





FORT DUQUESNE  
[From an old print]

## THE MARQUIS DUQUESNE, SIEUR DE MENNEVILLE, FOUNDER OF THE CITY OF PITTSBURGH. II<sup>1</sup>

### THE EXPEDITION TO THE OHIO RIVER COUNTRY

In Canada affairs were in a desperate state. La Jonquière had been a failure as governor-general; Baron de Longueuil, the son of the Baron de Longueuil who acted as governor-general in the interval between the time of the death of Vaudreuil and the assumption of the governor-generalship by Beauharnois, had in 1749 succeeded his father as governor of Montreal. Immediately upon learning of La Jonquière's desire to be relieved of his office, he, like his father, asked to be made governor-general of New France, and like him, he was refused because the court was not ready to appoint a native Canadian, and for the further reason that he was not considered to be the man for the place at that time.<sup>2</sup> Now, if ever, the best man in France was required to fill the office formerly held by Galissonnière, and Galissonnière, who had continued his interest in Canada, was appealed to. He recommended the Marquis Duquesne, sieur de Menneville, for the post, stating that he was a skillful engineer and that he should be directed to establish a line of forts through the interior of the country; and on January 1, 1752, Duquesne was named governor and lieutenant general of New France. His commission, however, was dated March 1, 1752.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Part I of this study appeared in the February number of the magazine. The third and last part will appear in the next issue. *Ed.*

<sup>2</sup> Jean B. A. Ferland, *Cours d'histoire du Canada*, 2: 501 (Quebec, 1865).

<sup>3</sup> François X. Garneau, *History of Canada, from the Time of Its Discovery to the Union Year 1840-41*, 1: 466 (translated by Andrew Bell—second edition, Montreal, 1862); George D. Warburton, *The Conquest of Canada*, 1: 345 (second edition, New York, 1850); Auguste Jal, *Abraham Du Quesne et la marine de son temps*, 2: 575 (Paris, 1873).

When the new governor-general arrived in Quebec in July and took up the work of the governorship, the controversy in regard to the boundaries between the French and the English possessions was daily becoming more violent, and threats of war were uttered on both sides. The contest that loomed nearest was the struggle for the Ohio country, which included not only the territory bordering on the river of that name, but also the lands on the Allegheny River, which the French considered as part of the Ohio, designating the whole as La Belle Rivière.

English traders were there as early as 1729. In 1748 George Croghan had a trading house at Sawkunk, an Indian town at the mouth of the Big Beaver River.<sup>4</sup> The French were in the Ohio country even earlier than the English.<sup>5</sup> Ever since Céloron was on the Ohio, the French ministry was bent on keeping English traders away and arresting them if found there, not only on account of the trade which they took away from the French, but because it was believed that they were using every endeavor to wean the Indians from the French interest and attach them to the English. In its instructions on this matter the ministry usually added that there was no reason to apprehend any justifiable complaint from England.<sup>6</sup> The Marquis de la Jonquière, Duquesne's immediate predecessor, either was too timid or lacked the initiative to follow Galissonnière's trail down the Ohio. All that he accomplished so far as the Ohio country was concerned was to cause the arrest of a few English traders and send them to France.

In the instructions sent to Duquesne under date of April, 1752, which referred mainly to the Ohio country, details were given of what the Marquis de la Jonquière had proposed to do and what he actually accomplished, and there was consider-

<sup>4</sup> Israel D. Rupp, *Early History of Western Pennsylvania and of the West, 1754-1833*, appendix, 14 (Pittsburgh, 1846); Joseph Bausman, *History of Beaver County, Pennsylvania*, 1: 38; 2: 978 (New York, 1904).

<sup>5</sup> Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, 2: 294-296 (New York, 1911).

<sup>6</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 6: 124 (Harrisburg, 1877).

able criticism of his conduct. The fact was emphasized that the English had no rights in the Ohio country: "The River Ohio, otherwise called the Beautiful river, and its tributaries belong indisputable to France, by virtue of its discovery by Sieur de la Salle." It was asserted further that the English were attempting to exclude the French from the territory. "They have not up to the present time, however, maintained that these rivers belong to them; they pretended only that the Iroquois are masters of them and being the Sovereigns of these Indians, that they can exercise their rights." This the memoir stated was "a chimera." Duquesne was warned that it was "of the greatest importance to arrest the progress of the pretensions and expeditions of the English in that quarter"; that in the event of their success, the communication between Canada and Louisiana would be severed and both colonies ruined.<sup>7</sup>

The views of the French ministry being made known in a general way, it was for Duquesne to map out plans for gaining these ends. The commissioners appointed by France and England under the ninth article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to settle the boundaries between the American possessions of the two countries, had been holding sessions at Paris intermittently from 1750 without result. From the demands made by both sides no result appeared to be possible, and Duquesne resolved to act without delay. As issues of the greatest importance were involved he decided to proceed cautiously. His plan was as comprehensive as it was audacious. It contemplated a line of forts extending from Canada southward to Louisiana, thus to confine the English to the eastern seaboard while the French would hold the central and western parts of the continent. But the first step was to bring order out of chaos among the soldiery and produce an army.

The reputation of the existing army was at a low ebb. "Many of the commandants of posts were concerned in traffic, and careless about their proper duties. The colonial

<sup>7</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 6: 126-130.

officers were reluctant to take active service. . . . the soldiers were insubordinate and disrespectful towards their superiors, and desertions were common.”<sup>8</sup> Duquesne began his administration with a general review of the troops and the militia and gave orders for the discipline of the latter. He placed the militia on a sound footing by compelling every man to serve and out of its ranks organized a company of cannoneers and had them drilled. From the bourgeois of Quebec and Montreal he formed two companies of soldiery to whom he supplied uniforms, placing at their head such of the nobility as were not already in the military service.<sup>9</sup>

The Canadians were a martial race, strong and vigorous. They had been trained in the fur trade and the Indian wars and could bear the fatigues of military expeditions. While they were fond of idleness and display, when instructed they could readily master knowledge and were easily amenable to discipline; and Duquesne established throughout the colony a reserve in all the militia companies, which amounted to thirteen hundred men. This reserve was to be selected by the captains, and the men were to be ready to march at the first warning. He directed the Chevalier Péan to review the militiamen of every parish and draw up exact muster rolls of their numbers. The result was that a force of splendid soldiers was developed and the number of the inhabitants capable of bearing arms was increased to thirteen thousand men.<sup>10</sup>

Duquesne's immediate plan contemplated the erection of a series of forts extending from Canada to the Ohio River, and for this purpose the troops were rendezvoused at Montreal, which was farther inland and nearer to the Ohio country than

<sup>8</sup> Henry H. Miles, *The History of Canada under French Régime*, 286 (Montreal, 1872).

<sup>9</sup> *Mémoires sur le Canada, depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760*, 29 (Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, *Manuscripts of the Early History of Canada*, series 1, vol. 1 — Quebec, 1873).

<sup>10</sup> Duquesne to Vaudreuil, July 6, 1755, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 6: 255; Garneau, *History of Canada*, 1: 458; Ferland, *Histoire du Canada*, 2: 502.

Quebec. In Montreal also the necessary provisions and supplies were collected. Duquesne had difficulty obtaining provisions for his men. He tells in a letter to Rouillé, the minister of marine, that he had been compelled to use force to secure the necessary articles of food from the farmers.<sup>11</sup> The Indians were cultivated also and in this the French were more successful than the English. The French were more conciliatory in their treatment of the natives and exercised greater care and forbearance and consequently were enabled to control a great majority of them.<sup>12</sup> So energetically had Duquesne proceeded with his preparations that by autumn he was ready to take the first step in his contemplated expedition and he sent out the Chevalier Marin, with Péan as second in command with the rank of major, with a force of three hundred Canadians to make a reconnaissance and construct the necessary roads.<sup>13</sup> Marin was held in high esteem by Duquesne, who declared that he had "an experienced capacity, manages the Indians as he pleases, and he has, at his age, the same zeal and activity as any young officer that may enter the service."<sup>14</sup> Early in the following spring the preparations had been so far completed that Duquesne had an army composed of four hundred regulars, five thousand militiamen and six hundred Indians. A few cannon had also been collected, consisting of two six-pounders and seven four-pounders.<sup>15</sup>

Duquesne divided his time between Quebec and Montreal, and his journeys between the two places present an interesting scene in the drama of the Ohio expedition. On January 14, 1753, he left Quebec for Montreal to direct personally the completion of the preparations. He was accompanied by a

<sup>11</sup> Duquesne to Rouillé, August 20, 1753, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 6: 161.

<sup>12</sup> William Kingsford, *The History of Canada*, 3: 255 (Toronto and London, 1899).

<sup>13</sup> Ferland, *Histoire du Canada*, 2: 503.

<sup>14</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 6: 164.

<sup>15</sup> Berthold Fernow, *The Ohio Valley in Colonial Days*, 100 (Albany, New York, 1890); Deposition of Stephen Coffen, January 10, 1764, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 6: 187.

number of the officers appointed by him, including Marin, Péan, and Le Mercier, the engineer, and by the wives of Marin and Péan. Bigot, the intendant, was also in the party a portion of the way. "The weather was bitterly cold . . . there was a cutting frost, and a snowstorm known in Canada as a *poudrée* dashed in the travellers' faces. . . . They reached the village about three, when the governor was received by a guard of twenty-five of the militia." In the evening it was usual to stop at some house at whatever place they happened to be; at these places the members of the party amused themselves with play; *faro* was the game and the stakes were high. The first evening of this journey the stop was made at Pointe-aux-Trembles; in the morning the governor, attended by the captain of his guard, his secretary, and servants, started off. A number of sleighs were sent in advance to break the road. Bigot and the rest of the party returned to Quebec. On the eighth of February, however, the intendant set out again, this time to make the full trip to Montreal where he was to join Duquesne on the thirteenth. The journey, which took six days, was made in sleighs drawn by two horses driven tandem, the road being too narrow to admit of their being driven abreast. "It, indeed, would have been impossible," says the chronicler, "on two sleighs meeting, for two pairs of horses to have passed in the deep snow." The sleighs of the servants were each drawn by one horse, and there was "a full staff of attendants with a complete *batterie de cuisine*." On the evening of February 11, Duquesne and some officers, having driven about fifty-five miles out of Montreal, joined Bigot and his party and accompanied them the rest of the way to Montreal, arriving there on the thirteenth.<sup>16</sup>

At this time there had already been prepared quarters for two thousand French and the same number of Indians at Chatacouin, the carrying place on Lake Erie in the province

<sup>16</sup> Kingsford, *Canada*, 3:572-576, based on a manuscript journal by Franquet, in the Library of Parliament, Ottawa.



of New York, where the town of Portland now stands, and where in 1749, C  loron had commenced his overland journey to the lake of the same name, which is now called Chautauqua. Here two warehouses had been built for the storage of food and ammunition. At this place also there were collected two or three hundred canoes with which to descend La Belle Riv  re. At Chatacouin it had been intended to build the first of the contemplated forts. When Duquesne learned, however, that the water in the vicinity was shallow, that barques could not approach within a league of the shore, and that owing to the rocky bottom it was even dangerous for canoes, he changed his plan and decided upon the harbor of Presqu' Isle on Lake Erie, which had just been discovered — the site of the present city of Erie.<sup>17</sup> Duquesne wrote to Rouill   on August 20, 1753, that he had found Presqu' Isle better suited than Chatacouin for this purpose, and added, "'tis a harbor which the largest barks can enter, loaded, and be in perfect safety."<sup>18</sup> To transport the large force that had been collected, together with the provisions and ammunition necessary for the campaign, many boats were required, and at Quebec Bigot had constructed one hundred bateaux together with one hundred and twenty-eight canoes, which were delivered at Fort Frontenac.<sup>19</sup> At this place a detachment embarked on three barges for Niagara, others following in bateaux and canoes. From Niagara the two detachments proceeded to Chatacouin and from there were taken to Presqu' Isle, where they were landed, and the work of cutting down trees and preparing materials for the fort was begun.

From the beginning of the march the movement had been looked upon by the Indians in amazement. Many of the chiefs had been coquetting with the English and they now hastened to vow fidelity to the French. Numbers also presented themselves before Duquesne at Montreal, "all trembling

<sup>17</sup> Kingsford, *Canada*, 3: 396.

<sup>18</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 6: 161.

<sup>19</sup> Ferland, *Histoire du Canada*, 2: 503.

. . . " he wrote, "and told me that they were aware of my power by the swarm of men they had passed, and [begged me] to have pity on them, their wives and their children." The Iroquois inquired of Marin by a belt, "whether he was marching with the hatchet uplifted, or to establish tranquillity." To this Marin replied that "when he marched with the hatchet, he bore it aloft, in order that no person should be ignorant of the fact, but as for the present, his orders were to use it only in case he encountered opposition."<sup>20</sup>

These results were not attained without criticism, and Bigot, the last and worst of the intendants, who was afterward convicted of plundering the colony while in office, although he had entered with all his heart into the plan formed by Duquesne for driving the English from the Ohio, took exception to many of his acts and complained to the minister of marine: "The Marquis Duquesne banishes people from the colony, without form of process, or making any inquiry," and he added, "or consulting the intendant."<sup>21</sup>

The fort was named Fort Presqu' Isle. It was built of chestnut logs, squared and lapped over each other to the height of 15 feet, and was about 120 feet square. There were two gates, one facing southward and the other northward, and there were no portholes in any part of the structure. It was finished by the third of August.<sup>22</sup>

Immediately upon the completion of Fort Presqu' Isle, a wagon road was constructed southward for a distance of about twenty-one miles to the stream since known as French Creek, a tributary of the Allegheny River and called by the French, Rivière au Bœuf, on account of the number of buffaloes living along its shores. The march was now continued to French Creek, one hundred men being left to garrison Fort Presqu' Isle. Here another fort was built, which was called Le Bœuf. It stood on the present site of Waterford and was composed

<sup>20</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives, second series*, 6: 161.

<sup>21</sup> Garneau, *History of Canada*, 1: 466.

<sup>22</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives, second series*, 6: 162, 185.

of four houses built by way of bastions with the intermediate spaces stockaded. This was completed late in August.<sup>23</sup>

Duquesne had planned a third fort to be erected at the junction of the Rivière au Bœuf with the Allegheny, where Franklin is now located, called by the Indians Ganagarahara and by the French Venango; and Marin ordered a detachment of fifty men to the place.<sup>24</sup> John Fraser, an English trader, who had a trading house and gunsmith shop there, had fled on the approach of the French and his house was occupied by the troops.<sup>25</sup> The Indians living at Venango protested against the French coming, but in the autumn, notwithstanding the sentiment of the Indians, the French began the construction of a fort. It was not completed, however, until April, 1754, the work being done under the superintendence of Captain Chabert Joncaire, who named it Fort Machault after the new minister of marine, Jean Baptiste Machault d'Amonville, who had succeeded Rouillé, who had become minister of foreign affairs.<sup>26</sup>

The season being advanced by the time all was completed; the Rivière au Bœuf being long and narrow and the water low, making it difficult to transport the military stores down the stream; and illness breaking out among the men, including Marin himself, further progress to the Ohio River was abandoned until the spring floods would again make the Rivière au Bœuf navigable; but Marin died on the return to Fort Le Bœuf on October 29, 1753, at the age of sixty-three years.<sup>27</sup> "I regard the loss of Sieur Marin as irreparable," Duquesne wrote. "This officer combined the spirit and excellent head with the appearance and manners of the savages. He has many times shown much moderation and prudence. With

<sup>23</sup> Thomas Forbes, "A Journal Descriptive of Some of the French Forts," in William M. Darlington, ed., *Christopher Gist's Journals*, 150 (Pittsburgh, 1893); *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 6:163, 165 n.

<sup>24</sup> Coffen, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 6:185.

<sup>25</sup> *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 5:659 (Harrisburg, 1851).

<sup>26</sup> William H. Egle, *History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, p. 1123 (Harrisburg, 1876).

<sup>27</sup> Ferland, *Histoire du Canada*, 2:504.

regard to zeal, never has a man shown more. Besides he preferred death in battle rather than health at home." Leaving three hundred men to garrison the two forts and prepare materials against the spring for the construction of other forts, the remainder of the force returned to Canada in the latter part of October.<sup>28</sup>

#### THE FRENCH TAKE POSSESSION OF THE OHIO VALLEY

Virginia, through its governor, continued its efforts to thwart the French. In the autumn of 1753 Dinwiddie sent George Washington, then twenty-one years of age, on a mission to the French in the Ohio country. He was a half brother of Lawrence and Augustine Washington, both original members of the Ohio Company and partners of Dinwiddie, and was well versed in woodcraft, having been an engineer and surveyor from the time he was sixteen. His instructions were to proceed to Logstown and address himself to the Half-King, Monacatotha, and other sachems of the Six Nations; to acquaint them with his orders, which were to visit the French commander and deliver to him the letter which he carried; and to request them to appoint a sufficient number of warriors to safeguard him on his journey.<sup>29</sup>

Washington left Williamsburg on the thirty-first of October. On the way he engaged Jacob Van Braam as French interpreter and Christopher Gist as guide, and with them and four others, he set out from Will's Creek on November 15. On the twenty-second he was at the forks of the Ohio. It was well known among the military that the English contemplated building a fort there, and Washington made a careful examination of the ground. In his journal he relates that in his opinion it would make an excellent site for a fort and a much better one than the location on Chartiers Creek where the

<sup>28</sup> Coffen, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 6: 187.

<sup>29</sup> Jared Sparks, *The Life of George Washington*, 18 (Boston, 1844); George Washington, *Writings*, 2: 428 (edited by Jared Sparks — Boston, 1834).

Ohio Company had originally intended to erect their fort. From the forks Washington proceeded to Logstown, where he tarried for several days holding conferences with the Indians, and on the thirtieth of November, accompanied by the Half-King and three other chiefs, he proceeded to Venango, where he arrived on December 4. At Venango the French colors were flying and Captain Joncaire, the commandant, entertained him and treated him with great consideration. On the twelfth he was at Fort Le Bœuf and interviewed Legardeur de St. Pierre, the commander of the French forces, who had succeeded Marin. Washington describes St. Pierre as an "elderly Gentleman," with "much the Air of a Soldier." To him he delivered Dinwiddie's letter. In this letter Dinwiddie demanded to know by what authority the French were invading the lands upon the Ohio River in the western part of the colony of Virginia, notoriously known to be the property of Great Britain, and erecting forts thereon. Dinwiddie also asserted that the French movement was in violation of the law of nations and the existing treaties between England and France.<sup>30</sup>

Three days later Washington received St. Pierre's answer. The Frenchman's note left no doubt of his meaning. "I shall transmit your letter to the Marquis Duquesne," he said. "As to the summons you send me to retire, I do not think myself obliged to obey it. Whatever may be your instructions I am here by virtue of the orders of my General; and I entreat you, Sir, not to doubt one moment but that I am determined to conform myself to them with all the exactness and resolution which can be expected from the best officer." He then denied that the movement was contrary to the treaties subsisting between France and England.<sup>31</sup>

Dinwiddie now realized that the only way to prevent the French from carrying out their designs was to use force and

<sup>30</sup> George Washington, *Writings*, 1: 27-30 (edited by Worthington C. Ford — New York and London, 1889); *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 6: 164.

<sup>31</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 6: 165.

he began a feverish movement to carry into effect the contemplated plan of the Ohio Company and to construct a fort at the forks of the Ohio before the French could get there. His first step, taken in January, 1754, was to enlist two companies of one hundred men each, who were to be sent to the Ohio with orders to build a fort on that river immediately. For several years George Croghan had been aiding Virginia in its conduct of Indian affairs<sup>32</sup> and he was now advising Dinwiddie in regard to the organization of the contemplated military force. That he did not allow his own interests to suffer in doing this is apparent from a contemplation of the list of officers of at least one of the companies. Croghan's partner, William Trent, who was also his brother-in-law, was given the command of this company;<sup>33</sup> the lieutenantancy was bestowed upon John Fraser, the Indian trader, who was also more or less closely connected with Croghan, and who, since being driven from Venango by the French, had established himself near the mouth of Turtle Creek on the Monongahela River about twelve miles above the forks.<sup>34</sup> Croghan's half brother, Edward Ward, was made ensign of the company. Washington was appointed captain of the other company and at the same time given the command of both companies with the rank of major.

To facilitate the enlistments, Dinwiddie on February 19 issued a proclamation granting two hundred thousand acres of land in the Ohio country to be divided among those who engaged in the expedition.<sup>35</sup> The Virginia assembly also voted ten thousand pounds toward supporting the movement and thereupon the military force was increased to three hundred men, divided into six companies. Colonel Joshua Fry was appointed to the command of the entire force, with Washington as lieutenant colonel. Ten of the cannon recently

<sup>32</sup> Joseph Walton, *Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania*, 261 (Philadelphia, 1900).

<sup>33</sup> Robert Dinwiddie, *Official Records*, 1: 55-57 (Virginia Historical Society, *Collections*, vol. 3—Richmond, Virginia, 1883).

<sup>34</sup> *Colonial Records*, 5: 659.

<sup>35</sup> Fernow, *Ohio Valley*, 97.

arrived from England were sent to Alexandria for the use of the expedition. Washington marched from Alexandria on April 2 with two companies, arriving at Will's Creek, where Cumberland now stands, on the seventeenth, having been joined on the way by a detachment under Captain Stephen.<sup>36</sup>

Nor had the French remained idle. At the beginning of the year they had begun sending additional troops to reinforce those left behind in the preceding autumn. A graphic description of the march of some of these soldiers is contained in the journal of a young French soldier serving in this expedition, who had come to Canada in 1751 and had been with the forces that had built the forts constructed in the Ohio country the year before. The journal came to light in Paris a number of years ago and was published at Quebec in 1887 with notes by the Abbé Casgrain. It was signed simply with the initials J. C. B., which Casgrain concluded was an abbreviation of J. C. Bonnefons, the name of a man who held various posts in the French military service in America, including that of secretary to Captain Francis Pouchot. The latter, a distinguished officer, was the last French commander of Fort Niagara, which, after a gallant defense, he was obliged to surrender to an overwhelming English force. In 1781 he published in Switzerland a memoir on this war, which is still quoted, and of which an English translation was published at Roxbury, Massachusetts, in 1866.

Bonnefons was one of five hundred men, regulars and militia, who set out from Quebec on January 15, 1754, in the expedition commanded by Captain de Contrecoeur, the successor of St. Pierre in the command of the French army. He gives interesting details of the march. At Montreal, which was reached on the twenty-sixth, the contingent was reinforced by three hundred more militia, and on the third of February the entire force set out by land with provisions for two months packed on sleds, which the soldiers drew over the snow and ice. Innumerable difficulties were encountered on the upper St.

<sup>36</sup> Rupp, *Western Pennsylvania*, 65.

Lawrence and along the shores of Lake Ontario, where the ice sometimes served as a road, sometimes blocked their way, and the men were often plunged into the water. Along the north shore there were stretches where many of the soldiers skated in single file, drawing seven or eight sledges tied together, with men on them, frequently making their way in this manner for as much as twenty leagues. Various stops were made on the way. Niagara was reached on February 25 and one hundred men were left to strengthen the garrison at this post. Venango was attained on April 4, and in bateaux and pirogues loaded with men, artillery, stores, and ammunition, the historic journey down the Allegheny River was begun.<sup>37</sup>

Captain Trent had preceded Washington and, according to letters which Croghan sent from the forks on February 3 to Governor Hamilton and to Richard Peters, one of the Pennsylvania commissioners to the Indians, had just arrived there, bringing presents for the Indians and accompanied by workmen with tools for the construction of the fort. Croghan, who was at the forks again on March 23, in another letter to Governor Hamilton told of seeing Trent and his command hard at work on the fort, "which," he declared, "seemed to give the Indians great Pleasure and put them in high Spirits." The work progressed and a name for the fort was selected. The intention was to call the structure Fort Prince George after the grandson of King George II, the heir apparent to the throne, who was to become King George III. On April 13, while Trent was at Will's Creek and Fraser at his trading house on Turtle Creek, Ward being in sole charge of the uncompleted fort and his entire force consisting of only forty-one men, the startling information was received that the French were on their way from Venango to capture the place. Ward afterward said that the next day he immediately sent word to Trent and went himself to Turtle Creek and gave

<sup>37</sup> J. C. Bonnefons, *Voyage au Canada dans le nord de l'Amérique Septentrionale fait depuis l'an 1751 à 1761 par J. C. B.*, 95-97 (edited by Henri R. Casgrain—Quebec, 1887).



Fraser the news; that Fraser replied that he could do nothing and remained at his trading house; and that he then continued his work on the fort and had the last gate erected when the French appeared.<sup>38</sup>

On the sixteenth of April, Captain de Contrecoeur, at the head of a force of French and Indians numbering from five to six hundred men, came down the Allegheny River in canoes and bateaux from Venango and landed at Shannopin Town, where they established a camp.<sup>39</sup> Shannopin Town, also known as Old Town, the first place in what is now Pittsburgh occupied by the French in their campaign for the possession of the Ohio country, deserves more than a passing notice. It was named for Shannopin, a Delaware chief, who died sometime before 1751, and was located in what is now the city of Pittsburgh, between Penn Avenue, Thirty-third Street, and Two Mile Run. The mouth of the river was opposite the middle of an island in the Allegheny River, for many years known as Wainwright's Island but long since washed away.<sup>40</sup> Through the village ran the main Indian trail from the east to the west and, according to the deposition of John Hogan, a soldier in the Virginia forces who was there in 1756 while a prisoner of the French, it had at that time a population of about fifty or sixty Indians, of whom twenty were able to bear arms.<sup>41</sup> According to Lewis Montour, the brother of Andrew Montour, the Delaware interpreter, the home of Tanacharison, the Half-King of the Six Nations, was here, as was also the dwelling place of Scar-rooyady, an Oneida chief, who exercised for the Six Nations jurisdiction over the western tribes similar to that held by the

<sup>38</sup> Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2: 3; *Colonial Records*, 6: 21; Dinwiddie, *Official Records*, 1: 323, note 185; Darlington, *Gist's Journals*, 277.

<sup>39</sup> Darlington, *Gist's Journals*, 275; Garneau, *History of Canada*, 1: 467.

<sup>40</sup> *Colonial Records*, 5: 519. On a draught of General Forbes' march to Fort Duquesne, Shannopin's Town is placed just below the mouth of Two Mile Run. See the *Olden Time*, 2: 139 (March, 1847). Two Mile Run entered the river near where Thirty-seventh Street would strike it if extended.

<sup>41</sup> *Colonial Records*, 7: 561.

Half-King. At Shannopin Town councils were held between the English and the Indians. At a council held there in October, 1753, which was called by the Half-King and Scar-rooyady and was attended by them and twenty other Indians and a number of Indian traders, the relations of the Indians with the English and the French invasion had been discussed.<sup>42</sup>

On April 17, 1754, the French moved down the river and landed on the south side of the stream near the fort. They disembarked four cannon, which were hastily placed on gun carriages, and with this artillery they formed into line and marched to within a gunshot of the fort. Here they encountered Ward. Captain Le Mercier, with a drummer and an interpreter, went in advance and presented Ward with the summons sent by Contrecoeur. It was a politely worded document and was dated at the French camp on the day before. In it the commander expressed surprise at the attempt of the English to settle on the lands of the king of France, with which country England was at peace, and to fortify the place, and demanded its surrender. Ward was given an hour in which to comply with the French commander's order. In the affidavit which Ward made on May 10, 1754, in regard to the matter, he states that, observing the number of the French, which he judged to be about one thousand, and having been credibly informed by an Englishman who attended the French commander that the French had three hundred canoes and sixty bateaux and had four men to each canoe and bateau, and his own force consisting of forty-one men, of whom only thirty-three were soldiers, he surrendered the uncompleted fort. The conditions imposed were generous and he was permitted to withdraw with his men and his working tools and, as he was short of provisions, he was given supplies for three days; but the four cannon belonging to the English were taken by the French.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Colonial Records*, 5: 692, 700-703; Walton, *Conrad Weiser*, 183.

<sup>43</sup> *Darlington, Gist's Journals*, 275-278; Bonnefons, *Voyage au Canada*, 98.

The French immediately began destroying the English works, which, according to Bonnefons, consisted of nothing more than a wooden inclosure of upright stakes, although Ward, in the affidavit already referred to, states that he had the last gate of the stockade fort erected before the French appeared. In the evening the French again embarked, taking the English cannon with them, and camped at a place five leagues down the Ohio. The next day they reascended the river, first sending out a party of twenty-five men to reconnoiter, and landed on the bank of the Monongahela at its junction with the Allegheny, where the city of Pittsburgh now stands. Here they decided to build their fort. The work of construction was begun on the following day under the direction of Le Mercier, by cutting down trees and clearing the ground of underbrush. A name was decided upon and the new work was called Fort Duquesne in honor of the governor-general of New France. Duquesne's campaign had ended in triumph; his victory was complete; and so far as there is any record, not a drop of blood had been shed.<sup>44</sup>

Here the French halted. Their immediate designs were accomplished, the English had been outwitted, the gateway to the West and South was secured. The execution of the remainder of the plan, which was to complete the connection between Canada and Louisiana, was expected to be easy of accomplishment as the English had not penetrated either west or south of Fort Duquesne, and the French believed that the construction of other forts was not urgent and might be left for a future day.

The next attempt of the English against the French proved as disastrous as the surrender of Fort Prince George. On April 20, 1754, Washington was at Will's Creek with three companies and two days later Ensign Ward arrived there with the intelligence of his surrender. Washington immediately sent expresses to the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia

<sup>44</sup> Darlington, *Gist's Journals*, 278; Bonnefons, *Voyage au Canada*, 98, 99.

notifying them of Ward's discomfiture and asking for reinforcements.<sup>45</sup> He then resolved to advance and if possible reach the Monongahela near where Brownsville now stands and build a fort at that place. On May 9 he reached Little Meadows and he arrived at the Youghiogheny River on the eighteenth, encamping near where Smithfield in Fayette County has since been established. A few days later he moved on to the Great Meadows, also in Fayette County, four miles east of Laurel Hill, about three hundred yards south of the National Road on a creek emptying into the Youghiogheny River, and by trail about seventy miles from Fort Duquesne.<sup>46</sup> Having learned that a party of French were near, he hastily threw up intrenchments at this place and on the twenty-eighth, having made certain of their position, he determined to attack them. Advancing cautiously, he came near enough to be discovered by the French, who are said to have run to their arms. Washington immediately ordered his men to fire; a skirmish followed and ten French were killed, including Ensign Coulon de Jumonville, their commander. The remainder of the party were made prisoners. The English loss was one man killed and two or three wounded.<sup>47</sup>

The first blood in the contest for the Ohio country was shed, and the Seven Years' War had begun. Moreover, as Jared Sparks in his *Life of George Washington*, says: "the first blow struck on the Ohio was the beginning of the series of events, which ended thirty years afterwards in establishing the independence of the English Colonies."<sup>48</sup>

The indignation of the French both in France and in Canada on account of this attack was deep and sincere and was not fomented to help the cause, as is often the case in war or impending war. The account of the affair by the French

<sup>45</sup> Neville B. Craig, *Washington's First Campaign, Death of Jumonville, and the Taking of Fort Necessity*, 5 (Pittsburgh, 1848).

<sup>46</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, first series, 12:422; Kingsford, *Canada*, 3:454.

<sup>47</sup> Rupp, *Western Pennsylvania*, 74.

<sup>48</sup> Sparks, *Life of Washington*, 21.

differs materially from that of the English. They used the word *assassinat* when describing the manner of Jumonville's death, a word employed by them in the articles of capitulation when the English afterward surrendered at Fort Necessity, although the English claimed it was not properly translated to them when they signed the paper.<sup>49</sup>

On June 2, Contrecoeur wrote to Duquesne and gave him the details of Jumonville's death, the particulars of which he had received from the Indians, who related that Jumonville was shot in the head and killed while reading the summons which he carried. Contrecoeur added: "I believe, sir, it will surprise you to hear how basely the English have acted; it is what was never seen, even amongst nations who are the least civilized, to fall thus upon ambassadors and murder them."<sup>50</sup> In a letter that Duquesne wrote to Machault on October 28, he asked the minister if, in view of the "assassination" of Jumonville, he would be justified in anticipating a break with the English.<sup>51</sup>

In France, Voltaire, writing about Jumonville's fate and also in regard to the capture of French merchantmen by English cruisers, said, in a letter dated July 12, 1757: "I was formerly of the English party, but am that no longer, since the English *assassinate* our officers in America, and have turned pirates on the sea."<sup>52</sup> Two years later Antoine Léonard Thomas, a poet of high character and a member of the French Academy, published a lengthy poem on the event, entitled "Jumonville," which attracted wide attention in France and for which in the same year the author received the certificate of poetic talent from the Academy. In the preface Thomas

<sup>49</sup> Rupp, *Western Pennsylvania*, 78, 80 n.

<sup>50</sup> *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*, 122 (Philadelphia, 1757). This is reprinted in *The Olden Time*, 2: 140-277 (March-June, 1847). See p. 190.

<sup>51</sup> *Collection de manuscrits contenant lettres, mémoires, et autres documents historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle-France*, 3: 519 (Quebec, 1884); *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 6: 173.

<sup>52</sup> Miles, *Canada*, 290 n.

tells that "the subject of the poem is the assassination of M. de Jumonville in America, and the vengeance for this murder." In the poem the wild forests, the savages, and the ghost of Jumonville are all portrayed in tragic colors. The work for a long time had quite a vogue in the French literary world.<sup>53</sup>

The leading French historians of that and later times all based their story of Jumonville's death on the facts as given out by the French government at this time. In 1756 the French government published a small volume, the title of which as translated by the English was *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*. Copies were transmitted to every court in Europe in order to indicate the conduct of the British government in its dealings with the French in America in the time of peace. Copies of the book were found in French vessels captured by American privateers in 1757 and in May of that year a crude translation was published in Philadelphia, which was reprinted in New York and Boston later in the same year.<sup>54</sup> In this book a copy of Contrecoeur's instructions to Jumonville is given, dated "at the camp at Fort Du Quesne" on May 23, 1754, in which that officer is told that if he finds the English encroaching on the French possessions, he should read to them the summons of which he is the bearer. The summons is also printed and bears the same date as Jumonville's instructions. It is addressed to the commander of the English troops and is signed by Contrecoeur. In this the French commander states that he has been informed by the Indians that the English are coming armed into French territory and warns them that if they engage in any act of hostility he will be obliged to repel force with force.

<sup>53</sup> Antoine L. Thomas, *Oeuvres diverses*, I: 2-10 (Lyon, 1763).

<sup>54</sup> *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* (Paris, 1756). See also note 50, *ante*.

M. Pouchot, in his work on this war, agrees with Contrecoeur's account and declares that Jumonville was sent with a letter to summon the English to retire. Being taken by surprise and finding the enemy's strength much superior to his own, he endeavored to show them the dispatch of which he was the bearer; but they, unwilling to compromise themselves by a parley, poured in a volley, slaying Jumonville and some others and taking the remainder prisoners.<sup>55</sup>

The conduct of the French toward the English in the entire movement from Canada had been most honorable and there is no reason to believe that Jumonville's orders were otherwise than as related by the French. Even some American authors agree that the French account of the shooting of Jumonville is correct. Samuel W. Pennypacker, while governor of Pennsylvania, published a volume on American history, in which, after quoting the words contained in the articles of capitulation that Washington signed after surrendering: "*l'assassinat du Sieur de Jumonville*," he says "the French 'assassinat' and the English 'assassination' are substantially the same word, — sufficient to attract the attention of the most unlearned," and he holds that the English account of the affair fails to satisfy.<sup>56</sup> "Considering all that we can learn," says Sargent in his history of Braddock's expedition, "it is to be regretted that there seems some cause to believe the truth of this [*the French*] story."<sup>57</sup> Of course Sargent could only have meant that Washington acted hastily and not treacherously as the word "*assassinat*" implies.

Immediately upon receiving the intelligence of Jumonville's death, Duquesne instructed Contrecoeur to use every endeavor

<sup>55</sup> M. Pouchot, *Memoir upon the Late War in North America, between the French and English, 1755-60*, 1: 24 (translated and edited by Franklin B. Hough — Roxbury, Massachusetts, 1866).

<sup>56</sup> Samuel W. Pennypacker, *Pennsylvania in American History*, 152 (Philadelphia, 1910).

<sup>57</sup> Winthrop Sargent, *The History of an Expedition against Fort Du Quesne, in 1755; under Major-General Edward Braddock*, 43 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Publications* — Philadelphia, 1855).

to proceed against the English and from Montreal he hurried forward Coulon de Villiers, a brother of Jumonville, with a large body of Indians to reinforce Contrecoeur.<sup>58</sup> By forced marches Villiers reached Fort Duquesne on June 26. Contrecoeur had already organized a force of five hundred French and eleven Indians, which Captain Le Mercier was to command and which was to march against the English the next day. Villiers, being the senior of Le Mercier, was given the command of the combined forces and, with Le Mercier as second in command, the detachment moved against Washington two days later.<sup>59</sup>

Washington, alarmed, enlarged and strengthened the intrenchments at the Great Meadows, built a stockade of logs, and named it Fort Necessity. Here he was joined by a company of one hundred men from South Carolina, commanded by Captain Mackay. His force now numbered four hundred men and he had nine cannon. A battle ensued in which the English were worsted.<sup>60</sup> Villiers tells the story of the last phase of the contest:

We let the English know that if they would speak with us, we would stop firing. They accepted our proposal; a captain came out to the place where I was; I sent M. le Mercier to receive him, and also went to him myself and informed him that as we were not at war we were very willing to save them from the cruelties to which they would expose themselves on the part of the savages, but if they were stubborn, we would take away from them all hope of escaping; that we consented to be favorable to them at present, as we had come only to revenge my brother's assassination, and to oblige them to quit the lands of the King, our

<sup>58</sup> Ensign Coulon de Jumonville was the son of Nicholas Antoine Coulon de Villiers, a native of France, and was a younger brother of Coulon de Villiers. His name was Joseph Coulon de Villiers, although he was known in the army as Coulon de Jumonville. Frank H. Severance, *An Old Frontier of France; the Niagara Region and Adjacent Lakes under French Control*, 1: 420 (Buffalo Historical Society, *Publications*, vol. 20—New York, 1917).

<sup>59</sup> Villiers, "Journal," in *Memorial Containing a Summary View of Facts*, 173.

<sup>60</sup> Rupp, *Western Pennsylvania*, 75.



master . . . We forced the English to consent to sign, that they had assassinated my brother in his own camp.<sup>61</sup>

On July 3 the capitulation was signed. Captain Jacob Van Braam and Captain Robert Stobo were delivered to the French as hostages for the faithful performance of the conditions, one of which, according to the copy published by the English, was "not to work upon any building in this place, or on any post this side of the mountain during a year."<sup>62</sup> The copy of the articles of capitulation as printed by the French in their *Mémoire*, however, states that the English agreed "to work no more on any building in this place, or any part on this side of the mountain," and nothing is said about any time limit to the agreement.<sup>63</sup>

All the arrangements having been completed, Washington and his men marched out of the fort with the honors of war, the drums beating and flags flying, taking with them all their possessions except the artillery. At dawn the following day, Villiers took possession of the abandoned fort, which was then demolished. The French burned the houses, destroyed the cannon, and emptied the liquor from the casks left by the English in order to prevent it falling into the hands of the Indians and causing trouble. Then, with the English flag and one of the Virginia colors, which had been left behind in the confusion of the departure by the English, at the head of his column, Villiers left for Fort Duquesne. He burned every house and other building on the way and arrived at his destination on July 7. According to Bancroft, "In the valley of the Mississippi no standard floated but that of France."<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Villiers, "Journal," in *Memorial Containing a Summary View of Facts*, 179.

<sup>62</sup> Rupp, *Western Pennsylvania*, 78, 81 n.

<sup>63</sup> Villiers, "Journal," in *Memorial Containing a Summary View of Facts*, 184.

<sup>64</sup> Rupp, *Western Pennsylvania*, 78; Washington, *Writings*, 2:462 (Sparks edition); Sargent, *Expedition against Fort Du Quesne*, 55; Villiers, "Journal," in *Memorial Containing a Summary View of Facts*, 182; George Bancroft, *History of the United States*, 3:78 (Centenary edition, Boston, 1879).

## FORT DUQUESNE

The French were now complete masters of the Ohio country and Duquesne was a name to be conjured with in all North America. The construction of Fort Duquesne was progressing rapidly. On May 23, the day on which Contrecoeur had sent Jumonville on the expedition which cost him his life, the fort itself was almost finished, according to Bonnefons; and in the early summer word was received by Péan, who was at Chautauqua attending to the collection and forwarding of provisions for Fort Duquesne, that the work had been completed on June 15. The fort was now strong enough to resist successfully any force that could reasonably be expected to be brought against it.<sup>65</sup> It stood at the point of land formed by the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, two or three hundred feet north of the present Penn Avenue and about two hundred feet west of the Block House, which today is the sole reminder of Fort Pitt, the successor of Fort Duquesne.

There have been published from time to time descriptions of Fort Duquesne as it appeared when completed. There is the account of Robert Stobo, one of the hostages delivered by Washington to Villiers; there is that of Thomas Forbes, an alleged deserter from the French army, who claimed to have been at Fort Duquesne when the work of construction was nearing completion; and there is the one by John McKinney, an English prisoner, who was there in 1756. None of these descriptions was made by an engineer and, except that of Stobo, they were made from memory after the writers had left the fort, and the details, even if given honestly and from personal knowledge, would necessarily lack accuracy. They are used here because they portray at least in a general way most of the features of the fort. These accounts indicate that the structure was nearly square, with bastions at each corner, and was about fifty yards long and forty wide. The

<sup>65</sup> Bonnefons, *Voyage au Canada*, 100; Severance, *An Old Frontier of France*, 1:48; Sargent, *Expedition against Fort Du Quesne*, 42.

bastions were eight feet high and were filled with earth. Half of the fort was built of squared logs and the other half, that nearest the water, of stockades. The stockades were constructed of round logs which were eleven or twelve feet high. In the stockades were loopholes, through which the men could fire down toward the ground. There were eight cannon in the fort, five of which were mounted on the northwest bastion to defend the powder magazine. All around the fort and about four rods distant, there was a shallow ditch, which was protected by a second stockade seven feet high, similar to the first, against which earth had been thrown. The fort had two gates, one on the eastern or land side, where there was a drawbridge, and the other on the western side, which faced the water. It was surrounded on the two sides which did not front on the water by a ditch about twelve feet wide and quite deep.<sup>66</sup>

Bonnefons has left a description of the fort that is somewhat different from that of the others, and, as it bears a close resemblance to that of Lieutenant de Léry, the engineer, who, on his visit there in 1755, made a plan of the fort, which appears later in this study, it must be assumed that Bonnefons' description was honestly made from a personal inspection and by one who understood what he was writing about. He states that the fort was constructed of squared wood and was twelve feet thick on the land side, the space between the two layers of timber being filled with earth. There was a strong parapet and there were three bastions, on each of which were mounted four guns. There was a deep ditch outside the fort. He places the drawbridge on the northern side toward the Allegheny River. That part of the fort facing west was a frame of trees stuck in the ground; here the bakehouse had been built. In the interior were located four structures. At the right on entering by the drawbridge were the quarters of

<sup>66</sup> Robert Stobo, *Memoirs of Major Robert Stobo, of the Virginia Regiment* (compiled by Neville B. Craig — Pittsburgh, 1854); Forbes, in Darlington, *Gist's Journals*, 148–151; account of John McKinney, November 17, 1756, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, first series, 12: 357–359.

the commandant. Opposite this on the left were the quarters of the guard and the barracks. In the rear and facing the entrance was a storehouse for provisions and supplies, while on the side facing the Ohio were the quarters of the cannoneers.<sup>67</sup>

There was at least one priest with the French army and the patron saint selected for the place seems to have been the Virgin Mary. This appears from the register of the burials there, kept after the first few interments, in which the name of the fort is given as "Fort Duquesne under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin at the Beautiful River."<sup>68</sup>

Not an Englishman remained in the vicinity of Fort Duquesne, nor a vestige of English property. Almost immediately upon the departure of Ward and his little band both the French and the Indians who had gathered there hastened to plunder and destroy the English trading houses located in the neighborhood. At Pine Creek Croghan and Trent had, besides their storehouse, a number of cabins and bateaux and a fenced field of Indian corn. At Turtle Creek John Fraser had considerable property, and at Logstown Croghan had another trading house. All became a prey to the French and the Indians. Those of the Indians who had been loyal to the English hastened away from the vicinity of the French immediately after the fall of Trent's fort. In the middle of June Monacatootha set fire to the village of Logstown, and with about two hundred of the Iroquois and Delaware Indians living there, removed to Aughwick, where they were cared for during the ensuing winter by George Croghan.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Bonnefons, *Voyage au Canada*, 99.

<sup>68</sup> *The Baptismal Register of Fort Duquesne, from June, 1754, to Dec., 1756*, 91 (Pittsburgh, 1885). This is a reprint and translation by Andrew A. Lambing of *Registres des Baptêmes et Sepultures qui se sont faits au Fort Duquesne, pendant les années 1753, 1754, 1755 & 1756* (edited by John Gilmary Shea, *Cramoisy Press Series*, no. 9—New York, 1859).

<sup>69</sup> Affidavit of George Croghan, May 1, 1756, in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 1: 376, 377; Croghan to Morris, October 16, 1754, in *Colonial Records*, 6: 180.

Contreccœur gave his men no rest. The woods around the fort were cut down and hardly a stump remained within musket shot to shelter an approaching foe. On the cleared ground near the fort bark cabins were built and here most of the men lodged. Kitchen-gardens were laid out along the Allegheny and a vast corn field was planted, which extended for a quarter of a mile up both streams and furnished promise of future subsistence.<sup>70</sup>

For more than a year the French were in undisputed possession. The force of men kept there varied from time to time, and probably never exceeded fourteen hundred. Immediately after Villiers had defeated Washington this number was greatly reduced, and by October there were not more than four hundred men at the fort.<sup>71</sup> On December 3, 1754, however, Governor Morris stated in the council of the colony that the French now had at Fort Duquesne more than a thousand regular troops, besides Indians, and that they were well supplied with provisions and had lately received an additional number of cannon.<sup>72</sup>

Bonnefons, who remained at the fort until September 4, relates the story of Jumonville's defeat and death at the hands of the English, of the escape and trials of the Canadian Monceau, who brought the news of the affair to Fort Duquesne, the complete details of which were given two days later by Indians. He tells of the arrival of Villiers with his Indians and French and large number of bateaux loaded with provisions and supplies, and of Villier's expedition against the English, in which he himself took part.<sup>73</sup>

Bonnefons also gives details of the daily life at the fort. He relates that when the fort was half finished a party of

<sup>70</sup> Stobo, *Memoirs*, 87-91; McKinney, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, first series, 12:358; Duquesne to Vaudreuil, July 6, 1755, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 6:254.

<sup>71</sup> Forbes, in Darlington, *Gist's Journals*, 151; *Pennsylvania Archives*, first series, 3:13; 12:358, 428.

<sup>72</sup> *Colonial Records*, 6:185.

<sup>73</sup> Bonnefons, *Voyage au Canada*, 99, 104-110, 113, 116.

Shawnee, who lived on the Ohio five leagues below, came and watched the French at their labors and were well received by them. The French, who were suspicious of the Indians, afterward learned that their suspicions were well founded, as they were informed that the Indians had reported all that they had seen and heard at the fort to the English. Later a number of Delaware Indians came and were also well treated and these became allies of the French and brought them valuable information of the proceedings of the English. Much besides is told of the Indians who made their headquarters at Fort Duquesne. They are said to have been almost constantly employed in making incursions into the English settlements on the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia and as far south as North Carolina. A party of two hundred Indians, who had lately arrived, left the fort and on their return fifteen days later, brought with them twenty-one scalps and nine prisoners, of whom three were given to the commandant and the others sent to their own village. Again, there were at the fort a number of Indians of different tribes who had come for the express purpose of raiding the English settlements. They were formed into five divisions and went separately against the English. Twelve days later two of these parties came back, bringing with them one prisoner and five scalps. The other divisions arrived later and reported that they had burned the settlements they had attacked.

A story is told which began in tragedy and ended in romance. In the first days of May a party of sixty Ottawa arrived from the North, who, after resting for three days, left for Virginia. Seventeen days later they returned, bringing with them twenty-five prisoners and thirty scalps and reporting that they had completely destroyed a settlement of fifty-five families, of which all but the prisoners had perished in the flames of the burning houses. Among the prisoners brought to the fort was a young girl named Rachel. She had been on a visit to her aunt, who lived in the settlement, and both aunt and niece had been made prisoners on its destruction. The aunt, not able to

keep up with the others on the march, had been tomahawked by one of the Indians. On the arrival at Fort Duquesne the girl along with the others was obliged to undergo the ordeal of the gauntlet. A savage struck her in the face with his fist, injuring one of her eyes so badly that the French took her from the Indians and placed her in the care of the surgeon of the fort, and during her convalescence she learned French. "She was very pretty and of a sweet and affectionate disposition," according to Bonnefons, and "touched without thinking the heart of a Canadian." The Canadian wished to marry her and took the matter up with the commandant of the fort. The commandant made no objection except that the girl was a Protestant and must first become a Catholic. The chaplain of the fort was called in and began giving her instructions in the Catholic religion and, when that had been completed, she and the Canadian were married by the priest. Now something occurred which for a time cast a shadow over the lives of the newly wedded couple. Some of the Indians who had taken part when the girl was running the gauntlet happened to see her again, claimed her as their share of the raid, and demanded that she be given to them. The commandant replied that the young woman, having been ransomed by him, was no longer a slave, and that with his consent she had been married to a Frenchman. The Indians were enraged and the commandant, in order to avoid trouble with them, determined that the couple must leave the fort in disguise and by night. A boat was provided, which was loaded with food, and, with two men as guides, the Canadian and his bride were sent down the Ohio on the way to Louisiana, where they arrived three months later.<sup>74</sup>

The French employed the Indians for the twofold purpose of observing and reporting on the actions of the English and of creating such a panic of fear among the settlers of that nationality as would induce them to abandon the country.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Bonnefons, *Voyage au Canada*, 117-120.

<sup>75</sup> *Colonial Records*, 6: 142, 162.

Much has been published regarding the outrages committed by these Indians from Fort Duquesne. That the Indian allies of the French were cruel in their warfare against the English settlers admits of no doubt. That they were encouraged by the French in conducting this manner of warfare, however, is not true. On the contrary the French did all in their power to prevent them from committing any outrages in their raids, and the raiding parties sent out from the fort were either commanded by French officers or accompanied by soldiers from the fort with orders to prevent the Indians from exercising any manner of cruelty on the English.

Much of the time of the French was spent in cultivating the Indians and before March, 1755, they rebuilt Logstown for the Shawnee who still remained in the vicinity. Christian Frederick Post, the Moravian missionary, describing the new Logstown as he saw it in December, 1758, said that it was "situated on a hill. On the east end, is a great piece of low land, where the old Logstown used to stand." He added, "In the new Logstown, the French have built about thirty houses for the Indians." <sup>76</sup>

In Canada, Duquesne was marking time and waiting orders from France. On October 28, 1754, he wrote to Machault in reply to a letter received from him, dated August 19, in which Machault had made the statement that the king of England had not authorized the English movement to the Ohio River. Duquesne vigorously disputed this and declared that the movement could not have been undertaken had not the king of England given his consent or even ordered it. <sup>77</sup>

England and France were nominally at peace with one another, but both were preparing for the war which had already begun. The disasters in the Ohio country had stirred the English into activity, not only in the colonies, but in England as well. Almost a month before Washington's defeat, a congress of commissioners from seven of the colonies

<sup>76</sup> Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 377; Post, "Second Journal," in the *Olden Time*, 1: 171 (April, 1846).

<sup>77</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 6: 173.



had convened at Albany for the dual purpose of treating with the Six Nations and the tribes in their alliance and obtaining their support against the French, and of uniting the colonies for the purpose of fighting the common enemy. The sessions began on June 15 and ended on July 11, but little was accomplished. The Six Nations, although valuable presents were given them, remained cold to the English overtures, but agreed to renew their former treaties with them. A plan for a union of the colonies was adopted, but failed to receive the approval of either the colonies or the English government. Franklin, who was one of the leading figures at the congress, said the plan of union adopted failed of approval because the colonies thought there was too much prerogative in it, and in England it was judged to be too democratic. The congress did, however, bring the colonies closer together and finally resulted in uniting them against the French.<sup>78</sup>

CHARLES W. DAHLINGER

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

<sup>78</sup> William L. Stone, *The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart.*, 1:450 (Albany, 1865); *Colonial Records*, 6:57-110; Thomas F. Gordon, *The History of Pennsylvania, from Its Discovery by Europeans to the Declaration of Independence in 1776*, 278-280 (Philadelphia, 1829).