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FILE NO.

"WASHINGTON'S MILITARY EXPEDITION OF 1754"

By Prof. John Kennedy Lacock, Boston.

Published 1932, in the Connellsville Courier  
Connellsville, Penna.

Transcribed - 1940

Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site

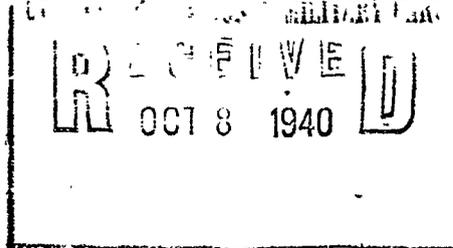
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UNITED STATES  
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE  
GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK  
GETTYSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA



December 7, 1940

Memorandum for the Regional Director, Region One.

Attention: Regional Supervisor of Historic Sites.

During the past two summers, Ranger Historians Ruth H. Martin and Carson H. Baker, Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site, have been alternating their periods of duty at the stockade and in the office. Certain work has been suggested by this office for accomplishment by the Ranger Historians while on office duty.

One of the projects thus undertaken was a transcription from The Connellsville Courier of a series of articles written by Professor John Kennedy Lacock, sometime instructor at Harvard University, and published in that paper during the year 1932, just prior to Mr. Lacock's death. The articles, which show evidence of poor organization, much repetition, and grammatical errors, deal with the Washington expedition of 1754, and contain a good deal of worthwhile and interesting material. It has been said that Professor Albert Bushnell Hart considered Professor Lacock one of the best informed students of the Braddock Trail.

The transcription of the newspaper articles has been completed and we are forwarding the original. Unfortunately, insufficient copies were made, and it would be appreciated if this copy could be passed on to the Supervisor of Historic Sites when you have completed examination of it. If an additional copy is desired, we shall see that it is provided.

Sincerely yours,

James R. McConaghie  
Superintendent

*Frederick Tilberg*

By: Frederick Tilberg  
Asst. Historical Technician

Enc.

cc: Supervisor of Historic Sites

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## WASHINGTON'S MILITARY EXPEDITION OF 1754

### INSTRUCTIONS FROM GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE

June 24, 1932

Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia in November 1753, sent Major George Washington with a letter to the French Commander, St. Pierre, who was at that time stationed at Fort Le Boeuf, now Waterford, Pa., demanding the removal of the French forts west of the Allegheny Mountains, which Governor Dinwiddie claimed were on French territory. The French Commander in his reply refused positively to comply with this request. In the meantime, the Ohio Company had sent Captain William Trent to the forks of the Ohio to there erect a Fort. Washington on his return trip from Fort Le Boeuf met them enroute. Some months after Washington had made his report to Governor Dinwiddie it was decided to send a military expedition to the "Forks of the Ohio" to assist and further strengthen the works begun at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers by Trent.

Colonel Joshua Fry was chosen colonel of the regiment, He was thrown from a horse and seriously injured and died at Wills Creek, Cumberland, Md., May 31, 1754, three days after Washington had engaged in battle with Ensign Coulon De Jumonville, near Fort Necessity, to which place Washington had conducted the troops. After the death of Colonel Fry Colonel Innes was appointed commander in chief of the expedition, but he never joined forces with Washington. Washington was raised to the rank of colonel, and assumed the entire responsibility and direction of this military campaign rested upon him.

Governor Dinwiddie's instructions given to Lieutenant Colonel George Washington upon his departure on this expedition, were incorporated in his journal, which later fell into the hands of the French. The following which is a part of these instructions, is translated from a version in French:

"Instruct's to be Observ'd by Maj'r Geo. Washington,  
on the Expedit'n to the Ohio.

"Having all Things in readiness You are to use all Expedition in proceeding to Forks of Ohio with the Men under Com'd and there you are to finish and compleat in the best Manner and as soon as You possibly can, the Fort w'ch I expect is there already begun by the Ohio Comp'a. You are to act on the Defensive, but in Case any Attempts are made to obstruct the works or interrupt our Settlem'ts by any Persons whatsoever You are to restrain all such Offenders, and in Case of resistance make Prisoners of or kill and destroy them. For the rest You are to conduct Y'rself as the Circumst's of the Service shall require and to act as You shall find best for the

Furtherance of His Majesty's Services and the Good of His Dom'n.  
Wishing You Health and Success I bid you Farwell."

Washington reached Great Meadows on May 24, 1754. The battle with Ensign Jumonville was fought May 28, 1754, in which Washington surprised, killed, wounded, or captured the entire French force with the exception of one Canadian soldier, who escaped and made his way back to Fort Duquesne, and on whose account of the battle Contrecoeur, the commanding officer at the Fort, and the French historians based their account of the battle. It was reported that Washington had assassinated Jumonville. The French made great capital of this unfounded statement.

One month later M. Coulon de Villers was placed in command of an expedition to avenge the death of his half-brother Jumonville. He reached Great Meadows about 10 A. M. July 3, 1754, where the battle of Fort Necessity raged from that moment till 8 P.M. during a heavy downpour of rain. The story of this battle is well known. Washington, the next morning, July 4, was allowed to march out of Fort Necessity with the honors of war.

Next article - Journal of M. De Villiers, translated from the French, which we feel sure will be of interest to our readers in view of the forthcoming celebration of this expedition at Fort Necessity on July 3 and 4.

#### Journal of M. de Villiers.

June 25, 1932

Historians of a later date have been dependent upon the journal of M. De Villiers, commander of the French expedition against the English, for the French side of the battle at Fort Necessity and the capitulation of Washington which followed, as well as the incident of the skirmish between Washington and Jumonville which preceded.

In "A Memorial," by J. N. Moreau, a French historian of 1757, the full text of De Villiers' journal appears. The following is a translation of this historical document:

Journal of M. De Villiers, Numb. IX.

June the 26th.

"Arrived at Fort du Quesne about eight in the Morning, with the several Nations, the Command of which the General had given me.

"At my Arrival was informed that M. de Contrecoeur had made a Detachment of 500 French, and eleven Indians of different Nations, on the Ohio, the Command of which he had given to Chevalier le Mercier, who was to depart the next Day.

"As I was the oldest Officer, and commanded the Indian Nations, and as my Brother had been assassinated (M. Jumonville), M de Contrecoeur honoured me with that Command, and M. le Mercier, though deprived of the Command, seemed very well pleased to make the Campaign under my orders.

"M. de Contrecoeur called Messieurs le Mercier, de Longueil, and myself, in order to deliberate upon what should be done in the Campaign, as to the Place, Strength of the Enemy, the Assassination committed by them upon my Brother, and the Peace we intended to maintain between the two Crowns.

"The 28th, M. de Contrecoeur gave me my orders, the Provisions were distributed, and we left Fort about Ten in the Morning. I began from that Instant, to send out some Indians to range about by Land, to prevent being surprised.

"I posted myself at a small Distance above the first Fork of the River Monaungahela, though I had no Thought of taking that Road. I called the Indians together, and demanded their Opinions. It was decided, that it was suitable to take the River Monaungahela, though the Rout was longer.

"The 29th, Mass was said in the Camp, after which we marched with the usual Precaution.

"30th; Came to the Hangard (built by the English), which was a sort of Fort built with Logs, one upon another, well notched in, about 30 Foot in Length, and 20 in Breadth; and as it was late, and would not do any Thing without consulting the Indians, I encamped two Musket Shot from that Place.

"At night I called the Sachems together, and we consulted upon what was best to be done, for the safety of our Pettiaguas, and the Provisions, we left in reserve, as also what Guard should be left to keep it.

"July the first, put our Pettiaguas in a safe Place; our Effects, and everything we could do without, we took into the Hangard; where I left one Sergeant, with Twenty Men, and some sick Indians. Ammunition was afterwards distributed, and we began our March.

"At about Eleven o'Clock, we discovered some tracks, which made us suspect we were discovered.

"At Three in the Afternoon, having no News of our Rangers, I sent others, who met those sent before, and not knowing each other, were near upon exchanging Shot, but happily found their Mistake. They returned to us, and declared to have been at the Road which the English were clearing; that they were of the Opinion no Body had been that Way for three Days. We were no longer in Doubt of our Proceedings being known to the English.

"The 2d, We marched at Break of Day, without waiting the Return of our Rangers. After having marched some Time, we stopped; for I was resolved to proceed no further, until I had positive News; wherefore I sent Scouts upon the Road. In the mean while, came some of those Indians to us, whom we had left at the Hangard; they had taken a

Prisoner, who called himself a Deserter; I examined, and threatened him with the Rope, if he offered to impose upon us. I learned that the English had left their Post, in order to join their Fort, and that they had brought back their Cannon.

"Some of our People finding that the English had abandoned the Camp, we went thereto, and <sup>1</sup> sent some Men to search it throughout; where they found several Tools, and other Utensils hidden in many places, which I ordered them to carry away. As it was late, I made the Detachment encamp there.

"I examined the Englishman, a second time, sometimes terrifying him, and at other times giving him Hopes of Reward. I imparted all he told me to the Indians, as also to my Resolution, not to expose them rashly. We had Rain all Night.

"The 3rd, at Break of Day, I prepared for my Departure. I desired the Indians to provide me some Scouts. The Weather was inclining to Rain; but I foresaw the Necessity of preventing the Enemy in their Works.

"We marched the whole Day in the Rain, and I sent Scouts one after another. I stopped at the Place where my Brother had been assassinated, and saw there yet some dead bodies.

"When I came within three Quarters of a League from the English Fort, I ordered my Men to march in Columns, every Officer to his Division, that ~~it~~ might the better dispose of them as Necessity would require." ( To Be Continued)

Journal of M. De Villiers, (cont.)

June 27, 1932

" I sent Scouts, and gave Orders to go close up to the Camp, Twenty others to sustain them, and I advanced in Order. My Scouts soon informed me, that we were discovered, and that the English were coming in Battle-Array to attack us; and that they were very near us: Upon which I ordered my Men in a Posture suitable for a Bush Fight. It was not long before I perceived that my Scouts had misled me, and ordered the Troops to advance on that Side where we expected them to attack us.

"As we had no Knowledge of the Place, we presented our Flank to the Fort, when they began to fire upon us; and almost at the same time, I perceived the English on the Right, in order of Battle, and coming toward us. The Indians, as well as ourselves, set up a great Cry, and advanced toward them; but they did not give us Time to fire upon them, before they sheltered themselves in an Intrenchment, which we aimed to invest the Fort, which was advantageously enough situated in a Meadow, within a Musket Shot from the Woods. We drew as near them as possible, that we might not expose his Majesty's Subjects to no purpose. The Fire was very Brisk on both Sides, and I chose that Place which seemed to me the most proper, in case we should be exposed to a Sally. We fired so smartly, as to put out ( if I may use the Expression) the Fire of their Cannon with out Musket-Shot.

"Towards Six at Night, the Fire of the Enemy increased with more Vigour than ever, and lasted until Eight. We briskly returned their

Fire. We took particular Care to secure our Posts, to keep the English fast up ~~up~~ in their Fort all night; and after having fixed ourselves in the best Position we could, we let the English know, that if they would speak to us, we would stop Firing. They accepted the Proposal. There came a Captain to the Place where I was: I sent M. le Mercier to receive him, and I went to the Meadow, where I told him, that as we were not at War, we were very willing to save them from the Cruelties to which they exposed themselves, on account of the Indians; but if they were stubborn, we would take away from them all Hopes of escaping; that we consented to be favourable to them at present, as we were come only to revenge my Brother's Assassination, and to oblige them to quit the Lands of the King our Master; and we agreed to grant them the Capitulation, whereof a Copy is here annexed. We considered, that nothing could be more advantageous than this Capitulation, as it was not proper to make Prisoners in a Time of Peace. We made the English consent to sign, that they had assassinated my Brother in his own Camp. He had Hostages for the Security of the French who were in their Power; we made them abandon the King's Country; we obliged them to leave us their Cannon, consisting of Nine Pieces; we destroyed all their Horses and Cattle, and made them to sign, that the Favour we granted them, was only to prove, how desirous we were to use them as Friends.

"That very Night, the Articles of Capitulation were signed, and the two Hostages I had demanded, were brought to my Camp.

"The 4th, at Break of Day, I sent a Detachment to take possession of the Fort; the Garrison filed off, and the Number of their dead and Wounded, moved me to Pity, notwithstanding my Resentment for their having in such Manner, taken away my Brother's life.

"The Indians, who had obeyed my orders in every Thing, claimed a Right to the Plunder; but I opposed it: However, the English being frightened, fled, and left their Tents, and one their Colours. I demolished their Fort, and M. le Mercier ordered their Cannon to be broken; as also the one granted by Capitulation, the English not being able to carry it away.

"I hastened my Departure, after having bursted the Casks wherein was their Liquor, to prevent the Disorders which would have certainly happened. One of my Indians took ten Englishmen, whom he brought to me, but I sent them back by another.

"All I lost in this attack, were two men killed and one Pany (the name of an Indian). Seventeen wounded; two whereof are Indians, exclusive of a Number of slightly wounded, as to have no Occasion for the Surgeon.

"We marched that Day about two Leagues, and I detached some of my Men to carry on Litters those who were badly wounded.

"The 5th, about Nine, I arrived at the Camp which the English had abandoned: I ordered the Intrenchment be demolished, and the Houses to be burnt down; and after having detached M. de la Chauvignerie to burn their Houses round about, I continued my Rout, and incamped three Leagues from thence.

"The 6th, departed early in the Morning, and arrived about Ten at the Hangard.

"We put our Pettiaugas in order; victualled the Detachment; carried away the Reserve of Provision which we had left there, and found several Things which the English had hidden; after which I burnt down the Hangard. We then embarked, and kept on till about six at Night, when I was obliged to incamp in a very great rain.

"The 7th, Continued my Rout, after having detached M. de la Chauvignerie to acquaint M. de Contrecoeur of the Success of our Campaign. Passing along we burnt down all the Settlements we found; and about four o'clock I delivered my Detachment to M. de Contrecoeur.

(Next installment will contain the terms of the capitulation and Washington's side of the story.)

#### Articles of Capitulation of Fort Necessity

June 28, 1932

The text of the capitulation Washington signed at Fort Necessity on the night of July 3, 1754, under the terms of which his forces and those of De Villiers withdrew from the scene on the next day, is published in full text in Volume II, Pennsylvania Archives. It there appears in the following form:

"Capitulation granted by Mons. de Villiers, Cap. and Commander of Infantry and Troops of His most Christian Majesty, to those English Troops actually in the Fort of Necessity wch was built on the Lands of the King's Domain, July 3d, at 8 o'Clock at Night, 1754.

"As our Intentions has never been to trouble the Peace and good Harmony wch reigns between the two Princes in Amity, but only to revenge the Assassination wch has been done on one of our Officers bearer of a Sitation as appears by his Writing, as also to hinder any Establishment on the Lands of the Domain of the King my Master, upon these considerations: we are willing to grant protection or Favour to all the English that are in the Said Fort, upon the Conditions hereafter mentioned.

##### Article 1st.

"We grant the English Commander to retire with all his Garrison, and to return peaceably into his own country, and promise to hinder his receiving any Insult from us French, and to restrain as much as shall be in our Power the Savages that are with us.

##### 2dly.

"It shall be permitted him to go out, carry wth him all that belongs to them except the Artillery wch we keep.

##### 3dly.

"That we will allow them the Honours of Warr, that they march out

Drums beating, with a Swivel Gun, being willing to show them that we treat them as friends.

4thly.

"That as soon as the Articles are Signed by the one Part and the other, they strike the English Colours.

5thly.

"That to-morrow at Break of Day, a Detachment of French shall go to make the Garrison file off, and take possessions of the Fort.

6thly.

"And as the English have few Oxen or Horses, they are free to hide their Effects, and come and search for them when they have met their Horses, and that they may for this end have Guardians in what number they please upon Condition that they will give their Word of Honour not to work upon any building in this Place or any part of this side of the Mountain during a Year to be accounted from this Day.

7thly.

"And as the English have in their Power an Officer, two Cadets, and most of the Prisoners made in the Assassination of the Sr. de Jumonville and that they Promise to send them back with Safe Guard, to Fort Duquesne on the Fine River, and for Surety of this Article, as well as this treaty, Mr. Jacob Vanbram & Robert Stobo, both Captains, shall be put up as Hostages till the Arrivall of the Canadians & French above mentioned. We oblige ourselves, on our Side, to give an Escort, to return in Safety these two Officers. We promise our French in two Months & a half at farthest. A Duplicate being made upon one of the Posts of our Bloccade they day above.

Con Villier  
Indorsed.

"Capitulation granted to Col. Washington by Monsieur DeVillier, Commander of the French Troops, 3d July, 1754"

Next installment -- Washington's side of the story.

### Washington's Side of the Battle of the Meadows

June 29, 1932

Washington's comments on De Villier's journal, in which the latter relates the French side of the story of the Battle of Fort Necessity, is reproduced in "The Writings of Washington," W.C.Ford, 1889. In his own defense Washington said:

"That we left our baggage and horses at the Meadows is certain; that there was not even a possibility to bring them away was equally certain, as we had every horse belonging to the camp killed or taken away during the action; so that it was impracticable to bring any

thing off, that our soldiers were not able to bear; and to wait there was impossible for we had scarce three days' provisions, and were seventy miles from a supply; yet, to say we came off precipitately is absolutely false; notwithstanding they did, contrary to articles, suffer their Indians to pillage our baggage, and commit all kinds of irregularity, we were with them until ten o'clock the next day; we destroyed our powder and other stores, nay, even our private baggage, to prevent its falling into their hands, as we could not bring it off. When we had got about a mile from the place of action, we missed two or three of the wounded, and sent a party back to bring them up; this is the party he speaks of. We brought them all safe off, and encamped within three miles of the Meadows. These are circumstances, I think, that make it evidently clear, that we were not apprehensive of danger. The colors he speaks of as left were a large flag of immense size and weight; our regimental colors were brought off and are now in my possession. Their gasconades, and boasted clemency, must appear in a most ludicrous light to every considerate person, who reads Villiers' journal; such preparations for an attack, such vigor and intrepidity as he pretends to have conducted his march with, such revenge as by his own account appeared in his attack, considered, it will hardly be thought that compassion was his motive for calling a parley. But to sum up the whole, Mr. Villiers pays himself no great compliment in saying, we were struck with a panic when matters were adjusted. We surely could not be afraid without cause, and if we had cause after capitulation, it was a reflection upon himself."

In a footnote to the Fitzpatrick edition, 1931, of Spark's "Writings of Washington," further historical comment is given concerning the charge of the French that Jumonville had been assassinated by Washington. The note follows:

".....There can be no doubt whatever as to the word 'l'assassinat' in Article VII. Capt. James Mackay, who signed the capitulation ahead of Washington, by virtue of his claim to superior rank (he holding a King's commission while Washington's commission was from Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia) wrote to the Virginia colonel September 28 (1754), 'I had several disputes about our capitulation but satisfied every person that mentioned that subject as to the Artickles in Question, that we were owing to a bad interpreter and Contrary to the translation made to us when we sign'd them.' What Washington wrote regarding this follows: 'That we were wilfully, or ignorantly, deceived by our interpreter in regard to the word 'assassination,' I do aver, and will to my dying moment; so will every officer that was present. The interpreter was a Dutchman, little acquainted with the English tongue, therefore might not advert to the tone and meaning of the work in English; but, whatever his motives were for so doing, certain it is, he called it the 'death' or the 'loss', of Sieur Jumonville. So we received and so we understood it, until to our great surprise and mortification, we found it otherwise in a literal translation'."

The observation of Francis Parkman, the historian, in "France and England in North America," on the capitulation at Fort Necessity, is as follows:

"There were but two men with Washington who knew French, Ensign Peyronney, who was disabled by a wound, and the Dutchman, Captain VanBraam. To him the unpalatable errand was assigned. After a long absence he returned with articles of capitulation offered by Villiers; and while the officers gathered about him in the rain, he read and interpreted the paper by the glimmer of a sputtering candle kept alight with difficulty. Objection was made to some of the terms, and they were changed. VanBraam, however, apparently anxious to get the capitulation signed and the affair ended, mistranslated several passages, and rendered the words 'l'assassinat du Sieur de Jumonville' as the 'death of the Sieur de Jumonville. As thus understood, the articles were signed about midnight."

After the battle of Great Meadows at Fort Necessity, Captains VanBraam and Stobo were given to the French as hostages. It was in the agreement that Governor Dinwiddie should return the 21 prisoners taken at Washington's First Battlefield at Jumonville. Governor Dinwiddie refused to carry out this part of the agreement. Finally he sent a flag of truce to Fort Duquesne for the exchange and release of Captains VanBraam and Stobo by offering to send Monsieur Druillon with the rank of major, and two cadets. This offer was declined; whereupon Captains VanBraam and Stobo were sent to Canada. Stobo later escaped from prison, but VanBraam was not released until 1760.

Governor Dinwiddie proved obstinate in this matter, but Washington's hands were tied and he could not carry out that stipulation in the agreement. It did not comport with Washington's sense of justice, nor was it honorable on the part of Virginia, and worked evil later on for the English.

As early as 1767, Washington acquired 334 acres under the name of "Mount Washington," also known as the Great Meadows tract.

The consideration paid by Washington to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania was 33 pounds, 15 shillings, eight pence, which in our money is equivalent to about \$164.00. Until recently it belonged to Lewis Fazenbaker. The State of Pennsylvania purchased the entire tract and an additional 100 acres, in 1931, for which \$25,000 was paid. Two acres of the tract, including the site of Fort Necessity, has been deeded by the State of Pennsylvania to the United States Government. This, of course, includes the rebuilt stockade, and will also include the memorial which is to be later erected by the United States Government.

The dedication of the rebuilt stockade will take place on July 3 and 4, constituting the outstanding event in the nation-wide celebration of the 200th anniversary of Washington's birth.

Washington's First Battlefield; European Background  
of Great Meadows Campaign

June 30, 1932

In the popular mind the engagement between the forces of Washington and the French and Indians under De Villiers, at Fort Necessity, July 3, 1754, was the first armed conflict in which the youthful Virginia Colonel participated. The facts of history establish, however, that his encounter with the detachment of Ensign M. Jumonville, at what later became known as "Washington's Rock", six <sup>miles</sup> west from the Great Meadows, in the early morning of May 28, 1754, was in reality the first action in which Washington took part, five weeks previous to the attack of the French at Fort Necessity. This encounter resulted from the advance movement from Great Meadows of a detachment of Virginia troops under the personal command of Washington after receipt of information from his Indian scouts that a French force was lurking near his camp.

Arriving at the break of day on the scene, which Historian Veech has described in the following manner: "There is not above ground in Fayette County a place so well calculated for concealment, and for secretly watching and counting Washington's little army as it would pass along the (Braddock's) road, as this same Jumonville's Camp," Washington's detachment opened fire upon the French, to which the French replied. The conflict lasted about a quarter of an hour, when the French surrendered. Their loss was 10 killed, including Ensign Jumonville, one wounded, 21 taken prisoners and one escaped. Washington's loss was one killed and two wounded. Washington returned to Great Meadows and began the erection of a stockade which he named Fort Necessity. To that time his defenses there were mainly breast works protected by logs. The killing of Jumonville was stigmatized by the French as the assassination of a peaceful envoy, and his revenge was declared to be one of the objects of De Villiers' subsequent march on Fort Necessity.

European Background

The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, was really the beginning of the development of the diplomatic history of the United States. Then followed very shortly afterwards denials of the plain meaning of the treaty. Disputes assumed large dimensions. Each nation claimed the Valley of the Ohio. The conflict was precipitated by the action of France in attempting to occupy the territory in dispute. Both the French and the English claims were quite extravagant and unfounded. The Treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle failed to settle the rival claims to land in North America, and no result was reached which satisfied the ambitious designs of either country.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, although after 30 years of war, hushed Europe to peace, yet the boundary line was never fixed between the contending parties. On account of these boundary disputes, at about the middle of the Eighteenth Century, the French and the English in America engaged in war, and finally hostilities between these rival nations were officially declared.

### French Claim to the Ohio Country

The French during the period of exploration and settlement up to 1750, controlled the two natural outlets into the Mississippi Valley, namely, (1) the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, and (2) the Mississippi and its tributaries. They early saw the great value of an inland water communication, extending from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, a distance of some 3500 miles. A portage of only 15 miles from Lake Erie to the headwaters of French Creek at Fort Le Boeuf (now Waterford, Pa.), made it possible to travel by water from Lake Erie by way of French Creek, the Allegheny, Ohio and Mississippi rivers, to the Gulf of Mexico.

The early explorers had sailed up and down the Mississippi and St. Lawrence rivers and had skirted along the shores of the Great Lakes. The principles of international law, as interpreted by the French, gave them prior claim to all the lands that drained into these bodies of water. A glance at a map of the United States will reveal the far reaching extent of this claim. The claim, however, was preposterous and would have left the English only a narrow strip of land east of the watershed of the Alleghenies along the Atlantic seaboard. Beginning in 1719, the French strengthened this inchoate title by building and establishing a line of forts, blockhouses and trading posts from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi river. In addition, a sort of second cordon or inner chain of posts and forts extended from Lake Erie down French Creek, the Allegheny, the Monongahela and the Ohio Rivers, and their tributaries to the Mississippi River. Many of these posts were garrisoned by French troops.

The French in order to carry out their plans sent into this region, missionaries to conciliate the Delaware, Shawnese and other Indian tribes. As early as 1728 the French tried to divorce the Delaware Indians from the English.

Next installment - The English Claim to the Ohio Country.

Washington's First Battlefield; European Background  
Of Great Meadows Campaign

July 1, 1952

English Claim to the Ohio Valley

The English claim to the Ohio country was based on the treaties of Utrecht of 1713 and of Aix-la-chapelle of 1748. The provisions set forth in these treaties were very vague and uncertain. The old "sea to sea" grants of the English colonies from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans were granted before the French settlements in the Mississippi country. In the Treaty of Utrecht, the Iroquois, or Five Nations, were declared British subjects, it being agreed that the "French were no longer to molest the Five Nations or Cantons of Indians, subject to the domination of Great Britain, nor other natives of America, who are friends to the same." At various times during the 40 years following the Treaty of Utrecht, bands of savages drove off, killed or scalped many of the natives.

By the Treaty of Lancaster, Pennsylvania of 1744, the Indians formally ceded to Great Britain an indefinite extent of these lands on the west side of the Alleghenies. It was said that the English "laid claim to every mountain forest or prairie where an Iroquois had taken a scalp." In 1752 a treaty was concluded at Logstown, Pennsylvania, giving Virginia the right to construct a fort and establish a trading post at the forks of the Ohio (now Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), in so far as Indian titles to the land go. Pennsylvania was not represented officially at the Treaty of Logstown in 1752. Virginia appointed three commissioners to treat with the Indians at this conference.

The French, on the other hand, ignored all claims of the English to their right to settle west of the Alleghenies; and time and time again the English traders were either warned to leave, driven off, seized or killed. There was a constant bargaining or bickering between the French and the English to get the Indian trade and to get the Indians on one side or the other. This brought about border warfare in which hundreds of pioneer settlers, through and west of the Allegheny Mountains, were either kept in a state of fear and dread or who lost their lives. Moreover, there was no union of effort among the colonists. Besides, of course, there was the underground current of jealousy and dissatisfaction between England and her colonists. France was united, while on the other hand, each of the thirteen colonies was an entity unto itself. For over 150 years,

the English-speaking people were confined to a narrow strip of land east of the Allegheny. Each colony, naturally, sought new opportunities; with the growth of population came expansions into and through the ridges of the Allegheny Mountains. Hence, naturally arose the boundary line question between the two rival nations. The Forks of the Ohio was the key to the whole situation.

Washington, on his tour to the Ohio in 1753, examined carefully the location of the forks of the Ohio and readily recognized its strategic importance. It is worthy of note, however, that before Washington made his report to Governor Dinwiddie on Jan. 16, 1754, that the Governor had already dispatched Captain Trent to the forks of the Ohio to build a fort and establish a trading post at this point.

#### Washington's Maneuvers From May 24 to July 4, 1754

July 2, 1932

Washington, on May 24, 1754, first reached Great Meadows and began the construction of defense works at that point. He held rank as lieutenant colonel and commanded the Virginia regiment which at this time did not exceed 160 men. Three days later, May 27, he was informed by Christopher Gist that a detachment of 33 to 36 men had been sent out from Fort Duquesne by Contrecoeur under command of Jumonville.

From Washington's Writings and from the Journal of 1754 it appears that Washington had sent out on May 27 some 65 to 75 men who did not return on this date, or at least in time to join Washington on that memorable night. Christopher Gist's message came to Washington at nine P.M. on May 27. It is evident that Washington provided a guard for the fort, including his army supplies of one kind and another. He did not leave Great Meadows until about ten o'clock on the evening of May 27. He got lost in crossing Laurel Hill. It is a difficult mountain to find your way across at night. Washington arrived at the Half-King's Rock, or the Great Rock, the next morning at sunrise. Here was encamped the Half-King, who, after a council of war, went with Washington, together with the Indians that were with him at that time.

Washington's letters go to show that he had 40 or even less- perhaps, who actually took part in the conflict against the French. Washington in one of his letters, says that seven got lost that night in going across the mountain. It poured rain all that night as he was endeavoring to follow the Indian path. The road from Fort Necessity to Gist's plantation had not been built at that time. From the reading of Washington's letters to Governor Dinwiddie and his brother, it would seem that 40 is the largest number of men that he could have had - not counting the Indians. The general impression seems to be that the Half King had quite a company of Indians with him. This does not seem to be substantiated from Washington's writings.

Furthermore it would seem that Washington and the Half King did not agree on the method of attack. However, Washington took position on the ledge of rocks beyond the stream called Dunbar's Run, which flows parallel with the rocks, and about 100 feet distant from them, on the high ground. Half King and his company of Indians most likely took position and headed off such French as attempted to make their escape.

The entire French force, with the exception of one perhaps, were either killed, captured or wounded. That is to say, 21 were captured, 10 killed, and one wounded. Washington's loss was one killed and three wounded. The Indians, of course, scalped the 10 French soldiers who were killed. A little over a month later De Villiers viewed the remains of those who were left on the battlefield unburied. This was on July 3, 1754, when he was on his march from Gist's plantation to Great Meadows.

The news of the so-called Jumonville incident, of course, had been spread among the French. It was reported that Washington assassinated Jumonville. That was the main reason why De Villiers, in order to avenge the death of his half brother, instead of Mercier, was given command of the French expedition against Fort Necessity.

Justin Winston, in his "Narrative and Critical History of America," says, "The mission of Jumonville was to scour the country west of the Allegheny watershed, for English, and to bear a summons to any persons that he could find, ordering them to retire from French territory. The precipitancy of Washington's attack gave the French the chance to impute to Washington the crime of assassination, but it seems to have been a pretence on the part of the French to cover a purpose which Jumonville had of summoning aid from Duquesne, while his concealment was intended to shield him till its arrival."

There is absolutely no basis in fact for the statement that Washington assassinated or murdered Jumonville. The one lone ignorant Canadian, who, most probably took no part in the battle, made his

escape and reported to Contrecoeur that Washington had assassinated Jumonville. Contrecoeur in turn made a similar report to the Governor of Canada. The Governor naturally made his report to the home government. Thus, the French historians based their account of the battle on this lame statement. A misstatement of this nature when it once gets into print is difficult to eradicate. It is only in more recent years that the French historians have softened their viewpoint in this matter.

Washington's Journal of 1754 fell into the hands of the French at Fort Necessity and was published in France in 1756, and later, in 1757, it was translated into English. Washington felt that the publishers had so edited it that it was far aside of his original notes.

Ford, in his "Washington's Writings," mentions that "After the French government had published the *Precis des Faits*, in 1756, this attention of Washington was called to the articles of capitulation and his Journal as printed in that volume. He then wrote as follows: "I am really sorry, that I have it not in my power to answer your request in a more satisfactory manner. If you had favored me with the journal a few days sooner, I would have examined it carefully, and endeavoured to point out such errors as might conduce to your use, my advantage, and the public satisfaction; but now it is out of the question.

"I had no time to make any remarks upon that piece, which is called my journal. The enclosed are observations on the French notes. They are of no use to me separated, nor will they, I believe, be of any to you; yet I send them unconnected and incoherent as they were taken, for I have no opportunity to correct them.

"In regard to the journal, I can only observe in general, that I kept no regular one during that expedition; rough minutes of occurrences I certainly took, and find them as certainly and strangely metamorphosed; some parts left out, which I remember were entered, and many things added that never were thought of; the names of men and things egregiously miscalled; and the whole of what I saw Englished is very incorrect and nonsensical; yet I will not pretend to say that the little body, who brought it to me, has not made a literal translation, and a good one."

After the publication of the French account Washington positively asserted that the statement made by the French that he had assassinated Jumonville, was absolutely false. There is no question about that point.

The very fact that Washington lost one of his own men in the engagement is proof he was engaged in an armed encounter with the French. Jumonville's death like that of the Virginian of Washington's command, was one of the casualties of that engagement, not an assassination.

Orders From M. Contrecoeur to Ensign  
M. de Jumonville

July 5, 1940

It will be recalled that Captain William Trent had been sent with 41 men to the Forks of the Ohio by the Ohio Company to build a fort at that point. Captain Trent went back to Wills Creek, and in the meantime Lieutenant John Frazier had likewise returned to his home at Turtle Creek, Braddock, Pa., leaving Ensign Ward in command. The French were ever watchful of the movements of the English. Contrecoeur with a vastly superior force appeared at the Forks of the Ohio and demanded that Ensign Ward retire. This he did. He could not have wisely done otherwise, yet he received the most severe criticism from Governor Dinwiddie. The French treated Ensign Ward with the greatest courtesy and consideration. The French completed the Fort and named it Fort Duquesne, which they continued to occupy until 1758.

Until one has walked, as the writer has done, every foot of the Washington-Braddock Road, and likewise the Forbes' Road, through all sorts of forest entanglements, swamps, bogs, rocky and dangerous passes of all kinds, it is difficult to get a correct conception or picture of conditions through 130 miles of virgin forest, fording stream and mountains to the best advantage possible, from Will's Creek, Cumberland, Md., to Fort Duquesne. Put the question to yourself. What would you have done had you been similarly situated as was Ensign Ward, with his handful of men? Ensign Ward followed the old Indian Trail up the Monongahela River to the mouth of Redstone creek at Brownsville, Pa., to the log fort that the Ohio Company had built at that place called Hangard. This fort, you will recall from reading of De Villiers Journal, was destroyed by his army on their return march from Great Meadows to Fort Duquesne.

Washington, who had been raised to the rank of lieutenant colonel by Governor Dinwiddie was instructed by him to proceed to the Forks of the Ohio and to finish and complete the fort begun by the Ohio Company and, in case the French offered resistance, he was directed "to make prisoners and destroy them ( the French )."

Let us pause a moment in our chronological narrative and see what were the instructions or orders given to the French commander, Ensign Jumonville, by Contrecoeur who was in command at Fort Duquesne. Jumonville's orders and summons were found on his person and fell into the hands of Washington after the battle at Washington's Rocks, Jumonville, on the morning of May 28, 1754. In a previous article an extract was given from Governor Dinwiddie's instructions to Washington. The reader now has on paper, at least, the purposes of the opposing forces.

Jumonville's orders and summons as they are given in Toner's "Journal of Colonel Washington," were as follows:

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Papers Found on De Jumonville's Person After the Skirmish  
Copy of the Orders Given by M. de Contrecoeur to  
M. de Jumonville, May 23d, 1754

"We, Captain of a Company belonging to the detachment of Marines, Commander-in-chief at the Ohio River, Fort Du Quesne, the Peninsula and Ox River, have given orders to M. de Jumonville, an Ensign of the Troops, to depart immediately, with one officer, three cadets, one volunteer, one English interpreter, and twenty-eight men, to go up as far as the High-Lands; he shall keep along the Monongahela river in perogues as far as the Hangard (Brownsville); after which he shall march along until he finds the road which leads to that which is said to have been Cleared by the English. As the Indians give out that the English are on their march to attack us (which we cannot believe, since we are at peace), but should M. de Jumonville, contrary to our expectation, hear of any attempt intended to be made by the English on the lands belonging to the King, he shall immediately go to them, and deliver them the Summons which we have given him.

"We further charge him to dispatch a speedy messenger to us, before the summons be read, to acquaint us of all the discoveries he hath made, of the day he intends to read them the summons, and also, to bring us an answer from them, with all possible diligence, after it is read.

"If M. de Jumonville shall hear that the English intend to go on the other side of the Great Mountain, he shall not pass the High-Lands, for we would not disturb them in the least, being desirous to keep up the union which exists between the two Crowns.

"We charge M. de Jumonville to stand upon his guard against any surprise either from the English or Indians. If he meets any Indians he shall tell them he is travelling about to see what is transacting in the King's Territories, and to take notice of the different roads and shall show them friendship.

"Contrecoeur.

"Done at the Camp at Fort Du Quesne the 23d of May, 1754."

#### French Summons to Jumonville

"A copy of the Summons whereof M. de Jumonville was the Bearer."

"A summons which shall be read by M. de Jumonville, an officer of

the troops of the most Christian King, to the Commander of the English troops, if he shall find any on the Territories of the King.

Sir:

"The Indians have already informed me that you are coming openly and armed on the territories of the King my Master, though I cannot believe it; but as it is my duty to neglect nothing in order to discover exactly the truth thereof, I have sent out M. de Jumonville to see for himself; and in case he shall see you, to summon you in the King's name, and by virtue of the orders which I have received from him through my General, to depart forthwith peaceably with your troops; should you refuse, you would oblige me, sir, to force you thereto, by using all means that I should consider most effective for the honor of the King's arms. The sale of the lands on the Ohio river by the Indians gave you so weak a title to them that I shall be obliged to repel force by force. I forewarn you, that if, after this summons, which shall be the last, there be any act of hostility, you shall answer for it, as it is our intention to keep up the union existing between two friendly Princes. Whatever your plans may be, I hope, sir, you will show M. de Jumonville all the respect that officer deserves, and that you will send him back to me again with all speed, to acquaint me with your intentions.

"I am, &c,

"(Signed) Contrecoeur

"Done at the Camp at Fort Du Quesne, the 23d of May, 1754."

(Translation of the Summons as given in Memoir Contenant le precis des faits, &c., 1756, p.68).

"The next article will give a rather comprehensive view of Washington's First Battle, and its far reaching consequences. These articles by Professor Lacock will appear daily until the dedication of Washington's First Battlefield on July 16, 1932. Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart, who for over 25 years has been a close friend of Professor Lacock, and who by the way is also a Western Pennsylvanian, and who is the Historian of the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission, and who delivered the historical address at Fort Necessity on Sunday, July 3, has accepted the invitation of the Program Committee to be present and will deliver the historical address at the dedication of Washington's First Battlefield and the tablets that have been or will be placed."

## Washington's Account of Jumonville Encounter

July 6, 1932

Washington's record of the incidents of the Great Meadows campaign and the encounter with Jumonville preceding the battle at Fort Necessity, with other documents, fell into the hands of the French. These were published in Toner's "Journal of George Washington." The following is from a French translation made in 1756.

### Locating Jumonville

"About eight in the evening I received an express from the Half-King, who informed me, that, as he was coming to join us, he had seen along the road, the tracks of two men, which he had followed, till he was brought thereby to a low, obscure place; that he was of opinion the whole party of the French was hidden there. That very moment I sent out forty men and ordered my ammunition to be put in a place of safety, fearing it to be a stratagem of the French to attack our camp; I left a guard to defend it, and with the rest of my men, set out in a heavy rain, and in a night as dark as pitch, along a path scarce broad enough for one man; we were sometimes fifteen or twenty minutes out of the path before we could come to it again, and we would often strike against each other in the darkness: All night along we continued our route, and on the 28th about sun-rise, we arrived at the Indian camp, where after having held a council with the Half-King, we concluded to attack them together; so we sent out two men to discover where they were, as also their posture and what sort of ground was thereabout, after which we prepared to surround them marching one after the other, Indian fashion: We had thus advanced pretty near to them when they discovered us; I then ordered my company to fire; my fire was supported by that of Mr. Waggoner and my company and his received the whole fire of the French, during the greater part of the action, which only lasted a quarter of an hour before the enemy was routed."

The particulars of the fight with Jumonville's force, and his impressions of the objects and purposes of the presence of the French force in the vicinity of Great Meadows, are thus related by Washington:

"We killed M. de Jumonville, the Commander of that party, as also nine others; we wounded one and made twenty-one prisoners, among whom were M. la Force, M. Drouillon and two cadets. The Indians scalped the dead and took away the greater part of their arms, after which we marched on with the prisoners under guard to the Indian camp, where I

again held a council with Half-King, and there informed him that the Governor was desirous to see him and was expecting him at Winchester; he answered that he could not go just then, as this people were in too imminent danger from the French whom they had attacked; that he must send runners to all the allied nations, in order to invite them to take up the Hatchet. (He sent a young Delaware Indian to the Delaware Nation and gave him also a French scalp, to carry to them. This man desired to have a part of the presents which were allotted to them, but the remaining part, he said, might be kept for another opportunity.) He said he would go to his own family, and to several others, to bring them to Mr. Gist's, whither he desired me to send men and horses to assist them in coming to our camp. After this I marched on with the prisoners. They informed me that they had been sent with a summons to order me to retire. A plausible pretence to discover our camp and to obtain knowledge of our forces and our situation! It was so clear that they were come to reconnoiter what we were, that I admired their assurance, when they told me they were come as an Embassy; their instructions were to get what knowledge they could of the roads, rivers, and all the country as far as the Potomac; and instead of coming as an Ambassador, publicly and in an open manner, they came secretly, and sought the most hidden retreats more suitable for deserters ~~than for deserters~~ than for Ambassadors; they encamped there and remained hidden for whole days together, at a distance of not more than five miles from us; they sent spies to reconnoiter our camp; the whole body turned back two miles; they sent the two messengers mentioned in the instruction, to inform M. de Contrecoeur of the place where we were, and of our disposition, that he might send his detachments to enforce the summons as soon as it should be given."

It was the opinion of Half-King, Washington's trusted Indian guide and adviser, in which he himself concurred, that Jumonville was only pretending to be the bearer of a message of peace, but in reality had no intention of approaching the English "otherwise than as an enemy." Upon this matter Washington said in his journal:

"It was the Opinion of the Half-King in this case that their (the French) intentions were evil and that it was pure pretense; that they had never intended to come to us otherwise than as enemies, and if we had been such fools as to let them go they would never have helped us to take any other Frenchmen.

"They say they called to us as soon as they had discovered us, which is an absolute falsehood, for I was then marching at the head of the company going towards them, and can positively affirm that, when they first saw us, they ran to their arms, without calling, as I must have heard them had they so done.

"May 29. Dispatched Ensign Towers to the Half-King with about twenty-five men, and almost as many horses; and as I expected that some French parties would immediately follow that which we had

defeated, I sent an Express to Colonel Fry for a reinforcement.

"After this the French prisoners desired to speak with me, and asked me in what manner I looked upon them, whether as the attendants of an Ambassador, or as prisoners of war. I answered them that it was in the quality of the latter, and gave them my reasons for it as above."

Jared Sparks, in his "Writings of Washington," presents illuminating comment on the Jumonville incident and the assertion that he had approached Great Meadows without hostile intent. The mature judgment of this eminent historian is set forth in this language:

"It is true that Jumonville was the bearer of a summons; but this was unknown to Colonel Washington, nor did the mode in which the former approached the English camp indicate that he came on an errand of peace. He was at the head of an armed force, he sent out spies in advance, concealed himself and his party two days in an obscure place near the camp, and despatched messengers with intelligence, to his commander at the fort. These were strong evidences of a hostile intention; and, had Colonel Washington not regarded them in that light, he would have been justly censurable for ignorance or neglect of duty.

"The summons itself was by no means conciliatory; and, if Colonel Washington had actually known, that the French officer had such a paper in his pocket, he could not properly do otherwise than he did, under the circumstances in which M. de Jumonville chose to place himself. It warned the English to retire below the Alleghanies, and threatened compulsory measures if it should not be obeyed. The presumption was, that the summons was only a feint, in case the party should be captured, and that Jumonville was to remain concealed and wait for reinforcements, after he had reconnoitred the English camp and ascertained its strength. If such were not the object, the consequences are justly chargeable on the indiscretion of M. de Jumonville in the extraordinary mode of conducting his enterprise."

Reports of Washington and M. Drullion to Governor Dinwiddie

July 7, 1932

Washington made a report of his encounter with Jumonville's forces on May 29, 1754, the day following, to Governor Dinwiddie. The text of the report was published in W. C. Ford's "Washington's Writings,"<sup>2</sup> to which our obligations are due for the following:

"From our camp at the Great Meadows, 29 May, 1754.

"Now, Sir, as I have answered your Honour's letter, I shall beg leave to acquaint you with what has happened since I wrote by Mr. Gist. I then acquainted you, that I had detached a party of seventy-five men to meet fifty of the French, who, we had intelligence, were upon their march towards us, to reconnoitre, and that about nine o'clock the same night, I received an express from the Half-King, who was encamped with several of his people, about six miles off, that he had seen the tracks of two Frenchmen crossing the road, and believed the whole body were lying not far off, as he had an account of that number passing Mr. Gist's.

"I set out with forty men before ten, and (it) was from that time till near sunrise before we reached the Indian's camp, having marched in (a) small path, through a heavy rain, and night as dark as it is possible to conceive. We were frequently tumbling one over another, and often so lost, that fifteen or twenty minutes' search would not find the path again.

"When we came to the Half-King, I counselled with him, and got his assent to go hand-in-hand and strike the French. Accordingly, himself, Monacatoocha, and a few other Indians set out with us; and when we came to the place where the tracks were, the Half-King sent two Indians to follow their tracks, and discover their logement, which they did about half a mile from the road, in a very obscure place surrounded with rocks. I thereupon, in conjunction with the Half-King and Monacatoocha, formed a disposition to attack them on all sides, which we accordingly did, and, after an engagement of about fifteen minutes, we killed ten, wounded one, and took twenty-one prisoners. Amongst those that were killed was Monsieur Jumonville, the commander; principal officers taken is Monsieur Drouillon and Mons'r La Force, who your Honour has often heard me speak of as a bold enterprising man, and a person of great subtlety and cunning. With these were two cadets.

"These officers pretend they were coming on an embassy; but the absurdity of this pretext is too glaring, as your Honour will see by the Instructions and Summons enclosed. These instructions were to reconnoitre the country, roads, creeks, &c, to Potomack, which they were about to do. These enterprising men were purposely choose out to get intelligence, which they were to send back by some brisk despatches, with mention of the day that they were to serve the summons; which could be through no other view, than to get a sufficient reinforcement to fall upon us immediately after. This, with several other reasons, induced all the officers to believe firmly, that they were sent as spies, rather than anything else, and has occasioned my sending them as prisoners, tho they expected, or at least, had some faint hope,

of being continued as ambassadors. They, finding where we were encamped, instead of coming up in a publick manner, sought out one of the most secret retirements, fitter for a deserter than an ambassador to encamp in, stayed there two or 3 days, sent spies to reconnoitre our camp, as we are told, tho they deny it. Their whole body moved back near 2 miles, sent off two runners to acquaint Contrecoeur with our strength, and where we were encamped, &c. Now 36 men would almost have been a retinue for a princely ambassador, instead of a petit.

"Why did they, if their designs were open, stay so long within 5 miles of us, without delivering his embassy or acquainting me with it? His waiting could be with no other design, than to get (a) detachment to enforce the summons, as soon as it was given. They had no occasion to send out spies, for the name of ambassador is sacred among all nations; but it was by the track of these spies, that they were discovered, and we got intelligence of them. They would not have retired two miles back without delivering the summons, and sought a skulking-place (which, to do them justice, was done with great judgment), but for some special reason. Besides, the summons is so insolent, and savors so much of gascoigny, that if two men only had come openly to deliver it, it was too great indulgence to have sent them back."

M. Druillon, one of the men of Jumonville's command, captured by Washington on May 28, 1754, who was taken to Williamsburg with other prisoners, later submitted a report to Governor Dinwiddie in which he gave an account of the Jumonville incident. This was published as part of the "Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie," in the Virginia Historical Collection, Vol.III. It is undated but follows in full text:  
( Monsieur Druillion to Gov. Dinwiddie )

"As I am apprehensive that w't I had the Hon'r to offer to You, w'n I appeared before You last, was not interpreted so exactly as it shd have been, I beg Y'r Hon'r's Permiss'n to repeat my representat'n of the Hardship it appear'd to me, to be attack'd by those to whom Mr. Jumonville, who was killed, being an older Officer than me, had the written Order w'ch Mr. Washington ought to have sent You. Mr. Washington said that he w'd have treated Us in the same maner that he was treated w'n You were pleas'd to send him on an Embassy to Us, if, like him, we had come in a smaller Number. The Kind treatment of the Ind's to all the English on the Belle reviere ( Ohio ) was an assurance to him of the same kindness from them, and from Us he c'd not apprehend any danger in coming without Forces to a French Fort. On the contrary. Our Situation was quite different; the Ind's had assured Us that the English Troops were on their March to attack Us; whereupon our Command'r did all in his Power to engage them to conduct Us to their Camp, that we might inform ourselves of your Intent's, and those of Y'r King; but

none of them cd be prevailed on to be our Guides. Last Year two of our Couriers were killed by these same Ind's, and the Letters lost; and lest we might meet with the same Fate, he thought proper to give Us the small Compa. y't we had, as You know Sir. Mr. Washington might have taken Notice w'n he attacked Us at about '7 or 8 o'Clock in the Morning, y't neither we nor our own Men took to our arms: he might have heard our Interpreter, who desir'd him to come to our Cabin, y't we might confer together, instead of taking that Opp'ty to fire upon Us. Had he come and given us the reason on w'ch the King of Eng'd founds his Pretent's to the Belle reviere (Ohio), we sh'd have immediately born his Answer to our Com'd'r, who then might have withdrawn his Troops. We were encamped within one or two Miles of the Road. This This Officer w'd not have reproach'd Us with this, if he had observ'd, that being compelled by the Rain to encamp in an extremely mountahous Country, we were obliged to fix on the rivulet where he found Us, for the Conveniency of Water. He adds that he c'd not refuse the Solicitations of the Ind's to attack Us. If this reason were sufficient to authorize his violating the Law of Nat's, yet after the Action was over, and he came to read the Order and Instruct's we were charged with, I sh'd have flatter'd myself, Sir, y't instead of sending Us to You, he W'd have sent Us back to our Camp. We had continued a day in the Place where we were attack'd; we were encamp'd there; and we were not above 7 miles from the Eng. Camp. We were so far from knowing this, y't we had only the most uncertain Acc'ts that the Eng. were at all in those Parts. We knew indeed that we follow'd a plain road, but we were ignorant y't it w'd carry Us to the Eng., whom we only knew to be approaching by the Acc'ts of the Ind's, w'ch we always consider as very uncertain. As therefore we were ignorant of our nearness to the Eng. Camp, it was incumbent on us to preserve our Provisions, w'ch consisted in Bread only, as he might have seen, in order that w'n the rain ceas'd we might be in a Condit'n to comply with our Instruct's....."

"Druillon"

Indian Accounts of Jumonville Incident

July 8, 1932

In this series of articles on Washington's Military Expedition of 1754, it is our purpose to give all sides of the question, which are many and varied. The Indians have a right to their opinion in the matter as well as statements made by the French and English. We are giving not only source material but contemporary accounts and material

from others who have given this whole matter serious study and consideration.

In accordance with this policy there is presented the account of the Jumonville incident as related by Scarroyada, December, 1754, after he had succeeded Half-King, who died in the preceding October. The story of Scarroyada was included by W. C. Ford in his "Washington's Writings," where it appears in the following form:

"The Indian account of these engagements differs somewhat from that first given, but was told by Scarroyada in December, 1754. In brief it was as follows:

"That the Governor of Virginia sent to the Half-King by Captain Trent a belt of wampum with a hatchet in it, thus inviting the Indians to join in the war against the French. "When we got it we put it into a private pocket on the inside of our garment. It lay next to our breasts. As we were on the road going to council with our brethern, a company of French, in number thirty-one, overtook us and desired us to go and council with them; and when we refused they pulled us by the arm and almost stripped the chain of covenant from off-it, but still I would suffer none to go with them. We thought to have got before them but they passed us, and when we saw they endeavored to break the chain of friendship I pulled this belt out of my pocket and looked at it and saw there this hatchet, and then went and told Col. Washington of these thirty-one Frenchmen and we and a few of our brothers fought with them. Ten were killed and twenty-one were taken alive whom we delivered to Col. Washington, telling him we had blooded the edge of his hatchet a little.

"Davison ( an interpreter) said he was in the action and that there were but eight Indians who did most of the execution that was done. Col. Washington and the Half-King differed much in judgment, and on the Colonel's ~~advice~~ refusing to take his advice the English and Indians separated. After which the Indians discovered the French in an hollow and hid themselves, lying on their bellies behind a hill; Afterwards they discovered Col. Washington on the opposite side of the hollow in the gray of the morning, and when the English fired, which they did in great confusion, the Indians came out of their cover and closed with the French and killed them with their tomahawks, on which the French surrendered."

#### Half-King Disgusted With Conduct of the Campaign

It appears that the Half-King, Tanacharisson, who joined with Washington in the attack upon the French under Jumonville, had a rather poor opinion of Washington's ability as a military commander. In touching upon the Half-Kings impressions, and his actions subsequent to the Great Meadows campaign, Will H. Lowdermilk, in his "History of Cumberland, Md." (1878), wrote:

"After the affair at the Great Meadows, the Half-King took his family and went to Aughquick, in Pennsylvania, where he was maintained at the expense of the government. He was thoroughly disgusted with the conduct of the campaign, and declared that the white men

knew nothing about war. He said that the French were cowards, and the English fools, and that while Washington was a very good man, he was totally lacking in experience, and too fond of his own notions to accept the advice offered him by the Indians. A short time after his removal to Aughquick, the Half-King was taken sick, and in October, 1754, he died. Upon news of his death being received at Will's Creek, Colonel Innes called together all the Indians in front of the Fort. He announced the death of the warrior, and George Croghan, who was an intimate friend of Tanacharisson, and a leader at Aughquick, made a condolence speech, and gave them a present of goods to cover the grave of the Red man whom they had so highly esteemed. There was great lamentation amongst the Indians, who attributed the death of the Half-King to the French, whom their medicine man declared had bewitched him, and they threatened to be revenged upon their white enemies for this calamity."

#### The Half King and Washington

July 9, 1932

The Half King's complaint against Washington was set forth more in detail in Conrad Weiser's Journal, 1754, reprinted in Ford's "Washington's Writings," Vol.1, 1889. Of Washington Half King is there reported to have said:

"The Half-King complained very much of the behavior of Col. Washington to him (Tho' in a very moderate way, saying the Col. was a good-natured man but had no experience), saying that he took upon him to command the Indians as his slaves, and would have them every day upon the out scout and attack the enemy by themselves, and that he would by no means take advice from the Indians; that he lay at one place from one full moon to the other and made no fortifications at all, but that little thing upon the Meadow, where he thought the French would come to him in open field; that had he taken the Half-King's advice and made such fortifications as the Half-King advised him to make he would certainly have beat the French off; that the French had acted as great cowards, and the English as fools in that engagement; That he (the Half-King) had carried off his wife and children so did other Indians before the battle begun, because Col. Washington would never listen to them, but was always driving them on to fight by his directions." —

Weiser's Journal, 1754

In his correspondence with Governor Dinwiddie, following the encounter with Jumonville, Washington did not fail to make mention, even to the point of emphasizing, the opinion of the Half-King concerning the character of the mission upon which Jumonville was engaged at the time he and his force were found secreted near the Great Meadows camp of Washington's troops. In his letter of May 29, 1754, reproduced in J. C. Fitzpatrick's Writings of Washington," he wrote:

"The Sense of the Half-King on this Subject is, that they have had Hearts, and that this is a mere pretence; they never design'd to have come to us but in a hostile manner, and if we were so foolish as to let them go again, he never would assist us in taking another of them. Besides, looseing La Force. I really think, w'd tend more to our disservice, than 50 other men, as he is a person whose active Spirit, leads him into all parlys, and brought him acquainted with all parts, add to this a perfect use of the Indian Tongue, and g't influence with the Indians. He Ingenuously enough confess'd, that as soon as he saw the Commission and Instructions that he believ'd and then said he expected some such tendency, tho' he pretends to say he does; not believe the Commander had any other but a good design."

During the interval between Washington's First Battle with the French under Jumonville and the later engagement with De Villier's force at Fort Necessity, Washington appears to have had frequent conferences with Half-King. These occasions were devoted to efforts to engage the Indians "warmly on our side," and to induce Half-King to send Indian families to the "settlements." Of these Washington wrote under date of June 3, 1754:

"I proposed to the Half-King sending their women and children into the Inhabitants, for, as they must be supported by us, it may be done at less expense there than here; besides this, there may another good attend it, their children may imbibe the principles of love and friend- in a stronger degree, which, if taken when young, is generally more firm and lasting. He told me he would consider of it and give answer when Monacatoocha arrived. I hope this will be agreeable to your Honour who I wrote to before on this head without receiv'g an answer. We find it very difficult procuring provisions for them, as they (share) equally with our own men, which is unavoidable witho't turning them adrift entirely.

"Montour would be of singular use to me here at this moment, in conversing with the Indians, for I have no Person's that I can put any dependence in. I make use of all the influence I can to engage them warmly on our side, and flatter myself that I am not unsuccessful, but for want of a better acquaintance with their customs, I am often at a loss how to behave, and should be relieved from many anxious fears of offend'g them if Montour was here to assist me; and as he is in the government's employ't, I hope your Hon'r will think with me, his services cannot be apply'd to so g't advantage as here upon this occasion."

In a note in his "Journal of Colonel George Washington," J.M.Toner, M.D., the author gives this brief sketch of Jumonville:

"Ensign M. de Jumonville was a half-brother of M. Coulon de Villiers. He was in the French military service at Fort Duquesne in 1754 under Captain Commander-in-Chief of Marines, M. de Contrecoeur, of his Majesty's

troops on the Ohio. Under instructions at Fort Duquesne, May 23, 1754 he was sent with a small force (according to French accounts) of one officer, three cadets, one volunteer (M. la Force), one English interpreter and twenty-eight men to scout the country along the headwaters of the Monongahela to the crest of the Alleghany Mountains, and to deliver a summons to any English he might meet to depart from French Territory. At the same time, he had instructions to observe and report everything to M. de Contrecoeur before the summons was served on the English. Washington knew nothing of the summons, but by his vigilance and enterprise with scouts had discovered de Jumonville's camp and surprised him and his forces.

"In the skirmish which ensued May 28, de Jumonville and ten of his men were killed and twenty-one taken prisoners, among whom was M. la Force. The prisoners were all sent under a guard, to the Governor of Virginia. They set up the claim to the Governor as they had done to Washington, that they were on a mission of peace, but this was not evidenced by their behavior, nor by the orders to de Jumonville accompanying the summons, both of which documents were found upon this officer's person."

#### Parkman On the Jumonville Incident

July 11, 1932

Of the many comments and observations made upon the various phases of the Jumonville incident by the parties who were participants as well as by historians of later dates, none are more discerning than those by Francis Parkman, the historian. In his "France and England in North America," (1835), he speaks his mind quite clearly when saying:

"Five days before, Contrecoeur had sent Jumonville to scour the country as far as the dividing ridge of the Alleghanies. Under him were another officer, three cadets, a volunteer, an interpreter, and twenty-eight men. He was provided with a written summons, to be delivered to any English he might find. It required them to withdraw from the domain of the King of France, and threatened compulsion by force of arms in case of refusal. But before delivering the summons Jumonville was ordered to send two couriers back with all speed to Fort Duquesne to inform the commandant that he had found the English, and to acquaint him when he intended to communicate with them. It is difficult to imagine any object for such an order except that of enabling Contrecoeur to send to the spot whatever force might be need-

ed to attack the English on their refusal to withdraw. Jumonville had sent the two couriers, and had hidden himself, apparently to wait the result. He lurked nearly two days within five miles of Washington's camp, sent out scouts to reconnoitre it, but gave no notice of his presence, played to perfection the part of a skulking enemy, and brought destruction on himself by conduct which can only be ascribed to a sinister motive on the one hand, or to extreme folly on the other. French deserters told Washington that the party came as spies, and were to show the summons only if threatened by a superior force. This last assertion is confirmed by the French officer Pouchot, who says that Jumonville, seeing himself the weaker party, tried to show the letter he had brought.

"French writers say that, on first seeing the English, Jumonville's interpreter called out that he had something to say to them; but Washington, who was at the head of his men, affirms this to be absolutely false. The French say further that Jumonville was killed in the act of reading the summons. This is also denied by Washington, and rests only on the assertion of the Canadian who ran off at the outset, and on the alleged assertion of Indians who, if present at all, which is unlikely, escaped like the Canadian before the fray began. Druillion, an officer with Jumonville, wrote two letters to Dinwiddie after his capture, to claim the privileges of the bearer of the summons; but while bringing forward every other circumstance in favor of the claim, he does not pretend that the summons was read or shown either before or during the action .....

".....there was every reason for believing that the designs of the French were hostile; and though by passively waiting the event he would have thrown upon them the responsibility of striking the first blow, he would have exposed his small party to capture or destruction by giving them time to gain reinforcements from Fort Duquesne. It was inevitable that the killing of Jumonville should be greeted in France by an outcry of real or assumed horror; but the Chevalier de Levis, second in command to Montcalm, probably expresses the true opinion of Frenchmen best fitted to judge when he calls it 'a pretended assassination.' Judge it as we may, this obscure skirmish began the war that set the world on fire."

Appended to the foregoing is a footnote in the following language:

"The assertion of Abbe de l'Isle-Dieu, that Jumonville showed a flag of truce is unsupported. Adam Stephen, who was in the fight, says that the guns of the English were so wet that they had to trust mainly to the bayonet. The Half-King boasted that he killed Jumonville with his tomahawk. Dinwiddie highly approved Washington's conduct."

## Colonial Governors and French Activity

July 12, 1932

The activity of the French in building forts west of the Alleghenies in the Ohio country was looked upon with grave concern by the British government. There seems to be little doubt that Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, aside from being prompted by a patriotic spirit in this whole matter, was interested in the commercial side of the question in securing the Indian fur trade, and also in getting a foothold on the territory adjacent to the Forks of the Ohio. The tenacity with which this claim was made on the part of Virginia, is a well known fact in American history. It was not until 1784 that the Western boundary line of Pennsylvania was fixed in an agreement between Pennsylvania and Virginia. For years this was a burning question between the two colonies.

Lord Holderness, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries, on August 28, 1753, addressed a circular letter to the governors of the Colonies on the seriousness of the French activity in the Ohio country, and urged upon them the importance of united effort in this matter. There is no question that Governor Dinwiddie was the moving spirit in this matter and his purposes are none other than that indicated above.

The letters which follow from Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, and likewise a letter from Governor Shirley of Massachusetts throw a great deal of light upon this question.

The letter of Governor Shirley of Massachusetts to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, which is reprinted in the "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," Vol. V, (1851), follows:

"Boston, November 26, 1753.

"Sir:

"I received by the last Post a Letter from the Earl of Holderness, dated 28th August past ( a circular one, as it appears to be, to all his Majesty's Governors in North America), acquainting me that his Majesty had received Information of the March of a considerable Number of Indians not in Alliance with Him, supported by some regular European Troops, intending, as it is apprehended, to commit some Hostilities on Parts of his Majesty's Dominions in America; and directing me to use my utmost Diligence to learn how far the same may be well grounded; acquainting me also that his Lordship had it particularly in charge to let me know that it was his Majesty's Royal Will and Pleasure that I should keep up an exact Correspondence with all his Majesty's Governors on the Continent; and in case I should be informed <sup>of</sup> them of any hostile Attempts, that I should immediately assemble the General Assembly within my Government, and lay before them the Necessity of a mutual assistance, and engage them to grant such Supplies as the Exigency of Affairs may require.

"In Obedience to these Directions, as I have heard imperfect accounts of some late hostilities committed by a Body of Indians, supported by French Troops, upon his Majesty's Territories within the Limits of your Honour's Government, and of a Fort's being erected there by them, I trouble you with this letter to let you know that in case these reports (concerning the Occasion of which I shall be obliged to you for a particular Information) are well grounded, and your Honour hath Thoughts of attempting to remove the French from their Encroachments by the armed Force of the People within your Government, and shall stand in need of Assistance from his Majesty's other Colonies on the Continent, I will most gladly concur with You in that Service by endeavoring to procure from the General Assembly of the Province their due Proportion of Supplies upon this Occasion; always depending upon the Assembly of your Honour's Government granting the like assistance to the People of this Province whenever they shall stand in need of it ....."

The letter of Governor Dinwiddie to Governor Hamilton urged the latter to raise an armed force to join with the Virginians in "defeating the designs of the French." The letter, found in the Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, 1745-1754, contains the following excerpt:

"Williamsburg, Virginia, January 29th, 1754.

"It may, perhaps, interfere with the Service to divide the Command, and therefore I should be glad to find that it were agreeable to you to entrust my general Officer with the command of the Forces You can prevail with your Assembly to raise on this occasion.

"I have no doubt but you will be qualified upon this present Situation of our Affairs to raise a considerable Force for defeating the designs of the French, and as you have many Persons among You that understand the Lands upon the Ohio, they will be able to give you proper Intelligence; but it appears to me absolutely necessary to be very early on the Ohio with such Forces as we possibly can collect together; and as I have no doubt of your earnest Inclination to promote the Dignity of the Crown and the Safety of these Colonies, I pray an Answer on the Return of this Express, and am, with great Respect, Sir,

"Your most humble Servant,

"Robt. Dinwiddie.

"Governor Hamilton."

Gov. Hamilton's Message to Pennsylvania Assembly.

July 13, 1932

Very promptly upon receipt of the circular letter to all Colonial Governors by the Earl of Holderness, the King's principal secretary of State, and the letter from Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, Gov-Hamilton of Pennsylvania laid the matter before the Assembly of his

State in the following message, which is given in the "Minutes of the Provincial Council, 1745-1754" :

"I have received a Letter from the Right Honourable the Earl of Holderness, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, which with others of the like Tenor to all his Majesty's Governors on the Continent, was sent Expressly by a Sloop of War to Virginia wherein his Majesty lays his Royal Commands on me, in case the Subjects of any Foreign Prince shall have presumed to make Encroachments, erect Forts, or commit any other hostilities within his Majesty's Dominions, if after representing to them the Injustice of their proceedings they do not desist, to draw forth the armed Force of the Province and to endeavor to repel Force by Force, and to call the Assembly and to engage them to grant such Supplies as the Exigency of Affairs may require. Whilst I was preparing to make the Requisition enjoined by his Majesty, I received a Letter from Governor Dinwiddie informing me that he had dispatched Major Washington on that Service to the Fort lately built on the Ohio by the French, and an Express has this week brought me Governor Dinwiddie's account of that Gentleman's Return, with the answer of the Commander of that Fort, who avows the Hostilities already committed, and declares his Orders from the King of France are to build more Forts, take possession of all the Country, and oppose all who shall resist, English as well as Indians, and that he will certainly execute these Orders as early as the Season will permit.

"Gentlemen: French Forts and French Armies so near us will be everlasting Goads in our Sides; our inhabitants from thence will feel all the Miseries and dreadful Calamities that have been heretofore Suffered by our Neighbor Colonies. All those Outrages, Murders, Rapines, and Cruelties, to which their People have been exposed, are now going to be experienced by ourselves unless a Force be immediately raised sufficient to repel these Invaders. It is to be hoped, therefore, that as Royal Subjects to his Majesty and in Justice to your Country You will not fail to take into your Consideration the present Exigency of Affairs; and as it will be attended with a very considerable Expence, and require a large number of Men, make provision accordingly, that I may be enabled to do what his Majesty as well as the neighboring Colonies will expect from a Government so populous and likely to be so nearly affected with the Neighborhood of French Garrisons."

Further Correspondence of Gov. Dinwiddie

July 14, 1932

Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia in writing Governor De Lancey of New York, under date of March 21, 1754, states that in the Military Expedition of Washington in 1754, that he was acting under Royal Orders for the purpose of preventing the French and their Indian allies from settling on the Ohio Company's territory. This letter is most interesting. After making an appeal for help from New York, he sets forth in a closing paragraph his determined purpose under the guise of Royal authority.

This and other letters of Dinwiddie, is a part of the "Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie" as published in Virginia Historical Collections, Vol. 111 ( 1883).

Dinwiddie to Gov. DeLancey of New York

".....The Orders I have from His M'y, by a full Instruction, are to prevent the French and their Ind's from settling on his Lands on the Ohio, and to build two or three Forts on that River, and he has been Pleas'd to send me 30 Pss. of Cannon, and all other Implem'ts therewith, to be mounted on the above Forts w'n built, and 80 Bls. Gun Powder. As to concerting Measures with the other Gov'ts, the Time will not admit of it, as what is to be done must be immediately, and His M'y's Orders to the different Governors is for a mutual Supply w'ch I think is w't each Assembly will grant to qualify the Gov'r to raise men, &c., for the Good of the Comon Cause. I have Commission'd Officers to raise six Compa's w'ch I expect will be completed this Week, and they are to march to the Ohio to support an officer now there in building a Fort at the Forks of the Monongahela. As to settling the different Quotas of each Gov'r w'd take up much Time, that the present Intention of the French will not admit of, I therefore, hope You will do what's in Y'r Power to assist Us with as many of Y'r People as possible. The Plan of Operating is no more than to take Possession of the land in the King's Name, and build Forts agreeable to His Comands, and each Colony to pay and Victual their own Men..."

Governor Dinwiddie in his letter to Lord Albemarle, dated February 12, 1755, almost nine months after the Jumonville incident, reviews first the driving off of Captain Trent's company at the Forks of the Ohio by the superiority of the French forces. This incident he brands as the first breach on the part of the French.

Interesting facts are recorded about Washington's engagement with the French commander on that memorable morning of May 28, 1754. The

closing paragraph has much to be said in its favor. Remember, for at least five days, the French were within a few hours of Washington, who at the time was encamped at the Great Meadows. If any one or any group of men are sent on a peaceful mission, all other things considered, would they not make every effort to deliver such message at the earliest date possible? In my humble judgment there is but one interpretation to put on this matter in the light of what had transpired in 1749, and more particularly in the purpose and outcome of Washington's journey to the French commander at Fort Le Boeuf in 1753, and from the summons and Contrecoeur's letter which was found on Jumonville after he had been killed.

Gov. Dinwiddie to Lord Albemarle

"The Skermish between the English Forces and those of Fr. is very unjustly reported with you. The State of y't Affair is this: Our Second Detachment, y't went over the Allegany Mount's to support those y't were ordered by me to build a Fort by H. M'y's Com'ds on the River Ohio, hd notice on y'r March y't a No. of the Fr. came down the River Ohio, surpriz'd our People y't were building y't Fort, and from the Superiority of their Numb's, they oblig'd them to give up the Fort, and March off. This may justly be deem'd the first Breach. Colo. Washington, on hear'g this, encamp'd his Men in the Metdows, (Great Meadows), about fifty miles distant from the above Fort (Fort Du Quesne). One of our f'dly Ind's sent him notice y't a No. of Fr-h had been seen two or three Days reconoit'g their Camp, and if he, with a Detachm't w'd come to him, he w'd let them know where the Party of Fr. were encamp'd. He accordingly march'd with 35 Men, march'g all Night, and about 9 o'clock in the Morn'g they came within 200 y'ds of the Fr. w'n the Fr., on Sight of our Men, immediately flew to their Arms. The Ind's y't were with us began the Act'n, and after two or 3 Fires the Fr. were worsted, ab't 12 killed, and the others taken Prisoners. Among the killed was Mons'r Jumonville. It's true the Prisoners s'd they were come on an embassy from their Fort, but Y'r L'ds, knows y't Ambassadors do not come with such arm'd Force, with't a Trumpet or any other Sign of ~~Peace~~ Friendship, or can it be tho't they were on an Embassy, by stay'g so long reconoitreing our Small Camp, but more probably y't they expected a Reinforcem't from the Fort to cut them all off ....."

Governor Dinwiddie to Druillon

July 15, 1932

Governor Dinwiddie in writing Druillon, on June 19, 1754, discusses in no unmistakable terms his views on the question of Jumonville as an Ambassador of Peace which calmly was set forth

by the French after the engagement on that memorable morning of May 28, 1754. Governor Dinwiddie justifies the acts of Washington in both battles of the campaign of 1754.

Gov. Dinwiddie to Druillon

"June 19th, 1754.

" ... The Protect'n due to Messengers of Peace is so universally acknowledged, and the Sacredness of their Characters is so inviolably preserved y't even amongst the most barbarous Nat's their Persons are always safe and unhurt. You cannot be ignorant how much all the various Tribes of Ind's revere the Calumet, and You must know y't a Flag of Truce w'd have sooner induced our Protest'n and Regard, then a Body of Men arm'd with the Instruments of destruction.

"Thus, I think the Inconsistency of Your Appearance with Y'r Pretent's, obliges me to consider You in no other Light than y't in w'ch You presented Yourselves. You rem'd several days ab't our Camp without telling Y'r Message, nor w'd not, till You were prepared for our destruct'n. You had neither a right to dem'd, nor Colo. Washington to discuss, the King my Master's Title to the Lands on the Ohio River; such a disquisition lay only with Y'r Superiors; but it was his duty to preserve His Majesty's dominions in Peace and protect His subjects and those who attempted the Violat'n of either must acknowledge the Justice of their Fate if they meet with destruction. Colo. Washington assures me of the contrary to w't you represent regarding the Circumstances of the Action, and after it, the Paper of Sumons and Instruct's to Sieur Jumonville are incontestible Proofs and Justifications of his Conduct, and laid him under a Necessity of continuing the act as he since did ....."

" ... It is a little curious, that while the French made so much capital out of this occurrence, their version of its nature was very little considered in England. M. Thomas, for instance, opens his preface with the declaration that his thesis, 'L'assassinat de M. de Jumonville en America, et la vengeance de ce meurtre.' During fourteen years after the event, its mere mention had not reached the ears of one of the greatest political gossips of the period in London. In July, 1768, Horace Walpole had never heard of it, and was only then in possession of the news, through the investigation of Voltaire, who had made it a subject of national reproach in his letters". ( V. Walpole's Correspondence, p. 212, ed. Lond. 1840.)

Thomas' Poem on Jumonville

(From Historical Magazine, Vol. VI.)

July 16, 1932

JUMONVILLE

Lo! . I retrace a deed that must overwhelm  
With deep abiding shame your guilty realm.  
May I, Jumonville, here embalm thy fame,  
In verse undying hallowed to thy name,  
And limning to the world thy murderer's rage,  
Make all with horror read the blood-stained page.  
And you, whose valor and intrepid zeal  
Plunged in the brigand's heart the avenging steel.  
Permit my hand to bind the laurel now,  
As victory's prize upon each warlike brow.

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Invasion's naught; these murderous brigands,  
Perfidious robbers of our wasted lands,  
To screen their project from a vengeful storm  
In these wild woods a guilty shelter form.

\*\*\*\*\*

On speeds the Gaul, till now his kindling eye  
Britannia's guilty ramparts can descry.  
At once of countless guns the tempest dread  
Presages death that mutters o'er his head.  
Jumonville halts -- he bids the English cease,  
He comes the bearer of the words of peace.  
Aloft he holds the papers that he bears --  
The voiceless token of the trust he wears.  
The firing stops, and in its darksome womb  
The bronze enkindled holds the fiery doom.  
They press around him, and more pleasing sounds  
Succeed a moment to wild anger's bounds ...  
"Illustrious foes, who guide Britannia's car,  
In peace her yeoman brave, her heroes in wild war,  
To whom with us God gave this western shade,  
I come not now in warlike guise arrayed,  
To dip in generous blood my cruel hand

Or settle new disputes by murderous brand.  
 A herald, sheltered by law's aegis here,  
 I claim fair France's rights by treaties clear.  
 Each rising State its certain limits knew,  
 And nature's self the lines eternal drew.  
 These rocks on rocks below that rise toward the sky,  
 Our fathers held a barrier bold and high;  
 And treaties yielding to great nature's laws,  
 Confirmed her work with unison applause.  
 Yet boldly you these ramparts known have passed,  
 Ohio sees your standard o'er her cast.  
 Must we by warlike passions cause to cease  
 In streams of blood the world's profoundest peace? ...  
 May ... at these words his kindling zeal addressed,  
 Pierced by a murderous ball but aimed too well,  
 Prone at his assassin's feet Jumonville fell.  
 His death-weighted eyelids thrice to heaven he raised,  
 And thrice to upper light his eyeball glazed,  
 The tender memory of his lovely France  
 Can e'en in death that noble soul entrance.  
 He dies: and trampled 'neath inhuman feet,  
 His mangled limbs all vile dishonor meet."

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### Historical Sketch of Washington and His First Battlefield

July 18, 1932

Major George Washington, accompanied by Christopher Gist and six others, set out on horseback from Wills Creek, Cumberland, Maryland, November 14, 1753, for Fort Le Boeuf, now Waterford, Pennsylvania, with a letter from Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia to the French commander, St. Pierre, demanding the removal of the French forts west of the Allegheny mountains, which Governor Dinwiddie claimed were on Virginia territory. The French commander in his reply positively refused to comply with this request.

In the meantime, the Ohio Company, in 1749, which had been given by Royal grant five hundred thousand acres of land west of the Alleghenies and south of the Ohio, had sent Captain William Trent with 41 men to the Forks of the Ohio to there erect a fort and trading post.

Washington on his return trip from Fort Le Boeuf met Captain Trent's company enroute.

Some months after Major Washington had returned from his trip to Fort Le Boeuf, Governor Dinwiddie decided to send a military expedition to the "Forks of the Ohio" to assist in and further strengthen the works begun at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers by Captain Trent. It will be recalled that the same year in which the Ohio Company received its Royal grant that Captain Celeron de Bienville was despatched by Governor de la Galissonniere to the Ohio Country to plant leaden plates and to take military possession of the country and to expel the English traders.

Before Captain Trent completed his fort at the Forks of the Ohio Contrecoeur appeared with a force of several hundred before the incomplete and defenseless works on April 17, 1754. Ensign Ward, who was in command during the temporary absence of Captain Trent, was in no condition to resist such a force, whereupon Ward reluctantly was compelled to abandon his post to the enemy, which the French completed and named Fort Duquesne.

Washington was at Wills Creek when the tidings reached him of Ward's having been obliged to retire from the Forks of the Ohio. It was decided that he should proceed with a military force to Hangard, erected by Trent at the mouth of Redstone Creek, near Brownsville, while enroute to the Forks of the Ohio to erect a fort there.

Colonel Joshua Fry was placed in command of the Virginia militia, but on account of an injury received from having been thrown from a horse, he never got beyond Wills Creek where he died May 31, 1754, three days after Washington's encounter with Jumonville. Colonel James Innes was placed in command of the Expedition but he never joined it in person. Therefore, Washington had the entire direction and responsibility of this military campaign. He entered the service with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. After the death of Colonel Fry he was raised to the rank of colonel.

Washington reached Great Meadows May 24, 1754, with a force that did not exceed 160. There, on May 27, he was informed by his old friend Christopher Gist that a French force under Ensign Coulon de Jumonville was encamped in hiding less than eight miles from Great Meadows. In about an hour's time Washington set out across Laurel Hill mountains with a detachment that did not exceed 40. It took him all night to find his way across the mountain, five miles distant from Fort Necessity. At day break he reached the Big Rock or Great Rock, since known as the Half King's Rock, where the Half King, Tenacharrison, was encamped with a small band of Indian warriors, certainly not more than 15 in number.

A council of war was held, whereupon, under the guidance of the Half-King, they proceeded to attack Jumonville, who was hidden below the

ledge of rocks, since known as "Washington's Rocks." The surprise was complete. At 7 A.M. Washington took position upon this ledge of rocks. The Half King and his band of warriors occupied the high ground opposite a small stream since named Dunbar's Run. The Jumonville's force numbered 33. The result was that in an engagement of not more than a quarter of an hour, Washington's detachment killed, wounded, or captured the entire French force, except one Canadian who evidently made his escape at the very beginning of the engagement. Jumonville and nine of his men were killed, one wounded, and 21 taken prisoners. This was Washington's first battle. Five weeks later he engaged the French force at Fort Necessity in the Great Meadows, July 3, 1754. The Jumonville episode was the prelude to and the first sanguinary encounter of the French and Indian War.

The lone Canadian, who made his escape reported to Contrecoeur, then in command at Fort Duquesne, that Washington had assassinated or murdered Jumonville. It has seemed to have escaped most writers that Washington himself had one killed and three wounded by the fire of the French, while the loss of the French was less than reported by De Villiers as his casualties in the battle of Fort Necessity.

There is absolutely no basis in fact for the statement that Washington assassinated Jumonville, although at Fort Necessity, he signed terms of capitulation, drawn up in French, in which the term assassination was used twice. This was unquestionably due to the ignorance of Captain Van Braam, Washington's interpreter, who knew little English and less French. Washington later emphatically denied that he knew that this term was in the articles of capitulation.

The French claimed that Jumonville was sent out on a peaceful mission as an ambassador to warn the English to withdraw from the territory the French claimed was theirs. The whole question was the one of the boundary line between the French and English, which as a matter of fact was never determined. The fact that Jumonville and a force of 32 lay in hiding for at least five days less than eight miles of Washington's encampment, argues strongly against this claim of the French. For years, even down to our times, authors have continued to misrepresent this occurrence and to do an injustice to the great name of Washington, a man who proved himself incapable of acting unjustly to another.

While the literature on this subject is rich and abundant, yet after over 178 years, it certainly can be said that this incident in our history has not been given the consideration and importance that it deserves. Of this conflict at arms for the supremacy of the Mississippi Valley Francis Parkman said: "This obscure skirmish began the war that set the world on fire." Horace Walpole expressed it in a little different phraseology. "It was the volley fired

by a young Virginian in the backwoods of America that set the world on fire," he added. Voltaire caught a similar note when he said: "A cannon shot fired in the woods of America was the signal that set all Europe ablaze."

### Comments of French Writers on Jumonville Incident

July 19, 1932

In the study of the Jumonville incident it is interesting to learn the point of view and the attitude of French writers on the subject within a comparatively short time after the fatal clash between the young French commander and Washington at Washington's Rocks.

Dr. Albert Hart has translated a number of the early writings that became extant at the time. His translation of the report of Vicar General, Lisle Dieu, submitted October 12, 1754, follows:

"The Abbe Lisle Dieu, Vicar General of New France, writes from Montreal, October 12, 1754, to the Minister of the Marine that he had received from Quebec a letter dated July 28th, in which they said that 'on the information that there were English on the march, they sent an officer with 34 men to talk with them and notify them; but they killed that officer and seven other persons, the remainder made prisoners, although the officer carried a flag which to read his orders and declares that he came to parley. This affair has irritated us, and to avenge it a detachment of 700 men has been sent to the Beautiful River (Dussieux adds: ) 'No trap was ever more clear.' "

Another translation by Doctor Hart is of Dussieux's comment on the Jumonville incident, in which it is conceded that the attack on Jumonville "was a surprise, which is good war." Doctor Hart's translation follows:

This event seems to be the result of the system that the English colonies had adopted, which consisted in bringing on war by one of those acts which do not allow withdrawal. In fact, there is little probability that the murder of M. de Jumonville was brought about by an error or by the lack of sufficient precautions to cause his character or diplomat to be recognized, as the English writers assert, whose sources and explanations we will first of all set forth.

"Governor Dinwiddie declared that Washington did only his duty in protecting the territories of his Britannic Majesty; that Jumonville had gone beyond ( we are not told how ) the ordinary conduct of diplomatic intercourse; that his numbers caused him to be taken for something else than a diplomat, and that if there had been any mistake in attacking him it should be attributed to his own imprudence ... Washington, attempting to explain and enact which affected his fame says in his letters that he considered that the frontiers of the New England were invaded by the French, and that "it seemed to him that war existed, inasmuch as the French had attacked and taken Ensign Ward. That he had been ordered to march forward to repel the French, who were aggressors; that the French at his sight ran to arms; that then he had ordered to fire; that a fight of a quarter of an hour went on, as a result of which the French had 10 men killed, one wounded, and 21 prisoners, and the English one man killed and three wounded; that it was false that Jumonville had read a summons, which would have made his status known. Washington insists that there was no such thing as a trap; he says that it was a surprise and "Estamouche" which is good war."

F.X.Garneau, in his "L.Historie du Canada," reiterates some of the unsubstantiated reports that were current concerning the engagement between Jumonville and Washington. Andrew Bell, (1876) in his translation, says:

"Amidst these preparations, M. de Contrecoeur received intelligence that a large corps of British was advancing against him, led by Colonel Washington. He forthwith charged M. de Jumonville to meet the latter, and admonish him to retire from what was French territory. Jumonville set out with an escort of 30 men; his orders were to be on his guard against a surprise, the country being in a state of commotion, and the aborigines looking forward for war; accordingly his night campaigns were attended by great precaution. May 17, at evening-tide, he had retired into a deep and obscure valley, when some savages, prowling about, discovered his little troop, and informed Washington of its being near to his line of route. The latter marched all night in order to come unawares upon the French. At daybreak, he attacked them suddenly; Jumonville was killed, along with nine of his men.

"French reporters of what passed on the occasion, declared that a trumpeter made a sign to the British that he bore a letter addressed to them by his commandant; that the firing had ceased, and it was only after he began to read the missive which he bore, that the firing re-commenced. Washington affirmed, on the contrary, that he was at the head of his column; that at sight of him the French ran to take up arms, and that it was false to say, Jumonville announced himself to

be a messenger. It is probable there may be truth in both versions of the story; for the collision being precipitate, great confusion ensued. Washington resumed his march, but tremblingly, from a besetting fear of falling into an ambuscade.

"The death of Jumonville did not cause the war which ensued, for that was already resolved on, but only hastened it. Washington proceeded on his march; but staid by the way to erect a palisaded fastness which he called Fort Necessity, on a bank of the Monongahela, a river tributary to the Ohio; and there waited for the arrival of more troops, to enable him to attack Fort Duquesne when he was himself assailed."

#### Comments of French Writers on Jumonville Incident

July 20, 1932

Further translations of French writers made by Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart, include Dussieux's account of the Washington-Jumonville incident, as related by him in "Canada Under the French Domination," (1862). The translation follows:

"At last, in 1754, Dinwiddie began hostilities, although the French and English governments were not at war. He sent to occupy the lands of the Ohio a column of militia commanded by Washington. His advance guard, under orders of Ensign Ward, constructed on the Ohio a little Fort, which was forthwith attacked and taken by the French and its garrison made prisoners.

"On the news of this event, M. de Contrecoeur directed one of his officers, M. de Jumonville, to carry to the head of the English "a demand to retire inasmuch as he was on French territory." Our diplomatic representative (Parlementaire) obliged to pass through forests and territories inhabited by savage enemies had taken an escort of 34 men. In the night of the 27 to the 28 of May, this detachment was searched out (cerne) by the troops of Washington. In the morning it was attacked by surprise. M. de Jumonville and 9 of his men were killed. The remainder of the escort was taken or escaped.

(Note 1) to page 18: "l'Observateur hollandois") to lettre —  
These letters were written by J. N. Moreau, historiographer of France from notes furnished by Abbe de l'Ville, first clerk of foreign affairs).

Subsequent to the Washington-Jumonville incident M. Contrecoeur, commandant at Fort Du Quesne, wrote to the Governor General of Canada submitting a report of the action and repeating some of the unsupported statements that had been made concerning the details. In his writings Dussieux refers to Spark's "Life of Washington" and to Bancroft's "History of the United States," and then quotes from "Letter of June 2, 1754" (Archives de la Marine.) Doctor Hart's

translation follows:

"Seven o'clock in the morning they were surrounded. Two volleys of musketry were fired at them by the English. M. de Jumonville invited them by an interpreter to stop, having something to say to them. The fire ceased. M. de Jumonville caused to be read the (sommacion) which I had sent to warn (the Americans) to retire. The Indians who were present say that M. de Jumonville was killed by a ball which was received in his head while he was listening to the reading of the "sommacion," and that the English would have cut the whole command to pieces on the spot if the Indians had not prevented them by throwing themselves upon them."

In his account of the Washington-Jumonville incident Dussieux, charges that Washington in his trip to St. Pierre at Fort LeBoeuf in 1753, had utilized his opportunities to obtain information of the French forces and even sought, it is alleged, to establish understandings with the Indians. Doctor Hart's translation of this chapter of Dussieux's book which is entitled "Murder of M. Jumonville by Washington," follows:

"Dinwiddie, who was bent on seizing the Ohio as Marquis De Quesne determined to back up by force the colonists and the English settlers who established themselves on our territory. He ordered the construction of a fort on the Ohio in order to dominate the country, and the end of November, 1753, sent to reconnoitre the country a young man of twenty-one years who had already distinguished himself by the ardor of his patriotism and the strength of his character.

"This was George Washington, who was a major in the Virginia militia. Washington went, with the dignity of commissioner, to discuss matters with the French; he carried a demand which directed them to evacuate the British territory of the Ohio Valley. During his mission, the Virginia major observed the country and our forces. He intrigued with the Indians, tried to establish understandings among them, and on his return he indicated as the key of the disputed territory which it was necessary to occupy and fortify, the confluence of the two streams, the Allegheny and the Monongahela, which by their Union form the Belle Riviere or Ohio.

"This decision establishes the accuracy of his brief views and the excellent judgment of the young major; but at the exact moment the French were erecting Fort Duquesne, which is today the city of Pittsburgh."

Comments of French Writers on Jumonville Incident.

July 20, 1932

Other French and Canadian writers and historians have persisted in the claim that Jumonville's death was an act of murder, not one of the casualties of the sanguinary encounter between his force and that of Washington.

L. W. Anderson, in the Canadian Monthly (1872) repeats the allegation of L'Abbe de L'Isle de Dieu. He says:

"Then we have the testimony of L'Abbe de L'Isle de Dieu, who wrote to the Minister of Marine that he had heard, 'that, when it was known that the English were on the march, an officer, with thirty-four men, was sent to summon them to retire, and that while he was reading the summons, he was fired upon, and himself and seven others killed and the rest made prisoners; and that it was very evident that it was a cold-blooded murder . . . . .'"

In his writings Dussieux quotes the following paragraph from a letter of M. Du Quesne, governor of Canada, dated October 12, 1754:

"I have infinitely charged myself not to put everything to fire and blood after the unworthy act of hostility committed on the detachment of Sieur de Jumonville."

Again, under date of October 8, 1755, the following excerpt appears:

"In another document we find that one J. B. Berger and one Joachim Parent, Canadians, made prisoners by the English in the Jumonville affair and sent to France in 1755, confirm all the circumstances of the murder of Sieur de Jumonville by the English."

A letter of Vaudreuil, successor to M. Du Quesne, governor of Canada, contains some information as to the disposition of the French prisoners taken by Washington in his engagement with Jumonville, May 28, 1754. The letter, of which the following is a translation, reads:

"I have the honor to send you herewith the list of officers, cadets and Canadians who accompanied M. de Villiers, de Jumonville on the journey which he made last year to the Beautiful River, by order of Marquis Duquesne, to go and notify the English to withdraw and not to make any establishment on the lands of His Majesty. You will see, Monsie<sup>r</sup>guer, by this list:

"(1) That 9 men perished with M. de Jumonville who were murdered with him by Colonel Washington (Wemcheston) and his force composed of Indians and of troops of New England.

"(2) That M. Drouillon, officer, 2 cadets of our troops, and 11 Canadians have been sent to London.

"(3) That Mr. La Force, excellent and brave Canadian, is detained in prison in Virginia.

"(4) That 6 others of our Canadians have been sent to Martinique. Two of them have arrived and have given me the latest list and have informed me of the cruelties which the English have exercised with respect to them.

"While we have made the effort to secure alleviations for the two hostages of M. de Villiers and to give them complete freedom."

Comments of French Writers on Jumonville Incident

July 22, 1932

Washington's own judgment of the ethics of Jumonville, whom he alleged was no more than a spy sent out to secure information concerning his own movements with the evident intention of making an attack upon him when reinforcements arrived from Fort Du Quesne, is expressed in his letter to Governor Dinwiddie, written at Great Meadows May 29, 1754, the day following his encounter with Jumonville. The letter is published in Fitzpatrick's "Washington's Writings," from which the following extract is taken:

"Camp at the Great Meadows, May 29, 1754.

"These officers pretend they were coming on an Embassy; but the absurdity of this pretext is too glaring, as your Honour will see by the Instructions and Summons inclos'd. These Instructions were to reconnoitre the Country, Roads, Creeks, &ca. to Potomack, which they were ab't to do. These Enterprising Men were purposely choose out to get intelligence, which they were to send Back by some brisk dispatches, with mention of the Day that they were to serve the Summons; which could be through no other view, than to get sufficient Reinforcements to fall upon us immediately after. This, with several other Reasons, induc'd all the Officers to believe firmly, that they were sent as spys, rather than any thing else, and has occasion'd my sending them as prisoners, tho' they expected (or at least had some faint hope, of being continued as ambassadors).

"They, finding where we were Incamp'd, instead of coming up in a Publick manner, sought out one of the most secret Retirements, fitter for a Deserter than an Ambassador to incamp in, an stay'd there two or 3 Days, sent Spies to Reconnoitre our Camp, as we are told, tho' they deny it. Their whole body mov'd back near 2 miles, sent off two runners to acquaint Contrecoeur with our Strength, and where we were Incamp'd, &ca. Now 36 Men w'd almost have been a Retinue for a Princely Ambassador, instead of Petit, why did they, if their designs were open, stay so long within 5 Miles of us, with't delivering his Embassy, or acquainting me with it; His waiting c'd be with no other design, than to get Detachm't to enforce the Summons as soon as it was given, they had no occasion to send out Spys, for the name of Ambassador is Sacred among all Nations; but it was by the tract of these spys, they were discovered, and we got Intelligence of them. They would not have retir'd two Miles back with't delivering the Summons, and sought a sculking place (which, to do them justice, was done with g't judgement) but for some special reason; Beside, The Summons is so insolent and savours so much of Gascoigny that if two

Men only had come openly to deliver it. It was too great Indulgence to have sent them back."

Two days later Washington wrote to his brother, John Augustine Washington, giving important details of the fight at Washington's Rocks:

"Camp at Great Meadow, May 31, 1754.

"Since my last arrived at this place, were three days ago we had an engagement with the French, that is, a party of our men with one of theirs. Most of our men were out upon other detachments, so that I had scarcely 40 men remaining under my command, and about 10 or 12 Indians; nevertheless we obtained a most signal victory. The battle lasted about 10 or 15 minutes, with sharp firing on both sides, till the French gave ground and ran, but to no great purpose. There were 12 killed of the French, among whom was Mons. de Jumonville, their commander, and 21 taken prisoners, among whom are Mess. La Force and Drouillon, together with two cadets. I have sent them to his honour the Governor, at Winchester, under a guard of 20 men, conducted by Lieutenant West. We had but one man killed, and two or three wounded. Among the wounded on our side was Lieutenant Waggener, but no danger, it is hoped, will ensue. We expect every hour to be attacked by superior force, but, if they forbear one day longer, we shall be prepared for them. We have already got entrenchments, are about a pallisado which I hope will be finished today. The Mingoos have struck the French and I hope will be a good blow before they have done. I expect 40 odd of them here tonight, which, with our fort and some reinforcements from Col. Fry, will enable us to exert our noble courage with spirit.

"P.S. I fortunately escaped without any wounds, for the right wing, where I stood, was exposed to and received all the enemy's fire, and it was the part where the man was killed, and the rest wounded. I heard the bullets whistle, and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound."

#### Dinwiddie's Complaint Following Receipt of St. Pierre's Reply

July 23, 1932

The reply to the summons to vacate the Ohio Valley, which had been conveyed to St. Pierre, commander at Fort Le Boeuf, by Washington in 1753, prompted Governor Dinwiddie to send a complaint to his superiors at the British Court. Commenting on this incident William Livingston, in his "Review of the Military Operations in North America, 1753-1754" observes as follows:

"On the receipt of this resolute answer, Mr. Dinwiddie made instant complaint to the Court of Great Britain; and by alarming speeches laboured to rouse the Virginians into a vigorous opposition. He wrote also to the neighboring governors, importuning the aid of

the other colonies, for repelling the invasion, and erecting a fort at the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela. An immediate junction in such measures became absolutely requisite for our common security.

"But the colonies, alas! were sunk into a profound lethargy; and resigned to stupidity and slumbering, appeared insensible of the threatening danger. They contemned the power of Canada; confided in the number of their inhabitants; inattentive were they to the inconveniences of an endless frontier; and in short intirely unacquainted with the situation of the inland country. The waters of the Ohio, before this period, were scarce known, save to a few Indian traders, and the generality deemed those French settlements too remote to be the object of dread, and a matter of insignificant moment. Accordingly, when application was made for succours to Virginia, conformable to directions from the ministry, some of our provincial assemblies, particularly those of Pennsylvania and New York, seemed even to question his Majesty's title to the lands usurped by the French. Others, to avoid their share in the burden, framed the most trifling excuses. New York, however, voted 5,000 pounds in currency in aid of Virginia; which, considering her own situation, and approaching distress, was no generous contribution.

"The Virginians nevertheless proceeded in their resolution of marching a body of troops to the protection of their frontiers; and passed an act in February, 1754, for raising 10,000 pounds and 300 men. The Command was given to Col. Washington, a young gentleman of great bravery and distinguished merit. By his Majesty's direction, two of the regular independent companies of foot at New York, were ordered to the frontier of that dominion. They embarked for Virginia on board the Centaur man of war; which unfortunately did not sail from thence till the middle of June, and carried the money before mentioned to the assistance of that colony.

"Col. Washington began his march, at the head of his little arm, about the 1st of May. On the 28th he had a skirmish with the enemy, of whom ten were slain, and about twenty made prisoners. But this public-spirited officer soon experienced a reverse of fortune. Waiting for further reinforcements, he was alarmed with an account, that 900 French and 200 Indians were advancing from the Ohio; who accordingly in two days after came up, and an engagement immediately ensued. Our troops were but a handful compared to the number of the enemy, consisting only of about three hundred effective men. After a vigorous resistance for three hours in which it was said near two hundred of the French and their Indian allies were slain; Col. Washington, observing the great superiority of the enemy, who now began to hemm him in on all quarters, found himself under an absolute necessity of submitting to the disagreeable terms that were offered him.

"In this action we had thirty killed and fifty wounded. The French were observed to be assisted by a considerable number of Indians, who had been long in the English alliance; Not a few of them were known to be Delawares, Shawnese, and of the Six Nations. On the surrender of our camp, they fell at once to pillaging the baggage and provisions; and not content with this, they afterwards shot some of the horses and cattle, and scalped two of the wounded.

### Washington on Jumonville's Plans

July 25, 1932

As has been noted heretofore, Washington on the evening of May 27, 1754, took 40 men, when he set out against the troops under Ensign Coulon De Jumonville. Leaving Great Meadows about 10 P. M. it took him all night to get across Laurel Ridge Mountain, a distance of less than six miles. Washington at this time had only completed his road to Great Meadows. He had reached Great Meadows on the 25th. His chief concern was to ascertain the location of the French party that had been sent out to learn of Washington's whereabouts. We have positive knowledge that parties were sent out on May 25th and May 27th. It would seem that the detachments sent out on May 27th did not return that evening. In that event they must have been beyond the second rising of Laurel Hill Mountain, that is beyond what is now Dunbar's Camp and beyond Gist's plantation or at Gist's plantation. It will be remembered that Washington had encamped at Gist's both on his outward and return journey when he was sent to the French commander at Fort Le Boeuf in 1753. The trail followed by Washington across Laurel Ridge Mountain (Chestnut Ridge) was the only one that led across the mountain at this particular point. In fact even to this day it is the only one that leads to the Half King's Rock.

The truth is that until the Phalanx Fraternity of the Y.M.C.A. of Connellsville cleared the Washington- Braddock Road across the mountain it was difficult to find your way across this divide.

These young men have erected a suitable marker at the Half King's Rock to commemorate the events that took place in this locality.

The writer can readily understand the difficulty that Washington and his men had in getting over the mountain on the night of May 27. At daybreak they reached the Great Rock or the Half King's Rock, which is located two miles from Washington's First Battlefield. The figures given in this account vary somewhat from the figures Washington used in other letters that he wrote concerning this incident. We have not endeavored, in these articles, to reconcile these slight variances. It can be said with a reasonable degree of certainty however that Washington had with him 40 men. That the French numbered 33 that morning, and that the Indians under the Half King did not exceed probably 12.

The account of the battle which follows is short but rather illuminating.

Washington on Jumonville's Plans

(June 3, 1754)

"If the Detach't of the French behave with no more Resolution than this chosen Party did, I flatter myself we shall have no g't trouble in driving them to the d\_\_\_\_\_ Montreal. Tho' I took 40 men under my com't when I marched out, yet the darkness of the night was so great, that by wandering a Little from the main body 7 were lost, and but 33 ingag'd. There was also but 7 Indians with arms, two of which were Boys, one Dinwiddie, Y<sup>r</sup> Hon'rs God Son, who behaved well in action. There were 5 or 6 Indians who served to knock the poor, unhappy wounded in the head, and bereiv'd them of their scalps. So that we had but 40 men, with which we tried and took 32 or 3 men, besides others, who may have escaped. One, we have certain acc't did."

Washington's letter to his brother John Augustine Washington and the following letter, enabled the writer to fix with a great deal of certainty the location of the spot where the unknown Virginian of Washington's command fell. This spot has been suitably marked by the Great Meadows Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

Camp at the Great Meadows,

May 29, 1754.

"In this Engagement we had only one Man kill'd and two or three wounded, among which was Lieutt. Waggener slightly, a most miraculous escape, as our Right Wing was much expos'd to their Fire and receiv'd it all."

Half King Warns of Approach of French

July 26, 1932

The two letters which follow are of much interest. The Half King was encamped at the time at the Great Rock, since called the Half King's Rock, about six miles from the Great Meadows. The messages from the Half King and the trader, as well as other sources, show that the French were most probably at this very time secreted below Washington's Rocks, on Washington's First Battlefield. This marvelous hiding place was distant from the Indian Path - Nemacolin's Indian Trail - just two-tenths of a mile. All the exploring parties sent out by Washington would naturally follow this Indian path, which later became the Washington-Braddock Road. Traces and scars of this famous road are very clearly seen even now.

These letters are a further proof that for at least five days the French were hidden in this vicinity, and it would seem unquestionably below the rocks mentioned above. The original detachment sent out by

the commandant of the French Fort at Fort Duquesne was 35. These two French soldiers, whom the trader spoke of as seeing at Gist's were doubtless returning to Fort Duquesne in accordance with instructions given Jumonville. This tallys with the official account that there were 33 at the scene on the morning of May 28, 1754.

The letters, Washington reports as having received while at Great Meadows, are reproduced in Ford's "George Washington's Writings," (1889). Extracts follow:

"The 24th. (May, 1754) This Morning an Indian arrived in Company with the young Indian I had sent to the Half-King, and brought me the following letter from him.

" 'To the forist, his Majestie's Commander offwerses - to hom this may concern:

" 'On acc't of a French armye to meat mister Georg Wassionton therfor my Brotheres I deisir you to beawar of them for deisin'd to strik ye forist English they see ten deays since they marched I cannot tell what nomber the Half King and the rest of the chiefs will be with you in five dayes to consel, no more at present but give my serves to my Brothers the English.

The Half-King  
John Davison.' "

"The same Day, at Two o'clock, we arrived at the Meadows, where we saw a Trader, who told us that he had come that Morning from Mr. Gist's where he had seen two Frenchmen the Night before; and that he knew there was a strong Detachment on the march, which confirmed the Account we had received from the Half-King: Consequently I placed Troops behind two natural Intrenchments, where I also placed our Waggon."

#### Washington Alert to Find the French

July 27, 1932

Washington it will be recalled upon his arrival at Great Meadows on May 24, 1754, immediately threw up intrenchments. In a previous article we discussed this matter. He had that day marched from the Great Crossings, Somerfield, Penna. Washington had a trusty friend in Christopher Gist and also in the Half King, both of whom had been with Washington the previous year on his mission to the French commander at Fort Le Boeuf.

The following letter, printed in Ford's "George Washington's Writings," shows that Washington was on the alert, and lost no time locating the French force that he was informed were in the neighborhood somewhere.

"The 25th. (May, 1754) Detached one Party to go along the Roads, and other small Parties into the Woods, to reconnoitre. I gave the

Horse-men Orders to examine the Country well, and endeavor to get some news of the French, of their Forces, and of their movements,&c -

"At Night all these Parties returned without having discovered any Thing, though they had been a great way towards the Place from whence it was said the Party was coming."

### Situation in Western Country in 1754.

July 28, 1932

In "The Old Northwest," (1891), B. A. Hinsdale, gives an illuminating summary of the situation in 1754, which showed the inevitableness of a conflict between the French and the English for the supremacy of the Western Country, as that section lying west of the Allegheny Mountains was then known. The summary follows in full text:

"George Washington now makes his first historical appearance. He comes with a commission from Lieutenant-Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, to inquire of the officer Commanding the French force by whose authority and instructions he has invaded the territories of the King of Great Britain, and to demand his peaceably departure. He returns to Williamsburg with the answer that the French commander will refer the matter to the Governor, at Quebec, and that in the meantime he shall continue to hold his ground. It was now winter, and nothing more could be done that season, but early the next year a small force of Virginians was sent to seize and fortify the Forks of the Ohio. Before the works that should have been built two or three years before could be completed, or the men building them could be reinforced, the French descended the Allegheny in stronger numbers and captured both fort and garrison. They demolished the English fortification, and built a much stronger one, that they called Fort Duquesne. As usual, they had been too prompt for their rivals. They had seized the door to the West. This was an unmistakable act of war, and it precipitated at once the inevitable contest.

" 'Inevitable contest' The words sound like a decree of fate. But when two hostile armies, moving on converging roads, reach the point of convergence, a battle follows. The French column, with the St. Lawrence as a base, has been long moving in the direction of the Ohio; the English column, with the seaboard as a base, has also been moving toward the same destination; they enter the valley at practically the same time, the French asserting their right to the country on the ground of discovery and occupation, the English asserting their right by virtue of the Cabot voyages, the Iroquois protectorate, and the Indian purchases. Given the character of Englishmen and Frenchmen - given the geographical relations of the Atlantic Plain to the St. Lawrence - Lake Basin, and the relations of both these to the Mississippi Valley, a contest for the West was inevitable from the time that the foundations of Jamestown and Quebec were laid down, unless, indeed, one of the two powers should overwhelm the other at an earlier day." .

The same author, in discussing the occupation of the Western Country, makes rather pertinent observation on the claims of the French and the English to the territory, agreeing with the view of Parkman that the English had little to support their right to the possessions. He says:

".... when we contrast the heroic ardor of the French voyageurs, soldiers, and priests who opened up the Great West to the vision of men with the apathy of the English colonists, although our judgment approve the final issue, we can but agree with Mr. Parkman when he says France's pretensions were moderate and reasonable compared with those of England.' England having nothing to show in the fields of Western discovery and exploration, rested on the Cabot voyages and the Iroquois title. The Cabot title was never allowed in the Court of Nations, and was abandoned in 1763 by England herself, while the <sup>de</sup> acknowledgment of 1713 that the dominion on the Iroquois was in the English Government gave but the flimsiest claim to the lands south of the Lakes.

"The Treaty of Utrecht declared the Iroquois, or Five Nations, to be British subjects; therefore it was insisted that all countries conquered by them belonged to the British Crown. But what was an Iroquois conquest? The Iroquois rarely occupied the countries they overran. Their military expeditions were mere raids, great or small. Sometimes, as in the case of the Hurons, they made a solitude and called it peace; again, as in the case of the Illinois, they drove off the occupants of the soil, who returned after the invaders were gone. But the range of their war-parties was prodigious, and the English laid claim to every mountain, forest or prairie where an Iroquois had taken a scalp."

### The French and English in Rival Colonization Schemes

July 29, 1932

The French and English began the execution of their plans for colonization of the Ohio Valley almost simultaneously, but the former gained the advantage of being the first to appear on the scene in force. The particulars of their appearance in the Allegheny River (known to them as the Ohio), and at the Forks of the Ohio, are related by Edward Channing in his "History of the United States," (1809):

"On the 15th of June, 1749, Celoron de Bienville, sent by the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Governor of Canada, set out from Montreal to take possession of the Ohio Valley for France. He had with him two hundred and fourteen white men, soldiers, and Canadians, and a body of Indians in twenty-three canoes. Leaving Lake Erie, they carried their canoes overland to Chautauqua Lake in south-western New York, less than ten miles away. This led them to the Allegheny, down which they floated, stopping every now and then to warn off a group of English Indian traders, to palaver with the natives, or to deposit a leaden plate suitably inscribed. On they went past the confluence of the Monongahela and down the Ohio to the Great Miami and up this stream and back to Canada by the way of the Maumee and Lake Erie. This ceremonial taking possession was

a favorite way with the French. By itself, it conferred no rights, but when followed by settlement, it did not in any way diminish the right conferred by the latter."

Concerning the Ohio Company and its activities the same author writes:

"At about the same time the Loyal Land Company was given eight hundred thousand acres west of the mountain by the Virginia Assambly. It sent Dr. Thomas Walker across the mountains, by way of Cumberland Gap, to select and survey the lands. He built a house somewhere on the upper waters of the Cumberland River, and, if we may believe the maps, lived there for some time. Nothing more was done by either of these land companies, the activity of the French shortly afterward discouraging them."

Christopher Gist, employed by the Ohio Company, made his first exploration of the land granted by the British Crown, in 1750, following the voyage of Celeron down the Allegheny River to the Forks of the Ohio and beyond. Of that journey of exploration Channing wrote:

"In 1749, however, leading Virginia gentlemen, among them Lawrence and Augustine Washington and George Mason, determined to take the initiative. They procured from the king a grant of two <sup>hundred</sup> thousand acres, to be picked out and settled south of the Ohio and between the Monongahela and the Kanawha rivers, with a promise of three hundred thousand more if a hundred families were settled within seven years and a fort built and maintained. In 1750 the company dispatched Christopher Gist, an Indian trader, to explore the Ohio country and select lands for them. He reached Logstown, on the Ohio, in November; he went as far north as Pickawillany on the Great Miami, not very far from the site of the present Bellefontaine, Ohio. In the following spring he returned to the Ohio River and following up the Kanawha, regained the settled parts of Virginia."

The French advance into the Ohio Valley in 1753 was not entirely unopposed. The project was not favored by the Six Nations, by whom they were warned not to proceed. Of this incident W. J. Anderson wrote in "The Canadian Monthly," (1872) as follows:

"In 1753 the Ohio Company opened a road from Virginia into the Ohio Valley, and established a plantation at Shurtie's Creek (Chartiers). France and England were then at peace. There was no friendly feeling between the colonists of the two nations, but a jealousy of each other's encroachments particularly on the Ohio, which was claimed by both. Duquesne, then Governor General of New France, was aware of the objects of the Ohio Company and resolved to defeat them. Early in the spring, he sent a strong body of troops and Indians from Montreal, to reinforce the western posts and establish forts in the Valley of the Ohio. These were met at Niagara by an envoy from the Six Nations, who warned them not to proceed. On the other hand, the aid of Sir Wm. Johnston was solicited to assist in repelling the French encroachment. The French commander disregarded the warning, and established fortified posts at Erie, Waterford, and Uenango. On this, Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia, selected George Washington, then just of age, to proceed to Uenango, and demand the reasons for the invasion of the British territories in a time of peace."

A writer in the Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, (1855) refers to the complications that resulted from the counter efforts of the French and the English in the Ohio Valley:

"..... To perplex matters still more, the associates known as the Ohio Company obtained, in 1749, a vague grant from the crown, vesting in them vast but undefined tracts of land bordering on, if not actually embracing, the very territory in dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania."

Perhaps the influence with which the ministry of John Sargent, Thomas Walpole, and the other associates of the Ohio Company, whose prospects were intirely subverted by the presence of the French, may have contributed more powerfully than any other cause to the expedition against Fort Du Quesne.

Encroachment by French; Building of Fort at Forks of the Ohio by English; Its Capture by French.

July 30, 1932

While the events which have been related were transpiring the French continued their encroachment on Virginia, as William Livingston, observes in "A Review of the Military Operations in North America 1752-1756," published in 1770.

"The French, jealous of the growth of the English colonies, were now meditating all possible arts to distress them, and extend the limits of their own frontier. The Marquis De Quesne, an enterprising genius, was at this time invested with the supreme command of New France. Our provinces were quickly alarmed by the French settlements, which he this year began on the banks of the Ohio. Virginia, appearing more immediately concerned, Mr. Dinwiddie (Lieutenant Governor of Virginia) wrote, on the 31st of October, (1753) to the commandant of the French forces there, complaining of sundry late hostilities: and desiring to know, by what authority an armed force had marched from Canada, and invaded a territory indubitably the right of his Britannic Majesty."

Presently Virginia took cognizance of the activity of the French and early in 1754 decided upon the erection of a fort at the Forks of the Ohio. Captain William Trent was given command of a company of soldiers and artisans who set out on this mission. He was met enroute by Washington who was returning from his mission to the commandant of the French at Fort Le Boeuf. Trent proceeded to the mouth of Redstone Creek below Brwonsville where he erected the Hangard, a store house, and then proceeded on his way down the Monongahela.

In an article entitled "Washington's First Campaign," published in the Magazine of American History, 1886, T. J. Chapman, recounts the events following the appearance of Captain Trent at the Forks of the Ohio:

" ... About the middle of February (1754), an advance party of Trent's men, forty-one in number, had gone forward, and were busily engaged in building a fort on the site of the present city of Pittsburg, when, on the 17th of April, their operations were suddenly checked by the descent of a large force of French and Indians from Venango. They were reported to be a thousand strong. Their commander was Captain Contrecoeur. Though their numbers were not so great as reported, it was still a formidable force, and outnumbered the Virginia detachment nearly twenty to one. De Contrecoeur at once sent in an order for the surrender of the place. As it happened, the superior officers of the company were absent at the time, and the command for the movement developed upon the ensign, whose name was Ward. He was allowed but one hour in which to consider Contrecoeur's demand. He begged for time to confer with his superiors, but the request was refused. The English, the French officer claimed, had no authority in the valley of the Ohio, and consequently it could not be necessary to consult about it. They were clearly intruders, and must depart at once. As all thought of resistance to such numbers was out of the question, Ensign Ward had nothing to do but to deliver up the unfinished fortification, and betake himself elsewhere. The French were not otherwise severe in their terms, and Ward was allowed to bring away all his men, arms, and working tools ...."

After the withdrawal of Ensign Ward, who was in command of the fort building at the Forks of the Ohio at the time of the appearance of a large French force who demanded his surrender, the French took possession, destroyed the fort and built another and larger which they named Fort Du Quesne, in honor of the governor general of Canada, under whose orders they were acting. Reference is made in the Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society (1855) to these incidents:

"Being thus prepared, M. de Contrecoeur (who succeeded in the command at French Creek to Legardeur de St. Pierre, the one-eyed old warrior who had received Washington), set out betimes in the spring of 1754. On the 17th of April, at the head of from five hundred to a thousand men, with eighteen pieces of artillery, he appeared before the incomplete and defenseless works which occupied the spot where now stands the great city of Pittsburg. Ensign Ward, with his forty-one men, was in no condition to resist such a force. Without a struggle he was compelled to reluctantly abandon his post to the enemy, and was suffered to retire unmolested to his own country. The French set at once about the strengthening and perfection of their conquest. Under the directions of Mercier, a captain in the artillery, new works were added and the former made more complete; till, by the middle of May 1754, it was placed in a position to defy any force that could then be brought against it. Its breast-works were probably calculated to resist such small field-pieces as those which Washington had with him, as they were made in part, at least, of earth, and were two fathoms in thickness at the base. A force of some eight hundred or a thousand men garrisoned the post, officered by such men as Laforce, Drouillon,

de Villiers, Jumonville, Chauvignerie, de Longueil, and many others, whose names were war-cries along the border; and from Contrecoeur, who commanded the whole, it now for the first time received its title of Fort Duquesne.

Half King Urged Building a Fort at Forks of the Ohio.  
August 1, 1932.

Even before Governor Dinwiddie had decided to send Captain Trent to the Forks of the Ohio, in the winter of 1754, to erect a fort for the greater protection of the interests of the Ohio Company, Half King, Tenecharrisson, friend of the English, urged that such action be taken.

In a speech he delivered at a council of his fellow chieftains, he pledged the aid of Indians in such a project. This speech is preserved in the Pennsylvania Colonial Records (1851).

A speech Delivered by the Half King.

"Brethers the Governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia: You desire us to open our Minds to You and to speak from our Hearts, which we assure You, Brethern, we do. You desire We may inform You whether that Speech sent by Lewis Montour was agreed on in council or not, which We now assure You it was in part; but that part of giving the Lands to pay the Trader's Debt We know nothing of it; it must have been added by the Traders that wrote the Letter; but we earnestly requested by that Belt, and likewise we now request that our Brother the Governor or Virginia may build a Strong House at the Forks of the Mohongialo, and send some of our young Brethers, their Warriors, to live on it; and we expect our Brother of Pennsylvania will build another House somewhere on the River where he shall think proper, where whatever assistance he will think proper to send us may be kept safe for us, as our Enemies are just at Hand, and we do not know what Day they will come upon us. We now acquaint our Brethers that we have our Hatchet in our Hands to strike the Enemy as soon as our Brethern come to our assistance."

"Gave a Belt and Eight Strings of Wampum.

"The Half King, Scarrocyda, Newcomer, Coswentannea, Tonelacuesona, Shingass, Delaware George."

An objective Washington had clearly in mind before he started on his military expedition of 1754 to Great Meadows, was the establishment of a fort at the mouth of Redstone Creek. It was while he was at Will's Creek that he received news of the surrender of Ensign Ward of the Fort at the Forks of the Ohio, which doubtless strengthened Washington's determination to erect a fortification at Redstone.

After his arrival at Great Meadows, and his defeat of Jumonville, he pressed on to Gist's Plantation where he began the erection of defenses. Meantime he had detached a force under Lieutenant Lewis to build a road to Redstone. Upon the receipt of information that the

French were advancing in force by that route, Lewis was recalled and the entire body under command of Washington retreated to Great Meadows. The unfortunate termination of the encounter with De Villiers there on July 3, 1754, compelled Washington to abandon his project of fortifying the more distant post at the mouth of Redstone Creek.

Some of the incidents connected therewith are recorded in Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society (1855).

#### Washington Plan of a Fort at Redstone Creek.

"Washington was at Will's Creek when the tidings reached him of Ward's discomfiture: and acting promptly, on the same principle which had governed his mind in originally urging the very measure that was thus defeated, he was resolved to proceed to the mouth of the Redstone Creek, and there to erect a fortification under whose shelter he should await such things as time might bring forth. With his scanty force, it was impossible to think of the re-investment of Fort Du Quesne and its new garrison until the arrival of reinforcements which were constantly expected but he wished to be as near to the French as he possibly could get, and this spot offered too many advantages to be suffering under the greatest deprivations of food, raiment, and stores, he passed over. By tedious marches, and had arrived at the Great Meadows ...."

#### Historians Views of Jumonville Battle.

August 2, 1932

This series will not be considered as complete without the publication of all available comment by historians on the battle between Washington and Jumonville at Washington's Rocks on the morning of May 28, 1754. Henry Cabot Lodge, in "George Washington," American Statesmen Series, 1889, makes this mention:

"This little skirmish made a prodigious noise in its day, and much heralded in France. The French declared that Jumonville, the leader, who fell at the first fire, was foully assassinated, and that he and his party were ambassadors and sacred characters. Paris rang with this fresh instance of British perfidy, and a M. Thomas celebrated the luckless Jumonville in a solemn epic poem in four books. French historians, relying on the account of the Canadian who escaped, adopted the same tone, and at a later day mourned over this black spot on Washington's character. The French view was simple nonsense. Jumonville and his party, as the papers found on Jumonville showed, were out on a spying and scouting expedition. They were seeking to surprise the English when the English surprised them, with the usual backwood result. The affair has a dramatic interest because it was the first blood shed in a great struggle, and was the beginning of a series of world-wide wars and social and political convulsions, which terminated more than half a century later on the plains of Waterloo. It gave immortality to an obscure French officer by linking his name with that of his opponent, and brought Washington for the moment before the eyes of the

world, which little dreamed that this Virginian colonel was destined to be one of the principal figures in the great revolutionary drama to which the war then beginning was but the prologue."

Justin Winsor, author of 'Narrative and Critical History of America' (1887), concurs in the opinion of Washington that Jumonville's presence in the hidden glen at the scene of his battle with Washington, was intended as a shield until the arrival of expected reinforcements from Fort Duquesne, after which an attack in force could be made at Fort Necessity.

"Again he got word from an Indian - who, from his tributary character towards the Iroquois, was called Half-King, and who had been Washington's companion on his trip to Le Boeuf - that this chieftain with some followers had tracked two men to a dark glen, where he believed the French party were lurking. Washington started with forty men to join Half-King, and under his guidance they approached the glen and found the French. Shots were exchanged. The French leader, Jumonville was killed, and all but one of his followers were taken or slain.

"This mission of Jumonville was to scour for English, by order of Contrecoeur, now in command of Duquesne, and to bear a summons to any he could find, warning them to retire from French territory. The precipitancy of Washington's attack gave the French the chance to impute to Washington the crime of assassination; but it seems to have been a pretence on the part of the French to cover a purpose which Jumonville had of summoning aid from Duquesne, while his concealment was intended to shield him till its arrival. Rash or otherwise, this onset of the youthful Washington began the war."

### Historians and the Great Meadows Campaign

August 3, 1932

In connection with this series it is interesting to note how the various events relating to Washington's expedition of 1754 appealed to the historians who have incorporated them in their writings. One of the earliest to deal with the campaign is William Livingston who, in 1770, published his "Review of the Military Operations in North America, 1753-1756." Touching the activities of Washington he wrote:

"Col. Washington began his march, at the head of his little army, about the 1st of May. On the 28th he had a skirmish with the enemy, of whom ten were slain, and about twenty made prisoners. But this public-spirited officer soon experienced a reverse of fortune. Waiting for further reinforcements, he was alarmed with an account, that 900 French and 200 Indians were advancing from the Ohio; who accordingly two days after came up, and an engagement immediately ensued. Our troops were but a handful compared to the number of the enemy, consisting only of about three hundred effective men. After a vigorous resistance for three hours, in which it was said near two

hundred of the French and their Indian allies were slain, Col. Washington, observing the great superiority of the enemy, who now began to hemm him in on all quarters, found himself under absolute necessity of submitting to the disagreeable terms that were offered him.

"In this action we had thirty killed and fifty wounded. The French were observed to be assisted by a considerable number of Indians, who had been long in the English alliance; not a few of them were known to be Delawares, Shawnese and the Six Nations. On the surrender of our camp, they fell at once to pillaging the baggage and provisions; and not content with this, they afterwards shot some of the horses and cattle, and scalped two of the wounded."

While the camp at the Great Crossing (Someffield) intelligence reached Washington that the French were approaching with a large force. He at once took steps to continue his advance hoping to reach Great Meadows in time to.. prepare defenses against the anticipated attack.

In his "Life and Writings of Washington," Jared Sparks, who in preparation for his historical work personally visited the site of Fort Necessity in 1835, thus refers to Washington's movement from Great Crossing to Great Meadows:

"Not knowing their number, nor at what moment they might approach, he hastened to a place called the Great Meadows, cleared away the bushes, threw up an entrenchment, and prepared, as he expressed it, 'a charming field for an encounter.' He then mounted some of the soldiers on wagon-horses, and sent them out to reconnoitre. They came back without having seen any traces of the enemy; but the camp was alarmed in the night, the sentries fired, and all hands were kept under arms till morning. Mr. Gist came to the camp, also, and reported that a French detachment, consisting of fifty men, had been at his settlement the day before, and that he had observed their tracks within five miles of the Great Meadows."

### Nemacolin's Trail

August 4, 1932

Nemacolin's Trail, which was the predecessor of the Washington-Braddock Road across the Allegheny Mountains, has ever been an interesting subject to the students and writers of the early history of this section of the State of Pennsylvania.

The late James Hadden, in his "Washington's and Braddock's Expeditions," (1910), gives the results of his inquiry into the facts of the history of this famous pathway and of its marker, the Indian, Nemacolin. Of these he has written:

"In 1750 the Ohio Company built a small storehouse on the site once occupied by the Shawanese town Caintucuc on the west side of Will's creek where that stream empties into the Potomac river and where the city of Cumberland now stands, and the following year Colonel Thomas Cresap, who then lived at Shawnee Oldtown, was employed to open out a

road from Will's creek to the mouth of the Monongahela. He wisely selected for his assistant a Delaware Indian by the name of Nemacolin, whose residence was at the mouth of Nemacolin's creek now known as Dunlap's creek, on the Monongahela river. Beginning at the terminus of the road already made, to the storehouse at Will's creek, they followed an old trail worn by the foot of the red man centuries before the pale face beheld the outlines of a new continent.

"Running westward until reaching the crest of Laurel Hill this road turned abruptly northward along the crest of the mountain and descended the slope, westward, where it joined the old Catawaba trail on what is known as the Mt. Braddock farm. From this point northward this road was, with few deviations, identical with the above mentioned trail, crossing the Yaughiogheny river a short distance below the present town of New Haven, passing to the left of the location of Mount Pleasant, and when reaching a point to the west of the location of Greensburg, it deflected to the west and on to the Forks of the Ohio. From the fact that Nemacolin was employed on the improvement of the trail it received the name of Nemacolin's trail, which name it retained until Braddock's army passed over it, since which it has been known as the Braddock Road.

"Gist made a second survey for the Ohio Company in 1752, this time passing over the Nemacolin trail and crossing the Monongahela below where McKeesport now stands. Returning, he crossed the Monongahela at the mouth of Nemacolin creek, where he met his old Indian friend who proposed the following question: 'If the French claim all the land north of the Ohio, and the English all on the south, where do the Indians' lands lie?' This question went unanswered."

### Washington on His War Experiences

August 5, 1932

A singular note of disappointment was expressed by Washington, concerning his experiences in the Great Meadows campaign in 1754 and the Braddock campaign of 1755, when, from his home at Mount Vernon, he wrote to his brother, Augustine Washington. It was less than a month following the disastrous termination of Braddock's march against Fort Duquesne, the reaction from which evidently caused Washington to make this intimate record of his impressions in his letter which is printed in Ford's "Washington's Writings" (1889).

"Mount Vernon, 2 August, 1755.

"I was employed to go a journey in the winter (when, I believe, few or none would have undertaken it), and what did I get by it? My expenses borne! I then was appointed, with trifling pay, to conduct a handful of men to the Ohio. What did I get by this? Why, after putting myself to a considerable expense, in equipping and providing necessaries for the campaign, I went out, was soundly beaten, lost them all! - came in and had my commission taken from me, or, in other words,

my command reduced, under pretence of an order from home! I then went out a volunteer with General Braddock, and lost all my horses and many other things; but this being a voluntary act, I ought not to have mentioned this; nor should I have done it, was it not to show that I have been upon the losing order ever since I entered the service, which is now near two years. So that I think I cannot be blamed, should I, if I leave my family again, endeavor to do it upon such terms as to prevent my suffering; (to gain by it being the least of my expectation)."

The hostilities between the French and English, for possession of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, which began with Washington's battle with Jumonville's force at Washington's Rocks on the morning of May 28, 1754, furnished one of the instances of colonial wars breaking out without official sanction by the responsible governments.

Commenting on this a British writer, Brevet-Lieutenant J. F. Maurice, in "Hostilities Without Declaration of War, 1700-1870," (1883), says:

"Other cases are specially interesting to Englishmen, because they show how fierce wars may break out at some distant point of our great colonial empire without the mother countries, whose forces are engaged, being even aware till long afterwards that fighting has taken place; how the home Power which first receives the news may consider itself justified in almost any act of sudden aggression, and may, in consequence of the prior colonial hostilities, contrive to appear before Europe in the light of the aggrieved Power rather than of the aggressor, no matter how violent its action in Europe may be."

### Jumonville, Washington's First Battlefield

August 15, 1932

#### Part I

Judge James Veech, a graduate of Jefferson College, Canonsburg, and Attorney General for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1835-1838, practiced law for a number of years in Uniontown. He was a high minded man, and a most accurate and painstaking scholar. In his excellent book, "The Monongahela of Old," he wrote of the Jumonville incident. We quote the following extract:

"Washington with 40 men set out that dark and rainy night for the Indian Camp (Half King's Rock); where, after council, an attack was determined to be made at once. It was done early in the morning of the 28th (May 28, 1754). The French were surprised, Jumonville and others killed and scalped by the Indians, and M. La Force, M. Drouillon, two cadets and 17 others made prisoners."

In a footnote, he thus wrote of this battlefield:

"This - not Fort Necessity, was really "Washington's First Battleground." Concerning it he, Washington, wrote shortly after, 'I fortunately escaped without any wound, for the right wing where I stood

was exposed to and received all the enemy's fire; and it was the part where the man was killed and the rest wounded. I heard the bullets whistle; and believe me there is something charming in the sound.'"

#### Jumonville's Grave

Lieutenant Colonel George Washington, on the morning of May 28, 1754, with 40 Virginia militia and a company of Indians, commanded by the Half-King, Tennacharison, surprised the French commander, Ensign M Coulon De Jumonville, who, for at least five days, had ambushed his troops below a ledge of rocks 20 feet in height, since known as "Washington's Rocks." Washington killed, wounded or captured the entire force of 33 French soldiers, except one Canadian, who made his escape, and who reported to Contrecoeur, the commanding officer of Fort Du Quesne, now Pittsburg, the result of this engagement. It will be recalled that the French loss was 10 killed, one wounded, and 21 captured. The prisoners were taken to Williamsburg, Va., under a guard of 20 Virginia soldiers.

Captain Coulon De Villiers, the half-brother of Jumonville, who commanded the French army against Washington at the Battle of Fort Necessity, Great Meadows, encamped on the evening of July 2, 1754, at Gist's plantation, Mount Braddock. The next morning, July 3, 1754, De Villiers marched from Gist's plantation to Fort Necessity, a distance of about 13 miles, where on the same day he fought Washington's second battle of his military campaign of 1754. This second engagement to our way of reasoning, was not a surrender nor was it a defeat, but a drawn battle. The critical student of history should read "Washington's Writings," De Villiers' Journal and other source material.

De Villiers, on his march from Gist's plantation to Fort Necessity on that memorable morning of July 3, 1754, left the Nemacolin Indian trail near Washington's first battlefield which is located less than 350 yards south of the trail, and there beheld the dead bodies of his half-brother and the other nine French soldiers, unburied, who had been killed five weeks previously, May 28, 1754. What a scene met his gaze! Put yourself in De Villiers' place. At his own request he had been given command of this expedition against Washington in order to avenge the death of his half-brother and to drive the English from the territory which the French claimed. All things considered, Washington was extremely fortunate to have emerged from the Fort Necessity encounter on so favorable terms.

On the morning of July 4, 1754, Washington, with his little army commenced their homeward march from Fort Necessity back to Wills Creek, Cumberland, Md., and from thence to Virginia. The first day's march was about three miles and the place of encampment, most probably was at the 'Camp of the Twelve Springs,' which likewise was Braddock's eighth encampment. De Villiers, in his Journal says that on this day, (July 4, 1754), he marched from Fort Necessity about two leagues - six miles - where he encamped. His encampment would be in close proximity to the Great Rock, or the Half-King's Rock, and Washington's Spring. This spot marks the site of Braddock's tenth encampment.

## Jumonville, Washington's First Battlefield

August 16, 1932

### Part 2

On the morning of July 5, 1754, De Villiers a second time passed along the Indian trail within 350 yards of Washington's First Battlefield.

The writer has a strong conviction that De Villiers left the Indian path a second time at this point and caused to be buried his comrades in arms, who fell in the encounter with Washington on May 28. In the very nature of events and circumstances, this would seem to have been the most logical time and practically the earliest opportunity available to perform this rite in behalf of their fellow soldiers. De Villiers in his rush to get to Fort Necessity on the morning of July 3, 1754, would hardly likely, it seems, have taken time that morning to bury the mortal remains of those 10 dead soldiers, who had been scalped by the Indians, after the battle on that epoch-making morning.

Where were these French soldiers buried? This is a question asked by tourists who now are visiting this battlefield by the hundreds since the dedication of Washington's First Battlefield on July 17, 1932.

An examination of the battle ground itself, below Washington's Rocks, where the principal scene of the battle was mostly enacted, and where were killed the 10 French soldiers of Jumonville's command, will convince the inquirer and careful investigator that, owing to the rocky character of the ground, the present location of Jumonville's Grave has much to be said in its favor as the most probably site of burial of these unfortunate French soldiers, whose scalped bodies remained unburied from May 28 to July 5. All the bodies were likely buried in one grave. We are assuming, of course, from the feeling expressed by De Villiers, as evidenced in his journal, and from the fact also that he says the bodies were unburied, that he most certainly paid this tribute, at least to his fellow countrymen who lost their lives in defense of the French cause. My readers are doubtless aware that the entrance to Washington's First Battlefield, less than three miles from the Summit Hotel, is through the woods over a picturesque and a beautiful winding road for about 500 yards. About 75 yards beyond are "Washington's Rocks." One hundred feet below this ledge of rocks, which are over 150 feet long, is Jumonville's grave. The only marker of any kind ever placed on this historic spot, prior to July 17, 1932 it would seem, were those erected to commemorate the burial place of Ensign Coulon de Jumonville.

Dr. L. P. McCormick of Connellsville, accompanied by General Richard Coulter of Greensburg, Colonel Thomas Crago of Waynesburg, and Dr. Henry W. Temple of Washington, over a quarter of a century ago by the aid of a guide, visited this battlefield and Jumonville's Grave. Dr. McCormick recounts that visit with distinctive clearness. He states that a gigantic log or tree, perhaps 18 inches in diameter, with one

end resting on "Washington's Rocks," extended down the hill towards the ravine now known as Dunbar Run, quite a considerable distance. On this tree or log was fastened another log of a somewhat smaller diameter, so placed as to form a cross.

"This cross," says Dr. McCormick, "was erected after considerable labor, and was doubtless the work of some Frenchman to thus honor the soldier-dead of their country. It made a deep and lasting impression on me. I went to the dedication exercises of this battle ground on July 17, 1932, with the hope that some evidence of this tribute to the slain French soldiers buried there might yet be seen."

There is not today, nor has there been for several years, any trace of what would seem to have been the first marker erected to commemorate the death of Jumonville and the nine other French soldiers killed in this battle.

Later there was erected a small cross of poles perhaps some eight or 10 feet in height. Photos of this cross were published in the local papers and in some of the histories. Such an illustration was in the Courier of July 8, 1904 in connection with an article on Fort Necessity, and Washington's First Battle of May 28, 1754, by A. M. Claybaugh, formerly of Uniontown and at one time partner of the late Henry P. Snyder in ownership of The Courier. The late James Hadden of Uniontown, who contributes so much to Western Pennsylvania history, was the moving spirit for many years in "keeping the home fires burning," especially in connection with Great Meadows and Fort Necessity, Braddock's Grave and Washington's First Battlefield. He caused to be erected four tablets at Fort Necessity, Braddock's Grave, Washington's Spring and Jumonville's Grave.

### Jumonville, Washington's First Battlefield

Part 3.

August 17, 1932

The present marker at Jumonville's Grave was erected under the auspices of the Centennial Celebration Committee of 1904. The tablet contains the following inscription:

'Here lie the mortal remains of N. Coulon De Jumonville, who, in command of a company of 39 French regulars, was surprised and killed in an engagement with Major George Washington in command of a company of 40 provincial troops and Tennacharison, the Half-King, in command of a company of friendly Indians, on May 28th, 1754. This action was the first conflict at arms between the French and English for supremacy in the Mississippi Valley. Erected July 4th, 1908.'

Judge E. H. Reppert, Uniontown, delivered on that occasion the historical address. He has been much interested in the present movement to suitably mark and otherwise establish this battlefield where Washington received "his first baptism of fire."

A movement is already underway to erect an appropriate boulder on which will be placed a bronze tablet suitably inscribed, at Jumonville's

Grave, in the no distant future.

The subject of Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart's address at the dedication exercises of Washington's First Battlefield, July 17, 1932, was, "Washington and Jumonville - Two Military Gentlemen." The noble sentiment therein expressed on this subject, amplified in the person of General Lafayette and France in the Revolutionary War, and the return of our country to France during the great World War, is worthy of emulation and speaks well for both nations.

On Washington's First Battlefield, on July 17, 1932, there was unveiled a beautiful bronze tablet containing the Houdon plaque of Washington placed on a four-ton boulder, the gift of the Fayette-Westmoreland Branch of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

The tablet bears the following inscription:

"Washington's First Battlefield,  
Prelude of the French and Indian War.  
Lieutenant Colonel George Washington,  
in command of a company of Virginia militia  
forty in number, assisted by the Half-King,  
Tennacharison, and a company of Indians, surprised,  
killed, wounded or captured the entire engaged French force  
under command of Ensign Coulon De Jumonville,  
hidden below this ledge of rocks, since known as  
Washington's Rocks, May 28, 1754."

A tablet erected to commemorate the death and burial place of the one Virginia soldier, who was killed in the engagement of May 28, 1754, was erected by the Great Meadows Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution. The inscription is as follows:

"Washington's First Battlefield.

This tablet marks the probable site of burial of an unknown Virginian of Washington's command, killed in the engagement between Lieutenant Colonel George Washington and Ensign Coulon De Jummonville on the morning of May 28th, 1754, in a battle of a quarter of an hour."

"A cannon shot fired in the woods of America was the signal that set all Europe in a blaze." - Voltaire.

Thus, after 178 years, the importance of Washington's First Battle has been brought to the attention of the Nation, and perhaps it is not too much to say to the attention of the entire world, the battlefield itself made accessible to all lovers of history - a fitting tribute in connection with the 200th anniversary of the birth of the "Father of His Country."

Those who have had or shall have the privilege of visiting Washington's First Battlefield, will vividly call to mind the first three words of the phrase, "First in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen," and the words of the great historian, Francis Parkman that here was fought the battle that "set the world on fire."

Washington's First Battlefield and Dunbar's Camp  
Visited in 1855

August 20, 1932

Captain Hugh A. Gorley delivered an address before Lincoln Post No. 2, Grand Army of the Republic, December 15, 1870 in San Francisco, California.

The following extracts, taken from his address had previously appeared in an account of a trip he made, in company with David G. Blythe, an eminent artist, who had undertaken the task of painting the Panorama of the Alleghany Mountains.

The two men, Mr. Blythe and Mr. Gorley, started from Cumberland, Maryland in June, 1855, and traversed the old Braddock Road, - Mr. Blythe making sketches by the way.

The following sketch by Captain Gorley, will, I am sure, be read with much interest. It carries one back to over three-quarters of a century, and gives a rather faithful picture of Washington's First Battlefield, a century later. The rough stone monument referred to is of special interest, showing that some kind hands had not forgotten the fallen heroes of France. On the other hand, no one would seem to have sought out the burial place of the one Virginian killed in the engagement.

"Three (six) miles northwest from Braddock's grave," wrote Captain Gorley, "deep down in a mountain gorge, where the thick foliage prevents the rays of heaven's sun from penetrating, stands a monument of rough stone over the resting place of the brave and courageous Frenchman, Jumonville. On arriving at the point of rocks where the soldiers of Washington fired down upon the French, we hitched our animals and descended into what is known as the "Shades of Death" - oh, how sad and gloomy: - a quiet place for a warrior to rest.

"Here, in search for relics, we unearthed a portion of a scarlet uniform, with bright buttons. Blythe endeavored to sketch it, but, alas: it vanished, and where, but a moment before, was, to all appearances, a beautiful uniform, lay the common soil of the mountain. The cause of this old coat retaining its form and brightness for so many years, and disappearing so suddenly at the touch of light, I leave for the scientific to explain, and the name of him who owned and wore it, I leave for others to ascertain."

This rough stone marker would seem to have been the first to have been erected on Washington's First Battlefield. One may readily conjecture the scarlet uniform as that of Ensign De Jumonville. The "Shades of Death," usually referred to, is on Braddock's Road about four miles east of Grantsville, Maryland, and about two miles east of "Little Meadows." Even to this day it is a dark and gloomy spot. It is said that the old wagoners from Zanesville, Ohio to Baltimore, Maryland, dreaded this locality as the darkest and gloomiest place along the entire route. Dense forests of white pine formerly covered this region, which, from the deep gloom of the summer woods and the favor-

able shelter that the pines gave to the Indian enemy, came to be spoken of as the "Shades of Death."

### Dunbar's Camp

Dunbar's Camp is less than half a mile from Washington's First Battlefield. This camp marked the farthest point reached by Colonel Thomas Dunbar's Regiment, the 44th British regulars, the reserve of General Braddock's army. When Braddock's army, retreating from the disastrous battle at Braddock's Field, reached Dunbar's Camp, a hasty get-away of the reserve was enacted that brought Colonel Dunbar in great disfavor, to put it mildly.

From the top of Dunbar's Knob one gets a view scarcely excelled in Western Pennsylvania. Dunbar's Camp, Jumonville, was formerly the site of the State Soldiers Orphans School. Its favorable location makes it one of the most attractive spots in the Allegheny mountains. It is situated less than four miles from the Summit Hotel, on Chestnut Ridge (Laurel Ridge) Mountain.

"Two miles northwest of Washington Springs," says Captain Gorley in describing Dunbar's Camp, "is an immense clearing on the mountain top where one can behold the great Mississippi Valley, stretching far away in the dim distance, while just beneath, nestled in the lap of luxury and beauty, the thriving village of Uniontown - the first monument of industry and civilization erected west of the Alleghenies - is plainly seen. It is where Dunbar encamped. The clearing commences on the eastern slope and extends over the summit and down the western slope, in all a distance of about three-fourths of a mile long by four hundred yards wide. The north line of the camp, and extending nearly the whole length, is paved with rough mountain rock, the workmanship of which would put to blush contractors who pretend to pave our streets in approved style.

"No plowshare has yet penetrated or overturned the work done by Dunbar's pavers. This part of the encampment, no doubt was their parade ground. Anywhere on this camp ground, with the toe of your boot you may kick up grape and canister, bomb shells and cannon balls, from their beds of harmless sulphur and salt-petre - once wicked gunpowder. On the south line of the camp is a steep precipice, over which the visitor can see two iron six pound guns, lying across each other, in the same positions as the devastating hands had hurled them in their disgraceful flight from camp. As it will not pay to remove them, nobody disturbs them. May they ever remain just where they are, as monuments to perpetuate the events that here transpired in times that tried men's souls."

Dunbar's Camp would have seemed to include the ground east of Dunbar's Knob as well as the knob itself. The portion of the camp ground on the top of the knob has been cultivated in recent years. Tons and tons of cannon balls, shells, etc., have been removed. There is no trace, however, of the two cannon referred to by Captain Gorley. Each year people dig for relics. Only a few days ago a portion of a shell and wagon tire

tire were found near the pump station about a quarter of a mile from Jumonville's Grave.

## Scenic Views and Historic Landmarks

### On Chestnut Ridge Mountain - What to See And How to See Them.

August 25, 1932.

#### Part 1.

Many readers of the Curier are perhaps unaware of the beautiful mountain scenery and panoramic views that are almost at our very door. A three mile drive from the Summit Hotel, on Route 40, on the National Road, where you turn into a township road on Chestnut Ridge Mountain, where there is a Keystone highway marker, directing you to Washington's First Battlefield and other points of historic interest, will convince you of the grandeur of our mountains and likewise acquaint you with early happenings in the Nation's history west of the Alleghenies when this country was just being settled.

About one-half mile from the Summit Hotel, just beyond the country residence of Richard W. Dawson on your right, there has been cut a pathway through the timber which gives you a wonderful view of the Alleghenies, and especially Chestnut Ridge Mountain.

One-half mile farther on, you come to the site of the Great Rock, or Half-King's Rock, mentioned by the early cartographers. The famous Washington-Braddock Road, emerging from Laurel Ridge Mountain, 150 yards eastward, turned northward at this point. 150 yards northward was Rock Fort Camp, where Braddock's Army encamped June 26, 1755.

Two miles to the northward are Washington's First Battlefield, 1754, Jumonville's Grave, and Dunbar's Camp, 1755.

Looking to the eastward to your right on high ground, you will see an entrance to the wooded part of Laurel Hill (Chestnut Ridge) Mountain. Here is the historic Washington-Braddock Road, the first road to be built across the Allegheny mountains. This road across the entire mountain was cleared by the Phalanx Fraternity of the Y.M.C.A., Connellsville this spring. Less than 100 yards up this road, you have a view scarcely excelled from which you can look into the States of Maryland and West Virginia. You get a fine perspective also of the Summit Hotel. This view was made possible by Charles Chick who cut out the timber at this point and erected some rustic seats. It has been well named "Washington's Lookout."

A few yards beyond the tablet at the site of Half-King's Rock you come to Washington Spring. The owners of the property and the spring are only too pleased to have you drink from the spring where George Washington, General Braddock, the Half-King and thousands of others have quenched their thirst. A tablet at the spring bears the following inscription:

#### Washington's Spring

This spring lies in the direct path of what was known as Nemaquin's Trail, afterwards Braddock's Road, and was a favorite camping spot in early days. George Washington visited here first in November, 1753, and again

in May, 1754. On the night of June 26, 1755 he encamped here with General Braddock and his army on their memorable advance towards Fort Duquesne.

This is an historic spot. Here unquestionably De Villiers encamped on his return from Fort Necessity after the drawn battle of the day preceding, on July 4, 1754. This was General Braddock's tenth encampment, which he called Rock Fort Camp, and where he encamped on June 26, 1755.

The following description of Washington's Spring is from Captain Gorley's account of his visit to the scene in 1855:

"Washington's Springs are a mile and a half southwest of Jumonville's Grave. What then was a dense forest is now a beautiful clearing, surrounded by a natural stone wall. Within its inclosure some enterprising individual has managed to create a farm and make a living. The springs from which Washington used to drink, and the old log and stone hut he used to eat and sleep in, yet remain, and are guarded with jealous care. It was while visiting these springs that an unknown writer gave to the world the following truthful sentences on the character of their first owner:

"Washington is all our own - the founder of liberty, the friend of man. History and tradition are explored in vain for a parallel to his character. In the annals of modern greatness he stands alone, and the noblest names of antiquity lose their lustre in his presence. Born the benefactor of mankind, he united all those qualities necessary for an illustrious career. Nature made him great, he made himself virtuous, and on the pillars of a National Independence he laid the foundation of a great Republic."

"Well said, and a more befitting place could not have been found to inspire the author."

### On Chestnut Ridge Mountain - What to See and How to See Them

August 26, 1932

#### Part 2.

On either side, perhaps, of Washington's Spring marked the spot where De Villiers encamped on the evening of July 4, 1754, on his return from Great Meadows to Fort Duquesne. In his journal he says:

"We marched that day (July 4, 1754) about two leagues (six miles) and I detached some of my men to carry on litters those who were badly wounded." De Villiers returned over the same route that day, that Washington traversed on the night of May 27, 1754.

About one and one-half miles to the northward of Washington's Spring, you come to the entrance of Washington's First Battlefield. At this entrance is a Keystone highway marker and an historical tablet calling attention to the fact that Washington's First Battlefield,

Washington's Rocks, Jumonville's Grave and a tablet to the unknown Virginian's Grave is about a quarter of a mile distant. The battlefield, one of the most picturesque battlefields in America. A good road leads from the township road through the woods to the entrance.

Less than one-half mile down the road from the entrance to Washington's First Battlefield is Dunbar's Camp. Colonel Thomas Dunbar commanded the 44th regiment of Braddock's army, which was left in reserve at this point while the main army proceeded on its march toward Fort Duquesne. This is the furthestmost point reached by Dunbar's regiment.

General Braddock, who was mortally wounded at the Battle of the Monongahela, was brought back to this camp and thence to the Old Orchard Camp, near Braddock's Grave, where he died, July 13, 1755. Dunbar's Camp has no connection with Washington's expeditions of 1753 and 1754.

Washington accompanied Braddock's expedition of 1755. He was taken sick at Bear Camp at the Pennsylvania and Maryland boundary line on the National Pike at Oakton, Maryland., or (Strawn, Pa.) and doubtless camped several days with Dunbar at the latter's camp. It will be recalled that Washington joined Braddock the night before the Battle of the Monongahela at McKeesport, on July 8, 1755.

On the return of Braddock's retreating army to Dunbar's Camp they could not leave the place quick enough. Cannons, wagons, and all sorts of military supplies were destroyed or left behind. Tons and tons of cannons, shells, balls, etc., have been hauled from this spot. Every year hundreds of relic seekers visit the site of this encampment. The finds of any kind are now few and far between.

In plain view of Dunbar's Camp is Dunbar's Knob from the top of which you get one of the finest panorama views to be seen anywhere. Colonel Dunbar most probably used the top of this Knob as a parade ground. In a recent article we quoted from the address of Captain Hugh A. Gorley, who gave an interesting description of the camp and Knob when he visited the place in 1855.

Plan to give a full afternoon to visit the scenic views and historic landmarks on Chestnut Ridge Mountain. You will be amply repaid.

In close proximity to Dunbar's Camp and Dunbar's Knob is Jumonville. Here was located for a number of years the Pennsylvania Soldier's Orphans School, now occupied as the Good Samaritan Home. You are welcome to the grounds. Excellent meals are served to accommodate tourists. Fifty young people from Crafton, Pa., spent a week-end here recently and took a moon-light hike to historic spots and to Dunbar's Knob.

## WASHINGTON'S FIRST BATTLEFIELD

### Facts Established by Painstaking Study and Survey of History and Locale.

Professor Lacock has remained in Fayette County most of the summer carefully studying, on the ground, Washington's military campaign of 1754. He has walked over the Washington\*Braddock Road from Cumberland, Maryland, to Braddock, Pennsylvania twice, and knows practically every foot of this historic road. He is a careful, thorough and painstaking scholar. He has given special attention this summer to opening and developing Washington's First Battlefield and causing to be erected suitable tablets or markers at Braddock's 20 encampments. Announcements will be made later of the markers to be erected over Labor Day.

Western Pennsylvania is to be congratulated in having had this summer the services of Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart, historian of the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission, now in Europe, and Prof. Lacock, who have contributed so much to our knowledge of the early history of the events that proved epoch making in the world's history.

Prof. Lacock, owing to the numerous inquiries about the circumstances and events connected with Washington's First Battle, has prepared for publication in The Courier, the following data which we feel sure will be read with interest, and which later it is proposed to include in a booklet. - Editor.

#### Part 1.

Lieutenant Colonel George Washington arrived at Great Meadows, May 24, 1754. On the evening of May 27, about 9 P.M., Washington was trustworthily informed that the French, under command of Ensign Coulon De Jumonville, was encamped about eight miles distant. Washington set out before 10 P.M. and arrived at day break at the Great Rock, since known as Half-King's Rock, where Tennacharison, the Half-King, was encamped. It took Washington all night to cross Laurel Hill (Chestnut Ridge) Mountain, a distance of about six miles. The reader must keep in mind the fact that Washington was following the Nemacolin Indian Trail, through the dense and virgin forest on this dark and rainy night. It is one of the most difficult passes of the Allegheny Mountains, unless you know your way and know it well.

Washington, with Christopher Gist as his guide, went over the same route for the first time the year before, 1753.

A council of war was held at the Indian camp, whereupon it was decided to make an attack upon the French at once. The Indians discovered the exact position of Jumonville's encampment where they had ambushed themselves, it would seem, for at least five days. This camp, where the French lie hidden, was about 350 yards to the Eastward and off of Nemaocolin's Trail. Washington, it will be recalled, in 1753, enroute to Fort Le Boeuf, Waterford, Pennsylvania, made his way through 600 miles of wilderness across the Allegheny Mountains, when sent by Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia to the French Commander, St. Pierre, demanding the removal of the French Forts at Presque Isle (Erie, Pa.) and Fort Le Boeuf (Waterford), from what Virginia claimed was her territory. The French commander refused to comply with Governor Dinwiddie's request, hence the result was Washington's military campaign of 1754.

In December, 1931, the owner of Washington's First Battlefield, acquired from Samuel Rosenik three and six-tenths acres of land, including Washington's Rocks, Jumonville's Grave and Washington's First Battlefield. Mr. Rosenik, who is intense in his patriotism and love for the great Washington, said to the present owner, "This land does not belong to me. It belongs to America." A promise to Mr. Rosenik to suitably mark this battle site induced him to convey three and six-tenths acres of ground, to be setv aside as an historic shrine to commemorate the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington. This promise has been fulfilled, the battlefield suitably marked and dedicated, July 17, 1932, after having been hidden in the forest for 178 years. It has been most gratifying to witness the hundreds of people who have visited this sacred spot, and to hear the words of praise that have been expressed. As Mr. Rosenik says, "this battlefield belongs to America."

Additional acerage has since been acquired through the courtesy of M. M. Cochran, Esq., of Uniontown, who donated the owner an additional acre of ground, also secured from Mr. Rosenik.

### Facts Established by Painstaking Study and Survey of History and Locale

#### Part 2. Roadway Entrance to the Battlefield

The entrance to Washington's First Battlefield is situated less than three miles from the Summit Hotel, on the National Road less than nine miles from Uniontown, east. Opposite the Summit Hotel, on Route #40, at the entrance to the township road is a Keystone marker which bears the following inscription:

Washington's First Battlefield - 3 M.  
Jumonville's Grave - 3 M.  
Half King's Rock - 1 M.

#### Dunbar's Camp - 4 M.

At the point on the township road where you enter the woods from the roadway into the battlefield, which is about 600 yards distant, have been erected a Keystone marker and a tablet. The Keystone marker reads:

Washington's First Battlefield  
Washington's Rocks  
Jumonville's Grave

The inscription on the tablet is as follows:

"WASHINGTON'S FIRST BATTLEFIELD"

The Washington-Braddock Road, 1754-1755, is situated about one hundred and fifty yards to the eastward. Washington's First Battlefield, Washington's Rocks, and Jumonville's Grave are located about three hundred yards to the eastward of this famous road.

Horace Walpole said: 'It was the volley fired by a young Virginian, Washington, in the backwoods of America that set the world on fire.'

#### THE WASHINGTON-BRADDOCK ROAD

About 175 yards from the beginning of the roadway entrance to the battlefield is the Washington-Braddock Road. In 1750, Nemacolin, an Indian, blazed for the Ohio Company, a trail from Will's Creek, Cumberland, Maryland, to Gist's Plantation, Mount Braddock, Pa., and from thence to Hangard, Brownsville, Pa. Washington in 1754, widened this Indian trail from Will's Creek to Gist's Plantation, into a road, which became known as Washington's Road - the first road built across the Allegheny Mountains. In 1755, General Edward Braddock widened Washington's Road to Gist's Plantation, and built a new road from Gist's Plantation to Braddock, Penna. This entire road became known as Braddock's Road. From Will's Creek to Gist's Plantation both roads occupy practically the same ground. In other words, Washington's Road began at Will's Creek and ended at Gist's Plantation. Braddock's Road began at Will's Creek and ended about eight miles from Pittsburgh.

#### Entrance to the Battlefield.

Three hundred yards eastward of the Washington-Braddock Road is Washington's First Battlefield. You are still on high ground, less than 75 yards from Washington's Rocks, approaching the battlefield the very way in which Washington did. In plain view is a large boulder, containing a bronze tablet suitably inscribed, and a tablet erected to the unknown Virginia soldier of Washington's company, killed in the battle, May 28, 1754. Below the ledge of rocks, since known as Washington's Rocks, is the picturesque battleground proper, Jumonville's Grave and Hart's Spring.

#### Boulder and Bronze Tablet.

A five-ton boulder, secured less than a mile from the battlefield, bears upon its surface a bronze tablet with the following inscription:

Washington's First Battlefield  
Prelude of the French and Indian War. Lieutenant Colonel  
George Washington in command of a company of Virginia Militia,  
40 in number, assisted by the Half\*king, Tennacharison, and a

company of Indians, surprised, killed, wounded or captured the entire engaged French force under command of Ensign Coulon De Jumonville, hidden below this ledge of Rocks, May 28, 1754.

"This obscure skirmish began the war that set the world on fire." - Francis Parkman.

Erected by the Westmoreland-Fayette Branch of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, July 4, 1932.

#### Washington's Rocks

This ledge of rocks, some 250 feet in length, and 20 feet high, runs almost parallel to and about 100 feet from Dunbar's Run. The source of this run is at the Albert Bushnell Hart Spring, about 400 feet from Jumonville's Grave. Here on the southern end of this ledge of rocks, Washington took position and opened fire on the French, who in turn immediately "flew to arms." The surprise was complete. Washington, gallantly supported by the Half King, soon brought the battle to a successful termination. Apparently there has been little change in the contour of the ground and of the rocks themselves in all these years. The rocks, as seen from the ravine below are most fascinating and picturesque.

#### The Half King's Position

The Half King, Tennacharison, in 1753, accompanied Washington and his party from Logstown, Legionville, Pa., about 18 miles down the Ohio River from Pittsburg, to Fort Le Boeuf, Waterford, Pa. He proved himself a faithful friend of Washington. The Half-King unquestionably in our judgement, took position opposite Washington's Rocks to the eastward of and beyond Dunbar's Run, likewise on high ground. He had however, less than 15 Indians with him on that memorable morning. Washington and the Half-King had the decided advantage both in position and in the fact that the early hour of their arrival - 7 A. M. - was a complete surprise to Jumonville, notwithstanding the security he may have felt in his wonderful hiding place, which could scarcely have been better. Defeat on the part of Jumonville was inevitable. They were simply bottled up in this narrow defile less than 150 feet in width with little or no chance of escape.

#### Facts Established by Painstaking Study and Survey of History and Locale

Part 3.

Sept. 3, 1932.

#### Tablet to the Unknown Virginia Soldier

Washington's loss in the engagement was one killed and three wounded. No notice was ever paid up to this time, it would seem, to this lone Virginian soldier, who lost his life, and was buried at or near the spot where he fell. Washington in a letter to his

brother three days later, said that the right wing of his company, where he himself stood, "was exposed to and received all the enemy's fire, and it was the part where the man was killed, and the rest wounded." The inscription on the tablet, erected by the Great Meadows Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, July 4, 1932, is as follows:

#### Washington's First Battlefield.

This tablet marks the probable site of burial of an unknown Virginian of Washington's command, killed in the engagement between Lieutenant-Colonel George Washington and Ensign Coulon De Jumonville, on the morning of May 28, 1754, in a battle of a quarter of an hour.

"A cannon shot fired in the woods of America was the signal that set all Europe in a blaze." - Voltaire.

#### The Battlefield.

The contending forces fought over a very small area of ground. The battle while it lasted, raged "fast and furious." Washington occupied the ledge of rocks already described, and the Half King the ground east of Dunbar's Run. The French were hemmed in this narrow ravine on three sides by the northern outlet well guarded.

There was in reality little or no chance of escape. The one Canadian soldier of Jumonville's force who made his escape, in the opinion of the writer, did so at the lower or northern end of the battlefield, and, furthermore, it is our contention that he never actually took part in it. It is on the report of this one Canadian French soldier to Contrecoeur, the commanding officer at Fort Duquesne, that the entire French side of the account of the battle rests. Contrecoeur reported to the Governor of Canada, who in turn reported to the French Government. The French historians naturally based their account of the battle on the report made to the home government. This report, according to Washington, was not in accord with the facts and was certainly out of harmony with what actually happened at the time of the battle itself. Each party to the conflict had soldiers killed and each had soldiers wounded. That the French Government did not regard the Jumonville episode with any great degree of malice is shown by the attitude of De Villiers, who commanded the French force against Washington at the Battle of Fort Necessity, five weeks later, July 3, 1754. The friendship of France and of Lafayette toward the American colonists during the Revolutionary War and the American attitude in crossing the ocean to help France during the World War, are noteworthy epochs of amity and friendship between the two nations. The battle site must be visited to be fully appreciated. Here Washington began his military career.

#### Jumonville's Grave.

In 1855, a century after Braddock's expedition Captain Hugh A. Gorley traversed the old Braddock Road from Cumberland, Maryland, to Braddock, Pa. He wrote thus at the time of Jumonville's Grave:

"Deep down in a mountain gorge where the thick foliage prevents

the rays of heaven's sun from penetrating, stands a monument of rough stone over the resting place of the brave and courageous Frenchman, Jumonville - a quiet place for a warrior to rest."

This rough stone marker antedates all other markers, so far as we have been able to discover. Over a quarter of a century ago, a large tree or log with one end resting on the rocks, had attached to it a log of smaller dimensions so placed as to form a cross, a tribute to the soldier dead of France. The rough stone marker at the grave was replaced with a wooden cross, and in 1908, the present marker was erected, which bears the following inscription:

Here lie the mortal remains of N. Coulon De Jumonville, who in command of a company of French regulars was surprised and killed in an engagement with Major George Washington in command of a company of forty provincial troops and Tennacharison, the Half King, in command of a company of friendly Indians on May 28, 1754.

This action was the first conflict at arms between the French and English for supremacy of the Mississippi Valley. Erected July 4, 1908. Under the auspices of the Centennial Celebration Committee, 1904.

The French loss was 10 killed, one wounded, and 21 taken prisoners. The 10 French soldiers including Jumonville, who were killed, were scalped by the Indians. De Villiers says in his journal that when he visited the scene of Jumonville's defeat, five weeks after the battle, on July 3, 1754, that the French dead were unburied. In the very nature of things, the writer has every reason to believe that De Villiers on July 5, en route to Fort Duquesne, caused to be buried, most likely, in one grave, the 10 French soldiers who lost their lives in this battle. As to the exact spot of burial, no one living perhaps absolutely knows. A knowledge of the ground itself and of certain sources would indicate that the position of the present marker has much to be said in its favor, as designating the most probable site of burial of the French dead.

#### Facts Established by Painstaking Study and Survey of History and Locale

Part 4.

Sept. 6, 1932.

Extract from Washington's Writings.

Washington, in a letter to his brother, John Augustine Washington, written three days after the battle with Jumonville, gives an interesting account of his first battle.

"Camp at Great Meadows, 31 May, 1754.

"Since my last letter we arrived at this place, where three days ago we had an engagement with the French, that is, a party of our men with one of theirs. Most of our men were out upon other detachments, so that I had scarcely 40 men remaining under my command, and about 10 or 12 Indians; nevertheless we obtained a most signal victory. The battle lasted about 10 or 13 minutes, with sharp firing on both sides, till the French gave ground and ran, but to no great purpose.

There were twelve of the French killed, among whom was Mons. de Jumonville, their commander, and 21 prisoners, among whom are Mess. La Force, de Druillon, together with two cadets. I have sent them to his honor the Governor, at Winchester, under a guard of 20 men, conducted by Lieutenant West. We had but one man killed, and two or three wounded. Among the wounded on our side was Lieutenant Waggoner, but no danger, it is hoped will ensue. We expect every hour to be attacked by superior force, but if they forebear one day longer, we shall be prepared for them. We have already got entrenchments, and are about a palisado, which I hope will be finished today. The Mingoos have struck the French and I hope - will give a good blow before they have done. I expect 40 odd of them here tonight - which, with our fort and some reinforcements from Colonel Fry, will enable us to exert our noble courage with spirit.

"P. S. I have fortunately escaped without any wounds, for the right wing, where I stood, was exposed to and received all the enemy's fire, and it was the part where the man was killed, and the rest wounded. I heard the bullets whistle, and believe me, there is something charming in the sound."

#### Historian Hart's Views.

Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart, historian of the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission, and Professor Emeritus of Government in Harvard University thus wrote of Washington's First Battle:

"If Washington considered it a battle, I see no actionable crime in insisting in calling it a battle, writing about it as a battle, insisting upon it that it was a battle and fixing upon it the permanent name of 'Washington's First Battlefield'."

This is in line with the statement of Judge Veech, Attorney General for Pennsylvania from 1835-1838.

Judge James Veech and the Jumonville Episode.

Judge Veech after faithfully describing Washington's First Battle said of Jumonville: "This - not Fort Necessity, was really Washington's first battleground; it was Washington's first battle."

#### James Hadden and Jumonville.

James Hadden of Uniontown, who devoted the best years of his life to a study of history of Fayette County, thus wrote of Washington's First Battle at Jumonville:

"This was the first battle in which Washington was ever engaged, and was the initial battle of the great French and Indian War.

Subsequent Events on His Great Meadows Campaign, 1754.

September 7, 1932.

On the day following his successful battle with Jumonville, May 28, 1754, Washington was busy writing letters. He wrote Governor Dinwiddie regarding the importance of the officers receiving their pay, and besides the need of provisions.

The closing sentence of this letter will bear consideration and reflection in order to get a true picture of an army 50 miles from the nearest base of supplies, and that base often without any supply. Woods, woods on all sides and nowhere to get food adequate to feed such an army. Time and time again Washington appealed for food and supplies, but in vain.

The letter which is printed in Fitzpatrick's "Washington's Writings," in part follows:

"I believe it is well known that we have been at the expense of Regimentals (and it is still better known) that Regimentals, and every other necessary, that we were under an indispensable necessity of purchasing for this Expedition, were not to be bought for less in Vir'a curr'y, than British officers could get for sterling money; which they ought to have been, to put upon a parity in this respect. Then Colo. Fairfax observes, that their Table and other Incident charges prevents them from saving much; if they don't save much they have the enjoyment of their Pay, which we neither have in one sense nor the other. We are debarr'd the pleasure of good Living; which, Sir (I dare say with me you will concur) to one who has always been used to it; must go somewhat hard to be confin'd to a little salt provision and water; and do duty, hard, laborious duty, that is almost inconsistent with that of a Soldier, and yet the same Reductions as if he were allow'd luxuriously: ..."

On the same day Washington seems to have given attention to the stockaded fort at Fort Necessity. He had a right to be encouraged after his long and tedious journey from Will's Creek to the Great Meadows and his victory over Jumonville. Over a month had been consumed in building a road and erecting bridges. This was no easy undertaking, with an army of less than 160 men.

He thus wrote Governor Dinwiddie on his chances of success:

"Camp at the Great Meadows, May 29, 1754.

"Your Honour may depend I will not be surprised let them come what hour they will; and that is as much as I can promise, but my best endeavors shall not be wanting to deserve more, I doubt not if you hear I am beaten, but you will at the same (time) hear that we have done our duty in fighting as long (as) there was a possibility of hope."

On June 3, 1754, Washington again wrote Governor Dinwiddie that the fort at Great Meadows had been completed. He said:

"We have just finish'd a small palisado'd Fort, in which, with my small numbers, I shall not fear the attack of 500 men."

Subsequent Events On His Great Meadows Campaign, 1754  
Message From the Half King

September 8, 1932

Washington encamped at the Great Crossing of the Youghiogheny, Somerfield, Pa., from May 18-24. He explored the Youghiogheny river from this point to Ohio-pyle Falls and found that course impractical. On May 23 he received two expresses from his faithful friend, the Half King, warning him of the approach of the French. The next morning, May 24, 1754, he set out for the Great Meadows, his next encampment. Washington describes very graphically the Great Meadows. After his arrival there he sent out at once detachments to ascertain the location of the French. The letter to Governor Dinwiddie, which follows, was written at the Great Meadows, May 27, 1754, the day before Washington's battle with Jumonville.

"G't Meadoys, May 27, 1754.

"Hon'ble Sir: The 25th Ult., by an Express from Colonel Fry, I receiv'd the News of your Honour's arrival at Winchester, and advice of seeing the Half King and other Chiefs of the Six Nations. I have by sundry Speeches and messages invited him, Monacatoocha, &c., to meet me, and have reason to expect he is on his Road, as he only propos'd to settle his People to planting, at a place chosen up Yaugh-aughgane for that purpose, but fearing something might have retarded his March, I immediately, upon the arrival of the Express, despatch'd a Messenger with a speech. He is not returned yet. Ab't four days ago I receiv'd a message from the Half King of which the following is a copy exactly taken:

" 'To the forist, his Majesties Commander Offiverses to hom this meay concern:

" 'On acc't of a Freench armeey to meat Miger Georg Wassiontton therefor my Brotherses I deesir you to be awar of them for deisin'd to strike ye forist English they see 10 days since they march'd I cannot tell what nomber the Half King and the rest of the Chiefs will be with you in five days to consel, no more at present but give my serves to my Brothers the English.

" 'The Half King, John Davison' ."

"This acc't was seconded in the Evening by another that the French were at the x'ing of Yaughyaughgane ab't 18 Miles. (Stewart's Crossing, Connellsville, Pa.) I hereupon hurried to this place as a convenient spot. We have, with Nature's assistance, made a good entrenchment, and, by clearing the Bushes out of these Meadows, prepar'd a charming field for an Encounter. I detach'd, immediately upon my arrival here, small light parties of horse (Wag'n Horses) to reconnoitre the Enemy, and discover their strength and motion, who return'd yesterday with't seeing anything of them nevertheless, we were alarm'd at night, and remain'd under Arms from two o'clock till near Sunrise. We conceive it was our own men, as six of them Deserted, but can't be

certain whether it was them or other Enemys. Be it as it will, they were fired at by the Centrys, but I believe without damage.

"This morning Mr. Gist arriv'd from his place, where a detachment of 50 men, was seen Yesterday at Noon, com'd by Monsr. La Force. He afterwards saw their tracks within five Miles of our Camp. I immediately detach'd 75 Men in pursuit of them, who, I hope, will overtake them before they get to Red Stone where their Canoes Lie. Mr. Gist being an Eye-witness of our proceedings, hereupon and waiting for this with't my knowing till just now that he intended to wait upon your Honr., obliges me to refer your Hon'r to him for particulars. As I expect my Message in to Night from the Half King, I shall write more fully tomorrow by the Express that came from Colonel Fry.

"But before I conclude I must take the Liberty of mentioning to your Honour the gt. necessity there is for having goods out here to give for Services of the Indians; they all expect it and refuse to Scout or do any thing without; saying these Services are paid well by the French. I really think was five or 600 Pounds worth of proper goods sent, it wd. tend more to our Interest than so many thousands given in a Lump at a treaty. I have been obliged to pay shirts for what they have already done which I cannot continue to do.

"The numbers of the French have been greatly magnified, as your Honour may see by a Copy of the enclos'd journal, who I sent out to gain Intelligence. I have receiv'd letters from the Governors of Pennsylvania and Maryland, Copys of which I also send. I am &c."

Previous Events on His Great Meadows Campaign, 1754  
Difficulties of Road Building

September 9, 1932

Little Meadows is located about two miles east of Grantsville, Md. At the east approach to Grantsville is the "Little Crossings," Castlemans River. April 25, 1754, is mentioned as the time when Washington began the building of his road along the Nemaquin Indian Trail. It took him almost a month to make the journey. The distance over the National Road can be covered by automobile in a little over an hour's time.

The year before, 1753, Washington covered the same route with Christopher Gist as his guide, and six others on horseback. Some work must have been previously done on this trail to have made a path wide enough for a pack horse loaded with provisions and other supplies to permit its passage through the virgin forest.

It was a tremendous task to build a road this distance over five mountains, with other elevations that presented just as great obstacles to road building.

Of the difficulties encountered in road building Washington speaks in his letter to Governor Dinwiddie written from the Little Meadows, May 9, 1754, from which the following is an extract:

"Little Meadows, 9th of May, 1754.

"... in the meantime I detached a party of 60 Men to make and

amend the road, which party since ye 25th of Ap'l, and the main body since the 1st Inst't, have been laboriously employ'd, and have got no further than these Meadows, ab't 20 Miles from the new Store; (Will's Creek) where we have been two days making a Bridge across, ("Little Crossings," Castleman River), and are not done yet. The great difficulty and labour that it requires to amend and alter the Roads, prevents our March'g above two, three or four Miles a Day, and I fear (tho' no diligence shall be neglected) we shall be detained some considerable time before it can be made good for the Carriage of the Artillery with Colonel Fry."

"Geo. Washington."

## Christopher Gist's Plantation

September 16, 1932

There is very little known of the early life and history of Christopher Gist. As a youth he aided his father as a surveyor in Maryland. In 1748 the Ohio Company was formed. He began his expeditionary services for this company in 1750 as an agent, explorer and surveyor, at which time he would seem to have just been domiciled in Virginia. He returned to the Yadkin, North Carolina, in 1751, at the close of his trip and found that his home had been destroyed by the Indians, and that his family had moved to Virginia.

In 1752 he went to Logstown near Legionville, about 18 miles from Pittsburg, to attend the conference with the Indians, which resulted in what is known as the "Treaty of Logstown." Sometime, perhaps the earlier part of 1753, he settled on lands at Mount Braddock which is generally spoken of as Gist's Plantation. Over 2,500 acres were included in this settlement.

Washington found Christopher Gist, November 1753, at Will's Creek, (Cumberland, Md.) He accompanied Washington as guide on his mission to Fort Le Boeuf. They traveled on horseback most of the way through over 600 miles of unbroken wilderness. They were, however, obliged to abandon their horses a short distance south of Fort Venango, Franklin, Pa., and walked from that point to Gist's Plantation where Washington purchased a horse from Gist.

Space does not permit our describing the hardships and sufferings these two men endured on this trip. Washington on both the outward and return trip stayed at Gist's new settlement.

The next year, 1754, Gist rendered Washington most valued service as aide in his military campaign in which Washington fought two battles with the French. Again, in 1755, Gist was of great assistance to General Braddock on his campaign against Fort Duquesne. Braddock's eleventh encampment was on Gist's farm. His retreating army also encamped here July 10, 1755. Gist was a great friend of Washington and loyal to the English cause.

Braddock's defeat dissolved the ardour and dreams of the Ohio Company and ended Gist's services as its agent.

He rendered further military service, however, in the Southern States in 1756, 1757, and 1758.

After Forbes took possession of Fort Du Quesne in 1758, Gist resumed possession of his plantation at Mount Braddock, but does not seem to have permanently settled here again, until some time afterward. When he died, where, and his burial place is unknown.

John S. Ritenour, in "Old Tom Fawcett", paid the following tribute to him:

"Throughout his sturdy manhood he was one of the most remarkable characters of the Virginia and Sutherland frontiers - capable, resourceful, bold, courageous, loyal and always just to the natives in his dealings with them. It was these qualities that strengthened the enduring friendship enter-

tained by him for Goerge Washington. Mutually trustful, they relied heavily upon each other, and as often was the case when important work was to be done, either for Washington or for the public authorities, Gist was chosen to do it, and the results he produces always proved the wisdom of the choice ... But in which of these colonies he passed away, or where his ashes lay, no one can say. 'Tis a pity, too, for an appropriate marker should be raised above his dust. But while no palpable monument could add to the luster of his fame, the erection of one by Government decree would indicate his country's appreciation of his services. And who would say that a shaft to his memory should not be raised even now, either by the Federal Government or by Virginia, Maryland or Pennsylvania?"

The suggestion of a suitable marker to commemorate the valued and efficient service that this Christian gentleman rendered to his country and the English cause is worthy of serious consideration, and a tribute justly due him. The erection and unveiling of a tablet at Gist's Plantation on Saturday afternoon at 3 P.M., by the Philip Freeman Chapter, D. A. R., of Connellsville, is a fitting tribute to Christopher Gist and the outstanding historical landmarks of events that took place on his plantation.

This is but another link in the chain of worthwhile historic spots that have been and are being marked to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the birth of George Washington, in Fayette County, and to bring to the front men like Gist, Crawford and scores of others, and events connected therewith which have received the careful scrutiny of able and trained historians.

The marker whose inscription is to follow gives the principal landmarks connected with this beautiful plantation, so wonderfully located:

Philip H. Dewey, Secretary of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg, Pa., who is greatly interested in the history of Pennsylvania and especially in the neglected history of the Western part of the State, has caused to be executed in his department a connected map, 20 feet long, of the war-rantee surveys from the Pennsylvania and Maryland boundary line at Strawn or Oakton on the National Road, to Pittsburg. This map shows all of Washington's and Braddock's encampments, and other historic spots along the route as well. The execution of the map is a masterpiece of skillful draughtmanship.

Prof. John Kennedy Lacock, who 24 years ago conducted a walking expedition over the Washington-Braddock Road, with a view to relocating and preserving to posterity this historic highway, is responsible for this undertaking, and received from Mr. Dewey his cooperation and support as a part of the service his department was able to render to further commemorate the 200th anniversary of the birth of George Washington.

The Braddock Road is clearly indicated on all the surveys in this vicinity as well as the Burd Road which is shown to have intersected Braddock's Road less than a half mile eastward of Gist's home, and near Gist's field cabin, a picture or drawing of which cabin is shown on the survey.

The magnificent stone house was built in 1802 on Gist's Plantation by Isaac Meason. This house is an outstanding landmark of Western Penn-

sylvania history. The house consists of 18 large rooms, with two stone buildings on either end of the house. It reminds one of General Robert E. Lee's mansion in Virginia. Every room has a magnificent fireplace. The rooms are large and commodious, with ceilings at least 14 feet from the floor. The cellar under the entire house contains several fireplaces. The whole structure gives evidence of its being one of the finest homes erected in our country. To visit the house and go through it, as will be your privilege next Saturday, when you will be convinced of its magnificence, its architecture, and its beautiful surroundings. A stone block or structure with steps stands in front of the house from which one could easily mount a horse, for which purpose it was used in earlier days.

The Philip Freeman Chapter, D. A. R., extends a most cordial invitation to one and all to attend, tomorrow afternoon, the unveiling of their tablet which contains the following inscription:

WASHINGTON-BRADDOCK ROAD

1754-1755.

Camp at Gist's Plantation.

Christopher Gist was one of the earliest settlers west of the Alleghenies. He was Washington's guide to Fort Le Boeuf 1753, and aided him in his military campaign of 1754. Washington stayed at Gist's November 18, 1753 and January 2, 3, 1754. He, in June, 1754, built an entrenchment here. De Villiers camped here July 2, 1754, and on July 5 he demolished the Fort and burned the houses. Braddock's Army camped at Gist's June 27, and July 10, 1755. Burd's Road joined the Braddock Road near Gist's Field Cabin.

This tablet is erected to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the birth of George Washington, by the Philip Freeman Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, September 17, 1932.

#### Christopher Gist as Guide to Washington

September 17, 1932

Washington with Christopher Gist as his guide set out on his expedition to Fort Le Boeuf, from Will's Creek, Cumberland, Maryland, November 15, 1753. They returned to Will's Creek January 6, 1754. Ten days later, January 16, 1754, Washington reached Williamsburg, Virginia. Washington records in his journal "the sixth (January 6, 1754), we met 17 horses loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the Forks of the Ohio, and the day after, some families going out to settle."

These settlers were sent out by the Ohio Company. This action unquestionably had not only the approval of Governor Dinwiddie, but his unqualified endorsement and support. To secure the Ohio Company's lands in this vicinity, the necessity of building a fort at the confluence of the Allegheny and the Monongahela rivers had become evident.

This matter had been decided before Washington's return to Williamsburg.

The following letter from J. M. Toner's "Journal of Washington," describes the capture of the fort that had been built at the Forks of the Ohio by the company of Virginians whom Washington had met while returning from his fruitless mission to the commander of the French at Fort Le Boeuf:

"April 20th Came down to Colonel Cresap's to order the detachment, and on my Route, had notice that the Fort was taken by the French. That news was confirmed by Mr. Ward, the Ensign of Captain Trent, who had been obliged to surrender to a Body of one thousand French and upwards, under the command of Captain Contrecoeur, who was come from Venango Presque Isle (c) with sixty bateaux, and three hundred canoes, and who having planted eighteen pieces of Cannon against the Fort, afterwards had sent him a Summons to withdraw.

"Mr. Ward also informed me that the Indians kept steadfastly attached to our Interest. He brought two young Indian men with him, who were Mingoes that they might have the satisfaction to see that we were marching with our troops to their succor."

It will thus be seen that Washington was apprised of the fact that Ensign Ward with 41 men was compelled to leave the Fort, which was completed by the French, and named Fort DuQuesne.

## Washington and a Second Campaign Against the French

September 19, 1932

Washington stood firm in his position that it was unwise to send a second expedition against the French at Fort Duquesne the same year. He had suffered a plenty for the cause of Virginia and the English in his expedition to Fort Le Boeuf in 1753, and in his military campaign of 1754. The question of rank was a humiliation to his pride. He handled the situation in the matter of the officers of the South Carolina company with great tact. That company would do no road cutting.

In a letter written after the conclusion of the campaign in 1754 he stated his position to Governor Dinwiddie. The following letter printed in Hitzpatrick's "Washington's Writings," is a brief statement on the same subject with a hint at the sacrifices he had already made.

"Besides, Sir, If I had time, I could enumerate many good reasons, that forbid all thoughts of my returning; and which to you, or any other, would, upon the strictest scrutiny, appear to be well founded. I must be reduced to a very low Command, and subjected to that of many who have acted as my inferior Officers. In short, Every Captain, bearing the King's Commission, every half-pay Officer, or other, appearing with such a commission, would rank before me, for these reasons I choose to submit to the loss of Health which I have, however, already sustained, (not to mention that of Effects,) and the fatigue I have undergone in our first Efforts; rather than subject myself to the same inconveniences and run the risque of a second disappointment.

"I shall have the consolation of knowing, that I have opened the way when the smallness of our numbers exposed us to the attacks of a superior Enemy; that I have hitherto stood the heat and brunt of the Day, and escaped untouched in time of extreme danger; and that I have the Thanks of my Country, for the Services I have rendered it,"

## Washington's Protest Against a Second French Campaign in 1754

September 20, 1932

Governor Dinwiddie, notwithstanding the unfavorable outcome of the battle at Fort Necessity, was determined to send another military expedition the same year against Fort Duquesne. He never seemed to comprehend the hardships incident to conducting an army through the virgin forest, 130 miles from Will's Creek, Cumberland, Md., which was then the outpost of civilization, as it were, and nearest to Fort Duquesne.

Washington, as we have seen, suffered all sorts of hardships in his military campaign of 1754. He lacked troops, food supplies, and all kinds of munitions of war. Why should he expose himself and a handful of men to the onslaught of an overwhelming French force? Furthermore, there was the signed treaty of Fort Necessity.

In his letter of August 11, 1754, written from Alexandria, Va., to Governor Dinwiddie, upon the receipt of orders to return to the contest against the French, Washington protested against the effort being made at that time. This letter, which appears in Fitzpatrick's "Washington Writings," follows in part:

"Thus, Sir, you will see I am ordered, with the utmost dispatch, to repair to Will's Creek with the regiment; to do which under the present circumstances, is an impracticable, as it is (as far as I can see into the thing) to dispossess the French of their Fort; both of which, with our means, are morally impossible.

"The Governor observes, that, considering the state of our forces at present, it is thought advisable to move our forces immediately to dispossess the French. Now that very reason, 'the state of our forces,' is alone sufficiently opposed to the measure, without a large addition to them. Consider, I pray you, Sir, under what unhappy circumstances the men at present are, and their numbers, compared with those of the enemy, are so inconsiderable, that we should be harrassed and drove from place to place at their pleasure. And to what end would the building of a Fort be, unless we could proceed as far as Redstone, where we should have to take water, and where the enemy can come with their artillery, &c., I cannot see, unless it be to secure a retreat, which we should have no occasion for, were we to go out in proper force and properly provided, which I aver cannot be done this fall."

Washington's Protest Against a Second French Campaign in 1754 .

September 21, 1932.

Governor Dinwiddie's lack of the geography around Fort Duquesne is surprising. Washington makes clear the absurdity of such an expedition as Dinwiddie insisted upon at that time with inferior numbers. Judging from his former campaign, Washington stated that little dependable help could be expected from the Indians.

The following letter is a most sensible view of the then existing conditions of this side of the Alleghenies, when Washington set forth his reasons against an attack on Logstown in the autumn of 1754. His letter of August 12, to Dinwiddie was as follows:

"His Honour also asks, whether it is practicable to destroy the corn at the fort and at Logstown? At this question I am a little surprised when it is known we must pass the French fort and the Ohio to get to Logstown, and how this can be done with inferior numbers, under the disadvantages we labour, I see not; and, of the ground of hope, we may engage a sufficient party of Indians for this undertaking, I have no information, nor have I any conception; for it is well known, that notwithstanding the expresses, that the Indians sent to one another, and all the pains that Montour and Croghan (who, by vainly boasting of their interests with the Indians, involved the country in great calamity, by causing dependance to be placed where there was none) could take, never could induce above 30 fighting men to join us, and not more than one half of those serviceable upon any occasion.

" .... Again, were our men ever so willing to go, for want of the proper necessities of life they are unable to do it; the chief part are almost naked, and scarcely a man has either shoes, stockings, or hat. These things the merchants will not credit them for; the country has made no provision; they have not money themselves, and it cannot be expected, that the officers will engage for them again, personally, having suffered greatly already on this head; especially now, when we have all the reason in the world to believe, they will desert whenever they have an opportunity. There is not a man who has a blanket to secure him from cold or wet. Ammunition is a material article, and that is to come from Williamsburg, or wherever the Governor can procure it. An account must be first sent of the quantity which is wanted; this added to the carriage up, with the necessary tools, &c., that must be had, as well as the time of bringing them round, will, I believe, advance us into that season when it is usual in more moderate climates, to retreat into Winter Quarters, but here, with us, to begin a campaign."

Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, 1751-1757.  
September 22, 1932

Robert Dinwiddie was appointed lieutenant governor of Virginia, July 20, 1751. He arrived in America on November following. He went back to England in 1758. His term of office covered a period that had much to do with the early history of Western Pennsylvania, from 1751 to 1758.

Constant reference has been made in this series of articles to Washington's official correspondence, during the years of 1753 and 1754, with Governor Dinwiddie.

The following biographical sketch of the Governor is from a foot note in J. M. Toner's "Journal of Washington," for 1754:

"Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia from 1751-57, was born near Glasgow, Scotland, 1693; died near Clifton, England, August 1st, 1770. Having been favored with a good education, he was disciplined to the counting-house and commerce. December 1st, 1727, he was appointed Collector of Customs in the Island of Bermuda, which position he held, under successive commissions, until April 11th, 1738, when, in recognition of his ability and fidelity, he was appointed 'Surveyor-General of Customs of the Southern Ports on the Continent of America.' In this office he was named, as his predecessor had been, a member of the Councils of the American Colonies. This mandate was recognized by Governor Gooch of Virginia, but the claim was resisted by the Councilors, who refused to allow him to sit with them and transmitted a remonstrance to the King, asking for his exclusion. The Board of Trade in May, 1742, advised that the royal purpose should be adhered to in the matter. He was specially commissioned August 17th, 1743, Inspector-General to examine into the duties and the collection of customs of the Island of Barbadoes and discovered flagrant frauds. In 1749 he appears to have resided in England as a merchant. He was appointed as Lieutenant-Governor

of Virginia July 20th, 1751; and, on his arrival in November following, was warmly welcomed by the State officials.

"Under his administration the attempt was begun to expel the French from the head of the Ohio Valley, at Fort Duquesne. He was a zealous and vigilant officer, and early discerned the capabilities of George Washington, whom he appointed Adjutant\*General of a military district. He was a loyalist of the sternest stamp. In 1754 he suggested to the British Board of Trade, taxation of the Colonies to raise funds for military defenses, and in 1755 was one of the five Lieutenant-Governors who memorialized the Ministry to the same purpose. He left the Colony in 1758, worn out with vexation, with the cares of office and with age. He was very meddlesome in military matters, and seemed at times ungenerous enough to be jealous of the popularity of Washington, which left an unpleasant memory behind him. (Drake, also Brock, in the Dinwiddie Papers.)

## FORT NECESSITY

### Terms of Capitulation and Share of Captain Van Braam in the Proceedings

September 27, 1932.

Washington, on his mission to Fort Le Boeuf in 1753, was accompanied by Christopher Gist as his guide, Jacob Van Braam as French interpreter, John Davidson as Indian interpreter and four others. Van Braam must have been acceptable to Washington on this expedition or he would not have accompanied him on his military campaign of 1754.

In the latter expedition Van Braam was raised to the rank of captain. When a parley was desired by the French at Fort Necessity July 3, 1754, Captain Van Braam and Ensign Peyroni, a Frenchman, according to Washington's report to Governor Dinwiddie (Virginia Gazette, July 19, 1754), were sent to confer with the French. Most accounts say that Ensign Peyroni had been dangerously wounded and could not possibly have been active in that capacity. The very fact that Van Braam was severely criticized by Washington for his wrong translation of French to him, gives color to the view that Van Braam was doubtless the sole representative of Washington. It is understood, I presume, that the terms of capitulation (or agreement) were in French and were signed by MacKay, Washington and De Villiers.

Washington's criticism of Captain Van Braam is severe enough. The writer has a strong conviction that, perhaps, Washington was a little too severe with Captain Van Braam, as evidenced by the statements that follow. We quote from the "Journal of George Washington," edited by J. M. Toner, M. D.:

"Captain Jacob Van Braam, a native of Holland, was trained to arms and served under Admiral Vernon in the Carthage Expedition, in the same department of the British army with Major Lawrence Washington. Having heard much from the Virginia regiment in favor of the land of promise in Virginia, at the end of his military engagement, he removed there and was engaged to some extent in teaching military tactics. Jacob Van Braam was a Mason and attended the same lodge in Fredericksburg at which Washington became a member of that order; both are recorded as present at a meeting September 1st, 1753.

"Major George Washington, when starting on his journey in the fall of 1753 to deliver Governor Dinwiddie's letter or summons to the French commandant on the Ohio, found Capt. Van Braam at Fredericksburg, and engaged him as an attendant on the journey. He again served under Washington in the expedition to the Ohio in 1754, enlisting as a Lieutenant, but, having seen much service, he acted in the capacity of a Captain, to which rank he was advanced and proved himself efficient. Captain Van Braam and Captain Stobo, both of whom were in the engagement at the Great Meadows and the capitulation of Fort Necessity, July 3, 1754, were retained as hostages by the French. From an unfortunate miswording in his translation to Washington of the articles of surrender, and particularly in the expression 'assassination,' which he

rendered 'killing,' of Jumonville, who fell in the skirmish of May 28th, 1754, Van Braam has been much censored, and his fidelity to the British cause has even been questioned."

Continuing his narrative, Dr. Toner thus relates the incidents of the negotiations with the French:

"Captain Van Braam was at the time the only available officer with Washington who could speak French, and he was therefore sent to see what communication they desired to make. Ensign Peyroni, a Frenchman by birth, in the Virginia regiment, had a short time before been dangerously wounded, and was then incapable of rendering any service. Captain Van Braam returned in a short time, accompanied by M. le Mercier, a French officer, bringing a verbal proposition from the French commander, De Villiers, for granting a capitulation to the troops in 'Fort Necessity.'

"General De Villiers professed to be animated by a desire for peace, and proceeded on the theory that France and England were not at war; that he was on the rightful and long-recognized possessions of his Christian Majesty, the King of France; that it was unnatural for him to make prisoners of the soldiers of the friendly power, and he was therefore prepared to grant honorable conditions to the English, in the nature of a summons to depart.

"Washington had by no means despaired of making a successful defense against an assault, but he had witnessed with sorrow the loss of his horses and beef cattle by their escape and by their slaughter during the engagement; he was conscious, too, of his insufficient stock of provisions and the scanty ammunition he had to rely upon in case of a seige.

"The proposal and the conditions suggested were verbally reported to Washington and his officers by Captain Van Braam. Objections being made to certain propositions, Captain Van Braam and le Mercier were twice sent back to de Villiers for conferences. When finally an understanding was reached, they returned the third time with the articles of capitulation reduced to writing, but in French. No English version or translation of the agreement was made in writing, Van Braam undertaking to translate verbally the articles and terms of agreement by word of mouth, and by the aid of the light of a single tallow candle. The first proposition had stipulated for the surrender to the French of all the artillery and military stores. This was objected to by Washington and readily modified to the destruction of the artillery."

Terms of Capitulation and Share of Captain Van Braam  
in the Proceedings (continued).

September 28, 1932

In the "Pennsylvania Historical Society Memoirs," Vol. V, Sargeant comments on Captain Van Braam, in a foot-note on page 53, in these words:

" ..... As for Van Braam, his career is still more obscure. De-nounced as a traitor for his agency in the capitulation of Fort Necessity, it must not be forgotten that three weeks before the surrender, Washington (to whom he had served as interpreter on the mission of 1753), pronounced him "an experienced, good officer, and very worthy of the command he has enjoyed:" that he consented to going as a hostage to the French, with the certainty of his fraud being soon discovered by his own party, had he committed one; that he was detained rather as a prisoner than a hostage; and that he risked his life to return to England. These facts do not exculpate him from the charge of imbecility, but they are inconsistent with the assumption of his deliberate treason. In 1770, too, it would appear that he claimed his share of the Virginia bounty lands, with Washington as Commissioner; and on 14th June, 1777, was made major of the Third Battalion of the 60th Foot, or Royal Americans, then stationed in the West Indies."

In Worthington C. Ford's, "Writings of Washington," Volume 1, we read: "Mr. Sparks says that Van Braam never returned to Virginia; but the editor of the Dinwiddie Papers writes that 'he was retained in captivity until the surrender of Montreal in September 1760, when he returned to Virginia. His services were recognized in the allotment by George Washington, as Commissioner of Virginia, of 9,000 acres of land in 1771; and on July 14, 1777, he was made a major of the 3rd battalion of the 60th Foot of Royal Americans, then stationed in the West Indies."

The Virginia Gazette under date of November 8, 1770, announced the arrival in town of Captain Van Braam.

The terms of capitulation were first printed in French. Then months afterwards appeared an English translation, to which Washington's attention was called. In Washington's Writings, ' W. C. Ford, editor, Volume 1, Washington sets himself clear on what he thought he was signing. One of the reasons why De Villiers wanted to command the French force against Washington at the Battle of Fort Necessity was to avenge the death of his half brother, Jumonville, who had been killed May 28, 1754.

Had Washington known that the French word for assassination was used he never would have signed the agreement of capitulation in that form. One can readily see how De Villiers must have boasted over this fact. On the other hand, how inconsistent, if he believed it to be so, to allow his opponent, Washington, to march out of Fort Necessity on the morning of July 4, 1754, with the honors of war, flags flying and drums beating. An assassin would hardly have been accorded that honor.

Washington's answer to the English translation of the terms of capitulation, as given in Ford's "Washington's Writings", follows:

"Short as my time is, I cannot help remarking on Villier's account of the battle of, and transactions at, the Meadows, as it is very extraordinary, and not less erroneous than inconsistent. He says the French received the first fire. It is well known, that we received it at six hundred paces' distance. He also says, our fears obliged us to retreat in a most disorderly manner after the capitulation. How is this consistent with his other account? He acknowledged, that we sustained the attack warmly from 10 in the morning until dark, and that he called first to parley, which strongly indicates that we were not totally absorbed in fear. If the gentleman in his account had adhered to the truth, he must confess, that we looked upon his offer to parley as an artifice to get into and examine our trenches, and refused on this account, until they desired an officer might be sent to them, and gave their parole for his safe return. He might also, if he had been as great a lover of the truth as he was of vainglory, have said, that we absolutely refused their first and second proposals, and would consent to capitulation on no other terms than such as we obtained (That we were willfully, or ignorantly, deceived by our interpreter in regard to the word assassination, I do aver, and will to my dying moment; so will every officer that was present. The interpreter was a Dutchman, little acquainted with the English tongue, therefore might not advert to the tone and meaning of the word in English; but, whatever his motives were for so doing, certain it is, he called it the death, or loss, of Sieur Jumonville. So we received and so we understood it, until, to our great surprise and mortification, we found it otherwise in a literal translation.")

Difficulties Washington Faced; Background of the  
Campaign; Van Braam Defended.

September 29, 1932.

The reader now has before him the main statement of facts about Captain Van Braam and his part in the terms of capitulation at Fort Necessity. The writer is strongly of the opinion that Captain Van Braam never meant to be disloyal to Washington, nor would he have intentionally deceived him by having him sign such an agreement as would make him an assassin. It was not intentional at all. Van Braam knew little French and not too much English.

There is a background to this whole affair that ought to be taken into consideration. Washington arrived at Great Meadows May 24, 1754. He fought his first battle eight miles distant, with Jumonville, May 28, 1754, which was a great victory. He immediately returned to Great Meadows. There he built a stockade fort surrounded in part with a shallow trench. He continued cutting a road from the Great Meadows to Gist's Plantation at Mount Braddock, a distance of about 13 miles, where he threw up entrenchments, also some work was undertaken on a road from Gist's to the Hangard at Brownsville. June 30, 1754, it was decided to go back to Fort Necessity. So the evening of July 1, found Washington's entire force entrenched at the Great Meadows, where it was decided to make a stand against the approaching French army.

July 2, Washington did what he could to strengthen his position at the Great Meadows. July 3, 1754, at 11 A. M. the battle was on. Washington's men were literally and physically worn out. Road building in this mountaineous country is a serious business. Furthermore oft-times the food supply was extremely short.

The battle of Fort Necessity was fought in a driving down pour of rain. Just visualize Washington within the confines of that small fort with 300 men, in the mud and mire with the dead and wounded of his regiment, according to his report, numbering 100. The battle lasted from 11 A. M. to 8 P. M. All night long they remained within the fort, without perhaps not a dry stitch on them in this wretched condition. No wonder the next day their march did not exceed three miles. Words are inadequate to describe the movement of Washington's army as they returned homeward on the morning of July 4, 1754.

Van Braam, amidst this downpour, conducted the terms of agreement for the English with a flickering tallow candle for a light. Reference has already been made to the casks of whisky that were destroyed by DeVilliers on the morning of July 4, 1754. This was no reflection on Washington, indeed, whisky seemed almost as essential to carrying on the work they were called upon to perform. When Sir John St. Clair was cutting the Forbes Road in 1758, across the Allegheny Mountain, he wrote Colonel Bouquet that "It is diabolical work. Whisky must be had."

Now, all things considered, Van Braam may have had a drink or two too many. It does not seem improbable. The very name "Van Braam" would suggest that, at least, he would not have refused a little drink

under these unfavorable atmospheric conditions. Many know, if not by experience, by observation, that an over indulgence of a "cup of Tea" of this brand is likely, as Shakespeare puts it "to steal away our brains."

My readers, you can believe as little as as much on this head as you please. Time and space do not permit further comment. Think it over. There is no such thing as perfection in this world. We are all liable to error. What we have tried to do as "Amos and Andy" might put it, is to "check and double check," so as to give to one and all their just dues in light of the evidence and a common sense view of the matter.

Sargent, in the "Pennsylvania Historical Society Memoirs," Volume V, gives a rather faithful account of Washington's preparation at Gist's plantation to return to Fort Necessity and the obstacles he had to encounter to get his army in a position to resist the expected attack of the French on this crude defense. Sargent says:

" .... Apprised now of the enemy's overwhelming force, a second council on the 30th of June resolved, with one voice, to retreat to their former position at the Great Meadows. Two miserable teams and a few pack horses being all their means of transporting their ammunition, the officers at once added their own steeds to the train; and leaving half his baggage behind, Washington, for four pistols, hired some of the soldiers to carry the remainder. For 12 weary miles over the Alleghenies did the Virginians drag their own seven swivels that formed their park; the Independents obstinately refusing to bear any share of the burden, whether of drawing guns, carrying ammunition, or clearing the road. On the 1st of July, the party arrived at the Great Meadows in such a state of fatigue that, unless their stores were abandoned, it was absolutely necessary for them to pause there for a few days. They had plenty of milch-cows for beef, but no salt to cure their meat, so it was not possible to lay in a stock of salt provisions; and as for bread, though they had been eight days without it, the convoy from the settlements brought but a few bags of flour, not more than enough for five days. But learning that the two Independent Companies of New York had arrived at Annapolis on the 20th of June, they concluded to make a stand here, in hope of receiving a speedy reinforcement. The spot selected for the works was well chosen; and to these rude defenses was given the suggestive title of Fort Necessity. To Robert Stobo, a captain in the Virginia Regiment, the merit of being their contriver is attributable. The fort was a log breastwork 100 feet square, surrounded in part by a shallow ditch; and was commenced immediately on Washington's arrival....."

## Washington's First Account of the Battle

October 1, 1932

Washington, in accordance with the terms of capitulation, marched out of Fort Necessity, July 4, 1754, and proceeded straightway to Will's Creek, Cumberland, Md., and thence to Williamsburg, Virginia, to report to Governor Robert Dinwiddie. The Virginia Gazette under date of July 19, 1754, would seem to have been the first paper to have published Washington's First account of the battle of Fort Necessity.

The Fort Necessity Chapter Sons of the American Revolution, have contributed their full share to the Fort Necessity project, sometimes under most trying circumstances.

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania acquired 313.012 acres from Walter Fazenbaker and wife for which Legislature had appropriated \$25,000. This tract of land includes Great Meadows, Fort Necessity and the Mount Washington House, which has been designated as the Fort Necessity Museum. The Forest and Waterways Department hold title to the land. Two acres of the land which includes the new palisaded fort, which was dedicated July 3, 1932, was ceded to the United States Government, and is under the direct supervision of the War Department. Next year, 1933, it is expected that the Federal Government will erect a suitable memorial on the ground. Congress appropriated \$25,000 for a suitable memorial.

A large edition of the fac-simile issue of the Virginia Gazette, referred to above, has been published by the Sons of the American Revolution of Uniontown. It is a four page paper. At the bottom of page one, the S.A.R. have caused to be printed the following statement:

"This copy is a fac-simile of the Virginia Gazette of July 19, 1754. It contains Washington's account of the Battle of Fort Necessity, the first ever published."

"The copy was found in a preserved file in London after a search of eight months, by the Fort Necessity Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution."

Historical students would have appreciated a statement of the exact place in London where the paper is on file.

Washington's account of his engagement at Fort Necessity which is found on page two and three, follows:

"Williamsburg, July 19.

" On Wednesday last arrived in Town, Colonel George Washington and Captain James Maccay, who gave the following Account to his Honour the Governor, of the late Action between them and the French, at the Great Meadows, in the Western Parts of this Dominion.

" The third of this Instant July, about 9 o'Clock, we received Intelligence that the French, having been reenforced with 700 Recruits, had left Monongahela, and were in full March with 900 Men to attack us. Upon this, as our Numbers were so unequal, (our whole force not exceeding 300) we prepared for our defense in the best Manner we could, by

throwing up a small Intrenchment, which we had not Time to perfect, before our Centinel gave Notice, about Eleven o'Clock, of their Approach, by firing his Piece, which he did at the Enemy, and as we learned afterwards killed three of their Men, on which they began to fire upon us, at about 600 Yards Distance, but without any Effect: We immediately called all our Men to their Arms, and drew up in Order before our Trenches; but as we looked upon this distant Fire of the Enemy only as an Artifice to intimidate or draw our Fire from us, we waited their nearest Approach before we returned their Salute. They then advanced in a very irregular Manner to another Point of Woods, about 60 yards off, and from thence made a second Discharge; upon which, finding they had no Intention of attacking us in the open Field, we retired into our Trenches, and still reserved our Fire; as we expected from their great superiority of Numbers, that they would endeavor to force our Trenches; but finding they did not seem to intend this neither, the Colonel gave orders to fire, which was done with great Alacrity and Undauntedness. We continued this unequal Fight, with an Enemy sheltered behind the trees, ourselves without Shelter, in Trenches full of Water, in a settled Rain, and the Enemy galling us on all sides incessantly from the Woods, till 8 o'Clock at Night, when the French called to Parley: From the great Improbability that such a vastly superior Force, and possessed of such an Advantage, would offer a Parley first, we suspected Deceit, and therefore refused to consent that they should come among us; on which they desired us to send an Officer to them, and engaged their Parole for his Safety; we then sent Capt. Jacob Van Braam, and Mr. Peyronee, to receive their Proposals, which they did, and about Midnight we agreed that each side should retire without Molestation, they back to their Fort at Monongahela, and we to Mill's Creek; That we should march away with all the Honours of War, and with all our Stores, Effects and Baggage. Accordingly, the next Morning with our Drums beating and our Colours flying, we began our March in good Order, with our Stores, &c. in Convoy; but we were interrupted by the Arrival of a Reinforcement of 100 Indians among the French, who were hardly restrained from attacking us, and did us considerable Damage by pilfering our Baggage. We then proceeded, but soon found it necessary to leave our Baggage and Stores; the great Scarcity of our Provisions obliged us to use the utmost Expedition, and having neither Waggons nor Horses to transport them. The Enemy had deprived us of all our Creatures; by killing, in the Beginning of the Engagement, our Horses, Cattle, and every living Thing they could, even to the very Dogs. The Number of the Killed on our Side was thirty, and seventy wounded; among the former was Lieutenant Mercier, of Captain Maccay's independent Company; a gentleman of true military Worth, and whose Bravery would not permit him to retire, though dangerously wounded, till a second Shot disabled him, and a third put an End to his Life, as he was carrying to the Surgeon. Our Men behaved with singular Intrepidity, and we determined not to ask for Quarter but with our Bayonets screw'd-to sell our lives as dearly as possibly we could. From the Numbers of the Enemy, and our situation, we could not hope for Victory; and from the Character of those we had to encounter we expected no Mercy, but on Terms that we positively resolved not to submit to.

" The Number killed and wounded of the Enemy is uncertain, but by the information given by some Dutch in their Service to their Count-rymen in ours, we learn that it amounted to above three hundred; and we are induced to believe it must be very considerable, by their being busy all night in burrying their Dead, and yet many remained the next day; and their Wounded we know was considerable, by one of our Men, who had been made Prisoner by them after signing the articles, and who, on his Return told us, that he saw great Numbers much wounded and carried off upon Litters.

" We were also told by some of their Indians after the action, that the French had an Officer of distinguishable Rank killed. Some considerable Blow they must have received to induce them to call first for a parley, knowing, as they perfectly did, the Circumstances we were in.

"Capt. M'Taggart, from the Isle of May, and the Bogle, Capt. Montgomerie, from Glasgow, are arrived at Hampton.

"Capt. M'Taggart informs us, That the Buchaman of Glasgow, Capt. Colqhoun, loaded with Salt, for Patowmack, founded within a few Leagues of the Isle of May; the Captain and all the Crew saved.

"Col. Washington, and Capt. Maccay, left Capt. Clarke at Winchester on the 11th last, and his men were not then arrived there.

"Thus have a few brave Men been exposed, to be butchered, by the Negligence of those who, in Obedience to their Sovereign's Command, ought to have been with them many Months' before; and it is evidently certain, that had the Companies from New York been as expeditious as Capt. Maccay's from South Carolina, our Camp would have been secure from the Insults of the French, and our brave Men still alive to serve their King and Country.

"Surely, this will remove the Infatuation that seems to have prevailed too much among our Neighbors, and inforce a late ingenious Emblem well worthy of their Attention and Consideration."

October 3, 1932: The Chairman of the Fort Necessity Memorial Committee unearthed a copy of the same account with some slight variations or explanations, as appeared in the South Carolina Gazette, August 22, 1754, a little over four weeks later, and which would have seemed to be copied from the Virginia Gazette. The additional matter published in the South Carolina Gazette is, in reality, an explanatory note of the word "emblem." This is certainly not apparent as the entire article, published by the Fort Necessity Association, is in the same font of type.

The emblem here mentioned, was a figure of a snake (exhibited in the Pennsylvania Gazette and other Northern newspapers) divided into eight pieces, with these words under the pieces, "Join or Die." At the top of this flyer or leaflet is the sentence, "Transcription of text of Washington's report, made in 1754, photographically reproduced on the reverse side." Then follows the text of Washington's report.

On the reverse side of this leaflet or flyer is the following:  
"Fac-simile of the South Carolina Gazette, August 22, 1754, containing the first report of Washington's battle at Fort Necessity."

"This photograph is from a copy of the publication in the Charleston, South Carolina, Library. The text never before has been published and was uncovered in research in connection with the Fort Necessity Memorial now in progress. Transcription printed on the reverse side."

The transcription is set up in very clear type, but is not a too faithful reproduction as can be seen by a careful comparison with the fac-simile photographic copy with words and punctuations omitted. It would have added much to the value of the transcription had the emblem referred to in the Pennsylvania Gazette had have been reproduced with Washington's account of the battle.

The two paragraphs near the end of the account as published in the Virginia Gazette, about Captain M'Taggart are out of place and have nothing to do with Washington's report.

It is noteworthy that Captain MacKay of the Independent Company of South Carolina, accompanied Washington to Williamsburg. Washington said that his whole force did not exceed 300, and that from the intelligence he had received the French force to attack him was 900. The numbers here given are quite at variance with those on the bronze tablet erected within the reconstructed Fort Necessity by the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, which states that Washington's command consisted of 400 Virginians and South Carolina troops, while DeVilliers entire force numbered 1,600.

Washington states the number killed and wounded was uncertain. All things considered it would have seemed difficult for Washington to ascertain anything like a reliable account on this head. Other reasons will be given later. DeVilliers in his journal reported:

"All I lost in this attack, were, two men killed and one Pany (the name of an Indian), seventeen wounded; two whereof are Indians, exclusive of a number of slightly wounded, as to have no occasion for the Surgeon."

Report of Col Innes to Gov. Hamilton of Pennsylvania

October 4, 1932

Colonel James Innes, on the death of Colonel Joshua Fry, May 31, 1754, was made commander-in-chief of all Virginia forces.

On July 12, 1754, he wrote Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania giving an account of the Battle of Fort Necessity. This letter was written, it would seem, before Washington reached Williamsburg to report to Governor Dinwiddie. The main facts are the same as set forth in Washington's report to the Governor. It is reasonable to infer that Washington must have seen Colonel Innes somewhere between Wills Creek and Williamsburg, Va.

The letter of Colonel Innes was printed in the "Minutes of the Provincial Council, 1754-1756, State of Pennsylvania" (1851), Vol. VI, page 51. It follows, in part:

" . . . On the Third of July the French, with about Nine Hundred Men and considerable body of Indians, came down upon our Encampment, and continued to fire from all Quarters from eleven in the morning till night, when the French called out to our People they would give them good Conditions if they would capitulate, a Copy of which I hear enclose you.

"After the Capitulation the French demolished the Works, and in some time after retired to the Ohio, taking Two Captains as Hostages along with them. We all know the French are a People that never pay any Regard to Treaties longer than they find them consistent with their Interest, and this Treaty they broke immediately by letting the Indians demolish and destroy every thing our People had, especially the Doctor's Box, that our Wounded should meet with no Relief. In this action it is said We had about one hundred killed and wounded, a Third whereof is supposed to be killed: it is reported We killed double the Number of the French. If this does not alarm the neighboring Governments, nothing can, and I make no doubt but the French will soon claim this fine Body of Land as their Right of Conquest, if We do not immediately raise a sufficient force to convince them of the contrary. What I can learn of their Forces is, that they had Seven Hundred in their First Division, Eight Hundred in their next, and Five Hundred in the last, not as yet joined, which with their Indians makes a considerable Body."

Report of Governor Dinwiddie to Lords of Trade

October 5, 1932

Governor Robert Dinwiddie, after Washington had made his report on the Battle of Fort Necessity, wrote on July 24, 1754, to the Lords of Trade giving an account of the engagement.

This report gives a rather good, though brief, statement of the facts, concerning the happenings at Fort Necessity. In a previous note we made mention of the building of Fort Necessity and the clearing

of the ground around it.

Fort Necessity was located on Meadow Run. The topography around the fort is such that it was possible for the French to occupy high ground on three elevations or hills. Two of these elevations are to the south eastward and westward from the fort, separated by a hollow or ravine. Both these elevations, in the main, would be southward of the Washington-Braddock Road. The other elevation was to the northward, near the Mount Washington House, now called the Fort Necessity Museum. The French had the advantage of having trees for shelter.

David Shriver Stewart made a magnificent scenic picture of the surrender of Fort Necessity to the French on the morning of July 4, 1754. It shows Meadow Run, Fort Necessity, the hill to the southeastward, the hollow and ravine referred to and the approach to the hill to the southwestward. It is certainly a good artist's picture.

The letter of Governor Dinwiddie to the Lords of Trade, London, was published in W. C. Ford's "Washington Writings," 1889 edition, pages 119-120. The letter which follows rather closely Washington's report of the battle, follows herewith:

(Governor Dinwiddie to the Lords of Trade, July 24, 1754.)

"Immediately they (the French) appeared in sight of our camp, and fired at our people at a great distance, which did no harm. Our small forces were drawn up in good order to receive them before their entrenchments, but did not return their first fire, reserving it till they came nigher. The enemy advanced irregularly within 60 yards of our forces, and then made a second discharge, and observing they did not intend to attack them in open field, they retired within their trenches, but finding they made no attempt of this kind, the Colonel gave orders to our people to fire on the enemy, which they did with great briskness, and the officers declare this engagement continued from 11 o'clock till 8 o'clock at night, they being without shelter, rainy weather, and their trenches to the knee in water, whereas the French were sheltered all round our camp by trees; from thence they galled our people all the time as above. About 8 o'clock at night the French called out to parley: our people mistrusting their sincerity, from their numbers and other advantages, refused it. At last they desired (us) to send an officer that could speak French, and they gave their parole for his safe return to them, on which the Commander sent two officers to whom they gave their proposals . . . . . From our few numbers and our bad situation, they were glad to accept of them; otherways were determined to lose their lives rather than be taken prisoners. The next morning a party from the French came and took possession of our encampment, and our people marched off with colours flying and beat of drum; but there appeared a fresh party of 100 Indians to join the French, who galled our people much, and with difficulty were restrained from attacking them; however, they pilfered our people's baggage, and at the beginning of the engagement the French killed all the horses, cattle and live creatures they saw, so that our force were obliged to carry off the wounded men on their backs to some distance from the place of the engagement, where they left them with a guard; the scarcity of provisions made them make quick marches to get among the inhabitants which was about 60 miles of bad road."

Number of French Troops Engaged; Washington's Force

October 6, 1932

W. J. Anderson, in the Canadian Monthly, Vol. I, 1872, gives the number of troops involved in the engagement at Fort Necessity as set forth by different writers. Graneau places the entire French force at 700.

The writer has a strong feeling that the maximum number of the French force at Fort Necessity did not exceed 900, and that perhaps 700 would be nearer the truth. It is hoped that some authentic statement or report of the engaged French force may yet come to light. Time and diligent search works wonders for the historian.

The following is an excerpt from Anderson's article on the number of troops comprising the French force:

"Dussieux is evidently incorrect as to the numbers under McKay and Washington. He says there were 500; another French Canadian historian, Graneau, says 400. We have no means at present of ascertaining the exact amount. All we know is that Washington had under him one hundred and fifty men. The number of Captain McKay's Independent company is not stated; Lord Mahone says the whole force was 400. It is curious to note how completely Graneau differs from Bancroft, Dussieux and others in his narrative. He says, "Contrecoeur, on learning of the tragic end of Jumonville, resolved to avenge his death at once. He put six hundred Canadians and one hundred savages, under the orders of the victim's brother, M. de Villiers, who started directly ..." "

Judge James Veech, in the "Monongahela of Old," thus wrote of Washington's force at Great Meadows:

"When Washington first encamped at the Great Meadows, he had but one hundred and fifty men, soon after increased to three hundred, in six deficient companies commanded by Captains Stephen, (to whom Washington there gave a Major's commission), Stobo, Van Braam, Hogg, Lewis, George Mercer and Polson; and by Major Muse, who joined Washington with reinforcements, and with nine swivels, powder and ball, on the 9th of June. He had been Washington's military instructor, three years before, and now acted as quartermaster. Captain McKay, with an Independent Royal Company, from South Carolina, of about one hundred men, came up on the 10th of June, bringing with them sixty beeves, five days allowance of flour, and some ammunition, but no cannon as expected. Among the subordinate officers, were Ensign Peytonie, and Lieutenants Waggoner and John Mercer."

Washington's Grist Mill  
Perryopolis, Pa.

Oct. 7, 1932

Perryopolis, at which is located Washington's Grist Mill, is situated about 12 miles from Connellsville (Routes 711 and 51) and about 15 miles from Uniontown (Route 51).

Washington's interest in the country west of the Allegheny Mountains dates from 1753. When a youth of 21 years of age, he was sent by Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia with a message to the French Commander, St. Pierre, who was stationed at Fort Le Boeuf, now Waterford, Pa., demanding the removal of the French forts on the Ohio and Allegheny rivers, which territory the English claimed.

The next year, 1754, Washington had charge of the military expedition against Fort Du Quesne. He fought two battles in this campaign; one at Washington's Rocks, near Dunbar's Camp, Jumonville, on May 28, 1754, and his second battle at Fort Necessity five weeks later, July 3, 1754. In his first battle at Washington's Rocks he killed, wounded or captured the entire engaged French force. The engagement at Fort Necessity may be properly called a drawn battle. The furthestmost front westward reached by Colonel Washington on this expedition was Gist's Plantation, Mount Braddock.

General Edward Braddock in 1755, with the 44th and 48th Regiments of British regulars, was sent from England with the rank of generalissimo of all his Britannic Majesty's forces on the American continent. He commanded in person the expedition against Fort Du Quesne and met with a most disastrous defeat on July 9, 1755, at Braddock. Washington accompanied Braddock as an aide-de-camp and rendered at the Battle of the Monongahela yeoman service.

Washington a fourth time crossed the Alleghenies with Brigadier General John Forbes' army in 1758. The outcome of this expedition was that the English took Fort Du Quesne, and named it Fort Pitt.

Washington was a keen observer and was a judge of good lands. For years he was engaged in surveying lands in Virginia for Lord Fairfax. In 1754 he built the first wagon road for four-wheeled vehicles across the Allegheny Mountains from Cumberland, Md., to Gist's Plantation. Christopher Gist was unquestionably the first largest land holder and settler west of the mountains (1753). Washington stayed at Gist's a number of days at one time or another, and must have been impressed with his wonderful plantation of over 2,500 acres of land. This is evident from the letter he wrote to Colonel Crawford.

Colonel William Crawford settled at "Stewart's Crossing," on the Youghiogheny at the present site of Connellsville, in the spring of 1766. He and Washington had been close friends for at least 20 years previous. He was recognized by Washington as his agent in this section. Colonel Crawford's brother, Valentine Crawford, had settled near the mouth of Jacob's Creek.

Washington's letter to Colonel Crawford under date of September 21, 1767, is most interesting. We quote a portion of this letter:

"Dear Sir: \_ From a sudden hint of your brother's (Valentine Crawford)

I wrote to you a few days ago in a hurry. Having since more time for reflection, I now write deliberately, and with greater precision, on the subject of my last letter.

"I then desired the favor of you (as I understood rights might now be had for the lands which have fallen within the Pennsylvania line) to look me out a tract of about fifteen hundred, two thousand, or more acres somewhere in your neighborhood, meaning only by this, that it may be as contiguous to your own settlement as such a body of good land can be found. It will be easy for you to conceive that ordinary or even middling lands would never answer my purpose or expectation, so far from navigation, and under such a load of expense as these lands are incumbered with. No; a tract to please me must be rich (of which no person can be a better judge than yourself), and if possible level. Could such a piece of land be found, you would do me a singular favor in falling upon some method of securing it immediately from the attempts of others, as nothing is more certain than that the lands can not remain long unguarded, when once it is known the rights are to be had.

"The mode of proceeding I am at a loss to point out to you; but as your own lands are under the same circumstances, self interest will naturally lead you to an inquiry. I am told that the land or surveyor's office is at Carlisle. If so, I am opinion that Colonel Armstrong, an acquaintance of mine, has something to do in the direction of it, and I am persuaded he would readily serve me. .... If you can give me any satisfactory account of this matter and of what I am next going to propose, I expect to pay you a visit about the last of April. .. Any person therefore who neglects the present opportunity of hunting out good lands, and in some measure marking and distinguishing them for his own, in order order to keep others from settling them, will never regain it. If you will be at the trouble of seeking out the lands, I will take upon me the part of securing them, as soon as there is a possibility of doing it, and will, moreover, be at all the cost and charges of surveying and patenting the same. You shall then have such a reasonable proportion of the whole as we may fix upon at our first meeting; as I shall find it necessary, for the better furthering of the design, to let some of my friends be concerned in the scheme, who must also partake of the advantages.

"By this time it may be easy for you to discover that my plan is to secure a good deal of land. You will consequently come in for a very handsome quantity; and as you will obtain it without any costs or expenses, I hope you will be encouraged to begin the search in time. I would choose, if it were practicable, to get large tracts together .... For my own part, I would have no objection to a grant of land upon the Ohio, a good way below Pittsburg, but would firsts willingly secure some valuable tracts nearer at hand.

"I recommend that you keep this whole matter a secret, or trust only to those in whom you can confide, and who can assist you in bringing it to bear by their discoveries of land...

All this may be avoided by a silent management, and the operation carried on by you under the guise of hunting game, which you may, I presume, effectively do, at the same time you are in pursuit of land."

Colonel Crawford at his earliest opportunity made the necessary examination to secure for Washington the lands in the communities he desired, as well as additional tracts in other localities. Indian warfare at this period was a great menace. Forts were erected in different communities for the protection and safety of these early pioneer settlers.

The land office in Pennsylvania was opened April 3, 1769. Colonel Crawford secured for Washington 1,664 acres of land in what is now Perry township, Fayette County, about 12 miles from Connellsville (Stewart's Crossing). In the fall of 1770, Washington came west to visit Colonel Crawford at "Stewart's Crossing," and to examine the several tracts of land the colonel had secured for him. Washington kept a journal on this trip, which gives much information about his journey and the country through which he passed.

In the Journal of October 12, 1770, he records: "Set out about sunrise (from Great Crossing at Somerfield), breakfasted at the Great Meadows 13 miles, and reached Crawford's about 5 o'clock. The land from Gist's (Mt. Braddock) to Crawford's is very broken, though not mountainous, in spots exceedingly rich and in general free from stone. Crawford's is very fine land, lying on the Youghiogheny river, at a place commonly called, "Stewart's Crossing."

"Oct. 14: Went to view some land which Captain Crawford located for me near the Youghiogheny distant about 12 miles. The tract which contains about one thousand six hundred acres, includes some as fine land as I ever saw and a great deal of rich meadow; it is well watered and has a valuable mill seat, except that the stream is rather too slight, and, it is said not constant more than 7 or 8 months of the year; but on account of the fall and other conveniences, no place can exceed it. In going to this land I passed through two other tracts which Captain Crawford had procured for Lund Washington this day also, but time falling short, I was obliged to postpone it. The lands which I passed over today were generally hilly and the growth chiefly white oak but very good notwithstanding; and which is extraordinary and contrary to the property of all other lands I ever saw before, the hills are the richest land, the soil upon the sides and summits of them being black as coal and the growth walnut and cherry. The flats are not so rich and a good deal more mixed with stone."

Sometime after Washington's return to Mount Vernon he decided to build a grist mill on his tract at Perryopolis and sent Gilbert Simpson to manage his property. On account of Indian uprisings the construction of the mill did not begin till 1774, and two years elapsed before the mill was actually finished. In the spring of 1776 it began operation. On July 27, 1774, Valentine Crawford, who had succeeded Colonel Crawford as manager of "Washington's Bottom" at "Simpson's," as this tract became familiarly known, wrote Washington, "I consider it a pity that the mill was ever begun in these times. It appears to me sometimes that it will be a very expensive job to you before it is done." Such it proved. The mill proved to be unprofitable and in 1785 Washington decided to dispose of it if he could.

On September 23, 1785, Washington wrote Thomas Freeman who, had succeeded Valentine Crawford as manager as follows:

"If you should not have offers in a short time for the hire of my mill alone, or for the mill with 150 acres of land adjoining it, I think it advisable, in that case, to let it on shares, to build a good and substantial dam of stone where the old one stood and to erect a proper forebay in place of the trunk which now conducts the water to the wheel, and in a word to put the house in good repair. If I could get 1,500% for the mill and 100 acres of land most convenient thereto, I would let it go for that money."

A magnificent dam of stone was erected, which today is in a surprisingly good condition of preservation. The mill itself on the whole is almost a historic memory. There is, however, enough of it standing to warrant its being saved and restored even at this late date, although it is in a ruinous condition. It ought to be done. I trust that out of the two days' celebration on October 7 and 8 at Perryopolis, may come some move to this end.

Washington entered into an agreement in 1785 with Colonel Shrew to take over the mill, which agreement as I understood it was not consummated till 1802.

O. P. Smith, who inherited 30 acres of land from his father's estate, owns the mill. The mill ceased running in 1918. The old burs are still intact. Opposite the mill is a dwelling of stone which was originally built for a still house.

The Philip Freeman Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, will unveil a tablet at the mill on Saturday afternoon, October 8, 1932, at 2 P.M. A 45 minute program has been arranged. The exercises will be enlivened with music by the Uniontown-Perryopolis Martial Band. It is expected that Hon. Sol Bloom, director of the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission, and Professor John Kennedy Lacock, of Boston, Mass., owner of Washington's First Battlefield, will be present and make addresses.

The inscription on the tablet that will be unveiled is as follows:

Washington's Grist Mill  
1774-1776

George Washington authorized Colonel William Crawford, who in 1766 settled at "Stewart's Crossing" on the Youghiogheny near Con-nellsville, to purchase for him a tract of land near his settle-ment. On April 3, 1769, he purchased 1,664 acres including the present town of Perryopolis and Washington's Mill built in 1774-1776. It became known as "Washington's Bottom" at Simpson's.' The mill began operation in 1776, and ceased to run in 1918. It was one of the oldest mills west of the Alleghenies.

This tablet is erected by the Philip Freeman Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the birth of George Washington, October 8, 1932.

## Fort Necessity

### Preparations to Meet Attack of French at Gist's; Retreat From Fort Necessity

October 8, 1932

Winthrop Sargent in his most excellent book on "Braddock's Expedition," which constitutes Volume V in the Pennsylvania Historical Society Memoirs, places the number of DeVilliers force at 600.

He gives a very readable account of the happenings at Fort Necessity as Washington evacuated the fort that memorable morning of July 4, 1754, and also of De Villiers' withdrawal from the scene on the same day.

Of the preparations Washington made at Gist's Plantation to receive the attack of the French, Sargent says:

"... De Villiers, with some six hundred men," says Sargent, "was despatched to meet Washington, and Mercier accompanied him as second in command. On the 29th of June, Washington, who was then at Gist's plantation, received intelligence of their advance; and his council of war resolved to wait the attack at that spot. Entrenchments were at once undertaken; two detached parties under Captains Lewis and Polson were recalled; and an express sent to the Great Meadows to summon Captain Mackay, with the Independent Company from South Carolina. Mackay marched into camp that night, and the next morning Lewis and Polson came in ..."

Describing Washington's retreat from Fort Necessity the same authority says:

"... In spite of the stipulation of the French commander, the Indians hung on the skirts of his diminished bands, plundering the baggage, and committing a hundred annoyances and mischiefs. The medical stores they entirely destroyed; thus cruelly aggravating the unhappy condition of the wretches, who, sick and wounded, and without a horse to assist them, were to traverse fifty miles of inhospitable forests, ere they could reach the nearest halting place on Will's Creek. The number of savages, hitherto regarded as friendly to the colonies, whom he recognized enlisted under the standard of the enemy, was another source of regret. As long as the French preserved their local superiority, he very well knew how little hope there was of these fickle people returning to their ancient friendships: nor was he blind to the unconcealed disgust at the result of the campaign of even those whose lot was immutably cast with the English..."

Of De Villiers' return to the Ohio, Sargent wrote:

"... Destroying, as he says, not only the cannon surrendered by the English, but also the smaller pieces reserved by the garrison as a point of military etiquette, but which it was incompetent to drag away; and knocking in the heads of the liquor casks, to prevent a savage debauch, 'the Great Villiers' departed on the same day as his adversaries, but in an opposite direction. Gracing his triumph with the Virginia standard, which in the confusion had been left at the fort, he turned his steps toward Du Quesne, where he arrived on the 7th of July; having destroyed all the English settlements on the way, and detaching also M. de la Chauvignerie for the same purpose. This circumstance in itself shows that the country had not utterly escaped the notice of colonists from the eastward, although it was more than probable that many of the

houses  
Also burned were trading-stations, or shelters recently erected for the convenience of some of Trent's men or Washington's Troops...."

### Parkman's Account of the Battle

October 10, 1752

One of the most readable and satisfactory accounts of the siege of Fort Necessity will be found in Francis Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe." He was a thorough scholar and had the rare gift of expressing himself in most picturesque language. He was conversant with the source material that had been brought to light up to that time. His account follows:

"Washington's men had had a full day at Fort Necessity, but they spent it less in resting from their fatigue than in strengthening their rampart with logs. The fort was a simple square enclosure, with a trench said by a French writer to be only knee deep. On the south and partly on the west there was an exterior embankment, which seems to have been made, like a rifle-pit, with the ditch inside. The Virginians had but little ammunition and no bread what ever, living chiefly on fresh beef. They knew the approach of the French, who were reported to Washington as nine hundred strong, besides Indians.

"Towards eleven o'clock a wounded sentinel came in with news that they were close at hand; and they presently appeared at the edge of the woods yelling, yelling and firing from such a distance that their shot fell harmless. Washington drew up his men on the meadow before the fort thinking, he says, that the enemy, being greatly superior in force, would attack at once; and choosing for some reason to meet them on the open plain. But Villiers had other views. 'We approached the English,' he writes, 'as near as possible, without uselessly exposing the lives of the King's subjects;' and he and his followers made their way through the forest till they came opposite the fort, where they stationed themselves on two densely wooded hills, adjacent, though separated by a small brook. One of these was about a hundred paces from the English, and the other about sixty. Their position was such that the French and Indians, well sheltered by trees and bushes, and with the advantage of higher ground, could cross their fire upon the fort and enfilade a part of it. Washington had meanwhile drawn his followers within the entrenchment; and the firing now began on both sides. Rain fell all day. The raw earth of the embankment was turned to soft mud; and the men in the ditch of the outwork stood to the knee in water. The swivels brought back from the camp at Gist's farm were mounted on the rampart; but the gunners were so ill protected that the pieces were almost silenced by the French musketry.

"The fight lasted nine hours. At times the fire on both sides was nearly quenched by the showers, and the bedrenched combatants could do little but gaze at each other through a gray well of mist and rain. Towards night, however, the fusillade revived, and became sharp again until dark. At eight o'clock the French called out to propose a parley."

Losses in Battle; Washington Promoted Colonel

Oct. 11, 1932

W. H. Lowdermilk, in his "History of Cumberland," published in 1878, fixes the French and English losses. The French loss is based on De Villiers' Journal and the English loss on Washington's report.

On this matter Lowdermilk wrote:

"The French demolished Fort Necessity, broke the cannon that were left, carried off a few tents, and then marched back to Fort Duquesne. They lost in the engagement two soldiers and one Indian killed, and fifteen soldiers and two Indians wounded, besides several who had wounds so slight as not to unfit them for duty. This is according to a statement made by M. de Villiers, though Washington computed their losses to be much heavier. The English lost twelve killed and forty-three wounded in the Virginia regiment; the casualties in Captain MacKaye's company have never been stated."

Washington in 1753 held the rank of major. In the military campaign of 1754 against Fort Du Quesne he was made lieutenant colonel, and Joshua Fry, Colonel. Fry never got beyond Wills Creek, Cumberland, Md., where he died three days after Washington's first battle (May 28, 1754) on May 31, 1754.

On the death of Colonel Fry, Washington was raised to the rank of colonel and was commissioned to "command the Virginia Regiment." Governor Dinwiddie on June 4, 1754, who was then at Winchester, sent Washington his commission. It is difficult to understand, as is generally stated, why his commission as colonel was so tardy in its arrival. If he did not receive his commission as colonel before the battle of Fort Necessity on July 3, 1754, then he would seem to have ranked in that engagement as lieutenant-colonel.

The following letter from the official records of Governor Dinwiddie published in the Virginia Historical Society Collections, Volume III, is of interest in this connection:

"Win'r, June 4th, 1754.

"On the death of Colonel Fry, I have tho. it proper to send You the enclos'd Commo'o. to Com'd the Virg'a regiment, and another for Maj'r Muse, to be Lieutenant Colo. The Oldest Capt. to be Major, and the oldest Lieut. to the Capt.; the eldest Ensign to be Lieut., unless You sh'd have Object'n to them .... Colo. James Innes, an old experienced Officer, is daily expected, who is appointed Com'd'r in Chief of all the Forces, w'ch I am very sensible will be very agreeable to You and the other officers. The Capt's and Officers of the Independ't Compa's having their Com'o's signed by his M<sup>y</sup>, imagine they claim a distinguish'd rank, and being long trained in Arms expect suitable regards. You will therefore consult and agree with Y'r Officers to shew them particular marks of Esteem, w'ch will avoid such Causes of Uneasiness as other wise might obstruc't His M<sup>y</sup>'s Service..."

Footnote by Fitzpatrick

Oct. 12, 1932

A new edition of "Washington's Writings," edited by J. C. Fitzpatrick, is in active preparation. At least the first four volumes have already been issued. This series of volumes when fully issued will be a great contribution to the source material on Washington that has come to light this year. In a footnote to Volume I we read:

"The Alexandria Gazette of July 19, 1754 prints an account of the fight and capitulation at Fort Necessity. It agrees, generally, with Washington's journal, but estimates the French losses at an absurdly high total. The French force is given as 900. Washington's as 300, and the estimate of French dead was 300, or one third of the entire attacking force. The Gazette further stated that the enemy were burying their dead all night, after the surrender, and that many still remained unburied when daylight came.

"The Pennsylvania Journal of July 25, 1754, printed a translation of the article of capitulation and translated Article VI as follows: 'And as the English have few oxen or horses, they are free to hide their effects and come and search for them when they have met with their horses; and they may for this end have guardians in what number they please, upon condition that they will give their word of honour not to work upon any building in this part, or any part this side of the mountain, during a year, to be accounted from this day'."

Refusal to Release French Prisoners

Oct. 19, 1932

It will be recalled that at Washington's First Battle with Jumonville, May 28, 1754, Washington took 21 prisoners of the French, which were sent under an escort to Governor Dinwiddie at Williamsburg, Va.

One of the articles of agreement signed by Washington and De Villers at Fort Necessity July 3, 1754, was that these 21 prisoners were to be returned to the French. As a guarantee that this stipulation would be carried out, two hostages were required of the English. Governor Dinwiddie refused to carry out this part of the agreement, very much to Washington's dislike.

W. H. Lowdermilk in his "History of Cumberland" thus wrote of Governor Dinwiddie's refusal to release the French prisoners:

"The Governor refused to carry into effect that part of the capitulation referring to the French prisoners, although Washington urged it as an imperative necessity, and felt that his honor was involved. Dinwiddie said in a letter to the Board of Trade, in explanation of his conduct:

"The French, after the capitulation entered into with Colonel Washington, took eight of our people and exposed them to sale, and, missing thereof, sent them prisoners to Canada. On hearing of this I

detained the 17 prisoners, the officers and two cadets, as I am of opinion, after they were in my custody, Washington could not engage for their being returned. I have ordered a flag of truce to be sent to the French, offering the return of their officer and the two cadets, for the two hostages they have of ours.'

The hostages were not returned, but were sent to Canada, and thence to England. The French prisoners were also sent to England, except LaForce, who escaped, but was afterwards retaken and closely confined."

#### Disposition of Washington's Cannon

Oct. 21, 1932

It will be recalled that by the terms of capitulation (or agreement) that Washington had 10 cannons at Fort Necessity, and that they were all left on the battlefield upon the evacuation on July 4, 1754.

The following item from the Pennsylvania Historical Society Memoirs, Volume V, page 52, should be of interest to those who have this year witnessed or read of the reconstruction work that has been done at Fort Necessity. It is to be regretted that these cannon could not have been returned to Fort Necessity in place of the cannons that are now in place there.

Winthrop Sargeant, in "Braddock's Expedition," which forms Volume V. of the Historical Society Memoirs, thus writes of the cannons left behind when Washington's army began its retreat to Virginia:

"These guns, which were probably merely spiked and abandoned, were in later years bored out or otherwise restored to their former condition. For a long time they lay on the Great Meadow, useless and disregarded. After the Revolution, however, when bands of settlers commenced to travel towards the West, it was a favorite amusement to discharge these cannon; the Meadow being a usual halting-place. They were finally transported to Kentucky by some enterprising pioneers, and their subsequent fate is unknown."

## Washington on State of Provisions

Oct. 20, 1932

Many elements enter into Washington's military campaign of 1754. The question of provisions was a serious one. It proved also a serious one in Braddock's campaign of 1755, especially before he started on his march from Fort Cumberland to Fort Du Quesne.

In a wooded country, and in a section where there was just a handful, as it were, of English settlers, at this time, the question of food supply was indeed a most grave matter.

Washington's army had to do heavy manual labor. Cutting a road through the virgin forest was a real, honest to goodness, laborious undertaking.

Food supply must be had. The nearest base of supplies was Fort Cumberland, and supplies were not always forthcoming from this point.

Washington's concern on this head was set forth in the following letter, written from Great Meadows, June 12, 1754:

".... We have been six days without flour, and there is none upon the road for our relief that we know of, though I have by repeated expresses given him timely notice. We have not provisions of any sort enough in camp to serve us two days. Once before we should have been four days without provisions, if Providence had not sent a trader from the Ohio to our relief, for whose flour I was obliged to give twenty-one shillings and eight pence per hundred.

"In a late letter to Major Carlyle, I have complained of the tardiness of deputies likewise desired, that suitable stores of ammunition might be sent up speedily, for till that is done we have it not in our power to attempt any advantageous enterprise; but must wait its arrival at Redstone, for which I shall set off the moment provisions arrive to sustain us on the march. Major Carlyle mentioned a contract he had made with Mr. Croghan for flour, likewise Mr. Croghan's offer of furnishing more if desired ....."