

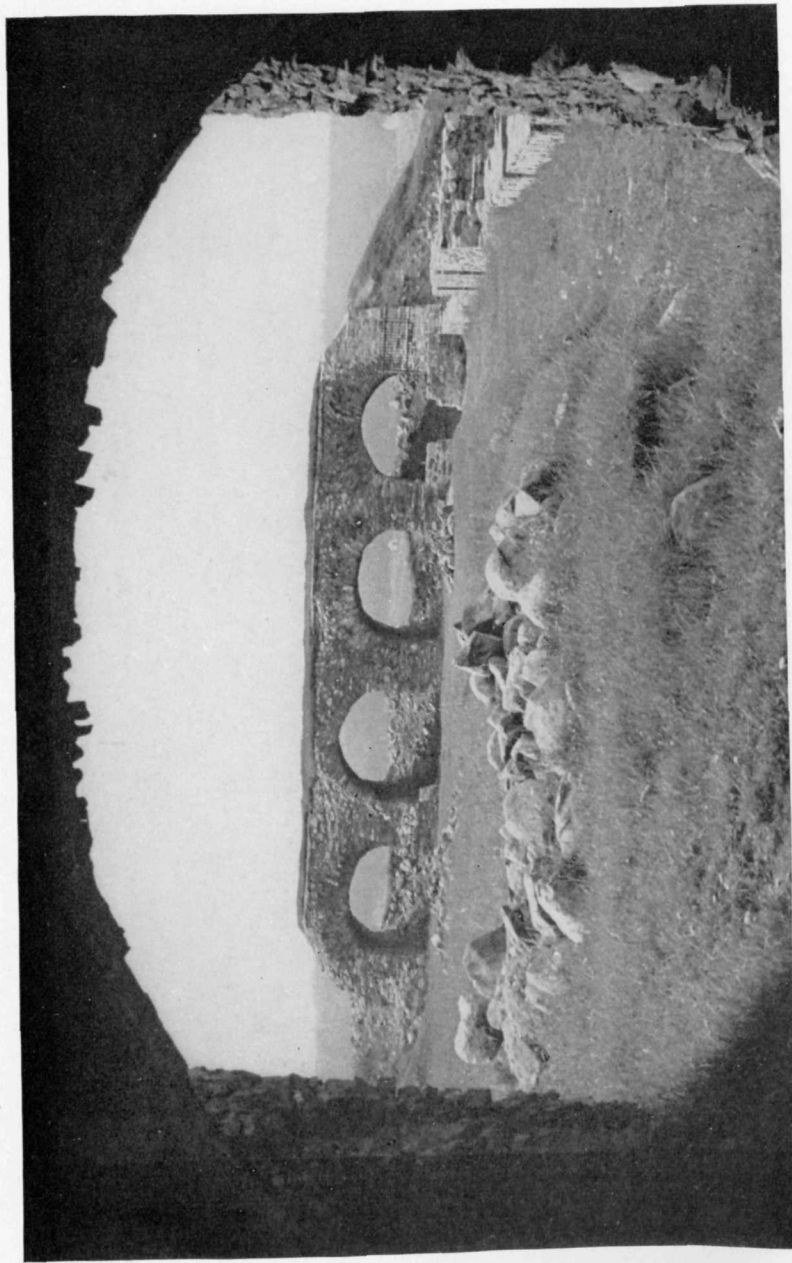
# FORTRESS OF LOUISBOURG NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK



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A WISE NATION PRESERVES ITS RECORDS . . .  
GATHERS UP ITS MUNIMENTS . . . DECORATES THE  
TOMBS OF ITS ILLUSTRIOUS DEAD . . . REPAIRS ITS  
GREAT PUBLIC STRUCTURES AND FOSTERS NATIONAL  
PRIDE AND LOVE OF COUNTRY BY PERPETUAL REFER-  
ENCE TO THE SACRIFICES AND GLORIES OF THE  
PAST.

. . . *Joseph Howe*



RUINS OF WESTERN CASEMATES, KINGS BASTION, FORTRESS OF LOUISBOURG

# FORTRESS OF LOUISBOURG NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK

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## FORTRESS OF LOUISBOURG NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK

This is the story of the forty-seven years that was the life of Louisbourg, the French stronghold in Cape Breton.

Before the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, Louisbourg was known as Havre à l'Anglais, English Harbour, because it was the resort of English fishermen who crossed the Atlantic year by year, fished for cod on the Banks, came into port to salt their catch, then sailed away, to return the following year. Spanish fishermen used Baie des Espagnols, Sydney Harbour, in the same way, and the French, St. Anne's. Considering that fully five or six hundred vessels of the three nations were fishing these waters and coming into harbour it was very necessary, if peace was to be kept, that they should be separated, and this sensible arrangement seems to have been their own and accepted by them all. The only relic of this time is the 16th century breech-loading cannon in the museum.

Owing to the victories of Marlborough and Prince Eugene over Louis XIV in the war of the Spanish Succession, England was in a favourable position when the treaty of peace was negotiated. The 12th and 13th articles state "that all Nova Scotia, or Acadie . . . the island of Newfoundland, with the adjacent islands . . . the town and fortress of Placentia . . . shall from this time forth belong of right to Great Britain. But the Island of Cape Breton shall hereafter belong of right to the King of France, who shall have right to fortify any places there". This meant that along the whole Atlantic Coast, Cape Breton would be the only French possession, a little outpost guarding the single communication with Canada . . . the Gulf and River St. Lawrence. The outpost required fortification, the stronger the better, and had to be in a suitable harbour for fishermen. It had also to serve as a port of re-shipment for the products of France and the West Indies.

Three previous settlements in Cape Breton had been brief and unfortunate; Lord Ochiltree's at Baliene, Captain Daniel's at St. Anne's, and longest and finest effort of all,

Nicholas Denys' at St. Peter's. The French considered St. Anne's with its good soil and thick forests, but the bay froze in winter and it was not near the fishing grounds. Baie des Espagnols, splendid harbour though it was, also froze, and the entrance was too wide to protect with the guns of the period; a narrow entrance guarded by an island and a harbour open all winter and near the fishing grounds could only be found at Havre à l'Anglais; to offset these advantages were noted: fog, rocky soil, and forest consisting of small spruce, with no hardwood near at hand.

This important matter was not decided hurriedly. In 1713, 180 settlers, mostly fishermen, were shipped from Placentia, which the French were vacating in accordance with the terms of the treaty, and landed at Havre à l'Anglais, but that spot was not definitely chosen until 1719. Meanwhile its name, by that time wholly inappropriate, was changed to Louisbourg, and the island was named "Royale". Philippe Pastour de Costebelle came from Placentia to be the first governor.

The fortifications were designed by the engineers Verville and Verrier and built by contractors with soldier labour. Though they were considered costly . . . Louis XV said he expected to wake one morning and see the walls rising above the horizon . . . 10,000,000 dollars in modern money does not seem an excessive amount. Caen stone was brought from France and used for the cut stone work, and French brick was also brought until brick clay was found at Catalone and Mira.

The circuit of wall from the Dauphin, or West Gate, on the harbour side, to the Princess half bastion on the Atlantic side enclosed an area of fifty-seven acres. An excellent idea of the appearance of the town is given by Verrier's watercolour drawing in the museum.

The Chateau St. Louis, or Citadel building, in the gorge of the King's Bastion, its foundation now excavated, was 360 feet long and contained the Governor's apartments, the chapel, officers' quarters, and barracks. Many of the objects in the cases in the museum have come from the

dry moat which ran the length of the building on the town side. Four skeletons were found in it, vivid reminders of the second siege. Two were of soldiers who had crouched for shelter by one of the piers under the drawbridge. Buttons, coins, braid, and a sword hilt were found beside them. Another skeleton lay close under the wall of the Citadel. The soldiers must have been trapped when the building burned and fell during the Second Siege.

The hospital was 280 feet long, with a large garden, and, in separate little buildings, a bakery and a laundry. Four Frères de la Charité came from Paris in 1716 and the hospital was put in their charge. The Sisters of the Congregation had a convent and school in the middle of the town . . . quite appropriately, among the very few things found in the partial excavation of the site a few years ago were a small cross and a thimble.

On the cliffs overlooking the harbour entrance was the lighthouse built of fireproof materials. The mechanism of the lamp can be studied in the facsimile drawing in the museum. This fine tower, which was the last word in lighthouses, was largely destroyed by shot from the island battery in 1758. In the modern lighthouse may be seen the interesting lead plate found in digging its foundation in 1923.

The town, being a complete little entity, possessed a coalyard, fish market, icehouse, bakery, a "billiard" or tavern where billiards was played, a prison in the Citadel building, and at least one shop catering to women.

An average of one hundred and fifty ships a year, not counting fishing boats, came into Louisbourg, from nearby ports, Gaspé, and Quebec, from New England, from Guadeloupe, San Domingo, Martinique, and France. The shipping season ended in the autumn, few, if any, long voyages being attempted in winter. Louisbourg exported cod and salmon, fish oil, coal, a few furs, and oak plank, and had a large re-export trade in rum, molasses, coffee, and tobacco. All the needs of the town, including most of its food, were brought to it from overseas. In a list

of imports for the year 1752 are mentioned so many ells of cloth from Montauban in the south of France, and in the museum is a lead seal marked "Inspection de Montauban" which undoubtedly was once attached to the cloth.

In 1739, Isaac-Louis Forant, a naval officer, was made Governor, and associated with him as "Commissaire-Ordonnateur" was François Bigot. It is interesting to record, in view of Bigot's later record as Intendant of Canada, that during his first years at Louisbourg he was an excellent and public-spirited official. He and Forant showed none of the jealousy and quarrelsomeness so common at Louisbourg between the different officials and officers, but worked and consulted together in harmony. Unfortunately, Forant died of pneumonia in May, 1740. Bigot continued to develop the resources of the colony, but before he left for France in 1745 he had begun to enrich himself by questionable means. In the following year, he was appointed to equip the fleet of the Duc d'Anville.

In March, 1744, after thirty-one years of peace, France declared war on England and dispatched a fast sailing ship to warn her colonies. England made her declaration of war almost a month later and delayed sending word so that the news did not reach Boston until the beginning of June.

In the interim, DuQuesnel, Governor of Louisbourg, sent an expedition under DuVivier, his second in command, to destroy Canso, and capture Annapolis. Canso was a flourishing fishing village on the extreme eastern point of Acadia, protected by a small blockhouse garrisoned by eighty soldiers. As the French force numbered seventy soldiers and three hundred militia, Canso surrendered, and the population were taken to Louisbourg as prisoners.

DuVivier failed to take Annapolis, but the destruction of Canso, resulting as it did in ruined fisheries, cut communication with Newfoundland, and a flock of French privateers off the New England coasts raised such a clamour in Acadia and so alarmed New England that an expedition

against Louisbourg, which had been in the air for some time, was seen to be a practical necessity. The originator of the plan is not exactly known, but early and prime movers were Judge Auchmuty, Colonel William Vaughan, of New Hampshire, and Colonel John Bradstreet. William Shirley, a London lawyer, who after only ten years in Massachusetts had been made Governor, was a keen promoter of the scheme from the first. As soon as the council had voted their assent he chose their President, William Pepperrell, as commander of the expedition. Pepperrell was a rich merchant from Maine and an officer of Militia.

In February, 1745, Shirley communicated the plan to the British Ministry, asking for the assistance of a naval force. The Ministers approved and orders were sent to the commander of the Atlantic fleet, Commodore Peter Warren, at that time in the West Indies, to sail north.

The ranks of the land force were voluntarily filled up in a remarkably short time, the response proving the undertaking to be a wholehearted effort of the community of New England. On March 24 the expedition sailed from Boston . . . 4,000 men in nineteen transports, accompanied by armed Provincial vessels . . . their destination Canso. There they were kept a month by news of drift ice off the Cape Breton coast. Commodore Warren, in his flagship the *Superb* with his fleet of eight warships, cruised off-shore to prevent any French ships reaching Louisbourg. As soon as word came that the coasts were free of ice the expedition sailed, and on April 30 came into Gabarus Bay where the Provincials had their first sight of the steeples of Louisbourg in the distance.

Meanwhile, at Louisbourg, DuQuesnel had died and been succeeded as Governor by DuChambon. In December of the previous year, the Swiss Company of Karrer, numbering a hundred men, had mutinied, carrying the six French companies of Marines with them; arrears of pay for work on the fortifications, and shortages of firewood, clothing, and food, were the causes. Their demands were granted, but all winter and spring the

mutineers, in a more or less orderly way, possessed the town, their officers not daring to command any but routine services. On the appearance of the enemy fleet in Gabarus Bay, DuChambon harangued the mutineers, promising them pardons if they returned to duty. They consented, and fought well through the siege. It may be mentioned here that on their return to France, in spite of the promises made them, several of their leaders were hanged.

Hardly had the fleet of transports anchored when the disembarkation began. The boats landed near Flat Point and several hundred Provincials were on shore before the small force of French and Indians sent to oppose them came up. De la Boularderie, the French leader, was wounded twice, and taken prisoner, and sixteen others were killed before they finally retreated to the town, burning the houses outside the walls as they went.

Between the New Englanders in their camp at Flat Point and any effective action against Louisbourg there stretched three miles of bog, intersected by rifts of uneven rocky ground, on which grew thick spruce woods choked with fallen trees. The French were confident that guns could not be moved across such country . . . but, with incredible labour, they were. At first the Provincials tried to drag the guns on their wheels but they sank almost out of sight in the bogs. Then they made wooden sledges, sixteen feet long and five feet wide, on which the guns were placed and successfully manhandled within range of the walls. Powder, shot, and provisions were carried on men's backs.

The first event of the siege was the capture of the Grand Battery. This work of strange design, with its two bomb-proof towers sixty feet high, faced the harbour entrance and was about a mile across the water from the town. The French hastily decided to abandon it the day of the landing, and spiked the guns. On the 2nd of May, some of Lt.-Colonel Vaughan's men noticed the smokeless chimneys in the Battery, and, finding it empty, occupied it; lacking a flag, one of the soldiers nailed his red coat to the staff.

Four boats came from the town and attacked but were beaten off, and immediately the gunsmiths with the proper tools began their work of clearing the spiked cannon.

In the days following, five batteries were erected to play on the King's Bastion and Dauphin Gate, and as a routine matter the town was summoned to surrender, which DuChambon naturally refused to do.

All through the siege scouting bands of Provincials went through the country destroying all settlements. They were sometimes attacked by French and Indians but more often returned unscathed with prisoners and booty. The ships of the fleet cruised off Louisbourg, chasing enemy ships and occasionally capturing a prize.

On May 20, the success of the expedition was hanging in the balance . . . the fortifications were unbreached, powder was running low, and there was much sickness in the ranks. In Louisbourg, the situation, as regards ammunition and sickness, was much the same. Both sides required prompt assistance to succeed, the one in capturing, the other in defending, the town. Assistance was at hand; the *Vigilant* was making for Louisbourg. She was a 64-gun ship, with a crew of five hundred on her maiden voyage from Brest, so heavily laden with munition and stores that her lowest tier of guns could not be fought. Off the coast, she fell in with and chased the *Mermaid*, 40 guns, but was soon flying herself from the *Superb*, the *Eltham*, the *Mermaid*, and a Provincial vessel. Maisonfort, her captain, fought until he could set no more sail and sixty of his crew were dead, then he surrendered, and the *Mermaid* towed her rich but shattered prize into Gabarus Bay. It is the opinion of historians that had Maisonfort not rashly gone off his course to chase the *Mermaid* and instead had succeeded in reaching Louisbourg, the siege would have been raised; as it was, the Provincials were much heartened and materially assisted by the capture.

The island battery of 39 guns effectually closed the harbour to enemy ships and forced them to keep their distance

outside. Its capture was considered important enough for the Army Council to decide to risk the hazardous course of a surprise attack by boats at night. The rocky little island lies in a surge of surf, and there is only one place where landing is possible, and then only in calm weather. The first attempt was on the night of the 23rd of May, which turned out to be as bright as day with moon and northern lights, and no landing was made. The second was three nights later, and was undertaken by four hundred volunteers who chose their officers. It is said that as the boats neared the island a soldier called for three cheers and roused the French. Even against an alert garrison and in heavy surf a landing was made and sharp fighting took place, but at four in the morning the attackers were forced to withdraw with a loss of one hundred and eighty-nine men killed, wounded, and taken prisoner. The whole army was greatly depressed and almost paralyzed by the failure and loss.

During the last days of May, a battery erected at the lighthouse played directly on the island from a higher elevation and at a distance of only half a mile. Even so it was not until the 15th of June that its guns were silenced . . . on that day, out of nineteen shells from the "Big Mortar", seventeen fell within the little fort, one of them hitting the magazine. One of the batteries bombarding the town had pushed within 250 yards of the West Gate. The walls were badly breached in several places and every house was damaged.

On June 15, the army was equipped and ready for storming the walls, and the ships, cleared for action, were waiting in Gabarus Bay to force the harbour when DuChambon sent out a flag of truce asking for a suspension of hostilities to arrange terms of capitulation. The terms finally found acceptable were, briefly, as follows: that the civilian population would be transported to France with their goods, meanwhile continuing to live in their houses under protection; that the soldiers should be immediately placed on board ship to remove them from the town; and that all their sick and wounded would receive "tender

care". As it turned out, it was impossible to prevent looting, and the accommodation on the ships was so restricted that the civilians were able to take only a few of their possessions, thus losing this benefit of the capitulation.

On Monday, the 17th of June, a day of moderate winds and light fog, the English flag fluttered up on Battery Island and at two in the afternoon the warships, armed vessels, and transports sailed into the harbour, "which made a beautiful appearance," says one eyewitness.

The Dauphin Gate, the main entrance to the town, being in a ruinous state, the entry of the troops, at four in the afternoon, was made by the south, or Queen's Gate. On the parade ground near the citadel, the French troops were drawn up, and the surrender was formally made with "all decency and decorum."

The weather, which had held good for the forty-six days of the siege, broke immediately after the surrender and rain fell for many days. Pepperrell reported that 9,000 balls and 600 bombs were fired against the city. The French losses of fifty killed and eighty wounded seem small and are, probably, only those of the soldiers, who numbered six hundred. One journal of the siege mentions that about three hundred were killed within the walls. The Provincials lost one hundred and one men killed and thirty from sickness. Their great losses were to occur in the coming winter.

Warren was rewarded by being made Admiral of the Blue, and his share of the prizes captured during and immediately after the siege made him a rich man. Pepperrell was made a baronet, as was Shirley, and they were both given the right to raise regiments, a lucrative privilege.

The English Government reimbursed the Colonies their expenses to the full amount of 183,000 pounds. This sum was divided between Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. Massachusetts used its share to reduce its paper money.

Warren and Pepperrell spent the winter at Louisbourg as joint administrators. It was necessary to keep the New

England force on active service until regulars could be sent to take their place, this making for great discontent as the enlisted civilians wished to return home at once, the object of the expedition having been accomplished. Things became so bad that Governor Shirley was sent for, and he arrived in August, with his family and Lady Warren. By September, the men were on the point of mutiny, but Shirley addressed them and promised an increase in their pay of 40 shillings a month. The spirit of discontent was appeased and they settled down to the major tasks of cleaning the town and repairing the fortifications. The change from the open air to living in infected barracks made even worse the already severe scourges of fever and dysentery, while a daily diet of pork brought on scurvy. Between December and April, 890 Provincials died. Their burial ground is outside the Maurepas Gate on Point Rochefort, where a monument erected by the Society of Colonial Wars now stands.

In May, 1746 Fuller's and Warburton's regiments arrived from Gibraltar and the Provincials were sent home. In June, Warren and Pepperrell left, Commodore Charles Knowles becoming Governor.

The summer passed undisturbed except for news of the huge fleet France was fitting out to recapture Louisbourg. Under the command of the Duc d'Anville, a great aristocrat who, from boyhood, had received high naval appointments without ever having been to sea, the fleet of forty-three ships of war of all types and thirty transports left France in June. While New England anxiously re-armed, and Admiral Townsend at sea and Knowles ashore at Louisbourg prepared to hold Cape Breton at all costs, the unfortunate fleet was being scattered by storms and broken by shipwreck and collision (even thunderbolts adding their havoc), and was losing 1,200 men by sickness. In September, a few ships and transports with scorbutic fever raging in them crept into Chebucto Bay. The Duke died of apoplexy and was buried on the island later known as St. George's. D'Estourel, who then took command, ill and overcome

by his responsibilities, killed himself in a fit of delirium. La Jonquière took the few ships that remained back to France.

Knowles disliked Louisbourg, finding the climate disagreeable after the West Indies, and it was his expressed opinion that the island was not worth keeping . . . soon, as if in answer to his wishes, it was to be given back.

In April, 1748, at Aix-la-Chapelle, a treaty was signed of which Article 5 read: "all conquests which have been made since the commencement of the war . . . shall be restored without exception".

Owing to the great distance, it would take time to transfer Louisbourg, and England consented to send hostages to Paris until such time as the French were in possession again. The people of England were very dissatisfied with the treaty and mortified at England having to give hostages, but their feelings were not to be compared to the disgust felt by the New Englanders, who were incensed to see their conquest, a possession which safeguarded their interests, exchanged like a pawn in a game of chess.

On the 30th of June, 1749, the French Governor, des Herbiers, a naval captain, arrived at Louisbourg. Colonel Hopson, who had succeeded Knowles, received the Frenchmen with every courtesy. There was some delay in evacuating the town owing to a lack of British ships, but by the end of July all arrangements had been made and Hopson handed the keys to des Herbiers. The white and gold flag of France flew once more over Louisbourg. Most of the former inhabitants returned from Canada and even from France. They found their houses in poor condition, as the English had concentrated on repairing the fortifications. During the remainder of the summer, the men were handicapped by a scarcity of fishing boats, and the many restrictions on trade caused no little hardship to the population.

Having given up Louisbourg, the British Ministry were aware of a need for a settlement in Acadia on the Atlantic, and chose Chebucto Bay. At the time of the transfer of





MODEL OF THE FORTRESS OF LOUISBOURG

Louisbourg, 1,200 settlers under the leadership of Lt.-Colonel Cornwallis landed on the shores of the bay and founded the town of Halifax. One of the first acts of courtesy of Cornwallis to the French at Louisbourg was to return the body of the Duc d'Anville. A French ship, no British one being available, carried it to Louisbourg where it was re-interred in front of the high altar in the chapel of the Citadel building. The skeleton found on this spot in 1932 is undoubtedly that of the Duke. The skull has been trepanned and it is known from a letter from the naval surgeon who attended the Duke at his death that an autopsy was performed.

Peace between France and England made open acts of hostilities impossible, but overt acts such as encouraging the Indians to prey on the English made the next few years wretched for the settlers. In 1751, Major-General Count Raymond replaced des Herbiers as Governor. Raymond was in many ways, on the civil side, a good Governor. He visited the outposts, established settlements, and wished to build roads and redoubts, but was opposed in this by the military. The Governor's secretary was Thomas Pichon, to whose credit stands an interesting account of Cape Breton. He was dismissed for a trivial offence and later became commissary at Fort Beauséjour, where he spied for the British, informing the officers in nearby Fort Lawrence of all that passed under his eye.

Washington's defeat at Fort Necessity in 1755 led the British to send General Braddock to America with two regiments. The French followed this lead by sending to Louisbourg the regiments of Artois and Bourgogne, and four others to Canada. Because these French reinforcements were more numerous than those sent with Braddock, the war fever in England rose, and Admiral Boscawen was sent with a fleet of fifteen ships to cruise in the Gulf and prevent any French ships getting up to Quebec or into Louisbourg. Four French squadrons, however, two of four ships and one of eleven, the latter under Dubois de la Motte, made port safely. De la Motte had instructions to secure Louisbourg from attack, and he employed his

sailors and the garrison in throwing up earthworks at every cove east and west of Louisbourg, as his map in the museum shows.

In 1754, the man who was to be the last Governor, the Chevalier Drucour, came out. He found the fortifications in bad condition owing partly to neglect and partly to lack of materials and money for their repair. He made many wise recommendations to the home government, specially urging that the garrison be strengthened, and, even more important, some system evolved of increasing the food supply of the town dependent as it was on the open sea route. The yearly blockade under Commodore Holmes, Temple West, or Admiral Holbourne prevented all but a few ships slipping through, which yearly reduced the people to near starvation.

In 1757, Admiral Holbourne was cruising off Louisbourg hoping to draw Dubois de la Motte's fleet, when, at the end of September, a terrible storm scattered and damaged his ships. The *Tilbury*, 60 guns, was wrecked on the rocks of St. Esprit, south of Louisbourg, and the captain and half the crew were drowned. The French sent prompt assistance to the survivors as they feared the Indians might find them first and kill them. The Indians did find them, unprotected and half dead with the hardships they had suffered, but treated them well, "which," says the French narrator, "surprised us".

Many of the French ships in the harbour were blown ashore in spite of four anchors down, and the *Tonnant*, 80 guns, was badly damaged. Holbourne took his ships to Halifax, of necessity giving up the blockade. As soon as the *Tonnant* was repaired, Dubois de la Motte left for France.

Though fighting had taken place all along the French-English border in America since 1755, war was not declared until the spring of the following year, when Minorca fell to the French and Admiral Byng was shot "for failure to do his utmost". The elder Pitt came into power and he, unlike most ministers, was able to point the way

to military success. The reduction of Louisbourg was the first objective of the war in America.

In the spring of 1758, a fleet of twenty-three ships under Admiral Boscawen conveyed 14,000 troops to Halifax. Their commanders were Major-General Jeffrey Amherst and three Brigadiers Whitmore, Lawrence, and Wolfe.

James Wolfe was thirty-one years old and had spent half his life, all but a year, in the army, having entered when he was sixteen. He fought at Dettingen and in Scotland during the Jacobite Rebellion in 1745. After Culloden, he spent four years in garrison at Glasgow, Inverness, and other places and began to be noted for his care of his soldiers' health, but he was also a disciplinarian and his regiment was one of the best drilled in the army. His interest and ambition led him to study everything to do with the art of war, and though he was handicapped by a weak constitution, this was offset by a strong will and energetic habits.

British naval forces attempted to prevent aid reaching Louisbourg, but a squadron under Beaussier de l'Isle got through safely. These ill-fated ships, all 74's and 64's, played a certain part in the second siege and were named the *Prudent*, the *Bienfaisant*, the *Entreprenant*, the *Capricieux*, and the *Célèbre*. Louisbourg was much stronger in men than in 1745, the garrison numbering 3,300 regular soldiers, besides a few militia, but these numbers could not compare with those of the army sent against them, which, as we have seen, amounted to 14,000.

The fleet of one hundred and eight ships sailed into Gabarus Bay on June 2. The French had done their best to prevent a repetition of the successful 1745 landing. Dubois de la Motte's earthworks ran along the crest of the banks overlooking the shores of the bay. Coromandière, or Kennington Cove, and Flat and White Points were more carefully defended with cannon, and the whole line was guarded by more than two thousand men.

Owing to the bad weather, it was not until June 8 that the landing could be attempted. The men were in the boats

while it was still dark. At daybreak, the frigates near the shore opened fire, which was answered by the French, and shortly afterwards the boats left the ships. Whitmore and Lawrence made a feint of landing at White and Flat Points while the main party of Fraser's Highlanders, Light Infantry, and American Rangers, under Wolfe, made for Coromandière Cove. The French held their fire until the boats were close in and then swept them with a storm of shot and shell. A withdrawal was ordered, but three boats under Lieutenants Hopkins and Brown and Ensign Grant, on the right of the attack, made for a narrow beach in the shelter of a small promontory which hid them from the French, and landed. Wolfe saw them, and ordered all the boats in; in the crowding and confusion some were stove in, or upset, and thirty-eight men were drowned, but, hidden by the smoke of the guns, the British got ashore, formed up on the bank, and immediately attacked. The unexpected appearance of the enemy enfilading their trenches caused the French to retreat, pursued by the British to within range of the guns of the town. The French losses were over a hundred, the British between forty and fifty.

Lt.-Colonel Alexander Murray was with Wolfe and was one of the first ashore. He wrote a letter, now in the museum, to his wife in Halifax describing the landing. Mrs. Murray later joined her husband and they spent the following winter at Louisbourg. Their son, to whom Wolfe stood godfather, was born there.

The army camped at Flat Point on the same spot as did the New Englanders thirteen years before. Wolfe soon learned from a deserter that the Lighthouse Battery had been abandoned. On June 12, he led 1,600 men around the harbour in a thick fog which hid them from the French, and camped there. The battery was supplied with guns by water, the boats landing at what is now known as Wolfe's Cove, east of the lighthouse. It began firing on the 19th, and, with others placed around the harbour, in a few days practically silenced the island battery and forced the French ships to draw in to the town, so near that some of them ran aground.

Drucour had hoped that the ships would be, in effect, floating batteries having the advantage of mobility, to harass the British and prevent the placing of their cannon at chosen points. Only one ship fulfilled these hopes . . . the 36-gun frigate *Aréthuse*. Her brave and skilful Captain, Jean Vauquelin, anchored her off the Barachois and protected the western approach to the town. Wolfe paid him the compliment of erecting a special battery to displace him. Commodore Des Gouttes, who had asked at the very beginning of the siege for permission to withdraw the ships, which the Governor and Council had not granted, now placed his crews on shore, leaving only a small guard on each ship.

Drucour knew well that Louisbourg could only hold out for a short time but did his utmost in its defence, seconded by Madame Drucour, who kept up the morale of the troops by going to the walls each day and firing three cannon. The longer the British were held before Louisbourg the more time was given Quebec, and who could tell what time might not do?

The only outside help the French could hope for was from Boishébert, the famous leader of the Indians. Supplies and powder were placed for him at a point on the Mira River, but Father Maillard, the missionary to the Micmacs, who, with all the Indians in the place, left Louisbourg the day the British landed, passed that way, and took the stores, leaving none for Boishébert and his force. Drucour was displeased by this action and disappointed in Boishébert, who, when he came, hovered on the outskirts of Louisbourg without striking a blow until the surrender, when he vanished from the scene.

On July 1, Wolfe was able to place a battery on a mound not far from the West Gate which damaged the walls, demolished the (in Wolfe's opinion) "useless" cavalier Knowles had built in the Dauphin Bastion, and fired a dangerously close range on the ships. The town began to suffer heavily; on the evening of July 6, a bomb fell on the crowded hospital, killing a surgeon and wounding two Frères de la Charité.

With the aim of destroying British outworks and driving the attackers from advanced positions the French made three sorties during the siege, all, of course, at night. The first was on the 13th of June, the second on the 1st of July, the fighting lasting two hours, and the third on the 9th against works south of the town. The British were caught unawares and Lord Dundonald, bringing up reinforcements, was killed. To-day a small monument marks approximately the spot where he fell.

In the town, the walls were in such a bad state that they were shaken down by the firing of the French cannon. Various buildings and powder magazines and the ships were protected by hogsheads of tobacco, of which there were a great many in the town, taken from British prizes before the siege. Ammunition was running short, so scrap-iron was used in the mortars and English balls were fired back. The French endeavoured, unsuccessfully as it turned out, to block the harbour by sinking five ships in the entrance. L'Artigue's map shows their top masts standing up above the water.

On the 16th, the French outpost was driven in from the Barachois bridge and entrenchments were hastily thrown up about two hundred yards from the West Gate, this extremely exposed position costing many lives.

On July 21, in the early afternoon, the *Célèbre* was set on fire by a shot which holed her and exploded some cartridges in her; sparks lit the *Entreprenant* and she, in turn, set fire to the *Capricieux*. The crews of twenty-five or thirty men were powerless to extinguish the flames, especially as the British kept up a heavy fire on the burning ships. The guns of the *Célèbre* exploded, damaging the other ships and the houses in the town. The ships blazed all night, finally drifting to the Barachois, where what was left of them stranded.

By July 22, the town was undergoing fire from twelve encircling batteries and there was not a spot within the walls safe from the storm. The Citadel building was set on fire and burned down, except for the south end containing the Governor's apartments. When the roof fell

in, the outrush of smoke all but suffocated the women and children and wounded who had been placed for safety in the bomb-proofs forming the flanks of the King's Bastion, the only part of the fortification now standing. What the town and people underwent can be imagined from the fact that one English six-gun battery fired six hundred balls a day. The wooden barracks built for the New England troops in 1745, standing in the Queen's Bastion, were set on fire by bombs and burned to the ground.

When Des Gouttes took off the crews of the ships, leaving only a few men on board each, Drucour feared that there was danger of a cutting-out expedition against them succeeding. Of Beaussier de l'Isle's squadron there were only two ships left, the *Bienfaisant* afloat off the town and the *Prudent* aground nearer in. Just after midnight on the 25th, a dark night, two divisions of twenty-five boats from the fleet rowed into the harbour unnoticed. The boats under Captain Laforey were approaching the *Prudent* when they were hailed. Someone answered in French that they were from the town and were coming on board. The sentry was satisfied and before he could do anything the British were on the deck; finding that the ship was aground they set her on fire and escaped. Her crew, under an ensign, tardily roused up from below, got safely to shore. Captain Balfour, with the second division, had a more difficult task, as he met with some resistance entailing losses on both sides; nevertheless, the *Bienfaisant* was towed away to the head of the harbour. The town was roused, Drucour himself rushing to the Batterie de la Grave and directing the fire of the guns, but though the scene was brightly lit up by the burning *Prudent* as vividly shown in the engraving of the scene in the museum, the boats got away. The last misfortune, which cleared the harbour of defending ships, little use though they had been, and the fact that only three guns were able to return the British fire, decided Drucour and the senior officers of the town, on the 26th, to ask for a truce to discuss terms of capitulation. The British had a new battery placed and were planning an assault for that night by land and sea. Sooner than accept the terms mak-

ing them prisoners at discretion, the hardest terms possible, Drucour and his colleagues decided to stand the assault, and examined various spots in the town where interior entrenchments could be made. They had sent their refusal to Amherst, when a memoir was presented setting forth the civilian point of view, the hardships already suffered and those still worse to be faced in the case of an assault, and other pleas. The Governor was persuaded, and two officers with acceptance of the British terms were hurried off to overtake the first. The soldiers and regimental officers were enraged at the surrender and broke their muskets and burned their colours. On the 27th the British troops marched in by the Dauphin Gate. An eyewitness with the fleet describes the desolation of the harbour, the waters and shores strewn with sunken small craft, bobbing buoys of slipped anchors, masts, spars, rigging, wreckage, and tobacco, and "the stranded Hull of *Le Prudent* on the muddy shoal . . . burned down to the Water's Edge, with a great deal of her Iron and Guns staring us in the Face".

The French losses during the siege were four hundred and eleven and the British one hundred and ninety-five.

There was great rejoicing in England when the news came of the capture; one manifestation is the doggerel verse "A New Song Wrote on the Taken of Louisbourg" in the museum. Eleven French flags were placed, with great ceremony, in St. Paul's Cathedral in London . . . there they remained until 1852, when the church was stripped to prepare for the Duke of Wellington's funeral and the flags disappeared.

When Boscawen came ashore after the surrender he asked about Vauquelin, who had slipped through Hardy's fleet with dispatches for France on July 15. When he was told that he was the captain of a small frigate, he said that he would have recommended him for a ship of the line had he been in his command.

Drucour was sent to England as prisoner of war and Madame Drucour returned to France. They were wretch-

edly poor, and he was, most unfairly, called upon to justify his conduct of the siege. He re-entered the navy and died in 1762.

Mention must be made of one romantic figure at Louisbourg, the Jacobite, Chevalier Johnstone, once senior captain in Prince Charles Edward's army. His memoirs tell of his hairbreadth escapes after Culloden, but he reached France safely and, accepting minor rank in the French army, was sent to Louisbourg in 1752. Wishing above all else to keep out of English hands, he left Louisbourg before the surrender and made his way to Quebec, where he became, first, de Levis' aide-de-camp and then Montcalm's. His writings on Louisbourg supply details not found elsewhere.

Boscawen and Amherst decided that it was too late in the season to carry on against Quebec, so Drucour and the defenders of Louisbourg could feel they had saved Canada for one year.

On the news arriving of Abercrombie's defeat at Ticonderoga, Amherst sailed for Boston on August 30. Wolfe was sent in command of an expedition to Gaspé to destroy fishing settlements, a task for which he expressed his dislike. Boscawen sailed for England in October, leaving Rear-Admiral Durell in command of the fleet, and Whitmore with four regiments in garrison.

In the spring of 1759, from May 13 to June 4, Wolfe, in command of the expedition against Quebec, was again at Louisbourg. Durell had left earlier to precede Admiral Saunders and the flotilla up the St. Lawrence.

The fate of Louisbourg was decided within a year and a half of its capture . . . in February, 1760, Pitt wrote to Amherst, Commander-in-Chief in North America, "that after the most serious and mature Deliberation being had . . . The King is come to a Resolution, that the Fortress, together with all the works, and Defences of the Harbour, be most effectually and most entirely demolished".

Halifax was growing, and no second place requiring a large garrison was needed in Nova Scotia. Furthermore,

if France succeeded in recovering the island by war or diplomacy, and it was believed she would make great efforts to do so, it would be better to return to her an open town rather than a walled city.

In the spring of 1760, Commodore Byron arrived at Louisbourg, in the *Fame*, bringing sappers and miners for the work of blowing up the fortifications. Byron, grandfather of the poet, had been shipwrecked as a midshipman and was constantly, throughout his life, in trouble with the elements, hence his nickname 'Foul-Weather Jack'. He became an Admiral and died in 1798 when his grandson was ten years old.

Forty-seven galleries were driven into the walls, requiring a great amount of timber which, toward the end, was obtained by pulling down houses. There were three hundred and forty-five powder chambers and eighteen explosions set off at different times, the last on October 17, 1760.

The cut stone from the Citadel building, the hospital, and the gates were removed to Halifax and used in the various public buildings, so only an odd piece here and there is found to-day at Louisbourg.

In 1928, the old city and a large portion of the battle ground outside the ruined walls were set aside as a national historic site. Since that time, extensive excavation work has been carried on and many interesting discoveries made, including what was believed to be the remains of the Duc d'Anville, who commanded the ill-fated expedition against Louisbourg in 1746.

During 1935-36, a spacious museum facing the site of the citadel was erected by the Government of Canada to house the exhibits and mementoes which have been presented by public spirited citizens, as well as relics which have been unearthed in the ruins of the fortress.

The site was created a national historic park in 1940.



OLD "BOMB-PROOF SHELTERS" AMID RUINS OF FORTRESS OF LOUISBOURG

