

Report of the Annual Meeting Rapports annuels de la Société historique du Canada

Report of the Annual Meeting

Rise and Fall of Louisbourg

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Volume 5, Number 1, 1926

URI: <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/300545ar>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7202/300545ar>

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Publisher(s)

The Canadian Historical Association/La Société historique du Canada

ISSN

0317-0594 (print)

1712-9095 (digital)

[Explore this journal](#)

Cite this article

Webster, J. C. (1926). Rise and Fall of Louisbourg. *Report of the Annual Meeting / Rapports annuels de la Société historique du Canada*, 5(1), 95–109.
<https://doi.org/10.7202/300545ar>

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RISE AND FALL OF LOUISBOURG

BY DR. J. CLARENCE WEBSTER

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EARLY DEVELOPMENT

By the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, Acadia with indeterminate boundaries was given to England, and the islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence to France; of the latter the most important was Cape Breton. At first, England urged that no fortifications should be erected, but soon yielded on this point. These islands were of prime importance to France for their valuable fisheries and because they served as a training-ground for seamen who supplied the Navy. Until 1713 Louisbourg was known as *Havre l'Anglois* (English Harbour). It was first proposed to name it *Port St. Lois*, but the name *Louisbourg* was adopted by the French Government. When, in 1713, Placentia in Newfoundland was given up to the English, the inhabitants and their moveable property were transferred to Cape Breton (known to the French as *Isle Royale*). Those who went to *Havre l'Anglois* were the pioneer settlers of Louisbourg. Later some Acadians from Nova Scotia joined them, under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. Phillippe Pasteur de Costebelle, who had been Governor of Placentia, went in a similar capacity to Cape Breton. With him was Major l'Hermitte, an engineer. The latter very early worked on plans for fortifying Louisbourg and in 1714 submitted a scheme to Vaudreuil, Governor General of Canada. They were never carried out, and l'Hermitte was sent to Three Rivers.

At first there was great uncertainty as to which should be the principal settlement and stronghold in the island. Besides Louisbourg, St. Anne's (Port Dauphin) and St. Peter's (Port Toulouse) were considered equally important. Indeed, instructions were sent to Costebelle in 1715 that he should establish himself at Port Dauphin and commence fortifications, while only small forces should be placed at Louisbourg and Port Toulouse. The original settlers of Louisbourg protested strongly against this arrangement.

At this time the population of Louisbourg numbered 720, including civil and military officers, but excluding unmarried soldiers.

In this year, 1715, Louis XIV died. The new Government took a keen interest in the development of Cape Breton, and placed it under the jurisdiction of a newly formed Navy Board in Paris. The latter sent out supplies to the settlers in the spring of 1716 and encouraged the development of trade

3 and fishing. In 1717, it was decided that Louisbourg should be the chief place on the island and that it should be at once fortified, even before Port 4 Toulouse. Verville, a military engineer was sent out, and he drew up his plans with great care. They provided for the erection of bastions and walls, with a ditch and covered way, across the base of the peninsula; this was the main line of defence from the land side. He also proposed a battery on the west shore of the harbour, facing its entrance. These works, which were executed in solid masonry, were slow of construction and very expensive. Though they were elaborated and modified by later engineers, yet they remained the basis for the developments of all succeeding engineers as late as the final conquest of Louisbourg. It is interesting to note that the shore battery (named Grand or Royal Battery) was never of any value in time of war. Yet it was retained and strongly armed. The distinguished Quebec engineer, Chaussegros de Léry, criticised Verville, pointing out that the Battery was very vulnerable from the land side, and suggested that Light-house point would be a much better site.

Conditions gradually improved, trade increasing with France, Nova Scotia, Quebec and the West Indies; also with New England, in spite of the restrictions imposed by the authorities. At times, however, there was a shortage of provisions, causing actual famine in the island. Costebelle died in 1717 and was succeeded by Joseph de St. Ovide de Brouillan. He was forced to send almost the entire garrison to Quebec in 1718 because of the great scarcity of food. However, there was soon marked improvement. The fishing industry thrived well. Fur-trading increased. There was some export of coal and, even, some vessels were built. In 1719, it was stated that bread, wine and brandy were cheaper than in France. The soldiers in Louisbourg were allowed to marry and to hire themselves out to civilians. Work was, however, greatly hampered by the prevalence of drunkenness, and the authorities found it difficult to curb this evil. In 1719, six guns were mounted on the walls and a special medal was struck in commemoration of the starting of the fortifications.

In 1723, Louis XV attained his majority and he made Maurepas (aged twenty-three) Minister of the Royal Navy, displacing the Navy Board. Many new measures were introduced, affecting commercial conditions in Louisbourg. The routes of vessels and their ports of call were rigidly prescribed. Foreign vessels were prohibited from entering the port under heavy penalties. There was, at this time, great trouble with pirates, who were mostly Englishmen from fishing fleets. There was considerable discontent among the civil population of Louisbourg because military and 5 other officials engaged in trade.

6 8 In 1734, owing to the unsettled condition of Europe, Governor St. Ovide sent to France an elaborate statement referring to the position of Isle Royale in case of an outbreak of war, pointing out the inadequacy of the defences and advising that they should be greatly improved. He especially pointed out the growing ill-feeling among the Americans, who looked with disfavour on the increasing power of France in their neighbourhood. In 1738 this official went to France and was accused of grafting while in office. He was retired and given a pension. By this year Verville's scheme for the fortifications of Louisbourg was completed. There had been marked developments in the town. There were churches, convents, a hospital and large government buildings. The private houses were mostly of wood on stone foundations, though some were built partly of stone.

In 1737 the population numbered 1,463, excluding the garrison, officials and ecclesiastics. The nuns took charge of the education of the young. Several families had negro servants from the West Indies. The neighbouring country began to be developed and a road was extended to Miré. From 1721 part of the garrison had been composed of Swiss mercenaries, mostly protestants.

9 In 1739 a naval captain, Forant, was appointed Governor, and, with him, a new functionary, termed Commissary-Ordinaire (Intendant), Francois Bigot entered on his duties. They worked well together and greatly improved conditions in the colony. The physical comforts of the soldiers were increased, and drill was more rigorously enforced. Bigot stimulated the growth of trade and considerably increased the export of coal from the island. Forant died in 1740, being succeeded by an inferior man, Du Quesnel.

In 1742 Louisbourg became a port of call for vessels bound to France from South America and the Indian ocean, and this helped the business of the port. Mention has been made of trade with New England. This was of a most interesting character. New England traders, who brought fruit, vegetables, oats, shingles, bricks, etc., to pay for their purchases of West India products, smuggled in many contraband articles, e.g., flour, meal, biscuits, dry goods, codfish. Whole cargoes of codfish were transferred from English to French vessels at night, even in Louisbourg Harbour, while along the coast, where there were no preventive officers, this traffic was conducted quite openly. The English fishermen, unhampered by any restrictions were 10 able to sell their product under the current market price in Louisbourg.

In 1744 war was declared between France and England. An expedition was sent from Louisbourg under Duvivier, a descendant of LaTour, to destroy the English settlement at Canso; it was successful, the garrison being taken. In the same year another force under the same leader was sent to attack Annapolis Royal, where Mascarene was in command. The garrison was small and the defences weak, and had it not been for the determination of Mascarene, the fort would have surrendered. However, reinforcements came from New England and Duvivier returned to Louisbourg. These attacks by the French thoroughly aroused New England. An embargo was placed on trade with Louisbourg, and many privateers were sent out to attack trading and fishing vessels. As a result, Louisbourg suffered considerably. About this time, also, a serious mutiny broke out in the garrison, causing much unpleasantness and anxiety among officials and citizens.

OUTLINE DESCRIPTION OF LOUISBOURG JUST BEFORE THE FIRST SIEGE OF 1745

The harbour was two miles long and half-a-mile broad. At the entrance were several islands, one of which was strongly fortified, the works being termed the Island Battery, mounting thirty 28-pounder guns.

On the west shore of the harbour opposite the entrance was the Grand or Royal Battery, with twenty-eight 42-pounder guns and two 18-pounders. Opposite this battery, on the east shore was a cove and wharf where vessels were cleaned, known as Careening Cove.

Farther along this shore at the harbour entrance, opposite Goat island, stood the Lighthouse.

In the earliest days of Louisbourg there was only a beacon fire for the guidance of mariners. Very early it was decided to build a lighthouse. This was done in 1731, the structure being of wood. On it was placed a pewter tablet indicating that

the building was erected by M. Verrier by order of Louis XV. This lighthouse was burned in 1734 and was replaced by a stone structure which was first lighted in 1736. This remained in service for many generations. The modern lighthouse was destroyed by fire in 1921, and, when the engineers excavated the ruins to lay the foundations of a new structure, they found about eight feet of the base of the stone house of 1736. In the debris was found the pewter plate, bearing the inscription which was on the original house.

7 The area of Louisburg, including the walls, was about 100 acres. The site of the town was twenty to thirty feet above sea-level. Outside the walls was mostly swampy ground, while in the background on the west were the Green Hills, extending to Gabarus Bay. At this time the fortifications were constructed according to the well-known first system of the celebrated engineer Vauban. On the land face of the town were two bastions and two semi-bastions with heavy guns. On the eastern front facing Rochefort Point were also two bastions; while another was on the gravel beach on the harbour shore of the town. This shore, also, had a wall of masonry with a parapet and banquette for musketry, pierced by five gates leading to the wharves.

14 The chief entrance was through the West Gate over a drawbridge protected by guns of the Dauphin Bastion and Circular Battery. Temporary bridges were thrown across the fosse on the land side for the use of the inhabitants. The entire area of walls had embrasures for 148 guns, but it is probable that the full number was not in position in the siege of 1745; a fair estimate is that there were in the neighbourhood of one hundred.

The Citadel, built of stone was the most conspicuous building in the town. It housed the Governor, and included a barracks, arsenal, and chapel. Other important buildings were a general Royal storehouse, ordinance storehouse, arsenal, and powder magazine. The Nunnery and Hospital of St. Jean de Dieu were in the centre of the town; the latter was a handsome building of stone. The streets were well-marked and ran at right angles.

ATTACK ON LOUISBOURG, 1745

16 Following the attacks by the French on Canso and Annapolis Royal, the Americans became more strongly convinced that France must not be allowed to grow stronger in Cape Breton, her presence there being a continual menace to themselves and to Nova Scotia. Under the direction of the energetic Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, public opinion became thoroughly aroused. Shirley proposed an attack on Louisbourg but was not able at first to induce his legislature to take the necessary steps.

12 However, he persevered, and with the great assistance of William Pepper-

11 rell of Kittery, opposition was overcome, and at once measures were taken to secure the co-operation of other States.

An expeditionary force was assembled, consisting of levies from Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut. Rhode Island also contributed a quota but it was late in starting and only reached Louisbourg after the capture. New York gave guns and Pennsylvania provisions. William Peperell was given the supreme command of the combined forces which numbered about 4,300 men. To convey these, ninety transports were provided. For the protection of the ships there were fourteen small

13 armed vessels belonging to various States. It had been hoped that a squadron of the British Navy under Commodore Peter Warren would have arrived from the West Indies, but regardless of its failure to appear, the

American expedition sailed. It arrived at Canso about April 1. It was decided to await the naval ships, and the troops were sent ashore for drill. A small force was sent to St. Peter's, destroying the settlement and taking the inhabitants prisoners. Near the end of April Commodore Warren's squadron arrived. As soon as the ice was reported clear of the Louisbourg shore, the combined expedition sailed on April 29 for Gabarus Bay, and arrived the next day.

It seems certain that the Governor of Louisbourg, Duchambon, was not aware of the presence of the Americans at Canso though they had been there three weeks. Some time previously he had been warned by the Quebec authorities that he might be attacked and help was offered. This, however, he refused. Indeed, even, when he saw the scouting vessels of the enemy outside the ice off the harbour he decided that they were French vessels trying to enter the harbour. About this time the soldiers' mutiny was quelled, but much unpleasant feeling remained, and the officers were still very suspicious of their men, a state of matters which influenced the conduct of the defence during the siege.

EVENTS OF THE SIEGE

Learning that the enemy had arrived at Gabarus Bay, the Governor sent a small force to oppose the landing of the first detachments sent ashore from the vessels. It was ineffectual and quickly overcome. The entire army then landed without any more opposition, and camping arrangements were begun. Warren's vessels took position off the entrance of the harbour. In the afternoon Lieut.-Col. Vaughan and 400 men were sent to reconnoitre the town and vicinity. They marched to a point opposite the West Gate, where they were observed by the enemy. They then moved back to the woods on the slopes of the hills and marched to the north end of the harbour, where they burned warehouses containing large quantities of stores and liquor. This caused a panic in the Grand Battery, and the garrison after imperfectly spiking a few guns precipitously fled to the town. Vaughan's troops bivouacked in the woods and next morning he with thirteen men reconnoitred the Grand Battery. As it seemed deserted an Indian was sent to investigate. He entered and signalled to Vaughan who at once went to the Battery with his small force and took possession. Soon after, a force of French approached the Battery in boats, but Vaughan opposed their landing with musketry fire and they retired. No further attempt was made to recover the Battery during the siege. The guns and munitions captured were of the greatest service to the Americans, as will presently be seen.

ERECTION OF SIEGE BATTERIES

17 First on a spur of the Green Hills 1,550 yards from the West Gate. Second 950 yards from the gate; guns from the Grand Battery were placed here. The work of erecting the batteries was carried on at night. On May 7 a summons to surrender was sent. Duchambon spurned it. A third fascine battery was then placed 440 yards from the walls. The French then attempted a sortie, but were driven back with loss. Two more batteries were erected, the nearest only 250 yards from the West Gate. As heavy guns from the Grand Battery were used in these the result of the fire was severe. The drawbridge and part of the wall were destroyed. As thirty cannon were found under water at Careening Cove

it was decided to raise them and mount them on a battery at Lighthouse Point. This work was difficult but was accomplished, Colonel Gorham being in charge. It was ready to fire on June 11, George the Second's birthday. The guns were directed against the Island Battery, which was very soon largely destroyed. On May 18 the garrison were greatly disheartened by the capture of the *Vigilant*, 64 guns, by Warren's fleet; she had just arrived from France. On May 24 the besiegers sent a fireship against the King's Gate during the night. It caused the destruction of three small French vessels, part of the gate and a stone house. During the night of May 27, 400 soldiers under Captain Brooks, made a night attack in whale boats on the Island Battery, but were driven off with considerable loss.

On June 8 several vessels from Newfoundland joined the fleet. As soon as the Island Battery was demolished, Warren planned to enter the harbour and a joint attack on the town was planned. When this became known to Duchambon he sent proposals for surrender on June 15. Terms were drawn up by Pepperell and Warren and the Governor accepted them. Immediately, the Island Battery was occupied by marines, while Pepperell marched into the city. The garrison were sent on board the British fleet, and on July 4 they with the inhabitants, numbering 4,130 persons were sent to France.

There had been much sickness during the siege among the American troops, and near the end there were 1,500 ill with diarrhœa. The total losses of the Americans during the siege amounted to 130; this included both deaths from wounds and disease. Duchambon reported only 50 killed, but it was believed that the number was nearer 300.

AFTER THE SURRENDER

18 Pepperell and Warren acted as joint governors. The damaged fortifications were immediately restored. Houses were repaired so as to be habitable for the troops. The siege batteries erected by the Americans were destroyed. The guns from the Grand Battery were restored. New guns were mounted on the walls, so that soon there were 266 cannon in position.

The French flag was kept flying over the town to lure vessels into the harbour. Several prizes were thus caught, among them several richly laden East Indian. One, the *Notre Dame de la Délivrance*, had on board \$2,000,000 Peruvian, and gold and silver ingots worth £800,000. The prize money was divided, according to custom in such cases, between the Crown and the fleet. Warren and others thus became very rich. The soldiers received nothing and were much disgruntled. They were told that the intention was to divide Cape Breton among them, but Governor Shirley soon undeceived them on this point. There was considerable trouble among the troops in regard to their forced continuance in Louisbourg, and over their pay.

About 2,740 men were kept in garrison over the winter; fever and dysentery caused hundreds of deaths among them. The dead were buried at Rochefort Point.

In September, 1745, 300 men were sent to take possession of Isle St. Jean. In April, 1746, regular troops came from Gibraltar to garrison Louisbourg, and the Colonials mostly went home, though some remained under Bradstreet.

The fortifications were strengthened, and new barracks built. There were over 2,000 troops in garrison, Commodore Knowles being Governor. Admiral Isaac Townshend had a large naval force. Knowles disliked the place and grumbled most of the time. He was overbearing and detested the colonials. He made strong representations to the Home Government that Cape Breton was not worth holding.

19

FRENCH EXPEDITION OF 1746

In the beginning of 1746, the French Government, smarting under the loss of Isle Royale to raw colonial troops, prepared another powerful expedition meant to recapture Louisbourg and Nova Scotia, and to ravage New England.

It was placed under command of the Duc d'Anville, de la Jonquière being under him. From the time it sailed it was met with bad luck, disaster after disaster reducing the great fleet, until only a few scattered remnants returned to France, not the slightest blow having been inflicted on the enemy. One of the worst misfortunes was the loss of enormous numbers of men from a plague, while in Chebucto Harbour. Moreover, the Duke died and his next-in-command killed himself.

FRENCH EXPEDITION OF 1747

21 In the beginning of 1747 the French Government sent another expedition under de la Jonquière, who had been made Governor General of Canada, with orders to take Louisbourg. The fleet had scarcely left the shores of France when it was met off Finisterre on May 3 by a British fleet under Vice-Admiral Anson, having Warren as next in command, and thoroughly defeated. De la Jonquière and 4,000 men were taken prisoners. This relieved New England's fears for the year and removed all immediate danger of an attack on Louisbourg. Knowles went to the West Indies and Lieut-Col. Hopson became Governor in his place.

20 Peace was made between France and England by the Treaty of Aix
22 La Chapelle in 1748. By its terms Isle Royale and Isle St. Jean were
23 restored to France and two hostages were sent to Paris by England as a
guarantee that the terms of the treaty would be carried out. England
received in exchange for these islands Madras in India. The Government
was severely criticised in England, but in America the news created con-
sternation and dismay, for it was there felt that their interests had been
ignored, and the prime essential for their safety in future had been ignored
by the mother country. They received some compensation, however, in
being paid by England for the cost of their expedition to Louisbourg in
1745. In accordance with the terms of the treaty, Louisbourg was evacu-
ated during 1748-49, and DesHerbier was sent from France as the new
Governor, Hopson went to Halifax to join Cornwallis who had been sent
to establish a new stronghold on Chebucto Harbour.

24 During the following years Louisbourg increased in importance and its
trade developed. An interesting account of the island at this time was
written in later years by Thomas Pichon, who went to Louisbourg as
Secretary to Comte de Raymond, appointed Governor in 1751. When the
latter left in 1753, Pichon was sent to Fort Beauséjour as Intendant,
remaining there until 1755, being in secret a source of information to the
British.

In 1755, though the nations were at peace, England, to prepare against future trouble with France, determined to increase its military and naval forces. Immediately France ordered a large fleet to go to Canada. This was at once followed by a British fleet under Admirals Boscawen and Holborne. In foggy weather off Newfoundland, the British attacked some of the French fleet, and Richard Howe captured the *Lys* and the *Alcide*. The British then blockaded Louisbourg and prevented assistance being sent to Beauséjour, which was being attacked by Monckton.

War was declared in 1756. During that summer Commodore Holmes cruised off Cape Breton, making some captures.

In 1757 Lord Loudon was sent with a large force to Halifax to prepare for an attack on Louisbourg, assisted by a fleet under Holborne. Hearing of the great increase in the number of troops in Louisbourg, Loudon decided not to fight, and returned to New York. Holborne then sailed to Cape Breton, but learning that the French fleet in Louisbourg outnumbered his own, he retired. Receiving reinforcements later, he again went to the Island, but was caught in a terrible storm which scattered his fleet, damaging many vessels and destroying several. The shattered vessels then returned to England. Meanwhile the French in Louisbourg gave much attention to the improvement of their fortifications.

BRITISH EXPEDITION OF 1758

William Pitt, having decided to attack France in Canada, sent a large expedition from England to Nova Scotia in the spring of 1758. The fleet was commanded by Boscawen, under whom were Sir Charles Hardy and Commodore Durell. There were over 12,000 troops under General Amherst. The latter was in Germany, but was ordered to join the forces in Halifax. He was conveyed there by Captain Rodney in the *Dublin*. The army was arranged in three brigades, under Whitmore, Lawrence and Wolfe. The expedition, after remaining a short time in Halifax, sailed for Gabarus Bay, where it arrived on June 2. The sea was too rough for an immediate landing.

The enemy had prepared to resist a landing, by establishing, at all points where disembarkation of troops from boats was likely, a number of fortified positions, some of them being very cleverly concealed by bushes and rocks. These were in three groups. At Freshwater Cove there were six; at Flat Point and Flat Point Cove, five; and, near White Point, four. Three groups of British troops under the Brigadier-generals were ordered to attempt the landing, each with orders as to the part of the shore assigned to him. Whitmore was to go to White Point, Lawrence to Flat Point, while Wolfe was ordered to Freshwater Cove. To the latter was given the honour of making the real landing. The others were meant to make feints so as to mislead the enemy. Still another feint was ordered at Lorambec, three miles east of Lighthouse Point.

The morning of June 8 was the first favourable day. The troops were ordered into the boats before daybreak. Each division went to its appointed place. The French rightly guessed that the chief attempt would be made at Freshwater Cove and as Wolfe neared the shore he was met by a terrific close-range fire of guns and musketry. Fearing that this would destroy his force he waved his hand as a signal to retire, but this was misunderstood by troops some distance away. About a hundred under brave junior officers pushed ashore near a rock, and, though there was considerable surf, made a landing. This happened to be a place which the

French had not thought worth while to defend. Instantly Wolfe saw what had happened and, urging his boat ashore, jumped into the water and led his men to the attack on the fortified positions. A bayonet charge cleared one after the other, and soon all Freshwater Cove was in Wolfe's possession. The other divisions captured all the other defences and soon the French, who had not been killed or taken prisoners, were fleeing to Louisbourg.

The rest of the army then landed and formed a large camp on both sides of the stream running into Flat Point Cove. Several blockhouses and redoubts were built to guard against attacks as well as against Indian raids.

45 It may now be interesting to refer to the defence of Louisbourg, before giving the details of the siege.

46 During the British occupancy after 1745, bombproof casemates had
50 been built, and a large barracks had been erected near the Queen's Gate.
51 Later the French had built a half-moon battery with 20 guns at Rochefort
52 Point; a curtain of masonry between the Princess and Maurepas bastions; a bastioned curtain between the Queen's and Princess bastions to strengthen the ditch. Also a battery had been erected on the shore at Lighthouse Point. The garrison numbered 3,400 regulars, 700 militia, and some Indians. There were twelve naval vessels in the harbour, of which two made their escape at the beginning of the siege. The others wished to leave but Governor Drucour refused his consent.

SIEGE OPERATIONS

Wolfe was immediately sent with 1,200 men to take the battery at Lighthouse Point. He found it deserted and the guns spiked. He established a camp on the Point, sent 300 men to Lorambec, and 300 to the north end of the harbour. He erected batteries on the hill above Careening Cove, and another on the shore between that Cove and the Lighthouse. These opened fire on the French ships, which were thereby forced to draw near the town.

The development of a series of trenches was next undertaken. An elevation in front of the town, named Green Hill, was fortified with a redoubt, and became the central point for observations. A road from it to Flat Cove was constructed across much marshy ground with great difficulty, but it was necessary for the conveyance of supplies.

The first trench was extended from the Barachois in front of Green Hill southwest for a quarter of a mile. At this time Governor Drucour became alarmed and ordered the *Echo* to go to Quebec for assistance. The
53 vessel had not gone far from the harbour when she was captured. Wolfe, having transported a number of 20-pounders to his Lighthouse battery was
54 soon able to destroy most of the guns and embrasures on the Island battery. Drucour then sank six vessels in the channel between Lighthouse Point and Battery Island, fearing that the British ships might try to enter the harbour. There were thus left only five French ships of the line and one frigate.

The first trench was meant for an attack on the King's and Dauphin's
56 battery, but as it could only be reached across a bog it was necessary to build an *épaulement* or rampart over it from Green Hill, a distance of a
57 quarter of a mile; the rampart was nine feet high and sixty feet wide. The work could only be carried on at night. However, it was satisfactorily

completed, though under a galling fire from the frigate *Arethuse*. On July 1, the French made a sortie from the West Gate which was met by Wolfe and driven back. In the confusion which ensued Wolfe at once erected a battery and redoubt just north of the Barachois, and opened fire on the ships as well as on the town.

On the 3rd Wolfe was selected to throw up a redoubt within 600 yards of the ravelin of the Queen and Princess bastions, not far from the sea shore. On the ninth the French made a night attack on it, and Lord Donald, who was in command, was killed.

57a On July 11 Boishebert arrived at Miré with a force from Acadia; he attacked one of the British posts but was beaten.

About this time the *Arethuse* escaped in a fog and went to Quebec.

A second trench was next dug on the right of the first.

On the 16th Wolfe attacked a number of French who were keeping up an annoying fire from the glacis and ground in front of the West Gate, driving them back. He immediately established a new redoubt and battery in front of the Barachois, which did much damage to the West Gate and wall and enabled the troops to proceed with new trenches. On the 21st the *Entreprenant* blew up, setting on fire two other vessels, the *Capricieux* and *Celebre*, all three being destroyed. Only the *Prudent* and the *Bienfaisant* remained. During the next few days the trenches were advanced rapidly, especially in front of the West Gate. On the 22nd the Citadel was set on fire, and next night a barracks was burned. On the 25th the two remaining
58 vessels were captured in a night cutting-out expedition in boats, under
LeForey and Balfour. The *Prudent* grounded and was set on fire. The
59 *Bienfaisant* was safely towed out of the harbour, and joined the British
fleet, Balfour being made Commander, while LeForey was given command
60 of the previously captured *Echo*.

Boscawen now decided to send six ships into the harbour to attack the town at short range. Drucour hearing of this, decided that it was time to capitulate and he sent a messenger offering to yield on the same terms
61 which were granted the English at Port Mahon in Minorca. This was
62 refused and Drucour was forced to accept the British terms, surrendering
63 on July 26th. Wm. Amherst, brother of General Amherst was sent to
64 England to announce the victory, being accompanied by a representative
65 of the Navy.

The French prisoners of war were sent to England.

St. Anne's and Espagnol (Sydney) were occupied, and Lord Rollo was sent to Isle St. Jean to occupy Fort la Joie. Sir Charles Hardy and Wolfe were sent in a squadron to destroy the French fishing stations on the coast as far north as Gaspé.

Amherst proposed to sail at once and attack Quebec but Boscawen refused on account of the lateness of the season.

News having been received of Abercrombie's defeat at Ticonderoga, Amherst at once left for New York. Whitmore was made Governor of Louisbourg. Commodore Durell was sent to Halifax with ten ships to be ready for operations against Quebec in the coming spring. On Sept. 7th eleven sets of captured flags were presented to the King at Kensington Palace and then taken to St. Paul's with great ceremony.

In 1760 Pitt wrote to Amherst ordering the destruction of the fortifications of Louisbourg, the work to be carried out so thoroughly that they could not be rebuilt from the materials of which they were constructed.

The Hon. John Byron was sent from England with a small squadron in this year to assist in the work of demolition. While at Louisbourg he heard that a French fleet was on its way to relieve Quebec, and at once
66 went after them. They were caught at the mouth of the Restigouche
67 river in Bay Chaleur and defeated. This was the last naval battle of the Seven Years' War in North American waters.

In October the work of demolition was completed. All the artillery,
68 ammunition, stores, etc., even much of the cut stones which were in some of the buildings, were taken to Halifax. The loss of Cape Breton was a severe blow to the French Navy, for at the conquest at least 15,000 seamen were engaged in the fisheries.

As indicating how greatly France prized Cape Breton, it is on record that in 1761, when an agent of her government was in London sounding the British authorities with regard to making a Treaty of peace, he offered to give the whole of Canada on certain conditions, chief of which was the restitution of the island.

AFTER HISTORY OF LOUISBOURG

In 1761 the last Governor departed, only a small military force being left to represent British authority. In 1763 applications for land grants began to be made, but, as the island had not been surveyed, none were given. Immediately, however, Samuel Holland was instructed to undertake this work. In this year Cape Breton was made part of Nova Scotia. Holland's survey was not completed until 1767. In 1768 the troops departed and never returned. Shopkeepers and others who depended on the military were forced to go elsewhere.

In 1768 Francklin made a report on Louisbourg, stating that there were only 142 houses standing, of which 13 were in good condition, 60 in fair shape, 66 in bad condition, and 3 in ruins. Of the nineteen which had been used at public buildings, e.g., the hospital, residences of Judge, Governor and Intendant, victualling office, bakehouses, stables, barracks and gaol, which had been constructed of stone, were all standing. All others were of wood. In later years the stone houses were demolished and the material transported elsewhere in Nova Scotia for building purposes.

In 1769 there were many applications for grants of land in Cape Breton, but for a considerable time they were not allowed, only licenses to settle being given.

Louisbourg continued to decline, but the death-blow was given to it when Cape Breton was separated from Nova Scotia and given a separate Government in 1784.

The first Governor was Joseph Wallet DesBarres, who chose the peninsula at the south arm of Spanish river, because the harbour was much better than that of Louisbourg, though not free from ice troubles in winter. He named the new capital Sydney. Louisbourg thereafter rapidly dwindled and became a poor fishing village.

At the present day the site of the old town is a dreary waste, occupied by less than a dozen humble farmer-fishermen. There is not a trace of the old town, save where heaps of rubbish mark the old foundations. Some of the old streets may be outlined. The ruined walls and bastions are easily traceable. The graves at Rochefort Point and elsewhere have been beaten
69 out of recognition. The old water front has almost entirely disappeared save for a few piles which have withstood the ravages of time.

"On Louisbourg's heights where the fisherman strays,
When the clear cold eve's declining,
He sees the warships of other days
In the wave beneath him shining;
Thus shall memory often, in dreams sublime,
Catch a glimpse of the days that are over,
And sighing look back through the vista of time,
For the faded glories they cover."

In 1895 the Society of Colonial Wars of the U.S.A. erected a monument in honour of the soldiers who fought at Louisburg in 1745. Very recently the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada have begun to place various bronze tablets at different sites.

RISE AND FALL OF LOUISBOURG

EXPLANATION OF LIST OF SLIDES.

Of the seventy slides to illustrate the lecture on Louisbourg, all are in my possession except those marked "O." These require to be made from illustrations mentioned. Of these there are seven.

Of the remaining 63 slides, which I own, those marked "N.N." are without negatives, there are 16 of these.

The remaining 47 have negatives; I shall present these to the Historical Society so that duplicate sets may be made from them.

LANTERN SLIDES

1. Early French of Cape Breton, before the settlement of Louisbourg. McLennan, p. 9. O.
2. Philippe Pasteur de Costebelle, First Governor of Isle Royale. Coloured. From miniature of J.C.W. W.N.N.
3. Captain Young's map of Louisbourg and environs. 1716. McLennan, p. 52. O.
4. Verville's Plan of Louisbourg, 1717. McLennan, p. 51. O.
5. Plan of Louisbourg. 1723-24. French. W.N.N.
6. Verrier's View of Louisbourg. 1731. W.
- Original in Bibliothèque Nationale. J.C.W. has copy. W.
7. Pewter dedication plate, placed on first Lighthouse, dated 1731. W.
- Original plate was found in the ruins of Lighthouse, following a fire, in 1923. It will be placed in new Lighthouse. W.
8. Dauphin or West Gate. 1733. W.N.N.
9. Town and Harbour of Louisbourg. 1737. W.N.N.
10. Paul Mascarene, Governor of Nova Scotia at Annapolis Royal, when expedition from Louisbourg in 1744 attacked Fort Anne. W.
- Reproduction of original painting now in Massachusetts; copy belongs to King's College, N.S.
11. William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, who was chiefly instrumental in raising the expedition against Louisbourg in 1745. W.
- Engraving belonging to J.C.W.
12. Sir William Pepperrill, of Kittery Point, Maine, Commander of troops in expedition against Louisbourg, 1745. W.
- Engraving owned by J.C.W.
13. Sir Peter Warren, in command of Naval forces at siege of Louisbourg in 1745. W.
- Engraving owned by J.C.W.
14. French Plan of Louisbourg, just before siege of 1745. W.N.N.
15. Landing of troops in Gabarus Bay, 1745. Old print owned by J.C.W. W.
16. Gridley's Plan of Louisbourg, made after capture in 1745. W.N.N.
- Engraving owned by J.C.W.
17. Louisbourg and surroundings in siege of 1745. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
- Positions of troops and batteries. W.
18. One of the flags carried by the troops. Original now preserved in the N.Y. Historical Museum. W.
19. Charles Knowles, when Commodore in the navy, appointed Governor of Louisbourg after its capture in 1745. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.

20. Lieut. Col. Hopson, Governor of Louisbourg after Knowles left. Appointed Sept. 18, 1747. From illustration in collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society. W.
21. Marquis de la Jonquière, appointed Governor General of Canada and Admiral of a French fleet sent to retake Cape Breton in 1747, but defeated off Cape Finisterre by Admiral Anson.
Drawing owned by J.C.W. after an old German engraving in the Bibliothèque Nationale. W.
22. Lord Cathcart, sent to Paris as a hostage after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. Held until Louisbourg was again in the hands of the French, according to the terms of the treaty.
Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
23. Satirical caricature published in England after the terms of the Treaty of 1748 were made known. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
24. Thomas Pichon, who accompanied Governor Forant to Louisbourg as secretary in 1751. In 1753 he went to Beauséjour as Intendant and was a spy in the pay of the British. In later years he published a valuable work on Cape Breton. Small painting owned by J.C.W., a copy of the original in Vire, Pichon's birth-place. Coloured W.N.N.
25. Admiral Boscawen, who commanded the fleet which attacked a French fleet off Newfoundland in 1755, when war had not been declared. He captured two vessels and then blockaded Louisbourg. This action was mainly responsible for the starting of the Seven Years War, which began in 1756. In the siege of Louisbourg in 1758 he commanded the fleet. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
26. Sir Richard Howe, who served under Boscawen in the action off Newfoundland, and who captured the *Alcide* and *Lys*. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
27. English satirical caricature relating to the events of 1755. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
28. Lord Loudoun, Commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, who took an army to Halifax to co-operate with Admiral Holborne in attacking Louisbourg in 1757. Fearing that the French were too strong he decided not to fight, and returned to New York. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
29. Admiral Holborne, who commanded the fleet meant to co-operate with Loudoun's forces in attacking Louisbourg in 1757. Finding that the French fleet in Louisbourg slightly outnumbered his own he decided not to fight. Being reinforced later in the year he went to blockade the harbour, but a terrible hurricane broke up his fleet with great damage and some losses, and he returned to England. Engraving of Holborne and his son owned by J.C.W. The original is in the Royal Naval College, Greenwich. W.
30. H.M.S. *Grafton*, Commodore Holmes, dismantled by the storm which damaged Admiral Holborne's fleet off Louisbourg in 1757, making her way to England with a makeshift rudder. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
31. William Pitt, the master mind who was responsible for the operations of the early period of the Seven Years War. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
32. Sir Charles Hardy, next in command to Admiral Boscawen in the operations at Louisbourg in the siege of 1758. After the capture, he was sent with Wolfe to destroy French settlements on the west shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
33. Admiral Philip Durell, who served in the navy at both sieges of Louisbourg. He published an interesting pamphlet on the siege of 1745. In the siege of 1758 he was next in command to Sir Charles Hardy. In the spring of 1759 he was sent to the River St. Lawrence ahead of Admiral Saunders to try to intercept the French fleet which was sent from France to help Quebec. Small painting, a copy of the original in possession of Sir Havilland de Saumarez, Guernsey, owned by J.C.W. W.
34. Jeffery Amherst, Commander-in-chief of the army in the siege of Louisbourg in 1758. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
35. George B. Rodney, later Lord Rodney, was in 1758 captain of H.M.S. *Dublin*, which carried General Amherst from Europe to Halifax, where he took command of the forces destined to capture Louisbourg. Rodney was unable to proceed with the fleet, because of an outbreak of epidemic fever on his ship. He was made officer in command at Halifax and was engaged in forwarding transports and in looking after the health of his men. He was able, however, to join Boscawen just before Louisbourg surrendered in July and sailed for

- Europe in August with the convoy which carried the French prisoners of war. He took home a present of dried fish and Madeira from Wolfe to his family. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
- 35A. Portrait which has been widely known as that of Charles Lawrence, Governor of Nova Scotia and Brigadier-general under Amherst at the siege of Louisbourg in 1758. It has been recently demonstrated that the portrait is really that of Stringer Lawrence, of East Indian fame, the original portrait being in London. As yet no portrait of Charles Lawrence has been found. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
36. James Wolfe, Lieut. Col. of the XXth Regt., in which position he succeeded Edward Cornwallis, who was sent to found Halifax in 1749, was chosen by William Pitt to serve as a Brigadier General under Amherst in the expedition against Louisbourg in 1758. His activities in the campaign were very marked and he was known afterwards as "The Hero of Louisbourg." Engraving owned by J.C.W. The original is owned by Mr. Scobell Armstrong of Penzance, whose wife is descended from the Rev. Mr. Swindon, Wolfe's teacher in Greenwich, to whom Wolfe presented the painting, which was by the artist Thornhill. It represents Wolfe in the uniform of a Lieut. Colonel and must have been painted between 1750 and 1758. W.
37. Profile portrait of Wolfe by Schaak. This was not painted from life, but from a sketch made at Quebec either by Harvey Smith, Wolfe's aide-de-camp, or by John Montresor, the engineer officer. The original now hangs in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Copy owned by J.C.W. W.
38. Portrait of Wolfe painted in England, probably at Bath, after his return from Louisbourg. This is a remarkable likeness. The picture was found by J.C.W. in England in the spring of 1924. It had been in the possession of a family since the 18th century. The painting is now owned by J.C.W. W.
39. Wolfe's Commission as Brigadier General for the campaign against Louisbourg in 1758. Original is in Squerryes Court, Westerham, Kent, where all his other Commissions are except that for the Quebec campaign. W.
40. Sir Wm. Howe, brother of Richard Howe, later Earl Howe of naval fame. He served at Louisbourg, and while there received news of the death of his oldest brother Lord Howe at Ticonderoga. Next year he also served at Quebec. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
41. Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat, was at Louisbourg at the head of the Scotch regiment, the 78th Highlanders, which he raised at the instance of William Pitt. It is said that Wolfe first proposed that the Highlanders should be trusted to fight. As a boy Fraser had been in sympathy with the Jacobites, but though his father Lord Lovat was beheaded in the Tower of London for his part in the rebellion, the son was not punished. Original miniature in collection of Sir F. Williams-Taylor. W.
42. Joseph F. Wallet DesBarres, who fought at Louisbourg, and, next year, at Quebec. He was an able engineer and skilled Draughtsman. Before the American War of Independence he was employed in a survey of the eastern coast of America for the British Admiralty. His charts and drawings were published as the Atlantic Neptune. He had a long dispute concerning payment for his work. When in 1784 Cape Breton was separated from Nova Scotia, DesBarres was made first Governor. Later he became Governor of Prince Edward Island. He died in Halifax in 1824 in the 103rd year of his age, and was buried in St. George's Church.
43. John Montresor, a distinguished Engineer officer, son of James Montresor who was Chief Engineer to the British Forces in America, a position which the son also came to fill. He fought at Louisbourg and, next year, at Quebec. Between 1755 and 1762 he made extensive surveys in Eastern Canada, his map of Acadia being well known. After the war of conquest in Canada he performed much work as an engineer in New York and other States. Etching by Rosenthal, after a portrait by Copley, owned by J.C.W. W.
44. Samuel Holland fought at Louisbourg after having been in New York State with the army. After the fall of Louisbourg he made a survey of the town and environs, being assisted by James Cook. Next year he was at Quebec. After the fall of the latter he was mostly engaged in surveying. In 1762 he was made first Surveyor-General of Quebec and the Northern district of North America. Prince Edward Island was divided into lots and counties by Holland. From illustrations in a life of Holland by Willis Chipman in Vol. XXI, Ontario Historical Society, 1924. W.
45. Louisbourg and environs, 1758. French view. W.N.N.

46. Entrance to harbour. About 1760. Sketch owned by J.C.W., copied from old print. W.
47. Shore of Gabarus Bay where troops landed in 1758. From illustration in McLennan's *Louisbourg*. W.N.N.
48. Freshwater or Coromandière Cove in Gabarus Bay, showing the probable spot where the first troops reached shore. From illustration in McLennan's *Louisbourg*. W.N.N.
49. Landing from ships in Gabarus Bay, 1758. Original sketch made on board a vessel at the time. Owned by J.C.W. W.
50. View of Grand Battery. W.N.N.
51. Plan of Grand Battery. W.N.N.
52. Island Battery. W.N.N.
53. Amherst, Wolfe, and other officers at the battery on Lighthouse Point in 1758. In the harbour the French ships are seen. Beyond is the opposite shore of the harbour. Large original painting owned by J.C.W. This is the only painting of the military part of the siege, of importance, known to exist. W.
54. French view of Wolfe's attack on Island Battery. W.N.N.
55. Batteries and Trenches. From Brown's History of the Island of Cape Breton. O.
56. Davies sketch of siege operations in 1758. From sketch owned by author, copied from original in Museum of R.A. Institute, Woolwich. W.
57. View of Louisbourg and harbor, during the siege of 1758. Engraving by Canot after a sketch by Ince, an officer. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
- 57A. Charles Des Champs de Boishebert, who had fought in Acadia for years, brought a force of French and Indians to Miré, near Louisbourg, during the siege of 1758, but was driven off. Drawing copied from original painting in St. Ours, P.Q., owned by J.C.W. W.
58. Night attack on the two remaining French ships, *Prudent* and *Bienfaisant*. This was conducted with great success by a naval force in boats under Balfour and LeForev. Both were captured. As the *Prudent* grounded firmly she was set on fire. The *Bienfaisant* was towed out and joined the British fleet. Engraving owned by J.C.W. The original painting is owned by a descendant of Geo. Young, a midshipman, who was awarded a medal for special bravery on the occasion. The picture was made later to his order.
59. Alexander Schomberg, in command of the *Diana*, was in this night attack. He was awarded a special gold medal for his services at Louisbourg. Engraving, entitled *A Sea Officer*, owned by J.C.W. The original painting was by Hogarth and is now in London in possession of a descendant of Sir Alexander Schomberg, for the officer was knighted at a later period. W.
60. James Cook served as Master mariner in the *Pembroke* under Capt. Palliser at Quebec. He took part in the cutting out of the *Prudent* and *Bienfaisant*. After the capture he helped Samuel Holland in his survey of Louisbourg. In 1759 he was with the fleet at Quebec and made an important survey of the St. Lawrence. After the war he surveyed Newfoundland and Gulf of St. Lawrence coasts. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
61. Breaches made in fortifications of Louisbourg by the British artillery. French drawing 1758. W.N.N.
62. Attack and Defence. First Stage, June 30th. McLennan's *Louisbourg*, p. 268. P.
63. Attack and Defence. Second Stage, July 3rd, p. 271. O.
64. Attack and Defence. Third Stage, July 27th, p. 280. O.
65. Wm. Amherst, brother of Jeffery Amherst. After the fall of Louisbourg, he was sent to England with the dispatch announcing the victory, and was given a sword and £500 by the King. Photograph of painting owned by Lord Amherst. W.
66. Hon. John Byron, ancestor of the poet. Sent in command of a small squadron to Louisbourg in connection with the dismantling of the fortifications. While there he was sent to fight a French squadron which left France for the relief of Quebec. The latter learning that the British fleet held the St. Lawrence took refuge in Baie Chaleur. Here Byron found and defeated them, 1760. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
67. Samuel Barrington, captain of the *Achilles* in Byron's Squadron. He also took part in the Battle of the Restigouche at the head of Baie Chaleur. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
68. Wright's sketch of the demolished fortifications of Louisbourg in 1766. Copy owned by J.C.W. W.
69. Casemates in ruins. Present time. W.N.N.
70. Monument erected by the Society of Colonial Wars of the United States in 1895, in honor of the soldiers who fought at Louisbourg in the first siege of 1745. Photo owned by J.C.W. W.