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JOURNAL OF ROGER WOLCOTT

AT THE

SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG,

1745.

[Roger Wolcott, then Deputy Governor and in the 67th year of his age, the oldest man in the army except the Rev. Mr. Moody, accompanied the expedition to Louisbourg in the capacity of Major General. His Journal kept during that period seems to be deficient at the beginning. The Manuscript was given some six and thirty years since, by the Wolcott family, to Rev. Thomas Robbins, D. D., late librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society, and is now the property of the Society. In printing it the spelling has not always been followed, and in the French some slight corrections have been made of obvious errors in transcription from original documents.

C. J. H.]

Thursday 30th [of May, 1745.] The scout returned from the North Harbour brought in seventeen prisoners, who gave account that in the skirmish last Tuesday the enemy lost about 40 men, the rest were scattered in small parties without provisions or ammunition. At night the French burnt the houses without the wall at the south-east gate, and laid a boom before the town to prevent landing from sea.

Friday 31st. The general officers attempted to go on board the commodore, but were prevented by the fog, so returned and sent him a letter. The prisoners in the camp were sent on board the transports.

Saturday June 1st. This morning a great fire of small arms between the advanced battery and the enemy on the wall; we received no hurt. The enemy mounted nine cannon to play upon our guards at the advanced battery; upon examination we found we wanted shot to dismount them, and we sent to enquire for shot on board the French prize.

A brig of about 15 tons, from Brest, was taken, laden chiefly with wine and brandy.

Sunday, 2d. Our people grow better, and the cannonading continues.

Monday, 3d. The general with some of his officers went on board the commodore. Nothing was concluded upon. We heard the enemy had beset Annapolis. A vessel arrived from Boston with a thirteen inch mortar and some powder.

Delivered commissions to Major E. Goodrich, Capt. Henry King, Lieut. [Samuel] Torry, Ens. Tho. Leeds.

Tuesday, 4th. The sickness much abated. Our scout under Maj. Gilman killed a Frenchman and brought in 17 prisoners. Capts. Tyng and Rouse were dispatched to raise the siege at Annapolis. A rice ship which had been taken by the Vigilance was retaken, which the commodore generously gave back to the owners. Bosch landed his carriages at the light-house, and from the two-gun battery red-hot shot were discharged into the town; the mortar was carried to the cohorn battery.

Wednesday 5th. Col. Gorham's regiment got forward the light-house battery; in the night a deserter came from the city, who says that the inhabitants are 3,000, of whom 700 are soldiers, 100 of whom would desert if they had opportunity, that they are resolved to hold out to the last, that their provisions will last till September, that we had killed and wounded about ninety in the town, that 116 of our men [who] were taken at the island battery are alive prisoners in the town. We were advised that 700 French and Indians, who had beset that place, were moved off and were coming hither to assault us, whereupon it was resolved to intrench and fortify the camp.

Thursday, 6th. We found our ammunition so far spent that orders were given to the batteries to cease firing. By this time the two-gun and advanced batteries had broken down the top of the west gate and the wall nigh it, as

low as the glacis, and dismounted the guns at that place, and dismounted all the guns in the circular battery except three, many of the embrasures being broken to pieces and the wall in a shattered condition, and damaged a small battery below it; they had likewise dismounted the guns planted on a large bastion at the north-west end of the citadel, the embrasures and wall being very much shattered and broken.

Friday, 7th. Most of the prisoners were put on board the transports to be carried to Boston under the convoy of Capt. Clark Gayton. The fortifications round the camp are carrying on, but little firing for want of ammunition.

Saturday, 8th. Having obtained some supplies from the ships, the fire between the batteries and town was very furious till about eleven, when Capt. McDonald went into the city with a flag, and carried a letter* from the Marquis [de la Maison Forte,] late commander of the Vigilance, informing Monsieur Duchambon that he was taken and with the other prisoners used very well, and that he was informed that the French king's subjects with the Indians had murdered sundry English prisoners after they had surrendered, that this was unworthy and unbecoming the French nation, and that the English army before the city deeply resented it, &c. After delivering the letter Capt. McDonald warmly expostulated with them on these acts of barbarity, as also about their perfidy to the inhabitants of Canso, in that after they had capitulated to send them to New England, by threatening to send them to France they extorted a promise that they would not act in the war against them. The acts of barbarity they said were done by the Indians, contrary to the persuasions of their missionaries, and the affair of Canso was the act of their late governour. Capt. McDonald told them that their missionary had persuaded the Indians to kill the English, as a meritorious act, they being hereticks; that we had now 700

* A translation of this letter is printed in Mass. Hist. Coll., 1, 43.

prisoners, and thereby an opportunity to repay them in their own kind, but 'twas below the spirit of an Englishman, yet it was possible to provoke us to it.

By the flag we learn that nigh 100 of our men who were taken at the island battery were alive in the town.

Sunday, 9th. Resolved in council to remove the large mortar to the light-house battery and to perfect the same. The Chester, a 50 gun ship, joined the fleet and brought news of two 60 gun ships coming. I went up the bay to send home Miles with the sick and some prisoners. Two Swiss deserters from town informed that there are about 400 soldiers in the town and 200 at the island battery, that the sum total of the inhabitants are about 1300, that we had killed about 50, that they were short of it for provisions and ammunition, that more would desert if they had opportunity, that the island battery was very strong.

Monday 10th. I sent home Capt. Miles with the sick and prisoners. The fire began at the light-house battery; we finish entrenching our camp.

Tuesday, 11th. Being the anniversary of his majesty's accession to the throne, the general officers went on board the commodore, were generously entertained, and assured by him that he would come into the harbour with the ships.

Wednesday, 12th. The Sunderland and Canterbury, two sixty gun ships, and the Lark, a 40 gun ship, with the store ship and one prize ship of 26 guns, joined the fleet. The commodore sent for oakum and moss to line his sides, and that he would come in with his ships the first fair wind, sent the general his line of battle and signals and his instructions to his several captains, and that he expected six hundred men from the camp to go in with him, besides those taken out of the cruisers to man the Vigilance, and that the men with the boats and shallows at the grand battery should be ready to enter the town with his men at the signal given, and that the army should make an attack

on the land side as it had been formerly agreed. Accordingly the soldiers brought to the water side several tons of oakum and moss, and officers appointed to see that the boats, shallows and ladders were ready accordingly. Two guns more were added to the two-gun battery. The scout returned without any discovery.

Thursday, 13th. The oakum and moss were sent off to the commodore; the transports in the bay to the number of 54 sailed out to the fleet to supply them with wood, water and seamen; there appeared an extraordinary cheerfulness in the army from the hopes of a speedy victory; another 42 pounder was added to the two-gun battery, now to be called the five-gun battery.

Friday 14th. The great mortar was carried to the lighthouse battery, which by three in the afternoon had five guns mounted with which they played furiously and to good effect on the island battery. Most of the land men who were to go on board the ships embarked; 200 shot were brought on shore; the five-gun and advanced batteries played furiously on the town; in the night the enemy threw 45 shells at the advanced battery. I bought a blanket, shirt and pair of hose for Chequips, cost £6.5.0. Towards night I was taken ill with a cholick. Delivered commissions to Lieut. Jonath. Read, Lieut. Samuel Pettibone, Ens. Joseph Wait, Ens. Jonath. Noble.

Saturday, 15th. The rest of the landmen went on board; the commodore came ashore, had the troops drawn up, he told them he should go in with his ships which could discharge 364 guns on [the] town at once, that if the town did submit to his cannon he was determined to land in person at the head of his seamen; he exhorted them to enter bravely, like Englishmen, on the land side, which would be to the honour of their country, themselves, and their latest posterity; which speech the troops answered with three cheerful Huzzas. This day the fleet before Louisbourg consisted of the following vessels of force,

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders' Names.</i>
Superb,	415	64	Peter Warren Esq ^r ; Commodore.
Princess Mary,	400	60	Capt. Edwards.
Vigilance,	420	60	Capt. Douglas.
Sunderland,		60	
Canterbury,		60	
Hector,	250	40	Capt. Cornwall.
Eltham,	250	40	Capt. Durell.
Launceston,	250	40	Capt. Calmady.
Mermaid,	250	40	Capt. Montague.
Chester,		50	
Lark,		40	
Prize ship,		26	
Annapolis store ship,			Kitchenman.

Resolved in Council to enter at the west breach when the commodore came in, which he declared should be the next fair wind.

About seven Monsieur Lapperell came out of the city with a flag of truce, with a letter* from Monsieur Duchambon desiring that all hostilities might cease till he could call his council and determine upon what terms to deliver up the town; to which he was answered that he should be allowed till eight in the morning, by which time if they should surrender themselves prisoners of war they should be used with humanity.

This day sixteen out of eighteen shells that were thrown from the light-house battery fell into the island battery.

Sunday, 16th. Monsieur Laron returned the terms upon which the town should be delivered. This day the terms of capitulation were completed and settled, a copy whereof is as follows,

Demand made and terms agreed upon for the surrender of Louisbourg &c. to his Britannic majesty's obedience.

* A copy of this letter is found further on, a translation of it is printed in Mass. Hist. Coll., 1, 45.

Summons sent in to the commanding officer of Louisbourg.

The Camp before Louisbourg, May 7th 1745.

Whereas, there is now encamped on the island of Cape Breton, near the city of Louisbourg, a number of his Britannic majesty's troops under the command of the Hon^{ble}. Lieut. General Pepperell, and also a squadron of his said majesty's ships of war, under the command of the Hon^{ble}. Peter Warren Esq. is now lying before the harbour of the said city, for the reduction thereof to the obedience of the crown of Great Britain,

We, the said William Pepperell and Peter Warren, to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, do in the name of our sovereign lord, George the second, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, king, &c. summon you to surrender to his obedience the said city, fortresses and territory, together with the artillery, arms and stores of war thereunto belonging. In consequence of which surrender, we, the said William Pepperell and Peter Warren, in the name of our said sovereign, do assure you that all the subjects of the French king now in said city and territory shall be treated with the utmost humanity, have their personal estate secured to them, and have leave to transport themselves and said effects to any part of the French king's dominions in Europe.

Your answer hereto is demanded at or before five o' the clock this afternoon.

To the Commander in chief of the W. PEPPERELL.
 French King's troops, in Louisbourg, P. WARREN.
 on the Island of Cape Breton.

Answer to the foregoing.

A Louisbourg, le dix-huitième May 1745.

Nous, Louis Duchambon, Chr. de l'ordre militaire de St. Louis, Lieutenant du Roy, Commandant pour sa Majesté très Chrétienne des Isles Royalle, Canceau, St. Jéans, et terres adjacentes.

Sur la sommation qui nous a été faite à jour septième May, vieux stile, de la part du Sieur honorable Pepperell, lieutenant général commandant les troupes qui forment le siège de Louisbourg, et du Sieur honorable Pierre Warren, commandant l'escadre des vaisseaux du roy de la Grande Bretagne, mouillée près du port de la dite ville, que nous ayons à lui remettre la dite ville avec ses dépendances, artilleries, armes et munitions de guerre, sous l'obéissance du roy leur maistre;

Le Roy de France, le nôtre, nous ayant confié la défense de la dite isle, nous ne pouvons qu'après la plus vigoureuse attaque écouter une semblable proposition, et nous n'avons de réponse à faire à cette demande que par la bouche de nos canons.

A Messieurs Pepperell et Warren, DUCHAMBON.
commandant les troupes et les vaisseaux
du Roy de la Grande Bretagne.

Read to the army in English, answer, Huzza, Huzza, Huzza.

Letter from Mr. Duchambon.

Messieurs,

Voulant faire cesser les actes d'hostilité, et arrester l'effusion de sang de part et d'autre, je vous envoie un officier de notre garnison pour vous remettre la présente, aux fins de vous demander une suspension d'armes pour le temps qu'il me sera nécessaire pour vous faire les propositions aux conditions des quelles je me détermineray à vous remettre la place que le Roy mon maistre m'a confiée.

Je suis avec toute la consideration possible,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

DUCHAMBON.

A Messieurs Pepperell, Lieutenant Général, commandant les troupes de S. M. Britannique formant le siège devant Louisbourg, [et] Warren Equyer, commandant l'escadre [des] vaisseaux de guerre [de] sa dite Majesté, mouillée devant le dit Port de Louisbourg.

*Answer to the foregoing.*S^r,

We have yours of this date proposing a suspension of hostility for such a time as shall be necessary for you to determine upon the conditions of delivering up the garrison of Louisbourg, which arrived at a happy juncture to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, as we were together and had just determined upon a general attack; we shall comply with your desire until eight of the clock tomorrow morning, and if in the mean time you surrender yourselves prisoners of war, you may depend upon humane and generous treatment.

Camp, June 15th 1745, We are your humble servants,
 $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 o'clock P. M. P. WARREN, W. PEPPERELL.
 Mr. Duchambon, Governour of Louisbourg.

Second letter from Mr. Duchambon.

Messieurs,

J'ai reçu la réponse que vous m'avez faite à la lettre que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire hier. Les conditions auxquelles vous voulez me recevoir sont trop dures, et vous me rendrez assez de justice, je pense, pour être persuadés que je ne puis [point] les accepter. L'officier que je vous envoie est chargé de vous remettre les articles de capitulation que je vous propose. C'est à ces conditions que je consentiray à vous remettre la place que [le] Roy mon maistre m'a confiée.

Messieurs, j'ai l'honneur d'être, avec toute la considération possible.

Votre très humble serviteur,

A Louisbourg 17me Juin,
 1745.

DUCHAMBON.

à Messieurs,

Messieurs Warren, Chef d'escadre de sa Majesté Britannique, et Pepperell, Lieutenant Général commandant les troupes de sa dite Majesté Britannique, qui forment le siège de Louisbourg.

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION PROPOSED BY MR. DUCHAMBON.

Articles de Capitulation proposés par Mr. Duchambon, Chev'r. de l'ordre militaire de St. Louis, Commandant pour S. M. très Chrétienne à l'Isle Royale, à Mr. Warren et Pepperell, commandant l'escadre et les troupes de S. M. Britannique qui forment le siège de Louisbourg.

Article premier.

Il sera permis aux habitans de l'Isle Royale et autres isles de la dépendance de le gouvernement religieux et religieuses de passer en France, en Canada, ou aux Isles Françoises de l'Amerique, ou de demeurer dans la colonie en jouissans de leur biens.

2.

Que les habitans qui voudront passer en France, en Canada, ou [aux] isles Françoises de l'Amerique, pourront vendre leurs meubles et biens immeubles, et ce pendant l'espace de deux ans à compter du jour de l'evacuation, et d'en emporter le prix sans difficulté qu'il leur sera donné des passeports à cet effect.

3.

Qu'il sera fourny par les assiégeans les bâtimens nécessaires pour transporter en France, en Canada, ou aux isles Françoises de l'Amerique, les habitans qui voudront sortir de la colonie pendant la présente année.

4.

Que la religion catholique apostolique romaine sera maintenue dans la ville et lieux de la dépendance ainsi qu'elle y est présentement établie pour tous les habitans qui voudront y demeurer.

5.

Que les missionaires qui dirigent les sauvages dans le dit gouvernement et dépendances ne seront permis [à être] inquiétés dans leurs fonctions, et il leur sera permis de faire ex-

ercer parmy les dits sauvages la religion catholique apostolique et romaine.

6.

Que les bâtimens de mer appartenants aux sujets de sa majesté très chrétienne coulés à fond ou autres échoués en le port ou dans l'étendue de le gouvernement pourront sortir de la colonie pendant la présente année avec leurs provisions agrés et artillerie et autres effects à eux appartenants pour se rendre en France, en Canada, ou aux isles Françoises de l'Amerique, et que si en faisant route il survenoit un vent contraire qui les obligeat de se lâcher dans un port appartenant à l'ennemy, ils ne pourront pour ce sujet être réputés de bonne prize, et au contraire il leur sera donné tous les secours nécessaires avec passeport et escorte suffisante.

7.

Le commandant ny l'ordonnateur ny qui que ce soit de la garnison ne pourront être inquiétés ny recherchés pour les dommages qui ont été causés ou faites par les nécessités de la guerre, soit dans la ville ou ses dépendances par le feu, dégradation des maisons, enlèvement des bestiaux, ou autrement.

8.

Les debtes legitimement contractées pour le service du roy, ou par les officiers, ou autres de la garnison, seront monnoïées et suretés données pour le payement d'icelles sans que pour ce sujet on soit tenu de donner otage ny nantissement de quelque nature que ce soit.

9.

Il sera fourny par les assiégeans deux chariots couverts dans lesquelles le commandant pourra faire mettre ce que bou lui semblera sans que sous quelque pretexte que ce soit l'ennemy puisse non seulement* ceux qui seront dedans pourront y être masqués ou deguisés comme il leur plaira.

* Mr. Wolcott, in copying from the original document, has evidently omitted some words here.

10.

Les officiers et soldats, et tout autre militaire de la garnison, lesquels sont blessés ou malades et hors d'état d'être transportés pourront rester dans les hospitaux ou dans les loges où ils sont actuellement avec les gens nécessaires pour en avoir soin jusqu' à ce qu'ils soient en état d'être transportés, le tout aux frais de l'assiégeant, et lorsqu'ils seront guéris ou en état de sortir il leur sera fourny par les assiégeans des passeports [et] voitures aux frais de sa Majesté Britanique pour qu'ils puissent se rendre au même lieu où la garnison se sera retirée.

11.

Les prisonniers faits de part [et] d'autre seront rendus reciproquement sans rançon, et quelque nombre qu'ils se trouvent avoir été pris depuis le jour de l'investiture de la place jusques à celui de la cessation des hostilités.

12.

Nul des assiégeans ne pourra sous quelque pretexte que ce soit interrompre la marche de la garnison lorsqu'elle sortira, ny entrer dans les rangs pour y débaucher les soldats et les y faire désertter et ce quand bien même les dits soldats en seroient consentans, au quel cas ils seront rendus sur le champ et les infracteurs punis, et le présent article subsistera jusques au jour de l'embarquement de la garnison.

13.

Il sera marqué, suivant que les commandants François et Anglois en conviendront entre eux, un quartier hors de la ville pour y faire demeurer les troupes et les habitans qui voudront se retirer avec la dite garnison jusques au jour de leur embarquement, dans lequel poste les dites troupes feront la garde, et il sera défendu de la part des généraux Anglois, aux sauvages de leur nation d'en approcher sous quelque pretexte que ce soit.

14.

Le commandant et ordonnateur, les officiers de l'état major de la place, le commissaire de guerre, controlleur et autre officier de plume, le trésorier, les ingénieurs, les canoniers, bombardiers, avec toutes les troupes de la garnison, leurs femmes, enfants, domestiques, meubles et équipage, chaque soldat ayant vingt coups à tirer, avec six pièces de canon de grosse artillerie et deux mortiers de douze pouces, ayant chacun un ou deux affuts de rechange et aussy vingt coups à tirer pourront sortir de la place par le port qui conviendra pour se rendre au quartier qui leur aura été assigné trois [jours] après la ratification des présents articles, les troupes armées, tambours bastant, drapeaux déployés, pour se retirer au quartier qui leur aura été assigné jusques à leur embarquement.

15.

Que les assiégeans fourniront aux frais et dépenses de sa majesté Britannique au commandant, à l'ordonnateur, à l'état major, à la garnison et [aux] autres dénommés dans le précédent article, les bâtimens nécessaires pour les transporter en France à Rochifort.

16.

Les assiégeans, feront subsister, aux frais et dépenses de sa majesté Britannique, la garnison jusques à son arrivée en France, ainsy que tous les habitans qui se joyndront aux troupes pour passer en France.

17.

Moyennant les conditions accordées de bonne foy, lesquelles seront entendues à la lettre après que les ratifications en auront été échangés, et les otages reciproquement donnés pour la sureté commune et la foy promise, les assiégeans leveront aux troupes de sa majesté Britannique la porte de la reine, sous la voûte intérieure de la quelle il sera construit une barrière dont le dedans sera gardé par [les]

assiégés et le dehors par les assiégeans, les uns et les autres observant de ne laisser entrer ny sortir qui que ce soit sans le consentement des généraux François et Anglois qu'après l'entière évacuation des troupes.

Fait a Louisbourg le $\frac{1}{2}$ ^e $\frac{7}{7}$ me Juin 1745.

DUCHAMBON.

Answer to the foregoing.

Camp before Louisbourg June 16th 1745.

Sir,

We have before us yours of this date, together with the several articles of capitulation on which you have proposed to surrender the town and fortifications of Louisbourg, with the territories adjacent under your government to his Britannic majesty's obedience, to be delivered up to his said majesty's forces now besieging said place under our command.

Which articles we can by no means concede to, but as we are desirous to treat you in a generous manner we do again make you an offer of the terms of surrender proposed by us in our summons sent you 7th of May last, and do farther consent to allow and promise you the following articles, viz:—

First. That if your vessels shall be found insufficient for the transportation of your persons and proposed effects to France, we will provide such a farther number of vessels as may be sufficient for that purpose, also any provisions necessary for the voyage that you cannot furnish yourselves with.

Secondly. That all commission officers belonging to the garrison, and the inhabitants of the town, may remain in their houses with their families and enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and no person shall be suffered to molest or misuse any of them till such time as they can conveniently be transported to France.

Thirdly. That the non-commission officers and soldiers shall, immediately upon the surrender of the town and

fortresses, be put on board some of his Britannic majesty's ships till they can also be transported to France.

Fourthly. That all your sick and wounded shall be taken tender care of in the same manner with our own.

Fifthly. That the commander in chief now in the garrison shall have liberty to send off two covered wagons, to be inspected only by one officer of ours, that no warlike stores may be contained therein.

Sixthly. That if there are any persons in the town or garrison which you shall desire may not be seen by us, they shall be permitted to go off masked.

The above we do consent to and promise upon your compliance with the following conditions.

First. That the said surrender and due performance of every part of the aforesaid premises be made and completed as soon as possible.

Secondly. That as a security for the punctual performance of the same, the island battery, or one of the batteries of the town, shall be delivered, with all the artillery and warlike stores thereunto belonging, into the possession of his Britannic majesty's troops before six of the clock this afternoon.

Thirdly. That his Britannic majesty's ships of war, now lying before the port, shall be permitted to enter the harbour of Louisbourg without any molestation, as soon after six of the clock this afternoon as the commander in chief of said ships shall think fit.

Fourthly. That none of the officers, soldiers, or inhabitants of Louisbourg, who are subjects of the French king, shall take up arms against his Britannic majesty nor any of his allies, until after the expiration of the full term of twelve months from this time.

Fifthly. That all subjects of his Britannic majesty, who are now prisoners with you, shall be immediately delivered up to us.

In case of your non-compliance with these conditions we

decline any farther treaty with you on the affair, and shall decide the matter with our arms.

P. WARREN, W. PEPPERELL.

Mr. Duchambon.

Third letter from Mr. Duchambon.

Messieurs,

Il n'est point expliqué dans les propositions que vous m'avez faites aujourd'hui la façon dont les troupes sortiront de la place pour être embarquées sur vos vaisseaux: je ne puis consentir à les laisser sortir sans qu'ils aient leurs armes et les drapeaux déployés, qui sont les honneurs deus à des troupes qui ont fait leur devoir. Lorsque les dites troupes seront à bord on pourra serrer leurs armes sous condition qu' on les leur remettra en sortant des vaisseaux pour qu'elles descendent armées sur les terres de France. Cet article accepté de votre part, je consens aux autres, et j'en voy deux officiers en otage comme vous en enverrez deux de votre part pour la sûreté de l'exécution des articles que vous nous avez adressés.

Je suis [avec] toute la considération possible,

Messieurs, Votre très humble serviteur,

A Louisbourg le $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁶/₇ me Juin,

DUCHAMBON.

1745.

A Messieurs,

Messieurs Warren, Ecuyer, Chef d'escadre des armes navales de S. Majesté Britanique, et Pepperell, Lieutenant Général de troupes de sa dite Majesté, au camp devant la ville de Louisbourg.

Answer to the foregoing.

Camp before Louisbourg, June 16th 1745.

Sir,

I have yours by an hostage, signifying your consent to the surrender of the town and fortresses of Louisbourg and territories adjacent, &c. on the terms this day proposed to you by Commodore Warren and myself, excepting only

you desire your troops may march out of the garrison with their arms and colours, to be then delivered into our custody 'till said troops' arrival in France, at which time to have them returned to them; which I consent to and send you an hostage for the security of the performance of what we have promised, and have sent to Commodore Warren,* that if he consents to it also, he should send a detachment on shore to take possession of the island battery.

W. PEPPERELL.

Monsieur Duchambon.

Sunday, 16th. About six, afternoon, the commodore took possession of the island battery.

Monday, 17th. About noon the commodore with his ships entered the harbour. At five, afternoon, the lieutenant general, with drums beating and other warlike musick, entered the south gate, where the keys of the town were delivered to him.

Tuesday, 18th. Five hundred of the French regular troops went on board. I was taken with a violent nephritic pain, and went on board Doane. Capt Prentice took a ship of three hundred tons from Bordeaux.

Wednesday, 19th. We had news of 2,500 French and Indians coming down to distress our camp, whereupon we detached a number of men to defend it.

Thursday, 20th. Weather very foggy and wet, as it has been ever since we took the city.

Friday, 21st. Weather still wet and foggy, by which those at the camp suffer much. I came on shore, had a comfortable house provided. Bennet was dispatcht for Boston. I was in extremity with my pain all night.

Saturday, 22d. Still foggy. It was discoursed in council how this affair should be represented at the British court. My pain continues violent.

*Pepperell's letter to Warren, with the latter's reply, is printed in Mass. Hist. Coll., 1, 45.

Sunday, 23d. Weather thick. Publick worship was attended in town.

Monday, 24th. Council sat. Resolved that it was necessary to repair the breaches made in the walls and barracks, and that the army should do it, and that they should be allowed five shillings per diem, New England, old tenor currency, for that service. The guns were drawing back to be remounted in their proper places.—Coit, Mumford and Robins' vessels, and Lakeman the pilot taken into [the] king's pay.

Tuesday, 25th. Still foggy, not an hour's sunshine since we entered the city, the utmost dispatch used to get the vessels ready to transport the prisoners to France.

Wednesday, 26th. Resolved in council to send immediately for governour Shirley. This is the first fair day since we came to town.

Thursday, 27th. Was spent in removing the camp and filling the vacant embrazures in the town with cannon from the ships.

Friday, 28th. In council resolved that the general, Col. Moor, and Mr. Williams should go as agents to Great Britain, and that the publick town stock of flour should be better secured, and the vessels are fitting to transport the prisoners to France.

Saturday, 29th. I was much bowed down with pain and sickness. The cannon were still moving to fill the vacant embrazures.—Left a power of attorney with Col. Burr to take care of my part of the plunder.

News arrived that Capts. Fones, Donahew and Beckwith had an engagement with the French and Indians at Tackquamash, on the 18th inst. being a party of eight hundred who were coming from the siege of Annapolis to the assistance of Louisbourg. Donahew had like to have been taken, but was rescued by the others. Many of the enemy were slain, but not a man hurt on our side.

Sunday, 30th. In the forenoon heard Mr. Moody in the

French chapel. P. M. council sat, resolved to repair the city and walls at the king's cost; a committee was appointed to take care of the plunder, that distribution may be made thereof according to justice. The French and their effects are continually going on board the transports for France.

Monday, July 1st. Cannon from the Launceston were mounting in the vacant embrasures. The French with their effects still moving on board. Our carpenters at work in repairing the city houses.

Tuesday, 2d. Excessive stealing in every part of the town. I went to view the island battery and from thence on board the Diamond, Ephraim Doane, Capt. to return to New England, with 77 men, mostly invalid, myself very weak and full of pain.

Having now passed through what I am to act in this memorable siege, attended with so much danger and hard service, I have time to make a short pause and take a retrospect of this expedition in the projection, prosecution and success of it.

It was projected at Boston last winter; that government resolved to send 3,000 land forces and what shipping they could make. His excellency governour Shirley informed his majesty of the intended expedition by the first opportunity, and sent an express to Commodore Warren in the West Indies to assist in it, and messengers were sent to the neighbouring governments to come into the expedition.

At the first laying of the design in Boston, it was contrived to take the town, grand and island batteries while the enemy were asleep, but if that failed, to proceed by cannonading or storm, as a council of war should determine.

In the prosecution of this design the Massachusetts and New Hampshire sent 3,250 land forces into the service, with what ships of force they had and needful transports.

Connecticut sent 500 land forces in transports, with Capt. Prentis in the Defense Sloop with 100 men for the sea service. Rhode Island sent Capt. Fones in the Tartar with 90 men. Gov. Clinton sent ten eighteen pounders from New York.

These forces all met at Canso April 25th 1745, and left 100 men with eight cannon to fortify that place; 400 men, under the command of Col. Moulton, were ordered to reduce St. Peters; and on the 29th day the fleet set sail from Canso for Cape Breton, and on the 30th, about one of the clock P. M. they arrived in Chapeaurouge Bay, near Flat Point. We are now ready for landing 3250 men for the land service furnished with sixteen eighteen-pounders, two nine-pounders, three mortars, 1 thirteen, 1 eleven, and 1 nine inch diameter, and a suitable number of shot and shell, with about 500 barrells of powder.

Altho' commonly the surf runs so high that there is no landing, yet now it was favourable to a wonder, and as soon as the whale boats were let down our men flew to shore like eagles to the quarry; the enemy soon advanced to meet the first that landed, at whose appearance our men made no stop but prest on upon the enemy, and at our first discharge the enemy fled, some of them were killed, some wounded and some taken prisoners; in the encounter we lost none but had two or three slightly wounded; the landing continued with utmost dispatch, and the men as soon as on shore prest forward thro' the forest to the town, being about three miles; in their passing they gave and received several shot from the enemy, in which none were lost on our side.

Our resolute landing and beating the enemy back to the town, struck such a terror on them that they abandoned the grand battery with the cannon, great shot and shells that were there; they burnt several of their houses without the town, and retired within their walls. This night our men lay in the forest without any regular encampment.

The next morning Sergt. Leeds with some Indians entered the royal battery, and about sixteen of our men drove back about eighty of the enemy who were returning from the town to the royal battery, and upon Brigadier Waldo's desire, his regiment was put into it.

We now spent several days in landing our tents and stores, fixing our camp, setting up our store-houses and hospitals, sending out advanced parties to meet any of the enemy that might be patrolling about and reduce the adjacent settlements. Workmen were employed to drill the cannon at the grand battery, which the enemy had plugged up, others were employed to view the ground where we might erect our batteries to the best advantage. As soon as the cannon were freed, they began a very brisk fire upon the town to the great annoyance of the enemy.

Our advanced parties met parties of the enemy which they constantly beat, and from the adjacent settlements brought in many prisoners, and things being settled respecting our camp and store-houses, &c., it was agreed to erect a battery at the green hill, being about 1760 yards west of the town. To this place from the landing, being about a mile and quarter, we drew our mortars, cannon, and carried our powder, ball and shells, over stony hills and deep morasses; all done in the night because the way was exposed to the shot from the walls. From hence we played upon the town without any great success, unless by the shells from our great mortar, which fell within the walls, and here we constantly received the great shot and shells from the town. Upon further consideration it was resolved to remove the cannon from the green hill to the cohorn battery, standing about 880 yards westward of the town, which was accomplished accordingly, and from thence we played with better success upon the town, but unhappily split our great mortar by a shell bursting within it. We also erected the advanced battery about 200 yards distance from the north-west gate, and the two-gun battery,

being about 880 yards north of the town; these two batteries were furnished with cannon from the royal battery. The advanced battery beat down the west gate and the walls near it, and dismounted several cannon on the walls, the shot passing through the houses in the town; the two-gun battery dismounted the cannon on the circular battery and raked the town from end to end, driving the inhabitants out [of] their houses into their casemates, where many of them sickened and died.

Notwithstanding, it was feared the town could not be taken unless the ships came in and a general storm was given by land and sea, and some of the ship captains thought the king's ships ought not [to] be so exposed to the enemy until the island battery was reduced, therefore the reduction of that battery became the matter of our greatest attention. It was resolved to attempt it in the night, by landing men in whale boats; four times this was attempted but failed without landing a man, but on the night after the 26th of May, about 400 volunteers undertook it and chose Capt. Brooks for their leader, a number of them landed, but 'tis uncertain how many—as soon as they were perceived by the garrison the battery was in a blaze from their cannon, swivells and small arms, their langrell cutting boats and men to pieces as they were landing, yet those who landed maintained a desperate fight for two hours and a half to the amazement of the enemy—at length some few of them got back into their boats and returned, 189 were left behind, 120 of which were found prisoners when the town was taken, and 69 perished in the attempt.

Col. Gorham's regiment had for some time been stationed on the light-house side in order to erect a battery there to annoy the island battery, and upon this defeat that battery was hastened, the perfecting of it was attended with much difficulty and delay, but by the 14th of June with the large mortar that came from Annapolis and five eighteen-pounders he played successfully on the island battery, breaking

down some of the embrazures and driving the French out of the battery into the sea. Our fire from the grand battery and other batteries had greatly distrest the enemy in the town and island battery, and time was very precious with us; we had now been encamped 47 days in an enemy's country, far from any English settlements that might give us relief, the French and Indians in the adjacent parts were numerous, we were in danger of a surprize from them, especially those that were gone off from Annapolis, who we heard were advancing towards us; our stores were far spent, and the weather (though favorable to a wonder hitherto) was much to be feared, the climate being usually covered with palpable fogs and much rain, in which case no business could be done, and we must suffer very much in our camp and trenches.

But now, in this difficult and critical hour, the Sunderland, Canterbury, and Lark, having joined the fleet, the captains of the ships agreed to the commodore to bring in the ships before the town and storm it by land and sea, and on the 15th of June the honble. commodore came on shore and informed us of his resolution to come in with his ships, and that from his broadsides he could discharge 364 guns on the town at once; it was then agreed in council to storm the town by land and sea the first fair wind to bring the ships into the harbour, but this was happily prevented by a flag of truce coming out the same day towards night, proposing to enter into a capitulation for surrendering the town; the capitulation was finisht the next day, the town &c. surrendered to his Britannic majesty, and on the 17th we took possession of the town and island battery and advanced the union flag upon the walls. By this the effusion of much Christian blood was prevented, as also much damage that would likely have been done to the ships and town, now all belonging to the King of Great Britain.

And now our victorious army is in the town, the weather very wet, the officers and soldiers have no plunder to re-

ceive nor a house to put their heads in, the goods being by the capitulation given to the inhabitants, and their houses till they could remove.

This city and port was doubtless intended by the French king as a place of strength from whence his forces might issue forth to destroy the English shipping in these parts, as also their settlements on Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Canso, if not New England itself, and the reducing of it to his majesty's obedience will have a tendency to establish and enlarge the English trade and plantations in North America.

This action will appear to be such a conquest as we seldom meet with in history, if we consider the smallness of the army, how ill they were provided, with their other circumstances, together with the strength of the fortifications they overcame.

Of the army I have already spoken, the fortifications come now to be considered, and here,

First, the royal battery, which is a fort scarcely matchable in the French king's dominions; towards the sea it is strong and regular, about twelve feet high to the embrasures, it mounts 30 large cannon and from the bastions the cannon sweep the whole face of the walls; towards the land it is defended with a wall on the back side of the barracks, 14 feet high from the bottom to the eaves, then you must go up a spar eleven feet covered with slate, as smooth as ice, when you are got to the top your slipping down into the battery is equal to a fall of 14 feet upon the stones; the back of the barracks is well fitted with loopholes for the discharge of small arms against the assailants, at each end of the wall is a tower fitted with loopholes, and higher up for swivels to sweep the wall from end to end; on the back of the barracks is a ditch ten feet deep and twelve feet wide, the bottom covered with water and mud, the outside of the ditch is a wall ten feet high, beyond this a breastwork with pickets, with a glacis not quite finisht; it was judged 200 defendants would be more than a match

against 5000 that should attempt it without cannon, and cannon could not be brought against it without drawing them four miles in very bad way.

Secondly, the island battery, built in the midst of the water, upon a clump of rocks, and in the most beautiful and regular manner, the face of the wall is 27 rods in length, it mounts 30 twenty-two pounders and has two brass mortars besides swivels, and is furnisht with a magazine; it is accessible but at two places, and those so streightened with rocks that three boats can hardly land abreast, the landing at the gate is strongly guarded by the battery, and that on the back side is so exposed to the surf from the ocean that it is a rare thing to find a time when the boats can come ashore.

Thirdly, the city itself, supposed to equal Barcelona in strength by some that have seen both, the walls toward the land are from twenty to thirty feet high and about 40 feet thick up to the platform, and above that in some places about thirteen, and in others about eight feet wide, built in so regular a manner that there is not a face in the wall but what is swept by the cannon on the bastions. Without the wall is a ditch in some places four and in some places ten rods wide, without that a stone wall of about eight feet high, without that a breastwork with pickets and a glacis, under which the ground is prepared for springing mines; on the water side the walls are from twelve to fifteen feet high, but considering how it was guarded by the water, by pickets, and a boom to prevent access to the walls, and how it is furnisht with cannon and swivels to annoy the assailants and sweep every face of the wall, it is judged as difficult to assault it on that side as any. The wall is furnisht with 148 embrasures, and had mounted 101 cannon and 76 swivels; within the walls are five brass and one iron mortar and all warlike stores. When we sat down before it there were 1700 defenders mustered in arms; it cost us 49 days siege, in which time we bore the continual fire of the

enemy, which our troops cheerfully sustained and returned their fire back upon them till they surrendered. The French themselves acknowledge the undaunted resolution of our men and say they were wild men without fear, and doubtless both officers and soldiers deserve an honourable respect from their country.

And here with respect to the two chief commanding officers by land and sea.

The Honble. General Pepperell ever spoke cheerfully to the army with respect to the success; his health supported him to go through the whole fatigue; the expence of his bountiful table may be supposed to exceed his pay. In a word, under his conduct the city was taken.

The Honble. Peter Warren Esqr., commodore of the ships, doth justly claim of all those who shall speak of this siege to remember his name with honour, for without him the whole design would have been abortive; his expedition in coming from the West Indies, upon the first notice, brought him before the harbour of Louisbourg to block it up before the New English forces arrived. During the whole siege he defended us from the enemy by sea, without which we certainly should have been their prey; he took several French ships and vessels coming to Louisbourg, and especially he brought his own ship within pistol shot of the Vigilant, a new French ship of 64 guns and 550 men, which he took in a few minutes with the loss of two or three men only; he supplied us out of the prizes and his own stores with powder, ball, &c., when we wanted, without which we could not have gone on with the siege; he always express a cheerful resolution to do every thing in his power to promote the service, and to bring in the ships before the town if he could be advised to it as consistent with his duty and the trust his majesty had reposed in him for the safety of his ships, and being at last advised to it by the captains at sea, he came into a resolution with the land officers to storm the town by land and sea and to

bring in his ships before the town, and he would doubtless in a few hours [have] been in the hottest of the enemy's fire had not the capitulation prevented it, and we may justly suppose that the awe the enemy had of the ships was one cause why they surrendered.

But why do I speak of men, 'tis God has done it and the praise belongs to him alone. God hearing the prayers of his people, by many signal instances of mercy has led us on from step to step to victory.

Let us stand and see the salvation of the Lord, first by bringing in the forces and the ships from such different and distant places, just at such time as would serve for our success.

Secondly, by giving us fair weather at our landing and during the siege, as has not been known in the memory of man in this country usually covered with palpable fogs and rains in this season for the greatest part of the time, and this is more remarkable, for altho' the fair weather generally continued until we entered the city, yet the rain and fog came on before we could reach the intendant's house, and continued for eight or ten days very severe, which the French took notice of and said, if the English had not come into the town it would have been fair weather still.

Thirdly, by the great health afforded us, for altho' about the 27th of May it was judged we had about 800 sick in the camp it proved mortal to but few.

Fourthly, by causing our enemies to become bread to us by their surrendering up the royal battery, cannon, shells and great shot that were there, without which we could have done nothing, and by the supply of powder and shot, &c. afforded us out of the Vigilant and other ships taken by sea, without which we could not have gone on.

Fifthly, by the wonderful protection of our lives from the fire of the enemy; at our batteries those who kept the account say that we discharged 9657 great shot and shells against the town, besides small shot in abundance, and 'tis

supposed the fire of the enemy did equal if not exceed ours; in the last 24 hours of the firing they sent 74 large shells to our batteries, and several of them fell in the trenches, the ground about our batteries was plowed up like a cornfield, and the earth as it were covered with broken shells, and yet we lost not 20 men by the fire from the town, and about 130 in all.

Sixthly, by intimidating our enemies to surrender up the royal battery without a blow, and afterwards the city, which considering the breastwork, pikes, boom, and several other things by which they had strengthened it during the siege, was more defencible when we entered it than when we first sat down before it. This is the Lord's doing and it was marvellous in our eyes.

This town of Louisbourg has a very large and good harbour before it, and it is easily (if not already) made impregnable by sea, it is seated in the gulf of the Bay of St. Lawrence, in the way of shipping and commerce between the River St. Lawrence and the West Indies, and in the midst of the fishery in those seas; by its natural situation and the great strength the French king has added to it, it seems formed to make Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and the islands in the Bay of St. Lawrence and the Gut of Canso dependent upon it, and its being under his majesty's obedience secures all these to the crown of Great Britain and will be a better estate to the nation than the mines of Peru are to the crown of Spain; it is a place of that importance that there is no doubt his majesty will secure and settle it under his government, and to facilitate this, I wish his majesty would graciously set up a civil government there with liberty of conscience to all Protestants, and that God would spirit teachers after his own heart to go there and teach the people the good knowledge of his word.

So prays

ROGER WOLCOTT,

Maj. Genll. to the Army.

Wednesday, 3d. Wind S. by E. Showery, a fresh gale. Stood S. W. About 3 P. M. entered the harbour of Canso, saw a ship in the offing. This night Col. Choat came on board who had the first news of our success at Canso, he informed us that the Massachusetts had raised 1000, and Connecticut 200, recruits for the army, and that he was come with the first of them.

Thursday, 4th. Lay all day becalmed at Canso, saw a ship to the westward of the harbour which gave us some fear. Maj. Cutter came on board and invited me on shore, which I accepted; he entertained me very generously and paid me the military honours of his battery and guard; he kept a very good discipline among his men, and has done much in fortifying the place since we left Canso.

Friday, 5th. Wind N. E. We sailed out of the harbour, stood away all that day and the next night.

Saturday, 6th. This day we tacked off and on to the shore, at 12 o'clock, by observation, were in 43.59.

Sunday, 7th. Wind S. W. Stood in for the land. About sunset were in for Port Segnior, about 30 leagues eastward of Cape Sable. Little wind this day.

Monday, 8th. Wind S. W. Discovered 12 fishing vessels, those we spoke with had not heard the news of our taking Louisbourg. Little wind this day.

Tuesday, 9th. In the morning were up with Cape Negro, 7 leagues east of Cape Sable. A small N. E. gale, the current setting strong against us made slow way, yet by noon were up with Cape Sable.

Wednesday, 10th. A small gale at N. E. which died away after noon. Our latitude 42.30.

Thursday, 11th. Wind S. W. Stood N. W. by W. Our latitude 42.58. Saw sundry whales and an innumerable company of herring, hogs and black fish, playing about us. At 9 stood off, at three stood N. W. till morning.

Friday, 12th. We made a stretch to the northward, saw a privateer standing for us, we prepared to engage, but it

proved to be Capt. Saunders come since us from Louisbourg. The wind very scant, our latitude 42.16.

Saturday, 13th. Found our wood and water very short, so we stood in for land, and by ten discovered Agamenticus, by three were in with the Isle of Shoals, we tried to turn up to Cape Ann but the wind failed.

Sunday, 14th. Wind sprung up at E. N. E. We stood for Cape Cod, and by five in the afternoon were up with it, a little to leeward of Race Point, the weather thick and but a hogshead and half of water left, we went into Cape Cod harbour and anchored there; about 30 of our soldiers upon their desire went ashore to go home by land.

Monday, 15th. After supplying ourselves with water, about nine came to sail, wind E. N. E. When we came up with Race Point the wind died away; toward nine, wind sprung up at South but veered toward the West. This night we stood along the Cape Shore, and by morning were up with Sandy Point.

Tuesday, 16th. Wind west. We turned up over the shoals westward through Butter's Hole and at night anchored nigh the Horse Shoe.

Wednesday, 17th. Sailed over the remainder of the shoal ground with a fair wind which died away when we were abreast of Holmes Hole. About one the wind sprung up at S. W. We turned through the Vineyard Sound and by night were up with Seconnet. Turned westward all night.

Thursday, 18th. In the morning were abreast of Point Juda. Wind at S. W. a brisk gale. Turned to windward, past through Fisher's Island Sound and by sunset were at anchor in New London harbour. Saluted the fort at the harbour's mouth with three swivels, which returned one cannon, and the town with seven, which returned an equal number. I was received by a number of gentlemen on the wharf who gave me a hearty welcome, took my lodg-

ings at Mr. Miller's. Very weak and out of health. Here I tarried until,

Monday, 22d. I went with Mr. Griswold to Lyme, where I tarried until,

Saturday, 27th. I set out from Lyme with my son Erastus, arrived at Middletown about sunset, very weary. Quartered at Mr. Sage's.

Sunday, 28th. Heard Mr Russell.

Monday, 29th. Went forward in company with six gentlemen to Weathersfield. Weather very wet.

Tuesday, 30th. Col. Whiting with his troop and sundry gentlemen from Hartford and Weathersfield came to me at my lodgings, from whence they attended me to my own house at Windsor, where we arrived about two, afternoon. Here we had a good dinner, drank some bowls of punch &c., and after the discharge of the great artillery and small arms, gave three huzzas and parted good friends.

R. WOLCOTT.

CONNECTICUT OFFICERS AT LOUISBOURG.

[From the original document, presented to the Society by Rev. Henry M. Goodwin.]

A List of the Officers in the Connecticut Regiment, under the Command of Lieut. General Pepperell, at the Reduction of Louisbourg, and Territories depending, to the Obedience of his Britannick Majesty, and garrisoned the same untill relieved by the British troops.

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