

GEORGE WASHINGTON at FORT NECESSITY

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THE WHITE MAN TAKES PERMANENT POSSESSION OF THE FORKS OF THE OHIO

IN those early days of spring, 1754, a scene of strange animation enlivened that 100-acre triangle of wilderness where the waters of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, swirling into turbulent eddies, form the broad Ohio.

Huddled around a crackling blaze of dry grass and driftwood, a little band of Indians powwowed solemnly as they watched the apparently aimless movements of a party of white men in frontier garb removing ponderous packs from gaunt, weary horses. Eagerly the hungry animals stretched their necks toward tiny tufts of grass, fresh and green, that grew amid the wilted remnants of last year's briars and weeds. The men, grumbling and quarreling, shifted the packs in search of axes, picks, and scythes, acting in tardy obedience to the hoarsely shouted orders of an officer in Virginia colonial uniform.

The guttural jargon of the Indians, the vulgar growling of the pack drivers and the rasping voice of the officer furnished a fitting vocal accompaniment to the surrounding scene of confusion and desolation. Debris, left in the wake of countless floods, littered the river banks and marshy depressions within the triangle; dead trees, uprooted in the muck and bound by relentless hawsers of wildgrape vines, had defied the hatchets of woodsmen seeking fuel; few trees were standing, but everywhere hideous stumps and charred fagots from long-extinguished campfires told mutely of the ruthless disregard of the forest; skulls and

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the bones of torsos of large animals whitened in the sodden underbrush; on higher ground, where clay and sand mixed with ageless deposits of pebbles, a firm sod had formed and was covered with vegetation which soon would awaken in the early advent of spring, but as yet was dull and cheerless.

The ground within a radius of several hundred yards of the apex of the triangle was from 15 to 25 feet above the median level of the rivers. At a distance of about 500 yards from the Point where the rivers met and close to the Monongahela shore was a mound-like eminence, rising at least 25 feet and sloping gradually toward the Allegheny. Toward the base of the triangle it dropped more abruptly into a swale 100 yards wide which formed the outlet of a pond that nestled at the base of a hill that rose to a height of nearly 100 feet—the shoulder of lofty highlands rolling to the eastward. Trees of good size covered the summit and slopes of the mound-like hillock, and the hills beyond the pond were heavily wooded.¹

While the noisy pack drivers were busied with their tools, two men, one in the uniform of a captain of Virginia militia, stood on the small eminence surveying the terrain and its approaches. The officer was Captain William Trent, a trader from Philadelphia, well known on the Pennsylvania frontier, who was commissioned by the Virginia authorities to recruit a company of 100 men and proceed to the Forks of the Ohio to erect a fort for the protection of settlers on Virginia lands.² The territory was claimed by both the French and British, and already the French were advancing from Canada in strong force to assert their sovereignty. Fortified posts were established at Presque Isle on Lake Erie and on French Creek, a tributary of the Allegheny, and English traders were expelled from the region. Trent's companion was John Fraser, a trader who had been one of the first British subjects to be chased out by the invaders. He had now established a trading post on the Monongahela at the mouth of Turtle Creek. He was commissioned a lieutenant in Trent's company.

Trent and Fraser joined the third officer, Ensign Edward Ward,

1 Obviously a fanciful but conceivably correct picture of the Forks of the Ohio as it appeared before the white settlements, based on early maps, topographical studies, and the examination of existing wilderness areas.

2 Robert Dinwiddie, *Official Records*, 1:55 (Richmond, Va., 1883).

and walked toward a stake driven in the ground near the Allegheny shore not far from the Point, as the land within the apex of the triangle was afterward called. The stake marked the site of the projected fort. Here Ensign Ward was directed to set his men to work clearing the ground and marking trees for the stockade. Instead of the one hundred men Trent had been authorized to enlist, he brought scarcely half that number, including soldiers to guard the camp.³ The Indians, nominally English allies, as yet had no part in the preparations.

Thus, unimpressively, the white men took permanent possession of the strategic point of land, which after two hundred years, has been enshrined as the historic center of metropolitan Pittsburgh.

Until that hour the red men seldom had been disturbed in their age-long tenure of that entrancing spot of picturesque isolation.

Céloron de Blainville, a Frenchman, in his expedition in 1749, took possession of the region in the name of the King of France by burying leaden plates at various points along the Allegheny and Ohio to establish evidence of his claim. Canadian and English traders pushed into the region in the late 1720's, but did not tarry. The Indians likewise ignored the Point as a place of permanent habitation; their nearest village, Shannopin's Town, was about three miles northeast on the Allegheny. So at last the prowling beasts forsook their lairs and the wild fowl their nesting places. Since that day when Captain Trent unloaded his packhorses and canoes the white man has held constant sway—first the British colonials, then the French, again the British, and finally in 1775 the Americans in their struggle for independence acquired it—shall we say for all time?

CONCERNING PRINCIPALLY VIRGINIA REAL ESTATE

The seizure of the Forks of the Ohio by the Virginians dramatized a chain of events that had embroiled the frontier for a quarter of a century. Land-hungry British colonists in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania cast a jealous eye on the rich territory west of the Appalachians. The Virginians in particular were eager for grants embracing the luscious acres on the Ohio and its tributaries. Placation of the Indian tribes had been quite effective. As long ago as 1722 the powerful Six

³ Authorities differ on the actual number of Trent's men. George Washington, *Writings*, edited by Jared Sparks, 2:7 (Boston, 1834), states that Ensign Ward had only 41 at the time of the capitulation.

Nations, in the Treaty of Albany, had relinquished claims to lands extending westward to the "Blew Mountains" in confirming a British purchase.

Ever since the glamorous ride of Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood and his Knights of the Golden Horseshoe to Swift Run Gap in 1716, the Valley of the Shenandoah, with its boundless acres of rich limestone soil, had beckoned tantalizingly to the realtors of that day in their sumptuous plantations on the James, the Potomac, and the Rappahannock. However, the Indians, according to a strict interpretation of the treaty, still held all the vast domain west of the hazy summits of the Blue Ridge.⁴

After years of patient maneuvering another meeting was arranged with the chiefs of the Six Nations. Emissaries from Virginia and Maryland, at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, June 22 to July 4, 1744, proposed another purchase. Agreement was reached whereby the white men could take the fabulously opulent lands of the Shenandoah Valley and extend the British settlements endlessly westward. A few years later the Governor of Virginia wrote triumphantly that "Virginia resumes its ancient breadth and has no other limits . . . than what its first royal charter assigned it, and that is to the South Sea, including the island of California."⁵

The Treaty of Lancaster resulted in a prodigious free-for-all in the rush for new lands in western Virginia. Hitherto patents had been taken out by rugged individualists on their own initiative. Now they essayed the advantage of acting as a corporate body. The outcome was the organization of the Ohio Company, promoted by Thomas Lee of His Majesty's Council in Virginia. He proposed "through the agency of an association of gentlemen the design of effecting settlements on the wild lands West of the Alleghany Mountains." Lawrence and Augustine

4 Fairfax Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William*, 224-228 (Richmond, Va., 1924). There was an exception to this interpretation of the treaty boundaries. Lord Fairfax received grants for rich territory at the mouth of the Shenandoah, extending westward to the South Branch of the Potomac. The title was confirmed after long litigation.

5 Douglas S. Freeman, *George Washington, a Biography*, 1:187 (New York, 1948). A comprehensive account of the Fairfax grants and the settlement of the Northern Neck may be found in H. C. Groome, *Fauquier During the Proprietorship* (Richmond, Va., 1927).

Washington were among the first to engage in the scheme which also included Lieutenant Governor Robert Dinwiddie, George Mason, and John Hanbury, a London merchant who acted as agent in dealing with the Crown.

A petition presented to the King on the company's behalf was approved promptly, and five hundred thousand acres of land chiefly on the south side of the Ohio between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers were granted "almost in the terms" requested by the company. There was a reservation, however—in the company's favor—of embracing lands on the north side of the Ohio "if it should be deemed expedient." Two hundred thousand acres of land were to be selected immediately to be held for ten years free from quitrent or tax to the King.

By the words of the petition is revealed the Ohio Company's lurking fear of the French whose claim to the region was based on a pretended exploration of LaSalle and on Céloron's exploration. The company was aware that the French were seeking allies among the Indian tribes of the Ohio country. The company's answer was "at their own expense [to] seat one hundred families on the lands within seven years, and build a fort, and maintain a garrison sufficient to protect the settlement."⁶

The company moved with alacrity in preparing for the development of its property. Two large cargoes of goods suitable to the Indian trade were ordered from London for delivery early in 1749-50. It was ordered that "such roads should be made and houses built, as would facilitate the communication from the head of navigation of the Potomac river to some point on the Monongahela." The Virginians did not conceal the fact that they determined to head off the Pennsylvanians in exploiting trade in the Ohio country. In order to obtain a confirmation of the Treaty of Lancaster, thus clearing the way for peaceful settlement, the government of Virginia was petitioned by the Ohio Company to invite the chiefs of the tribes to another treaty.

Christopher Gist, a native of Baltimore, an experienced woodsman and educated as a surveyor, was appointed to explore the Ohio country, examine the quality of the soil and report his findings. In 1750-51 he spent seven months on his tour and penetrated westward north of the

6 George Washington, *Writings*, edited by Jared Sparks, 2:479.

Ohio, returning through Kentucky. En route he visited the Twightwee tribe of Indians on the Miami. Beginning in November, 1751, he spent the winter exploring the country south of the Ohio as far as the Great Kanawha.

Gist presented a glowing report on the value of the lands but could not ignore the resentment of old-time traders toward the prospect of an invasion of their territory by the Virginians; and the French, from political motives, he found, were using their influence to have the Indians withdraw from an alliance with the English. Refusal of the Six Nations to go to Virginia for the treaty in 1750 emphasized the seriousness of the situation and so Governor Dinwiddie called another meeting the following year (1751). This meeting did not materialize but the Indians consented to treat at Logstown (present site of Ambridge, Pennsylvania) in 1752. At the treaty concluded June 13, 1752, the Indians agreed not to molest any settlements on the southeast of the Ohio. It proved to be only a shaky truce.⁷

At the Treaty of Logstown Gist attended as an agent of the Ohio Company and soon was appointed its surveyor with instructions to lay out a town and a fort at the mouth of "Shurtees Creek"—early spelling for Chartiers Creek—the present site of McKees Rocks. The company advanced four hundred pounds for its construction. Gist proved himself a man of decision and resourcefulness. He established his residence on the west side of Chestnut Ridge, south of the Youghiogheny River, and settled eleven families around him. The company established a storehouse at Wills Creek (now Cumberland, Maryland) and, half-heartedly, the building of a forest road was undertaken from Wills Creek to the Monongahela.

Results of the backwoods Munich at Logstown were reflected in the Virginia capital at Williamsburg. In the fall of 1752 word reached Governor Dinwiddie of the increasingly belligerent attitude of the French. The temper of the Indians was not good. It was declared that the Twightwee tribe on the Miami had "gone over" to the intruders from Canada, and there were reports that a party of Frenchmen had infiltrated the sacred precincts of the red men's long house at Logstown.

Dinwiddie was alarmed but tried to put the best face on the situation. He expressed the hope that there was "no great army of French

7 Freeman, *George Washington*, 1:271-272.

among the lakes," and tried to convince himself that the strangers in Logstown were merely French traders intent only on carrying on their usual fur business.

But no longer could the British authorities conceal their heads in the sand. In truth, a French force of one thousand five hundred troops had landed on Lake Erie. Moving southward, they erected forts at Presque Isle and on French Creek. English traders were expelled, and, worse still, Indians who had been friends of the British, were overawed by the military strength and brazen effrontery of the invaders.

Bad news for the Ohio Company! Territory long claimed by England was ruthlessly violated by the intrusion of the subjects of King Louis. It was plain that if their encroachment continued they would close to English settlers and traders the rich lands acquired by the Virginians in the Treaty of Lancaster.

Events moved fast. In October, 1753, a British sloop of war put into the port of Yorktown with royal dispatches for the Governor—His Majesty's reply over his own signature to Dinwiddie's letter describing the activities of the French. King George instructed the Governor to warn the French of their trespass on Britain's territory and formally to call upon them to leave. The home government was further encouraging by promises of military equipment.⁸

Straightway the Virginia General Assembly was called into session for November 1. By the end of October, Williamsburg was thronged with Burgesses, and in the taverns news-hungry speculators clamored for decisive action in dealing with the common enemy who endangered their investments.

The stage was set for the first act in the great international drama that would reach its finale seven years later when in English hands was placed the destiny of the North American continent.

ENTER, A TALL YOUNG MAN WITH MILITARY AMBITION

Not the least conspicuous among the early arrivals at Williamsburg was a tall, sandy-haired young gentleman from the Northern Neck. On the previous 11th of February (old style) he had observed his twenty-first birthday. It is probable that he wore a very correct and very well-tailored military uniform because he was fond of good clothes and

⁸ Virginia House of Burgesses, *Journals, 1752-58*, p. 104 (Richmond, 1909).

was one of the district adjutants of Virginia with the rank of major.

As county surveyor he enjoyed a lucrative profession. In his own right he was the owner of more than four thousand acres of uncumbered land, and in that respect was classed among the larger proprietors. Scarcely eight weeks ago he had been raised to the Master's degree in Fredericksburg Lodge, No. 4, in the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania Free and Accepted Masons.⁹

He was a successful planter, an ardent sportsman, a superb horseman, and socially was received in the best colonial society. He—young Major George Washington—wasted no time with the noisy crowds in the taverns. He came on business of deep interest to himself and of first import to the colony. He had learned of the resolution to send a warning to the French commander to leave the territory of the British King, and came to volunteer his services in carrying that important message.¹⁰

Promptly his offer was accepted by Governor Dinwiddie and his Council. At once orders were drafted directing him to proceed without delay to Logstown where he would ask friendly Indians for a guard to attend him to the French officer in command. He departed the same day for Fredericksburg where he arrived November 1, and engaged a young Hollander, Jacob Van Braam, a former lieutenant in the Dutch Army, as interpreter. Tarrying in Alexandria only long enough to purchase supplies, they hastened to Winchester where good horses were bought and additional supplies procured.

On November 14 they arrived at Wills Creek and fortunately found Gist at the Ohio Company's storehouse and agent's headquarters. Carrying out the Governor's instructions, he was engaged to accompany the mission along with four other experienced frontiersmen. Well mounted and with ample provisions, the cavalcade pushed westward over the lofty ridges of the Alleghenies, sometimes through open wood land, but mostly on the narrow trail hampered by bramble, windfalls, and dense laurel thickets. On November 18, amidst heavy snow, they reached Gist's new settlement. Next morning in a storm of rain and sleet they turned northward over the Youghiogheny and in continuing

⁹ Free and Accepted Masons, Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, *Records*, May 20, 1768.

¹⁰ Freeman, *George Washington*, 1:274-276.

inclement weather made the journey in four days to John Fraser's trading post at the mouth of Turtle Creek.¹¹

While the travelers dried their dripping clothes, Fraser briefed Washington and Gist on the warlike activities of the French. A string of wampum with an alarming message for the Governor had been left by Half King and other friendly sachems. It warned that three nations of the French Indians had taken up the hatchet against the English and that French troops were advancing from Lake Erie to the Ohio.

Fraser counseled Washington to use a canoe in transporting the heavy baggage down the Monongahela to the Forks of the Ohio, where the craft could be used in ferrying the baggage to the north bank of the Allegheny. The men were to swim the horses across.

On November 23, this plan was carried out. After the canoe had been loaded the mounted men journeyed ten miles over the shoulders of rugged hills to the triangle between the rivers. Washington wrote the oft-quoted entry in his journal:

"the Land in the fork . . . I think extremely well situated for a Fort, as it has absolute Command of both Rivers . . . and a considerable Bottom of flat, well-timbered Land all around it, very convenient for Building."

Before the close of the day the party was ferried across the Allegheny in the canoe without mishap and camp was pitched on the river shore. Next morning Washington rode to the mouth of the "Shurtee" near the village of Chief Shingiss, a friendly Delaware Indian whom it was considered wise to invite to the conclave with Half King at Logstown. Some time was spent in examining the site of the fort planned for the Ohio Company. The young major thought its advantages greatly inferior to the triangle at the forks. The sequel was the order for Captain Trent to build the stockade at the forks.

At Logstown Washington was taught his first lesson in Indian diplomacy with its tedious ceremonials and pompous oratory. He met Half King and his suite with all due dignity and punctilious decorum. He listened to the chief's speech bitterly castigating the French, and in turn made his debut as an orator, replying in language that aped the forensics of the Indian. With the exchange of wampum Half King consented to furnish guides to the French fort.

11 Washington, *Writings*, edited by W. C. Ford, 1:40.

Next day four French deserters were brought in. They had fled from a contingent bringing supplies up the river from the Mississippi and reported that four small forts had been erected by the French between New Orleans and the Illinois river. More astounding news to transmit to the authorities in Virginia!

Washington, impatient to start to Venango, was obliged to wait until November 30 before the Indians were ready to depart. Half King headed the party and took only two other chiefs and a young hunter to supply game. He explained that the French might become suspicious if he took a larger retinue. A circuitous route was followed and slow progress was made. They arrived at the French outpost on the evening of December 4.¹²

Captain Philippe Joincare, the commandant, received the young emissary with flawless courtesy, but advised that his communication be delivered to the general officer at Fort Le Boeuf. Then he invited all hands, including the red men, to enjoy his hospitality. Wine flowed freely and Half King and his chiefs became hopelessly intoxicated. It was only too apparent to Washington that Joincare was trying to alienate the loyalty of the Indians. After two days of haggling, during which Half King sobered up, the party, accompanied by four Frenchmen, moved on to Fort Le Boeuf. In the stormy weather four days were required to negotiate the 36-mile trail.

Sieur Legardeur de St. Pierre received Washington at headquarters with a repetition of bowing and scraping, but declined to receive the letter until the arrival the next day of Captain Repentigny. The delay afforded an opportunity to scan the design of the fort and its armament. It was a rectangular structure of four corner bastions of stout blockhouses with a stockade between. Eight six-pounders were counted in each bastion. In their tongue-wagging at Joincare's wine party the French made no secret of their claim to a valid title to the country and boasted that next spring would extend their occupation down the river. Part of their flotilla was ready. Along the creek were counted two hundred twenty large canoes and many others in course

¹² For a comprehensive and convincing review of the route to Venango see W. Walter Braham, "From Logstown to Venango with George Washington," in *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 36:125-140.

of construction. Washington's one aim was to get an authoritative answer for the Governor, hasten back to Williamsburg and report the impending attack and the strength of the enemy.

St. Pierre, still cajoling the Indians, furnished a formal answer to Dinwiddie and offered two canoes to make the trip down the icy creek to Venango. Washington frustrated an attempt to have Half King remain, and on December 15 departed. It was not till eight days later that he was able to bid farewell to Half King and leave Venango.

Washington struck out overland for the forks of the Ohio on a route through a region with the ominous name of Murtheringtown. Through swirling snow and over an icy trail their weary animals made only five miles. A halt was called and all members except the drivers gave up their mounts and proceeded on foot. The next day, Christmas, the snow and cold continued; three men were frostbitten and compelled to erect a temporary shelter to await moderate weather. For their young leader it was a rugged apprenticeship for the rigors of the march to Trenton twenty-two years later!

Near Murtheringtown an Indian guide suddenly turned and fired in the direction of Washington, but missed. Through a stratagem by Gist the man was sent away, but in order to escape another attack they tramped all night. This incident and the one that follows have often been re-told.¹³

Arriving at the Allegheny three miles above the fork, they found the river frozen fifty yards from either bank, but in midstream was a rushing current of broken ice. Throughout the day, with the one hatchet in their packs, Washington and Gist worked alternately in hacking trees and binding the logs together with sapling splints to construct a raft. Pushing it across the ice at sunset they launched it in the angry current and tried to steer the rude craft with setting poles. As they were carried downstream the setting poles were of no avail. Washington was whipped into the water while Gist clung to the raft. Reaching a small island, which in after years was named Wainwright's, they huddled on the frozen ground till daylight when they made their way over the newly formed ice to the south bank. Gist's fingers were frostbitten, but the men suffered no other serious results from their ordeal,

¹³ William M. Darlington, *Christopher Gist's Journals*, 80-87 (Pittsburgh, 1893).

and saved their packs, guns, and official papers.

To Fraser's cabin on Turtle Creek meant a half-day's walk. A blazing fire on the trader's hearth and warm food restored their spirits and physical well-being. With a horse and saddle bought from Fraser and with fresh supplies the journey was resumed. While Gist made arrangements for the last lap of the journey back to Virginia, Washington made a ceremonial call on the Indian Queen Aliquippa who lived on the Monongahela at the mouth of the Youghiogheny. He sealed their friendship with the gift of a match coat and a bottle of rum. As they approached Wills Creek on January 7 they passed a band of settlers—among the first—bound for the Ohio Company's lands.

At Williamsburg, January 16, St. Pierre's reply was laid before Governor Dinwiddie. The commandant's letter was courteous but positive. He would transmit the Governor's communication to his superior, the Marquis Du Quesne, whose answer would be law. As for himself, St. Pierre declared: "As to the summons you sent me to retire, I do not think myself obliged to obey it. . . I do not know that in the progress of this campaign anything has passed which can be reputed as an act of hostility."

On reading the French answer and listening to Major Washington's verbal account of conditions on the frontier, Dinwiddie asked for a written report for consideration by the Council on the following day. Falling back on the entries in his journal to check his memory, it may be presumed that the young emissary worked long into the night preparing the summary of his experiences.¹⁴

DEFEATISM? NOT IN THE OLD DOMINION

In the Virginia capital Major Washington was the object of curious interest. Among those who understood the fatigues and perils of his wilderness journey he was lauded as a hero. Others, unfriendly to the Ohio Company, asserted that his report was a "fiction" and a scheme to promote private interests. Washington himself apparently was too busy to make any recorded comment.¹⁵

Dinwiddie felt that the results of the mission justified his apprehension of the evil designs of the French and called a session of the Assembly to open February 14. Meanwhile he took prompt measures

14 Washington, *Writings*, edited by W. C. Ford, 1:40.

15 Freeman, *George Washington*, 1:327-328.

to protect the party already sent forward under Captain Trent. For this duty he sought two hundred men immediately on authority of the Council without waiting for the permission of the Burgesses. He directed Trent to enlist one hundred soldiers among the traders who went out annually from Virginia and Major Washington was authorized to raise a similar number from the militia of Frederick and Augusta counties, these detachments to report at Alexandria February 20. The pay of militiamen was fifteen pounds of tobacco daily, and it was thought many would volunteer; otherwise the number required would be drafted by lot.

No volunteers came forward and the county lieutenants failed to enforce the draft. In the Assembly there was no enthusiasm for an expedition to the Ohio, voluble dissent to the Governor's proposals for defense. Those Burgesses who accurately appraised the seriousness of the threat to the colony struggled against vigorous opposition. Finally, the Assembly voted ten thousand pounds for the protection of the frontiers and was immediately prorogued.

Dinwiddie now gave no further thought to the employment of the militia in building and defending the fort on the Ohio. He planned instead to raise six companies of fifty men each and move these three hundred soldiers into the frontier. To stimulate volunteer recruiting he announced that two hundred thousand acres of land would be set aside adjacent to the fort as a bounty for volunteers.

Who would command the three hundred new soldiers? The colony at that time was notoriously deficient in men of military experience who could qualify as officer material. Before adjourning, the Assembly voted Major Washington fifty pounds to "testify its approbation of his proceedings on his journey to the Ohio." If the financial reward was not great, the action of the Burgesses nevertheless kept him in the public eye, and the Governor placed him on active duty during his recruiting of the new force.¹⁶

Late in February, Major Washington opened headquarters at the City Tavern (now Gadsby's) in Alexandria. In the flourishing little town the City Tavern usually was a lively place, but the atmosphere was not cheerful in the recruiting office. The weather was bad, enlist-

¹⁶ Dinwiddie, *Official Records*, 1:59.

ments were few and reports from Captain Trent told of an expected advance of a large French force on the Ohio. As the season wore along Washington enrolled only about twenty-five recruits, whom he described as "loose, idle persons" in ragged clothes and devoid of shoes. The soldiers responded ungrudgingly to the orders of the drillmaster, but craved uniforms and inspiring military trappings. No funds were at hand for the needed equipment and Major Washington was embarrassed.

In the palace at Williamsburg, Dinwiddie was more complacent. Dispatches from the home government were encouraging. He was notified that an independent company of regulars from South Carolina and two companies from New York would be sent to Virginia, and that the English would have a reinforcement of one thousand Cherokee and Catawba Indian warriors.

The Governor no longer was troubled by a quirk in the Virginia law which forbade the militia to be called for service outside the colony. He wrote Lord Holderness that three hundred volunteers would be more acceptable than eight hundred militiamen anyway. At the same time he called upon governors of other colonies exhorting them to assist with funds and troops for the protection of the Ohio frontier. He was a pioneer in unified effort for colonial defense.

On March 20 a messenger from Williamsburg rode to the City Tavern with a letter of instructions for Major Washington. With it was enclosed a commission naming him lieutenant colonel of the First Virginia Regiment. Joshua Fry, an engineer, formerly a teacher of mathematics of the College of William and Mary, was commissioned colonel, and George Muse, a district adjutant, was named major.

Preparations quickened at Alexandria. When one hundred twenty men had been enlisted they were divided into two companies, one under Van Braam, and the other under Captain Peter Hog (pronounced Hogue), a Scot who had participated in the Pretender's uprising in 1745 and lately commissioned. With the two officers were five subalterns, two sergeants, and six corporals.

At noon on Tuesday, April 2, 1754, Washington in his new uniform—three cornered hat, coat with silver fringe, dazzling waistcoat, sash and sword—took leave of his friends and neighbors at City Tavern, mounted one of his best horses and gave the order to march.

To the patter of a drum beaten in spirited march time, the little bob-tail battalion with its ordnance train of two creaking farm wagons moved down Royal Street and six miles out to Cameron, where camp was pitched. George Washington's military career had begun.¹⁷

Along the narrow trail, amid the budding undergrowth of an early Virginia spring, the column in five days reached the foothills of the Blue Ridge, a misnomer at this season when its slopes were purple with the bloom of endless acres of Judas trees. Through the gap at the home of John Vestal, who ferried the little army over the Shenandoah, smartly on April 10, it marched into Winchester. Here it was expected that the recruits from the western counties would greatly strengthen the regiment, but a small company enlisted by Captain Adam Stephen was the only increment to the meager force. Like many a combat commander, Washington was plagued also by quartermaster trouble. No wagons had been collected to augment his transport train, and a general lack of coordination indicated poor staff work at Williamsburg. Impressment proceedings brought in a few wagons and teams from grumbling farmers. After a week's delay Washington ordered the troops to proceed to the Potomac, while he rode ahead to select camp sites and direct the collection of supplies.

At the crossing of the Cacapon he met an express rider with dispatches from Captain Trent bearing the startling news that a French force eight hundred strong was descending the Allegheny and an attack was expected "at any hour." At Wills Creek, Washington received the most disheartening news of all. Expected supplies were not at hand. Pack animals, sorely needed for the movement over the mountains, were not provided. Incessant rains hampered his foraging parties, morale was sinking and discipline was difficult to maintain.

Climaxing the dismal outlook came corroborated reports that the French had swarmed down the Allegheny in a great flotilla of canoes and bateaux and captured the new fort at the fork. Bearer of the news was Ensign Ward, who was alone in command in the absence of Captain Trent and Lieutenant Fraser. Frantic efforts enabled them to finish the last gate of the stockade as the enemy approached. Half King had laid the first log and the Indians gave every assistance, but the working

¹⁷ Washington, *Journal, 1754*, edited by J. M. Toner, 26-27 (Albany, N. Y., 1893).

party was summoned to surrender and considered themselves fortunate to escape with their lives.

Trent's men, hungry and ragged, a few days later limped into camp, spreading gloom and discontent. They told how the invaders began the erection of a new French stronghold which they named Fort Duquesne. Tales of terror were brought by fugitive traders and fleeing settlers. Fresh alarms described the French and their Indian allies as spreading murder and desolation in a ruthless advance.

To a faint-hearted commander the situation would have spelled panic and retreat. But the young soldier who faced decision in that baleful hour was George Washington—the same Washington who a year hence would gallop amid the slaughter at Braddock's field and bring back the pitiful remnants of the King's army; the same officer of invincible spirit who braved the Delaware's crackling ice and through a howling storm of sleet guided his men to the Christmastide victory at Trenton; the same resolute chief who shunned traitors in his own ranks and by his heroic example brought his army through the squalid misery and starvation at Valley Forge, and on a more promising day at Newport planned with Lafayette and the courtly Rochambeau the triumphant march to victory at Yorktown.

The young lieutenant colonel at Wills Creek did not yield to frustration and the gloom of his surroundings. Instead of being appalled, he expressed a "glowing zeal" for his cause.¹⁸ After a council of war was held he gave orders for his 159 men to march toward the enemy. Indeed, the threat of attack bestirred something like elation among the harried Virginians. Their commander's decision to meet the enemy was given prompt acquiescence by his officers when he called a council of war.

All Washington's lieutenants were his seniors in age and military experience. Captains Van Braam, Hog, and Stephen boasted of old world service. Lieutenant Thomas Waggener was a mature frontiersman. The aged Indian leader, Half King, gave eloquent counsel in his own tongue with frequent offerings of wampum.

Washington's correspondence with Governor Dinwiddie reveals that the council of war was a grave occasion. Close attention was ac-

¹⁸ Washington, *Writings*, edited by John C. Fitzpatrick, 1:43-44 (Washington, 1931).

corded Half King's message. He was an implacable foe of the French whom he accused of having killed and boiled and eaten his father, according to tradition. He had laid the first log in Captain Trent's stockade at the fork when the invaders chased them away, and now stood by with a goodly number of warriors prepared, he said, to join "his brothers, the English."

Others at the council were Carolus Splitdorph, a gentleman volunteer of Swedish birth, and William Peyronney, a Swiss officer, both fated to fall under the scalping knife at Braddock's defeat, and Dr. James Craik, a Scot, educated in medicine at Edinburgh, surgeon of the expedition. He accompanied Washington throughout his military campaigns, serving as surgeon-general during the Revolution, and stood by the bedside of his friend in the closing hour of Washington's life.

While the council deliberated, Washington sent forward a working party to carry out the immediate urgency of converting the Indian trail into a road for wagon trains and artillery which would follow with the main body under Colonel Fry. About the first of May, 1754, the little battalion started westward with the tortuous ascent of Great Savage Mountain, hacking through the forest never more than four miles a day. May 7 the "little crossing" of Castleman River was reached, an advance of only twenty miles. More fleeing traders arrived with the startling report that French reconnoitering parties were lurking at Gist's Chestnut Ridge establishment and half the garrison at Fort Duquesne was moving against the English.

On May 16 the column was halted by the flooded Youghiogheny River at the "great crossing." While waiting for the waters to subside, Washington, exploring the possibility of establishing a water route to the Monongahela, was stopped at the falls (Ohiopyle) below Turkey Foot. Here came cheering news. Colonel Fry had marched from Winchester with one hundred men; an independent company was coming from South Carolina and other reinforcements had been promised. Eagerly, in a spell of good weather, Washington set out for the Monongahela.

In a vale between the Laurel Hill and Chestnut Ridge, known as the "Great Meadows," he camped on May 24. From Half King and Gist came word that the French were only a few miles away. Stimu-

lated by new hazards, the young commander took immediate measures for defense. Meadow Run and a small tributary from the south seemed to furnish natural intrenchments. Small trees and bushes were immediately cleared away and "prepar'd a charming field for an Encounter," as Washington wrote Dinwiddie. Reconnoitering parties were sent out on pack horses and the troops were kept under arms all night.¹⁹

Amid heavy rain on the dismal night of May 27, sentries challenged a messenger from Half King—only six miles distant the French had been found! With forty men Washington hastened through the dripping woods and inky darkness to join his Indian ally. They met in the approaching dawn and at daybreak reached a deep glen where the French had taken shelter. It was an ideal place for concealment. Great trees towered high overhead, their wide-spreading branches forming a natural curtain against the cliff. Washington deployed his men in an arc facing the precipice. The French sprang to arms and the Virginians opened fire. The action was brief. Caught before the unerring aim of Washington's marksmen, the enemy fell fast. Joseph Coulon, Sieur de Jumonville, commander of the French detachment was killed. On the side of the English one soldier was killed and two or three wounded, including Lieutenant Waggener. Washington reported the French lost ten killed, one wounded, and 21 prisoners. One Frenchman escaped and carried the news to Fort Duquesne. Among the captured was Commissary La Force whom Washington had met at Venango. On May 29 the prisoners were sent under guard to Williamsburg.²⁰

News of Washington's first military action reached Fairfax and Alexandria early in June in a letter from George to John Augustine, his younger brother. Briefly he described the fight, but it was the postscript which then excited the most interest at Mt. Vernon and has become a familiar quotation ever since. It follows:

"P. S. 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."²¹

19 Washinton, *Writings*, edited by Fitzpatrick, 1:54.

20 Washington, *Writings*, edited by Fitzpatrick, 1:63-67.

21 Washington, *Writings*, edited by Fitzpatrick, 1:70.

A VICTORY WITHOUT TRIUMPH

No celebration of a military triumph followed the defeat and capture of Jumonville's party. Before the Virginians was the specter of retaliation by the garrison at Fort Duquesne, numerically much superior to the force at Great Meadows. Washington wrote to Colonel Fry at Wills Creek to hurry forward reinforcements, and in his letter to his brother told of preparing intrenchments with a "small palisado." In his report to Governor Dinwiddie, however, he indulged in this outburst of self-confidence: "If the whole 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."

Very soon the young commander faced responsibilities of a different kind. Half King tramped into the camp with eighty Indians—a small band of warriors and twenty-five families, including squaws and children. Food had become scarce and now the red allies would demand the same share of rations allotted the soldiers. The situation was relieved temporarily by a passing trader who sold his supply of flour. Gist arrived from Wills Creek reporting that Colonel Fry died May 31 from injuries suffered in falling from a horse. As a result, Washington succeeded to the command of the expedition and was commissioned colonel. On June 9, arrival of the three remaining companies of the Virginia Regiment under Captains Robert Stobo and Andrew Lewis and Lieutenant George Mercer furnished a reinforcement of approximately one hundred eighty-one men under the temporary command of Major Muse. They brought nine small guns and swivels, but scant supplies. With the party as interpreter was Andrew Montour of Indian-French descent, famous on the frontier as a linguist in English, French, and several Indian languages, and a friend of the colonists.

Captain James Mackay with his company of one hundred regulars from South Carolina came on June 14. They drove one hundred head of beeves but brought little flour or other supplies. Worse still, their coming created a wave of emotion in the camp. They were the King's regulars and their officers carried commissions from the King. Captain Mackay could not accept orders from Colonel Washington and established his bivouac separate from the Virginians. Furthermore, the captain declared, regulars could not be employed in building roads unless paid one shilling sterling per day for the special service, whereas Wash-

ington was allowed only 8 d daily for the work. Relations between the colonel and the captain were amicable enough on the surface, but Washington wrote Dinwiddie, ". . . I can very confidently say that his absence would tend to the public advantage."²²

Leaving Mackay in charge of the camp, Washington on June 16 marched the Virginia Regiment to Redstone Creek, taking his wagons, tools, and nine swivel guns. At Gist's settlement he was joined by Montour and George Croghan, influential trader and Indian diplomat, Half King, and other sachems. A council was held and it was apparent to Washington that some of the Indians were spying for the enemy. One of his own Indian scouts brought the information from Fort Duquesne that a large force was preparing to march against the English. All hands were set to work to fortify Gist's buildings and Captain Mackay was asked to bring his company from the Meadows, one order which the South Carolinian, sensing the prospect of action, quickly obeyed. On June 30 came corroborated intelligence that a greatly superior force of French were on the march and it was resolved to retire toward Wills Creek to join reinforcements which he hoped were advancing for his relief.

The retreat over Chestnut Ridge was the most fatiguing of the campaign. The men struggled on with the staggering column, knowing that if they fell out the tomahawk and scalping knife awaited them when overtaken by skulking Indians. Their only food was parched corn and unpalatable freshly slaughtered beef. Hour after hour the men dragged the heavy swivels. "Every grade was a despair, every fur-long a torture." Mackay's independents gave no hand in carrying the heavy baggage or in handling the swivels. This infuriated the Virginians and only the persistent exhortation and appeals of the officers held them to duty. Washington gave up his horse to lighten the burden on the soldiers and the other officers followed his example. The exhausted, half-starved men staggered into their old camp at Great Meadows on July 1. The physical condition of the men demanded a halt. Washington hastened an express to Wills Creek to describe the situation and implore reinforcements and supplies.

²² Freeman, *George Washington*, 1:390 n. To the credit of the South Carolinians they showed courage in the defense of the fort and suffered heavy losses.

Next day at dawn the men were summoned from their swampy beds and put to work extending the trenches and in strengthening the stockade. Time was running out. Another sunrise might bring the enemy and his howling savage allies. The more experienced woodsmen, who were able, were set to work felling trees, trimming the branches, chopping into lengths of about twelve feet, and the logs split in half. The less skilled placed these in a trench, forming a circular palisade about fifty feet in diameter. Within the stockade was erected a log hut fourteen feet square to house supplies and ammunition. It was roofed with bark and skins. Swivels were dragged in and placed at embrasures in the stockade. At nightfall on July 2 the little fort had not been finished, according to the account of Captain Stephen written years afterward. Aptly, Washington named his makeshift fortification Fort Necessity.²³

A DEFEAT WE PROUDLY CELEBRATE

The night of July 2 and 3 called for constant vigil. At twilight the Indians from their camp near the fort vanished silently into the woods. Warriors, squaws, and papooses disappeared as if swallowed by the earth. Even Half King did not come to take farewell of his "brothers, the English." For several days he had complained of an injured arm and it seems that neither he nor his braves took any part in the final desperate efforts to finish the stockade. It was assumed by Washington that the Indians became terrified by the reported strength of the French and the failure of reinforcements to support the starving garrison at Great Meadows.

White sentries were posted on guard around the fort and crept into places of concealment on the edge of the surrounding forest. The weary men were awaked by frequent alarms. A hundred or more soldiers were sick or exhausted. In the beclouded dawn a single shot rang

23 The text describing the construction of the fort follows reports of recent researches and extensive archeological explorations carried on by the National Park Service in directing the reconstruction of a replica of the stockade. An enlightening address on this accomplishment, published below, was made by Dr. Jean C. Harrington, archeologist, at Uniontown, Pa., July 3, 1954. Dr. Frederick Tilberg's scholarly article in *Pennsylvania History*, 20:240-257, describes the work in great detail. Colonel James Burd's statement that the stockade was circular, in his journal for September, 1759, at last has been substantiated.

out. A sentinel called the guard and the troops were ordered under arms. While it was yet dark rain began to fall, soon filling the trenches and converting the meadows into a muddy swamp.

For a firsthand and authentic account of the defense of Fort Necessity let us turn to Washington's own report to Governor Dinwiddie, and read it just as those tidewater subscribers got the news at Williamsburg when the *Virginia Gazette* published the story on Thursday, July 19, 1754. Undoubtedly, it was the greatest piece of news published in any American newspaper up until that time, but it was given no headlines and appeared on page 3 of a folio scarcely as large as a modern tabloid. Here it is just as the old-time compositor followed Washington's copy:

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 reinforced with 700 Recruits, had left Monongehela, 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 Defence 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 a 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. 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 Monongehela and we to Will'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 Countrymen 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 burying 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.

The editor of the *Gazette*, in an editorial footnote to Washington's report, added in italics: "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."

Washington's report of casualties included those of both the Virginia Regiment and the South Carolina company. The commanders of the Virginia companies, in their returns two days after the action, reported 13 killed and 43 wounded. Since fewer than 400 men were

under fire, the losses of the colonials in the nine-hour combat was at least 25 per cent.

It was natural that the French colored their accounts of the battle to promote their claim to the territory and to support the justice of retaliatory measures following what they termed the "assasination" of Jumonville. The reports reaching the Governor of Canada were transfigured into screaming propaganda against the English. It availed but little. News of gunfire at Fort Necessity soon echoed in the chancellories of European nations and what might be termed the first of world wars was the result.

Holding his statement at Williamsburg to the essential facts, Washington gave no particulars of the harrowing retreat to Wills Creek. If the youthful commander and his men held their heads high when they marched out "with all the Honours of War" with drums beating and colors flying, they soon succumbed to overpowering fatigue and spent the night around a gushing mountain spring scarcely three miles from Great Meadows. When Washington wrote that the enemy had killed all his animals, including "the very dogs," he must have considered it redundant to mention that everyone in the column, including officers, was compelled to go on foot, carrying arms, baggage, and the scanty supply of rations, and to assist the wounded. Four days later they dragged themselves to the gates of the log storehouse at Wills Creek where the soldiers found palatable food and a place to rest undisturbed by the call to arms.

Washington asked for reports from his officers and prepared a regimental roster including all who participated in the defense of Fort Necessity. This document, in his own handwriting, has been preserved and is a cherished memorial of the campaign. (See appendix)

It is not surprising that the young Virginia colonel formed a life-long sentimental attachment for the environment of his first conflict in arms. He passed through the Meadows at least six times in the years following the battle, and in 1769 acquired the land on the site. This he held until his death. In the dark days of 1776, while the British were maneuvering to capture New York, he received a letter from Adam Stephen recalling events of July 4, 1754. Washington's reply reads like a prayer which all his countrymen today could repeat with a heartfelt Amen:

"I did not let the Anniversary of the 3d . . . pass of with out a grateful remembrance of the escape we had . . . the same Providence that protected us . . . will, I hope, continue his mercies, and make us happy Instruments in restoring Peace and liberty."²⁴

24 Washington, *Writings*, edited by Fitzpatrick, 5:313.

APPENDIX

VIRGINIA SOLDIERS UNDER WASHINGTON AT BATTLE OF FORT NECESSITY

July 3, 1754

Roll of officers and soldiers who engaged in the service of this colony before the Battle of the Meadows in 1754, according to returns made at Wills Creek July 9, 1754. (Return in Washington's own hand.—A. C. Quisenberry, Inspector General's Office, War Department.)

On April 30, 1771, Washington completed a copy of the roll, also in his own handwriting, to assist his soldiers who were claimants to bounty lands set aside on the Ohio in accordance with the Governor's proclamation of 1754. It contains a few corrections to the original list prepared at Wills Creek a few days after the battle. It is reproduced below from the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress.

Letters in parentheses following the names are the initials, respectively, of their company commanders, Captains Hogg, Lewis, Mercer, and Vanbraam.

Geo. Washington, Col.

George Muse, Lt. Col.

Adam Stephen, Maj.

Robert Stobo,	Capt.	John Savage,	Lt.
Andrew Lewis,	"	James Towers,	"
George Mercer,	"	Wm. Bronaugh,	Ensign
Peter Hogg	"	John Mercer,	"
Jacob Vanbraam,	"	Wm. Peyrounie,	"
Thos. Waggener,	Lt.	James Craik,	"
William Polson,	"	James Craik,	Surgeon
John West,	"		

John Allan,	(H)	Solon Batson	(Wd.)	(H)
Jacob Arrans,	(M)	James Beatty		(H)
John Allan,	(V)	John Biddlecome,		(L)
Chas. Allbury,	(V)	Edward Bailey		(L)
Henry Bailey,	(H)	Joseph Baxter,		(L)
Henry Bowman,	(H)	Thomas Burney,		(L)

John Burk,	(L)	Thomas Byrd,	(Wd.)	(L)
John Bryan,	(H)	Josias Baker,		(L)
Bartholomew Burns,	(L)	Wm. Carns,		(L)
Billy Brooks,	(H)	Edward Cabell,	(Wd.)	(L)
Joshua Burton,	(H)	Nathan Chapman,	(Wd.)	(L)
John Boyd,	(M)	Phil. Connelly,	(Wd.)	(L)
Robert Burns,	(M)	Gerrard Clerk,	(Kd.)	(L)
Nathaniel Barrett,	(M)	Matthew Cox,		(H)
Thomas Burk,	(M)	Wm. Coleman,		(H)
Christ'r. Bombgardner	(M)	Thos. Craddock,		(H)
John Bryans,	(M)	John Chapman,	(Wd.)	(H)
Thomas Burris,	(M)	Andrew Clark,		(H)
Robert Bennett,	(M)	Timo. Conway,	(Wd.)	(M)
Wm. Braughton,	(M)	John Clements,		(M)
Henry Bristoe,	(M)	Thos. Carter,		(V)
John Bishop,	(M)	John Campbell,		(V)
Wm. Bailey,	(Kd.)	John Coen,		(V)
Rud'ph Brickner,	(Kd)	Wm. Carter,		(V)
Robert Bett,	(V)	Wm. Deveen,		(H)
Richard Bolton,	(V)	Patrick Durphy,		(H)
James Black,	(V)	Matthew Durham,	(Wd.)	(H)
Godfrey Bombgardner,	(V)	William Dean,		(H)
Christian Byerly,	(V)	James Devoy,		(M)
James Carson,	(H)	Claud Dalton,		(M)
William Coffland,	(H)	James Dailey,		(M)
John Carroll,	(H)	Thos. Donahaugh,		(V)
Joseph Casterson,	(H)	Charles Dunn,		(V)
Patrick Coyle,	(L)	Bern ^d . Drapeller		(V)
Peter Effleck,	(H)	John Durham	(Wd.)	(V)
Robert Elliott	(Wd.)	Edward Graves		(H)
Edward Evans	(M)	Robert Grymes		(L)
Henry Earnest	(M)	Joseph Gatewood		(H)
John Franklin	(H)	David Gorman	(Wd.)	(H)
Nick ^o Foster	(H)	Edward Goodwin	(Wd.)	(H)
Thos. Fisher	(Kd.)	Philip Gatewood		(H)
James Ferguson	(L)	James Gwinn		(M)
Thos. Foster	(L)	George Gibbons		(M)
John Field	(L)	William Gardner	(Wd.)	(M)
James Fulton	(Wd.)	John Gallihorn		(M)
Duncan Ferguson	(H)	Patrick Gallaway		(V)
Andrew Fowler	(H)	George Gobell		(V)
James Ford	(Wd.)	William Gerrard		(V)
William Field	(M)	William Harbison		(L)
John Ferguson	(M)	Cornelius Henley		(L)
John Farmer	(M)	Benj. Hamilton		(H)
Michael Frank	(V)	Abner Haslip		(H)
Jacob Furkhouser	(V)	Thos. Harris		(H)
Jacob Gowen	(H)	James Heyter	(Wd.)	(H)
John Goldson	(H)	Argyle House	(Wd.)	(H)
Joseph Gibbs	(H)	Samuel Hayden	(Wd.)	(H)
Jacob Gause	(H)	Christian Helsley		(M)
James Good	(Wd.)	Mark Hollis		(M)
Arthur Howard	(V)	John Huston		(M)
Adam Jones	(H)	William Holland		(M)
Mathias Jones	(L)	Matthew Howard		(M)

William Johnston	(H)	Thos. Hennessey	(V)
Charles James	(H)	John Hamilton (Wd.)	(V)
Robert Jones (Wd.)	(H)	Isaac Moor	(H)
Samuel Isdale	(M)	James Milton	(H)
Joshua Jordan (Wd.)	(M)	Michael McGrath (Wd.)	(H)
Wise Johnson (Wd.)	(V)	Robert McCulroy (Wd.)	(H)
John Johnson	(V)	Daniel McClaren (Kd)	(H)
Anthony Kennedy	(H)	Richard Morris	(H)
John Kitson (Kd.)	(H)	Michael McCannon	(L)
Dennis Kenton	(H)	John Maston	(L)
Thos. Kitson	(H)	John Mulholland	(L)
William Knowls	(V)	John McCutty (Wd.)	(L)
Edward King	(V)	George McSwine (Wd.)	(L)
James Ludlow	(L)	Robert Murphy	(L)
James Letort	(H)	John McIntire	(L)
William Lowry	(M)	Daniel Malotte	(L)
Nathaniel Lewis	(H)	James McCommac	(L)
Thos. Longdon, Sr.	(H)	Jesse May	(H)
Adam Leonard	(M)	Joseph Milton	(H)
Robert McKay	(H)	John Martin	(H)
Jesse Morris	(H)	Nicholas Morgan	(H)
William McIntire	(M)	Thomas Moss	(H)
Hugh McCoy	(M)	John Mears	(H)
John McGuire	(M)	Dominick Moran (Wd.)	(H)
George McComb	(V)	David Montgomery	(M)
Nicholas Major	(V)	Jacob Myer	(M)
William Mitchell	(V)	Barnaby McCann (Kd.)	(M)
John McGregory	(V)	John May	(M)
Angus McDonald	(V)	Michael Reiley (Wd.)	(H)
Henry Neile	(H)	Ware Rocket	(H)
Thos. Nicholson (Wd.)	(L)	James Rowe	(L)
Thomas Napp	(H)	John Rodgers (Wd.)	(L)
Matthew Nevison	(H)	John Ramsey (Kd.)	(L)
Thomas Ogden	(H)	Frederick Rupert	(M)
John Ogelvie	(H)	John Rowe	(H)
John Poor	(L)	John Ramsey	(H)
William Poor	(L)	John Robinson (Kd.)	(V)
Thomas Pearce	(L)	Ezekl. Richardson	(V)
John Powers	(L)	John Rogers	(V)
Bryant Page	(H)	John Sones	(H)
Marshall Pratt	(H)	Charles Smith	(H)
Alex Perry	(M)	Richard Smith	(H)
William Pullen (Kd.)	(M)	William Stallons	(H)
John Potter (Wd.)	(V)	William Swallow	(H)
Joseph Powell (Wd.)	(V)	Alex. Stewart (Wd.)	(H)
Hugh Paul	(V)	Daniel Staple	(H)
Thomas Slaughter	(H)	John Smith	(L)
Dudley Skinner (Wd.)	(H)	James Smith	(L)
Joseph Scott	(H)	Thomas Scott (Kd.)	(L)
John Stevens	(H)	James Samuelli	(H)
Hugh Stone	(M)	Michael Scully	(H)
Robert Stewart (Wd.)	(M)	Zach Smith	(H)
William Simmons (Kd.)	(V)	Terence Swiney	(L)
Dempsey Simmons (Wd.)	(V)	Daniel Welch	(H)
John Stewart	(V)	Charles Waddy	(H)

Francis Self	(V)	James Walsch	(H)
Benjamin Spicer	(V)	Peregrine Williams (Wd.)	(H)
Matthew Sharpe	(V)	John Whitman	(L)
John Tranton (Kd.)	(H)	Arthur Watts (Wd.)	(L)
Robert Tunstall	(H)	Philemon Waters	(M)
Nehemiah Fendall (Wd.)	(L)	Michael Waker	(M)
Thomas Tedman	(L)	Edward Whitehead	(V)
James Titus (Wd.)	(L)	John Truston	(L)
James Thomas	(H)	James Tyrell	(M)
George Taylor (Wd.)	(V)	John Thompson	(V)
William Underwood	(H)		

Names of private soldiers on the expedition who were either absent or on detached service when the roll was prepared on July 9, 1754, were added by Washington in 1771, indicating that they were eligible for bounty lands. Their names follow:

Joshua Becker	John Jones
Daniel Bellott	John Lowe
John Cox	John Lee
Paris Chapman	John Meggs
Stephen Driscoll	Francis McDonald
William Hogan	John McCully
Thomas Hamilton	John Maid
William Hollis	George Malcolm
Matthew Howard	Thomas Page
John Hart	Wilbur Rice
Jacob Kibler	John Wilson
Thomas Knap	Elisha Ward

David Wilkerson