

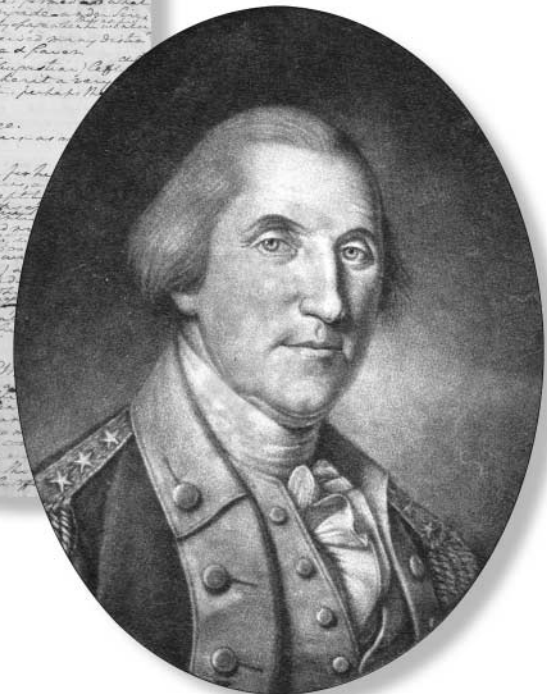
About George Washington's "Remarks"

Although George Washington kept extensive diaries and wrote numerous letters and other documents, he shied away from personal reflection, preferring to let official accounts tell the story of his life and achievements. In 1786, however, Washington agreed to allow his friend and aide Colonel David Humphreys to write his biography. A year or so later, Washington corrected Humphreys's initial draft. He entitled his edits "Remarks."

In editing the biography Washington was moved to tell the story of his adventures as a young man in his 20s, when he was trying to distinguish himself as a military officer. He recounts his experiences from late 1753 to the end of 1758, the five-year period when he led Virginia troops in the French and Indian War.

Washington did not write his "Remarks" for posterity. Instead, he instructed his aide to burn or return the manuscript. Thankfully for history, the aide did not comply with the request. The 11-page manuscript, which had been held in private hands, was purchased for the commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the French and Indian War with funds made available by the Laurel Foundation, Suzy and Jim Broadhurst, and Diane and Glen Meakem. Publicly displayed for the first time during the commemoration, the manuscript is housed at Fort Ligonier in western Pennsylvania.

Facsimiles of the manuscript and a full transcription appear on the CD-ROM that accompanies *Becoming George Washington*.



George Washington's "Remarks"—Transcription, page 1

This transcription of the "Remarks" manuscript was prepared by the staff of The Papers of George Washington at the University of Virginia and appeared in *George Washington Remembers: Reflections on the French & Indian War*, edited by Fred Anderson (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004).

Square brackets [] in the transcription are used for editorial insertions.

Angle brackets < > enclose text that is illegible in the original manuscript.

It was rather the wish of my eldest brother (on whom the general concerns of the family devolved) that this shd take place & the mat<ter> was contemplated by him—My father died when I was only 10 years old.

He was not appointed Adjutant General of the Militia of Virginia untill after his return from the expedition to Carthagen—Nor did he Command the Colonial troops on that occasion—these were under the Orders of Sir Wm. Gouch Lt Govr of Virginia—He was no more than the Senior Officer of those which were raised in this Colony & wch with those of the other Colonies formed what was called the American Brigade—under Sir William Gouch—he was scarcely of age when he went on this expedn. and from whom he had received many distinguished marks of patronage & favor. Not all—for the second Son (Augustine) left many childn, sevl of whom are now living; and inherit a very large portion of his Fathers Estate. perhaps the best part. Before he was 20 years of age.

He was then more than 21 years—as will appear from dates. at a most inclement Season, for he travelled over the Apalacheon Mountains, and passed 250 miles thro an uninhabited wilderness Country (except by a few tribes of Indians settled on the Banks of the Ohio) to Presque Isle within 15 Miles of Lake Erie in the depth of winter when the face of the Earth was covered with snow and the waters covered with Ice; The whole dist[anc]e from Wmsburgh the then seat of Governmt at least 500 miles.

It was on this occasion he was named by the half-King (as he was called) and the tribes of Nations with whom he treated—Caunotaucarius (in English) the Town taker; which name being registered in their Manner & communicated to other Nations of Indians, has been remembered by them ever since in all their transactions with him during the late war.

This is a task to which G.W. feels himself very incompetent (with any degree of accuracy) from the badness of his memory—loss of Papers—mutilated state, in which those of that date were preserved—and the derangement of them by frequent removals in the late war & want of time to collect and methodize them since. However accordg to the best of his recollection: By the indefatigable Industry of the Lt Colo. and the Officers who seconded his measures the Regiment was in great forwardness at Alexandria (the place of general rendezvous) early in the spring of 1754 and without waiting till the whole should be completed—or for a detachment from the Independent Companies of regulars in the Southern Provinces (which had been <reqd> by the Executive of Virginia for this Service) or for troops which were raising in North Carolina and destined in conjunction to oppose the Incroachment of the French on our Western frontiers—He began his March in the Month of May in order to open the Roads, and this he had to do almost the whole distance from Winchester (in the County of Frederick not more than 80 miles from Alexandria to the Ohio)—For deposits—&ca—and for the especial purpose of siezing, if possible, before the

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French shd arrive at it, the important Post at the conflux of the Alligany and Monongahela; with the advantages of which he was forcibly struck the preceeding year; and earnestly advised the securing of with Militia, or some other temporary force. But notwithstanding all his exertions, the New, and uncommon difficulties he had to encounter (made more intolerable by incessant Rains and swelled waters of which he had many to cross) he had but just ascended the Lawrel Hill 50 M: short of his object: after a March of 230 Miles from Alexa. when he received information from his Scouts that the French had in force, siezed the Post he was pushing to obtain; having descended from Presque Isle by the Rivers Le beouf and Alligany to this Place by water with artillery &ca &ca—The object of his precipitate advance being thus defeated—The detachmt of regulars, wch had arrived at Alexa. (by water) and under his orders being far in his rear—and no Acct of the Troops from No. Carolina—it was thought advisable to fall back a few miles, to a place known by the name of the great meadows—abounding in Forage more convenient for the purpose of forming a Magazine & bringing up the rear—and to advance from (if we should ever be in force to do it) to the attack of the Post which the enemy now occupied; and had called Du Quesne—At this place, some days after, we were joined by the above detachment of regulars; consisting (before they were reduced on the March by desertion, Sickness &ca) of a Captn (McKay a brave & worthy Officer)—three Subalterns—and 100 Rank & file. But previous to this junction the French sent a detachment to reconnoitre our Camp to obtain intelligence of our strength & position; notice of which being given by the Scouts G.W. marched at the head of a party, attacked, killed 9 or 10; & captured 20 odd. This, as soon as the enemy had assembled their Indian allies, brought their whole force upon him; consisting, according to their own compared with the <best> accts that could be obtained from others of about 1500 Men—His force consisted of the detachment above mentioned, and between two & 300 Virginians; for the few Indians which till now had attended <him,> and who by reconnoitering the enemy on their March

had got terrified at their numbers and resolved to retreat as they advised us to do also but which was impracticable without abandoning our Stores—Baggage—&ca as the horses which had brought them to this place had returned for Provision had left us previous to the Attack. About 9 Oclock on the 3d of July the Enemy advanced with Shouts, & dismal Indian yells to our Intrenchments, but was opposed by so warm, spirited, & constant a fire, that to force the works in that way was abandoned by them—they then, from every little rising—tree—Stump—Stone—and bush kept up a constant galding fire upon us; which was returned in the best manner we could till late in the afternn when their fell the most tremendous rain that can be conceived—filled our trenches with water—wet, not only the ammuniion in Cartouch boxes and firelocks, but that which was in a small temporary Stockade in the middle of the Intrenchment called Fort necessity erected for the sole purpose of its security, and that of the few stores we had; and left us nothing but a few (for all were not provided with them) Bayonets for defence. In this situation & no prosp[ec]t of bettering it[,] terms of capitulation were offered to us by the ene<my> wch with some alterations that were insisted upon were the more readily acceded to, as we had no Salt provisions, & but indifferently supplied with fresh; which, from the heat of the weather, would not keep; and because a full third of our numbers Officers as well as privates were, by this time, killed or wounded—The next Morning we marched out with the honors of War, but were soon plundered contrary to the articles of capitulation of great part of our Baggage by the Savages. Our Sick and wounded were left with a detachment under the care, and command of the worthy Doctr Craik (for he was not only Surgeon to the Regiment but a lieutt therein[]) with such necessaries as we could collect and the Remains of the Regimt, and the detachment of Regulars, took up their line for the interior Country. And at Winchester met 2 Companies from No. Carolina on their March to join them—These being fresh, & properly provided, were ordered to proceed to Wills's Creek & establish a post (<since> called Fort Cumberland) for the purpose of covering the

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Frontiers, Where they were joined by a Company from Maryland, which, about this time, had been raised—Captn McKay with his detachment remd at Winchester; & the Virginia Regiment proceedd to Alexandria in order to recruit, & get supplied with cloathing & necessarys of which they stood much in need. In this manner the Winter was employed, when advice was recd of the force destined for this Service under the ordrs of G.B. and the arrival of Sir Jno. St Clair the Q: Mastr Genl with some new arrangement of Rank by which no officer who did not immediately derive his Comn from the King could command one who did—This was too degrading for G.W. to submit to; accordingly, he resigned his Military employment; determining to serve the next campaign as a Volunteer; but upon the arrival of Genl Braddock he was very particularly noticed by that General—taken into his family as an extra-Aid—offered a Captns Comn by brevet (which was the highest Grade he had it in his power to bestow[]) and had the compliment of several blank Ensigncies given him to dispose of to the Young Gentlemen of his acqe to supply the vacancies in the 44 and 48 Regts which had arrived from Ireland.

In this capacity he commenced his second Campaign and used every proper occasion till he was taken Sick & left behind in the vicinity of Fort Cumberland to impress the Genl, & the principal Officers around him, with the necessity of opposing the nature of his defence, to the mode of attack which, more than probably, he would experience from the Canadian French, and their Indians on his March through the Mountains & covered Country but so prepossed were they in favr of regularity & discipline and in such absolute contempt were these people held, that the admonition was suggested in vain.

About the middle of June, this Armament consisting of the two Regiments from Ireland—some Independant Companies and the Provincial troops of Virga Maryld & North Carolina, began to move from Fort Cumberland whither they had assembled—after several days March; and difficulties

to which they had never been accustomed in regular Service, in Champaign Countries; and of whh they seemed to have had very little idea—the Genl resolved to divide his force, and at the head of the first division which was composed of the flower of his Army, to advance; and leave Colo. Dunbar with the second division & the heavy Baggage & Stores, to follow after. By so doing, the first division approached the Monongahela 10 miles short of Fort Duquesne the 8th of July; at which time and place having so far recovered from a severe fever and delerium from which he had been rescued by James's powder, administed by the positive order of the Genl as to travel in a covered Waggon, he joined him and the next day tho much reduced and very weak mounted his horse on cushions, & attended as one of his aids.

About 10 Oclock on the 9th, after the Van had crossed the Monongahela the second time, to avoid an ugly defile (the season being very dry & waters low) and the rear yet in the River the front was attacked; and by the unusual Halloing and whooping of the enemy, whom they could not see, were so disconcerted and confused, as soon to fall into irretrievable disorder. The rear was forced forward to support them, but seeing no enemy, and themselves falling every moment from the fire, a general panic took place among the Troops from which no exertions of the Officers could recover them—In the early part of the Action some of the Irregulars (as they were called) without direc<t>ns advanced to the right, in loose order, to attack; but this, unhappily from the unusual appearance of the movement being mistaken for cowardice and a running away was discountenanced—and before it was too late, & the confusion became general an offer was made by G.W. to head the Provincials, & engage the enemy in their own way; but the propriety of it was not seen into until it was too late for execution[.] after this, many attempts were made to dislod<ge> the enemy from an eminence on the Right but they all proved eneffectual; and fatal to the Officers who by great exertions and good examples endeavoured to accomplish it. In one of these the Genl recd the Wd of which he died; but previous to it, had several horses killed & disabled

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under him. Captns Orme & Morris his two Aids de Camp having received wounds which rendered them unable to attd G.W. remained the sole aid through the day, to the Genl; he also had one horse killed, and two wounded under him—A ball through his hat—and several through his clothes, but escaped unhurt. Sir Peter Halket (secd in Command) being early killed—Lieutt Colo. Burton & Sir Jno. St Clair (who had the Rank of Lt Colo. in the Army) being badly wounded—Lieutt Colo. Gage (afterwards Genl Gage) having recd a contusion—No person knowing in the disordered State things were who the Surviving Senr Officer was & the Troops by degrees going off in confusion; without a ray of hope left of further opposition from those that remained; G.W. placed the Genl in a small covered Cart, which carried some of his most essential equipage, and in the best order he could, with the last Troops (who only contind to be fired at) brought him over the first ford of the Monongahela; where they were formed in the best order circumstances would admit on a piece of rising ground; after wch, by the Genls order, he rode forward to halt those which had been earlier in the retreat: Accordingly, after crossing the Monongahela the second time and ascending the heights, he found Lieutt Colo. Gage engaged in this business to whom he delivered the Genls order and then returned to report the situation he found them in—When he was again requested by the Genl whom he met coming on, in his litter with the first halted troops, to proceed (it then being after sundown) to the second division under the command of Colo. Dunbar, to make arrangements for covering the retreat, and forwarding on provisions & refreshments to the retreating & wounded Soldiery—To accomplish this, for the 2d division was 40 odd miles in the rear it took up the whole night & part of the next morning—which from the weak state in which he was, and the fatiegues, and anxiety of the last 24 hours, rendered him in a manner wholly unfit for the execution of the duty he was sent upon when he arrived at Dunbars Camp—To the best of his power however, he discharged it, and remained with the secd division till the other joined it. The shocking Scenes which presented themselves in this

Nights March are not to be described—The dead—the dying—the groans—lamentation—and crys along the Road of the wounded for help (for those under the latter descriptions endeavoured from the first commencement of the action—or rather confusion to escape to the 2d divn) were enough to pierce a heart of adamant. the gloom & horror of which was not a little encreased by the impervious darkness occa- sioned by the close shade of thick woods which in places rendered it impossible for the two guides which attended to know when they were in, or out of the track but by groping on the ground with their hands.

Happy was it for him, and the remains of the first division that they left such a quantity of valuable and enticing baggage on the field as to occasion a scramble and contention in the seizure & distribution of it among the enemy for had a pursuit taken place—by passing the defile which we had avoided; and they had got into our rear, the whole, except a few woodsmen, would have fallen victims to the merciless Savages—Of about 12 or 13 hundred which were in this action eight or 9 hundd were either killed or wounded; among whom a large proportion of brave & valuable Officers were included—The folly & consequence of opposing compact bodies to the sparse manner of Indian fighting, in woods, which had in a manner been predicted, was now so clearly verified that from hence forward another mode obtained in all future operations.

As soon as the two divisions united, the whole retreated towards Fort Cumberland; and at an Incampment near the Great Meadows the brave, but unfortunate Genl Braddock breathed his last. He was interred with the honors of war, and as it was left to G.W. to see this performed, & to mark out the spot for the reception of his remains—to guard against a savage triumph, if the place should be discovered—they were deposited in the Road over which the Army, Waggons & cca passed to hide every trace by which the entombment could be discovered. Thus died a man, whose good & bad qualities were intimately blended. He was brave even to a fault and in regular Service would have

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done honor to his profession—His attachments were warm—his enmities were strong—and having no disguise about him, both appeared in full force. He was generous & disinterested—but plain and blunt in his manner even to rudeness—After this event, the Troops continued their March for, & soon arrived at Fort Cumberland without molestation: and all except the P[rovinci]als immediately resolved to proceed to Philadelphia; by which means the Frontiers of that State but more especially those of Virginia and Maryland were laid entirely open by the very avenue which had been prepared.—Of the direful consequences of this measure G.W., in a visit wch he immediately made to Williamsburgh for the purpose brought the Govr & Council of Virga acquainted—But In vain did they remonstrate against the March of the B. Troops to that place to the Officer com[mandin]g them. They proceeded to augment their own: the command of which under a very & enlarged & dignified Commission, to Command all the Troops now raised, or to be raised in the Colony, was given to him with very extensive powers, and blank Commissions to appoint all New Officers. About this time also or soon after it the discontents and clamours of the Provincial Officers, and the remonstrance of G.W. in person, to Genl Shirley, the then Comr in chief of the British Forces in America and through the Govr & Council to the Kings Minister with respect to the degrading Situation in which they were placed[,] a new arrangement took place by the Kings order, by which every Provincial Officer was to rank according to the Comn he bore, but to be junr to those of the same grade in the established Corps.

As G.W. foresaw, so it happened, the frontiers were continually harrassed—but not having force enough to carry the war to the gates of Du Quesne, he could do no more than distribute the Troops along the Frontiers in Stockaded Forts; more with a view to quiet the fears of the Inhabitants than from any expectation of giving security on so extensive a line to the settlements. During this interval in one of his tours along the frontier posts—he narrowly escaped, according to the acc. afterwards given by some of our People who were Prisoners with them, and

eyewitness at the time <of the parties falling> by an Indian party who had waylaid (for another purpose) the communication along which with a small party of horse only he was passing—the road in this place formed a curve—and the prey they were in weight for being expected at the reverse part, the Captn of the party had gone across to observe the number [and] manner of their movemt &ca in order that he might make his disposition accordingly leaving orders for the party not to take notice of any passengers the other <way> till he returned to them—in the mean time in the opposite direction I passed & escaped almt certain destruction for the weather was raining and the few Carbines unfit for use if we had escaped the first fire—This happened near Fort Vass. Never ceasing in the mean time in his attempts, to demonstrate to the Legislature of Virga—to Lord Loudoun—&ca that the only means of preventing the devastations to which the middle states were exposed, was to remove the cause. But the war by this time raging in another quarter of the Continent all applications were unheeded till the year 1758 when an Expedition against Fort Du Quesne was concerted, and undertaken under the conduct of Genl Forbes; who tho a brave & good Officer, was so much debilitated by bad health, and so illy supplied with the means to carry on the expedition, that it was November before the Troops got to Loyalhanning: 50 or 60 miles short of Duquesne & even then was on the very point of abandoning the Exhibition when some seasonable supplies arriving the Army was formed into three Brigades took up its March—and moved forward; the Brigade Commanded by G.W. being the leading one.

Previus to this, and during the time the Army lay at Loyalhanning a circumstance occurred wch involved the life of G.W. in as much jeopardy as it had ever been before or since[,] the enemy sent out a large detachment to reconnoitre our Camp, and to ascertain our strength; in consequence of Intelligence that they were within 2 Miles of the Camp a party commanded by Lt Colo. Mercer of the Virga line (a gallant & good Officer) was sent to dislodge them between whom a Severe conflict & hot firing ensued which lasting some time &

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appearing to approach the Camp it was conceived that our party was yielding the ground upon which G.W. with permission of the Genl called (for dispatch) for Volunteers and immediately marched at their head to sustain, as was conjectured the retiring troops. led on by the firing till he came within less than half a mile, & it ceasing, he detached Scouts to investigate the cause & to communicate his approach to his friend Colo. Mercer advancing slowly in the meantime—But it being near dusk and the intelligence not having been fully dissipated among Colo. Mercers Corps, and they taking us, for the enemy who had retreated approaching in another direction commenced a heavy fire upon the relieving party which drew fire in return in spite of all the exertions of the Officers one of whom & several privates were killed and many wounded before a stop could be put to it. to accomplish which G.W. never was in more imminent danger by being between two fires, knocking up with his sword the presented pieces.

When the Army had got within about 12 or 15 miles of the Fort the enemy despairing of its defence, blew it up—having first embarked their Artillery Stores & Troops—and retreated by water down the Ohio to their Settlements below—thus ended that Campaign, a little before Christmas in very inclement weather; and the last one made during that War by G.W. whose health by this time (as it had been declining for many months before occasioned by an inveterate disorder in his Bowels) became so precarious as to induce him (having seen quiet restored by this event to the Frontiers of his own Country which was the principal inducement to his taking arms) to resign his Military appointments—The solicitation of the Troops which he commanded to Continue—their Affecte farewell address—to him, when they found the Situation of his health and other circumstances would not allow it affected him exceedingly and in grateful sensibility he expressed the warmth of his attachmt to them on that, and his inclination to serve them on every other future occasion.

I beleive about 7,000 Bushls of Wheat and 10,000 bushels of Indn Corn which was more the staple of the farm.

Whether it be necessary to mention that my time & Services were given to the public without compensation, and that every direct and indirect attempt afterwards, to reward them (as appeared by the Letter of G. Mifflin—and the vote of 50 shares in each of the Navigations of Potomack & James River by the State of Virga who knew that I would refuse any thing that should carry with it the appearance of reward[])]—you can best judge. (1). once a week is his fixed hunts tho sometimes he goes oftner.

(2) and many others in this Country

(3) remarking the state of the Weather—nature of the Soil &ca

The information given in these sheets—tho related from Memory, It is I believe to be depended upon. It is hastily and incorrectly related—but not so much for these reasons, as some others, it is earnest<ly> requestd that after Colo. Humphreys has extracted what he shall judge necessary, and given it in his own language, that the whole of what Is here contained may be returned to G.W., or committed to the flames.—some of the enumerations are trifling; and perhaps more important circumstances omitted; but just as they occurred to the memory, they were committed—If there are any grains among them Colo. H. can easily separate them from the chaff. [Inscription on wrapper, by John Pickering (1777–1846)] Washington—Paper—given to me by Mrs [Ann Frances Bulkeley] Humphreys 1829 containing original memos. in Washington's handwriting by way of remarks upon an intended biography which Genl Humphreys was writing Jno. Pickering.

George Washington's "Remarks"—Original Manuscript, page 1

Page 1.st Remarks

- (1). It was the wish of my eldest brother (on whom the general concerns of the family devolved) that this was contemplated. — My father died when I was only 10 years old.
- (2). I was next appointed Adjutant General of the Militia of Virginia until after his return from the expedition to Carthagen. — He did he command the Colonial troops at that occasion. — There were under the Orders of Sir Wm. Bouché Lt. Gov. of Virginia. He was ^{the first} of these which were raised in this colony, with those of the other Colonies, formed ^{to be} what was called the American Brigade — under Sir William Bouché — by way of pay when he returned.
- (3). and from whom he had received many distinguished marks of patronage & favor.
- (4). ~~He was~~ ^{He was} for the second time (Augustine) Capt. Major ~~of the~~ ^{of the} 2nd Regt. and inherited a very large portion of his Father's Estate, perhaps the best part.

Page 2

- (1). before he was 20 years of age.
- (2). He was then more than 21 years — as will appear from dates.

Page 3

- (1). at a most inclement season, for he ~~was~~ ^{was} transported over the Appalachian Mountains, and passed thro' an uninhabited Country (except by a few tribes of Indians, ^{settled in the} ~~part of~~ the ^{west} ~~part~~ of the Ohio to Presque Isle ^{in the} ~~depth~~ of winter, when the whole face of the Earth was covered with snow and the waters covered with ice. — ^{at least 500 miles from Washington} —
- (2). It was on this occasion he was named by the half-King (as he was called) and the tribes of Indians, with whom he traded — ~~Cauro tancaurus~~ (in English) the ~~Tonahog~~ ^{Tonahog}, which name being repeated ~~to the~~ ^{to the} Indians, ~~was~~ ^{has been} remembered by them in all their transactions, with him during his life.

Page 4

- (1). This is a task to which I W. feel himself very incompetent (with any degree of accuracy) from the badness of his memory — Loss of Papers — mutilated state, in which those of that date were preserved — and the derangement of them by frequent removals in the late war & want of time to collect and methodize them since. — However ^{the} ~~the~~ ⁱⁿ the indefatigable industry of the d. Co. and the officers who serve

George Washington's "Remarks"—Original Manuscript, page 2

ded his measures, the Regiment was in great
 forwardness at Alexandria (the general order
 early and without waiting till the whole should
 be accomplished - or for a detachment from the
 Independent Companies of the Southern Pro-
 vince (which had been ^{ordered by the Council} ~~ordered~~ to be raised
 or for Troops, which were raising in North
 Carolina and destined to oppose the French
 west of the Trench on our Western frontiers
 - He began his March in the Month of May in
 order to open the Road. ~~and the detachment~~
 he had to do almost the whole distance from
 Winchester (in the County of Frederick) ~~and~~
 not more than 80 Miles from Alexandria) - These
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 arriv'd at it, the important Post at the con-
 flue of the Alleghany and Monongahela, with
 the advantages of which he was struck the
 preceding year, and earnestly advised the
 securing of with Militia, or some other tempo-
 rary force. But despite his standing at his exer-
 tions, the News, and uncommon difficulties
 he had to encounter (made more intolerable
 by incessant Rains and swollen waters of
 which he had many to cross) he had ~~scarcely~~
~~could~~ but just ^{perceived} ~~perceived~~ the danger of the 50 Miles short of his
 object. ~~He~~ ~~perceived~~ ~~the~~ ~~danger~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~50~~ ~~Miles~~ ~~short~~ ~~of~~ ~~his~~
~~object~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~March~~ ~~of~~ ~~250~~ ~~Miles~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~Post~~
~~which~~ ~~he~~ ~~had~~ ~~to~~ ~~do~~ ~~from~~ ~~his~~ ~~scouts~~ ~~that~~
 the French had, in force, seized the Post he
 was pushing ~~to~~ ~~take~~ ~~having~~ ~~departed~~ ~~from~~ ~~Pro-~~
 vide by the River. He beat up the Alleghany to the
 Place - the object of his precipitate advice
 being defeated ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~French~~ - The detachm^t.
 which had arriv'd at Alexandria (by water) and ~~was~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~50~~ ~~Miles~~
 of ~~the~~ ~~detachment~~ ~~was~~ ~~sent~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~Post~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~con-~~
 flue of the Alleghany and Monongahela) being ~~in~~
 in his Rear and no acct. of the Troops from
 N. Carolina. it was thought advisable to get
 back a few miles, to a plain near by the
 side of the great meadows - about six
 leagues ~~and~~ more convenient for the purpose
 of forming Magazine, bringing up the Rear
 and to advance ^{from} if we should ever be infer-
 to do it) to the attack of the Post which the
 enemy now occupied, and had call'd ~~the~~ ~~Post~~
 - At this place some days after we were join'd
 by the above detachment of Regulars. ~~and~~ ~~was~~ ~~sent~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~Post~~
 long before they were reduced on the March by

George Washington's "Remarks"—Original Manuscript, page 3

* but which was impracticable without abandoning my Post - My hope - viz. as the enemy had brought them to this place, he returned for provisions

desertion, Sixty & 7 of a Capt. (McKay a brave & worthy Officer), three Subalterns, and 100 Rank & file. - But previous to this junction the French sent a detachment ^{separately} to obtain intelligence of our strength & position, - ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{party} ~~party~~ ^{of which} ~~of which~~ ^{being} ~~being~~ ^{by the Scouts} ~~by the Scouts~~ ^{Marched} ~~Marched~~ ^{at the head of a} ~~at the head of a~~ ^{party} ~~party~~ ^{attacked} ~~attacked ^{killed 9 or 10, & captured 20} ~~odd.~~ - This, as soon as the enemy had assembled their Indian allies, brought their whole force upon us, consisting according to their own ~~idea~~ ^{idea} compared with the distance. ^{That} ~~That~~ ^{could be obtained} ~~could be obtained~~ ^{from} ~~from ^{about 1500 Miles} ~~about 1500 Miles~~ ^{of the detachment above mentioned, and} ~~of the detachment above mentioned, and~~ ^{between two & 300 Warriors,} ~~between two & 300 Warriors,~~ ^{for the few Indians} ~~for the few Indians~~ ^{which taken had attended} ~~which taken had attended~~ ^{and who} ~~and who~~ ^{by reconnoitering the enemy in their march} ~~by reconnoitering the enemy in their march ^{had got terrified at their numbers, and} ~~had got terrified at their numbers, and~~ ^{had left} ~~had left~~ ^{us previous to the attack.} ~~us previous to the attack.~~ ^{About 9 o'clock} ~~About 9 o'clock ^{on the 3^d of July the} ~~on the 3^d of July the~~ ^{French advanced with} ~~French advanced with~~ ^{their} ~~their~~ ^{& dismal Indian yell to our Intrenchments,} ~~& dismal Indian yell to our Intrenchments,~~ ^{but was opposed by so warm, spirited,} ~~but was opposed by so warm, spirited,~~ ^{& constant a fire, that to force the work} ~~& constant a fire, that to force the work~~ ^{in that way was abandoned.} ~~in that way was abandoned.~~ ^{They then, from} ~~They then, from~~ ^{every little} ~~every little~~ ^{brush} ~~brush ^{tree} ~~tree ^{threw} ~~threw ^{stones} ~~stones ^{and} ~~and ^{kept up a constant galling fire upon us,} ~~kept up a constant galling fire upon us,~~ ^{which was returned in the best manner} ~~which was returned in the best manner ^{we could} ~~we could~~ ^{discontinue} ~~discontinue~~ ^{till late in the afternoon.} ~~till late in the afternoon.~~ ^{When their} ~~When their~~ ^{fell the most tremendous rain} ~~fell the most tremendous rain ^{that can be conceived - filled our trenches} ~~that can be conceived - filled our trenches~~ ^{with water - but, not only the Ammunition} ~~with water - but, not only the Ammunition~~ ^{in the Intrenchment boxes and firelocks, but} ~~in the Intrenchment boxes and firelocks, but~~ ^{the powder} ~~the powder~~ ^{which was in a small} ~~which was in a small ^{stockade in} ~~stockade in ^{the middle of the Intrenchment, erected for} ~~the middle of the Intrenchment, erected for~~ ^{the purpose of its security, and that of} ~~the purpose of its security, and that of~~ ^{the few there, we had, and left us nothing but} ~~the few there, we had, and left us nothing but~~ ^{a few perah were not provided with them)} ~~a few perah were not provided with them)~~ ^{Bayonets for defence.} ~~Bayonets for defence.~~ ^{In this situation} ~~In this situation~~ ^{terms of capitulation were offered to us, w^h} ~~terms of capitulation were offered to us, w^h~~ ^{here the more readily acceded to, as we had} ~~here the more readily acceded to, as we had~~ ^{no salt provisions, & but indifferently supplied} ~~no salt provisions, & but indifferently supplied~~ ^{with fresh, which, from the heat of the} ~~with fresh, which, from the heat of the~~ ^{weather, would not keep, and because a} ~~weather, would not keep, and because a~~ ^{fourth of our numbers were, by this time, killed} ~~fourth of our numbers were, by this time, killed~~ ^{or wounded - The next morning we marched} ~~or wounded - The next morning we marched~~ ^{out with the honors of war, but were soon} ~~out with the honors of war, but were soon~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

George Washington's "Remarks" - Original Manuscript, page 4

... of great part of our baggage by the ...
 Our sick and wounded were left with
 a detachment under the care and command of
 the worthy Doct^r Craik for he was not only sur-
 geon to the Regiment ^{with a detachment of 400 men} but a ^{skillful} ^{surgeon}
 Remains of the Regiment, and the detachment of
 Regulars, took up their line for the interior
 Country. And at Winchester met ~~2000~~ Con-
 tinental Militia from N^o Carolina on their march to join
 them - These being fresh & properly provided, pro-
 ceeded ^{to proceed} to ^{the} ^{British} ^{establishment}
^(the British Post at Fort Mifflin) for the purpose of recovering the ^{Post}
 When they were joined by a Company from Mar-
 yland which about this time had been raised
 - Captⁿ M^r Hay with his detachment came
 at Winchester, and the Virginia Regiment pro-
 ceed^d to Alexandria in order to recruit & get
 supplied with cloathing & ~~every~~ necessary of
 which they stood ^{much} in ^{need} - In this manner the winter
 was spent employ^{ed}, when advice was rec^d
 of the force destined for this ^{purpose} ^{under the command of}
 arrival of Sir J^m St. Clair with some new
 arrangement of Rank by which no Officer who
 did not immediately derive his Com^d from
 the King could command ^{as who did} - This
 was too degrading for G. M^r to submit to; ac-
 cordingly, he resigned his Military employment,
 determining to serve the next campaign as a
 Volunteer, but the arrival of Gen^l Braddock
 he was very particularly notice^d by that ^{Gen^l} - He
 he in to his family as an extra Aid-officer
 a Captⁿ Com^d by brevet which was the highest
 grade ^{of honor} ^{he could} had it in his power to bestow
 and had several ^{vacancies} ^{in the 44th Reg^t} ^{which had ar-}
^{isancies giving him the opportunity of being} ^{vacancies}
^{of his own to supply} ^{the vacancies} ^{in the 44th Reg^t} ^{which had ar-}
^{ived from Ireland} ^{vacancies}
 In this capacity he commenced his
 second Campaign, and used every proper
 means to take the best advantage of the
 officers around him, ^{with} the receipt of ^{papers}
 the nature of his defence, to the mode of attack
 which more than probably, he would experience
 from the Canadian Force and their Indians, on
 his march, but so prepos^{ed} were they in
 of regularity & discipline and in such ^{cases}
 words these people held, that the admⁿ ^{was}
^{supported in vain}. -

George Washington's "Remarks"—Original Manuscript, page 5

about the middle of June, the Armament consisting of the two Regiments from Ireland and the Provincial troops of Virg. Mary C. & North Carolina ~~and some other forces~~, began to move from Fort Cumberland whither they had assembled— after several days March, and difficulties to which they had never been accustomed in Regular Service, in Champaign Countries, and of which they seemed to have little idea— The Genl resolved to divide his force, and at the head of ^{the first} division of his Army to advance, and encamp at ^{Dunbar} with the second ^{division} of the heavy Baggage & there, to follow after. — By so doing, the first division approached the Monongahela ~~the~~ ^{the} 8th of July, at which time having so far recovered from a severe fever, ^{and delirium} which had rescued by James's powder administered by the positive order of the Genl as to travel in a covered Wagon, he joined ^{the} first division and the next day the much reduced and very weak mounted his horse on Cushions, & attended his one of his aids. —

About 10 o'clock on the 9th after the Genl had crossed the Monongahela the second time to avoid a ugly defile (the passage being very narrow & waters low) and the Rear yet in the River ^{the} was attacked, ^{and by the 4th} ~~by the 4th~~ usual Hallowing and Whooping of the enemy, whom they could not see were so disconcerted and confused as soon to fall into irretrievable disorder. — The Rear was forced forward to support them, but seeing no enemy, and themselves falling every moment from the fire, a general ^{panic} ~~panic~~ took place from which no exertions of the Officers could recover them — In the early part of the Action ^{some} of the Muzzes (as they were called) without direct advance to the right in loose order to the attack but this unhappily ^{by the unusual appearance of the movement} being mistaken for cover and rushing ^{on} ~~on~~ was discharged and before it was too late, the confusion became general an offer was made by G. M. to head the Provincials, & engage the enemy in their own way, but the proximity of it was not seen into until it was too late for execution ~~the Provincials being engaged~~ after this, many attempts were made to dislodge the enemy from an eminence on the Right bank ^{by}

they all proved effectual, and fatal to the Officer,
 who by great exertions, and example, endeavored to
 accomplish it. — One of these the Gen. rec^d thinks of
 which he died, but previous to it, had several horses
 killed & disabled under him. — Capt^m Orype & Major
^{his horse did not} ^{not} having received wounds ^{which rendered them} unable to act.
 G. W. remained the sole aid through the day, to
 the Gen.; he also had one horse killed, and two
 wounded under him — a ball through his hat —
 and several through his coat, but escaped un-
 hurt. — Ser^{jeant} Peter Halket, ser^{jeant} in command being
 early killed — Ser^{jeant} Burton & Ser^{jeant} S. Clain (who
 had the Rank of Lt. Col. in the Army) being badly
 wounded — Ser^{jeant} S. Sage (afterwards Gen^l
 Sage) having rec^d a contusion. — The persons here
 mentioned were the surviving ser^{jeants} who the surviving ser^{jeant} officer was
 of the Troop, by degrees going off in confusion,
 without a ray of hope left of further opposition
 from them. G. W. placed the Gen. ^{not remaining} placed in a well
 covered Cart, which carried some of his most
 essential equipage, and in the best order he
 could, with the ^{best} Troop (who only cont^d to be
 ferred at) brought him over the first ford of
 the Menongahela, where they Troop were
 formed in the best order circumstances would
 admit on a piece of rising ground; after w^{ch}
 by the Gen. order, he ~~would have ordered~~ ^{ordered} to
 demand ~~and ordered~~ to halt those which
 had been earlier in the Retreat. Accordingly,
 after crossing the Menongahela the second
 line and according to light, he found Ser^{jeant}
 Ser^{jeant} Sage ^{expressed his indignation} to whom he delivered the order and
 who ~~retained~~ ^{retained} the order and
 returned to report ^{the situation he found them in} — and he was again re-
 quested by the Gen. to proceed ⁱⁿ when he had
 coming in in his letter with the first halted
 Troop, to proceed (it then being after sundown)
 to the second division under the command of
 Ser^{jeant} Surbar, to make arrangements for co-
 vering the Retreat, and forwarding provisions
 & refreshments to the retreating & wounded
 Soldier — To accomplish this, Ser^{jeant} the 2^d division
 was 40 odd miles in the Rear, ^{it} took up the whole
 night.

George Washington's "Remarks"—Original Manuscript, page 8

which under a very ^{charged & dignified} ~~command~~ Commission
 Command all the Troops was raised, or to be
 ed in the Army, was given to him with very
 extensive powers, and blank Commissions to
^{appoint} ~~appoint~~ all new Officers, ^{of his own rank}
 About this time also, about this time of the
 clamours, the discontents and clamours of
 the Provincial Officers, and the Remonstrance
 of ~~the~~ ^{the} B.M. in person, to Gen^l. Shirley, the
 then Com^d in chief of the British Forces in Am-
 erica and through the Sen^t & Council to the King
 in a manner as was to be expected with respect
 to the degrading situation in which they were
 placed a new ~~arrangement~~ ^{arrangement} took place by
 the King's order, by which every ^{provincial} Officer was
 to rank according to the Com^d. he bore, ^{but not}
 to those of the same grade in the established
 Corps. — 9th

As ~~we~~ ^{we} fore saw so it happened, the Gen-
 tials were continually harassed ^{but not} having
 force enough to carry the War to the gates of
 Duquesne, he could do no more than distribute
 the Troops along the Frontiers in stopp'd
 Forts, more with a view to quiet the Gen^l. than
 from any expectation of gaining security or
 extensive a ^{territory} ~~territory~~ — ^{his} ~~his~~ ^{own} ~~own~~ ^{time} ~~time~~ ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{his} ~~his~~ ^{attempt} ~~attempt, to demonstrate ^{to the Legislature} ~~to the Legislature~~
 — to send a ^{message} ~~message~~ — ^{that} ~~that~~ ^{the} ~~the ^{only} ~~only~~ ^{means} ~~means
 of preventing the devastations to which the
 Middle States were exposed, was to remove the
 Cause, but ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{war} ~~war~~ ^{was} ~~was~~ ^{at} ~~at~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{time} ~~time~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{Legislature} ~~Legislature~~
 another ^{application} ~~application~~ ^{was} ~~was~~ ^{made} ~~made~~ ^{for} ~~for~~ ^{an} ~~an~~ ^{Expedition} ~~Expedition~~
 against Fort Duquesne ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{undertaken} ~~undertaken ^{under} ~~under~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{conduct} ~~conduct~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{Gen^l. Forbes,} ~~Gen^l. Forbes, who the a ^{very} ~~very~~ ^{good} ~~good ^{Officer} ~~Officer, was so much debilitated by bad
 health, and so illly supplied with the means to
 carry on an Expedition, that it was ^{thought} ~~thought~~ ^{that} ~~that~~ ^{it} ~~it ^{was} ~~was~~ ^{impossible} ~~impossible
 the Troops got to ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{very} ~~very~~ ^{point} ~~point ^{of} ~~of ^{abandoning} ~~abandoning~~ ^{the} ~~the ^{proposition} ~~proposition~~
 when some ^{supplies} ~~supplies ^{arrived} ~~arrived~~ ^{the} ~~the ^{Army} ~~Army ^{with} ~~with
 up its March and moved forward, the Brigade
 Commanded by B.M. being the leading corp. —~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

Previous to this, and during the time
 the Army lay at several ^{places} ~~places ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{Army} ~~Army~~ ^{sent} ~~sent
 out large detachments to ^{discover} ~~discover ^{the} ~~the ^{enemies} ~~enemies~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{to} ~~to ^{ascertain} ~~ascertain~~ ^{our} ~~our~~ ^{strength,} ~~strength, ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{case} ~~case~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{any} ~~any~~ ^{surprise} ~~surprise~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the ^{Indians} ~~Indians~~ ^{that} ~~that ^{they} ~~they ^{were} ~~were ^{within} ~~within
 2 Miles of the Camp, a party ^{commanded} ~~commanded ^{by} ~~by~~ ^{Gen^l. Mearns,} ~~Gen^l. Mearns, ^a ~~a~~ ^{very} ~~very~~ ^{good} ~~good~~ ^{Officer} ~~Officer~~ ^{was} ~~was~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

Becoming GEORGE WASHINGTON

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to dislodge them between whom a severe
conflict & hot firing ensued which ^{continued} appeared
to approach the camp it was conceived that our
party was upon the ground upon which
B.M. with permission of the Genl. called for D.
Captains and immediately marched at their
head to sustain as was conjectured the retreating
troops. — led by the firing like became with
in less than half a mile, & then ceasing he detached
his front to investigate the cause & compare
with his approach to his friends & ^{to} ~~the~~
and advancing slowly in the meantime. Bullet
began to rain and the intelligence not having
been fully disseminated among Genl. Mearns
Corps, and they taking us for the enemy
who had retreated approaching in another
direction commenced a heavy fire upon the
party which drew fire in return in which
all the executives of the Officers except them
several privates were killed and wounded
before they could be put to it. To accomplish
which never was in more imminent danger
~~being~~ being between two fires, rushing up
with his sword the presented him.

When the Army had got within about
12 or 15 miles of the Fort the enemy despairing
of its defence, blew it up ^{having first} ~~and~~ ~~then~~
2. Troop, and retreated by water ^{to their} ~~the~~
posts below. Thus ended that Campaign ^{but} ~~at~~
before Christmas in a very inclement ^{weather} ~~and~~
and the last ^{of} ~~the~~ ~~war~~ during that War. ~~by~~
by this time ^{and} ~~the~~ ~~war~~ had been declining for
many months by an exorbitant disorder in his
Council) became so precarious as to induce him
(having seen ^{great} ~~the~~ ~~country~~ ~~which~~ ~~was~~ ~~the~~ ~~present~~
~~country~~ ~~which~~ ~~was~~ ~~the~~ ~~present~~
~~country~~ ~~which~~ ~~was~~ ~~the~~ ~~present~~
inducement to his taking arms) to re-
sign his military appointment. The solicitation
of the Troops which he commanded to
continue. Their affect. Farewell address to
him when they found the situation of his health
and other circumstances would not allow it.
affected him exceedingly ^{and} ~~with~~ ~~great~~ ~~gratitude~~ ~~and~~ ~~gratitude~~
gratitude he expressed the warmth of his attachment
to them in that, and his inclination to ~~assist~~
them on every other future occasion. —

George Washington's "Remarks" Original Manuscript, page 10

* Scenes which presented themselves in this night
march are not to be described - The dead - the
living - the groans - lamentation - and cry along
the road for help (for those under the latter de-
scription) endeavoured from the first com-
mencement of the ~~war~~ action - or rather ^{to greater} ^{the} ^{extent}
enough to pierce a heart of adamant. The
gloom & horror of which was not a little exaspe-
rated by the impervious darknesses occasioned by
the close shade of thick woods which ~~at~~ in
places rendered it impossible for the two guides
which attended to know where they were, or
out of the track but by groping on the ground
with their hands.

⑥ being expected at the reverse part the Capt. of
the party had generosely to ~~order his~~ ~~company~~
~~to march~~ ~~forward~~ ~~in~~ ~~order~~ ~~that~~ ~~he~~ ~~might~~
~~reach~~ ~~the~~ ~~place~~ ~~before~~ ~~the~~ ~~day~~ ~~was~~ ~~over~~
~~and~~ ~~his~~ ~~desperate~~ ~~attempt~~ ~~at~~ ~~escape~~
~~was~~ ~~ruined~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~party~~ ~~had~~ ~~to~~ ~~take~~ ~~refuge~~
~~in~~ ~~some~~ ~~passage~~ ~~which~~ ~~was~~ ~~returned~~ ~~to~~ ~~them~~ - in the
time in the opposite direction I passed & escaped with
certain destruction for the way they was rapping and
the few Caribees ~~who~~ ~~escaped~~ ~~at~~ ~~last~~
near Fort Vass.

George Washington's "Remarks"—Original Manuscript, page 11

Page 8
 (1) I believe about 7000 Bush^{ls} of Wheat and 10000
 bushels of Ind^{ian} Corn which was more the 1/3 of
 the farm

Page 11
 (2) Whether it be necessary to mention that my land
 & services were given to the public without com-
 pensation and that every direct and indirect ^{benefit}
 afterwards, to reward them (as appeared by the
 Letter of G. Mifflin) and the value of 50 Shares, made
 of the Navigation of Delmarva & James River
 by the State of Virg^{inia} who knew that I would re-
 fuse any thing that should carry with it the
 name of Reward - you can best judge. —

Page 14
 (1) once a week is his fixed hunt, the sometimes he
 goes often.
 (2) and many others in this Country
 (3) ~~the~~ State of the Weather - nature of the Soil &c.

(3) The information given in these Sheets
 is related from Memory, I believe to
 be depended upon. — It is hastily and incor-
 rectly related - but not so much for that
 reason, as some others it is ~~too~~ cause
 request, that after ^{Mr. Humphrey's} ~~the~~ ^{that}
 what ~~can~~ ^{he} shall judge necessary, and
 give it in ^{his} own or a Language that
 the whole of what I have contained
 may be returned to ~~me~~ or committed to
 the press. — some of the enumerations
 are trifling, and perhaps more impor-
 tant circumstances omitted, — but just
 as they occurred to the memory, they
 were committed off. If there are any grounds
 among them ^{cut off} ~~can~~ can easily separate
 them from the chaff.