the Lower and Upper Houses of the General Assembly of Maryland as well as miscellaneous records from the period between 1752-1754.

## Pogue, Dennis J.

Fort Loudoun Site (44FK0593). National Register of Historic Places Registration Form. (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013).

National Register Nomination form for the Fort Loudoun (Virginia) archaeological resource.

## Porter, Frank W.

The Maryland Frontier, 1722-1732: Prelude to Settlement in Western Maryland, pp: 90-107. In Robert D. Mitchell and Edward K. Muller, eds., Geographical Perspectives on Maryland's Past. Occasional Papers in Geography No. 4. (College Park, Maryland: University of Maryland Press).

The author characterizes the settlement process in western frontier Maryland during the early second quarter of the eighteenth century, a period that saw many western settlers moving beyond the Colony of Maryland into the Valley of Virginia due to uncertainties over land titles and the ongoing dispute with Pennsylvania over the boundary between the two provinces.

1975 From Back Country to County: The Delayed Settlement of Western Maryland. Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 70 (Winter 1975): 329-349.

This article addresses three reasons for the delayed settlement of frontier Maryland in the first half of the eighteenth century: border disputes with Pennsylvania; perceptions of the land as 'barrens;' relationships with Indians; and the actions of speculators holding large tracts of land.

#### Powell, Allan.

1998 Maryland and the French and Indian War. (Baltimore, Maryland: Gateway Press, Inc.).

A general historical summary of the French & Indian War in Maryland.

1990 Fort Loudoun: Winchester's Defense in the French and Indian War. (Parsons, West Virginia: McClain Printing Company.

A general historical narrative of documenting French and English actions and reactions during the French and Indian War. A substantial portion of the book is devoted to the design and construction of Fort Loudoun (VA) and George Washington's role in its implementation.

#### Rice, James D.

2009 Nature & History in the Potomac Country: From Hunter-Gatherers to the Age of Jefferson. (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press).

The author examines the Potomac River drainage and the human history that took place there. Of interest are chapters 9 through 13 that address Indian and English relations during the eighteenth century including trade, Indian migration, European settlement, treaties and war. The motives, actions and reactions of both Indians and Europeans are treated in a fair and objective perspective.

#### Ridout, Thomas.

1925 Reminiscences of Thomas Ridout. Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 20, No. 3 (September 1925): 215-234.

Transcription of a primary source account of the experiences of Thomas Ridout, half-brother to Governor Horatio Sharpe's secretary John Ridout. In 1775 John Ridout resurveyed a several thousand-acre parcel surrounding what is now Fort Tonoloway State Park on the north side of the Potomac River. Thomas Ridout was sent out between 1775 and 1778 to this tract to improve the plantation. Of note is Ridout's description of this part of what is now Washington County, Maryland right before the Revolutionary War.

#### Rouvalis, C.

2013 Commerce and Conflict on the 18<sup>th</sup> Century Frontier. American Archaeology, Vol. 17, No. 3 (2013): 32-37.

The author summarizes archaeological work undertaken by Jonathan Burns and University of Pennsylvania students at Fort Shirley, in Shirleysburg, Pennsylvania.

#### Scharf, J. Thomas.

History of Western Maryland. Being a History of Frederick, Montgomery, Carroll, Washington, Allegany, and Garrett counties from the Earliest Period to the Present Day including Biographical Sketches of their Representative Men. Volume I. (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts).

Of interest in this comprehensive and particular history of western Maryland is Scharff's brief description of Fort Tonoloway (p.1255) which he says is located on Singleton Whitmire's [sic] property, what is now Fort Tonoloway State Park.

## Smith, Edward.

1979 Historic Resource Study. Williamsport, Maryland. Historical Data. Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park. (Denver, Colorado: Denver Service Center, National Capital Team, National Park Service).

A dated but useful historical narrative that documents the history and development of Williamsport, Maryland and its immediate vicinity. The research was undertaken as part of a National Park Service requirement for the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal.

#### Snell, Charles W.

1973 Fort Frederick State Park. National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form. (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service).

Brief format summary of history, construction and use of Fort Frederick, Maryland done for the National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places Inventory.

Stevens, Sylvester K. and Donald H. Kent.

1941 Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Historical Commission).

This volume is a collection of transcriptions of letters from English and French military representatives who were active in the French and Indian War. Prefaced by brief introductions, the letters provide detailed context for major historical events over the course of the war. In particular, the letters provide insight into the relationship between the French and their Indian allies, and detail the raids on English settlements from the French perspective.

## Stoner, Paula.

1978 Brent House, WA-VI-004. Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form for State Historic Sites Survey. (Annapolis, Maryland: Maryland Historical Trust).

Maryland Historical Trust site form with brief narrative information and photographs of the Brent House.

#### Stotz, Charles Morse.

Outposts of the War for Empire: The French and English in Western Pennsylvania. Their Armies, Their Forts, Their People 1749-1764. (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press).

A coffee table book with beautiful illustrations that possesses a generalized historical background and brief summaries of the fortifications of New France, as well Virginia and Maryland. The book largely focuses on Pennsylvania fortifications and specifically why their locations were selected, how they were built, and how they functioned.

#### Sword, Gerald.

Tonoloway Fort (Stoddert's Fort at the Tonoloways): Outpost on the Maryland Frontier. (Big Pool, Maryland: Friends of Fort Frederick).

A brief but useful handbook summarizing the construction, operation and abandonment of Fort Tonoloway, and the construction of Fort Frederick.

Tracey, Grace L. and John P. Dern.

1987 Pioneers of Old Monocacy: The Early Settlement of Frederick County, Maryland, 1721-1743. (Baltimore, Maryland: Genealogical Publishing Company).

A detailed and voluminous historical treatise on the very early European settlement of the Monocacy River drainage in Frederick County, Maryland. The book has limited but good information on early Frederick County roads. Broad historical context for the early settlement of the Monocacy River drainage.

#### Turner, Katie M.

2015 Forts 1754-1790: A Pennsylvania Typology. MA Thesis, Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

The author develops a typology of mid-to-late eighteenth-century Pennsylvania fortifications associated with both the French and Indian and Revolutionary wars. The typology is drawn from archaeological research and historical records and is based on characteristics such as funding, size, purpose, construction materials, location, etc.

#### Unrau, Harlan D.

2007 Historical Resource Study: Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. (Hagerstown, Maryland: Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historic Park).

A comprehensive and broad historical narrative covering the design, construction and operation of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, as well as the individuals who built it, the materials used, and supporting sites. The author also discusses the canal during the Civil War.

## Waddell, Louis M.

Defending the Long Perimeter: Forts on the Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia Frontier, 1755-1765. Pennsylvania History, Vol. 62, No. 2 (Spring 1995): 171-195.

Waddell addresses location, purpose and strategy behind the erection of fortifications in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia and argues for their interdependence as a coherent frontier. He summarizes each provinces involvement in the war and their efforts in establishing and garrisoning fortifications

Waddell, Louis M. and Bruce D. Bomberger.

The French and Indian War in Pennsylvania 1753-1763: Fortification and Struggle During the War for Empire. (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission).

The authors provide a general history of the French and Indian War in Pennsylvania and develop an inventory of fortifications and other related sites. In particular, they compare and contrast differences in design and construction between private and government funded fortifications.

## Ward, Matthew C.

Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754-1765. (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press).

Addressing only Pennsylvania and Virginia, the author focuses on the frontier backcountry settlements during first three quarters of the eighteenth century. The author looks at the changing relationships between the colonists and the crown, the backcountry and more eastern seats of government power, colonists and Indians, and how Colonial government powers were radically transformed. Chapters addressing Indian raids on frontier settlers, and the composition, skills, and strategy of provincial militias provide good context.

Welker, Martin, Shane Billings, Jonathan Burns and Sarah McClure.

2018 Roads and Military Provisioning During the French and Indian War (1754-1763): The Faunal Remains of Fort Shirley, PA in Context. Open Quarternary, Vol. 4, No. 5: 1-15.

The authors look at the diet of soldiers in frontier fortifications through the analysis of faunal remains. They argue that the presence of early roads in the provincial frontier and linking existing fortifications had a direct influence on their provisioning and the diets of soldiers as reflected in animal remains.

## White, Richard.

The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press).

A ground-breaking book that examines the 1650-1815 period where Native Americans and European Americans interacted with one another. Although the author primarily addresses the Great Lakes region, chapters on the importance of trade and security for both Indians and Europeans, war and relations between various Indian tribes, as well as the French and English War and Pontiac's War provide important context for understanding the period from 1700 – 1764 in the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia.

## Williams, Thomas J.C.

1906 A History of Washington County, Maryland, Vols. 1 and 2. (Hagerstown, Maryland: John M. Runk and L. R. Titsworth).

This comprehensive tome falls into the category of sweeping, poorly cited early twentieth century histories. Volume 1, chapters 4, addresses the French and Indian War.

#### Research Files (Location)

Fort Tonoloway vertical file (Fort Frederick State Park, Big Spring, Maryland).

Fort Tonoloway vertical file (Washington County Public Library, Western Maryland Room, Hagerstown, Maryland).

### Maps, Plans and Plats

Anderson, [n/a].

The States of Maryland and Delaware from the latest Surveys, 1799. Not published. Library of Congress. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3840.ct004148.

#### Baltimore & Ohio Railroad

Map of the Country west of Cumberland towards the Ohio River Shewing the various Lines surveyed or reconnoitred for the extension of the Baltimore & Ohio Rail Road to its western terminus. Not published. Library of Congress. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3791p.rr003350.

#### Brooke, Robert.

A Plan of Potomack River, From the Mouth of Sherrendo, Down to Chapawamsick, Surveyed in the year 1737. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3792p.ct004106. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress).

#### Burr, David H.

Delaware and Maryland. Published, D. S. Stone, 1833. Library of Congress. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/q3830.ct008434.

#### Burt, James A.

Sketch of the Provinces of New Yorke, New Jersey, Pensilvania, Maryland & Virginia Shewing the Line of Forts Lately Built on the Frontiers of Those Colonies and their Situation with Respect to the French Forts on the Ohio and Lake Erie. For W. M. Darlington by James A. Burt, July 1, 1874. Copy of map produced for Governor Shirley, January 1, 1756. DARMAP0393. Darlington Library, University of Pittsburgh.

## Civilian Conservation Corps.

1936 Fort Tonoloway Reservation, 1936. Flat drawers. Fort Frederick State Park, Big Spring, Maryland.

#### Evans, Lewis.

A General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America. London, R. Dodsley. Library of Congress. Digital ID: https://www.loc.gov/item/75693767/.

## Ferguson, J. B.

- Map of Western Section, Washington County, Maryland, Showing Original Land Grants & Surveys. J. B. Ferguson Company, Hagerstown, Maryland. On file at the Western Maryland Reading Room, Washington County Free Library, Hagerstown, Maryland.
- Map of Western Section, Washington County, Maryland, Showing Current Landholdings. J. B. Ferguson Company, Hagerstown, Maryland. On file at the Western Maryland Reading Room, Washington County Free Library, Hagerstown, Maryland.

## Fry, Joshua and Peter Jefferson.

A Map of the Most Inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole Province of Maryland with Part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina. Published by Thomas Jefferys. Library of Congress. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3880.ct000370.

## Geddes, James, and Nathan Roberts.

Route of Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. Maps on file, Park Headquarters, Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park, Hagerstown, Maryland.

#### Griffith, Dennis.

A Map of the State of Maryland Laid done from an actual Survey of all the Principal Waters, Public Roads, and Divisions of the Counties therein. Published by J. Vallance, Philadelphia. Library of Congress. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3840.ct000307.

#### Hutchins, Thomas.

A New Map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina. Published, London 1778. Library of Congress. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3707o.ar078901.

#### Jefferson, Peter and Robert Brooke.

1747 A Map of the Northern Neck in Virginia. University of Pittsburgh, Darlington Digital Library. Identifier: DARMAP0628.

## Jefferys, Thomas.

A Map of the Country between Will's Creek & Monongahela River showing the rout and Encampments of the English Army in 1755. Published, R. Sayer, London, 1768. Library of Congress. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3300m.gar00003.

#### Lake, Griffing, & Stevenson

An Illustrated Atlas of Washington County, Maryland. Lake, Griffing & Stevenson, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

## Lane, J. C.

Fort Frederick State Park #1, Big Pool, MD. Fort Tonoloway Location near Hancock, MD. Drawn by J. C. Lane, December 4, 1936. Fort Frederick State Park, Big Pool, Maryland, flat drawer files.

#### Lewis, Samuel.

The State of Maryland from the best Authorities. Published, M. Carey, Philadelphia. Library of Congress. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3840.ct004149.

## Lloyd, Philemon.

1721 Patowmeck Above Ye Inhabitants. Calvert Papers, 1621-1775. Ms. 174-1035. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society.

## Lucas, Fielding.

A Map of the State of Maryland. Published, F. Lucas Jr., Baltimore. Library of Congress. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3840.ct008471.

## Martenent, S. J.

- 1885 Map of Washington County. S. J. Martenet Publishing Company, Baltimore, Maryland.
- 1860 Map of Washington County. S. J. Martenet Publishing Company, Baltimore, Maryland.

## Maryland State Roads Commission.

Approach to Fort Tonoloway, February 15 and July 27, 1937. Flat drawers. Fort Frederick State Park, Big Spring, Maryland.

#### Mason, Charles, and Jeremiah Dixon.

A Plan of the West Line or Parallel of Latitude which is the Boundary Between the Provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania. Published, Robert Kennedy, Philadelphia. Library of Congress. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3841f.ct002075.

#### Mayo, William.

The Courses of the Rivers Rappahannock and Potowmack in Virginia as surveyed according to Order in the Years 1736 and 1737. Private collection.

## Mitchell, John.

A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America with the Roads, Distances, Limits and Extents of the Settlements. Published, I. Covens and C. Mortier, Amsterdam. Library of Congress. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3300.ar004401.

#### Sayer, Robert and J. Bennett

A Map of Pennsylvania Exhibiting not only the Improved Parts of that Province, but also Its Extensive Frontiers. Published, Robert Sayer and J. Bennett, London. Library of Congress. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3820.ar129600.

## Schenck, R. E.

1960 Picnic Loop Plan & Profile, Fort Tonoloway Access Road, November 1960. Fort Frederick State Park files. Fort Frederick State Park, Maryland.

#### Scull, Nicholas.

1759 Map of the Improved Part of the Province of Pennsylvania. Published, Nicholas Scull, Philadelphia. Library of Congress. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3820.ar129400.

## Scull, William.

1770 Map of the Province of Pennsylvania. Published, James Nevil, Philadelphia. Library of Congress. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3820.ar129500.

## Snow, Capt.

Captain Snow's Sketch of the Country by Himself, and the best accounts He could receive from the Indian Traders, 1754. Published, 1754. Library of Congress. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3820.ct000366.

## Sotzmann, D. F.

1797 Maryland and Delaware. Published, C. E. Bohn, Hamburg. Library of Congress. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3840.ct004147.

#### Taggart, Thomas.

A Map of Washington Co, Maryland. Published, L. McKee and G. G. Robertson. Library of Congress. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3843w.la000304.

## Varlé, Charles.

- Map of Frederick, Berkeley, & Jefferson counties in the State of Virginia, 1809. Published, Philadelphia, 1809. Library of Congress. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3883f.la001258.
- 1808 A Map of Frederick and Washington Counties, Maryland. Library of Congress. Call #: G3843 .F7 1808.V3.

## Warner, John.

A Survey of the Northern Neck of Virginia, Being the Lands Belonging to the Rt. Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax Baron Cameron, Bounded by and within the Bay of Chesapoyocke and between the rivers Rappahannock and Potowmack, With the Courses of the rivers Rappahannock and Potowmack, in Virginia, as surveyed according to order in the years 1736 and 1737. New York Public Library Digital Collections. Electronic resource: http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47da-ee41-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99.

## Winslow, Benjamin.

A Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River called Cohongorooto, Surveyed in the year 1736. Privately held.

## Appendix One: Fort Tonoloway State Park Reconnaissance Survey Landscape Features

Feature ID	Feature Name	Feature Category	Feature Type	Quantity	Relative Date	Description / Notes
Α	Loop Road / Parking Area	Circulation	Road	1	c. 1960	Asphalt surfaced with asphalt curbs, approximately 15 - 20 feet wide. Parking
						area is approximately 60 feet wide by 150 feet long
В	Restroom Facility	Building / Structure	Park Facility	1	c. 1960	10 x 12 foot cinder block with frame roof, asphalt shingle
С	Pump House	Building / Structure	Park Facility	1	c. 1960	8 x 8 foot cinder block with frame roof, asphalt shingle
n/a	Cooking Grill	Recreational Feature	Grill	5	c. 1960	Cast iron, 2.5 feet tall on posts
n/a	Water Fountain	Recreational Feature	Fountain	3	c. 1960	Stone, 2.8 feet tall, broad base, w stepping platform and water basin
n/a	Fire Pit	Recreational Feature	Iron Ring	1	c. 1960	Cast iron, 2 feet in diameter
n/a	Wood Posts	Recreational Feature	Signage(?)	2	c. 1960	4 by 4 wood post, 3 feet tall, vertically set
D	Road Trace 1	Circulation	Road	1	pre-1938	Approximately 10 foot wide dirt corridor linking Brent House with dam
E	Road Trace 2	Circulation	Road	1	pre-1938	Approximately 10 foot wide dirt corridor linking Brent House with ridge top
						agricultural field
F	Road Trace 3	Circulation	Road	1	pre-1938	Approximately 10 foot wide dirt corridor linking Brent House with ridge top
						agricultural field
G	Road Trace 4	Circulation	Road	1	pre-1938	Approximately 10 foot wide dirt corrdor linking dam with Locher Road
Н	Rock Alignment	Rock Alignment	Field Boundary	1	pre-1938	Approximately 475 feet in length, with some sections more visible than
						others. Most likely fieldstone piled at the edge of a former agricultural field.
I	Earthen Berm 1	Earthen Berm	Field Boundary	1	pre-1938	Approximately 400 foot long low earthen berm. Most likely formed by edge
						of plowed field and/or erosion
J	Earthen Berm 2	Earthen Berm	Field Boundary	1	pre-1938	Approximately 850 foot long low, L-shaped earthen berm surrounding Brent-
						Widmeyer Cemetery on south and east. Most likely formed by edge of
						plowed field and/or erosion
K	Rock / Earthen Dam	Water Control / Retention	Dam	1	pre-1938	Approximately 7 feet tall, 8 feet wide at top, 15 feet wide at base. Earth and
						rock construction.
L	Rock Cluster	Water Control / Retention	Spring	1	pre-1938	Clustering of large intentionally placed rocks in arc shape for erosion
						prevention. Spring seeping from bank.
M	Brent-Widmeyer Cemetery	Cemetery	Cemetery	1	Established c. 1782	Overgrown with remnant fence posts at corners, numerous head stones,
		,				monuments. Earliest burial is that of George Brent, c. 1782.
N	Brent House (WA-VI-004)	Building / Structure	Residence	1	c. 1793	Remnant stone and brick chimnies and foundation, partial basement
0	Terrace	Garden	House Garden	1	pre-1938	Approximately 210 by 275 feet in dimension, stone wall at SE corner

# Appendix Two: Fort Tonoloway Battlefield Defining Features, 1740 - 1760

## Natural Features

## 1. Topography

- a. Fort Tonoloway Ridge A narrow, naturally defensible northwest-southeast oriented ridge with steep slopes and drainages to the northeast and southwest, a gradual slope to the southeast, and road access to the northwest.
- b. Tonoloway Hill / Ridge First major mountain range west of Fort Tonoloway.
- c. Sidling Hill Second major mountain range west of Fort Tonoloway.
- d. Roundtop Hill Tallest mountain in vicinity of Fort Tonoloway. Located southwest of Fort Tonoloway on Maryland side of Potomac River.
- e. North Mountain Easternmost chain of mountains in Virginia and Maryland. The three 'small' forts designated by Governor Sharpe were placed 'under the North Mountain.' Fort Frederick was designated by the Lower House of Maryland to be constructed 'on or near the North Mountain, and not beyond it.'
- f. Cove Ridge First major mountain range east of Fort Tonoloway.
- g. Sleepy Creek Third Hill Mountains Mountain range in Virginia east of Fort Tonoloway and east of and adjacent to Sleepy Creek.
- h. Cacapon Mountains Mountain range in Virginia south of Fort Tonoloway and east of and adjacent to Cacapon River.
- Great Valley of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia Major migration route for European and African Americans traveling south to Maryland and Virginia. Numerous settlements and area of major population.
- j. Potomac River Flood Plain Contains many abandoned Native American villages and fields. Site of European- and African-American cultivation. Provided access to regional ferries and fords.

#### 2. Drainages

- a. Potomac [Cohongoronta] River Impediment to movement except at fords and ferry locations. Route taken by Governor Sharpe and Sir John St. Clair after inspection of Fort Cumberland in February of 1755. Deemed not navigable in support of General Edward Braddock.
- b. Tonoloway [Conoloway] Creek Significant drainage in Pennsylvania and Maryland mentioned in traveler descriptions. Gave region its name.
- c. Little Tonoloway [Little Conoloway] Creek Period maps place the North Bend community west of and adjacent to Little Tonoloway Creek.
- d. Conococheague [Conigochego] Creek Major drainage in Pennsylvania and Maryland paralleling and west of the Great Wagon Road. Extensively settled in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Conococheague Depot at confluence of Conococheague Creek and Potomac River.
- e. Licking Creek Significant drainage in Pennsylvania and Maryland mentioned in traveler descriptions. Bridged in 1747 and again in 1756.

- f. Wills Creek Fort Cumberland built on Wills Creek at its confluence with the Potomac River.
- g. Sidling Hill Creek First major drainage west of Fort Tonoloway in Maryland. Bridged in 1747.
- h. Great Cacapon River Major Virginia drainage emptying into Potomac River southwest of Fort Tonoloway. Dawson's fort at confluence of Cacapon and Potomac River. Line of Washington's Chain of Forts.
- Sleepy Creek Significant Virginia drainage entering Potomac east of Fort Tonoloway. Fort Sleepy Creek at confluence of Sleepy Creek and Potomac River.
- j. Fort Tonoloway Ridge drainage northeast Unnamed drainage northeast of and adjacent to Fort Tonoloway ridge.
- k. Fort Tonoloway Ridge drainage southwest Unnamed drainage southwest of and adjacent to Fort Tonoloway ridge.

## **Cultural Features**

#### 1. Towns and Communities

- a. North Bend A small community established as early as the mid-1730s. Location of Charles Polke trading post. By late 1730s this community consisted of Charles Polke, Capt. John, Thomas Hargrass, and Thomas Wiggans. With the exception of Col. Thomas Cresap's residence and trading post at Old Town, this was one of the westernmost settlements in Maryland in the mid-eighteenth century.
- b. Tonoloways Settlement A small, widely dispersed community composed of small farms and plantations. Located adjacent to and along Tonoloway Creek and Little Tonoloway Creek in both Maryland and Pennsylvania.
- c. Conococheague Williamsport, MD Settled in 1730s. Important ford and ferry crossing. Eventual military depot. Was a camp site and crossing point for Col. Thomas Dunbar in May of 1755 before General Edward Braddock's disastrous defeat.
- d. Elizabethtown Hagerstown, MD Located on Great Wagon Road. Settled in 1739. Westernmost center of population in Maryland's Cumberland Valley.
- e. Chambersburg, PA Located on Great Wagon Road north of Hagerstown, MD. Settled in 1730s.
- f. Shippensburg, PA Located on Great Wagon Road northeast of Chambersburg, PA. Settled in 1730s.
- g. Carlisle, PA Located on Great Wagon Road northeast of Shippensburg, PA. Settled in 1730s.
- h. Martinsburg, VA Located on the Great Wagon Road between Winchester, VA and Hagerstown, MD. Settled in 1740s.
- i. Fredericktown Winchester, VA Located on the Great Wagon Road. Settled in 1732. Site of Fort Loudoun, headquarters of George Washington.

#### 2. Homes and Residences

a. Colonel Thomas Cresap (Trading post and residence) – Settled in vicinity of Old Town, an abandoned Shawnee site, by early 1740s.

- b. Charles Polke (Trading post and residence) Present in North Bend vicinity by 1736.
- c. Capt. John Present in western Prince George's County (now Washington Count) in 1733. Historic maps show his residence at North Bend by 1736.
- d. Thomas Hargrass Present in western Prince George's County (now Washington Count) in 1733. Historic maps show his residence at North Bend by 1736.
- e. Thomas Wiggans Present in North Bend vicinity by 1736. Historic maps show his residence at North Bend by 1736.
- f. Ralph Matson Present in North Bend vicinity by 1750s. Matson's house is mentioned in one account as being one-half mile east of Fort Tonoloway. Matson's house was burned during an Indian raid in March of 1756.

#### 3. Churches

a. Tonoloway Baptist Church – Established in 1752 in what is now Fulton County, Pennsylvania. Served the broader Maryland and Pennsylvania Tonoloway settlement.

#### 4. Roads

- a. Great Wagon Road Old Indian trading route and war path following the Great Valley. Thousands of European migrants traveled this route south from Pennsylvania into Maryland and Virginia. The road crossed the Potomac River at what is now Williamsport, Maryland.
- b. Early east-west Migration and Trading Route following north side of Potomac River Developed as a formal road by Prince George's County Court between 1739 and 1747. Described as a 'single narrow path, frequently hardly recognizable ...blocked with trees and overgrown with grass and weeds' by Brother Gottschalk, and 'ye worst road that was ever trod by man or beast' by George Washington in 1748. Significantly improved by Governor Sharpe for General John Forbes in 1758. Passed just to the north of Fort Tonoloway and would have been crucial to resupply of fortification.
- Winchester Fort Cumberland Road Road travelled frequently in 1754 1756 and connecting two major western fortifications, Fort Loudoun (VA) and Fort Cumberland.
- d. Braddock / Nemacolin Road Old Indian network of trails. The trails were formalized and improved for the Ohio Company between 1749 – 1750 by Delaware Chief Nemacolin and Thomas Cresap. Road taken by General Edward Braddock and his forces between Fort Cumberland and the Ohio River. Road taken in retreat back to Fort Cumberland.
- e. Forbes Road Built by colonial militias in 1758 prior to the advance of Brigadier General John Forbes forces on Fort Duquesne. Linked the vicinity of Carlisle, Pennsylvania with the vicinity of what is now Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

## 5. Fords / Ferries / Bridges

a. Ford at North Bend – Ford used by George Washington in 1748.

- b. Ford at Conococheague, MD Ford used by Indians and European- and African-American settlers.
- c. Ford at Oldtown, MD Ford used by Indians and European- and African-American settlers.
- d. Watkins Ferry, VA Established by Virginia General Assembly across from what is now Williamsport, Maryland in 1744.
- e. Williams Ferry, MD Present on historic maps at what is now Williamsport, Maryland as early as 1751.
- f. Bridge at Licking Creek, MD Ordered to be built by Prince George's County Court in 1747. Rebuilt in 1758 prior to the Forbes advance on Fort Du Quesne.
- g. Bridge at Sideling Hill Creek, MD Ordered to be built by Prince George's County Court in 1747.

#### 6. Fortifications

- a. Fort Mt. Pleasant / Fort Cumberland Initially a small wooden fortification built at the confluence of Wills Creek and the Potomac River in late 1754 and garrisoned by Maryland and Virginia troops. Expanded in subsequent years. Was the first shelter for retreating forces after defeat Braddock's defeat at the Monongahela River. Attacked by Indians numerous times.
- b. Fort Tonoloway A Stoccado fortification built by Lt. Thomas Stoddert and a small company of men in August 1755 at the latest. Demolished by June of 1756.
- c. Thomas Mills' Fort A Block House or Stoccado Fort built on the plantation of Thomas Mills between August 1755 and February 1756. One of Governor Sharpe's North Mountain forts.
- d. Isaac Baker's Fort A Block House or Stoccado Fort built on the plantation of Isaac Baker's between August 1755 and February 1756. One of Governor Sharpe's North Mountain forts.
- e. Evan Shelby's Fort A Block House or Stoccado Fort built on the plantation of Evan Shelby's between August 1755 and February 1756. One of Governor Sharpe's North Mountain forts.
- f. Allen Killough's Fort A Block House or Stoccado Fort built on the plantation of Allen Killough's between August 1755 and February 1756. One of Governor Sharpe's North Mountain forts.
- g. Fort Frederick Construction supervised by Governor Horatio Sharpe and built between 1756 and 1758 with government funds.
- h. Fort Loudoun (VA) Fort constructed in Winchester by Virginia. George Washington's headquarters.
- Fort Coombs Located just north of the Mason-Dixon line in vicinity of Warfordsburg, Pennsylvania. Mentioned as under siege by Indians in February of 1756. Settlers from Fort Coombs vicinity took shelter in Fort Tonoloway.
- j. Fort Loudoun (PA) Fort constructed by Pennsylvania in 1756.

Feature Type	Feature Name	Location	Location Confidence	Relevance to French and Indian War	Source	KOCOA Feature Type
Городгарһу	Fort Tonoloway Ridge (MD)	Fort Tonoloway State Park	Medium	Potential site of Fort Tonoloway		Key Terrain
Topography	Sidling Hill (MD, PA)	5.5 miles west of Hancock	High	Point of reference during construction of Forbes Road, 1758	Benjamin Winslow, Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River , 1736	Obstacle
Городгарhy	Tonoloway Hill / Ridge (MD, PA)	2.5 miles west of Hancock	High	Point of reference in 1748 Prince Georges County Road Order	the Middle British Colonies in America , 1755	Obstacle
Городгарhy	Roundtop Hill (MD)	2 miles southwest of Fort Tonoloway	High	Tallest mountain in vicinity of Fort Tonoloway	Charles Varle, A Map of Frederick and Washington Counties, Maryland , 1808	Observation
Topography	Cove Ridge (MD, PA)	North of Hancock	High	Families sheltering in Coombs fort fled down base of Cove Ridge to shelter at Fort Tonoloway	William Scull, Map of the Province of Pennsylvania, 1770	Obstacle
Topography	Cacapon Mountain (VA)	East of Cacapon River	High		Benjamin Winslow, Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River , 1736	Obstacle
Topography	Sleepy Creek Mountain (VA)	East of Sleepy Creek	High		Robert Sayer and J Bennett, A Map of Pennsylvania Exhibiting not only the Improved Parts of that Province but also its Extensive Frontiers , 1775	Obstacle
Topography	North Mountain (VA, MD)	1.5 miles east of Fort Frederick	High	Point of reference for location of three Maryland fortifications in 1755, Fort Frederick in 1756.	Lewis Evans, A General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America , 1755	Obstacle
Topography	Great Valley (PA, MD, VA)	1.5 miles east of Fort Frederick	High	Migration route for settlers; new western contracted frontier by 1756	Lewis Evans, A General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America , 1755	Avenue of Approach / Withdrawal
Topography	Potomac River Floodplain		High	Contains numerous abandoned Native American villages and fields. Access to regional ferries and fords.		Key Terrain
Drainage	Potomac River		High	Explored by Gov. Sharpe as a means of transporting troops and supplies to Fort Cumberland in support of General Braddock	Benjamin Winslow, Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River , 1736	Obstacle
Drainage	Tonoloway Creek (MD, PA)	1.5 miles east of Hancock	High	Mentioned in early road orders	Benjamin Winslow, Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River, 1736	Obstacle
Drainage	Little Tonoloway Creek (MD, PA)	West of Hancock	High	Point of reference for location of North Bend community; mentioned in ealry road orders	Benjamin Winslow, Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River, 1736	Obstacle
Drainage	Conococheague Creek (MD, PA)	Williamsport, MD	High	Mentioned in early road orders	Benjamin Winslow, Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River, 1736	Obstacle
Drainage	Licking Creek (MD, PA)	8 miles east of Hancock	High	Mentioned in early road orders	Benjamin Winslow, Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River , 1736	Obstacle

Feature Type	Feature Name	Location	Location Confidence	Relevance to French and Indian War	Source	KOCOA Feature Type
Drainage	Sidling Hill Creek (MD, PA)	6 miles west of Hancock	High	Mentioned in early road orders	Benjamin Winslow, Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River , 1736	Obstacle
Drainage	Fort Tonoloway drainage northeast	Fort Tonoloway Ridge	High	Defined northeast of Fort Tonoloway Ridge		Obstacle
Drainage	Fort Tonoloway drainage southwest	Fort Tonoloway Ridge	High	Defined southwest of Fort Tonoloway Ridge		Obstacle
Drainage	Wills Creek (MD)	Cumberland, MD	High	Fort Mt Pleasant / Fort Cumberland built at confluence of Wills Creek and Potomac River	Benjamin Winslow, Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River , 1736	Obstacle
Drainage	Great Cacapon (VA)	Great Cacapon, VA	High	Drainage which defined the location of George Washington's Chain of Forts.	Lewis Evans, A General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America, 1755	Obstacle
Drainage	Sleepy Creek (VA)	5 miles east of Hancock	High	Location of Fort Sleepy Creek / Stewart's Fort in August of 1756. Part of George Washington's Chain of Forts	Norman Baker, French & Indian War in Frederick County , Virginia , 2000.	Obstacle
Community	North Bend / Little Tonoloway (MD)	West of Little Tonoloway Creek	Medium	Location of early trading post and small community by mid-1730s.	Benjamin Winslow, Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River , 1736	Key Terrain
Community	Tonoloways / Cove (PA)	Vicinity of Warfordsburg, PA	Medium	Little Cove / Big Cove vicinity mentioned as attacked by Indians in early 1756.	William Hunter, Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier , 1753-1758, 1960.	Key Terrain
Community	Conococheague - Williamsport (MD)	Williamsport, MD	High	Land first patented in 1739. Important Potomac River settlement by 1750. Gov. Horatio Sharpe caused a stockade to be placed there. Capt. John Dagworthy commanded the depot. Crucial supply depot for Braddock's, and later Forbes' marches. Place of retreat for many settlers in 1755-1756.	Lewis Evans, A General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America , 1755	Key Terrain
Community	Elizabethtown - Hagerstown (MD)	Hagerstown, MD	High	Settled by Jonathan Hager in 1739. Founded as a town in 1762. Western frontier town during French & Indian War. Important staging point for Prince George's County militia and government forces moving west.	Dennis Griffith, Map of the State of Maryland , 1795	Key Terrain
Community	Fredericktown - Frederick (MD)	Frederick, MD	High	Laid out in 1745. Important staging point for militia and government forces moving west.	Lewis Evans, A General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America , 1755	Key Terrain
Community	Chambersburg (PA)	Chambersburg, PA	High	Settled by Benjamin Chambers in 1730. Founded as a town in 1764. Western frontier town during French & Indian War. Site of Pennsylvania fortification - Benjamir Chambers fortified residence.	John Mitchell, A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America , 1755	Key Terrain
Community	Shippensburg (PA)	Shippensburg, PA	High	First settled in 1730s. Western frontier town during French & Indian War. Site of Pennsylvania fortification - Fort Morris in 1755.	Lewis Evans, A General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America , 1755	Key Terrain
Community	Carlisle (PA)	Carlile, PA	High	First settled in 1730s. Founded as a town in 1751. Western frontier town during French & Indian War. Site of Pennsylvania fortification - Fort Carlisle in 1755.	John Mitchell, A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America , 1755	Key Terrain

Feature Type	Feature Name	Location	Location Confidence	Relevance to French and Indian War	Source	KOCOA Feature Type
Community	Martinsburg (WV)	Martinsburg, WV	High	First settled in the 1730s. Founded as a town in 1778. Western frontier town during French & Indian War.	Charles Varle, Map of Frederick, Berkeley, & Jefferson counties in the State of Virginia , 1809	Key Terrain
Community	Fredericktown - Winchester (VA)	Winchester, VA	High	First settled in late 1720s. Founded as a town in 1751. Western frontier town during French & Indian War. Site of Fort Loudoun, built between 1756 and 1758. Headquarters of George Washington.	Lewis Evans, A General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America , 1755	Key Terrain
Residence / Fortification	Thomas Cresap (MD)	Oldtown, MD	High	Archaeologically identified palisaded residence. Attacked by Indians between 1755 - 1763. Served as a shelter for area settlers. Maryland militia infrequently stationed at Cresap's fort.	Lewis Evans, A General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America , 1755	Key Terrain
Residence	Charles Polke (MD)	North Bend	Medium	Prominent trading post. Residence within North Bend community by 1734	Benjamin Winslow, Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River, 1736	Key Terrain
Residence	Capt. John (MD)	North Bend	Medium	Residence within North Bend community	Benjamin Winslow, Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River, 1736	Key Terrain
Residence	Thomas Hargrass (MD)	North Bend	Medium	Residence within North Bend community	Benjamin Winslow, Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River, 1736	Key Terrain
Residence	Thomas Wiggans (MD)	North Bend	Medium	Residence within North Bend community	Benjamin Winslow, Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River, 1736	Key Terrain
Residence	Ralph Matson (MD)	North Bend	Medium	Residence mentioned as point of reference in period accounts between 1755 and 1756	Maryland Gazette , March 4, 1756, p3.	Key Terrain
Church	Tonoloway Baptist Church (PA)	Rte 655, 0.25 mile north of PA border	High	Established in 1752. Served broader Tonoloway region in mid-eighteenth century.	Primitive Baptist Library, Carthage IL http://pblib.org/FamHist- FultonPA.html	Key Terrain
Road	Great Wagon Road (PA, MD, VA)	Route 11	High	Heavy use by migrants heading south and west.	Benjamin Winslow, Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River , 1736	Avenue of Approach / Withdrawal
Road	Early east-west migration and trade route - Wagon Road (MD)	North side of Potomac River. Roughly Route 40	Medium	Used by North Bend residents, French and Native American forces, and colonial militia units. Used by Braddock and Forbes.	Lewis Evans, A General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America, 1755	Avenue of Approach / Withdrawal
Road	Winchester - Fort Cumberland Rd (VA)		Medium	Series of formal and informal roads connecting these two important military posts. Heavily utilized during French & Indian War.	Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, A Map of the Most Inhabited Parts of Virginia , 1755	Avenue of Approach / Withdrawal
Ford	Ford at Northbend	Hancock, MD	Medium	Early crossing point for Potomac River	Charles Varle, A Map of Frederick and Washington Counties, Maryland , 1808	Key Terrain
Ford	Ford at Conococheague	Williamsport, MD	Medium	Early crossing point for Potomac River		Key Terrain
Ford	Ford at Oldtown		Medium	Early crossing point for Potomac River		Key Terrain

Feature Type	Feature Name	Location	Location Confidence	Relevance to French and Indian War	Source	KOCOA Feature Type
Ferry	Watkins Ferry (VA)	Williamsport, MD	Medium	Important strategic crossing of Potomac River during conflict	Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, A Map of the Most Inhabited Parts of Virginia , 1755	Key Terrain
Ferry	Williams Ferry (MD)	Williamsport, MD	Medium	Important strategic crossing of Potomac River during conflict	Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, A Map of the Most Inhabited Parts of Virginia, 1755	Key Terrain
Bridge	Bridge at Licking Creek (MD)	Licking Creek, MD	Medium	Bridge ordered to be constructed in this location in 1747 by Prince George's County	Prince George's County Order Book, 1747. Prince George's County Courthouse, Marlboro, Maryland	Key Terrain
Bridge	Bridge at Sidling Hill Creek (MD)	Sidling Hill Creek, MD	Medium	Bridge ordered to be constructed in this location in 1747 by Prince George's County	Prince George's County Order Book, 1747. Prince George's County Courthouse, Marlboro, Maryland	Key Terrain
Fortification	Fort Mt. Pleasant - Fort Cumberland (MD)	Cumberland, MD	High	Established after defeat of George Washington at Fort Necessity. Site selected by Gov. Horatio Sharpe of MD, built by Col. Innes under Gov. Dinwiddie of Virginia on order of British Crown. GW insisted upon abandoning the fort but Gov. Dinwiddie forbade it.	Lewis Evans, A General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America , 1755	Key Terrain
Fortification	Fort Tonoloway (MD)	Fort Tonoloway Ridge	Medium	Westernmost fortification established by Maryland government. Built ca. Abandoned and burned ca. May 1756?	Burt, James, 1874 [Copy of 1756 William Alexander map made for W. M. Darlington]	Key Terrain
Fortification	Thomas Mills' Fort (MD)	Near Pectonville, Maryland, east of Licking Creek	Low	Gov. Sharpe North Mountain Fort on plantation of Thomas Mills.	William Ansel, Frontier Forts Along the Potomac , 1984, 140.	Key Terrain
Fortification	Isaac Baker's Fort (MD)	Near Fairview, Maryland, west of Conococheague Creek	Low	Gov. Sharpe North Mountain Fort on plantation of Isaac Baker. Baker received a 'reward' of L20 in 1757 from Maryland for building / fortifying his residence.	William Ansel, Frontier Forts Along the Potomac , 1984, 27.	Key Terrain
Fortification	Evan Shelby's Fort (MD)	Maiden's Choice, on Broadfording Road between Conococheague Creek and Fort Frederick	Low	Gov. Sharpe North Mountain Fort on plantation of Evan Shelby. Shelby commissioned by Gov. Sharpe as a Lt. in Maryland militia in early 1756. Burned in 1763.		Key Terrain
Fortification	Allen Killough's Fort (MD)	Vicinity of Pectonville, Maryland, near Fairview Mountain	Low	Gov. Sharpe North Mountain Fort on plantation of Allen Killough. Attacked by Indians in 1756.	William Ansel, Frontier Forts Along the Potomac, 1984, 224.	Key Terrain
Fortification	Fort Frederick (MD)	Big Pool, MD	High	Built by Maryland government in 1756	Fielding Lucas, A Map of the State of Maryland, 1841.	Key Terrain
Fortification	Fort Loudoun (VA)	Winchester, VA	High	Built Spring of 1756 to Fall of 1758. Headquarters of GW for duration of war.	Robert Jolley, Archaeological Investigations at Fort Loudoun, Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeolgoical Society of Vriginia , Vol. 60, No 2 (2005), 67-68.	Key Terrain
Fortification	Fort Coombs (PA)	Vicinity of Warfordsburg, PA	Medium	Placed on the plantation of either Joseph or Edward Coombs.	William Ansel, Frontier Forts Along the Potomac , 1984, 43.	Key Terrain
Fortification	Fort Loudoun (PA)	5.5 miles north of Mercersburg, PA	High	Built in 1756.	William Scull, Map of the Province of Pennsylvania, 1770	Key Terrain