THE MARQUIS DUQUESNE, SIEUR DE MENNEVILLE

[From an engraving in the possession of the Public Archives of Canada]
THE MARQUIS DUQUESNE, SIEUR DE MENNEVILLE, FOUNDER OF THE CITY OF PITTSBURGH. I

The Marquis Duquesne, sieur de Menneville, governor-general of New France from 1752 to 1755, was one of the outstanding figures of his time in North America. During his brief career as chief executive of New France, he executed one of the boldest movements known in modern history. From distant Canada he sent a hastily collected force of habitants and Indians, with a sprinkling of regular troops, through wooded wildernesses and over uncharted waters, to the scarcely heard of Ohio region, and, to the astonishment of the English, took possession in the name of the French king. The opening up of the country to which Duquesne's daring enterprise had so forcibly drawn attention finally led to the settlement of the land at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers and of the territory west and south thereof.

Yet no connected story of Duquesne's life has ever been written. In the majority of American histories which treat of the war that took place in North America between England and France in the middle of the eighteenth century, Duquesne is mentioned only incidentally. In the city of Pittsburgh, however, of which he was the virtual founder, and which stands on the site of the French fort that bore his name, "Duquesne" is a household word. Municipal divisions of the state in the neighborhood of the city have been

1 The author of this study, Mr. Charles W. Dahlinger, is a well known Pittsburgh attorney who has long been interested in the history of western Pennsylvania. He edited the first five volumes of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine and has contributed numerous articles to its pages. He is also the author of several books, the latest being Pittsburgh; a Sketch of Its Early Social Life. Parts II and III of this paper will appear in future numbers of the magazine. Ed.
named for him. Something over sixty years ago there was a borough of Duquesne on the Allegheny River opposite Pittsburgh, which is now included in that municipality. On the south side of the Monongahela River, thirteen miles above Pittsburgh, there is today a thriving city named for Duquesne. Duquesne Way leading to the site of the old French stronghold is one of the main thoroughfares of Pittsburgh. In a number of places which are now a part of the city there were formerly streets named for the French marquis. In Pittsburgh, as well as in other places in western Pennsylvania, there are public institutions, including one of Pittsburgh's universities, and innumerable private concerns calling themselves by the name of the illustrious Frenchman. In this entire district, however, as well as in the vast tributary territory to the west and south, the great service which he rendered in opening the country to civilization, if known at all, is too little regarded. The purpose of this article therefore is to set forth the various incidents of Duquesne's career, so far as they are known to the writer, and to suggest modestly a closer study of Duquesne's life and a more appreciative understanding of the work which he accomplished.

The Founding of New France

The Marquis Duquesne, sieur de Menneville, was next to the last of the governors-general of New France and one of the greatest of a long line of executives, among whom were a number of able men. Like all his predecessors, he had been a naval officer in France before coming to America. The French court deemed it necessary for its chief executives in America to be versed in naval warfare, because, if there should be any fighting, much of it would be done on the sea or on the waters adjoining or contiguous to New France; and these executives were under the direction of the ministry of marine.

The most critical period in the history of France's American possessions had arrived. The conflict between France on the one hand and England and her American colonies on
the other for the possession of the territory to the westward of those colonies was about to break out, and a skillful soldier and a man of unerring judgment and quick discernment, able to cope with an enemy who had many times the men and resources of the French, must be placed at the head of the colony. The French court considered the Marquis Duquesne, sieur de Menneville, to be such a man and sent him to America.

In order to obtain a more comprehensive view of the character and ability of the Marquis Duquesne, it has been deemed advisable to sketch the events which led to the troubles in America between France and England. It is a fascinating story. The discovery of America by Columbus on October 11, 1492, was the dawning of a new era in Europe; and, notwithstanding the fact that Pope Alexander VI had on May 4, 1493, in a bull bestowed the whole of the New World upon the kings of Spain and Portugal, all the other maritime nations of the Old World cast longing eyes in the direction of the New World, and England, France, and Holland, all sent out expeditions on voyages of discovery. The claims of both France and England were based on doubtful hypotheses. In 1497 John Cabot, an adventurous Venetian merchant, resident at Bristol, England, accompanied by his son Sebastian, under a commission from Henry VII, made a voyage across the Atlantic in search of a northwest passage to Asia and came to the coast of Labrador. In consequence of this discovery England claimed the right of possession to the entire continent, but she did nothing to substantiate her claim until the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who in 1584 granted Sir Walter Raleigh and his associates a patent for such parts of America as he should discover and settle between the thirty-third and fortieth degrees of north latitude. The grant has been described by an old chronicle as follows:

*Warburton, Conquest of Canada, 1:45.
"The bounds thereof on the east side are the ocean, on the south lieth Florida, on the north Nova Francea; as for the west, the limits thereof are unknown."  

In pursuance of this patent, Sir Walter Raleigh formed a settlement on the island of Roanoke near the mouth of the Albermarle River in North Carolina in 1585, but the place was abandoned the next year, the settlers returning to England. In 1587 another attempt was made and more settlers were sent out, but again the settlement proved a failure, and, as the colonists were never heard of again, the settlement has ever since been known in history as the Lost Colony. This part of the continent was now named Virginia, being so designated, according to the author of an old history of Virginia, by Queen Elizabeth. This writer declares, in contradiction of the generally accepted story of the origin of the name, in which it is alleged that it was bestowed by Sir Walter Raleigh in honor of Elizabeth's virginity, that when told of the settlement the Maiden Queen was so pleased that she named it Virginia herself.

The Dutch also claimed part of the North American continent. In 1609 Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, landed on the coast of what is now the state of New York, but which, when settled by the Dutch, was called New Netherland. As the Dutch were dispossessed of this territory in 1664 by the English, who organized it as an English colony, Hudson's discovery was also one of the bases of the English claims.

The eyes of the French were turned in the direction of the country discovered by Columbus almost as early as those of the English, and, while their navigators were behind the

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* Julian A. C. Chandler and Travis B. Thames, Colonial Virginia, 7 (Richmond, Virginia, 1907).
* John W. Campbell, A History of Virginia From Its Discovery to the Year 1781, 12 (Philadelphia, 1813).
* Bancroft, United States, 2:25–34.
English in sailing to the new country, French subjects were on its shores and at least one permanent settlement was effected fifty years in advance of the English. As early as 1504 Basque and Breton fishermen began to ply their calling on the Great Bank of Newfoundland and the adjacent shores and from them the island of Cape Breton received its name. The French also claimed title to North America by virtue of the discoveries of several of their navigators, the first of whom was Baron de Léry, who in 1518 attempted a settlement at Canso and Sable Island in Nova Scotia but was obliged to abandon the attempt because his provisions were nearly exhausted. 9

Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence River in 1534 and took possession of the contiguous territory. 10 The next year he was again on the St. Lawrence and, ascending the river two hundred leagues to the island since called Isle d’Orleans, he learned from the Indians that the land thereabouts was called Canada, by which name, signifying in the native tongue clusters of cabins or villages, the entire northern country has since been known. 11 The winter was passed by Cartier farther up the river, and there, at the approach of spring, he erected a cross which bore a shield with the French arms; and he named the territory New France. 12 In 1562 the French also effected a settlement in Florida. 13

The various European nations made early efforts to take advantage of the opportunities afforded in trade and commerce with the newly discovered country, and their merchants organized companies to exploit such of the American products

9 Warburton, Conquest of Canada, 1:49; Duncan Campbell, Nova Scotia in Its Historical, Mercantile, and Industrial Relations, 26 (Montreal, 1873).
10 Francis Parkman, Pioneers of France in the New World, 200 (Boston, 1897).
12 Bancroft, United States, 1:15.
13 Garneau, History of Canada, 1:60.
as would prove most profitable. The fur trade was the magnet which attracted most of these men to the New World. The English settlements were on the Atlantic seaboard and the population increased rapidly. The French were not of the same migratory nature as the English; and besides their country was sadly harassed with religious troubles, and they were intent on settling the contentions at home before venturing their lives and property in the lands across the sea.

Protestantism had spread from Germany into France, and a strong body of Protestants had sprung up beginning about the year 1525, notwithstanding the persecution to which they were subjected. As early as 1560 these people had, in derision, been designated by their Roman Catholic fellow subjects as Huguenots, the word at once becoming popular among the Roman Catholics. The name was said to have been bestowed originally upon the Protestants by a monk in a sermon. He had declared that they assembled only at night; that at Tours they met near the gate called after old King Hugues, whose spirit was said to wander about at night; that as they were following in his footsteps they should be called Huguenots. A religious war was brought on and only came to an end when Henry IV became king and gave his Protestant subjects the right to enjoy religious liberty by signing the Edict of Nantes on April 13, 1598.

It was in the years before this adjustment had been effected that the French began their American settlements, but these early efforts all ended in failure. After the religious question was settled, other attempts at colonization were undertaken. In 1603 Pierre du Guast, sieur de Monts, gentleman in ordinary of the chamber and governor of Pons, and a Huguenot, obtained from Henry IV a patent to colonize La Cadie or Acadia and organized an expedition for that purpose. He also had the exclusive right to trade in all parts of North America between the fortieth and forty-sixth

degrees of north latitude or from the location of Philadelphia to beyond that of Montreal. He had received besides, letters patent appointing him vice admiral and lieutenant general of all that extensive country. The Huguenots accompanying De Monts were privileged to enjoy in America, as in France at that time, full freedom for their public worship, conditioned, however, that they should take no part in native proselyting, the charge of converting the aborigines being reserved exclusively for the professors of the Catholic faith.

The expedition consisted of two ships; one commanded by De Monts sailed from Havre de Grace on April 7, 1604, and the other commanded by Pontgravé with stores for the colony was to follow in a few days. Accompanying De Monts were Samuel de Champlain de Brouage, who had been in Canada the year before, and Baron de Poutrincourt. De Monts had taken with him, Calvinist though he was, Catholic priests as well as Protestant pastors. "I have seen the minister and our priest come to blows over their religious differences," Champlain wrote in his journal; "I do not know who was the stronger and gave the harder blow, but I well know that the minister sometimes complained to Sieur de Monts that he had been beaten." Sagard, the Franciscan friar, relates with horror that after the destination was reached a priest and a minister happened to die at the same time, and the crew buried them both in one grave in order to see if they would lie peaceably together.

Stops were made at various points by the voyagers. They explored the Bay of Fundy, which De Monts called La Baye Françoise, and they discovered Annapolis Basin. The adjacent land so attracted Poutrincourt that he asked for a grant

18 Garneau, History of Canada, 1:73.
19 Parkman, Pioneers of France, 243-245.
of the territory, which request was complied with by De Monts, and Poutrincourt named it Port Royal in honor of the king. Sailing southward they anchored in Passamaquoddy Bay. Near the mouth of the St. Croix River an island was discovered and here a settlement was effected and buildings were erected. Disease broke out and many deaths occurred; spring came and those remaining left the island and, after sailing about for some time, removed to the land granted to Poutrincourt, where they founded the town of Port Royal, the second permanent settlement in North America north of Mexico, St. Augustine being the first.\(^{21}\) All this territory was now called Acadia and it embraced the present Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and a large part of the state of Maine.

In 1606 the exclusive privilege of De Monts was revoked. In Acadia this action was regarded as the death blow of the colony and preparations were made immediately for returning to France. The colonists sailed on September 3, and not a European remained in Acadia. In 1607 the privilege of the beaver trade was restored to De Monts for a year on condition that he establish colonies in New France, which comprehended Canada as well as Acadia, whereupon he severed his connection with Acadia.\(^{22}\) In the spring of 1608, with Champlain as his lieutenant, De Monts sent out two vessels to Canada. Sailing up the St. Lawrence, Champlain landed on July 3 at the site of Quebec. Here he cleared land for a town and erected cabins, and the future capital of Canada was established.\(^{23}\) On his return to France in 1609 he reported his experiences, and Henry VI, listening to Champlain's story, named all his American dependencies New France.\(^{24}\)

Poutrincourt had formed a most favorable opinion of Acadia, and he petitioned the king for a confirmation of the

\(^{21}\) Parkman, *Pioneers of France*, 247–256.


grant made to him by De Monts. His request being complied with, he determined to return, and in the spring of 1610 with a number of settlers he sailed from Dieppe for Acadia; and, being a staunch Catholic and interested in the conversion of the Indians, he brought with him a zealous priest, Father La Flèche, and the conversion of the Indians was undertaken. Supplies for the colony were needed and Poutrincourt sent his eighteen year old son, Biencourt, to France on the first ship to sail to obtain such things as were needed. Biencourt took with him the official list of baptisms in proof of his father's zeal for the conversion of the heathen and with the hope of convincing the king, who was desirous of sending out Jesuits for conversion purposes, that the presence of the latter was unnecessary.

And now the name Duquesne, being that of Abraham Duquesne, the great-grandfather of the Marquis Duquesne, sieur de Menneville and governor-general of New France, appears for the first time in the history of Canada. Abraham Duquesne was engaged with others in sending ships to foreign parts for the purpose of trade, and at Dieppe Biencourt associated himself with him and his partners with the intention of sending supplies to his father's colony. It was proposed by the governor of Dieppe to send Jesuits on the ship destined for Acadia and with this object in view he had, without the knowledge of Duquesne and his associates, all of whom were Protestants, compelled Biencourt, much against his wish, to give his consent for that purpose. The Protestants opposed the matter but in the end were obliged to yield and on January 16, 1611, the ship with Biencourt and Pères Biard and Masse on board, left for America, arriving at Port Royal after intermediate stoppages, on the twenty-second of June.27

25 Charles G. D. Roberts, A History of Canada, 27 (Boston, 1897); Campbell, Nova Scotia, 46.
27 Campbell, Nova Scotia, 47.
Now dark days came upon Acadia, and the controversy between England and France for the possession of the North American continent, which raged for almost 150 years, began with a warlike demonstration. In 1607 an English settlement had been made under the auspices of the London Company on the James River in Virginia. This settlement was called Jamestown, and in 1613 the population was about four hundred. While few in numbers, the colonists had the support of the London Company, a strong organization, and English ships frequently arrived. In 1609 a new charter had been granted to the London Company which effected a great change in the colony. The intelligence of this departure was brought to Jamestown by one Captain Samuel Argall, then engaged in contraband trade and also in fishing expeditions in the waters to the north of Jamestown, who finally became governor of the colony.28

In 1613 Argall left Jamestown for the purpose of fishing for cod in the northern waters, being incidentally instructed by Sir Thomas Dale, who was acting as governor of Virginia under the title of high commissioner, to look out for any French who might be trespassing on the territory claimed by England.29 The Jesuits who had come to Acadia had begun a colony at Mount Desert which they named St. Sauveur.30 Hearing of this settlement, Argall determined to break it up. Landing, he made the people prisoners and destroyed the place. Some of the French were taken to Jamestown and the rest allowed to retire and await the arrival of a French vessel on which they might return to France. Biencourt fled to the forest and lived with the Indians. Argall’s report of his actions was highly gratifying to the governor of Virginia, and he sent him a second time to Acadia, on this occasion with three vessels, with directions

29 John Fiske, New France and New England, 78–87 (Boston and New York, 1902); Campbell, Nova Scotia, 47.
to destroy the remaining settlements of the French. Argall carried out his orders to the letter, destroying Port Royal, laying waste the growing crops, and carrying away the horses and cattle. In the following year Poutrincourt arrived at Port Royal, where he found a scene of desolation. He went back to France and never returned, dying a soldier's death at the siege of Méry-sur-Seine in December, 1615. But Port Royal was not to disappear forever, as Biencourt, who had succeeded his father, obtained fresh recruits, and the place was rebuilt.

For some years after the destruction of the French settlements by the Virginians, the English made no attempt to effect a settlement in Acadia. In 1621, however, Sir William Alexander, a Scotchman, received from King James I a patent for all the territory lying east of the St. Croix River and south of the St. Lawrence, which included Acadia and was designated Nova Scotia. The next year Alexander sent out a detachment of Scotch, but, finding the French in possession, they effected no settlement and returned to England. In 1628 David Kirk, a French Calvinist refugee in the British service, took Port Royal from the French, but the war which had broken out between England and France was ended and by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, concluded on March 29, 1632, all the places taken from the French by the English were restored to the former. But the lot of Acadia continued to be hard, and in 1654 the country was seized by Cromwell's forces. It was retained until 1667, when during the reign of Charles II Nova Scotia was restored to France by the treaty of Breda.

In 1617 Quebec was half trading factory, half mission. Its permanent residents did not exceed fifty or sixty persons consisting of fur traders, friars, and two or three wretched

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33 Campbell, Nova Scotia, 50; Garneau, History of Canada, 1:102.
34 Warburton, Conquest of Canada, 1:93.
families, who had no inducement and little wish to labor. The fort is facetiously represented as having two old women for garrison and a brace of hens for sentinels. Champlain was the nominal commander; the population did not increase; the interests of the fur traders were contrary to those of the settlement. In 1620 Champlain was confirmed as lieutenant general and he was the first actual governor of the colony.

All exercise of the Reformed religion, on land or water, was prohibited within the limits of New France. William de Caen and his nephew, Émery de Caen, two Huguenots, were given a monopoly of trade in Canada in 1621, and although Protestants, in consideration of the trading privilege, they agreed to support six Recollect friars. When their ships came to Quebec, however, their sailors, who were Huguenots, set the prohibition against the exercise of the Protestant religion at naught, roaring their psalmody with such vigor from their ships in the river that the unhallowed strains polluted the ears of the Indians on shore. Champlain was particularly scandalized at the contumacious heresy of Émery de Caen, who would not only assemble his Huguenot sailors but would also force Catholics to join them. He was ordered to prohibit all praying and psalm singing. The crews revolted and a compromise was made. It was agreed that for the time being they might pray but not sing.

In 1626 the population of Quebec had risen to 105 persons, men, women, and children. Of these only one or two families had learned to support themselves from the products of the soil. The next year the trading monopoly was taken from the Caens, and the Company of the Hundred Associates was formed by Richelieu. The company was bound to convey to New France, during the next year, two or three hundred men of all trades, and, before the year 1643, to increase the number to four thousand persons of both sexes, and every settler must be French and Catholic.

“Parkman, Pioneers of France, 418.

Henry H. Miles, The History of Canada under French Régime, 58 (Montreal, 1872).

Parkman, Pioneers of France, 419-430.
England and France were at peace; yet on July 29, 1629, an English fleet commanded by Louis Kirk and Thomas Kirk, sent by their brother, Admiral David Kirk, captured Quebec, and Louis Kirk installed himself as governor and retained possession for three years. Shortly after taking Quebec, while Thomas Kirk was descending the St. Lawrence River on his return to Europe, he encountered a ship commanded by Émery de Caen loaded with provisions intended for Quebec and, after an obstinate resistance, captured the vessel. Under the provisions of the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye England renounced all the pretentions put forward by her subjects to New France, and France was to receive back the territory which had been wrested from her. The Caens were chiefly interested in the restitution of Quebec, having received as compensation for their losses the privilege of the fur trade for one year, and Émery de Caen was commissioned to bear the new treaty to Louis Kirk and receive the surrender of the town. He sailed from France and anchored before Quebec on July 5, 1632. The English struck their flag to Caen and Quebec was once more French; and on May 23, 1633, Champlain was again commissioned and resumed command of the town. In 1664 the population of Canada was between two thousand and twenty-five hundred, of which Quebec had eight hundred.

The French were ever sending men into those portions of the country where the white men had not penetrated, and in 1673 Louis Jolliet and Père Jacques Marquette discovered the Mississippi River, descending that stream to its junction with the Arkansas River, seven hundred miles from the Gulf of Mexico. La Salle went south and reached the Mississippi on February 6, 1682, and going down that stream reached the ocean on April 5. He took formal possession of the

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41 Charlevoix, New France, 2: 68.
42 Parkman, Pioneers of France, 446–449.
43 Garneau, History of Canada, 1: 182.
44 Reuben G. Thwaites, Father Marquette, 204 (New York, 1902); Garneau, History of Canada, 1: 254; Bancroft, United States, 2: 328–332.
Ohio and Mississippi valleys and called the region Louisiana, in honor of Louis XIV.\textsuperscript{44}

The English were constantly reaching out for more territory. On October 1, 1710, they captured Port Royal from the French, which their commander, General Nicholson, renamed Annapolis Royal after Queen Anne; and the whole of Acadia was lost to the French, being formally ceded to England under the Treaty of Utrecht on March 30, (O.S.) 1713, and becoming part of Nova Scotia.\textsuperscript{45} The result was to leave the entrance to Canada exposed to future attacks and the French looked about for a remedy. Cape Breton Island, situated northeast of Nova Scotia, was still a wilderness, and this was chosen as a place to bar the enemies of France from her Canadian possessions.\textsuperscript{46} It was rechristened Isle Royale and the seat of government was fixed at a harbor called Port à l'Anglois and named Louisbourg after the king. Here a fort was begun in 1720 which was intended to be impregnable and when completed was the strongest fortification on the Atlantic coast.

\textbf{New France in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century}

For more than twenty-five years the government of New France had been in strong hands. The colony had a highly centralized government. Its seat was at Quebec and the chief officer, appointed by the king of France, was the governor-general, whose official title was “Governor and Lieutenant General of New France.” He had the absolute command of the armed forces of the colony and the undisputed power over its external affairs, his authority extending as far as Louisiana, although that distant country also had a governor of its own appointed by the king. Then there was a bishop, whose diocese extended over Louisiana to the Gulf of

\textsuperscript{44} Garneau, \textit{History of Canada}, 1:265.

\textsuperscript{45} Francis Parkman, \textit{A Half-Century of Conflict}, 1:147 (Boston, 1897); Garneau, \textit{History of Canada}, 1:388.

Mexico. There was a supreme tribunal called the "Sovereign Council of Quebec," which had jurisdiction over the affairs of the colony, both administrative and judicial; and an intendant, who was the chief administrative officer, combining the duties of chief of police and of justice. The governor-general, however, presided at the sessions of the sovereign council and had a sort of veto over its actions.

There were also local governments at Montreal and Three Rivers, whose authority, however, was limited.

Quebec was the capital of New France and its population in the middle of the eighteenth century was perhaps seven thousand. Notwithstanding the crudeness evident in the place and more particularly in the surrounding country, there was in Quebec some pretense at a mild imitation of the courtly grandeur of Paris. Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveler and naturalist, has left an interesting and detailed account of Quebec as it appeared when he was there in 1749. The city, as Kalm designates Quebec, was built on a hill and was surrounded by a wall. It was divided into the upper and lower city, the upper city being much larger than the lower, but less populous. The streets, except in the upper city, were narrow and very crooked. Most of the houses were built of stone and in the upper city, with the exception of the public buildings, were generally one story in height. There were a few wooden buildings, but the owners were prohibited from rebuilding them once they had become uninhabitable. Most of the merchants lived in the lower city, where the houses were built close together and were three or four stories high. The upper city was inhabited by the people of quality. Here were located the most important buildings.

The principal building was the house of the governor-general, called the Palace, a large stone structure two stories in height, with a courtyard surrounded by a wall. Before

the Palace a number of soldiers mounted guard, and when the governor-general or the bishop came in or went out the soldiers appeared and drums were beaten. The governor-general had a chapel of his own where he heard prayers. The house of the intendant, which was large and fit to be called a palace, stood in a second lower town on the St. Charles River. In this house all the deliberations concerning the colony were held. The gentlemen who had the management of the police and civil matters met here and the intendant generally presided. "In affairs of great consequence," Kalm writes, "the governor-general is likewise here." 50

There were no seats in the churches and everyone was obliged to kneel during the service. The bishop's house was the first building on the right coming from the lower to the upper city. The College of the Jesuits stood on the north side of the market and had a much more imposing appearance than the Palace, being about four times as large, and was the finest building in the city. In the Seminary the clergy of Quebec lodged. The Ursuline nuns had a convent. On the summit of the mountain on which the city was built stood the powder magazine.

Montreal, which was founded in 1642, 51 was located 180 miles up the St. Lawrence River from Quebec, 52 and was the second town in Canada in wealth and population; midway between these two places was Three Rivers, ranking after Montreal among the towns of the colony. Between Quebec and Montreal the population of Canada was mainly collected. 53 Kalm says that here the road ran parallel with the St. Lawrence, and the farmhouses were never more than five arpens apart and sometimes only three arpens apart, and the country for the entire distance might be termed a village. 54 There

50 Kalm, Travels, 3: 103.
52 Kalm, Travels, 3: 81.
53 Hildreth, United States, 2: 447.
54 An arpen or arpent was an old French measure of distance equal to 248 English feet.
were tall wooden crosses along the road side on which were placed images of the Savior, the crosses being surmounted by the figure of a cock, intended to represent the cock which crowed when St. Peter denied Christ. Yet in this entire distance there was not a single village school, and Kalm relates that there was not a printing press in all Canada.\textsuperscript{55}

Today the road from Quebec to Montreal is still full of the romance and story of the old days. Travelers from the United States who have been abroad, passing over the historic highway for the first time, are reminded of roads in France and other Catholic countries. The children swarming along the road side, as well as the adults, speak only French. Wooden crosses are there as in Kalm’s day. Some are rude and unpainted, others are painted white and are inclosed by wooden fences painted the same color. A few crosses have attached in front a small box with a glass front and sides inclosing an image of the Virgin. Other crosses have the Savior on them. Then there are shrines inclosed in small wooden buildings; there are also more elaborate shrines built of stone with highly decorated figures of the Virgin or the Savior. The houses near the highway are built mainly of wood and are modern in appearance, but a few are of stone and may have been there in the old French days. The churches, which are far apart, are almost without exception large and of light gray stone, with tall tapering spires and with an appearance of newness. To the traveler familiar with Kalm’s description, the entire distance from Quebec to Montreal truly appears like one long village.

Kalm also relates that while the governor-general usually resided at Quebec, he frequently went to Montreal and generally spent the winter there.\textsuperscript{56} During his residence in Montreal he lived in a large stone house called the Castle, built by Governor-General Vaudreuil and still belonging to members of his family, who rented it to the king.

\textsuperscript{55} Kalm, \textit{Travels}, 3: 80, 182.
\textsuperscript{56} Kalm, \textit{Travels}, 3: 68.
Compared with the population of the English colonies, that of Canada and Louisiana was insignificant. The population of New France was only fifty-two thousand, the people in Canada numbering forty-five thousand, and those in Louisiana seven thousand; while the population of the English colonies was one million and fifty-one thousand—Pennsylvania, which claimed the territory at the headwaters of the Ohio, alone having a population of two hundred and fifty thousand.57

The French and the British colonials remained as restless as ever. The French, more energetic than the English, began to have visions of extending their dominion over the lands which they had claimed for more than three quarters of a century and which their traders had visited for many years; and they laid plans for a movement to obtain possession and to close in from the rear of the English on the Atlantic coast.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, who had been governor-general for twenty years, died on October 10, 1725.58 Baron de Longueuil, the governor of Montreal, who now acted as governor-general, immediately wrote to the French ministry, announcing the decease of Vaudreuil, and asking to be made his successor, on the ground that his two predecessors, Callières and Vaudreuil, had both been advanced from the governorship of Montreal to the governor-generalship. Longueuil, however, was a native Canadian, and opposition developed to the appointment of a Canadian. On January 11, 1726, Charles de la Boische, the Marquis de Beauharnois, captain in the royal navy and natural son of Louis XIV, was appointed. From 1702 to 1705 he had been the intendant of Canada; he was then made “Director of the Marine Classes” in France, and returned to that country. He now arrived at Quebec on September 2, and Longueuil surrendered the governor-generalship to him.59

57 History of the British Dominions, 12.
58 Jean B. A. Ferland, Cours d'histoire du Canada, 2: 428–430 (Quebec, 1865).
59 François X. Garneau, Histoire du Canada, 2: 43 (sixth edition, Paris, 1920); Frank H. Severance, An Old Frontier of France; the Niagara
In the spring of 1745, the English sent a great military and naval force under Colonel William Pepperrell and Commodore Warren against Louisbourg, and after some resistance the fort surrendered; the articles of capitulation were signed on June 17. Great was the consternation in France when news of the fall of the important fortress reached Paris, and immediate steps were taken to retrieve the loss. It was also thought necessary to make a change in the office of governor-general of New France and Beauharnois was recalled on March 15, 1746. On the same day the Marquis de la Jonquière was appointed to succeed him. A large force was organized to retake Louisbourg and La Jonquière was directed to sail with the expedition, which is said to have contained the largest number of ships ever sent by France to America. The force was collected at Brest and was under the command of the Duc d'Anville. It was ready to sail in May, 1746, but proceeded to Rochelle, where the high winds detained it until June 22, when it put out to sea. On the way the fleet was delayed by rough weather, pestilence broke out, and it was not until September 14 that the first of the ships neared the coast of Nova Scotia. The tempest raged here also, the ships became scattered, and it was the twenty-third before D'Anville entered Chibucto Harbor, now the harbor of Halifax. Here he discovered that some of the ships had already been there and, having found no others in the harbor, had returned to France. The pestilence increased and out of the twenty-four hundred men eleven hundred died. D'Anville was so distressed that he died of apoplexy on the twenty-seventh. D'Estournelle, the vice admiral, now assumed the command. He thought it unwise to attempt to recapture Louisbourg and advised returning

61 Garneau, Histoire du Canada, 2:111 n.
64 Garneau, History of Canada, 1:449.
to France. A council of the officers was held and against D'Estournelle's wishes they concluded to attack Annapolis Royal instead of Louisbourg, a decision which so chagrined D'Estournelle that he committed suicide.

La Jonquière now became the commander, and on October 4 what was left of the fleet sailed out of Chibucto Harbor headed for Annapolis Royal. A storm off Cape Sable dispersed the ships and only two found their way into Annapolis Basin, where they discovered two English ships anchored before the fort. Thereupon they retired, and on the twenty-seventh it was decided that the expedition return to France. Other storms were encountered, and at last on December 7 the ships reached Port Louis in Brittany, where several of the other ships had already arrived. In Puritan New England there were many who said that the disasters of the French were a visitation of Providence upon them for having dared to oppose the English. This sentiment is expressed by Longfellow in his "Ballad of the French Fleet," when he cites the prayer of the Puritan spokesman and his report of the answer:

"O Lord! we would not advise;  
But if in thy Providence  
A tempest should arise  
To drive the French Fleet hence,  
And scatter it far and wide,  
Or sink it in the sea,  
We should be satisfied,  
And thine the glory be."

Like a potter's vessel broke  
The great ships of the line;  
They were carried away as a smoke,  
Or sank like lead in the brine.  
O Lord! before thy path  
They vanished and ceased to be,  
When thou didst walk in wrath  
With thine horses through the sea!

France did not give up hope of retaking Louisbourg and the next year sent out another expedition, this time under
the command of La Jonquière, which sailed from Rochelle in the spring. On May 14, while off Cape Finisterre in the Bay of Biscay, La Jonquière was attacked by an English fleet much larger than his own, under the command of Vice Admiral Anson and Rear Admiral Warren. The French commander fought desperately and was badly wounded, a ball passing through his shoulder, but he was compelled to surrender and was sent a prisoner to England, where he remained until the conclusion of peace. Thus his second attempt to reach Canada had proved abortive.

Count Rolland-Michael Barin, newly created Marquis de la Galissonièrë, another naval officer of high repute, was appointed to the office of governor-general on June 10, to serve until La Jonquière would be free and able to assume his duties. He reached Quebec on September 19, and Beauharnois, who had continued to exercise the duties of the office until Galissonièrë's arrival, sailed for France on October 14 on the same ship which had brought his successor.

On October 7, 1748, at Aix-la-Chapelle, a treaty which was to bring peace to the world had been signed between Great Britain, Holland, and Austria on the one side, and France and Spain on the other. By this treaty all the former treaties were renewed and confirmed and the French and the British mutually gave up whatever territory each had taken from the other all over the world. Great was the rejoicing in Canada when the news was received there. Kalm tells

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66 Kalm, Travels, 3: 169.
67 Ferland, Histoire du Canada, 2: 482.
69 Garneau, Histoire du Canada, 2: 111.
70 Ferland, Histoire du Canada, 2: 490.
71 Garneau, History of Canada, 1: 452.
how the event was celebrated in Montreal. The festival took place on July 27, 1749. "The soldiers were under arms," he wrote, "the artillery on the walls was fired off, and some salutes were given by the small fire-arms. All night some fireworks were exhibited, and the whole town was illuminated. All the streets were crowded with people, till late at night. The governor invited me to supper, and to partake of the joy of the inhabitants. There were present a number of officers, and persons of distinction; and the festival concluded with the greatest joy." 72

But the boundaries between the French and British possessions in America were left unsettled. 73 The rivalry between the two countries for the possession of the Ohio Valley was constantly becoming more intense. In 1748 a number of Virginia gentlemen in connection with one or two Englishmen had conceived the idea of securing from the king of England a grant of five hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio River, the English claiming that this territory had been ceded to England in 1744 at Lancaster by the Six Nations. 74 The organization was called the Ohio Company, and in compliance with its petition a preliminary grant of two hundred thousand acres was made on March 18, 1749. This action on the part of the English was no doubt one of the reasons for the movement begun by Galissonière for taking formal possession of the Ohio Valley for the French. In the spring of 1749 he sent Captain Pierre Joseph de Céloron de Blainville 75 with a force of two hundred Canadians and a band of Indians into the Ohio Valley to expel the English. 76 Céloron left Lachine on the St. Lawrence River a few miles above Montreal on June 15, proceeded to the headwaters of the Alle-

72 Kalm, Travels, 3:63.
73 Bancroft, United States, 2:596.
74 William M. Darlington, ed., Christopher Gist’s Journals, 227 (Pittsburgh, 1893); Israel D. Rupp, Early History of Western Pennsylvania and of the West, 1734–1833, appendix, 3–7 (Pittsburgh, 1846).
75 Sometimes called Céloron de Bienville.
76 Charles A. Hanna, The Wilderness Trail, 1:270 (New York, 1911); Mary Carson Darlington, ed., Fort Pitt and Letters from the Frontier, 9–16 (Pittsburgh, 1892); Darlington, Gist’s Journals, 28.
gheny, and went down that stream to the Ohio and as far as the Miami. To trees along the river were attached iron plates bearing the arms of the king of France and the statement that at the foot of the tree there was buried a leaden plate on which was inscribed the story of the occupation of the territory by the king of France.

After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, La Jonquière was at liberty to assume the governorship of New France, and he arrived at Quebec late in August, 1749. Galissonière left the city and returned to France. La Jonquière, however, being accused of distributing lucrative posts to relatives and himself engaging in the fur trade, did not continue long as governor-general. Complaint was made to the court, which so annoyed him that he asked to be recalled, but before notice of the action taken by the ministry could reach him, he became ill of his old wound and died at Quebec on March 17, 1752. This was the end of a distinguished and brave officer but a dishonest man.

**Ancestry of Duquesne and Life before Coming to Canada**

Duquesne was of Protestant ancestry, being the grand-nephew of the Marquis Duquesne, the great French admiral, who on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was the only Protestant in all France to be excepted from its provisions. Admiral Duquesne, who was seventy-eight years of age, had been called before Louis XIV, who strongly urged him to change his religion. Pointing to his gray hairs Duquesne said to the king, "During sixty years, I have rendered unto Cæsar, the things which I owe to Cæsar; permit me now, sire, to render unto God the things which I owe to God." And he was allowed to end his days in France un molested.  


In the earlier American and Canadian histories, the only thing said in relation to the origin of the Marquis Duquesne, sieur de Menneville, is that he was of the family of Admiral Duquesne, one account even stating that he was descended from that officer. It was not until 1873, when Auguste Jal, the well known French historian, published in Paris his exhaustive study of the life of the Marquis Duquesne, the grand admiral of France, and of his forbears, in which he touched incidentally on the career of the Marquis Duquesne, sieur de Menneville, the governor-general of New France, that much became known in the United States and Canada of the Duquesne family and of this member of it. Many details of the life story of Duquesne, sieur de Menneville, however, are still hidden in the musty records of county or city or town in France, and lie there for some future historian to investigate, in order to complete the life of this uncommon man. It was from Jal’s volumes that the facts bearing on the history of the Duquesne family related in this article were mainly obtained. Those pertaining to the early and later life in France of the Marquis Duquesne, sieur de Menneville, were secured in Paris from the "Archives de la vielle marine française"; from certain published sources, other than the writings of Jal; from information obtained in Canada; and from facts gathered in personal investigations made in France for the writer.

The Marquis Duquesne, sieur de Menneville, was descended from the old nobility of France; his immediate ancestors, having left the Catholic Church and become Calvinists, were designated as the Protestant branch of the family. The first member of this branch of whom there is any record was a man in humble circumstances. His name was Lardin Duquesne or more properly Du Quesne, for by that name Jal writes of him and his descendants and it is also the name as it appears in the "Archives de la vielle marine française."

Lardin Duquesne was a citizen of the village of Blangy, located not many miles from the once famous seaport of
Dieppe. Here he lived in the latter part of the sixteenth century and in the early years of the seventeenth, dying sometime before 1604. He was by occupation a mechanic, one tradition saying that he was a tailor, and another, a cooper. In religion he was a Protestant. He had a son named Abraham, whom he desired to rise in the world; and he sent him to Dieppe to receive the necessary instruction to fit him for life on the sea. Lardin Duquesne owned a little property, which on his death descended to his son Abraham.

Abraham Duquesne was born in Blangy sometime in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. In the *Dictionnaire historique*, of Moréri, quoted by Jal, the following is related of the founder of this branch of the Duquesne family:

Abraam (sic) Duquesne, father of the illustrious general of the sea forces of France, was born in the town of Blangi, in the county of Eu, of parents little favored by fortune and who had the misfortune, like those of the admiral Tore, to be infected with the heresy of Calvin . . . he retired to Dieppe, where Calvinism was more in vogue. Here he learned the marine chart, went on ships, and made himself capable of being a pilot.79

The life of a sailor and the movements of commerce appealed to young Duquesne and he entered upon his new career with vigor, being successively cabin boy, apprentice, sailor, under-captain, and captain. In the United States at the present day he would be styled a self-made man. The commerce centering at Dieppe had made the port wealthy, and Abraham Duquesne turned his energies toward business and became interested in various enterprises, including the chartering of ships, some of which he commanded. Success was early achieved and he became prosperous. In 1608 or 1609 he married Martha de Caux of the neighboring village of Luneray, who was a Protestant like himself. In 1610, in conjunction with several partners, he armed a ship of seventy tons called the "Neptune," the purpose of which, Jal is careful to explain, was not to engage in piracy but for legitimate trade; and he adds that the consent and approval

79 Jal, Abraham Du Quesne, 1:2.
of the French admiral had been obtained. The vessel was commanded by one of Duquesne's associates, Captain Deschamps, and after his death by Lieutenant Lambert. It proceeded to Brazil and when near Cape Augustin encountered a Portuguese caravel laden with white sugar and a thousand pieces of Brazil wood. The "Neptune" attacked the Portuguese vessel and captured it "in a fair fight" according to Jal. On the return voyage of the "Neptune" with its prize, a tempest arose, and as the vessels neared the coast of England it was necessary to take refuge in Dartmouth. Here, at the instigation of the Spanish ambassador, the English authorities intervened and compelled Lieutenant Lambert to release the caravel, which, however, was later delivered to Duquesne personally; and he sailed in her in triumph to Dieppe.80

His next venture was the one in which he associated himself with five others for the purpose of sending merchandise to Acadia, which has already been referred to in a preceding section. His partners were all Protestants like himself, except Biencourt, the son of Baron de Poutrincourt, who had received a grant of the territory in Acadia from King Henry IV upon its abandonment by De Monts, the discoverer. Biencourt was to proceed to Canada and be accompanied on the voyage by Duquesne. The goods destined for that country were already on board the ship, which was ready to sail, when owing to an unexpected incident Duquesne and his partners were excluded from the enterprise.

The late King Henry IV had promised his confessor, Père Coton, a Jesuit, that the court would lend its assistance for the conversion of the Indians in New France by sending members of the order to that country. The provincial of the order, Père Christopher Balthasar, with Pères Biard and Masse, arrived at Dieppe, bringing with them many church ornaments given by Mesdames Sourdis and de Guercheville, the latter of whom was the wife of M. de Liancourt, first

80 The material in this and the two following paragraphs is based on Jal, Abraham Du Quesne, 1: 10-17.
equerry to the king and governor of Paris; as well as some fifteen or eighteen thousand livres donated by the king in aid of the pious enterprise. As has already been detailed, the governor of Dieppe had previously arranged with Biencourt for the passage of the Jesuits on the ship in which he had an interest. When this information came to the ears of Duquesne and his Protestant associates, they went before the governor and protested against taking the Jesuits on the voyage. They were displeased that the ship should be used to carry members of a religious order whose purpose was to propagate a faith that was hostile to their own. The matter was taken to Paris. Here Madame de Guercheville, who was deeply interested in the project, found a merchant named Raulin, who was disposed to buy the interests of the associated Protestants. Duquesne and his partners were stubborn, but Madame de Guercheville persisted and succeeded in breaking the agreement existing between Biencourt and Duquesne and his party. They were forced to sell their interests to Raulin, and the Jesuits were taken to Acadia.

In 1625 Abraham Duquesne was a captain by brevet in the royal navy; and ten years later he died of a wound received in a battle with the Spaniards. 81 He had three sons, Abraham, Étienne, and Jacob, all of whom received their education in the Reformed schools of Dieppe. Abraham, the eldest, became the great admiral of France, whose name is still a household word in that country. The date of birth of Étienne, the second son, is not definitely known, but it was between the years 1611 and 1615. He married Suzanne Le Monnier, but when this occurred is not stated by Jal. Étienne Duquesne, like his elder brother, was a seaman, and as early as 1636, he served as lieutenant on the “Neptune,” commanded by his brother Abraham. In the early months of 1643, he became captain of an armed merchantman and in 1647 he commanded the “Charité.” During the same year a naval fête was given at Dieppe in the presence of Philippe

81 Jal, Abraham Du Quesne, 1:21, 45.
IV of Spain and Louis XIV of France, in which two French ships took part, the "Berger," commanded by M. de Senné, and the "Charité," by Étienne Duquesne. In 1648 Étienne Duquesne, under a commission from Portugal, attacked and pillaged the island of Gorée off the coast of Senegal. He died sometime prior to 1659, for Suzanne Le Monnier was a widow when in that year she instituted at Paris a law suit against her brother-in-law, Admiral Duquesne.⁸²

Étienne Duquesne left a son named Abraham, born about 1653. Admiral Duquesne and Jacob Duquesne both had sons also named Abraham, the three brothers probably calling their sons Abraham in honor of their father, the first one of the name; and all three grandsons entered the naval service of France. The son of Admiral Duquesne, on account of the prominence of his father, was the best known of the younger Duquesnes; and, to be distinguished from him, the sons of Étienne and Jacob added the names of their respective mothers to their own, the son of Étienne becoming Duquesne-Monnier, and the son of Jacob, Duquesne-Guiton.⁸³

Duquesne-Monnier's services in the French navy were long and important. Entering upon this life at the age of twenty-four, he continued in it for forty-eight years. Beginning as ensign on February 7, 1678, he served under his uncle, Admiral Duquesne, and took part in the two sieges of Algiers (1682–1683). He was wounded on July 22, 1683, while on the galiote "Ardente," losing an arm; on January 17, 1684, he became captain of a barque, and during the same year he was in command of the "Ardente." In 1685, the year of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Louis XIV was busy with his movement against the Protestants. All who practiced the Reformed religion and who were in the service of the state were notified that they must choose between their places, their rank, their offices, and renunciation. The "conversions," as Jal calls the change of religion, fol-

owed rapidly, and among the converts was Duquesne-Monnier, who "returned" to the Catholic Church in May of that year. In consideration of his submissiveness, the king gave him a pension of a thousand livres and on June 2 presented him with a commission as captain of a ship.84

In 1689, France was fighting for James II, the deposed king of England, and against the Prince of Orange; and there were fitted out at Brest thirty ships of the line and seven frigates, which conveyed James and five thousand troops to Kinsale, on the coast of Ireland, where the king landed on March 12, 1689, and the men two days later. Nearly all Ireland except Ulster was opposed to the Prince of Orange, and for the moment the prospects of James appeared bright.85 On April 30 the French fleet was standing in Bantry Bay. The next day it was attacked by an English force under Admiral Herbert, who was badly defeated in the engagement. In this battle Duquesne-Monnier had command of three of the French frigates.

At the battle of Malaga, off the coast of Spain, on August 24, 1704, where the French and Spanish fought the English and Dutch, Captain Duquesne-Monnier commanded the "Toulouse" and five other vessels. The English claimed this to have been a drawn battle, with which conclusion Jal agrees.86 In 1693, Duquesne-Monnier was married in Toulon. The bride was Ursule-Thérèse Possel, a daughter of Maître Louis Possel, an advocate at the court. The service was performed in the chapel of St. Sebastian in the presence of many distinguished personages. On August 5, 1715, Duquesne-Monnier was made commodore. He was also commander of the Order of St. Louis and commander of the Port of Toulon. He died at Toulon on November 17, 1726, aged about seventy-three years, and was interred in the parish church of St. Louis.87

84 Jal, Abraham Du Quesne, 2:459-574.
87 Jal, Abraham Du Quesne, 2:558, 574.
In the later years of his life, Duquesne-Monnier had become obsessed with the money madness produced in France by John Law's financial schemes and had invested what little money he possessed in the shares of Law's bank, losing everything when the bubble burst in 1720. On November 21, 1726, a few days after his death, his widow addressed a petition to the king in which she set forth that her husband had received in his lifetime a pension of sixteen thousand livres and that now she was penniless. The king accordingly granted her a pension of one thousand livres for herself and also gave pensions to her several children. The widow died on July 6, 1763, aged about ninety-three years.  

Duquesne-Monnier left seven children. His third son was Ange Duquesne, afterwards known as the Marquis Duquesne, sieur de Menneville, and famous as governor-general of New France. He was born at Toulon in 1700, where his father was commandant. How he came to use the name De Menneville is not known, but he was already called by it in 1725, as it appears in that form in the account of the wedding of his eldest sister, Ursule, who was married at Toulon in that year. In the *Dictionnaire des communes de France* mention is made of a parish of that name in the district of Boulogne. Perhaps Duquesne came into the possession of an estate in this parish, or it may be that the name was merely adopted by him like the names taken by a number of his cousins, in order to avoid the confusion which might result from the fact that they were all in the naval service. 

At twelve years of age Ange Duquesne began his service in the navy, the certificate granting him entrance into the naval guard at Toulon being dated December 25, 1713. On October 1, 1716, he entered the company of the guards of the Admiral's flag; on March 18, 1727, he became ensign; and he was advanced to lieutenant on July 1, 1735. Later in the same year he commanded the "Inconnu" and cruised in the Archipelago. It was while holding the rank of lieutenant

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88 *Archives Nationales, fonds marine, "Archives de la vielle marine française."
that he received his certificate of Catholicity, and in this he is designated as "Messire Ange Duquesne." He was made knight of the Order of St. Louis on May 13, 1738. On February 11, 1744, while serving under Admiral de Court, he took part in the battle fought before Toulon between the English under Admiral Mathews and the combined French and Spanish fleets, when, notwithstanding the great superiority of their fleet, the English were badly defeated, for suffering which Admiral Mathews was cashiered. Concerning this battle an English historian says that it "stands on record as one of the few actions of which Englishmen need be ashamed." Duquesne became captain and post commander on January 1, 1746, and for a number of years he was commandant of the Port of Toulon, where he did much to restore the discipline of the men, which had become lax. On August 25, 1749, he resigned as post commander, preferring to serve as captain of a ship.

Upon his appointment as governor-general of New France, it was desired that Duquesne proceed to Canada as soon as possible, and on March 3 the king directed that he be relieved of taking the oath of office in order that he might embark without delay from Rochefort on the transport "Sayne." Before he sailed, however, in April, the king was reminded in an official communication that "it has always been customary to give an honorary title to the governor and lieutenant general of the colony of Canada." It was said further that his Majesty had created La Jonquière a marquis, that his two predecessors had held the same title, and that it seemed fitting for the good of the service that he grant the honor to Duquesne also, particularly as several relatives of the same name had borne this title. The king accordingly conferred the title of marquis upon Duquesne.

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Allen, Battles of the British Navy, 1: 149-152.
"Archives de la vielle marine française."