THE MARQUIS DUQUESNE, SIEUR DE MENVILLE, FOUNDER OF THE CITY OF PITTSBURGH. III

THE NEWS OF THE FRENCH MOVEMENT IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES

Before Duquesne's expedition had been fully organized, the nightmare of the anticipated occupation of the Ohio country by the French began troubling the English. Virginia claimed the territory as part of her domain and the governor of the colony, Robert Dinwiddie, was anxious to preserve her rights. As he was a member of the Ohio Company he had also a personal interest. On February 10, 1753, he wrote in alarm to Thomas Cresap and William Trent, the Indian traders, who were also agents of the Ohio Company, telling them that fifteen or sixteen Frenchmen had arrived at Logstown, as the English called the Indian village of Maughwawame, famous in frontier history, and had begun building houses there. He added that "it is to be fear'd they will take Possession of the River Ohio, oppress our Trade and take our Traders Prisoners, &c. We would fain hope these People are only French Traders, and they have no other View but Trade." 2

In May, when Duquesne's movement was under way and news of it had filtered into the English colonies, there was great excitement there. The most powerful Indians on the continent were the Iroquois, or Six Nations, as they were called by the English from the number of tribes constituting the confederacy, which had originally been a league of five

1 Parts I and II of this study appeared in the February and May numbers of the magazine, respectively. It is concluded with this part. Ed.

tribes: the Mohawk, Seneca, Onondaga, Oneida, and Cayuga. They had formerly lived in Canada but from the time of the settlement of the Dutch in New York their habitation had been in that colony between the Hudson and Genesee rivers. In 1715 the Tuscarora, having been expelled from North Carolina, returned to the North and were admitted into the league, which thenceforth became the Six Nations. In the early days of April, 1753, a party of the Six Nations hunting near the rapids of the St. Lawrence saw a large force of French and Indians on their way to Lake Ontario. Two of their swiftest runners were immediately dispatched with the intelligence to their council fire at Onondaga, the capital of the confederacy. On the north bank of the Mohawk River in the Mohawk country lived Colonel William Johnson, who commanded the New York militia on the frontier. Until 1750 he had been the commissioner for Indian affairs of the province of New York, and he was besides an adopted member of the Mohawk tribe with the rank of war chief. At his stone house, called Fort Johnson, at midnight on April 19, the news of the French movement was announced by the Indians with terrific whoops and yells. So startling was the information that the next day Johnson wrote to Governor Clinton of New York telling him the alarming news. A copy of Johnson's letter was enclosed by Governor Clinton to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania and copies of both letters were sent by Hamilton to the governors of Virginia and Maryland. Additional information about the French expedition was constantly received by the English. The number of men began to be exaggerated. On May 15, Lieutenant Hitchen Holland, the commander of Fort Oswego, wrote to Colonel Johnson notifying him that the day before there had passed Oswego thirty odd French canoes, part of an army going to the Ohio River, and that the commandant of the force was


invested with power to build forts there. He added that he had been informed by a passing Frenchman that the entire French force amounted to six thousand men and was commanded by Monsieur Marin. The news of this letter was also sent to Governor Hamilton and by him transmitted to Governor Dinwiddie, and messengers were dispatched to warn the Ohio Indians at Logstown.\(^5\)

At this time Logstown was the center of Indian activities on the upper Ohio. It was below the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers and immediately below the site of the later village of Economy. Here the Pennsylvania traders gathered, as did also the French, and at this place for ten years many important events in colonial history were enacted. It was settled by the Shawnee who removed with Kakowatchekey from Wyoming, and by the Ohio Mingo, between the years 1743 and 1745. George Croghan had a trading house there in 1748. At the time of the French movement the village consisted of "a cluster of log houses built by the French, for the Indians, as early as 1750, or probably before that date."\(^6\) It was inhabited largely by Indians of the Six Nations, Delaware, and Shawnee tribes.

The news of the French movement to the Ohio had been received by Indian traders in the Ohio country and by the Indians themselves at almost the same time that the matter became known in the capitals of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. George Croghan and William Trent had a storehouse within the limits of the present borough of Etna, on Pine Creek, which empties into the Allegheny River about five miles above its junction with the Monongahela.\(^7\) These

\(^5\) Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York, 6:778 (Albany, 1853–87); Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, 5:607, 622 (Harrisburg, 1851).


\(^7\) Affidavit of George Croghan, May 1, 1756, in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
two, together with several other traders, were at the Pine Creek trading house on May 7 when a letter was received from Venango, written by John Fraser, in which he stated that he had been informed by several Mingo Indians that since March, 150 French had been at the carrying place leading from Niagara to the head of the Ohio, building canoes and making other preparations for the reception of another large body of French and Indians, which was expected to arrive shortly with eight pieces of brass cannon and a large quantity of ammunition and provisions. The next day this account was confirmed at Pine Creek by two Indians sent by the council at Onondaga to give the Ohio Indians notice of the preparations of the French. Tanacharison, the Seneca-Mingo chief sent by the Great Council of the Six Nations as vice-gerent over the Delawares, Mahican, and other Indians dwelling in the Ohio Valley, called the Half-King by the English traders, and a warm friend of the English, came to Pine Creek on the same day and when informed of these facts was much concerned and suggested that a council be held to determine upon some plan of action. John Harris, Governor Hamilton's messenger, arrived on the twelfth, bringing with him the letters of Governor Clinton and Colonel Johnson; whereupon messengers were sent to Logstown inviting the Delawares and Shawnee to a council at Pine Creek, "but," according to an account written at the time, "they being all drunk none of them came." Croghan himself delivered to the Half-King and the other Indians present the string of wampum that came with the letters of Governor Clinton and Colonel Johnson, and a council was decided upon, to be held at Logstown.  

When the news of the march of the French was made known at the council the Indians became greatly alarmed and immediately forwarded the information to the Delawares at Venango. Upon receiving the announcement the Delawares hastened to the French, who were then advanced to the straits between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, and formally called

8 Colonial Records, 5:614.
upon them to discontinue the march, or at least to come no farther than Niagara. This notice had no effect, and a second council was convened at Logstown and another notice ordered to be given. This was done, and to it the French officer replied: "But this I will tell you, I am commanded to build Four Strong Houses, viz.: at Weningo, Mohongialo Forks, Log's Town, and Beaver Creek, and this I will do." When the answer was brought to Logstown, another council was held, consisting of Indians of the Six Nations, Delawares, and Shawnee, and it was concluded to send the Half-King and other chiefs to deliver a third warning. On August 26 the Half-King and a strong party of Indians set out to deliver this additional warning. The Half-King met Marin, the French commander at Fort Le Boeuf, who received him in a contemptuous manner. He told him that the land belonged to the French, ordered him home and told him that he was an old woman, that all his nation was in favor of the French except him, and that, if he would not go home, he would put him in irons.9

It was now certain that the principal fort projected by the French was to be built at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, a place called by the English the "Forks of the Monhongialo." As early as July 25 the Ohio Company had passed a resolution to build a fort at Chartiers Creek on the south side of the Ohio, a few miles below the forks;10 but, no doubt because the French plan was definitely known, the company changed its own and, in an effort to forestall the French, decided to build its fort at the forks of the two rivers. William Trent, an employee of the company, was there on August 25 viewing the ground on which the projected fort was to be built.11

The Indians also suggested that a fort be erected at this point. A letter dated October 27 was received by Governor

10 Darlington, Gist's Journals, 236.
11 Colonial Records, 5:660.
Hamilton from Old Town, which was another name for Shannopin Town, containing speeches signed by Tanacharison, the Half-King, by Scarrooyady, also called Monacatootha, and by Jonathan the Deer, a Mohawk-Mingo, three chiefs who had taken part in the council lately held at Carlisle. In the letter, which was said to embody the views expressed by the Indians at the council, it was stated that they agreed to give up to the English all the land on the east side of the Ohio River for any indebtedness which they or their traders might owe them, and they begged them to build two forts in the Ohio country, one at the forks of the Allegheny and Monongahela and another farther up the Allegheny. On December 31 the Half-King and Scarrooyady, together with a number of other chiefs who had attended the council, sent another signed speech, this time addressed to the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia, in which they declared that the former speech was agreed to in council in part only and denied that they had consented to give up their lands, but declared that they did earnestly request the governor of Virginia to build a “Strong House at the Forks of the Monongialo.”

That doubts as to the possibility of their being able to build a fort at this place soon arose in the minds of the English, was indicated in a letter which Governor Hamilton sent to Governor Dinwiddie on October 30, in which he said it was now certain that the French intended to build a fort at the forks and drive away the English traders. On November 24 Governor Dinwiddie wrote to Governor Hamilton: “We have several Workmen gone out to build a Fort at the Forks of Mohongialo with the Approbation and desire of the Indians, but if the French have embarked and gone down the River I fear they will prevent our Designs.”

Pennsylvania, like all the other colonies, had received the letter written by the Earl of Holderness, one of the secretaries of state, dated at Whitehall on August 28, 1753, in

12 Colonial Records, 5:691.
13 Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:375.
14 Colonial Records, 5:697, 713.
which it was stated that the Crown had recent knowledge of a hostile invasion of English soil by a force of French and Indians. The letter directed the colonies to secure the withdrawal of the enemy by warnings, and if peaceful methods failed, to resort to the use of force.\textsuperscript{15} Numerous letters had also been received from Governor Dinwiddie telling of the progress he was making and inviting assistance from Pennsylvania.

The province was the most flourishing of the colonies and had the largest population, and much was expected from it by the other colonies. But nothing was done. According to a contemporary account said to have been written by Benjamin Franklin, the time of the heads of the government was spent in almost continuous wrangling and disagreement. The governor was the representative of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, as the heirs of William Penn were styled, who, while being the purchasers of all the lands disposed of by the Indians and receiving the quit rents derived therefrom, which were increased as the lands enhanced in value, yet paid no taxes on them, and declined to allow themselves to be taxed. The people were required to pay the taxes for the maintenance of the province as well as for the expenses of the Indian affairs. The assembly was chosen annually by the people, was independent of the governor, enacted all the bills to raise revenue, and had the sole disposal of the money without dictation from the proprietary family. The governor, according to this account, was ever attempting to prevent the assembly from enacting laws that would place a burden on the proprietaries, while the assembly was bent on compelling the proprietaries to pay an equitable share of the expenses of conducting the province.\textsuperscript{16}

The proceedings of the assembly and the course of the governor present a series of interesting pictures of the actions of these contending forces. There was at this time, as there

\textsuperscript{15} Colonial Records, 5:689.
had been for more than a score of years, a great scarcity of gold and silver money in Pennsylvania, and the province on a number of occasions since 1723 had had recourse to the issuing of paper currency. In the present crisis it was desired to issue more paper money, termed "bills of credit," and the assembly on several occasions attempted to do so. The French already had three forts within the limits of the province and it was known that they contemplated a fourth when, on February 13, 1754, Governor Hamilton sent a message to the assembly, in which he told of having received the letter of the Earl of Holderness and asked the assembly to prepare to furnish men and supplies to meet the emergency. In pursuance of this request, on the nineteenth the assembly presented to the governor and council a bill for issuing forty thousand pounds in bills of credit. On the seventh of the preceding September the governor had sent a message to the assembly in which he expressed his disapproval of a bill similar to the one just introduced; this message was now read by the secretary of the council and no action was taken on the bill. Adjournments were had from time to time and finally on August 7 a bill to provide for issuing thirty-five thousand pounds in bills of credit, fifteen thousand of which were to be for the use of the king and twenty thousand to take up torn and ragged bills previously issued, was agreed upon in the assembly. This bill, however, failed to receive the governor's approval.

The council met on December 3, 1754; Governor Robert Hunter Morris, who had succeeded Hamilton, summoned the members of the assembly and made an address, in which he told in dramatic language of the actions of the French. He

17 Winfred T. Root, The Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government, 1696-1765, 189 (New York, 1912); Henry Phillips, Jr., Historical Sketches of the Paper Currency of the American Colonies, Prior to the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, 1:13-21 (Roxbury, Massachusetts, 1865).

declared that the progress made by them was surprising; that one of the uses made of their successes of the past year had been to cultivate the Six Nations, many of whom in consequence had removed to Canada and would now either remain neutral or fight for the French. He bewailed the fact that on the border of the English colonies there were now many French, strongly fortified, well provided with arms and provisions, and daily increasing in numbers. He referred specifically to Fort Duquesne. The garrison, he said, now consisted of one thousand men, besides Indians, the fort was well supplied with provisions, and lately an additional number of cannon had been received. He concluded with a request that the council enter seriously upon the consideration of this affair and set an example to the other colonies.\(^{19}\)

At the next session of the council, held on December 17, a bill, proposed by the assembly, was read. It provided for issuing forty thousand pounds in bills of credit, of which twenty thousand were to be for the king's use and the remainder for the purpose of providing a sinking fund for redeeming the issue and for the redemption of ragged and torn bills then current. This bill was also returned without being approved by the governor. On January 1, 1755, another strong appeal of the governor to the assembly was read in council. In it he urged the assembly not only to grant the supplies recommended by the Crown, but also to make such provisions as would enable him to raise a considerable body of men to be employed in conjunction with other of the king's troops against the French. He then declared that he had recently received intelligence that a body of six thousand of the best troops of France, selected and sent over for this particular service, had arrived at the lower fort upon the Ohio and were now employed in fortifying the country. The statement was based upon the deposition of two alleged deserters from the French army, Charles Courtenay and Francis

Charles Bouvière. The first named claimed that he made his deposition from his own knowledge, and the other stated that while at Fort Duquesne he had overheard the corporals and sergeants say that there had recently arrived there three hundred soldiers, an advance party of the six thousand men recently arrived from France.²⁰

That the stories of the men who claimed to be French deserters were untrue was apparent to all who had any knowledge of public affairs and must have been known to Governor Morris. At the next meeting of the council, held on January 3, the sentiments of the assembly, expressed in a strong resolution, were read. The assembly declared that the statements made by the governor were "unexpected and indeed wonderful" — that the French should have made such progress without the least account being received of the embarkation of the troops in Europe and without the least intelligence of their movements or their arrival at the place of destination having been received from any of the other colonies or from the back settlements of Pennsylvania.²¹

In a pamphlet published in 1755 and said to have been written by William Smith, provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, the assembly and its proceedings were attacked in strong language. The writer was especially bitter against the Germans, who were said to compose almost one-half of the population of Pennsylvania. They were accused of being in league with the Quakers and were said to be giving their support to them because they wished to avoid paying any share of the cost of impending war. The writer alleged that they were a body of ignorant, proud, stubborn clowns, and were insolent, sullen, and turbulent. Particular stress was laid on the fact that a man named Saur was publishing a German newspaper, which had great influence among the Germans, the owner of which was said to be in the pay of the

²¹ Colonial Records, 6:226–236.
Quakers. It was asserted that Saur was "once one of the French Prophets in Germany," also that the Germans gave out that they were a majority and strong enough to make the country their own. It was even intimated that they might join with the French. It was further alleged that the turning of the hopes of the French on this great body of Germans was the reason for the continued encroachments of the French on the lands claimed by the English.  

The Germans of Pennsylvania did not allow these charges to remain unchallenged, and a protest, dated November 20, 1754, signed by thirty-one of their leading men, was addressed to Governor Morris.  

 Among the signers were such men as Henry Antes, at whose instance the Pennsylvania Synod, an attempted union of all the German Protestants in the province, had been organized in 1742, and who later became an officer in the Revolution; Heinrich Keppele, the first president of the German Society of Pennsylvania, which was organized in the seaboard cities of America to extend a helping hand to immigrants of German nationality; the Reverend Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, the virtual organizer of the German Lutheran Church in the province; and the Reverend Michael Schlatter, the head of the German Reformed Church, who, a few years later, on the organization of the Royal American Regiment, became its chaplain and served in the French and Indian War, and who was also chaplain in the Revolutionary War.  

In strong language these men repudiated the accusations of disloyalty that had been made against the Germans and denied any leaning toward the French. They set forth the appreciation of the Germans of the privileges and liberties enjoyed by them in Pennsylvania and their loyalty to the Crown of

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Great Britain and to the royal governors of the province. They laid stress on the fact that the province had a mild form of government and that the inhabitants enjoyed the inestimable liberty of conscience and the just administration of excellent laws. They paid a particular tribute to William Penn, whom they lauded as a zealous friend of liberty, a knowledge of which had spread over the best part of Germany and had caused a considerable number of Germans, oppressed by arbitrary powers and slavery, to emigrate to Pennsylvania. They stated that they had never before uttered these sentiments publicly because their people lived far apart and because they feared that such an expression might be looked upon as audacious; that now that they had been accused very publicly, both in Pennsylvania and in England, of secret conspiracies against the king and the government, they were moved to act in behalf of themselves and a large number of other German Protestants. “How, therefore,” they asked, “can any man of due Reason think much less, say that this same People were any ways inclined to Submit themselves again under a Romish Slavery upheld by a French King?” They added that on the contrary they wished and prayed “and the more at this critical Juncture of impending Danger, that God Almighty might rule our gracious King George and Parliament to find lawfull means to defeat and frustrate all unjust Designs of the French King and all other foreign Princes whatever, wherewith they intend to disturb his Majesty’s Rights.”

The Pennsylvania authorities were not permitted to devote their energies exclusively to the French invasion. Early in the year 1754 they were confronted by an additional perplexity, namely the attempt on the part of one of their own country’s provinces to take possession of a part of Pennsylvania territory. On July 18, 1753, a land company, called the Susquehanna Company, had been organized in Connecticut for the purpose of acquiring from the Indians a tract of land on the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania. The company

25 Pennsylvania Archives, first series, 2:201.
claimed that this land was included in the charter granted to Connecticut by Charles II, dated April 20, 1662, which antedated that of Pennsylvania by nineteen years. The matter appears to have become known in Pennsylvania through information received from Daniel Brodhead, one of the justices of the peace of Northampton County, who, in a letter dated February 21, 1754, told of agents of the land company being in the country at a place called Wyoming, for the purpose of taking up land there.

At the meeting of the council held on March 2, 1754, the letter of Brodhead was read, and the council instructed the governor to write to the governor and deputy governor of Connecticut notifying them of the action of the Susquehanna Company, asking them to prevent their people from joining in the enterprise, and advising them of the mischief that might arise if the Susquehanna Company was permitted to proceed. Two days later Governor Hamilton wrote a long letter to Governor Roger Wolcott of Connecticut, and a shorter one to Thomas Fitch, the deputy governor. In the former letter Hamilton said he had obtained information that a number of inhabitants of Connecticut had passed through Pennsylvania on the way to Wyoming on the Susquehanna River, having given out that they had purchased lands there from the Mohawk Indians and had authority from Connecticut to settle there, and that they had offered to sell lands to any one disposed to purchase. He added that this had been confirmed, that a large number of other inhabitants of Connecticut were actually preparing to remove there in the spring, and that this was being done without regard to the rights of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania. He also referred to the impending war with the French and said that the occupation by the Susquehanna Company of lands in Pennsylvania might


21 Colonial Records, 5:757.
even lead to war between Pennsylvania and Connecticut. He dwelt on the fact that these lands were the favorite lands of the Six Nations, reserved for their hunting grounds, and said that if they were settled upon he would not answer for the consequences, as the Indians might not only turn their arms against the settlers, but also form an alliance with the French. He stated that the situation was peculiarly unfortunate as it might create a difference between the Mohawk and the rest of the Six Nations, as there was an agreement existing between them that the former should have nothing to do with lands in Pennsylvania.  

Governor Wolcott, three of whose sons were prominent promoters of the enterprise, replied in a letter dated March 13, 1754, in an evasive manner, dwelling largely on other matters than the one in question. He stated that Connecticut did not desire to quarrel with Pennsylvania. He then referred to the superiority of the fighting qualities of the English over the French, who he said were brought up in slavery and had nothing to fight for of their own, adding that this reminded him of a story that had been told to him. The man who told him the story, which does not appear to have had any application to the question involved, had a negro slave who was dying; he asked him if he was not sorry to go. “No,” replied the negro, “Master, the Loss won’t be mine.”

The Susquehanna Company did not cease its activities, and on July 11, 1754, obtained through one Colonel John Lydius, a resident of Albany in New York, where the Mohawk lived, what was claimed to be a deed to the lands it was after from the Six Nations. This deed, however, was disclaimed the next year at Albany at a meeting at which over eleven hundred Indians were present.

29 James T. Adams, Revolutionary New England, 1691–1776, 204 (Boston, c1923).
31 Adams, Revolutionary New England, 204.
Daniel Brodhead wrote from Lower Smithfield in Northampton County on November 13, 1754, that in the previous week letters had come from New England stating that Wyoming had been bought and that the deed was already signed by thirteen of the sachems and asking persons interested to come to Hartford to have their rights delivered to them. He stated that this news had occasioned a meeting at which thirty persons who had been interested in the purchase were present and that he had caused the arrest of one Robert Parkes, who had received money from those who had entered the company.32

On November 20, 1754, Governor Morris wrote to Governor Fitch of Connecticut, the successor of Wolcott, that the Six Nations had, at the late congress held at Albany, openly repudiated the alleged deed to the Susquehanna Company. He added that while the French had taken possession of the Ohio country, the Indians of the Six Nations residing there had removed to the branches of the Susquehanna to the number of three hundred and were now being maintained at the expense of Pennsylvania and if they were dispossessed it might cause them to desert the English interest. To this letter Governor Fitch replied on November 29: “Indeed I must confess myself to be unacquainted with the Scheme proposed by those Persons, and know but very little about the Steps they have taken.” 33 At the same time Fitch's own son was a member of the Susquehanna Company.34 Nothing further to the embarrassment of the province of Pennsylvania was done by the Susquehanna Company during the French War.

**Braddock Attacks the French**

In August, 1754, tidings of the fall of Fort Necessity reached London; the ministry began to awake and plans were

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32 Colonial Records, 6:253.
34 Adams, Revolutionary New England, 206.
made for sending a strong force to America. Two regiments of foot, the Forty-fourth Regiment, commanded by Sir Peter Halket, and the Forty-eighth, under Colonel Thomas Dunbar, were to form the stamina of the expedition. Each regiment was to be five hundred men strong and was to be recruited to the full strength of seven hundred men in America. Two other regiments of one thousand men each were to be raised in America at the king's cost, and abundant stores of artillery, provisions, and clothing were to be provided. These forces, together with the royal troops already in America, were thought to be sufficient to contend successfully against the French. The troops in America consisted of four independent companies quartered in New York, three in South Carolina, and one in Providence, and were to act in conjunction with such troops as might be raised by the colonies themselves.\footnote{Winthrop Sargent, \textit{The History of an Expedition against Fort Duquesne, in 1755}; under Major-General Edward Braddock, 103, 130, 132 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, \textit{Publications}—Philadelphia, 1855).}

On September 24, General Sir Edward Braddock was appointed to command the soldiers to be sent to America and was made generalissimo of all His Majesty's troops in North America. On November 28, Parliament voted four million pounds for defraying the expenses of the two regiments to be raised for the expedition. The preparations went on vigorously. The scheme which Braddock was to carry into effect was nothing less than the complete restoration of English power upon the American continent. With the regulars, the colonial troops, and such Indians as might be induced to fight for the English, it was hoped that England would be able to bring twelve thousand to fifteen thousand men into the field. With these a simultaneous movement was to be made against Forts Duquesne, Niagara, and Crown Point.\footnote{Sargent, \textit{Expedition against Fort Duquesne}, 128, 132; John Entick, \textit{The General History of the Late War}, 1:118 (second edition, London, 1765).} The line claimed by the French as the boundary
between Canada and Nova Scotia was a small river called the Missaguash, flowing into the Bay of Chignecto. Near the end of this bay in New Brunswick, three miles from the boundary, the French in 1750 had built Fort Beauséjour. The task of capturing this fort was to be undertaken by Lieutenant Colonel Lawrence, the governor of Nova Scotia.  

At Fort Duquesne Contrecoeur was not idle. Information about the contemplated English movement against the fort was received there before the plans of the English had fully matured. Although earlier in the winter Contrecoeur had asked to be relieved of the command, now that trouble was brewing he decided to remain, and he did all in his power to prepare for the conflict with the English. The Indians about the fort were loyal to the French, and the Shawnee, who were the most numerous of the Indians in the vicinity, were busily employed in harassing the English settlements. Duquesne, having been informed of this fact, sent an advance detachment of soldiers over the ice from Canada to encourage not only the Indians but the defenders of the fort as well and promised large reinforcements on the opening of navigation.

The news of the preparations that the English were making became every day more alarming. The weakness of the garrison was realized by Contrecoeur, and as it was now definitely known that the English army was being collected in Virginia to attack the fort, additional fighting men were needed to meet the onslaught. Contrecoeur decided to act for himself and in January, 1755, he sent two letters by two Frenchmen and two Indians to Captain de Muy, the commandant at Detroit, requesting help. In his letters he told De Muy that he had learned of the English plans and asked that he collect and

37 A Memorial Containing a Summary View of Facts with Their Authorities, in Answer to the Observations Sent by the English Ministry to the Courts of Europe, 207 (Philadelphia, 1757). This is reprinted in the Olden Time, 2:140–277 (March–June, 1847). See p. 155.
39 Pennsylvania Archives, second series, 6:239 (Harrisburg, 1877).
prepare the Indians at his post to come to the assistance of Fort Duquesne. De Muy was requested to send word by the couriers by whom the letters had been brought, telling as nearly as possible how many Indians he could provide and when they would arrive. Fort Duquesne itself had been badly damaged by a flood in the Allegheny River, and an engineer of experience was required to undertake the task of repairing and strengthening it. Lieutenant Joseph-Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry was such an engineer. He had planned the fort at Detroit, where he had been stationed since August 6, 1754, under Captain de Muy; and to him Contrecoeur wrote shortly after he had written to De Muy.

The letter was taken to Detroit by two Iroquois and was received by De Léry on March 4. In it Contrecoeur said:

According to information which reaches us daily by the Indians, the English mean to attack Fort Duquesne this spring. I beg, therefore, that you set out for this place as soon as my letter is received—I am just writing to M. De Muy on this matter and I beg him to let you set out as promptly as possible. For the journey you can put yourself in the hands of the trusty Indians who bring this to you. You will be most useful to us here as we have the greatest need of an officer capable of planning and carrying out works necessary to put this place in a state of defense. Messrs. Dumas and De Lignery wish you to come as soon as possible. The zeal which you have for the service makes me hope that you will seize with ardor this opportunity to be useful.

De Léry immediately discussed the matter with De Muy, who had just received the letters from Contrecoeur to which the latter referred in his communication to De Léry. De Muy


had intended to place De Léry in command of the Indians whom he planned to collect and send to Fort Duquesne in compliance with Contrecoeur's request, but now without hesitation, according to De Léry's journal, he said "he would not make himself responsible for what might happen if Fort Duquesne were in danger through lack of a person having a knowledge of fortification; that, moreover, Monsieur de Contrecoeur, the commandant of the said fort, asked for the savages only when he [De Muy] should send other couriers, while he asked positively for me; thus he thought it better that I should give up an uncertain journey to go on one that seemed more pressing."

On March 6, 1755, both De Léry and De Muy wrote to Duquesne telling him of the contemplated journey to Fort Duquesne, and a few days later De Léry left for the Ohio. His only companions were the two Frenchmen and the two Iroquois who had brought Contrecoeur's letter. On the fifteenth De Léry decided to travel by land and the Frenchmen were sent back to Detroit with the pirogue in which the party had started. A few days later De Léry reached the house of a French trader, from whom he obtained a horse to carry the provisions. The journey was an eventful one. There was perhaps less danger from possible enemies than from the warring elements. Winter had not yet loosened her grip, but the season was changing and rain alternated with snow; some of the streams had become lakes; others were frozen over. The men were all on foot and through the rain and snow and over the ice and the swollen streams they pursued their way. Once while crossing a stream they were up to their waists in water. At a few places they were enabled by the help of French traders or friendly Indians to cross the streams in canoes. De Léry attempted several times to buy a horse for his own use, and at one time an Indian agreed to lend him one but the horse ran away before being delivered and could not be found when De Léry was ready to proceed. On April 5 they came to the Ohio River and moving up this stream they soon reached the "little Chauanon village," as De Léry designated
the new Logstown. Here he was fortunate enough to obtain a horse and, six hours later, with the two Indians close behind, he arrived at Fort Duquesne.\textsuperscript{42}

De Léry immediately began the work for which he had made the long journey. His first step was to obtain an exact knowledge of the fort and of its strength and weakness. A result of his study was a plan, which included the surrounding territory and had attached a description of the completed fort. The work was finished on April 15, just ten days after his arrival. De Léry’s drawing with his description is today the only really correct account of the French fort in existence.\textsuperscript{43}


\textsuperscript{43} The plan with the attached description is reproduced opposite this page from the original in the French archives. The following is a translation of the description:

\textbf{Plan of Fort Duquesne and of Its Environs}

5. Island which is a peninsula when the water is at a medium, on which batteries can be placed to command the north side of the fort, which is inclosed by a simple stockade without earthwork.

6. Mountain from which one can see into the fort, where musketry can be placed halfway up the slope, which, although out of range, plainly speaking, could cause trouble; a battery of cannon at the top of this mountain would command the side of the fort facing it, which, like the one on the north, inclosed by a stockade without earthwork.

7. Houses of oak in place of the demilunes, which cannot be used for defense purposes since the moats have been dug.

8. Elevation seven feet above the foot of the glacis of the fort.

9. Elevation nine feet above the one marked 9—it should have been written marked 8.

10. Elevation eight feet above the one marked 9. Between the elevation 9 and 10 is a coulee which protects those who are within from the cannon of the fort; it is probably at this place that the enemy will open the trenches.

4. Escarpment at the foot of the glacis, which is exposed when the water is at a medium and which increases when the water is low.

2. Lines on which the pirogues were anchored when we passed over the measuring-line to measure the width of the rivers, which I found to be, namely, the Beautiful River from the fort to the island, of 138 fathoms, and the Monongahela River from the fort to the foot of the mountain, of 185 fathoms.

A. Commandant's quarters
B. Guardhouse
C. Barracks
D. Quarters of the storekeeper
E. Quarters of officers and chaplain
J. Road for crossing the Beautiful River by ford when water is low

The outside of the fort has 145 feet of front on each of the four sides, which can furnish but very little protection and mediocre quarters. The
The plan with the descriptive matter was evidently made in order to furnish accurate information of the strength of the fort to the French authorities, as the original, now on file in the French archives in Paris, has attached to it a letter which Vaudreuil wrote to Machault on July 24, 1755, telling of the approach of the English toward Fort Duquesne and giving his views in regard to the prevailing conditions. He complains that the fort is in need of provisions and munitions of war and that the commandant is obliged to employ the

fort could, however, during a siege, with much inconvenience to them, hold two hundred men, especially since there would always be at least a third of the garrison on the ramparts and the number would always be lessened by accidents. The roof of the houses which projects beyond the parapets could be taken off, as much to avoid the effects of the enemy's cannon as to guard against the fire they could set to it with fireworks, for then the granaries which are used as storehouses could no longer be of use either for food or for merchandise, except as these goods could be placed on the planks, which could, nevertheless, be covered with bear and buck skins. Men cannot be quartered in tents in the court of the fort as it is only forty-four feet square; it is not possible to put anyone on the edge of the counterscarp in the moat as it was thought, for the firing in the court would trouble them as much as that of the enemy. If the fort is besieged, lines could be built to quarter those whom the fort could not hold. If, nevertheless, the number of those who remain is sufficient to guard and defend these same lines, they cannot be placed nearer the fort than at the elevation marked 8. The extension of the lines cannot be determined but by the number of those coming from Montreal. It is to be hoped that they will be numerous enough to engage the enemy before the formation of a siege and in case this party should not succeed in withdrawing behind the lines built near the fort, an engineer would be needed to obtain more exact knowledge, he could deliver himself with more certainty than I, since I have very little knowledge of this profession which knowledge I shall, however, put to the best use I can for the good of the service.

Made at Fort Duquesne April 15, 1755

Léry

On the map, the explanation below the line across the Allegheny River reads: "Following this line where the measuring-line passed over the anchored pirogues, from coast to coast the river is 138 fathoms in width." On the bank of this river opposite the fort the inscription reads: "Part of the island which is only a peninsula at low water." Below the line across the Monongahela is the following: "Following this line where the measuring-line passed over the anchored pirogues, from coast to coast the river is 185 fathoms in width"; the words on the dotted line in crescent shape read: "Road taken to cross the Beautiful River by ford when the water is low"; and on the bank of the Monongahela opposite the fort is written: "Very high mountain."
major portion of his men in making journeys to and fro in transporting provisions and ammunitions, which "cannot even reach him in abundance in consequence of the delay at the Presq' isle portage and the lowness of the water in the River au Bœuf." He adds that Fort Duquesne has never been completed and is "open to many capital defects, as is proved by the annexed plan." He concludes with the statement that the commandant, on his own responsibility, had asked the commandant at Detroit for the service of sub-engineer De Léry, who had placed the fort in the best condition he could, without, however, daring to make any alteration in it. 44

Braddock sailed on December 21, although the main body of the fleet destined for America did not leave England until January 14, 1755. He reached Hampton Roads on February 20 and on March 10 forwarded letters to the colonial governors asking them to meet him to consider matters relative to the campaign. Accordingly, on April 14, Dinwiddie of Virginia, Shirley of Massachusetts, De Lancey of New York, Sharpe of Maryland, and Morris of Pennsylvania met with him in council at Alexandria, Virginia. Here the plans for the summer's operations were explained and developed. Braddock laid particular stress on the fact that the Six Nations should be secured in the British interest. 45

Braddock's army gathered at Wills Creek, and the last division marched from there on June 10. On the twenty-first the troops entered confidently into Pennsylvania. It was well known in the army that the English force was much larger than that of the French at Fort Duquesne and it was believed that the fort was weak and could easily be taken. Braddock carried with him the letters and the plan of the fort which Stobo had sent a few weeks after he had been taken there upon the surrender of Fort Necessity. Stobo had found means of having these delivered by an Indian to Colonel Innes, who was in command at Wills Creek, where he was building

44 The letter is printed in New York Colonial Documents, 10:306–309.
Fort Cumberland. In these letters Stobo had related the occurrences at Fort Duquesne which came under his notice and had given many details in regard to the number of men there, the sentiments of the Indians, and the way in which the place could be taken by the English. He included a description of the fort and a plan, drawn by himself.46

The farther the army advanced, the more confident the men became. All the reports that were received indicated that the fort was poorly manned; that it was a flimsy structure was plain from Stobo's plan. Braddock had designed to reach the post early on July 10. On the eighth the troops were about fifteen miles away and everyone looked forward to an easy victory. They were on the north side of the Monongahela River at its junction with the Youghiogheny. The only signs of the enemy were a score of Indians, who fled at the approach of the English. The steep and rugged ground on that side of the Monongahela rendered it difficult for the army to approach the fort and it was decided to cross to the south side of the river. The water was low, and early the next morning at a point some distance below the mouth of the Youghiogheny, where a rivulet called Crooked Run entered the Monongahela, the army forded the river. After marching a few miles down the south side, the troops recrossed, landing where John Fraser had lately maintained his trading house, about two or three hundred yards below the mouth of Turtle Creek, in a straight line eight miles from Fort Duquesne and by the course of the river about twelve.47

The passage across the fords had been like the march of a triumphant army. Every man was attired in his best uniform; the burnished arms shone as bright as silver in the rays of the noonday sun as, with colors waving, and amid the inspiring strains of martial music, the steady files, with

47 Sargent, Expedition against Fort Du Quesne, 213, 216—218.
trained precision and glittering in scarlet and gold, marched on. At one o’clock the entire army was on the north side of the river and almost at that instant, as the leading force was ascending the hill which rose about three-quarters of a mile from the landing place, it was fired upon. The firing became constantly more deadly and the English soon lay in heaps on the ground. Not an enemy was to be seen; all were concealed in the heavily-timbered woods and underbrush, and the English were shot down without being able to do any harm in return. The details of the battle of the Monongahela are too well known to bear repetition. In the end the English were completely routed, and Braddock’s recklessness in leading his men into the ambush cost him his life.

In this battle the whole number of men of all ranks engaged on the British side amounted to 1,460. Against them was pitted the force detached from Fort Duquesne by Contrecoeur, consisting of 233 French and about 600 Indians, 500 of whom are said to have been Ottawa led by Pontiac, the famous chief who, eight years later, startled the American colonies by inaugurating the great war on their borders that has ever since been known by his name. In the Scots Magazine for October, 1755, the number of French engaged is placed even lower, and it is related that “Major Washington confirms the almost incredible account of the French and Indians not being above three hundred and fifty or four hundred men strong.” Of the English engaged, 456 were killed outright and 421 wounded, while the loss of the French was only three officers killed and two wounded, and twenty-five soldiers and Indians killed.

The English campaigns had everywhere ended in failure; Duquesne’s management was vindicated. It is true that Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia had succeeded on June 16, 1755, in capturing Fort Beauséjour, the task having been

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accomplished under the immediate direction of Lieutenant Colonel Monckton, but as the only purpose in erecting the fort had been the vain hope of some day reacquiring Acadia, its capture was of no consequence to the cause for which the French were fighting. England was stupified at the result of the campaigns, which her people had imagined could not fail. Johnson's enterprise against Crown Point did not succeed; Shirley's expedition against Fort Niagara was equally unfortunate; and the great victory of the French over Braddock at Fort Duquesne appalled not only the American colonies but England as well.

After the annihilation of Braddock's army the French publicly accused the English of having acted dishonestly in the matter of the hostages delivered at the surrender of Fort Necessity. At the time of Braddock's defeat nearly all the general's baggage had fallen into the hands of the French, together with his papers, including Stobo's letters and plan of Fort Duquesne. At once the French asserted that Stobo and Captain Van Braam, the other hostage, had been delivered to them for the sole purpose of serving as spies, and that Stobo's letters and the plan which accompanied them were proof incontrovertible of this fact. That Stobo's conduct while a hostage in French hands was most dishonorable admits of no doubt, yet that he and Captain Van Braam were deliberately appointed for the purpose of spying on the French is hardly to be credited.

The story of Stobo's conduct while a hostage is told in his Memoirs, of which an edition was published in Pittsburgh in 1854 and vouched for in a preface by Neville B. Craig, the well-known Pittsburgh historian. In this little volume Stobo is portrayed as a patriot of the highest order, but the recital of the events of his life while at Fort Duquesne and in Canada do not bear out the conclusions of the editor, and at least at this distant day his conduct appears to have been anything but honorable. At Fort Duquesne, according to this book, Stobo “was treated as became his station,” which,
of course, would mean as a hostage. It is brazenly asserted that he had not been long at Fort Duquesne before he "formed a resolution of being serviceable to his country . . . satisfied that he had not sought the opportunity to violate his parole, but deemed himself entirely absolved from all obligations of honor on that point," and that he set about preparing "a plan of Fort du Quesne, with all its approaches." From Fort Duquesne he was taken to various places in Canada, and finally reached Quebec, where he had complete liberty and was permitted to go and do as he pleased. During the winter of 1754-55 he traveled between Montreal and Quebec and saw all the preparations that were being made by the French in their contest with the English. He learned French and even embraced the Catholic faith in order to ingratiate himself still further with the French. 49

The French government in its Mémoire dwells at length on this matter and comments on the failure of the English to return the French prisoners taken at the skirmish that resulted in the death of Jumonville, as provided in the articles of capitulation signed at the surrender of Fort Necessity. It was charged that their detention by the English was part of a well-laid scheme to continue their hostages with the French in order that they might obtain as much information as possible, and it was alleged that Van Braam and Stobo "were two very crafty spies." 50 That Stobo was committed to prison, tried, convicted of being a spy, and sentenced to death was the natural consequence of the finding of his letters and the plan of the fort in Braddock's baggage. But the French king was merciful, the sentence was not approved, and Stobo's life was spared. That the English and Americans intended to make use of the information sent by Stobo

49 Stobo, Memoirs, 19, 35; Jean B. A. Ferland, Cours d'histoire du Canada, 2:510 (Quebec, 1865).
50 Mémoire contenant le précis des faits, avec leur pièces justificatives, pour servir de réponse aux observations envoyées, par les ministres d'Angleterre, dans les cours de l'Europe, 25 (Paris, 1756). For an English version see ante, note 37.
is perhaps excusable when it is borne in mind that the English and French were at war. In time of war the contending parties do not hesitate to take advantage of dishonorable acts, and conduct such as Stobo's is viewed only as the act of a patriot. Yet this does not excuse his actions.

American writers since that time have been in the habit of commending Stobo. Neville B. Craig, in his introduction to the Memoirs, gives him high praise and says that when he first read Stobo's letters he "was strongly, deeply impressed with the noble, devoted, self-sacrificing spirit manifested in every line." In 1896 Sir Gilbert Parker, the English novelist published a romance called The Seats of the Mighty, which is largely based on the alleged adventures of Stobo, and in which he is portrayed as a patriot and a hero. To the unbiased mind, however, notwithstanding the glamor which these and other writers have attempted to cast about this man, he must ever appear as an adventurer and a man without honor.

That the settlers on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia became panic-stricken when the news of the rout of Braddock's army reached them, admits of no doubt; and there was cause for fear. The Indians were carried away by the overwhelming victory which the French, with their assistance, had won over the English. Mad for booty such as they had seen collected from Braddock's army and regardless of any restraining influence the French might attempt to exercise over them, they roamed the frontier at will in search of any plunder that they might obtain.

Gordon, in his history of Pennsylvania, gives a lurid account of the conditions produced by the defeat:

The enemy . . . now roamed unmolested and fearlessly along the western lines of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, committing the most appalling outrages, and wanton cruelties, which the cupidty and ferocity of the savage could dictate. The first inroads into Pennsylvania were in Cumberland county, whence they were soon extended to the Susquehanna. The inhabitants, dwelling at the distance of from one to three miles apart, fell unresistingly, were captured, or fled
in terror to the interior settlements. The main body of the enemy encamped on the Susquehannah, thirty miles above Harris' [Harris'] ferry, whence they extended themselves on both sides of the river. The settlements at the Great Cove in Cumberland county were destroyed, and many of the inhabitants slaughtered or made captives, and the same fate fell upon Tulpehocken.\(^{51}\)

The homeless settlers had no place to go. On the banks of Calico Creek, where the Reading and Downington roads intersect, "the doors of the Sieben Taeger at Ephrata were open for the reception of the inhabitants of Tulpehocken and Paxton settlements. They did not even consider their cloisters, chapels and meeting rooms too sacred; these they gave for the accommodations of those who were driven from their homes by the incursions of the hostile Indians."\(^{52}\)

Thackeray, in *The Virginians*, paints a harrowing picture of Braddock's defeat and refers to the marvelous rapidity with which tidings of the disaster were circulated. Alluding to eastern Virginia, he says:

The house negroes, in their midnight gallops about the country, in search of junketing or sweethearts, brought and spread news over amazingly wide districts. They had a curious knowledge of the incidents of the march for a fortnight at least after its commencement. . . .

But on the 10th of July a vast and sudden gloom spread over the province. A look of terror and doubt seemed to fall upon every face. Affrighted negroes wistfully eyed their masters and retired, and hummed and whispered with one another. The fiddles ceased in the quarters: the song and laugh of those cheery black folk were hushed. Right and left everybody's servants were on the gallop for news. The country taverns were thronged with horsemen, who drank and cursed and brawled at the bars, each bringing his gloomy story. The army had been surprised. The troops had fallen into an ambuscade, and had been cut up almost to a man. All the officers were taken down by the French marksmen and the


savages. The General had been wounded and carried off the field in his sash. Four days afterwards the report was that the General was dead, and scalped by a French Indian.\textsuperscript{53}

The Retirement of Duquesne

In the latter part of 1754 Duquesne, either with the view of entering the naval service of France, or, according to Parkman, on account of ill health occasioned by the strain of office, demanded his recall as governor-general of New France.\textsuperscript{54} There may also have been other and more important reasons for taking this step. Duquesne knew that the English in America outnumbered the French twenty to one and that the decision of the commissioners at the Albany conference had been unanimous in agreeing upon a union of the American colonies, even though the union had not actually been formed. He must thereafter have realized that later on the colonies would be found working in harmony against the French, as actually happened the next year. With this knowledge of American affairs, he could not help foreseeing the ultimate collapse of New France when England and the colonials were united against the French. He had done everything, so far as he was able, to meet the crash of the English hosts that were gathering, and it is reasonable to suppose that he did not care to go down in the disaster when it came.

Duquesne's successor was the Marquis de Vaudreuil de Cavagnal, who had been governor of Louisiana from 1742 to 1752, when he had sailed for France. He was the third son of the Marquis de Vaudreuil who had been governor-general of New France from 1703 until his death in 1725. The son, born in Montreal in 1698, had long been desirous

\textsuperscript{53} William M. Thackeray, \textit{The Virginians}, 1:120 (Boston, 1889).

of returning to the country of his youth, and the Canadians earnestly solicited his appointment to succeed Duquesne. Early in 1755 he was appointed.\textsuperscript{55}

As Vaudreuil was in France, he was not expected to assume the duties of his new office for some months and the orders of Machault were directed to Duquesne as before Vaudreuil's appointment. That Machault continued to have the utmost confidence in Duquesne's judgment and ability is apparent from the letter he wrote to him on February 17, 1755. In this communication the minister of marine gave Duquesne a résumé of what was taking place in both England and France. He declared that the occurrences at the Beautiful River had caused great excitement in Europe and that the success of Villiers had occasioned a particular ferment in England; that in consequence of these events England, although persisting in the claim that her motives were peaceful, had decided to send two regiments of regulars to America. He also informed Duquesne that France, with this knowledge of the warlike preparations of England, had also concluded to send reinforcements to America and that they would consist of six battalions of troops of the line, which would form a corps of three thousand men, who would be subject to the governor-general's orders; and that Vaudreuil would sail with the squadron, which was to leave Brest in the beginning of April. He warned Duquesne that the English troops would arrive in America before the French force could reach there. He gave him particular instructions in regard to his conduct toward the English and directed him to maintain the right of possession of the king of France, yet to be careful to avoid affording the English any just cause of complaint and to conduct himself in such a manner as not to appear to be the aggressor. He then made this ingenious suggestion: "If, to assure that defensive on your part, you should judge it necessary to make the Indians act

offensively against the English, his Majesty will approve of your having recourse to that expedient.” In conclusion he directed Duquesne to prepare a plan of operation to be proposed to Vaudreuil immediately upon his arrival.\textsuperscript{58}  

Vaudreuil’s instructions were dated at Versailles, April 1. In them a general review was given of the existing controversy between England and France and Vaudreuil was directed to confine himself to a strict defensive so long as the English were not making any attack. Such an attack, however, was to be regarded as a rupture on their part. The naïve directions given by Machault to Duquesne in his communication of February 17, in regard to his employment of the Indians, were repeated in the instructions for Vaudreuil.\textsuperscript{57}

On the same day that the minister wrote to Vaudreuil he also sent a letter to Duquesne, in which he gave him permission to return to France to reenter the naval service. He then advised Duquesne that the king gave him leave to embark with the Count Dubois de la Motte, the commander of the fleet that was preparing at Brest, who would sail on his return voyage after the disembarkment of the troops which he was to bring. Then follows the insinuating language:

But the King is persuaded that you will not avail yourself of this permission. He relies on your zeal, not only that you will give M. de Vaudruil the necessary explanations, but that you will impart your views and your ideas on all matters pertaining to the government in which he succeeds you, particularly on all that relates to the movements by which Canada has been disturbed for some time; and asks that you suggest the way to make use of the assistance that His Majesty has sent to this colony. And this you are to give chiefly during the time that His Majesty’s ship, the Alcide, is refitting at Quebec, of which ship you will afterwards avail yourself for your return to France. M. Hochquart, the commandant of the vessel, has orders for your passage.\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{56} Pennsylvania Archives, second series, 6:227-231.  
\textsuperscript{57} Pennsylvania Archives, second series, 6:239-245.  
\textsuperscript{58} Archives Nationales, colonies, B 101:144.
Owing to adverse winds and other unforeseen difficulties, the French fleet did not leave Brest until the third of May, and Duquesne continued as before in the performance of the duties of his office.

One of his most successful achievements during the latter part of his service as governor was a secret conference which he held at Montreal in October, 1754, with some of the chiefs of the Iroquois in an effort to bind them to the French interest. He said to them:

We could not recognize the native genuineness of the Iroquois blood in recent proceedings at Albany, where, in presence of seven governors, at a secret council, you betrayed the cause of the king of France in allowing yourselves to be induced by the evil advice of the British, to countenance their intrusions upon the beautiful river (Ohio), despite the length of time that France has been possessed of it. Know you not the difference there is between the king of France, and the British king? Go, and examine the forts which our king has erected; you will see that the land beyond their walls is still a hunting-ground. Our forts have been set up, not as a curb upon the tribes, but to be useful for your trade with us. While, no sooner do the British enter upon possession of your lands, than the game deserts them. The forest falls below their blows, the soil is bared, and hardly will you find a bush left upon your own domains to shelter you by night.

That Duquesne was successful in this undertaking is evident from the failure of the attempts of the colony of New York to induce the Iroquois to fight against the French in any considerable numbers, and the fact that many of them fought for the French in the subsequent battles.

Toward the end of June, 1755, the major portion of Admiral Dubois de la Motte's fleet arrived in Canada, bringing three thousand regular troops. In one of the ships were Baron Dieskau, a German veteran who had served under Marshal Saxe and was now to command the French forces

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59 Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, 1:190.
60 Garneau, History of Canada, 1:471.
61 Pennsylvania Archives, second series, 6:354.
in America, and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the new governor-general. The "Alcide," on which Duquesne was to have returned to France, and the "Lys," on which were eight companies of troops, having become separated from the main body, had been captured on June 7 off the coast of Newfoundland by the English, under Admiral Boscawen, who had been sent to intercept the French fleet.62

Vaudreuil landed at Quebec on June 24 and on July 6 Duquesne sent him a letter, apparently in compliance with the instructions contained in Machault's communication to him of April 1. In this epistle he detailed in a general way the condition of French affairs in Canada and in the country disputed between Canada and the English provinces, and gave a résumé of what he had done in the organization of the army. He referred to the Ohio country, particularly to Fort Duquesne, and he related that, according to the letter of May 24 which he had received from Contrecœur, the fort had been completed. No doubt this reference was to the changes made there under the direction of De Léry. He gave other details:

It is at present mounted with six pieces of cannon of six, and nine of two @ three pound ball; it was in want of neither arms nor ammunition, and since Sieur de Beaujeu's arrival, it must be well supplied, as he had carried with his brigade succors of every description. . . . Fort Duquesne could in less than two years support itself, since, in the very first year, 700 minots of Indian corn have been gathered there, and, from the clearings that have been made there since, it is calculated that if the harvest were good, at least 2000 minots could be saved. Peas are now planted, and they have two cows, one bull, some horses and twenty-three sows with young.63

This letter, however, remained unanswered and although Duquesne subsequently offered to do everything in his power to aid his successor, he was completely ignored. Impatient

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63 Pennsylvania Archives, second series, 6:253–255.
at last, he sent Machault on July 15 a plain statement of his relations or lack of relations with Vaudreuil. He wrote that three days earlier Vaudreuil had gone to Montreal for the purpose of hurry ing forward the movements against Oswego, which were becoming “all the more imperative” as the English were hastily constructing boats for the purpose of intercepting them on Lake Ontario. He related that he had offered Vaudreuil his services for this important operation and had told him that he (Vaudreuil), “Canadian though he was,” would not be able either to assemble the militia or accelerate their departure as easily as he (Duquesne) could. He added that the only reply he had received was that Vaudreuil was going up to Montreal; he had then sent him the minister’s letter of April 1 and had received the same answer. He also stated that he had tendered Vaudreuil the services of Péan and Le Mercier, from whom he had received strong proofs of ability in movements of this character. He related further that he had sent Vaudreuil an account of what he had accomplished with a statement of what he would do under the present circumstances were he in charge. He expressed sorrow that Machault had not deemed it advisable to leave the operations in Canada to him until autumn, evidently meaning that it would have required until then to refit the “Alcide,” the ship on which he was to have sailed for France, had it reached Canada. In conclusion he added that, as he saw he was useless, he had asked of Count Dubois de la Motte passage on the frigate “Diana,” to Rochefort, where he preferred to go.64 Some time later he sailed for France.

In the letter which Vaudreuil wrote to Machault on July 24, he expressed in no uncertain terms his estimate of Duquesne, which was far from flattering. He gave him no credit whatever for his achievements, but on the contrary criticized his conduct of Canadian affairs in the strongest language. He began by referring to the “sad condition of the Colony.” He declared that “it was so much the more

64 New York Colonial Documents, 10:306.
surprising to, as it was quite unexpected by, me, relying on the assurance which the Marquis Duquesne had given me that the government was quiet, that he had provided against everything, and that there was not a semblance of any movement on the part of the English." He bewailed the condition of Fort Duquesne. He related that on the seventh of July the English, to the number of three thousand, were within six or seven leagues of the fort and that the commandant there had only sixteen hundred men at his disposal, including regulars, militia, and Indians, of whom, owing to want of foresight, the commandant was obliged to employ the major portion in transporting supplies and ammunition to the fort. In contradiction to Duquesne's letter of July 6, he said that the fort had "never been completed; on the contrary, 'tis open to many capital defects." He admitted that De Léry had been called there in the spring and had placed the fort in the best possible condition, but gave the credit to Contrecœur, the commandant. He added that he dreaded "the first intelligence from that fort, and shall be agreeably surprised if the English have been forced to abandon their expedition." His picture of Fort Niagara was still more gloomy than that which he had just drawn of Fort Duquesne, and he placed the blame for everything on Duquesne. He also added these self-laudatory words: "it would have been desirable that I had been in possession of this government three years ago." 65

All this was written before Vaudreuil had heard of Braddock's defeat and before Shirley had begun his futile movement against Niagara. It should also be borne in mind that this effusion was written by the man who subsequently had so many difficulties with Montcalm, who succeeded Baron Dieskau in command of the French forces in Canada. Vaudreuil's subsequent career indicates that he was vain and that he had enlarged ideas of his own ability as a commander and administrator, and he may have selected this opportunity

65 Pennsylvania Archives, second series, 6:258-260.
of indicating to his chief his superior judgment in such matters by belittling the work of his predecessor. He was later accused of permitting and even profiting by the abuses and peculations that disgraced every department of the public service during his administration.\textsuperscript{66} It should also be remembered that it was under his administration that the doom of the French in America was sealed and all their possessions in the North were surrendered to the English. That Vaudreuil was anything but the able leader that he attempted to show himself to be, and that Duquesne was right when he stated to Machault the importance of hastening the expedition against Oswego, is apparent from an examination of the subsequent history of the war. Baron Dieskau, who had charge of the forces destined to proceed against Oswego, which would no doubt have been captured had the expedition been undertaken, was ready to proceed, two thousand men having already set out from Montreal for the purpose, when, after the defeat of Braddock, Vaudreuil changed his plan. Against the baron's earnest protest he sent him instead to oppose Johnson, who was advancing toward Lake Champlain on his way to capture Crown Point, or St. Frederick, as the French named the fort they had erected there. At Lake George the French and English met on September 8 and the French were defeated. Baron Dieskau was severely wounded and was captured by the English.\textsuperscript{67}

That Duquesne was a man of great abilities is evident from what he accomplished, and standing out above all his other achievements in America was his work in the Ohio country. Theodore Roosevelt, when a young man, wrote the story of the conquest of the western country from the Indians, which he maintained began at the close of Pontiac's War, "the aftermath of the struggle which decided against the French the ownership of America." Roosevelt claimed that the credit for its accomplishment was due the British and their succes-


\textsuperscript{67} Garneau, \textit{History of Canada}, 1:480, 491–495.
sors, the Americans. Nowhere in the entire work is anything said about Duquesne's expedition to the Ohio country and its consequences. Yet it was undertaken a decade before Pontiac's War began, opened the way for the "winning of the West," and resulted in driving the Indians into the far West. It was in fact the moving cause of the conquest, not only of the Ohio country, but of the entire West from the Indians.

That Duquesne made enemies in Canada during his governorship was the natural consequence of his campaign against corruption, incompetence, and carelessness. He corrected these evils with an iron hand. The Canadians were not accustomed to being driven, and to the wrongdoers, who had many friends, Duquesne's methods seemed harsh; he was called haughty and cold and accused of being overbearing. The Canadian historians in their brief notices of Duquesne all recognize his ability and devotion to duty, but whether of French or of English origin they all reflect the views of the enemies that he made in his administration. The historians of French extraction were all biased in favor of Vaudreuil, a natural prejudice, perhaps, as he was a native of Canada, and Duquesne, although of French blood, was a foreigner. That Duquesne was not cold and unsympathetic, but was of a singularly generous disposition is evident from the account of his action in behalf of a young Englishwoman who had been held a slave in Canada for twelve years. When only seven years of age she had been captured by Indians in one of the British colonies, sold as a slave in Canada, and held there until 1754, when by some chance she came to Quebec and her pitiful story reached Duquesne's ears. Full of compassion, he purchased her freedom and furnished her with the means of returning across the border.

After his return to France, Duquesne reentered the naval service. His achievements in America earned him the rank

69 Sargent, Expedition against Fort Du Quesne, 30.
of commodore on September 25, 1755. Before he had been home a year, he saw the mask of hypocrisy behind which France and England had been fighting thrown off and war declared. England took this step on May 17 and France on June 9.\textsuperscript{70} In April, 1756, Duquesne made a tour of the provinces, engaged in a general inspection of the coasts, for which he was highly commended, and, on June 23, 1757, during the absence of the regular commander, he was given the command of the naval forces at Toulon, with the title of vice admiral.\textsuperscript{71}

He also took part in more fighting and was engaged in another great naval battle, where, through the obstinacy of his superior officer, after a gallant defense he met with defeat. The battle took place in 1758. Duquesne had command of a squadron consisting of six ships of the line rendezvoused at Toulon and had been ordered to proceed to North America to take part in the raising of the siege of Louisbourg. His superior officer, Admiral La Clue, lay in Cartegena waiting for reinforcements which would enable him to force the position of the English admiral, Osborn, who was in the straits, and to take part in the same movement for which Duquesne's squadron was destined. Osborn's force was later increased by the arrival of the fleet of Admiral Saunders and the combined fleets took up a position between Trafalgar and Espartel. On February 20 La Clue put back into Cartegena. The British admirals decided to intercept Duquesne, who was ordered to reinforce La Clue. On the twenty-fifth, Duquesne was off Cartegena with no hostile fleet in sight and he signaled La Clue to come out. But La Clue was the senior officer and insisted that Duquesne come in to him. For three days the two commanders argued the point, until finally on the twenty-eighth, as Duquesne was endeavoring to obey his chief's orders, a gale blew him straight into the arms of

\textsuperscript{70} The History of the British Dominions in North America, 38 (London, 1773).

\textsuperscript{71} Archives Nationales, fonds marine, "Archives de la vielle marine française."
Osborn and Saunders. He immediately signaled for his squadron to disperse, but Osborn was equally prompt and two or three vessels were detached against each of the French ships, while Saunders, with the bulk of the fleet, went off to Cartegena to hold La Clue. With their larger number of ships the English had no difficulty in defeating the smaller of the French vessels. Duquesne’s flag was flying from the “Foudroyant,” an eighty-gun ship, the same vessel which had carried Galissonière’s flag to victory two years before in the famous fight off Minorca, where Admiral Byng was defeated. Duquesne made for the open sea, pursued by the “Monmouth.” Darkness came on but the fight continued; finally two more English ships arrived and, unable to continue the contest, Duquesne hauled down his flag and was made prisoner. He was taken to London and sent to reside at Northampton, where he remained until the twenty-first of the following October, when he was paroled and returned to France.72

That his defeat by Admiral Osborn did not lessen the high opinion in which Duquesne was held in France appears from the royal testimonial given him soon after his return from his captivity. In his letter the king said of Duquesne that “although he was obliged to yield to superior forces, he greatly distinguished himself in this action, which won him even from the English the praise which his courage and firmness deserved.” He was also honored with the appointment of knight commander of the Order of St. Louis and given a pension of three thousand livres.73

King Louis XV, who had commended Duquesne so highly in 1758, died in 1774 and Louis XVI ruled in his stead; the ministry had changed; the Ohio country, of which Duquesne had taken possession for France, as well as all Canada, had been irretrievably lost to France, and Duquesne’s retirement


73 “Archives de la vielle marine française.”
was decided upon, to take effect April 8, 1776. In the official note in which the king approved of this action, it was stated that Duquesne had not previously been appointed lieutenant general on account of the capture by the English of the "Foudroyant"; that he had not been in active service since that time; and that he was very old and occupied a position that would be more usefully filled by another. A brief account of his services followed, including the statement that he had taken part in twenty campaigns. He was granted a continuance of his salary as chief of squadron, of six thousand livres, and the appointment as lieutenant general of the naval forces of France. 74

After this time his name rarely appears in the naval records of France. The most notable reference to him occurs in the notation made when he failed to receive the pay that was due him for a portion of the first year after his retirement. On December 4, 1776, he sent a letter to Monsieur Guignace, the chief commissioner of the naval pay office at Versailles, in regard to this matter. It was dated at Antony, a village in the department of the Seine, located twelve kilometres south of the present Luxembourg Station of the Orleans Railway in Paris. In this communication Duquesne began by stating that he had never been able to make up his mind to ask Monsieur de Sartine for his pay and was therefore addressing his letter to Monsieur Guignace, knowing that the details of the naval funds were intrusted to him. He added that he now had an occasional lodging place in Paris and another in the country, and he concluded by saying that he had definitely decided not to leave them during the remainder of his life to go to the ports and requesting that his pay be forwarded to him at one or the other of these places. The back pay was accordingly authorized and sent to Duquesne on January 11, 1777, the amount being 4,383 livres, 6 sous, and 8 deniers. Monsieur Guignace evidently desired to placate the old admiral

74 "Archives de la vielle marine française."
by adding the eight deniers to the account due, a denier being one-twelfth of a sou.\textsuperscript{75}

At Antony, Duquesne resided in the Place du Carrousel, the estate consisting of the house, a courtyard, garden, carriage house, stable, and other outbuildings. He lived in considerable state as became a gentleman of culture and means; he had a steward, a valet, a housekeeper, and other servants, and maintained a carriage. He appears to have lived alone. No record has been found that he was ever married, and neither in the will that he made on December 14, 1774, nor in any of the codicils to it, is there any reference to a wife or children. From the record filed in Paris it appears that the last codicil was dated September 3, 1778, when he was already suffering from his last illness.\textsuperscript{76}

He died in his house at Antony on September 17, 1778, and on the same day a representative of the treasury department of the provostship of Antony, in the absence of Duquesne's presumptive heirs, went to his home, sealed his personal effects, and took possession of them. In Duquesne's secretary a package was found with two black seals bearing his coat of arms.\textsuperscript{77} On the package was written in his handwriting "to be opened after my death," and the statement that it was his will.

In the will and the codicils the personal effects of the decedent, including the items of furniture both in the house in Paris and in the one at Antony, are fully set forth, as well

\textsuperscript{75} "Archives de la vieille marine française."

\textsuperscript{76} Extrait des archives de M. Perrot, notaire à Bourg-la-Reine, "Ex-pédition du testament de M. Duquesne et codicille déposés . . . au procès verbal du 17 Septembre, 1778."

\textsuperscript{77} In the language of heraldry Duquesne's coat of arms was silver, with a lion sable armed and enameled in red; the shield was surrounded by the cordon of the Order of St. Louis and surmounted with a marquis' coronet. The crest was the arm of an Indian armed with a tomahawk. The coat of arms was that of Duquesne's ancestors, to which he added his coronet and, in remembrance of his life in Canada, the arm of the Indian. François Aubert de La Chesnaye-Desbois, Dictionnaire de la noblesse, vol. 16 (Paris, 1863-77).
as an account of a considerable sum of money invested in notes and contracts for the payment of money. The investments aggregated about 225,000 livres, with an income of more than 12,000 livres annually. The bequests made were generous. To Rollan, his steward, he gave the sum of twelve hundred livres; to Follié, his valet, and his wife, an annuity for life of six hundred livres; to Angelique d'Hugues, his small niece and goddaughter, an annuity for life of two hundred livres, and to any servants other than those named in the will, if in his service at the time of his death, one year's wages. To his niece, Dame d'Icard, widow of Monsieur de Molin, an annuity for life of twelve thousand livres was given, and to Sœur d'Icard, also his niece, a nun in the Abbey of St. Césaire in the city of Arles, an annuity of three hundred livres. To his nephew, Abbé d'Icard, theological canon of the Episcopal seat of Arles, he gave his gold repeating watch. Nor were the poor forgotten — to the priest of the parish of Antony, two hundred livres were bequeathed to be distributed at his discretion. The residue of his estate he bequeathed to his only surviving sister, Dame Ursule Duquesne, the widow of Messire Abraham d'Icard; she was also appointed executrix of his will and of all the codicils subsequently made thereto. In the last codicil he made a change in his will and bequeathed his estate at Antony, together with the furnishings, to his niece, Ursule d'Icard, widow of Sieur de Molin.

In his will he gave directions as follows: "Whether I die in Paris or in the country, I wish to be buried in the parish in which I shall die, without any ceremony whatever. I wish that as soon as it can be done after my decease, there shall be said for me and for the peace of my soul, low masses in the Church of Antony up to the total sum of one hundred livres." He was buried in the cemetery surrounding the church of St. Saturien at Antony on the eighteenth of September, the day after he died. The parish record sets forth that he died "last night aged about eighty years and was buried in the cemetery of this parish according to his last wishes."
Even his exact age does not appear to have been known in Antony.\footnote{Archives de la mairie d'Antony, "Extract des anciens registres paroissials de St. Saturien d'Antony."}

In Antony, Duquesne has long been forgotten. There is no monument or other emblem to indicate that he ended his days there. Even his burial place is no longer known. The cemetery surrounding the parish church has been abandoned for many years. The present burying ground is located beyond the town limits and there is nothing there to show that Duquesne's body was ever removed from the old burying ground and reinterred in the new cemetery. His remains perhaps still lie somewhere in the abandoned graveyard.

Though the land of his birth has so cruelly neglected the memory of her distinguished son, America, which owes him much, should not be equally forgetful. In this country he should be honored in some appropriate manner, and there is no more fitting place where this might be done than in Pittsburgh. It is true that in this city the tradition is English; and the history written about Pittsburgh is written with an English bias. This, however, should not influence the people of western Pennsylvania against honoring the memory of a really great man, a man who had the vision to select the land at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers for the erection of a fort. As soon as the English learned that the French intended to occupy this site, they recognized that it was the gateway to the West and the South, and the natural location for a great city. In a book written soon after Braddock's defeat and published anonymously in London in 1757, the author, who was Dr. John Mitchell, included numerous expressions predictive of the city now occupying the site of Fort Duquesne. The prescience of the author appears, at least to the people of Pittsburgh, when he declares: "Nature itself has conspired to render the river Ohio hereabouts a place of consequence and importance, and the rendezvous of all the people in North America that are within reach of it,
far and nigh.” Again the author says that “fort du Quesne 
. . . is or will be the most considerable and important 
place of any perhaps in all North America; and is by its situ-
tation and many conveniences the most fit of any place to become 
the capital of that whole continent, and to give law to it all.” 79 
To nonresidents of Pittsburgh the prediction made in the last 
sentence of this quotation, which has not yet been realized, 
may appear somewhat extravagant.

In 1922 an Englishman presented Pittsburgh with a bust 
of William Pitt, the man for whom the city was named. 
Would it not be as appropriate for the people of Pittsburgh 
to procure, not a bust, but a more imposing monument, to the 
memory of the man who was the founder of the city which 
bore his name before Pitt had come into power and before 
Forbes was here to give it the name of that great Englishman.

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