

CONTRECOEUR'S COPY OF WASHINGTON'S JOURNAL FOR 1754

Reduced facsimile of the first page, from Les Archives du Séminaire de Québec. The circular mark appears to be a stain left by the base of a glass or bottle.

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CONTRECOEUR'S COPY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON'S JOURNAL FOR 1754*

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GEORGE WASHINGTON'S journal from March 31 to June 27, 1754, covering his march toward the Ohio and the skirmish with the French under Jumonville, is known only through a contemporary French translation. After Washington's surrender of Fort Necessity to the French under Coulon de Villiers on July 3, 1754, the journal and possibly other papers of Washington fell into the hands of the French. What purported to be a translation of the main portions of his journal was published in Paris in 1756, by the Royal Printer, as part of a work entitled, *Mémoire contenant le précis des faits, avec leurs pièces justificatives, pour servir de réponse aux Observations envoyées par les Ministres d'Angleterre, dans les Cours de l'Europe*.¹ From this it was quickly re-translated into English and published in London and New York, by the following year.² All the publications of the journal down to the present have been translated from the version printed in Paris in the *Mémoire*.³ The original has been lost.

*Acknowledgment is made for advice and encouragement in the editing of the journal, to Dr. S. K. Stevens, State Historian; to Dr. Paul A. W. Wallace, the Editor of PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY, who is largely responsible for the note on the "fork of the road"; and to William A. Hunter, Senior Archivist, Public Records Division of the Commission, who made several illuminating suggestions as to the identification of Indians.

¹Translated, this is Memorial Containing the Summary of the Facts, with Supporting Documents, to Serve as Reply to the *Observations* Sent by the Ministers of England to the Courts of Europe. For the sake of brevity, this work and the version of the journal it contained will be cited as *Mémoire*.

²These first translations are mentioned in Douglas S. Freeman, *George Washington* (New York, 1948), I, 540; and in *The Diaries of George Washington*, John C. Fitzpatrick, editor (New York, 1925, I, 72) (hereafter cited as *Diaries*).

³Among the more accessible today are *The Writings of George Washington*, Worthington C. Ford, editor (New York, 1889-1893), I, 46-119; *Journal of Colonel George Washington . . . in 1754 . . .*, J. M. Toner, editor (Albany, N. Y., 1893); and *Diaries*, I, 73-102.

As it appeared in a work designed to defend French actions and to attack the policy of the British, and as there was no definite proof of its authenticity, the biographers of Washington and the editors of his writings have been inclined to use it with caution and to present it with reservations. In a letter published by Sparks, of which the original has since been lost, too, Washington himself said :

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.⁴

On the basis of Washington's comments, Freeman, one of the latest of his biographers, concludes that the text of the journal "is suspect in all that concerns British policy and Washington's behavior in the Jumonville affair."⁵

A different light is shed upon the journal's text, however, by the discovery of another version of the French translation, a contemporary, variant copy, which has survived in manuscript form in the Contrecoeur Papers, now in the Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Université Laval.⁶ The Marquis Duquesne, Governor of New France, sent this copy, which he called an extract, to Contrecoeur, the commander at Fort Duquesne, a little over two months after the siege of Fort Necessity. In his covering letter of September 8, 1754, the Governor discussed the journal in detail :

I am enclosing the extract from the journal of Colonel Washington who commanded the 500 English we defeated.

⁴ *The Writings of George Washington*, Jared Sparks, editor (Boston, 1855), II, 463.

⁵ Freeman, I, 541. Appendix 1-9, pages 540-545, is devoted to a critique of the journal.

⁶ Fonds Verreault, 4:378. Father Arthur Maheux, the Archivist, kindly gave permission to translate and publish this material, in advance of the publication by Les Presses Universitaires Laval of *Le conflit anglo-français sur l'Ohio*, which will give the original French text in parallel columns with the version printed in the *Mémoire*.

You will see that he is the most impertinent of men, but that he is as clever as he is crafty with credulous Indians.⁷ Besides, he lies a great deal in order to justify the assassination of *Sieur de Jumonville*, which has recoiled upon him, and which he was stupid enough to admit in his capitulation.⁸ See how treacherous he is to congratulate himself about the hope he had conceived in the expectation that our nine rascally deserters would get your garrison to revolt, by which means they hoped to take the fort.⁹ Find out, without attracting notice, whether that *Loup*¹⁰ whom he says delivered the letters to the soldiers of your garrison is still at the fort, and do not fail to make him regret such a message. Examine once again the conduct of the one you called your friend,¹¹ and you will see how suspicious you must be of such traitors.

This document which the *Baron de Longueuil*¹² brought me is priceless. The knavery of the English is uncovered in it, and that of the Five Nations¹³ is not less laid bare, but in actuality the English are their dupes, because after so many fine promises, they left them in the lurch at the time when they needed them most. On another page you will see that, since the English wished to have it believed that they were marching only at the solicitation of the Five Nations, they marched full of mealy-mouthed phrases, thinking that with that powerful assistance they could not fail to defeat us and thus become the peaceful possessors of the *Belle Riviere*. What has struck me most in this journal is that they came in wagons up to the place where *Sieur de Villiers* found them, but that captain doubts if they could have also crossed the high mountains which had to be traversed to reach the English camp.

You will see likewise in this journal that this Washington tried to descend the *River Rouge*,¹⁴ which, I assume,

⁷ In the original, "sauvages," but the usual equivalent in English is "Indians."

⁸ Note that *Duquesne* appreciated the cleverness of *De Villiers* in getting Washington to sign an admission that *Jumonville's* death in the skirmish was an "assassination," in the capitulation of *Fort Necessity*.

⁹ See the entries in the journal for June 12 and 13.

¹⁰ This *Loup* was *Kaquehuston*, described by Washington as a "trusty *Dela-Sare*," and probably the same as *Kikyuskung*.

¹¹ Judging by the order in which they are mentioned in the journal, the Governor is probably referring to *Delaware George*.

¹² The *Baron de Longueuil* was Lieutenant Governor of *Montreal*, former acting Governor before *Duquesne's* arrival in Canada, and the onetime leader of the expedition of 1739 down the *Allegheny* and *Ohio* rivers.

¹³ The French continued to refer to the *Iroquois* as the Five Nations, even after they had become the Six Nations by the addition of the *Tuscaroras*.

¹⁴ *Redstone Creek*. Actually, Washington tried to descend the *Youghiogheny River*.

is the same one that ends up at the large shed where our troops landed.¹⁵ But he says that there is a waterfall which is completely impassable,¹⁶ which proves to me that, however enterprising they may be, they will never try to come and attack Fort Duquesne, because if they could not get their large cannon over the big mountain, Sieur de Villiers is certain that the mountains he traversed are inaccessible to wagons.

How much desertion! How many difficulties in the provinces through which Washington passed! How much dissension in these troops from the different provinces which aspire to independence! That is what makes me believe that we shall always beat a troop which is as ill-constituted as it is unwarlike.

I exhort you to comment carefully on this journal so that you can, if possible, improve upon my ideas and upon the precautions essential to your security, for they well realize that nothing but treachery can destroy our establishments.

There is nothing more unworthy, lower, or even blacker than the opinions and the way of thinking of this Washington! It would have been a pleasure to read his outrageous journal to him right under his nose.¹⁷

Later in his letter, Duquesne returned to the subject of the journal, referring to something which does not appear in either version:

I have seen with surprise in the English journal that the Indians whom he had as spies did not leave him ignorant of the fact that you had lost a very large part of your pirogues in a flood. And Sieur de Villiers said that it was true because the place where you assembled them is a cliff, and they cannot be drawn on land. I tell you that I was alarmed by that loss, because it is of the greatest consequence. . . .¹⁸

¹⁵ On the expedition against Fort Necessity, De Villiers and his men disembarked at the mouth of Redstone Creek, where a shed or storehouse had been built for the Ohio Company.

¹⁶ The entry for May 21 in the *Mémoire*, not in the Extract, says that "a large rapids obliged us to stop and come ashore."

¹⁷ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, September 8, 1754, in ASQ, Fonds Verreau, 2:159. The translation of this and the other Duquesne letters is quoted from that made for the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission by Dr. Armen Kalfayan, Blair Hanson, and the writer.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Duquesne's comments make it plain that he regarded the journal as authentic. The fact that he recommended it to Contrecoeur for evidence as to British intentions, the real feelings of the Indians, and the likelihood of an attack on Fort Duquesne, makes it seem very unlikely that any deliberate changes were made in translation. It is also apparent that the translation which Duquesne read must have been fuller and more complete than either version now available. Neither version makes any mention of Contrecoeur's loss of pirogues in a flood, nor is there any reference to "desertion" of Washington's troops, "difficulties in the provinces," or "dissension" among the forces from the various colonies "which aspire to independence."

Duquesne's full acceptance of the journal was also apparent in a letter of September 17, 1754, when he referred to it as an authoritative source of information about "the territory he traversed";¹⁹ and again in a letter of October 17, when he cited it as evidence that a winter campaign against Fort Duquesne was not to be feared:

. . . I do not give any credit to reports of winter operations in such a climate as this one, especially since you burned a storehouse as large as the Company's shed, which must stick badly in their throats, all the more because Mr. Washington repeats frequently in his journal how pleased he is to have that place in which to store safely all sorts of munitions.²⁰

In the same letter, Duquesne said of the Iroquois that "Washington's journal . . . lets me see that they are the most untrustworthy people in the world." As late as March 5, 1755, he was still learning lessons from it: "This is the season when Mr. Washington had the most troubles and hardships because of the floods."²¹

The original journal, left behind in the hurried retreat from Fort Necessity on July 4, 1754, had in some way reached Montreal by September 8, the date when Duquesne sent the Extract to Contrecoeur. It may be assumed that it was taken to Montreal by Coulon de Villiers, commander of the French force which compelled Wash-

¹⁹ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, September 17, 1754, in ASQ, Fonds Verreau, 2:160.

²⁰ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, October 17, 1754, in ASQ, Fonds Verreau, 2:161.

²¹ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, March 5, 1755, in ASQ, Fonds Verreau, 3:168.

ington to surrender; or that it was taken there by one of his men. The Sieur de Villiers, and his party of Indians and French Canadians, returned to Montreal shortly before August 14.²² Perhaps as a matter of protocol, De Villiers delivered it first to the Baron de Longueuil, who appears to have arranged for its translation. Perhaps some French *habitant* or some Indian in the party picked it up, and waited until reaching Montreal before giving or selling it to an official. In Duquesne's letters it is implied that he had discussed the journal with De Villiers, but this is not direct evidence that De Villiers had brought it.

The translation was completed in Montreal in about three weeks.²³ The extract copied and sent to Contrecoeur did not differ greatly from what was later sent to Paris, and published there in the *Mémoire*. Both versions are obviously the same translation. The basis of selection was different, of course. The editor of the *Mémoire* naturally selected passages which tended to support French charges against the English, while the extract sent to Contrecoeur was selected to be of use and interest to him. But there is surprisingly little variation between the two. The language of the passages which are parallel is almost always identical, word for word. There are variations in spelling, occasional differences in grammatical construction, and a few curious errors in one or the other, which may be attributed to copyists. The Extract sent to Contrecoeur has a few passages not given in the *Mémoire*; it sometimes abridges or makes selections from passages in the printed version; and, of course, it makes a number of omissions, too. It should be emphasized, however, that the Extract includes every one of the salient, important passages which biographers of Washington have suspected were edited, rewritten, and distorted by a French editor for propaganda purposes. The fact that these passages appear without alteration in an Extract sent to a French commander for his information and guidance, makes it seem very unlikely that any intentional alteration was made. Mistakes there were in the translation; of that there can be no doubt; but there was no deliberate falsification. When a commander-in-chief sends

²² Duquesne wrote to Contrecoeur on August 14, 1754, stating that he had received his letters through the Sieur de Villiers, and that he "was delighted to embrace that officer who has just served the state and his country so well." (ASQ, Fonds Verreau, 2:158.)

²³ That is, between De Villiers' arrival and Duquesne's letter forwarding the Extract to Contrecoeur.

a captured enemy document to a subordinate, he does not alter or distort it.

Duquesne then accepted it as real and authentic. He recommended that Contrecoeur study it carefully in order to plan for the defense of Fort Duquesne, which makes it seem certain that there was no intentional tampering with the text. How then are we to explain Washington's own comments on the re-translated journal when the edition published in New York was sent to him?

Under the circumstances, it is not at all surprising. Washington very naturally would be annoyed to see in print, bearing his name, a document which he had not prepared for publication, which he had not written with a view to publication. Moreover, in the process of translation, his "rough minutes of occurrences" would have been smoothed out into connected passages; even the best of translators would work a metamorphosis of the original. With the inevitable result of translation and of editing rough notes, combine mistakes in the copying of proper names, the omission of illegible words, the misunderstanding of other words, and errors in the copying of the translation itself; and it is easy to comprehend why Washington found it "certainly and strangely metamorphosed." Actually, he did not disown it completely; his remarks are slightly, if at all, more severe than those about his earlier Journal for 1753-1754 in the apologetic Advertisement which prefaced the original Williamsburg edition. Here he apologized for the "numberless Imperfections" of this journal, explaining that he had only one day "to prepare and transcribe [it] from the rough Minutes I had taken of my Travels," and that he had had no warning that it was to be published.²⁴

An almost contemporary example of the effect of translation in changing the appearance of a document may be found in the records of the spy trial of Robert Stobo and Jacob Vanbraam in Montreal, November, 1756. One of the exhibits in this case was an intercepted letter from Stobo, with a translation prepared by the Sieur de la Langloiserie, "interpreter of the English language in this colony,"²⁵ and conceivably also the translator of Washington's journal. The first sentence of Stobo's original letter read:

The Indians are greatly alarmed at a report said to be brought up by an Indian named Tusquerora John, he re-

²⁴ *Diaries*, I, 41.

²⁵ *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1922-1923*, page 319.

ports that the half King Manaquehiha & a Shanoes King &c to the number of 37 were Confined by the English & carried as prisoners.²⁶

Of this Langloiserie made :

Un Sauvage nommé tusquerora John a apporté ici une nouvelle qui a fort allarmé les Sauvages de cette Riviere, Il dit que le demi Roy Manaquehiha et un chef Chaouanon et au nombre 37 ont été arrêtés par L'Anglais et conduits comme prisonniers.²⁷

Re-translated, this would read :

An Indian named tusquerora John has brought here a piece of news which has greatly alarmed the Indians of this River, he says that the Half King Manaquehiha and a Chaouanon chief and to the number of 37 have been arrested by the English and led away as prisoners.

To find a parallel example of the effect of translation in American literature, one need only recall Mark Twain's amusement at the "metamorphosis" of his *Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*, when translated into French and re-translated into English. There is no need to assume any intentional tampering, any deliberate falsification of the text of Washington's journal of 1754, in the process of translation.

Even though the journal may have some discrepancies with Washington's letters and with what is known of the expedition from other sources, these can be explained without assuming editorial tampering or falsification. Some of the journal is written in the past, and some in the present tense; Washington apparently wrote part of his notes a day or more after the events which he recounted, which introduces the possibility of mistakes of memory. Other mistakes may arise, of course, from errors of transcription or translation. It is also possible that some passages are actually not parts of the original journal but first drafts of letters to Dinwiddie and others. Freeman points out that Washington may have written the first drafts of his letters in the same blank book with his daily notes,²⁸ so that the French translator would have seen no distinction between them. It should be added that there is nothing in either

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 343; also facsimile opposite page 344.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 345.

²⁸ Freeman, *Washington*, I, 545.

version of the journal which reflects upon Washington's character or actions, as a British officer carrying out the responsibilities assigned to him. His justifications of his actions do not appear to have suffered any alteration. Numerous instances where Washington gives his own, and the British view of events and policy may be found in the journal, with no appearance of tampering.

The text of the version of the journal which is given here is based solely on the Extract sent to Contrecoeur. Notes call attention to all the significant variations from the version printed in Paris in the *Mémoire*. Variations not regarded as significant are merely such things as variations in the spelling of ordinary words, and the fact that the Extract generally uses figures for numbers, while the *Mémoire* spells them out. Variations in the spelling of proper names have been duly noted, but it would have been cumbersome to have noted the others, without being especially useful. There being no variation, the French forms of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Fort Necessity are translated without comment. In order to make comparison possible, it was necessary to make new parallel translations of both versions. In the course of this work, some new interpretations came to light, even in translating the *Mémoire*; attention is called to these in the notes. Except in a few special cases, no attempt has been made to supply full notes of identification and explanation, which could only duplicate or paraphrase the notes in earlier editions. For fuller detail the reader is referred to the version in Fitzpatrick's edition of the *Diaries*.

EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF COLONEL WASHINGTON ON HIS OYO EXPEDITION²⁹

The last of March, 1754.³⁰

March 31. I received a commission from the Governor (of Virginia),³¹ dated the 15th instant,³² for the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Virginia regiment under the commanding officer³³ Joseph Fry,³⁴ Esquire, with orders to take under my command the troops which

²⁹ In the original French, "Extrait du journal du Colonel Washington dans Son expedition d'Oyo." The title in the *Mémoire* is, "Journal du Major Washington" [sic]. The spelling "Oyo" is used in both versions for Ohio.

³⁰ This subheading is not in the *Mémoire*.

³¹ The parenthetical addition is in the original of the Extract; it is not in the *Mémoire*.

³² In the *Mémoire*, merely, "dated the 15th."

³³ The *Mémoire* omits the words, "under the commanding officer," although an equivalent is supplied in the translation in *Diaries*.

³⁴ In the *Mémoire*, "Joshus Fry." Correctly, Joshua Fry.

were then in quarters at³⁵ Alexandria, and to march with it³⁶ towards Oyo and aid³⁷ Captain Trente³⁸ in constructing fortresses³⁹ and in defending the possessions of His Majesty against the enterprises and hostilities of the French.

April 2. Everything being ready, we began our march in accordance with our orders on the 2nd of April, with two companies of infantry of 60 men each and 12 wagons.⁴⁰

April 17. About noon I met Mr. Gist⁴¹ who had been sent from Oyo on express by the Half King⁴² in order to find out when the English could be expected there. He informed me that the Indians are very angry at our delay, and that they threaten to abandon the country; that the French are expected every day at the lower part of the river; that the fort⁴³ is begun, but hardly advanced; and several other particulars.⁴⁴

April 19. Received a messenger from Mr. Trente, Captain-lieutenant at Oyo, who urges that reinforcements be sent with all possible diligence, because a corps of 800 French are hourly expected.⁴⁵

³⁵ Here the *Mémoire* has "in."

³⁶ Thus in original, "elle," although it should be "elles"—"they"—as in the *Mémoire*.

³⁷ The *Mémoire* has "in order to aid," instead of "and aid."

³⁸ Captain William Trent's name is thus spelled throughout the Extract, but correctly in the *Mémoire*.

³⁹ Here the *Mémoire* has "in raising forts."

⁴⁰ The version in the *Mémoire* is longer and more detailed:

April 2. Everything being ready in execution of our orders, we began our march on April 2, with two companies of infantry, commanded by Captain Peter Hog and Captain-lieutenant Vambraan [Vanbraam], five subaltern officers, two sergeants, six corporals, a drummer, and one hundred and twenty soldiers, a surgeon-major, a Swedish gentleman volunteer, two wagons guarded by a lieutenant, sergeant, corporal, and twenty-five soldiers.

We left town on Tuesday noon, and encamped about four miles from Cameron, after having marched six miles.

Next the *Mémoire* has a parenthetical note:

(From April 3 to the 19th of the same month, this journal contains only the march of the troops, and the joining of a detachment brought by Captain Stephen.)

The discrepancy in the number of wagons may be explained as a copyist's error in failing to see a lightly-written "1"; or as the result of confusing the words "two" and "twelve" in English, and the words "deux" and "douze" in French. It may be noted that the translation in *Diaries* has "Stevens" for Stephen, with a note identifying him, correctly, as Captain Adam Stephen.

⁴¹ Christopher Gist.

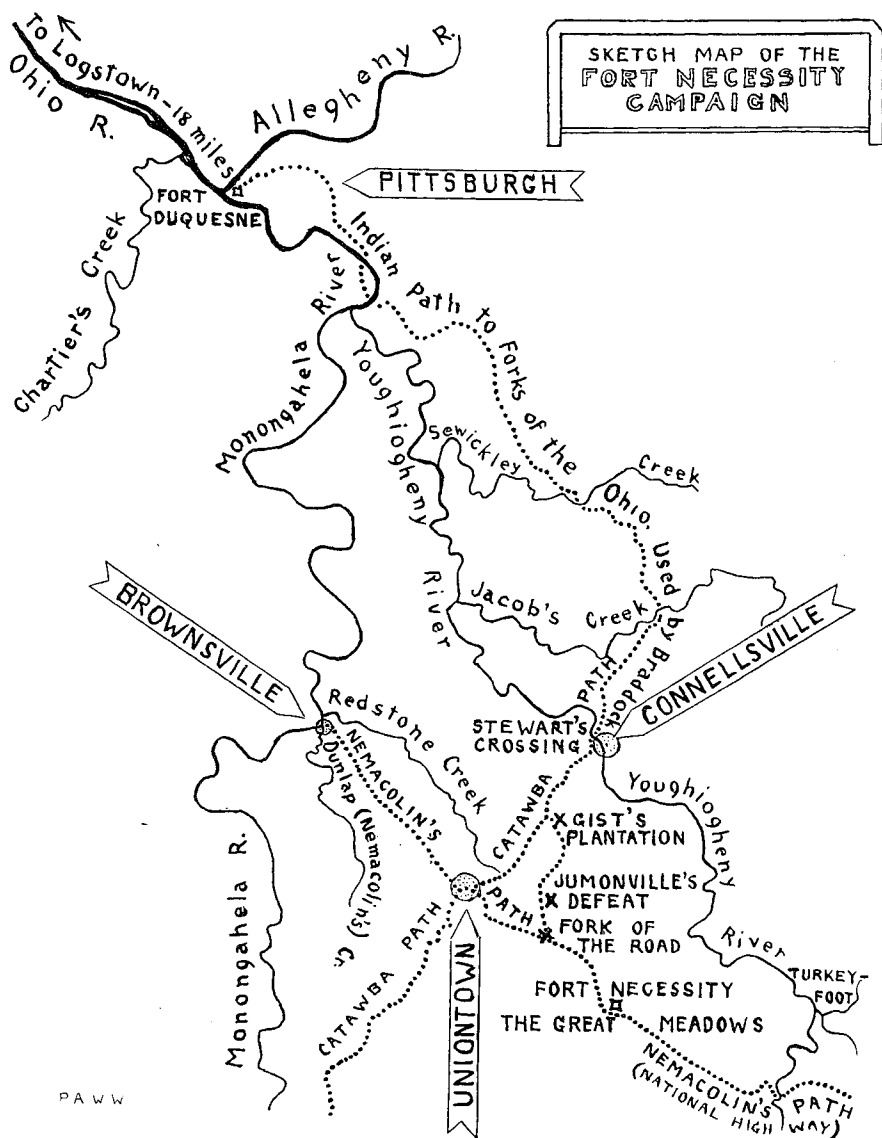
⁴² "demy Roy" in the original. The French themselves never used such a title for any Indian. Here it refers to Tanacharison, Seneca representative in the Ohio region.

⁴³ The fort begun at the Forks of the Ohio by William Trent for the Ohio Company.

⁴⁴ This paragraph does not appear in the *Mémoire*.

⁴⁵ In the *Mémoire* this paragraph reads:

The 19th, we met an express who had letters from Captain Trent, at Oyo, who asked that reinforcements be sent to him, with all pos-

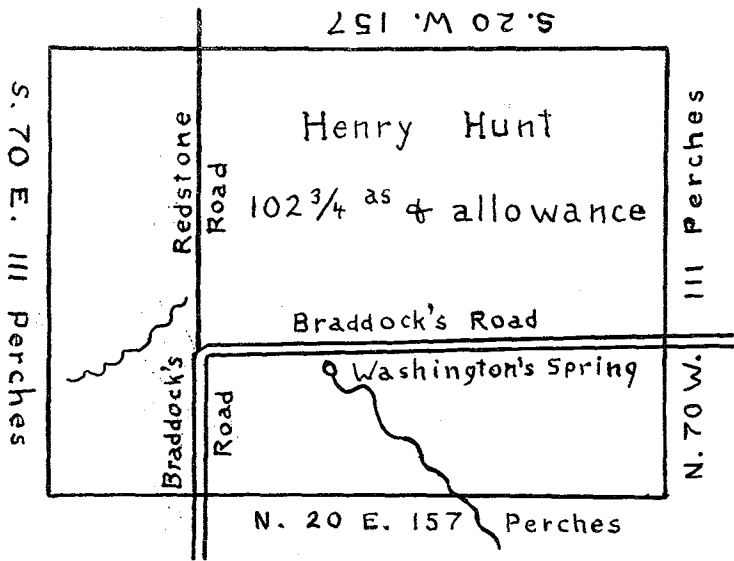


Sketch of survey showing

"The Fork of the Road"

(*"The Half King's Rock"*)

Based on Copied Surveys C 88 - 185, 186
Land Office, Harrisburg



"Situate on Laurel Hill in the new purchase Westmoreland County and surveyed the 14th day of June 1776 Pursuant to warrant to me directed dated the 17th day of September 1772

By A. McLane Dept. Surr

To John Lukens Esq.
Surveyor General"

April 20. I received word that the fort had been taken by the French.⁴⁶ This news was confirmed two days later⁴⁷ by Captain Trente's ensign, Mr. Wart,⁴⁸ who had been obliged to surrender it to a corps of French of more than a thousand men under the command of Captain Contrecoeur, who had come from Venango (In French, from la Presquile),⁴⁹ with sixty boats and 300 canoes and 18 pieces of artillery, which were set up as a battery against the fort. He then sent him a summons to withdraw.

Mr. Wart also informed me that the Indians still remain firmly attached to our interests. He had brought two young men of the Mingo nation,⁵⁰ so that they would have the satisfaction of seeing that we were on the march with troops to aid them.

He also gave me the following speech which the Half King sent to me (This is thought to be Tanahisson).⁵¹

Speech of the Half King, Escruniat, and Belt of Wampum⁵² for the Governor of Virginia and of Pennsylvania.

My brothers the English, the bearer will let you know how we have been treated by the French. We expected for a long time that they would come and attack us; now we see how they intend to treat us. We are now ready to attack them, and are waiting only for your aid. Take courage and come as soon as possible, and you will find us as ready to fight them as you are yourselves.

We have sent these two young men to see if you are ready to come, and in that case they will return to us and will let us know

sible diligence, because a corps of eight hundred French were hourly expected. I waited at Job Pearsall's for the arrival of the troops, who came there the next day. Upon the arrival of the above-mentioned express, I sent a messenger to Colonel Fry to give him notice of it.

⁴⁶ The corresponding sentence in the *Mémoire* reads:

The 20th, I went down to Colonel Cresap's in order to prepare the detachment, and on my way I received word that the fort had been taken by the French.

⁴⁷ Washington to Dinwiddie, April 25, 1754, in *The Writings of George Washington*, John C. Fitzpatrick, editor (Washington, D. C., 1931), I, 40, says that Ward arrived "this day."

⁴⁸ Both versions spell in this way the name of Ensign Edward Ward.

⁴⁹ Both versions have this parenthetical note. The name Venango is mistakenly equated with Presque Isle.

⁵⁰ Iroquois of the Ohio Valley.

⁵¹ The parenthetical note is not in the *Mémoire*. It is correct: Tanahisson is a French form of Tanacharison.

⁵² Three Indian chiefs join in sending this speech: the Half King or Tanacharison; Scrune-yattha or Scaroyady, whose Algonquian name was Monacatoocha or Monacatootha, an Oneida chief; and Belt of Wampum or Tohashwughtonionty, a Seneca chief. The translation and note in *Diaries*, I, 75, give the erroneous impression that Half King is used here as a title for Scaroyady, and that Belt of Wampum refers to the belt delivered with the speech. Thereupon it is concluded that "indeed, there is no warrant for including Scrune-yattha's speech at all." For a similar instance of confusion about this trio, see note 66.

where you are, so that we may come and join you. We could wish indeed, if you can do it, that the troops of the two provinces might meet at the fork of the road.⁵³ If you do not come to our aid soon, it is all over with us, and I think that we shall never be able to meet together again. I say this with the greatest sorrow in my heart.⁵⁴

A string of wampum.⁵⁵

The Half King addressed this speech to me personally.

I am ready, if you think it proper, to go with these two young men to meet the two Governors, for I no longer depend on those who have been gone so long without returning or sending any word.⁵⁶

April 23. Council of war in which it is decided to advance towards the mouth of the River Rouge,⁵⁷ in order to be within reach of the enemy.⁵⁸

⁵³ Both versions give this as "fort du chemin" (fort of the road), undoubtedly by an error of the French translator. Similar errors may be proven by direct evidence in Washington's reply to the Half King's speech and in the letter from Washington to Dinwiddie, April 25, 1754. While the French translation of the reply to the Half King refers to the "fort du chemin," Washington's original as quoted in the letter in Sparks' and Ford's editions says, "fort of the roads." (See notes 65 and 68.) The letter of April 25, in *Writings*, Ford ed., I, 53-54, begins, "Captain Trent's ensign, Mr. Ward, has this day arrived from the *Fork* of the Monongahela. . . ." The translation of this letter which is interpolated in the *Mémoire's* version of the journal, begins, "M. Wart, Enseigne de la Compagnie du Capitaine Trent, est arrivé aujourd'hui de *fort* Monongehelé . . ." (italics supplied). It is obvious that the French translator did not know the word "fork" and rendered it as "fort." The fork of the road was probably the point near Washington's Spring where Washington and his men met the Half King and his Indians before the attack on Jumonville; it is shown on an early land survey to Henry Hunt, 1776, "Situated on Laurel Hill in the new purchase" (State Land Office, Copied Surveys, C-88, 185 and 186).

⁵⁴ Surely if there had been any tampering with the text for propaganda purposes, this speech would have been deleted.

⁵⁵ The translation in *Diaries* says, "A belt of wampum," but it is definitely "Une branche de porcelaine" in both the Extract and the *Mémoire*.

⁵⁶ Here the *Mémoire* adds, "A string of wampum."

⁵⁷ Redstone Creek.

⁵⁸ The entry in the *Mémoire* is much more lengthy:

April 23. Council of war held at Wills-creck [Wills Creek], in order to take precautions with regard to the news brought by Mr. Wart.

Upon examining into the news brought by Ensign Wart, and reading the summons made by Captain Contrecoeur, commanding the French troops, and examining into the speeches of the Half King and of other chiefs of the Six Nations, it appears that Mr. Wart was forced to surrender the said fort on the 17th of this month to the French, who numbered more than a thousand men and eighteen pieces of artillery, of which some were nine-pounders; whereas the detachment of the Virginia regiment, amounting to one hundred and fifty men, commanded by Colonel Washington, had orders to reinforce Captain Trent's company, and that thus the garrison of the said fort consisted only of thirty-three effective men.

I wrote to the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania.⁵⁹

Here is my reply to the speeches of the Half King.

To the Half King, and to the Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations,⁶⁰ Cha8anons,⁶¹ and Loups,⁶² our friends and brothers.

I received your speech by Brother Bucks⁶³ who came to us with the two young men six days after they left you. With hearts burning with affection for you, we express our utmost thanks for your steadfast attachment for us, for your friendly speech, and for your wise advice.

This young man will tell you of the place where he found a small part of our army advancing in your direction, clearing the roads for a large number of our warriors who are ready to follow us with our large artillery, our munitions, and our supplies.

It was found impracticable to march toward the fort without sufficient forces; and being strongly invited by the speeches of the Indians, and especially by those of the Half King, the president proposed for discussion whether they should not advance as far as Red-stone Creek (In French, as far as the Creek de la Roche Rouge) upon the Monongehel   (In French, Mal-engeul  ), about thirty-seven miles on this side of the fort, and fortify themselves there, while clearing the roads so that they could bring artillery and baggage, or to wait for further orders.

The affirmative was decided by reason of the fact that the mouth of Red-stone is the first suitable place on the Monongehel  ; that the storehouses for the Company's provisions are ready there to receive our munitions and food; and that, when opportunities occur, the heavy artillery can be transported by water in case we should find it convenient to attack the fort; moreover, that would preserve our men from the sorry consequences of inaction and encourage our allies to remain on our side.

Parentetical notes in all quotations from the *M  moire* are as in the original; only bracketed material is supplied editorially.

⁵⁹ The corresponding passage in the *M  moire* is:

Thereupon I decided to send Mr. Wart to the Governor with one of the young Indians and an interpreter; I also thought it my duty to inform the Governors of Maryland and of Pennsylvania about this news. I sent the other Indian back to the Half King with the speeches enclosed in the following letter.

This is followed in the *M  moire* by abbreviated versions of Washington's letters to Dinwiddie and Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland, dated April 25, 1754, in *Writings*, Fitzpatrick, ed., I, 40-44. These versions are considerably different from the originals, but it does not seem that the difference is caused by an editor's attempt to shade them and make them better evidence against the British. Some of the changes can be attributed to a garbled translation; some to the fact that Washington's first drafts differed from the letters sent.

⁶⁰ At this time the French themselves referred to the Iroquois Confederacy as the Five Nations; see the quotation from Duquesne's letter to Contrecoeur, September 8, 1754, and note 13 above.

⁶¹ In the *M  moire*, "Chawanons." Shawnee Indians.

⁶² A French name for the Delaware Indians. Later in the journal, "Dela-Sare" or Delaware is used.

⁶³ Evidently an Indian name for Ensign Edward Ward, for it was he who brought the two young men.

I cannot delay letting you know what is in our hearts. That is why I am sending back this young man with this speech to inform you of it, after having sent the other young man to the Governor of Virginia to give him your speech and your belt, and to be an eyewitness of the preparations we are making to come promptly to the aid of those whose cause is as dear to us as our lives. We know the character of the *perfidious French*,⁶⁴ and our conduct will plainly show how much we take it to heart.

I shall not be satisfied if I do not see you before all our forces are assembled at the fork of the road.⁶⁵ That is why I urgently wish that you, Escruniat, and the Belt of Wampum,⁶⁶ or one of you at least, would come to meet us on the way as soon as possible.⁶⁷

I present these strings of wampum to you to avouch for my speech, so that you may remember how sincerely I am your brother and friend.⁶⁸

Signed, Washington or Conotaucarious.⁶⁹

May 4. We met Captain Trente's factor who informed us that 400 more French had certainly arrived at the fort and that the same

⁶⁴ "Traîtres François," so underlined. In the *Mémoire* it is similarly emphasized, by solid capitals.

⁶⁵ Again the French reads, "fort du chemin." See notes 53 and 68.

⁶⁶ The same three Indians who made the speech of April 18, 1754 (see note 52). Oddly enough, the translations in *Diaries* and *Writings* evade this point (which is just as apparent in the *Mémoire*), and say, "you and Scruneayattha, or one of you."

⁶⁷ Here the version in the *Mémoire* adds, "to assist us in council."

⁶⁸ Both Sparks (*Writings*, II, 7-8) and Ford (*Writings*, I, 53-54) give a version of this speech as quoted in Washington's letter to Dinwiddie of April 25, 1754. This version is obviously not a translation from the *Mémoire*, even though Fitzpatrick (*Writings*, I, 40) omits it from his copy of the letter, referring by a note to a version evidently translated from the *Mémoire*. The Sparks version follows:

Sachems, Warriors of the Six United Nations, Shannoahs, and Delawares, our friends and brethren. I received your speech by the Buck's brother, who came to us with the two young men five sleeps after leaving you. We return you thanks from hearts glowing with affection for your steadfast adherence to us, for your kind speech, and for your wise counsels and directions to the Buck's brother.

The young man will inform you where he met a small part of our army advancing towards you, clearing the road for a great number of our warriors, who are immediately to follow with our great guns, our ammunition, and our provisions.

I could not delay to let you know our hearts, and have sent back one of the young men with this speech to acquaint you with them. I have sent the other, according to your desire, to the governor of Virginia, with the Buck's brother, to deliver your speech and wampum, and to be an eyewitness of the preparations we are making to come in haste to support you, whose interest is as dear to us as our lives. We resent the usage of the treacherous French, and our conduct will henceforth plainly show how much we have it at heart.

I cannot be easy without seeing you before our forces meet at the

number were expected in a short time. He also informed us that they were busy building two strong houses, one upon the Oyo, and the other upon the River Mal engueulée,⁷⁰ both of them about three hundred rods from their junction; and that they are setting up a battery on an islet between them.⁷¹

May 5. We were joined by another trader coming from Aliganie⁷² who confirmed the same news, and who added that the French were building in the place where the Oyo Company had at first intended to build a fort, at the mouth of the small River Shutties.⁷³

May 7. We met a trader who informed us that the French had come to the mouth of the River Rouge, and that they had taken possession of it with about four hundred men.⁷⁴

May 8. This report was contradicted by some other traders who came directly from there.⁷⁴

May 10. A trader arrived from the Wyendot country, having passed by the Mal engueulé forks⁷⁵ where he had seen the Half King and the other chiefs of the Six Nations who had just received the speech I had sent them. The Half King showed the pleasure it had given him and, before the trader left, a detachment of 50 men was sent to meet us. He informs me that the French are working with all their might to build a fort on the point which I had indicated to the government. On the way this same merchant met M. La Force at Mr. Gist's new plantation with three other Frenchmen and two Indians who had come to reconnoiter the country of

fork of the roads [!], and therefore I have the greatest desire that you and Escuniate, or one of you, should meet me on the road as soon as possible to assist us in council.

To assure you of the good will we bear you, and to confirm the truth of what has been said, I herewith present to you a string of wampum, that you may thereby remember how much I am your brother and friend.

⁶⁰ In the *Mémoire*, "Conotocarius." At this point the *Mémoire* has another day entry:

April 28. Some artillery reaches us, which was taken up as far as the mouth of the Patterson River.

This is followed by a parenthetical note:

(From April 29 to May 11, the Journal contains only troop movements and other things of little interest.)

⁷⁰ Monongahela.

⁷¹ This entry does not appear in the *Mémoire*.

⁷² Allegheny.

⁷³ This entry does not appear in the *Mémoire*. In his Diary of 1753 (*Diaries*, I, 44), Washington says that "the Place where the Ohio Company intended to erect a Fort" is "about two Miles from" the Forks, "on the South East Side of the River," and that Shingiss (Shingas) lives there. This is McKees Rocks, at the mouth of Chartier's Creek.

⁷⁴ This entry does not appear in the *Mémoire*.

⁷⁵ In the original, "forts," but the same reasoning applies as in the case of the "fort du chemin" (see note 53), and is supported by the mention of the Forks in a parallel passage in Washington's letter to Dinwiddie, cited in note 76.

the River Rouge and the vicinity under the specious pretense of hunting deserters.⁷⁶

May 11. I detached a party of 25 men commanded by Captain Sthefen⁷⁷ and Ensign La Peronie. They had orders to go to Mr. Gist's and to find out exactly where La Force and his party were; and in case they should be in the vicinity, not to pursue them.⁷⁸ I also ordered them to examine the surrounding woods closely and to *try to grab some Frenchman*⁷⁹ if they should find one apart from the rest, and bring him in so that information could be gotten from him; and if they should meet the Half King, to send him to me with a small escort.⁸⁰

May 15. I learned by letter, among other things, that Governor Charlay (Shirley)⁸¹ had sent six hundred men to harass the French in Canada. I hope that that will give them something to do, and will hinder them from sending so many forces to the River Oyo.⁸²

May 16. Met two traders who say they fled for fear of the French, whose parties were often seen toward Mr. Gist's. These

⁷⁶ This entry does not appear in the *Mémoire*, but Washington's letter to Dinwiddie, May 9, 1754, has similar information and makes it evident that the trader was Robert Calender (*Writings*, Fitzpatrick, ed., I, 46):

We Daily receive Intelligence from Ohio by one or other of the Traders, that are continually retreating to the Inhabitants with their Effects . . . ; and this day, by one Kalender, I received an acc't, which he sets forth as certain, that there is 600 [Frenchmen] at the Falls of Ohio, from whence they int'd to move up to the lower Shawno Town, at the mouth of Scioto Ck. to Erect other Fortresses. He likewise says, that the forces at the Forks are Erect'g their works with their whole Force, and as he was coming met at Mr. Gist's new settlem't Monsieur La Force with 4 Sold'rs, who, under the specious pretence of hunting Deserters, were reconnoitring and discovering the Country. He also brings the agreeable news, that the Half King has receiv'd, and is much pleas'd with, the speech I sent them, and is now upon their March with 50 Men to meet us.

⁷⁷ Captain Adam Stephen. The *Mémoire* gives the name correctly as Stephen, even though the translation in *Diaries* makes it "Stevens."

⁷⁸ In the *Mémoire* the last part of this sentence reads, "and in case they should be in the vicinity, to stop the pursuit and keep out of harm's way."

⁷⁹ Underlined in the original; in the *Mémoire* only one word, "pincer" (grab), is italicized.

⁸⁰ In place of the last clause, the *Mémoire* has several:

. . . to secure exact information on whether it is possible to make a descent by water; and to look for some suitable place in the vicinity of the mouth of the River de Red-stone where a fort might be built; and to greet the Half King and send him to me with a small escort; and likewise to get information as to the views of the French, their intentions, what they have done, and what they have in mind to do, and to gather everything which might give us knowledge.

This is followed in the *Mémoire* by another day entry:

May 12. We broke camp, and went on top of an elevation where we made a halt to dry off. We had been obliged to ford a rapids where our shortest men had water up to their armpits.

⁸¹ This parenthetical note is in the original.

⁸² In the *Mémoire* the equivalent of this entry is given as part of the entry

traders are of the opinion, like many others, that it is not possible to open a road for loaded wagons from here to the River de la Roche Rouge.

May 17. This evening Mr. Wart arrives with the young Indian returning from Villamsbourg,⁸³ and delivers to me a letter in which the Governor is so good as to give his approval to my proceedings, and in which he shows his displeasure with Captain Trente, for whom he has ordered a trial for having left his men at Oyo without orders.⁸⁴

This evening also arrive two Indians from Oyo who come from the fort of the French.⁸⁵ They report that they were using all their forces to build their fort which, six days ago,⁸⁶ was breasthigh, two fathoms thick, with the intermediate space filled with earth, stones, etc.

All the trees which were around it have been cut and burned, and grain has been sown in their place. They number only 800 men by their count; the Indians think they number only 600. A larger number is expected in a few days. They think that this will amount to 1,600, by means of which, they say, they can defy the English.⁸⁷

May 19. I dispatched the young Indian, who had returned with Mr. Wart, to the Half King with the following speech.

for May 12. Presumably the date, May 15, was omitted by error in the copy sent to Paris. It reads:

An express reached us with letters which informed us that Colonel Fry, with a detachment of more than a hundred men, was at Winchester, and that he was to set out in a few days to join us; and likewise that Colonel Junis [Innis] was marching with three hundred and fifty men recruited in Carolina; that it was expected that Maryland would raise two hundred men; that Pennsylvania had raised ten thousand pounds (equivalent to about fifty-two thousand five hundred livres) to pay the soldiers of the other colonies, this province furnishing no recruits at all; and that Governor Shirley had sent six hundred men to harass the French in Canada. I hope that that will give them something to do, and will lessen the spirited parties which they are sending to the River Oyo with so much zeal.

⁸³ In the *Mémoire*, "Williamsbourg."

⁸⁴ At this point the *Mémoire* adds:

With these orders, the Governor also informed me that Captain Roi, with an independent company of a hundred men, besides officers, had arrived, and that we could expect them at once; and that the men of New York would join us within ten days.

Captain Roi was doubtless Captain Mackay, and the name is so given in *Diaries*.

⁸⁵ The *Mémoire* adds, "which they left five days ago."

⁸⁶ While the Extract has "Lequel étoit il y a Six jours à hauteur d'appuy," the *Mémoire* has "qui est déjà à hauteur d'appuy"—that is, "which is already breasthigh."

⁸⁷ At this point the *Mémoire* adds another day entry:

May 18. The continuing high water prevented me from moving my men and baggage forward, which made me decide to get into a state of defense against any immediate attack of the enemy, and to go down myself to observe the river.

To the Half King, etc.

My brothers, I am delighted to learn that you are on the march to come to assist me with your counsels. Courage, my brothers! March quickly toward your brother the English, for new forces are joining him which will protect you from your *perfidious enemy*⁸⁸ the French. I must see you, my friends, to inform you of the agreeable speech which your brother the Governor is sending to you.⁸⁹ He is very sorry for the ill usage you have received. The high waters do not permit us to come to you promptly. That is why I have sent this young man to invite you to come and meet us. He can tell you many things which he has seen in Virginia, and how well he was treated by the most eminent men. They did not treat him as the French treat your men who go to the fort. They refuse them food, while he was given everything his heart desired.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Underlined in the original.

⁸⁹ In the *Mémoire* this sentence reads, "I must send to you, my friends, to inform you of the agreeable speech which the Governor of Virginia sent to you."

⁹⁰ The *Mémoire* adds to the speech, "To assure you of the truth of all this, I give you a string of wampum." Next, the *Mémoire* has two additional day entries:

May 20. I embarked in a canoe with Lieutenant West, three soldiers, and an Indian and after going along for the distance of half a mile, we were obliged to come back on shore, where I met Peter Suver, a trader, who was inclined to discourage me in the search I was making for a passage by water. That made me change my intention of having canoes made. I had the men march, as the water was low enough so that they could cross. However, I continued to go down along the river, and finding that our canoes were too small for six men, we stopped and made a boat. With this and with our canoes we reached Turkey-Foot (in French, *le pied de dinde*) at the beginning of the night. Eight or ten miles from there we met with several slight obstructions of little consequence, unless the water should get still lower. We passed several places suitable for canoes.

May 21. We passed some time in examining the place, which we found very suitable for the location of a fort, as it was at the junction of three branches, and in most places there was a good gravel foundation upon which to establish it. The sketch, to be seen here, is as exact as I could make it without instruments.

We went about two miles to observe the course of the river, which is narrow and with many eddies, full of rocks, and rapid. We crossed it, although the water was quite high. This makes me think there would be no difficulty in traveling it in canoes, which could only be with hard work, however.

Besides this rapids, we found others, but as the water is less deep there, and the current more gentle, we easily crossed them, after we found little or no depth. The mountains lie on both sides of the river. We went down about ten miles, when a large rapids obliged us to stop and come ashore.

This is followed by a parenthetical note:

(From May 22 to 24, the journal contains only a description of the country.)

May 24. This morning the young Indian arrived whom I had sent to the Half King,⁹¹ from whom he brought me the following letter.

To the first of His Majesty's officers whom this may concern.

Upon hearing report that the French army is going to meet Mr. George Washington, I exhort you, my brothers, to be on your guard against them, for they are resolved to strike the first English they meet. They have been on the march for two days; I cannot tell in what number.⁹² The Half King and the rest of the chiefs will join you in five days to hold a council. I do not say more, but give my compliments to my brothers the English.

Signed, the Half King.⁹³

I got as much information as I could from these young Indians about all the circumstances, but they did not give me much enlightenment.

They say that there are often parties in the field, but they do not know of any large one coming in this direction. The French continue to erect their fort. What is on the land side is very well enclosed, but the side toward the water is much neglected, at least it is undefended. They have only nine pieces of cannon, and some of them very small, and none of them are mounted. There are two on the point, and the others some distance from the fort on the land side.

They report that there are many sick and that they could not find any Indian to guide their small parties in the direction of our camp.⁹⁴

⁹¹ In the *Mémoire* this sentence begins, "This morning an Indian arrived accompanied by the young Indian whom I had sent to the Half King. . . ."

⁹² In the *Mémoire* the punctuation is confusing, and makes it seem as if the Half King were doubtful how many would be present at the council.

⁹³ The original of this letter, which was written for the Half King by John Davison, an interpreter, was copied in Washington's letter to Dinwiddie, May 27, 1754 (*Writings*, Fitzpatrick, ed., I, 53-54):

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

On acc't of a french army to meat Miger Georg Wassiontton therfor my Brotheres I deesir you to be awar of them for deisin'd to strik ye forist English they see ten days since they marchd I 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 Brotheres the English.

The Half King

John Davison

⁹⁴ The *Mémoire* adds, "as those Indians had refused them." Here another paragraph is inserted in the *Mémoire*:

The same day we arrived at the meadows at two o'clock, where we found a trader who told us he came that morning from Mr. Gist's, where he had seen two Frenchmen the previous night; and that he knew there was a strong detachment on the march, which confirmed the news we had received from the Half King. Consequently, I stationed troops behind two entrenchments which were natural formations, and had our wagons put there, too.

May 25. I sent out a party on horseback⁹⁵ along the roads to go scouting, and, in addition, several other small parties to reconnoiter the roads. I gave the horsemen orders to examine the country well and to try to get news of the French, of their strength, of their movement, etc.

In the evening all these parties returned without having discovered anything, although they went quite far in the direction from which it was said the party was coming.⁹⁶

May 27. Mr. Gist arrived early in the morning with news that M. La Force with 50 men, whose tracks he had seen,⁹⁷ had gone to his plantation the day before about noon, and that they would have killed a cow and broken everything in his house, *if they had not been prevented by two Indians*.⁹⁸ whom he had left to guard his house. Immediately I sent out 75 men under the command of Captain Hog with suitable instructions.⁹⁹

The French had made much inquiry at Mr. Gist's on the subject of the Half King. I did not fail to let some young men know about this, who were in our camp, and this had the effect I wanted. *I made them understand that*¹⁰⁰ the French wanted to kill the Half King. Immediately they offered to chase after the French with our men; and if it was true that they had either insulted or killed him, one of them would go promptly to carry the news to the Mingo villages¹⁰¹ and arouse the warriors to strike. One of these young Indians was sent out toward Mr. Gist's, and in case he did not meet the Half King, he was to send him a speech by a Delaware.

About eight o'clock in the evening, I received an express from the Half King, who informed me that, as he was coming to join us, they had seen along the road the tracks of two men which went down into a gloomy hollow, and that he imagined that the whole party was hidden there. Instantly I sent out forty men; I ordered our munitions put in a secure place, for fear that this was a stratagem of the French to attack our camp. I left a guard there to defend it, and with the rest of my men began to march through

⁹⁵ In the *Mémoire*, "parti à cheval" (party on horseback) becomes "parti à Chevert."

⁹⁶ Here the *Mémoire* has another day entry:

May 26. William Jenkins arrived. He was an express from Colonel Fry with a letter from Colonel Fanfax [Fairfax], who informed me that the Governor himself, Colonel Corbin and Ludruelt [Ludwell] had arrived in Winchester, and wished to see the Half King there, whereupon I sent a speech to him.

⁹⁷ In the *Mémoire*, "five miles from here" is inserted at this point.

⁹⁸ Underlined in the original.

⁹⁹ In the *Mémoire*, the last sentence reads:

Immediately I sent out sixty-five men under the command of Captain Hog, Lieutenant Merer [Mercer], Ensign La Peronie, three sergeants, and three corporals, with instructions.

¹⁰⁰ Underlined in the original.

¹⁰¹ In the *Mémoire*, this is singular, "village."

a heavy rain, with the night as black as pitch and by a path scarcely wide enough for a man. We were often astray for 15 or 20 minutes before we could find the path again, and often we would jostle each other without being able to see. We continued our march all night long, and¹⁰² about sunrise we arrived at the camp of the Indians, where, after holding council with the Half King, we decided to strike jointly.

Therefore, he sent out a couple of scouts to see where they were and how they were arranged, and also to reconnoiter the vicinity, after which we carried out our arrangements to surround them, and we began to march in Indian fashion, one after the other. We had advanced quite near them according to plan, when they discovered us. Then I gave my men orders to fire; my fire was supported by Mr. Wage's,¹⁰³ and my men and his received the entire fire of the French during most of the action, which lasted only a quarter of an hour until the enemy were routed.

We killed M. de Jumonville, commanding this party, with nine others; we wounded one and made 21 prisoners, among whom were M. La Force, M. Drouillon, and two cadets. The Indians scalped the dead, and took most of their arms. Afterward, we marched with the prisoners under guard to the camp of the Indians, where again I held council with the Half King, etc.¹⁰⁴ There I informed him that the Governor wanted to see him, and was waiting for him at Wischester.¹⁰⁵ He replied that that was impossible for the time being, as his men were in too grave danger from the French whom they had just attacked; that he must send messengers to all the allied nations to invite them to take up the hatchet. In fact, he sent the message, and sent with it a French scalp, to the Dela8ares¹⁰⁶ by one of their young men. This man wished to have a part of the presents which were intended for them, and that the rest should be kept for another occasion. He intended to go and find his family and several others, in order to bring them toward Mr. Gist's, whither he asked me to send some horses and men to aid them in coming to our camp. Afterward, I proceeded with the prisoners. They informed me that they had been sent with a summons for me to retire, a specious pretense so that they could reconnoiter our camp and learn our forces and our situation. (See the summons and the orders.)¹⁰⁷ It was so evident that they had come to reconnoiter us that I admired their

¹⁰² In the *Mémoire*, the date, May 28, is inserted here.

¹⁰³ The *Mémoire* gives the name as "Wager." In the translation in *Diaries* it is "Waggoner," identified in a note as Captain Thomas Waggoner, who was wounded in the skirmish.

¹⁰⁴ In the *Mémoire*, "etc." becomes "et" (and).

¹⁰⁵ In the *Mémoire*, "Winchester."

¹⁰⁶ In the *Mémoire*, "Delawares." This variation continues through the rest of the journal.

¹⁰⁷ The *Mémoire* does not have this parenthetical note.

assurance in declaring to me that they had come as an embassy. Their instructions stated that they were to get information about the roads and rivers and about the country as far as Potomac.¹⁰⁸ Instead of coming as an ambassador should, publicly and in an open manner, they came with the greatest secrecy and looked for the most hidden retreats, much more suitable for deserters than for an ambassador. They camped there, they remained hidden there for two whole days,¹⁰⁹ when they were no more than 5 miles from us. They sent out spies to reconnoiter our camp; the whole company retraced its steps for two miles; two messengers were sent, as mentioned in the instructions, to warn M. de Contrecoeur of the place where we were and of our arrangement, so that he could send out his detachment to enforce¹¹⁰ the summons as soon as it should be given.

Besides, that was an escort worthy of a prince serving as ambassador, instead of which it was only a mere French petty officer; spies are not needed by an ambassador, whose dignity is always sacred. If they came with good intentions, why stay for two days five miles away from us without imparting the summons to me, or revealing anything relating to his embassy. That alone would be sufficient to give birth to the strongest suspicions, and we ought to do them this justice, that if they wanted to hide, they could not have chosen better than they did.

The summons is so insolent, and looks so much like bragging, that if two men had come to bring it openly, it would have been an excessive indulgence to have suffered them to return.

The Half King's opinion in this case is that they had evil designs, and that it was a mere pretext; that they had never pretended to come to us as anything but enemies, and that if we had been so foolish as to let them go, he would never help us to capture other Frenchmen.

They pretend that they called to us as soon as we were discovered. This is an absolute falsehood, for I was then at the head of the file going toward them, and I can affirm that, as soon as they saw us, they ran for their arms without calling, which I should have heard if they had done so.

May 29. I dispatched Ensign la Tour¹¹¹ to the Half King with about 25 men and almost as many horses, and as I expected that there would constantly be French parties which would follow the one which had been defeated, I sent an express to Colonel Frey¹¹² in order to get reinforcements.

¹⁰⁸ In the *Mémoire*, "Potomack."

¹⁰⁹ In the *Mémoire*, "for entire days."

¹¹⁰ In this *Mémoire* this becomes "execute."

¹¹¹ In the *Mémoire*, "Latour." The *Diaries* give the name as Towers, and identify him as Ensign James Towers, of the Virginia Regiment.

¹¹² Spelled correctly, Fry, in the *Mémoire*.

After that, the French wanted to speak to me, and asked me on what footing I regarded them, whether as part of the retinue of an ambassador or as prisoners of war. I informed them that it was in the latter category, and I told them my reasons as stated above.

May 30. I detached Mr. Wart¹¹³ to take the prisoners to Wischeschester,¹¹⁴ with an escort of twenty men.

Fearing that as soon as the news of this defeat should reach the French we might be attacked by considerable forces, I began to raise a fort with a little palisade.

June 1. A trader arrived with the Half King. They say that, at the same time M. de Jumonville was sent here, another party had been detached toward the lower part of the river, in order to capture and kill all the English they might find.

We are finishing our fort.

In the evening Mr. Tours¹¹⁵ arrives with the Half King, Queen Aliquippa,¹¹⁶ and about 25 or 30 families, making nearly 80 to 100 persons, including women and children.

The old king, being invited to come into our tents, tells me that he had sent Monakatoocha¹¹⁷ to the Village des Logs¹¹⁸ with a belt of wampum and four French scalps which were to be sent to the 6 Nations, to the Wyendots,¹¹⁹ etc., in order to inform them that they had attacked the French, and to ask for their assistance to uphold this first blow.

He also tells me that he had something to say in council, but that he would postpone it until the arrival of the Chavanons¹²⁰ whom we expected the next morning.

June 2. Two or three families of Chavanons and Loups arrived; there were prayers in the fort.

June 3. The Half King assembles the council, and informs me that some time ago he received a speech from la Grand'Chaudiere¹²¹ in reply to the one he had sent to him.

June 5. An Indian arrives from Oyo who had gone to the French fort a short time before; he confirms the news of the two traders

¹¹³ In the *Mémoire*, "I detached Mr. Wart and Mr. Spindorph. . . ." The *Diaries* give the name as Spiltdorph, and identify him as probably the Swedish gentleman volunteer mentioned in the *Mémoire's* version of the journal under the date of April 2 (see note 40).

¹¹⁴ In the *Mémoire*, "Winchester."

¹¹⁵ In the *Mémoire*, "M. Touvers Enseigne." The same as "la Tour" or "Latour," identified as Ensign James Towers, in note 111.

¹¹⁶ "Alquippa" in the *Mémoire*. Queen Aliquippa.

¹¹⁷ The same as Escruniat or Scaroyady; see note 52.

¹¹⁸ Logstown.

¹¹⁹ "Wiendots" in the *Mémoire*.

¹²⁰ Spelled "Chavanons" in the *Mémoire*. This variation continues through the rest of the journal.

¹²¹ In the *Mémoire*, "la Grande-chaudiere." Big Kettle was the Virginian name of Canajachrera, a Seneca chief, whom the Pennsylvanians called "Broken Kettle" (Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, I, 345).

taken by the French and sent to Canada. He says they have set up their palisade,¹²² and enclosed their fort with very big trees.

There are eight Indian families toward this side of the river who are coming to join us. He met one of the Frenchmen who escaped from the engagement with M. de Jumonville, and who was without shoes or stockings and almost unable to walk; but he had let him go, not knowing that they had been attacked.

June 6. Mr. Gist on his return informs me of the death of poor Colonel Fry, and that the French prisoners arrived safe and sound at Wchestre,¹²³ with which the Governor had great satisfaction.

I learn also that Mr. Montour¹²⁴ is coming with a commission to command 200 Indians.¹²⁵

June 12. Nine French deserters arrive, giving us confirmation of what we had conjectured about the designs of M. de Jumonville's party, and that more than a hundred soldiers are waiting only for a favorable opportunity to come and join us.¹²⁶ They in-

¹²² Plural in the *Mémoire*, "palisades."

¹²³ In the *Mémoire*, "Winchester."

¹²⁴ "Mantour" in the *Mémoire*. Captain Andrew Montour, a half-breed, whom a note in the *Mémoire* calls "ce Canadien deserteur."

¹²⁵ At this point the *Mémoire* has three additional paragraphs:

Mr. Gist had encountered a French deserter who had assured him that they numbered only five hundred men when they took the fort from Mr. Wart, and that they were fewer at present, having sent fifteen men to Canada to inform the Governor of their success; that there were still about two hundred men who were waiting only for a favorable opportunity to come and join us.

June 9. The final part of the Virginia Regiment arrived under the command of Colonel Must [Colonel George Muse]. We learned that the Independent Company from Carolina had arrived at Wils-creck [Will's Creek].

June 10. I received [?reviewed] the regiment, and in the evening I had word that some Frenchmen were advancing toward us. Thereupon I sent a party of Indians scouting toward Gist's, to try to find them and learn their numbers. At the beginning of the night we had an alarm, but it was false.

¹²⁶ In the *Mémoire* this sentence is expanded into several:

June 12. Two of the scouts whom we had sent out yesterday, returned after having discovered a small party of Frenchmen; the others continued as far as Stuart's. Upon this news, I thought it necessary to march with the greater part of the regiment, in order to find these ninety men of whom we had intelligence. Consequently, I gave Colonel Must [Muse] orders to take away all our baggage and munitions, to place them in the fort, and to establish a good guard there until my return; and I marched at the head of one hundred thirty men and about thirty Indians; but at the distance of half a mile I met the other Indians who told me there were only nine deserters, and I sent Mr. Mantour with some Indians to bring them in safely. I had them clothed, and they give us confirmation of what we had conjectured about the designs of M. de Jumonville's party, and that more than a hundred soldiers are waiting only for a favorable opportunity to come and join us; that M. de Contrecoeur was expecting a reinforcement of four hundred men, and that these four hundred men were to have arrived some time before the

form me¹²⁷ also that the Dela8ares and the Cha8anons have taken up the hatchet against us. Thereupon resolved to invite these two nations to come in council at Mr. Gist's; for this sent messengers and belts.

June 13. I induce these deserters to write the following letter to their comrades who wish to desert. (It is not in the journal.)¹²⁸

June 17. I dispatched an express to the Half King, for him to send a message to the Loups, which he has done as I expected him to do.

June 18. Eight Mingots¹²⁹ arrive from Loiston,¹³⁰ and immediately upon arriving tell me of a commission they have and that a council must be held.

When we were assembled, they said, briefly, that they had often wished to see their brothers in the field in force, and they begged us not to think it amiss that, because they were among the French, they conformed to some of their customs; that they were naturally inclined to serve the English;¹³¹ and some other things in that vein. They said finally that they had brought a speech which they must make promptly. That, with some other things, made us suspect that they were ill-disposed toward us, and for that reason I postponed giving them a hearing until the arrival of the Half King. I also asked the Dela8ares to have patience until then, because I was waiting only for their arrival to hold council, and because I expected that they would arrive during the day.

After the eight Mingots had left their council, they sent me some strings of wampum to beg me to excuse them because they were in such a hurry to give their speech; but that they saw it was right to wait for the arrival of the Half King.

June 19,¹³² The Half King having arrived, I consented to give them a hearing. For this purpose a council was held in the camp, at which were present the Half King and several Iroquois, Loups, and Cha8anons, up to the number of 40.

The spokesman of the Six Nations addressed this speech to the Governor of Virginia.

attack upon La Force; that the fort was completed; that the gates and the front were covered by artillery; that on the water side there was a double palisade; that they have only eight pieces of small cannon; and that they know how many men we have.

¹²⁷ In the *Mémoire*, "us."

¹²⁸ Parenthetical note in the original. At this point the *Mémoire* has two additional day entries:

June 15. I had the men work on the roads.

June 16. We left for the River Rouge, and were impeded a great deal, as our wagons broke down several times.

¹²⁹ Mingoes, or Iroquois.

¹³⁰ Logstown.

¹³¹ In the *Mémoire*, "that they were naturally inclined to attack the French."

¹³² Here the *Mémoire* has no date, making it appear that the council was held on the 18th.

My brothers, we your brothers of the Six Nations have come at this time to meet you in order to inform you that we have heard it said that you threaten to destroy entirely all your brothers the Indians who would not come to join you on the road. It is for that reason that we who stay in our villages expect every day to be cut in pieces by you. We should like very much to know from you yourself the truth of this news, and that you might not regard it as an improper thing for us to come and inform you of it, since you know very well that bad news commonly makes much more impression on us than good news. So that by your response we may be fully instructed as to the truth, we present to you this

Belt.

We know that upon our return the French will ask us what is the number of our brothers whom we have just seen; so we beg you by this belt to tell it to us, as well as the number of men you expect and at what time, and when you plan to attack the French, so that we can warn our village, and also know what we have to say to the French.

Reply.

My brothers, we are very glad to see you and very sorry that you are troubled by reports which tell you that the English intend to injure any of you or your allies. This news we know must have been forged by the French who are always treacherous and affirming the greatest falsities when they think that it will be advantageous to them. They have a beautiful speech and promise the most beautiful things, but all this is from the lips only, while in his heart there is only corruption and the poison of the serpent. You have been their children, and they have done everything for you, but scarcely have they believed themselves strong enough before they resumed their natural haughtiness and drove you from your lands and declared that you have nothing on Oyo. The English, your true brothers, are too generous to think that one might ever act in this way toward the Six Nations, their faithful allies. After you went to the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania, they have at your repeated requests sent an army to maintain your rights, to restore you to possession of your lands and to guard your wives and children, to dispossess the French, to maintain your rights, to secure all this country to you. It is for this that the arms of the English are actually employed; it is for the safety of your wives and children that we are fighting. As this is the real reason for our conduct, we cannot reasonably doubt that the rest of your brothers¹³³ will join with us to fight the common enemy. Those who do not join will be responsible for all the consequences. We desire only that your brothers follow the course which seems to them most proper.

¹³⁰ In the *Mémoire*, "the rest of your forces."

It is the Six Nations who are principally interested in this war. It is for them that we fight, and I should be in despair if I did them the least harm. It is in order to assist you and protect you that we fight. Our arms are open to receive you, and our hands ready to feed your families during the course of the war. The Governor of Virginia has asked several times that they be sent to him, so that he could see them with his own eyes, and nourish and clothe them to their satisfaction, but as you cannot decide to send them to him, we are ready to share our provisions amicably with you, and we shall take measures and give orders so that enough may be brought to feed and clothe your wives and children. From this conduct it may be evidently concluded how much more the English love and esteem their faithful allies the Six Nations than the French do. As we have taken up the sword in your defense and in your cause, no longer hesitate, no longer postpone for a moment, but put all your wives and children under our protection. It is thus that they will find provisions in abundance. At the same time set your young men and your warriors to sharpening their hatchets in order to join and unite vigorously with us in our battles. My brothers, the present which I offer you is not as considerable as by inclination I should wish it, but I expect in a short time a large quantity of merchandise which will be at my disposition to recompense those who will have manifested their bravery and their energy at this juncture. Furthermore, I shall recompense them in the most generous way.

Take courage, my brothers, save your country, and secure it to your children. Let me know your hearts in this conjuncture so that I may give an account of your opinions to your great friend and brother the Governor of Virginia.

To assure you of my sincerity and of my esteem I present to you this belt.

June 20. Council continued.

As soon as they realized that they had been suspected of favoring the interests of the French, the Dela8ares asked the reason why they had been sent for, and what they must tell them on their return.

I answered them that it was to let them know that, upon their repeated entreaties, we had come in main force to assist them, that we proposed to restore them to possession of the lands which had been taken from them by the French.

That as they had often asked our assistance in the capacity of our ancient and faithful allies, I invited them to come and put themselves under our protection with the women and children. Thereupon the spokesman spread out his blanket on the floor, and upon this blanket placed various belts and strings of wampum in the order he had received them from the French.

Here are repeated the speeches of M. de Contrecoeur.¹³⁴

After that the Delaware speaker addressed the following speech to me.

My brothers, the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania, we your brothers the Delawares remember perfectly well the Treaty of Loiston¹³⁵ at which you and our uncles the Six Nations, in consideration of the bad situation we were placed in for lack of a man at our head to lead us, thereupon gave a king to us then and told us that he would transact all public business between you and us. You recommended to us that we should not listen to all the vain noises which might circulate, but to consider well and do what seemed right. We assure you that we have not believed all these reports, and we will never believe them, but that we wish to be guided by you, our brothers, and by our uncles the Six Nations, and to do on every occasion what will be right and what you advise us to do. In order to assure you of our willingness to fulfill our engagements with you, we present to you this belt.

Next they made the following address to the Six Nations.

Our brothers,¹³⁶ thirteen days ago we received this belt from the council of Onontio.¹³⁷ We do not doubt that you knew of it. He^{137a} exhorted us to remember the old days when he covered us with a robe reaching down to our heels. Then he asked us to raise it up to our knees and tie it well, and go and find him at the source of Susquehanna, where he has prepared us a place to live; and that he has sent his speech to those of our nation who live in the direction of Menisintés,¹³⁸ inviting them to come to the place indicated

¹³⁴ The speeches are not given in either version. The *Mémoire* has an amusing footnote:

Major Washington says nothing at all in his Journal as to what the speeches of the French were. He doubtless had good reasons for suppressing them.

¹³⁵ At the Treaty of Logstown, June 11, 1752, the Half King Tanacharison made Shingas the sachem or "king" of the Delawares.

¹³⁶ Here the *Mémoire* has, more properly, "Our uncles."

¹³⁷ Here the *Mémoire* has "council of Onondayo." Onondayo may be another form of Onontio, the Iroquois name for the Governor of Canada which was derived from the name of an early governor, Montmagny. In this case, however, both forms may possibly be errors for Onondago or Onondaga. The great council of Onondaga was the governing body of the Six Nations, from which it appears more likely that such a message would have come. Washington, in his reply (see page 30 and note 140), does not seem to interpret Onontio or Onondayo as referring to the Governor of Canada, but perhaps Washington misunderstood the name.

^{137a} So far as the French is concerned, the "he" could be "it," referring to the council. This and the subsequent pronouns referring to Onontio, "il," "le," "lui," "son," etc., have been translated "he," "him," "his," although they could just as well be "it" or "its." The translation in *Diaries* renders the pronouns as "they," "them," and "their," which does avoid some awkwardness in language.

¹³⁸ That is, the Delawares living toward the Minisink country, the upper Delaware valley.

by him to live with us. He also sent us a speech to warn us that the English and the French were on the point of fighting on the River Oyo; and that he exhorted us to do nothing in this conjuncture but what might be reasonable, and what he will tell us himself. Finally, he recommended to us that we hold fast to the chain of friendship which has sustained so long between us and him and our brothers the English.

A belt.

Next the Dela8ares spoke to the Cha8anons as follows.

Our grandsons, by this belt we take you in our arms and we withdraw you from where you are at the present time upon Oyo, and we bring you among us to live where we live, and where you and we will be able to live in peace and in repose. Thereupon the council adjourned for the next morning.

June 21. We assembled very early in the morning, and first I spoke to the Dela8ares in the following manner.

My brothers, by your open and generous conduct upon this occasion you have made yourselves dearer than ever to us. We thank you for not going to Venango at the first invitation of the French; and the childish way in which they treat you excites in us a just and lively resentment. He calls you his children, and he speaks to you as if you were really children, and as if you had no more good sense than children. My brothers, weigh and compare all their discourses, and you will find that everything amounts to telling you, I am going to open your eyes, to unstop your ears, and other like trifles such as one says to amuse children. You will also notice, my brothers, that if they give a speech or make a promise and confirm it with a belt, they think that that obligates them only for as much time as they think it is in their interest to hold to it. They have given an example of this, and I want to point it out to you, by the leap which they say they have made over the barrier which you had placed against them, which ought to give you the most righteous indignation, my brothers, and make you embrace the favorable opportunity which we offer to you, since we have come at your request to aid you, by which means you can make them jump back over much faster than they came.

String of wampum.

The French continually ask you not to listen to the bad reports which will be made to you about them who are your brothers. If they did not know very well in their hearts how much they deserved them from their unjust proceedings toward you, why should they suspect that they are accused? Why should they take every care to forewarn you, in order to prevent you from believing what you are told against them? As to what they say of us, our conduct in itself gives an answer to it. Examine the truth yourselves; you know the road which leads to our home; you have lived among us;

you know how to speak our language. But to refute everything which might be said, and to assure you of our brotherly friendship, we again invite your old men, your women, and your children to take refuge under our protection and in our arms, in order to be abundantly nourished while your warriors and young men join with ours and espouse the common cause.

A string.

We thank you, our brothers, with all our hearts for having declared your resolution to fulfill the engagements which you undertook at the Treaty of Loiston, and we can only praise your generous conduct;¹³⁹ with regard to your grandsons, the Cha8anons, this conduct pleases us very much.

We are very much obliged to Onontio for recommending to you to hold very fast¹⁴⁰ to the chain of friendship which binds us. I dare say that if he had known how closely this war interests you, seeing that it for the love of you and upon your request that we have taken up arms, he would have ordered you to declare yourselves and to work unceasingly against the common enemy of the Six Nations. In order to assure you of my affection and to confirm the truth of what I have told you, I present to you this belt.

Two large strings.

Afterward, the council broke up, and these treacherous demons who had been sent by the French to spy went away, not without some suitable stories prepared to amuse the French, and to tend to make our own designs succeed.

As they had spoken to me of 1,600 Frenchmen and 700 Indians who were on the march to reinforce those at the fort, I persuaded the Half King to send out three of his men in order to learn the truth, although I believed that this news was only soldiers' talk. These men¹⁴¹ were sent secretly before the council was finished, with orders to go to the fort, and to gather information painstakingly from all the Indians they would find there; and if there were any news worth the trouble, one of them would return, and the others would continue their journey as far as Venango and around the lake, in order to learn everything exactly.

I also persuaded King Schingués¹⁴² to keep scouts in the field along the river to give us news in case any Frenchmen came. I

¹³⁹ In the *Mémoire* there is no punctuation mark at this point, making a slight difference in the meaning.

¹⁴⁰ In the *Mémoire* this sentence begins, "We are very much obliged for the counsel which Onondayo has given you, recommending that you hold very fast. . . ." Here again, a literal reading of the text in both versions has Washington thanking Onontio or Onondayo, the Governor of Canada, for advising the Delawares to remain neutral; but it is conceivable that Onontio and Onondayo are the translator's or copyist's errors for Onondaga. See notes 137, 137^a, and 145.

¹⁴¹ In the Extract, "Ces Gens," but in the *Mémoire*, "ces Sauvages" (these Indians).

¹⁴² Shingas.

gave him a letter which he was to send me by his messengers, in order to prevent any one from imposing on me to alarm us.

Although we had not persuaded King Schingués and the other . . . ¹⁴³ Dela8ares to retire to our . . . ¹⁴⁴ with their families, because of the fear they had of the farfetched counsel and . . . Onontio, ¹⁴⁵ they, however, [gave] ¹⁴⁶ us strong assurances that they would assist us, and pointed out to us how I must act in order to achieve this. This was to prepare a great war belt to invite the warriors who wanted to receive it, to act independently of their King and of the council; Chingués ¹⁴⁷ promised to take privately the most crafty measures to make the affair succeed, although he did not dare to appear openly in the matter.

The day the council finished, I persuaded Kaquehuston, ¹⁴⁸ a trusty Dela8are, to carry to the fort the letter which the French deserters had written to their comrades, and I gave ¹⁴⁹ instructions about how he should carry on his observations in several matters of which I spoke to him; for I am strongly of the opinion that the fort can be surprised, because the French are camping outside and their guard cannot be kept very exactly because of the work they are doing.

I also persuaded George, another trusty Dela8are, to visit the fort a little after Kaquehuston, and gave him suitable instructions, recommending particularly that he hasten his return so that we might have fresh news.

Immediately after the council, in spite of everything Mr. Montour ¹⁵⁰ could do to dissuade them, the Dela8ares, like the Half King and all the other Indians, returned to the Great Meadows; but although we no longer had them, I did not leave off still having our own men constantly out scouting to forestall any surprise.

As it was said to me that if I sent a string of wampum and a speech, that might bring the Half King and his young men back to us, I sent the following speech, by Mr. Croghon. ¹⁵¹

It is already a short time since you and we were assembled. We have been sent here by your brother the Governor of Virginia at

¹⁴³ An illegible word here. In the *Mémoire*, it is "elders" (anciens).

¹⁴⁴ An illegible word here. In the *Mémoire*, it is "camp."

¹⁴⁵ In the *Mémoire* this clause reads, "because of the fear they had of the council of Onondayo. . . ." Again, Onontio or Onondayo apparently refer to the Governor of Canada, but may conceivably be errors for Onondaga, the council place of the Six Nations (see notes 137 and 140). The French of the Extract is somewhat ambiguous and a word is missing because of illegibility: "par La cra[inte] qu'ils avoient du Conseil tenu et . . . Onontio." "Conseil tenu" could mean "council decree" or "council held."

¹⁴⁶ Only the "d" in "donnerent" is legible in the Extract.

¹⁴⁷ In the *Mémoire*, "King Schingués."

¹⁴⁸ Probably Kikyuskung.

¹⁴⁹ The Extract has "je luy donnay," and the *Mémoire*, "je lui ai donné," different tenses, making no change in the translation.

¹⁵⁰ In the *Mémoire*, "Mantour."

¹⁵¹ In the *Mémoire*, "Croghon." George Croghan.

your own request, repeated several times, in order to aid you and fight in your cause. That is why, my brothers, I must request of you that you and your young men come to join us and camp with us, so as to be ready to receive our brother Monacotoocha whom I expect daily.

So that this request may have the desired effect and make the proper impression on your minds, I present to you this string of wampum.

As these Indians, spies of the French, were very curious and asked many questions in order to learn what way we intended to go to the fort, and when we expected to arrive there, I stopped the work on the road and did not push it any farther. I told them finally that we intended to continue through the woods, cutting down the trees, etc., and that we were waiting here for the reinforcement which was coming, with our artillery and our wagons to accompany us there. But as soon as these men had gone, I began work marking out and making a road toward the Roche Rouge.

June 24.¹⁵² In the evening there arrive from the Great Meadows three men, among whom is the son of Queen Aliquippa.¹⁵³ He brings me a letter from Mr. Croghon¹⁵⁴ who informs me of the trouble he has in finding any Indian willing to come; that in truth . . .¹⁵⁵ was disposed and was preparing to join us, but a blow which he had received had prevented him from doing so. I thought it would be wise to send Captain Montour¹⁵⁶ to Fort Necessity to see if it would not be possible to persuade the Indians to come to us.

June 26. An Indian arrives bringing us news that Monacotoocha¹⁵⁷ has burned his village (Loyston), and begun to travel by water to the Roche Rouge with his people, and may be expected there in two days. This Indian passed near the fort and is sure that the French have received no reinforcements except a small number of Indians who have killed, he says, two or three Dela8ares. I did not fail to relate this news with the most appropriate colors to the Indians and particularly to the Dela8ares who are here.

June 27. Detached Captain Louis, Lieutenant Vagghener,¹⁵⁸ and an ensign,¹⁵⁹ two sergeants, two corporals, a drummer, and 60 men to complete building the road¹⁶⁰ as far as the mouth of the River de la Roche Rouge on the Monanghehelé.¹⁶¹

¹⁵² In the *Mémoire*, "June 25."

¹⁵³ Queen Aliquippa.

¹⁵⁴ The same in both versions.

¹⁵⁵ Here there is a blank in the Extract. In the *Mémoire* the name is supplied, "the Half King."

¹⁵⁶ In the *Mémoire*, "Mantour."

¹⁵⁷ In the *Mémoire*, "Monacatoocha."

¹⁵⁸ In the *Mémoire*, "Wagghener." Captain Thomas Waggoner.

¹⁵⁹ In the *Mémoire*, "Ensign Mercer."

¹⁶⁰ In the *Mémoire*, "to try to finish the road."

¹⁶¹ In the *Mémoire*, "Monongehelé." At this point both versions break off abruptly.