

FORT NECESSITY

National Battlefield Site * Pennsylvania



A view of the interior of the reconstructed Fort Necessity stockade from the west.

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THE COVER

This view from the north, taken near the present Mount Washington Tavern and State Museum, shows a reconstructed palisade on the site of Fort Necessity in the little valley of Great Meadows. This typical palisade of the period was erected in 1932 by the Fort Necessity Memorial Association and was dedicated by suitable services on July 3–4, 1932, as part of the Nation-wide Washington Bicentennial celebration.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

HAROLD L. ICKES, Secretary

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE · NEWTON B. DRURY, Director

FORT NECESSITY

National Battlefield Site

Scene of the engagement between French and their Indian allies and American Colonial militia which led to the world-wide struggle between England and France, known in America as the French and Indian War, for European and Colonial supremacy

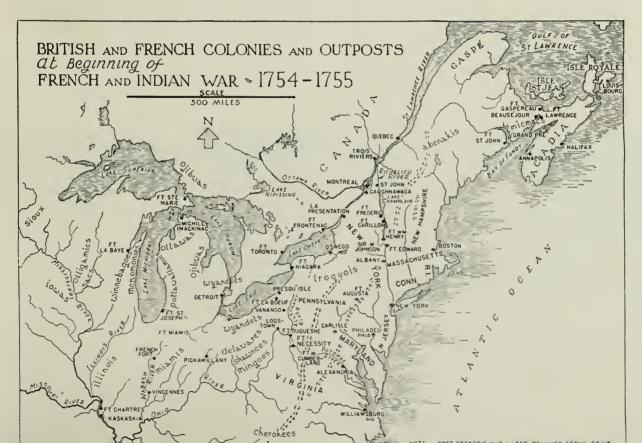


On the field of battle at Fort Necessity, July 3, 1754, George Washington in command of British colonial militia faeed a Freneh and Indian force in a military engagement which precipitated a world war, known in America as the Freneh and Indian War and in Europe as the Seven Years' War. Here, and at the preliminary encounter at Jumonville's Glen, George Washington, a young lieutenant colonel of 22, made his debut in the grim theater where the art of war is played with the destiny of nations as the stakes. "A cannon shot fired in the woods of America," said Voltaire, "was the signal that set all Europe in a blaze." Actually it was a volley by Virginia backwoodsmen.

Out of this eonflagration that enveloped three eontinents, from the spark struck in the American

forest a new world order was destined to take shape. Parkman, the great historian of France and England in North America, stated the results truly when he said: "The Seven Years' War made England what she is. It crippled the commerce of her rivals, ruined France in two continents, and blighted her as a colonial power. It gave England the control of the seas and the mastery of North America and India, made her the first of commercial nations, and prepared that vast colonial system that has planted new Englands in every quarter of the globe. And while it made England what she is, it supplied to the United States the indispensable condition of their greatness, if not of their national existence."

The elash of imperial eolonial policy which brought on the engagement at Fort Necessity pro-



duced at the same time one of the first instances of inter-colonial cooperation among the British colonies in America. Colonial governors and legislatures, primarily concerned with their separate interests, were just beginning to awaken to the need for concerted action against their common enemies. Virginia and South Carolina contributed directly to the conduct of this frontier campaign. Maryland, New York, and Pennsylvania were in some form associated with it. The colonies were taking faltering steps toward confederated action. They were slowly learning the importance of working together for common interests.

The war which was now in progress embroiled all the powers of continental Europe and spread to the contested regions in Asia as well as to those in America. When formal peace was again restored in 1763, all of Canada and the whole area east of the Mississippi, except New Orleans, became part of the British American domain. The French menace on the frontier, which had made the colonies dependent on England for military protection, had been removed. Now the problem of paying for the war became acute. The colonists were burdened with taxes which they considered unjust. Having acquired valuable military experience and having observed the questionable prowess of British regulars in the American terrain, they soon were prepared to challenge the authority of the mother country.

Reproduction of Paul Weber's painting, Great Meadows, made in 1854, showing the earliest known representation of the site of Fort Necessity. The view is from the east looking west. (Courtesy Pennsylvania Historical Society)

Rivalry of France and England

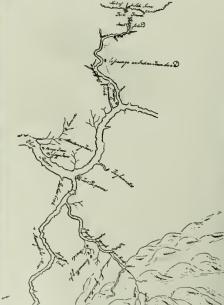
The controversy resulting from rival claims of Great Britain and France to the trans-Allegheny region was rapidly approaching a climax by 1750. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed October 1, 1748, while it nominally closed the war between those two countries, failed to establish the boundaries between their respective colonies in America. No one who knew conditions in America believed that this treaty settled there the differences between England and France. In fact, every year brought the frontier settlements of the two powers closer and made war more imminent.

In 1749, the year after the treaty was signed, the Governor General of Canada, the Marquis de la Galissoniere, sent Celeron de Bienville with about 215 white men and a force of Indians to take possession of the Ohio Valley. The expedition set out from La Chine, Canada, in birch-bark canoes and eventually reached the headwaters of the Allegheny River. At Lake Chautauqua, down the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers, and up the Great Miami River, de Bienville buried lead plates and nailed notices to trees claiming the region for the King of France. On the journey he met several bands of English traders whom he ordered out of the country.

Several prominent Englishmen and Virginians, among them Lawrence and Augustine Washington, half-brothers of George, appreciating the potential

The original of this early map representing the common route of a traveler from Fort Cumberland to Lake Erie is in Additional Manuscripts, British Museum, London, and is attributed to George Washington. (Reproduced from The Pageant of America. Copyright by permission Yale University Press)





value of the rich lands of the Ohio Valley, organized the Ohio Company in 1748. In the following year this company obtained from the British crown a grant of 200,000 acres of land on both sides of the Ohio between the Monongahela and Great Kanawha Rivers, together with a promise of 300,000 acres more if 100 families were settled on the first tract within 7 years. The Ohio Company, fearing the encroachment of the Pennsylvania settlers as well as of the French, established a base of operations at Wills Creek, now Cumberland, Md., and directed the opening of a wagon road to the Monongahela River along a trail blazed by Nemacolin, a friendly Delaware Indian. The company engaged Christopher Gist to locate lands and determine conditions on the extreme frontier.

The French in the meantime were no less active. The new Governor General of Canada, the Marquis Duquesne, sent out an expedition of 1,000 men to build a series of three forts in this region. Forts Presque Isle and Le Boeuf were built in the early summer of 1753, but the lateness of the season and sickness prevented the building of the third fort. The English trading post of Venango, at the junction of French Creek and the Allegheny, was seized and occupied, and the French command left a force to garrison the new posts before returning to Canada for the winter.

The tidings of these developments startled the

This reproduction of Charles Willson Peale's painting, George Washington as a Colonel of the Virginia Militia, shows Washington at the age of 40. It was painted at Mount Vernon in 1772 and is the earliest known authenticated likeness of Washington. (Courtesy Washington and Lee University)



middle colonies and especially alarmed Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, who resolved to send a solemn warning against the French for trespassing on the domain of His Majesty the King of England, "so notoriously known to be the property of the Crown of Great Britain." In November 1753, Dinwiddie appointed one of his adjutants, Maj. George Washington, at that time a youth of 21 years, to carry out the mission.

With Christopher Gist to act as guide and the Dutch adventurer Jacob Van Braam to serve as French interpreter, Washington's little party of eight men made the journey through the hazardous frontier country in the face of winter storms to the forks of the Ohio and thence down that stream about 17 miles to the Indian village of Logstown. After parleys here with the Indians, Washington continued his journey to Fort Le Boeuf by way of Venango, accompanied by Half King (Tenacharison), friendly chief of the Mingoes, and three of his warriors. The envoy was received with marked politeness by the French authorities at Venango and Le Boeuf, but the French commandant at the latter post, Legardeur de Saint-Pierre, clearly stated in a reply to Dinwiddie that he would remain in the occupied area until he received other orders from his superior, the Marquis Duquesne. Washington returned, not without several exciting and dangerous experiences on the way, to Williamsburg with this reply. He had had an opportunity to learn something of the delicate art of Indian relations and to observe the military strength of the French.

Present day view of Jumonville's Glen. A sheer rock ledge about 30 feet high hems in this secluded spot on the right



Great Meadows Campaign

THE ENGLISH AND FORT DUQUESNE

DINWIDDIE decided on a policy of action. In February 1754, a party of men under Capt. William Trent crossed the mountains to build a log fort at the forks of the Ohio, where the city of Pittsburgh now stands. For some reason, Trent returned to Wills Creek and left Ensign Ward and about 40 men to continue the construction of the fort. Their work abruptly came to an end. On April 17 over 500 Frenchmen suddenly appeared with artillery, coming down the Allegheny in a swarm of boats. They compelled Ward to surrender the fort, allowing him to depart over the mountains toward the English colonies. The French razed the unfinished fort and built a stronger and larger one which they named Fort Duquesne.

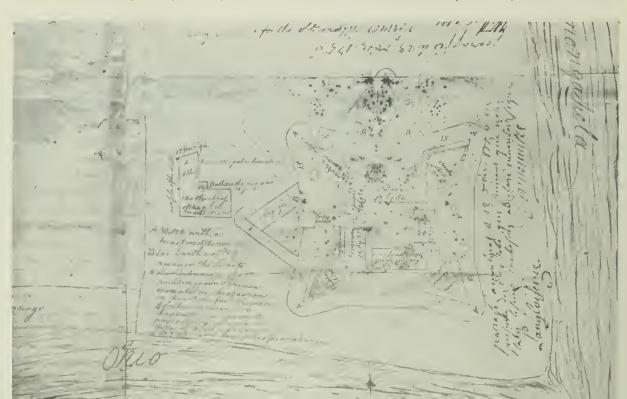
In the meantime, a small regiment of 300 Virginia frontiersmen under Col. Joshua Fry, with Lt. Col. George Washington second in command, was making ready to proceed to the forks of the Ohio

This sketch of Fort Duquesne appears on the inside page of a letter sent by Robert Stobo to Washington while the former was held as a hostage in the fort by the French. The letter and drawing were smuggled out of the fort by an Indian and carried to Washington. A note on the letter reads, "Please be kind to this Indian." The letter and drawing were found in baggage captured by the French at the scene of Braddock's defeat. (Courtesy Montreal [Canada] Archives)

to reinforce the party building the fort and to garrison it against anticipated French attack.

The expelled garrison from the forks of the Ohio found the reinforcements under Fry and Washington at Wills Creek. Reports from the Ohio brought the alarming news that the French were receiving reinforcements and that the British traders who had ventured into that area were being forced out of the country. The Virginians now took the attitude that the French had committed an act of war. While Fry remained at Wills Creek, Washington pushed on with a few companies over the Nemacolin Trail.

With great difficulty he succeeded in cutting a road 50 miles long across the mountains. On May 24, with the first wheeled vehicle and artillery to cross the Alleghenies, he arrived at the Great Meadows, an open swampy vale in the forest about 5 miles east of Laurel Hill and 50 miles from Wills Creek. Already Washington had received warning to be on the alert for a French force which was reported to have been sent out from Fort Duquesne to scout his advance. The open glade in the dark forest, with its running brook assuring a water supply, seemed an ideal place to stop for the day and from which to reconnoiter the country. It was discovered that there were natural trenches in the meadow. These were probably old channels of the changing stream bed. Despite the fact that the open land was nearly all marsh, the site was considered to have military advantages.



In the evening of the 27th a runner from Tenacharison, Half King, bitter foe of the French and Washington's friend of the year before when the latter was on his mission to Fort Le Boeuf, arrived at Great Meadows with news that the hiding place of a body of French had been discovered on Laurel Hill. Half King had discovered the trail of two men and had followed it to a secretive glen in the forest.

Washington Attacks Jumonville

Immediately Washington made ready to march to Half King's eamp and then on to surprise the French. Leaving a strong guard, Washington and the remainder of his men filed out of Great Meadows and disappeared into the inky darkness of the forest. Stumbling along the mountain path in pitch blackness and in a soaking rain, losing their way frequently, the party, at dawn, reached the Indian eamp at Half King's Rocks on the erest of Laurel Mountain. It had taken them all night to come 6 miles from Great Meadows. After a short consultation Washington and Half King decided to attack the French at once. Two Indian seouts led the way 2 miles northward.

The French camp, sheltered on the west by a 30-foot ledge of rocks and oeeupying a little sylvan amphitheater high on the east slope of Laurel Mountain, was taken by surprise. The engagement which was precipitated immediately by the brisk fire which the Virginians and their Indian allies

poured down into the little glen, was of short duration, lasting about 15 minutes. Half King's Indians had worked their way to the east side of the French hideout and had cut off escape in that direction. Ensign Coulon de Jumonville, in command of the Freneh, and 9 of his men were killed, 1 was wounded, 21 were eaptured. One succeeded in getting away. Washington lost one man killed. He was buried on the spot. The dead Frenchmen were sealped by the Indians and some of the scalps sent by them to the Ohio River village to arouse the warriors there to take up the hatehet against the French. The exact number of the men Washington had with him in this engagement eannot be determined, but it is eertain that, with the Indians, his force eonsiderably outnumbered that of Jumonville.

Washington's Freneh prisoners told him that their party had been sent with a message from Contrecoeur, the eommandant at Fort Duquesne, to warn the English to withdraw from the domain of the King of France and to threaten compulsion by force of arms in ease of refusal. It appears, from the best available sources, that the Jumonville party intended to give Washington a peaceful order to retire; but the French undoubtedly would have used force if Washington had refused to comply with their demands. In accordance with instructions,

View westward, showing the trace of Braddock Road at a point about 300 yards southeast of Fort Necessity. The Fort Necessity stockade may be seen at the right



Jumonville had sent runners back to Fort Duquesne giving information about Washington's party, and he may have intended to wait in hiding for reinforcements before proceeding further. The French and British were now virtually at war in the wilderness of the Ohio country. Washington had, by his encounter with Jumonville, created an incident which would be followed by French reprisals. The French soldier who had escaped made his way back to Fort Duquesne and related to Contrecoeur the story of the surprise attack on their camp. The French immediately resolved to avenge Jumonville's death.

THE BUILDING OF FORT NECESSITY

The surprise attack on the French and the dcath of Jumonville occurred on the 28th of May. Washington immediately returned to Great Meadows and sent at once to Wills Creek for reinforcements. as he expected to be attacked by the French from Fort Duquesne. On May 30, he began the erection in Great Meadows of "a fort with small palisades." The work done at that time could not have been much, for the fortification was completed in 3 days, May 30, 31, and June 1. In his journal for June 25, Washington speaks of this structure as "Fort Necessity." The last entry in this journal was for June 27, 6 days before the engagement at Fort Necessity. This journal was either inadvertently left behind at Fort Necessity or was found the next year by the French in some baggage at the scene of Braddock's defeat. Authorities differ on this point. At any rate, it was sent to France where a French translation was printed in Paris in 1756. The original apparently has been lost, although it may some day turn up in the French archives.

While waiting for reinforcements from Wills Creek, Washington turned his attention toward forming an alliance with the Senecas, Mingoes, Shawnees, Wyandots, Delawares, and other Indian tribes, some 80 warriors already having joined him. Among the chiefs were Half King and Queen Alequippa. Shingas, Chief of the Delawares, came to Great Meadows; Andrew Montour, a famous half-breed French-Huron, was also present. Never was there a more propitious moment for promoting Indian relations, of winning the western tribes as allies, and of obtaining the help of warriors who might have been the decisive factor in the forth-coming struggle. Somehow, in the month that followed, this opportunity did not bear fruit for, in



the end, at the Fort Necessity fight, not a single Indian fought with Washington.

On June 6, Gist brought the news that Fry had died after a fall from his horse at Wills Creek. Washington now was in chief command. On June 9, he was joined by the last of the remaining three companies of Virginians. His force now amounted to 293 officers and men. The next day Capt. James Mackay with 100 men from South Carolina joined his garrison. With these reinforcements were brought 9 swivel guns and some additional supplies.

There were now at Great Meadows about 400 Virginians and South Carolinians, nearly 100 Indians, numerous horses and cattle, wagons, hastily improvised sheds, and the wigwams of the Indians, presenting, no doubt, a great spectacle in this forest opening. Almost every day Indian warriors and messengers came to and went from Fort Necessity as the question of Indian diplomacy assumed major importance and extended to distant Ohio tribes.

A major source of difficulty arose out of the fact that Mackay, in command of the South Carolina contingent, was a captain of the King's regular forces, whereas Washington held only a provincial commission. Mackay refused to take orders from Washington, and as a consequence, there was little or no cooperation between the Virginians and South Carolinians. All of this probably had a bad effect on the Indians. In an effort to keep his men busy and to prevent demoralization, Washington began the construction of a road from Great Meadows to Gist's plantation and on toward the Monongahela.



View of Fort Necessity stockade from the southwest, showing the area known as Great Meadows. In the left background is Mount Washington Tavern on the National Pike, and the flagpole in the right foreground is located on the Braddock Road

Work on the road continued through the month of June. By June 18, it had reached Gist's plantation, where Washington found 40 representatives of the Senecas, Delawares, and Shawnees waiting to confer with him. In the course of the 3-day conference which followed, the Indians tried to impress Washington with their friendship for the English, but he suspected that they were actually spies in the service of the French. After their departure, Half King, who remained faithful, sent several of his scouts to obtain information on the movements of the French.

THE ENGAGEMENT AT FORT NECESSITY

Alarming reports which came to Washington indicated that he would soon be attacked. On June 28, he was joined at Gist's by Mackay and the South Carolinians. At first it was decided to fortify their position there and await the French and their Indian allies. This was abandoned, however, and it was decided to fall back to Wills Creek. The retreat began hastily on the last day of June with the Virginians carrying much of the baggage on their backs and dragging the 9 swivel guns over the rough trail. After a continuous march of 24 hours, the exhausted men reached Great Meadows on July 1. Facing the danger of being overtaken on the march by the enemy, Washington halted here for an inspection of his force. Finding many of his men sick, he decided that it was impracticable



to attempt further retreat. So it was that the little palisade fort which he had constructed at the Great Meadows became a refuge in a time of necd. July 2 was spent in strengthening the little fort. Mackay's men began work on a ditch along the exposed (south) side of the stockade to serve as a defense work, and the Virginians busied themselves in making rifle pits and constructing earthen embankments against portions of their fort. During the whole month of June nothing had been done to improve the meager fortifications that had been erected at the end of May. Less than one-third of an acre was enclosed within the stockade. Obviously, this could not shelter 400 men, their wagons and baggage, and their cattle and horses.

News of Jumonville's death had been forwarded quickly from Fort Duquesne to Montreal. From here, Coulon de Villiers, a brother of the ill-fated French officer, already had set out with a body of Indians and reached Fort Duquesne on June 26. This post had been heavily reinforced and now was garrisoned by about 1,400 men. On June 28, after hastily completing preparations, Villiers at the head of about 600 French and 100 Indians set out to avenge the death of his brother and to drive the English from the western region. On July 2 he reached Washington's abandoned camp at Gist's. That night it rained continuously. At daybreak, the march was resumed in the continuing down-Villiers pressed forward through the drenched forest, stopped briefly at the spot where his brother had been killed and where several bodies still lay exposed. He then hurried down the mountain toward the spot where a deserter had informed him his enemy lay. Indian scouts led the way.

Washington's Indian allies by this time had deserted him, Half King being greatly disaffected by what he considered the improper conduct of the campaign, as he later told Conrad Weiser. The Virginians had taken their position inside the stockade, the South Carolinians outside in the hastily dug trenches, only about knee deep, and soon filled with water. These trenches were on the south and west of the little fort. Ammunition was low. Nearly all food was gone, fresh beef being almost the only means of sustenance.

About 11 o'clock on July 3 a wounded sentinel ran into the little opening, bringing the news that the French and Indians were at hand. In a few minutes they were seen at the edge of the forest.

Washington drcw his men up in line of battle on the open ground in front of the fort, hoping to induce a direct attack. In this he failed, as Villiers kept his men under cover of the forest. Gradually they shifted from the northwest to the southeast and southwest of the little clearing where two wooded rises of ground, separated by a small stream, came within 60 and 100 yards, respectively, of the little fort. From here the French and Indians kept up a sustained fire upon the men below. Washington withdrew the Virginians inside the stockade, and Mackay's men took shelter in their shallow trenches outside. The livestock outside was soon killed by the French and Indians. All day the rain fell. Each side kept up the firing intermittently throughout the day as best they could in the downpour.

The French were running short of ammunition and were afraid that reinforcements for the English might arrive at any moment. In addition, their Indian allies threatened to leave in the morning. About 8 o'clock Villiers proposed a parley. Washington twice refused, thinking it only a stratagem to learn of conditions inside the fort. On the third proposal, however, he acceded, thinking his position hopeless, and sent Jacob Van Braam, who understood French, to learn Villiers' terms. After some delay Van Braam returned with a draft written in French of the proposed articles of capitulation. These were read and translated by Van Braam to Washington and his officers by the uncertain light of a candle that could hardly be kept burning in the downpour of rain. After a few changes had been made in them, the articles of capitulation were signed about midnight. They provided that Washington and his men were to march out the next morning with the honors of war and be allowed to return unmolested to Wills Creek. They were to take with them their arms and baggage and one small gun. The rest of the artillery would be left behind. Two hostages were to be given to the French (Van Braam and Stobo) to insure the safe. return to Fort Duquesne of the French who had been captured in the Jumonville fight. The return of the French captives was never carried out.

In the Fort Necessity engagement the English had a force of nearly 400, many of whom, however, were ill or scarcely fit for military service. Washington estimated the French to number 500 men with 400 Indian allies. Villiers gave his strength as 600 French and 100 Indians. There is reason to

believe, however, that his strength was greater than this, especially among the Indians. According to the official French report, 2 of their force were killed and 70 wounded. It is not known what the Indian losses were, although Villiers in his Journal states that only 1 was killed and 2 seriously wounded. Washington reported that 12 Virginians were killed and 43 wounded. The losses among the South Carolinians outside the fort is not known, although they must have been relatively heavy. Governor Dinwiddie wrote to the Lords of Trade that the English lost in all 30 killed and 70 wounded.

Early on the morning of July 4, a date that later was to become an anniversary holiday celebrating the independence of a nation then unborn, the fort was abandoned, and the desperate 50-mile retreat to Wills Creek began. The horses and cattle had been killed, and the men who were able had to carry the sick and wounded. Most of the baggage was left behind. The Indians threatened to get out of control and attack the men on the march. They plundered, destroyed the medicine chest, and killed and scalped two of the wounded. Panic was barely averted. Washington has left no record of his feelings on this occasion, but all his fortitude and great power of will must have been put to the test.

The French broke up the surrendered cannon, burned the fort, and, on the outside, the several houses and a large shed which served as a storehouse. They then returned to Fort Duquesne, burning the buildings at Gist's and at the mouth of Red Stone Creek.

The disaster at Fort Necessity was the signal for the Indians to go over to the French in ever-increasing numbers. Horrible Indian forays against the English frontier settlement were soon to set the borderland aflame and in that exposed land leave no man, woman, or child safe from the tomahawk and scalping knife.

Map of the main topographic features and relative positions of French, Indians, and British at the scene of Braddock's defeat as the fighting reached its climax. The above drawing is from the original map now in the British Public Record Office, London, made by Patrick MacKellar, chief engineer of the Braddock expedition. MacKellar was with the advance column under Gage when the attack began.

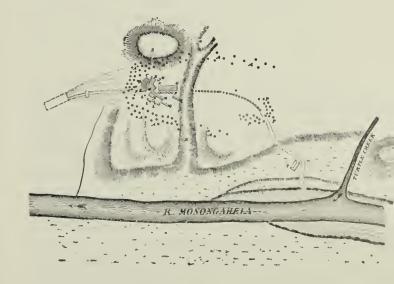
The small circles marked "A" represent French and Indians; the rectangles and small squares marked "C, D, E, H, K, M, N, and Q," the British in a confused mass; "P" the British rear guard; "S" a hill from which the Indians wrought much of the disaster; "R" a steep ravine; "I" Fraser's House

The Braddock Campaign

The English Again Challenge the French The articles of capitulation signed by Washington had made reference to the peaceful relations then existing between France and England, and the French hoped that their success at Fort Necessity would discourage further conflict in the trans-Allegheny region. But the British, far from accepting the defeat as the conclusive test of strength on the frontier, set to work almost immediately to challenge again the French power in that area.

The Albany Congress of 1754 having failed because of colonial jealousy to provide a common defense against the French and Indians, an elaborate attack on Canada was prepared in England, although war with France had not yet been declared. Four expeditions were planned: Attacks against Fort Duquesne, Fort Niagara, Crown Point, and Fort Beausejour. The main attack was to be against Fort Duquesne, and in charge of this expedition the Duke of Cumberland appointed Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock, an officer with 45 years of service and a veteran of the Coldstream Guards, which he had entered in 1710. Braddock was given command of all the British troops in America. With the famous 44th and 48th regiments, each with about 500 men, he landed in Virginia in February 1755. He was joined by colonials recruited mainly from Virginia and by sailors from Commodore Keppel's squadron, increasing his force to more than 2,000 men. Washington was offered a place on Braddock's staff and served as one of the General's three aides-de-camp.

During the winter of 1754-55 the trading post at Wills Creek had been transformed by the labor of scores of men into a military establishment named



Fort Cumberland. Here Braddock's army assembled 2,200 men, artillery, 600 baggage horses, and strong Pennsylvania wagons provided by Franklin. A strong contingent of Indian warriors was brought to Braddock by Croghan, but these soon became disaffected by the treatment they received and only 8 remained with Braddock to the end. Braddock did not think highly of the colonial backwoodsmen, and his contemptuous treatment of them turned away from the army many rough but fearless frontier fighters.

THE ADVANCE OF BRADDOCK'S FORCES

The first week of June had passed before the army got well under way from Fort Cumberland. Scouts in front and on the flank guarded against surprise. In the vanguard were 300 axemen to clear and widen the road for artillery and the baggage wagons. Thus, the greatest assemblage of military might and splendor this western forest land had seen up to that time, to use the words of Parkman, "advanced into the waste of lonely mountains that divided the streams flowing to the Atlantic from those flowing to the Gulf of Mexico—a realm of forests ancient as the world. The road was but 12 feet wide, and the line of march often extended 4 miles. It was like a thin, long parti-colored snake, red, blue, and brown, trailing slowly through the depth of leaves, creeping round inaccessible heights, crawling over ridges, moving always in dampness and shadow, by rivulets and waterfalls, crags and chasms, gorges and shaggy steeps. In glimpses only, through jogged boughs and flickering leaves, did this wild primeval world reveal itself, with its dark green mountains, flecked with the morning mist, and its distant summits pencilled in dreamy blue."

Deeper into the wilderness the huge procession wound its way. At first only 3 miles a day was made. Upon the advice of Washington, Braddock selected 1,200 men and with the artillery pushed forward, leaving Col. Thomas Dunbar with the remainder of the army to bring up the baggage train at a slower pace. Hostile Indians hung about the advancing army and when occasion offered fell upon and killed stragglers. Late on the afternoon of June 24 Braddock passed the ruins of Fort Necessity and bivouacked about a mile to the westward in a thicket of wild crab trees which he named "Old Orchard Camp." The next day he ascended Laurel

Mountain and camped for the night at a spring, now known as Washington Springs, a few hundred feet from Half King's Rocks. Colonel Dunbar, with the baggage train, had reached a point about 2 miles to the west, now known as Dunbar's Knob, when Braddock encountered the enemy in the fateful battle on the Monongahela.

At Fort Duquesne the French were thrown into the greatest confusion by the reports from their scouts of Braddock's continued advance. Contrecoeur despaired of his force successfully opposing Braddock's host. In addition to a few hundred French and Canadians, there were about 800 Indians present, assembled from all the tribes of lower Canada. Included were warriors from the upper lakes under the leadership of that scourge of the frontier, Charles Langlade. On July 8 scouts brought word that the English were just beyond the Monongahela. Contrecoeur, upon the suggestion of either Beaujeu or Dumas, resolved to try to waylay Braddock on the march. The crossing of the Monongahela 8 miles away seemed to offer the best opportunity. Speeches were made to the Indians, who at first refused to join in the fight, but finally the greater part of them agreed to accompany the French.

THE BATTLE ON THE MONONGAHELA

The morning of July 9 was one of commotion and excitement under the walls of Fort Duquesne. Barrels of gunpowder and bullets were opened. The paint-smeared natives filled powder horns and pouches greedily and trooped off into the forest. Beaujeu, in command of the attacking party, dressed like an Indian, joined the others and hurried off toward the ford of the Monongahela. In all, there were about 250 French and Canadians and close to 650 Indians, a total of not more than

Monument to Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock at site where his remains were reinterred in 1804. One of the bronze plaques on the monument was presented by the Coldstream Guards, Braddock's old regiment. (Courtesy Fort Necessity Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution)



900, considerably fewer than Braddock's advance army, which now numbered between 1,400 and 1,500 men. Contrecoeur and those remaining at the fort saw the last of the French and Indians disappear before 8 o'clock in the direction of the approaching British.

It was close to 1 o'clock when Braddock crossed the Monongahela. The crossing was made with the greatest care, for here, if anywhere, he expected the enemy to attack him. But he was unopposed and the army crossed safely and rested briefly before proceeding. Beaujeu had been delayed. Various difficulties upset his plans, including trouble with the Indians, 300 of whom went off and did not rejoin him until just before the fight began. So it happened that the advance guard of Braddock's army ran into the crowd of French and Indians hurrying forward about a mile from the crossing, just beyond Turtle Creek. There was no ambush. If there had been one it would have been discovered, as the order of march was covered by a screen of scouts in the front and on the flanks.

A leader dressed like an Indian, apparently Beaujeu, turned and waved his hat to those behind him when he saw the British ahead of him down the path. Instantly the war cry was raised, and the Indians swarmed through the forest to the right and left of the British advance, which had now halted. Almost at the first exchange of shots the Canadians fled the field. Beaujeu was killed practically at the outset. The regular French officers under Dumas, who was now in command. and Langlade rallied the Indians, who poured a deadly fire into the huddled masses of soldiers from behind trees and rocks and were seldom seen themselves. Especially destructive was the fire from a small hill to the right of the British, where large numbers of Indians had taken up positions. By this time the main British body had closed up with the advance guard, and the confusion was growing worse. The British soldiers seemed dazed, standing stolidly in ranks and firing volley after volley mechanically into the woods around them, often shooting down their own troops and especially the colonials, who were seeking to fight Indian fashion from behind trees and were trying to push out gradually to where the Indians were hidden. The British officers exposed themselves recklessly in their desperate efforts to bring order out of chaos. Braddock had four horses shot from under him

before he finally fell, mortally wounded, shot through the arm into the lungs, just after he had ordered a retreat from the field of carnage.

The British had suffered a catastrophe indeed. Of 86 officers, 63 were killed or wounded. Of close to 1,400 privates and noncommissioned officers only 459 escaped unharmed. The French loss was slight. Among the officers, 3 were killed and 4 wounded. Only 4 of the regular soldiers were casualties. The Canadians had only 5 hurt. The Indians from lower Canada lost 27 killed and wounded. The loss among the western and upper lake Indians is unknown.

The remnants of Braddock's army fled without order all night long and throughout the next day back over the road toward Dunbar's camp. At Gist's they were met by wagons and provisions sent to meet them by Dunbar, who had heard of the disaster from early arrivals. The panic did not stop when Dunbar's camp was reached. The wildest disorder prevailed. Wagons, stores, cannon, ammunition were destroyed. The next morning, July 13, the entire body began the retreat to Fort Cumberland. That night a stop was made at the Old Orchard Camp, 1 mile west of Fort Necessity. Here Braddock died during the evening. The next morning, Monday, July 14, Braddock was buried in the middle of the road, Washington reading the Anglican service, and the entire army passed over his grave, effacing all signs that might have led prowling Indians to the spot. Three days later the remnants of the ruined army reached the shelter of Fort Cumberland.

Braddock's defeat had been almost entirely an Indian victory. It is doubtful if any white army on the North American continent ever suffered a

Reproduction of Edward Willard Deming's oil painting, Braddock's Defeat. Charles Langlade, the partisan leader and Green Bay fur trader, is seen in the left, directing the attack of the upper Great Lakes Indians which proved decisive. Braddock is shown falling from his horse. The bridle is being caught by Washington. (Courtesy Wisconsin Historical Society)



more devastating defeat at the hands of Indian warriors during the eighteenth century than that meted out to the ill-fated Braddock. The triumph in the Ohio country of the French and their Indian allies now seemed complete. Not the least of the consequences of this calamitous defeat was the breaking out of Indian warfare which ravaged the now unprotected English frontier settlements with harrowing and tragic violence.

It was not until 1758 that a second and successful campaign, under General Forbes, was made to take Fort Duquesne and relieve Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia from Indian raids. The new fort built by the British at the forks of the Ohio was named Fort Pitt in honor of William Pitt, the Prime Minister whose vigorous prosecution of the war made victory possible.

The Braddock Road

First blazed for the Ohio Company about 1750 by Nemacolin, a Delaware Indian, working with Col. Thomas Cresap, a famous frontiersman, used and improved by Washington during the Great Meadows campaign in 1754 and by Braddock the next year, the forest trail from Wills Creek to the Monongahela River subsequently became the highway of westward expansion. At various times in its history this avenue of travel across the mountains to the west was known as Nemacolin's Path, Gist's Trace, Washington's Road, and Braddock's Road. By 1817, when the National Road had been completed as far as the Monongahela, the Braddock Road was abandoned.

Old Orchard Camp and Braddock's Grave

OLD ORCHARD CAMP, a historic camp site on the Braddock Road, is located 1 mile west of the Great Meadows. It was June 25, 1755, when Braddock stopped here in his ninth encampment after leaving Fort Cumberland on his way west against the French at Fort Duquesne. On July 13–14, less than 3 weeks later, he was destined to die and be buried here, at the first bivouac of the British troops in their panic-stricken retreat from the battlefield at Turtle Creek.

When the old Braddock Road was being repaired in 1804, workmen came upon a human skeleton in the middle of the road a short distance east of Old Orchard Camp. With the bones were found buttons and buckles which indicated that the body had probably been clothed in the uniform of a British officer of high rank. The burial was identified at that time as that of General Braddock. The remains were taken up and 100 yards southeast of the old grave were reinterred on a knoll which now overlooks the National Road.

In 1909, the citizens of Fayette County, Pa., organized the Braddock Park Association and acquired 23 acres of land, including a portion of the Old Orchard Camp site. Funds were raised for the erection of a monument, which was dedicated October 15, 1913. Since 1931, the area has been held by the Fort Necessity Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution.

The Old National Pike

THE ROAD which replaced the Braddock Road, variously referred to as the Old National Pike, National Road, and Cumberland Road, was the first step in the development of a national highway system. Conceived first in the mind of Washington, and later heartily advanced by Albert Gallatin and Henry Clay, the project was given a further impetus by the admission of Ohio into the Union in 1803. Three years later Congress authorized the laying out of a road from Cumberland, Md., to the State of Ohio, but actual construction was not begun until 1811. In 1819, when work on it was suspended because of prevailing economic conditions, the road had reached Wheeling, on the Ohio River. In later years it was extended through Ohio and Indiana to central Illinois.

Mount Washington Tavern (Fort Necessity Museum)

In 1818, about the time of the opening of traffic on the National Pike, Judge Nathaniel Ewing of Fayette County, the owner of the Great Meadows tract, erected a large house beside the new road and named it Mount Washington. It was one of the first substantial buildings on the road between the present site of Uniontown, Pa., and the Little Meadows, many miles to the castward. It was operated by successive owners as a tavern, and because of its size and comfortable accommodations was designated a stage house.

Mount Washington Tavern, now used as a museum, is owned by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. There are many relics of the Fort Neces-

sity and Braddock expeditions on exhibition, some of them having been found on the site of Fort Necessity and other historic areas in the immediate vicinity.

Dunbar's Camp

The site of Dunbar's camp commands one of the most magnificent vistas in Pennsylvania. It lies a few hundred yards north of Jumonville's Glen and occupies a level plateau under the shadow of a lofty eminence known as Dunbar's Knob, which rises to an elevation of about 2,600 feet. The summit of Dunbar's Knob, which is a barren area, is reached by a road accessible for automobiles throughout the year.

Half King Rocks and Washington Springs

HALF KING ROCKS is the place where the Mingo (branch of Senecas) chieftain Half King and Washington joined forces on the eve of their attack on the French force of Jumonville. This site is reputed to be situated approximately where the trace of the Braddock Road intercepts the modern road along the crest of Laurel Mountain just south of Washington Springs, about 2 miles north of U.S. Route 40.

Jumonville's Glen

Jumonville's Glen, the scene of Washington's attack on Jumonville's party, is situated about 6 miles northwest of Fort Necessity. It may be reached by an improved road along the crest of Laurel Mountain, 3 miles north of U. S. Route 40. In 1931, the Fort Necessity Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution, acquired 33 acres surrounding the site, together with a roadway leading one quarter of a mile westward to the highway. There is perhaps no landmark associated with a major event in Washington's life which has experienced so little change as this wilderness glen.

The Site

FORT NECESSITY National Battlefield Site, consisting of 2 acres, was established under Executive order in 1933. The typical eighteenth-century stockade on the site of Fort Necessity was constructed in 1932 under the sponsorship of the Fort Necessity Memorial Association, funds having been

secured through community contribution. The stockade was dedicated on July 3 and 4, 1932, on the occasion of the observance at that time of the Washington Bicentennial.

The Federal holding is surrounded by a State park of 311 acres, including most of the 234½ acres at Great Meadows, which Washington bought in 1769 and held until his death.

How To Reach the Site

Fort Necessity is situated on U. S. Highway 40, 11 miles east of Uniontown, Pa. Blue Ridge Bus Lines operate over this highway. The area is accessible from the Pennsylvania Turnpike (New Stanton Traffic Interchange), over U. S. Route 119 to U. S. Route 40 at Uniontown.

FACILITIES FOR VISITORS

Information and literature relative to the Fort Necessity Site and related historic points in the vicinity may be obtained from attendants at the stockade. Free service is available to all visitors. Organizations and groups will be given special service if arrangements are made in advance with the custodian. The museum in the Mount Washington Tavern, maintained by the State in the adjoining area, has many exhibits of historical interest.

Administration

Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site is administered by the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior. Communications regarding the battlefield site should be addressed to the Coordinating Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, Pa.

Present day view of Mount Washington Tavern, now used as a State museum. Many relics and considerable historical material relating to the Great Meadows and Braddock Campaigns are on exhibit



