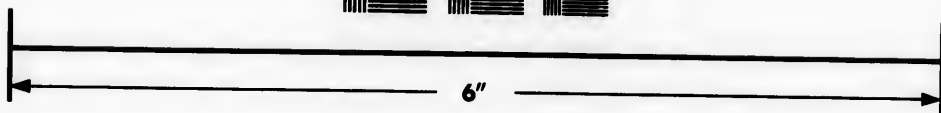
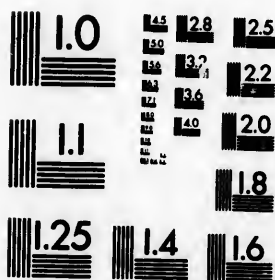


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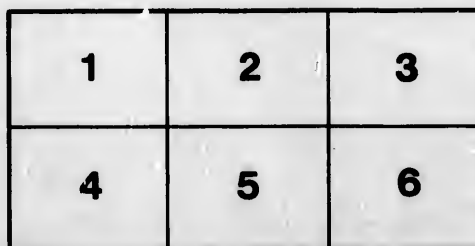
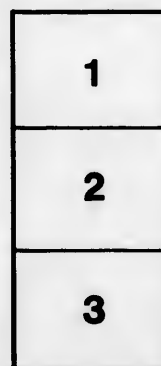
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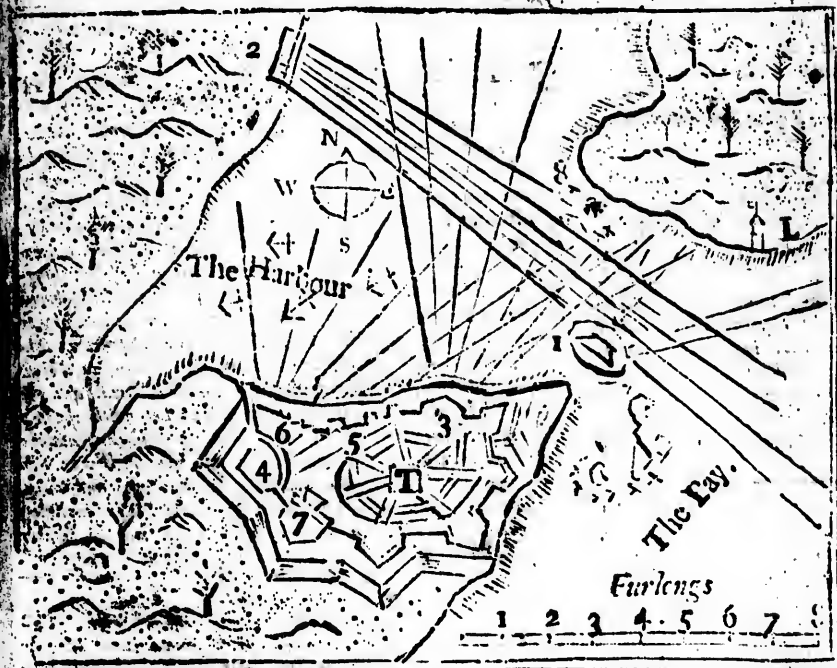
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*As the Cape Breton Expedition is at present the Subject of most Conversation, we hope the following Draught (rough as it is, for want of good Engravers here) will be acceptable to our Readers; as it will serve to give them an Idea of the Strength and Situation of the Town now possessed by our Forces, and render the News we receive from thence more intelligible.*

PLAN of the Town and Harbour of LOUISBURG.



E X P L A N A T I O N.

1. The Island Battery, at the Mouth of the Harbour, mounting 34 Guns, --- Ponders. This Battery can rake Ships fore and aft before they come to the Harbour's Mouth, and take them in the Side as they are passing in.
  2. The Grand Battery, of 36 Forty two Ponders, planted right against the Mouth of the Harbour, and can take Ships fore and aft as they enter.
  3. The Town N. East Battery, which mounts 18 Twenty four Ponders on two Faces, which can play on the Ships as soon as they have entered the Harbour.
  4. The Demi-Lune or Circular Battery, which mounts 16 Twenty four Ponders, stands on high Ground, and overlooks all the Works. This Battery can also gaul Ships, as soon as they enter the Harbour.
  5. Three Flanks, mounting 2 Eighteen Ponders each.
  6. A Small Battery, which mounts 8 Nine Ponders. All these Guns command any Ship in the Harbour.
  7. The Fort or Citadel, fortified distinctly from the Town, in which the Governor lives.
  8. A Rock, called the Bartel.
- T The Center of the Town. L The Light House.
- Every Bastion of the Town Wall has Embrasures or Ports for the Number of Guns to defend the Land Side. The black Strokes drawn from the several Batteries, shew the Lines in which the Shot may be directed.

FACSIMILE FROM THE NEW YORK WEEKLY POST BOY, JUNE 10th 1745.  
MADE FOR THE SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS. THE MEMORIAL IS LO-  
CATED AT THE POINT OF THE KINGS BASTION OR CITADEL, 7 ON PLAN.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

ON

LOUISBOURG MEMORIAL

NEW YORK

1896

NATIONAL PARKS BRANCH  
FORTRESS OF LOUISBOURG  
RESTORATION SECTION

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# REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LOUISBOURG MEMORIAL,

UNVEILED JUNE 17, 1895.

## GENERAL COMMITTEE.

HOWLAND FELL, Chairman, Lord's Court Bldg., New York.  
MADISON GRANT, Secretary, 18 Exchange Place, New York.  
SATTERLEE SWARTWOUT, Treasurer, Stamford, Conn.  
S. VICTOR CONSTANT, New York.  
WALTER K. WATKINS, Massachusetts.  
GEORGE CUTHBERT GILLESPIE, Pennsylvania.  
JOHN APPLETON WILSON, Maryland.  
GEN. R. N. BATCHELDER, U.S.A., District of Columbia.  
DR. CHARLES SAMUEL WARD, Connecticut.  
MALCOLM MACDONALD, New Jersey.  
JOHN GRANT NORTON, Vermont.  
FRANKLIN SENTER FRISBIE, New Hampshire.  
GEORGE ELTWEED POMEROY, Ohio.  
WALTER CHANNING WYMAN, Illinois.

## AUXILIARY COMMITTEES.

### *New York Society.*

FREDERIC H. BETTS,	CLARENCE W. BOWEN,
J. AUGUSTUS JOHNSON,	ANSON PHELPS STOKES,
WILLIAM IVES WASHBURN,	WILLIAM H. YOUNG.

### *Massachusetts Society.*

WALTER GILMAN PAGE,	JOHN ANTHONY REMICK,
ARTHUR J. C. SOWDEN.	

### *Pennsylvania Society.*

FRANCIS OLCOTT ALLEN,	FRANKLIN PLATT,
CHARLES HENRY JONES.	



*Vermont Society.*

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR WOODBURY,  
GEN. JULIUS J. ESTEY,  
COL. EDWARD A. CHITTENDEN,  
COL. CHARLES S. FORBES.

*New Hampshire Society.*

COL. HENRY OAKES KENT, U.S.V.,  
REV. CHARLES LANGDON TAPPAN,  
CHARLES FREDERICK BACON PHILBROOK,  
WILLIAM LITHGOW WILLEY, S.D.

*Halifax, Nova Scotia.*

REV. JOHN FORREST, D.D.,	J. J. STEWART,
HON. D. H. INGRAHAM,	CAPT. J. TAYLOR WOOD,
HON. A. G. JONES,	J. T. WYLDE,
W. H. HILL,	F. BLAKE CROFTON, Sec- retary.

*Sydney, Cape Breton.*

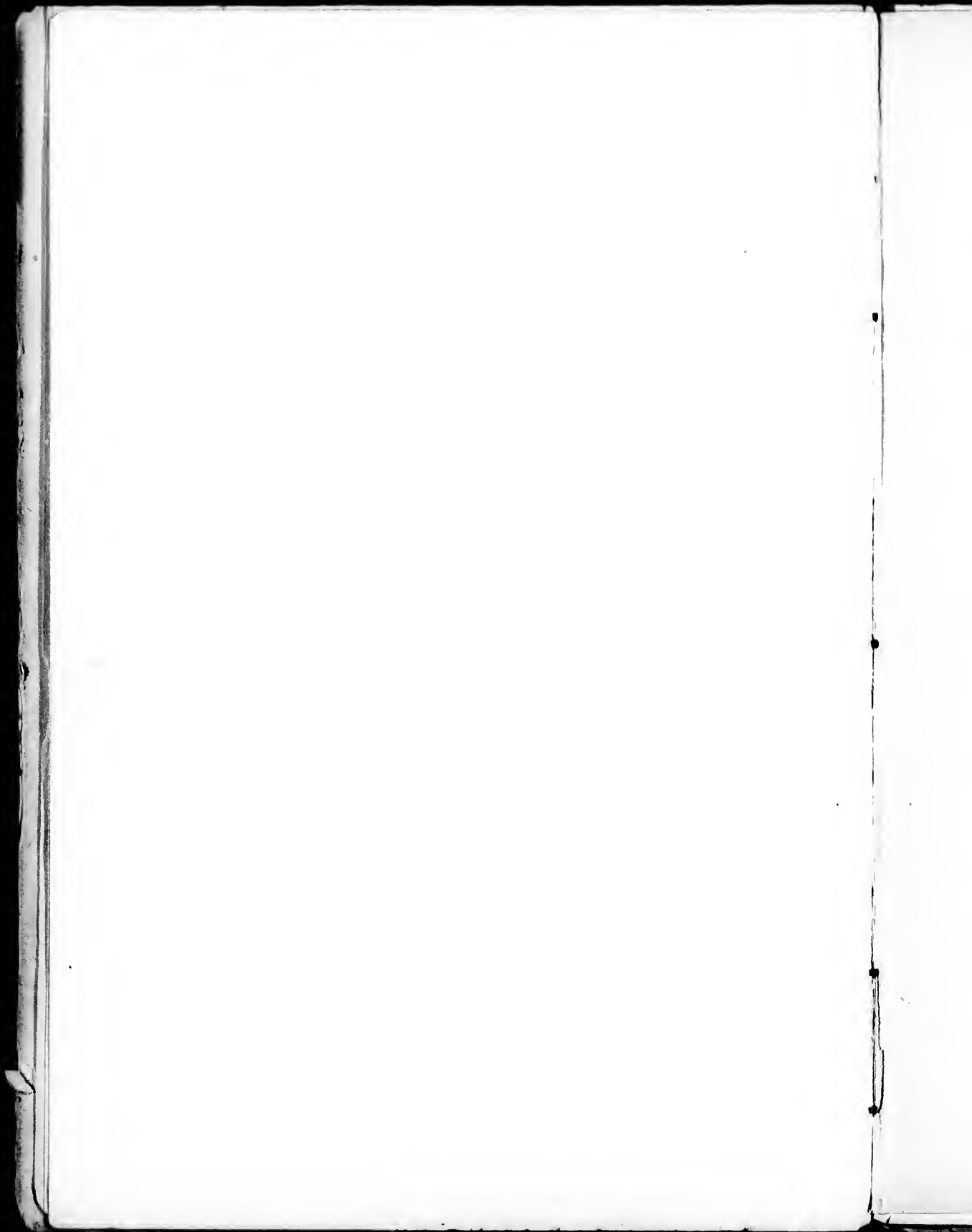
A. J. McDONALD, Mayor of Sydney, KENNETH MCKINNON,  
JOS. H. HEARN, Recorder, Secretary, ANGUS G. MCLEAN.

*Louisbourg, Cape Breton.*

H. C. V. LE VATTE, Chairman,	WM. W. LEWIS,
REV. T. FRASER DRAPER,	RODERICK McDONALD,
NEIL J. TOWNSEND,	JAMES MCPHEE, Treasurer,
CHARLES R. MITCHELL,	EDWARD S. MCALPINE, Sec- retary.



"CAMP COLOUR. BORN AT THE SIEGE OF LOUIS-  
BOURG, 1745. EXPEDITION UNDER SIR WILLIAM  
PEPPERRELL. PRESENTED TO THE NEW YORK HIS-  
TORICAL SOCIETY BY JOHN STARK." A FAC-SIMILE  
OF THE ORIGINAL, MADE BY PERMISSION FOR THE  
SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS IN THE STATE OF  
NEW YORK.



## REPORT.

The Committee on Louisbourg Memorial have pleasure in reporting that their labors have been brought to a successful termination by the unveiling of a handsome granite monument at Louisbourg, Cape Breton, on June 17, 1895, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the capture of the fortress by the New England forces under Pepperrell, assisted by the British fleet under Warren. The committee beg to express their thanks for the generous subscriptions received from the members and from the following State societies: New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Vermont, Illinois, Missouri, and the General Society. The committee also wish to express their appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. William Gedney Beatty, of the New York Society, the architect of the monument, to whom the Society is greatly indebted for the success of the undertaking. A commemorative medal was struck off from the metal of an old bronze cannon found in the wreck of a French frigate, supposed to be "Le Célèbre," sunk in Louisbourg harbor. Medals in suitable cases were presented to the Queen of England, the President of the United States, and the Governor-General of Canada.

The description of the ceremonies attending the unveiling of the monument commences with the reception given to the Society by the Nova Scotia Historical Society, in the Council Chamber of the Provincial Building at Halifax, on the evening of June 14th. Many members of the Historical Society and their friends were present, and after a number of informal speeches from the hosts and guests, the meeting adjourned to enjoy a collation. The Society's flags were displayed and attracted much interest, especially the facsimile of the "Louisbourg Camp Colour."

Upon their arrival in Halifax, the members of the Society

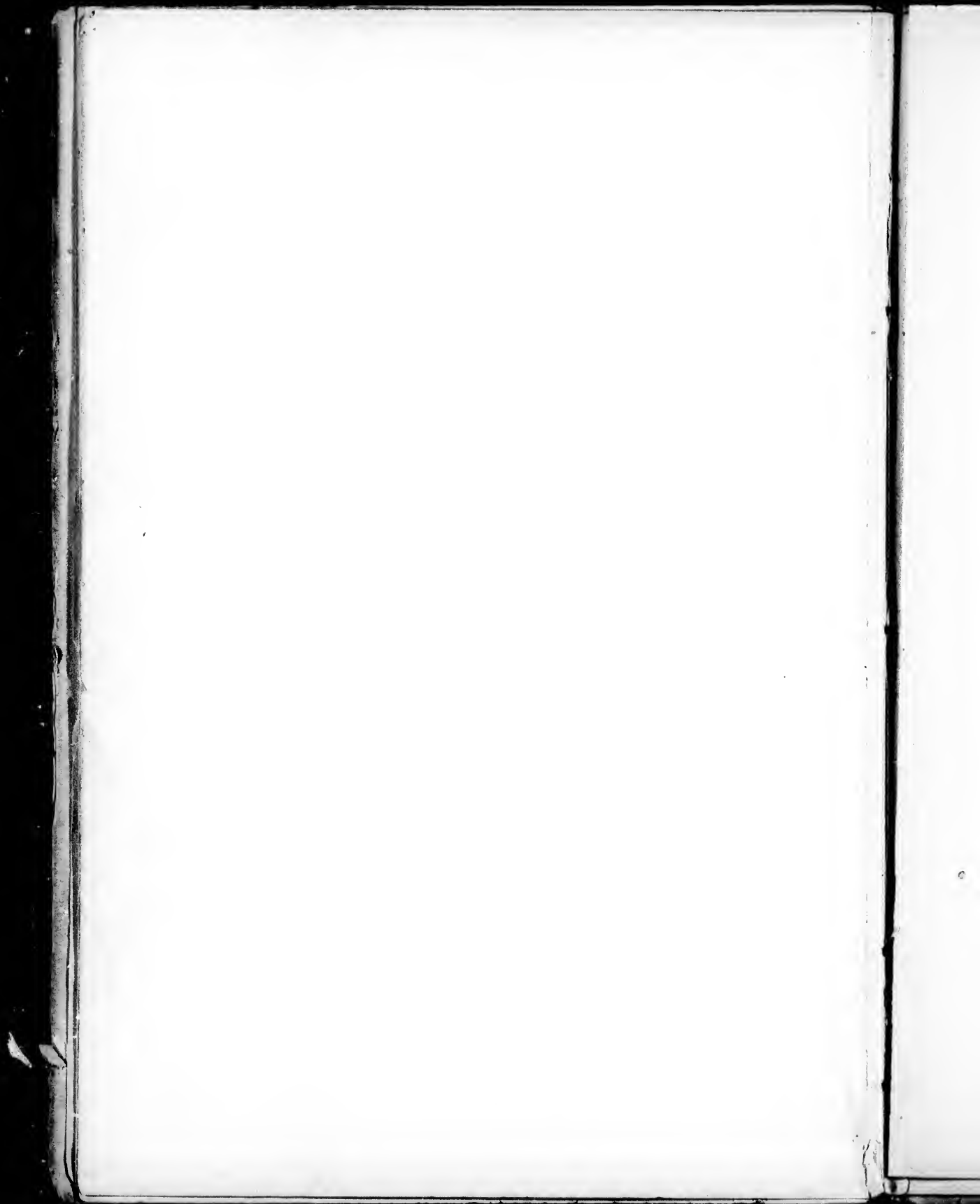
APPENDIX.

were honored by receiving cards from the Committee for the Halifax Club and from the Commodore of the Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Squadron, extending the privileges of their houses.

On the morning of the fifteenth, two special sleeping-cars were attached to the regular train for Sydney, Cape Breton, one for His Honor, Lieutenant-Governor Daly, and party, and one for the members of the Society and the delegation from the Nova Scotia Historical Society. Sunday was spent at Sydney, and on Monday, June 17th, the party proceeded by rail to Louisbourg, reaching there at eleven o'clock. The Dominion Coal Company formally opened their railroad from Sydney to Louisbourg for the celebration, and furnished transportation for the Society and their guests. They ran two passenger trains, carrying about twelve hundred persons, and as many more reached the scene by driving, by boats, and on foot. Arriving at the terminus of the railroad, the Society and their guests were driven around the bay past the ruins of the Grand Battery to the old fortress, in carriages provided by the Louisbourg Auxiliary Committee. Her Britannic Majesty's ship "Canada," the Dominion cruiser "Curlew," and merchant vessels anchored in the harbor displayed their colors, the "Canada" being dressed in bunting from stem to stern. Flags were also flying over many houses in the town, and the streets filled with people, as the event was a great gala day for Louisbourg and vicinity. Many of the churches held bazaars, and, near the site of the monument, tents and platforms were erected, where the lads and lassies were dancing to the inspiring music of bagpipes. Captain Wilson, R.N., and officers from H.M.S. "Canada," met Governor Daly at the train and conveyed him and the ladies of the party on board the ship. At 11.45 the Governor left the ship, receiving a salute of eleven guns, and proceeded to the old town, where he was escorted by the members and their guests to inspect the ancient fortress. At one o'clock the party were entertained at luncheon in a large marquee by the Louisbourg Committee. After lunch a procession was formed as follows, Col. James M. Whittemore, U.S.A., being placed in command:



7/11/1914  
H. H. Wood



*APPENDIX.*

Sydney Cornet Band—25 pieces.  
His Honor Lieutenant-Governor Daly.  
Lieutenant-Colonel Clerke, R.A., A.D.C.  
Captain Wilson and officers of H.M.S. "Canada."  
Delegation Nova Scotia Historical Society.  
United States and English colors.  
Facsimile of the "Camp Colour" used at the siege.  
Flag of the General Society, and  
Flag of the Connecticut State Society.  
Members of the Society.  
Louisbourg Auxiliary Committee.  
Sydney Auxiliary Committee.  
Citizens.

The guests and committeemen wore the Louisbourg medal suspended from the Society's ribbon, the members wearing in addition their insignia. The band, which very kindly volunteered their services, played American and British patriotic airs while the line of march was taken from the Dauphin's Bastion along the lines to the highest part of the King's Bastion, where the site for the monument was presented by Mr. Patrick Kennedy. As the head of the procession reached the grand stand, which was tastefully draped with American and English flags, it was saluted by a detachment of blue jackets and marines from the "Canada." A semicircular space around the monument, in front of the stand, was roped in, and the scarlet-coated marines posted around at intervals of two yards, while a guard of honor of blue jackets was drawn up in company front within the circle. On the left of the stand were the officers of the war ship, and on the right the band, which played appropriate pieces during the exercises. The following guests and members of the Society were given seats on the platform :

His Honor Lieutenant-Governor Daly ; Lieutenant-Colonel Clerke, A.D.C. ; Captain Wilson, R.N., Hon. David McKeen, M.P. ; Hon. D. H. Ingraham, U. S. Consul-General for Nova Scotia ; Dr. Charles Jones ; Dr. R. A. H. McKeen, Warden of the Municipality ; His Worship A. J. MacDonald, Mayor of Sydney ; Hon. G. Murray, M.E.C. ;



APPENDIX.

Mr. J. A. Johnson, of Halifax; Rev. William Salter, D.D., of Burlington, Iowa; Mr. F. D. Laurie, Mr. F. S. Pierson, Mr. Morrow, Mr. A. Chester Beatty, of New York; Mr. McConnell, of the Halifax *Chronicle*, and the editors of the Chegnecto *Post*, Sydney *Advocate*, North Sydney *Herald*, and the *Island Reporter*. Among the ladies present were Mrs. Daly, Miss Daly, and Mrs. Charles Jones, of Halifax; Miss Wheeler and Miss Salter, of New York; Mrs. David McKeen and Mrs. Pierson, of Cape Breton.

The following members of the Nova Scotia Historical Society: A. H. Mackay, LL.D., Superintendent of Education; Mr. Justice Murray Dodd, Col. J. R. McShane, C. H. Cahan, Rev. T. C. Jack, Rev. Dr. George Patterson, R.S.C.; F. Blake Crofton, Secretary of the Society. The members of the Louisbourg and Sydney Auxiliary Committees, and the following members of the Society of Colonial Wars: Hon. Everett Pepperrell Wheeler, Frederick Clarkson, Col. James Madison Whittemore, U.S.A.; William Gedney Beatty, David Banks, Jr., and Howland Pell, of the New York Society; Hon. Alfred G. Jones, of Halifax; James A. Noyes,\* Arthur J. C. Sowden and Edward T. Barker, of the Massachusetts Society; Dr. Charles Samuel Ward\* and John Edward Heaton, of the Connecticut Society; John Grant Norton, of the Vermont Society; George Eltweed Pomeroy,\* of the Ohio Society; and Walter Channing Wyman, of the Illinois Society. About twenty-five hundred people were gathered around the stand and on the ramparts of the ancient fortress.

The official programme was as follows:

Meeting called to order by the Chairman of the Committee, at two o'clock, in the King's Bastion of the Fortress of Louisbourg.

1. Prayer by the Chaplain-General, the Rev. C. ELLIS STEVENS, LL.D., D.C.L.
2. Address by FREDERIC J. DE PEYSTER, Esq., Governor-General of the Society.

---

\* Also members of the New York Society.

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3. Addresses by representatives from the Societies in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Vermont.
4. Address by Dr. J. G. BOURINOT, C.M.G., representing the Royal Society of Canada.
5. Address by Hon. EVERETT PEPPERRELL WHEELER, a descendant of Sir William Pepperrell, Bart., of New England.
6. Address by EDWARD F. DE LANCEY, Esq., representing Sir Peter Warren and the Colony of New York.
7. Address by an officer of the Historical Society of Nova Scotia.
8. Address by Hon. D. H. INGRAHAM, U. S. Consul-General for Nova Scotia.
9. Unveiling of the Monument by His Honor Lieutenant-Governor DALY of Nova Scotia, on behalf of His Excellency the Earl of Aberdeen, Governor-General of Canada.
10. Salutes.
11. Benediction by the Rev. T. FRASER DRAPER, Rector of St. Bartholomew's, Louisbourg.

Mr. Howland Pell, Secretary-General, Chairman of the General Committee, called the assemblage to order, and after stating the object of the gathering, requested the Rev. Dr. Salter, Chaplain of the Sons of the Revolution in Iowa, in the absence of the Chaplain-General, to open the proceedings with a prayer. Dr. Salter, who is a lineal descendant of a sister of Sir William Pepperrell, offered the following prayer :

"Thou who art the Ruler among the nations, we are gathered in Thy presence, under the great dome of the sky, from different lands, to speak of Thy goodness and talk of Thy power in the former days. In Thy Providence Thou hast given the New World of America to civilization, to liberty, to

APPENDIX.

law and order, and to the Gospel of Thy Son. We thank Thee that through the hardships and perils and sacrifices of those who have gone before us, and through their conflicts and turmoils and strifes as well, their children and children's children have entered into a great inheritance of peace and plenty from Hudson's Bay and the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific wave. We bless Thee for the valor and endurance of the pioneers, who acted well their part in the light of the earlier time in which they walked. We praise Thee, O God! All the earth doth worship Thee, the Father Everlasting, whose work is ever from seeming evil to educe good in infinite progression. We beseech Thee to command Thy blessing upon this commemoration of ancient valor and heroism, that it may stimulate virtue and the love of liberty, and generous and charitable feeling, among the people here represented. We implore Thy favor upon the gracious Queen of this wide realm, upon the Governor of this Maritime Province, upon Thy servant the President of the United States, and upon the people and government of France; that the people of these lands may ever live together in amity and concord. And bestow Thy benediction, we pray Thee, upon the Society of Colonial Wars, who have reared this monument, in memory of the ancient times, now to be unveiled, and grant that it may stand as a witness in future days to Thy power and glory, and to the fortitude and courage of those whose dust is here mingled with their mother earth. Let the people praise Thee, O God! Yea, let all the people praise Thee, and evermore serve Thee in holiness and righteousness, through the grace of the common Lord and Saviour of mankind, who taught us when we pray to say: Our Father, which art in Heaven. Amen."

At the conclusion of a hymn, played by the band, the chairman read letters or telegrams of regret at inability to be present, and wishing success to the celebration, from President Cleveland; the Earl of Aberdeen, Governor-General of Canada; H. M. Whitney, President Dominion Coal Co.; Samuel Adams Drake; John A. King, President New York Historical Society, and Dr. J. G. Bourinot, C.M.G.

APPENDIX.

As Mr. de Peyster had sailed for Europe a few days before the celebration, he commissioned the chairman to express his regret at not being present in person, and to read an address for him, as follows :

YOUR HONOR THE GOVERNOR, GENTLEMEN OF THE  
SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS, AND GUESTS :

“We have assembled here to-day among these storied ruins to dedicate the first—the very first—monument ever erected by the people of the great republic to commemorate the greatest triumph achieved by their Colonial ancestors, and to do honor to the memory of the seven hundred New England soldiers buried here.

“It is the greatest triumph because it is the only instance recorded in history of the victory of a body of irregulars, led by a civilian, over well-trained and gallant foes. It was the success of shopkeepers, artisans, fishermen, farmers, and clerks, commanded by a merchant, planned by a lawyer utterly ignorant of the art of war, over the regular soldiers of the first military power of Europe, led by well-trained, experienced and gallant commanders, and entrenched within the strongest fortress of the New World.

“The enterprise was a mad one, but it succeeded. The wasting diseases which are usually more deadly to a camp than the fire of the enemy never touched this devoted band until after the surrender.

“Victory without the English fleet would have been impossible. Heaven favored the undertaking. Storm and disease were averted while all branches of the Anglo-Saxon race on land and sea were united for the supreme effort. It was, indeed, the victory of our race, won by uniting the men born in the new England with those born in the old. It was won by Colonial soldiers and British sailors. The army could not have won without the navy, nor the navy without the army. The Americans could not have won without the English, nor the English without the Americans. Then, if never before, our ancestors learned the lesson that ‘in union there is strength,’ and that when the British mother and her

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mighty American child unite, victory is always theirs. Thirty years ago Goldwin Smith said: 'The English yeomanry are no longer to be found in England; the descendants of the brave youths who followed the standards of Cromwell and Ireton no longer breathe British air; but they are not extinct; to-day you may find them beneath the standard of Grant and of Sherman.'

"Yes, and every battle won during the Civil War was won by that gallant English yeomanry which have gained so long a train of victories for the cross of St. George, from St. Jean d'Acre to Waterloo. This, too, was a triumph of that same English yeomanry not less conspicuous than that which they obtained at Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. The men who conquered here were of as pure English descent as those who were led to victory by the storied Black Prince or the hero-king, Henry the Fifth.

"What renders this triumph of the Anglo-Saxon race the more glorious is that it was won over worthy foes. The fortress which capitulated one hundred and fifty years ago to-day was held by the first soldiers of Europe, the warriors of the 'Grand Monarque.' Few laurels can be won by defeating a horde of Asiatic slaves, but to tear the lilies from this citadel was, indeed, a splendid achievement.

"There is no braver race on the planet than the French. The English people to this day boast of their conquerer, Norman William.

"The proudest houses which cluster round the throne of Victoria trace their ancestry back to the French knights who struggled and conquered at Hastings. The long heroic line of Plantagenet kings was of pure French descent. Richard the Lion-hearted and the knights who fought beside him at St.-Jean d'Acre and Ascalon were as much Frenchmen as Philip Augustus himself. In all the roll of history there is no more splendid figure than the immortal Bertrand du Guesclin, the indomitable soldier who freed France from the invader. Every reader of Scott will recall Dunois, the magnificent soldier whom Sir Walter himself delights to crown with imperishable laurels. And while truth, patriotism, and courage are worshipped on earth the name of Jeanne

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d'Arc will never be forgotten. If France had no other claims to military renown, the achievements of the maid would place her in the very first rank.

"And then in more modern times there is Bayard, the knight of all knights, *sans peur et sans reproche*; the great Condé, who, though a prince of the blood, was yet the first captain of the age; Turenne, whom Napoleon pronounced one of the greatest generals in all the rolls of history; grand old Frontenac, the most splendid figure that America's colonial history can boast; the chivalrous, romantic, but unfortunate Montcalm; the brilliant and indomitable de Lévis, whom no difficulties could daunt, no disasters intimidate.

"Need I add more? The long record of Napoleonic victories from Rivoli to La Moskowa is known to every schoolboy. But remember that the two most famous sieges of modern times are those of Genoa in 1800 and Hamburg in 1814. Remember that the French general, Masséna, did not surrender Genoa until his troops were dying of hunger and typhus in the streets. Remember that the French marshal, Davout, held Hamburg although his soldiers were dying with hunger and typhus. Remember that he never surrendered, and that to get rid of him it was necessary to make peace with France.

"The laurels won here were won from no poltroons, but from the brave, romantic, chivalrous, but unfortunate children of glorious France. The glory of this day is enough for all—enough for English and American on the one hand and the gallant soldiers of Louis on the other. Both sides were equally brave, but fortune, as usual, favored the bigger battalions. Captain Mahan is right. The true secret of England's empire, of her long roll of victories, is her sea-power. Had France instead of England controlled the sea, French would be to-day the language of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. It was this long century of struggle which decided the fate of the continent, and hence the gratitude which we feel to those who battled so long, so gallantly and so successfully for the Cross of St. George.

"Our Society of Colonial Wars is devoted to doing justice

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to this very period, to the men who raised the scattered and attenuated fringe of settlements along the Atlantic into the mighty republic which is to-day the peer of the greatest power on earth. We wish that the unconquerable energy, the heroic courage, the devoted patriotism of those earlier days, when Americans really became Americans, should remain the distinguishing characteristics of our race to the end of time.

"And therefore we erect this monument to the memory of our heroic ancestors and as an inspiration to heroism for all generations of Anglo-Saxons."

Mr. Arthur J. C. Sowden, of the Massachusetts Society, then read the following paper :

"It is a unique occasion which brings us men from the States to this far-away spot to unite with our English and Provincial cousins in commemorating the virtues of a common ancestry. We are for the most part Anglo-Saxons to-day, and we are here to recognize and to glorify certain qualities which characterize the race. It has been objected that we are engaged in doing honor to British subjects, while it is forgotten that the American Colonies were composed of British subjects until 1783, when the War for Independence ended. Nay, let us rather rejoice that on this day we can clasp hands with our English cousins upon their own soil, and unite with them in honoring ancestors who have made this spot forever famous. And while we pay honors to the men of Pepperrell's expedition, we in no way detract from the devotion, bravery, and manliness displayed by the French troops under General Duchambon. We honor the great French nation, and we recall with pride and gratitude the services rendered by Lafayette in the War for Independence, and by the Count de Paris and the Duke de Chartres in the Civil War of 1861.

"The occasion is unique, as we have said. Our thoughts go backward until in imagination we reproduce the New England of 1745, and our minds are filled with charming pictures of

" the good Old Colony times  
When we lived under the King.

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" More than a century had then passed since the landing at Plymouth ; many of the asperities of frontier life had softened ; the Indians had nearly ceased to molest ; religious fervor was somewhat milder in expression, and religious persecution had long ceased. The Colonies had already acquired the comforts, and many of the refinements, of substantial communities. How delightful was much of the social life of those days. How gracious and dignified, though a trifle stilted, were the manners of the men and women. How rare the old vintages. How picturesque the costumes, the powdered hair, the brocaded silks, the silver buckles, the ancient chatelaines. The famed beauty and the graces of the Colonial dames have descended as the possession of their great-granddaughters. To-day we try to reproduce the stately old mansions, the simple and graceful forms of furniture, the rich carving, rare patterns of silver and old china ; and grandmother's grace in the minuet and her skill in the patched bed-quilt are emulated even now. Over and above all was the reverent fear of God, and the gracious practice of the amenities of life.

" Such were the social conditions in which many of the officers and men of Pepperrell's expedition were nurtured. Shirley was Governor—an English lawyer of excellent qualities—none the worse for a certain ambition of his own. Louisbourg presented a constant menace to the safety and prosperity of the Colonies, and yet so impregnable was it held to be, that it was felt to be the height of madness to try to destroy it. Many men have claimed to have originated the famous expedition, among them Benning Wentworth, Robert Auchmuty, Samuel Waldo, and William Vaughan ; but to Vaughan, graduate of Harvard, the honor seems to belong, and we can readily fancy him hurrying to and fro ; now at Kittery with Pepperrell ; now at Portsmouth with Wentworth ; in Boston with Governor Shirley, stopping the while with his sister Jane, the wife of James Noble, then living on Friend Street. The General Court was slow to move, and at last James Gibson and some State Street merchants seem to have had much influence with them. Finally the transports with troops, and the little Massachu-



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setts navy sailed from Boston Harbor, March 25, 1745—an event which this Society has recently marked with religious and social observances.

“Time forbids other than a very brief sketch of the operations here. After the delay at Canseau it was the thirtieth of April when the expedition reached Gabarus Bay, and a landing was made at Fresh-water Cove to the westward. The men were obliged to wade into deep water, and to float the heavy guns on rafts. A brief resistance occurred at the landing, but soon the men began to form camps on the rising ground above. Their tents were very poor and entirely inadequate; and many built huts, and some dug holes in the ground and threw up earthworks. The earth was damp, the nights cold; and at one time two thousand soldiers were on the sick list. Sir William Pepperrell was in command, Roger Wolcott of Connecticut was second, Samuel Waldo third, Joseph Dwight fourth. The first move was made by a detachment of four hundred New Hampshire men under the audacious and restless Vaughan, who proceeded to the east side and burnt the enemy's warehouses. Returning, he found the Grand or Royal Battery abandoned and its guns spiked, and he so reported to Pepperrell. General Waldo was placed in command of the Grand Battery, with a part of the First Massachusetts Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet, and the Second Massachusetts under Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Noble. The guns were unspiked by Seth Pomeroy of Northampton, Major of the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment, and were soon turned upon the walled town. Lighthouse Point, to the east, became a position of great importance, and Colonel Gorham of the Seventh Massachusetts, and Lieutenant-Colonel Gridley of Dwight's Artillery Train, were sent to hold the place. They handsomely repulsed a land attack by the French troops under Beau-bassin.

“The key to the French position was the Island Battery at the mouth of the harbor. The charming historian Parkman speaks of only one assault made upon this stronghold, and treats that rather lightly; but other historians say that six distinct landings and assaults were made by forlorn hopes

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of volunteers, and that the battery was silenced only with the fall of Louisbourg. Both the Grand Battery and Light-house Battery commanded the Island Battery, and it is said that Lieutenant-Colonel Gridley, afterwards at Bunker Hill, succeeded so nicely in throwing his shot inside the battery, that sometimes the enemy would jump into the sea for safety. In the archives of the Maine Historical Society (William Goold's Collection) there is a copy of an order by General Waldo, directing Lieutenant-Colonel Noble to make a night attack on the Island Battery, for which, though unsuccessful and repulsed with heavy loss, he received official thanks and subsequent promotion. It would be deeply interesting to know more of the details of the deadly struggles made on yonder little island, where many a brave New Englander willingly gave up his life.

"The siege of Louisbourg was mainly a contest of artillery, but here and there were heroic sorties. Our chief want at the outset was experienced gunners, and Pepperrell urged Governor Shirley to supply them at once. A few came from Commodore Warren's fleet, which was rendered inactive by the strength and position of the Island Battery. Strong batteries were posted to the northwest, outside the King's bastion, not far from the walls of Louisbourg—namely, those of Dwight, Titcomb, and Sherburn, of which Major Titcomb's is said to have done the most effective work. Captain Joseph Sherburn held the advanced position, and was a lively competitor in this interesting game of artillery practice. Supporting these batteries were the Sixth Massachusetts, Colonel Richmond, and the Fifth under Colonel Hale. Over against the landing place, to the westward, were a part of the Massachusetts First Regiment, and the Third and Fourth Massachusetts under Colonels Moulton and Willard, and the Connecticut and New Hampshire regiments. The Seventh Massachusetts, under Colonel Gorham, was on Light-house Point. Thus was kept up a constant rain of shot and shell from all sides upon the great stronghold—"the Dunkirk of America."

"This powerful fortification—twelve hundred yards in length, with a rampart thirty-six feet in width, protected by

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a ditch eighty feet wide—surrendered to our little army June 17, 1745, one hundred and fifty years ago to-day. On the previous day a flag of truce was received by Captain Joseph Sherburn and was passed through the lines to Colonel Richmond of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, and by Colonel Richmond to General Pepperrell. In Wolcott's diary it is related that the keys were received from General Du Chambon by General Pepperrell at the South Gate. Throughout the Colonies and in England there was great rejoicing, and some months later Pepperrell and Admiral Warren received a public welcome in Boston, and joyous acclamations greeted the former everywhere en route to Kittery. The yeomanry of New England had surprised the world. All honor to the brave old Kittery merchant who played so conspicuous a part in the development of the martial spirit of New England! Sad indeed was the revulsion of feeling when, under the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the much-coveted fortress was given back to France.

“Too much credit cannot be given the officers and private soldiers engaged in this expedition. The undertaking has been misrepresented as merely a fanatical religious movement; and even Parkman, who admits its heroism, characterizes it as a mad scheme. In this age, which has seen magnificent examples of real heroism, we cannot fail to acknowledge the rare patience, courage, good temper, and discipline shown by the troops. The utter want of experience at the outset; the delay at Canseau; the difficulty in landing at Flat Point and Fresh-water Cove; the floating of guns on rafts, later to be dragged over miry marshes; the wretchedly small pay; the want of tents, shoes, and proper clothing; prevalence of disease; the incessant cannonading; the heroic assaults, and the deadly slaughter before the Island Battery; long and weary duty in garrison—ah! my friends, was not this indeed a baptism of fire and suffering out of which emerged a nobler New England, conscious of her strength! To this splendid result Massachusetts contributed three thousand three hundred officers and men, of whom a full third came from Maine. Connecticut sent five hundred; New Hampshire, four hundred and fifty, including

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one hundred and fifty paid by Massachusetts. New York sent large guns, ammunition, and provisions. Rhode Island's detail arrived too late for the fight.

"The age in which we live is too tolerant or indifferent, if not too busy, to comprehend the religious elements which once entered into public activities in New England. The men who fought at Louisbourg were patriots, loyal to their King. They aimed to destroy a menace to their own commercial success and to the public peace. But the expedition followed so soon after the Great Awakening that it is not strange that men felt they were engaged in a holy war and doing God especial service. Religious zeal moved them to heroic action, and they remembered the rallying cry given them by Whitfield: *Nil desperandum Christo duce*. Yet it may be fairly assumed that even then Parson Moody represented an extreme type of the religious fanatic. Since that time religious forms and methods of expression have greatly changed, and the church then so distrusted and disliked by our ancestors has won its way to the hearts of millions throughout the civilized world.

"One would gladly review the part taken by the French troops, who were thrown upon the defensive all through the siege. Such bravery as was displayed in defending the Island Battery is worthy of the richest and greenest laurels, and the pluck shown by the commandant, Captain d'Aillebout, should render his name immortal. So, too, at the great stronghold, the Citadel; but one wonders why Du Chambon did not come out into the open field when he began to find himself being slowly and surely surrounded. With his trained regulars what might he not have done against such militia as ours?

"To Commodore, afterwards Admiral, Warren belongs great credit. He seems to have been an able, honorable, and fair-minded officer. No doubt at times he felt that his experience entitled him to a more active part in the siege; yet he and Pepperrell became the best of friends. His constant desire to get inside the harbor was frustrated by the sturdy defence of the Island Battery, and had he succeeded in his wish the guns from the Citadel would probably have

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sunk his fleet. Anchored outside, he managed to occasionally secure a French prize, and the capture of the "Vigilante" proved of immense help to our side. Councils of war were held on his ship, and his advice must have been most valuable to the Colonists. He, too, was generous in praise of New England valor, and it is stated as a historical fact of much interest that the plan of attack adopted by Amherst and Wolfe, twelve years later, was substantially that of Pepperrell and his officers.

"Wheresoever in the world men fight and die for a principle—in the narrow pass, or on the open field—there is their Thermopylæ, their Sebastopol, or their Lexington. It is in the interest of the highest patriotism and the finest manhood that we come here to-day, gentlemen of the Society of Colonial Wars, to erect this monument. It is sweet and honorable to die for one's country. I deem it a high privilege to speak for Massachusetts, and for her fair daughter, the State of Maine. Maine! The home of Pepperrell, Moulton, Noble, and of a full thousand brave soldiers of the expedition. Massachusetts! Mother of patriots, home of liberty; first of rebellious colonies, now, in many ways, the most English of American States. In her great heart she treasures the fame of all her heroic sons. To-day the heroes of Louisbourg seem very near to us; nearer and more real than ever before. We are here to claim kinship with them, and to pay them a long-merited and long-delayed tribute of justice. We can almost feel the benediction of their approving presence. Their quaint old ways and their queer costumes are forever gone, and to-day they return to us transfigured in the everlasting light. For a moment we bid them Hail! and Farewell! 'They rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.'"

Mr. George E. Pomeroy, of the Ohio Society, a descendant of Major Seth Pomeroy, who distinguished himself during the siege, read the following extracts from the original unprinted diary kept by that officer:

"*Saturday, the 15th.* A fair, pleasant day. Commodore Warren came on shore. Our regiment, with other regi-

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ments in the camp, mustered in a regimental order. Commodore Warren made a fine speech to the Army, and marched through together with the General and some other gentlemen and agreed with the General and publicly with the whole Army that as soon as the wind and weather should favor, he with all his ships, should go into the harbour, engage the Island Battre and the City. We upon the land with all our forces at the same time should engage them with all our artillery and scaling ladders. After this, just before sunset, the French sent out a flag of truce, the terms that were agreed upon by the council was that they should deliver themselves up prisoners of war, and the time allowed them for consideration was till next day at nine of the clock in the morning, so were dismissed for that time.

*"Sabbath day, 16th.* Misty morning and all waiting for an answer from the city. The time before appointed by the French to give an answer was nine of the clock. They came and it was agreed to deliver themselves up prisoners of war, with the liberty that they should have their own money with their movable estate and deliver a hostage as a pledge for truthfulness and next morning for the army to enter the city. This night, I, with Major C., Captain King and Lieutenant Miller, went the grand rounds, and this was the warmest night that has been since we came upon this island. Returned to my tent just at break of day.

*"Monday, June 17th.\** Mustered our regiment this day, the General, Major-General and some other gentlemen with the General's regiment to guard them. The remainder of our regiment staid within our own walls at the camp the night following—a very rainy night.

*"Tuesday, the 18th.* A dark, misty and some rain this day. A man belonging to Captain Golden died this day. A ship taken at the mouth of the harbour loaded with wine and brandy. I staid this day in our camp and the night following rained hard, but I lay dry in my tent and slept well.

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\* It is worthy of note that these anniversary dates fell on the same days of the week, in the year 1895, as in 1745.

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" *Wednesday, 19th.* A foggy, misty, rainy day. So staid at our camp. Part of the army in the city and part at the camp to guard the stores.

" *Thursday, the 20th.* Rain and dark this day and very uncomfortable at our camp by reason of the wet, but no getting the stores away by reason of the surf that there was in the sea.

" *Friday, 21st.* It still continues foul weather. This is the fourth day since it begun and it is very remarkable that forty-seven days we have been on this island and in all that time not so much foul weather by one half as there has been now in one week, which I look upon as a smile of Providence upon the Army, for if there had been foul weather as commonly there used to be here at this time in the year, it would have rendered it exceedingly difficult, if not wholly frustrated the design, scattered our fleet and sickened our Army, as we have had a remarkable smile of Providence upon us ever since we set out upon this expedition, so at last it was very remarkable that the enemy should give it up in that very time that they did, if they had not we must have made a bold attempt by escalading the wall, that it seems would have been fatal, either the loss of a great many men or it may be we should never have taken the city, but so it was ordered by Divine Providence, and it is evident that God hath both begun and finished this great work even the reduction of Louisburgh and given into the hands of the English and Glory be to the great name of Jehovah for it. This day I went from our camp to the city and lodged there this night in a French house with Lieutenant Lyman and was kindly entertained by them."

At this point of the programme a telegram was received from the Massachusetts Society extending their congratulations and wishes for a successful celebration.

As Dr. Bourinot was unable to leave Ottawa on account of his duties as Clerk of the House of Parliament, his paper was read by the Rev. Dr. Patterson, a fellow member of the Royal Society of Canada, as follows:

"When I accepted the invitation which was so kindly and

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courteously extended to me by the Society of Colonial Wars through their energetic honorary secretary, two months ago, it was with the hope that my Parliamentary duties would enable me to be present in person and give expression to the deep interest which I take, in common with so many persons in the United States, and, I hope, in Canada, in an event so memorable in the historical annals of America. Unfortunately for me, however, the present session of Parliament is not likely to close until the summer is well nigh over, and consequently I find myself tied down in these hot June days to the table of the House instead of enjoying the refreshing breezes of the Atlantic on the historic site of Louisbourg, and recalling, in unison with so many students of the past, the many interesting associations that cling to the green mounds and storm-swept rocks which meet the eyes of the assemblage that has come to do honor to the victory of Pepperrell and Warren.

"All I can do now is to express my regret that I should be absent, and at the same time ask the honorary secretary to read these few words of mine as an evidence of my sympathy with the object which the Society of Colonial Wars has in view in raising a monument to the men whose deeds should be cherished by Englishmen in every part of the world as long as courage, patience, and pluck—and '*pluck*' is above all an *English* characteristic—are still considered worthy of commendation and honor. For one, I do not regard this memorial granite shaft as built on any desire to lessen the greatness of France. Her people *have been*, and always *will be*, great in war, literature, science, and statesmanship, and the world owes them much. Englishmen remember the victories which were won by the genius and patriotism of the Maid of Orleans as well as those won by Englishmen on land and sea. The fortunes of war are varied and uncertain, but courage and genius in war are qualities which may be as conspicuous on the part of the vanquished as on that of the victor. We commemorate to-day the display of those qualities which have written the names of so many Englishmen and Frenchmen on the scroll of fame.



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“In the quaint old city of Quebec there is a monument on which is inscribed, not simply the name of Wolfe, but that also of Montcalm—Englishman and Frenchman, enemies in life, but friends in death and united in fame. In the past, as in the present, Canada owes much to New England—to her sailors and soldiers, to her historians and her poets. It was mainly through the prowess of her people that Louisbourg, so long a menace to English interests in America, fell first into the possession of England. It was but the precursor of a series of victories which gave to England that long line of forts and posts which the ambition of France had raised on the eastern coast of Isle Royale, on the sides of the St. Lawrence, on the hills of Lake Champlain, in the valley of the Ohio, and on the banks of the Mississippi as far as the Gulf of Mexico, in the hope of hemming in the English colonists, then confined to a mere fringe of the Atlantic coast, and eventually founding one French Empire on this continent of America. The dream was worthy of the statesmanship of many men who, in those days of the French régime, controlled the destinies of France in Europe and America; and had only French kings been more equal to the occasion, more alive to the necessities of their brave representatives and subjects on this continent, Frenchmen might now be celebrating an event very different from that we recall to-day. It was well for the future greatness and happiness of the United States, and of the Dominion of Canada as well, that the conception of French ambition of which I have spoken was never realized. The United States are playing a momentous part in the destinies of the world, and though enormous difficulties have at times seemed in the way of the success of sound principles of government, owing to the schemes of unbridled democracy and reckless partisanship, still I, as a student of institutions, have faith in the capacity of the best minds of the Federal republic to carry the nation successfully through all its trials, as long as they maintain those principles of English law, justice, and freedom on which their institutions are mainly based. It was a happy day for Canada, too, as a whole—for English as well as for French Canadians—that the *fleur-de-lys* fell from the fortresses

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of Louisbourg and Quebec. The success of England from 1745 to 1759 meant the triumph of representative government and free institutions on the banks of the St. Lawrence; the success of France meant the repression of local self-government and the establishment of absolutism in some form or other in that Dominion of which French Canada now constitutes so powerful and contented a part. It is not, then, the humiliation of France that we celebrate, but the success of those principles that depended on the triumph of English arms in America. As I have already said, we owe much to New England in the days that are past. Her troops largely contributed to the success of that expedition which gave Acadie to England thirty-five years before the keys of Louisbourg were handed to Pepperrell on the historic site of the King's bastion, or citadel.

"All throughout the contest for supremacy in America Colonial troops took an active part in contributing to the success of England in giving her a great colonial empire and extending the blessings of self-government on this continent. The old thirteen Colonies, in pursuance of their destinies, separated from England, but still one-half of the continent remains under the dominion of England as one of the results of the series of victories which may be said to have commenced in 1745 and ended in 1759. Now we see a prosperous and influential section of Canada on the banks of the St. Lawrence. The statesmen, scientists, and writers of French Canada are worthy of the race from which they have sprung; but their rights of self-government have been given by England and not by France. It is not my purpose to dwell on the characters and services of Shirley, Pepperrell, Warren, and the other brave and sagacious Colonists and Englishmen who won the famous victory of 1755. The story has been well told by Hutchinson, Belknap, and Parkman. And here I am reminded that it is to the writers and poets of New England that Canada owes the most graphic narratives and the most exquisite poems on the memorable events of the struggle for Acadie and Canada. At this very time when we are commemorating a victory won by English colonists, aided by British seamen, the scholars of New

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England are about raising a monument to Francis Parkman in that beautiful garden of lilies and roses where he found solace in his rare leisure moments and meditated over the scenes which he has described in such matchless prose. It was beneath the lovely elms of Cambridge, within sight of the buildings of Harvard, that Longfellow gave the world that poem which tells of the most mournful episode of American history, and made the whole world a sharer in the sorrows and misfortunes of Evangeline and the Acadians. Above the portal of Harvard's great library there is a cross which, we are told, once caught the rays of the sun as it lingered on the parish church of Louisbourg. That cross shows how sectarian prejudice and bitterness have faded away under the influence of modern thought and reason. As long as it stands above the entrance of one of the most prominent buildings of the great representative of the best thought and learning of New England, we must look upon it as a token of the spirit of amity and Christian charity that should bind the peoples of communities that are now separated by political government, but are equally identified with the progress of the principles of sound government and religious toleration on this continent."

The chairman then introduced the Hon. Everett Pepperell Wheeler, of New York, a direct descendant of Sir William Pepperrell, Bart., who made the following address :

"MR. GOVERNOR, GENTLEMEN OF THE SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS, AND GUESTS :

"Heaven smiles on our undertaking. The northwest wind has driven away the clouds and fogs of the past week. Under the blue Cape Breton sky we commemorate achievements that, in their ultimate result, gave to the two great North American commonwealths their goodly heritage.

"The Roman historian tells us that the leaders of his time used to say that when they looked on the statues of their ancestors, their souls were stirred with a passion of virtue. It was not the marble nor the features that in themselves had force. But the memory of their noble deeds

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kindled a flame in the breasts of their descendants which could not be quenched until their actions had equalled the renown and worth of their fathers.

“In like manner we dedicate this monument in a spirit of gratitude to God and noble emulation for the heroism of man. No narrow spirit of local self-gratulation has brought us hither. We are glad to recognize that British sailors and Colonial soldiers shared in the difficulties and dangers of the siege whose successful issue we celebrate to-day. And we are swift to acknowledge the courage and endurance of the garrison, who, cut off from succor and short of provisions, offered brave resistance for seven weeks to the British fleet and the regiments of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut.

“In the Parliament of Quebec questions have been put to the government, indicating that the member who asked them thought that this monument was erected in a spirit of triumph over a fallen foe. To him I reply that we have not thus learned the lessons of history. This column points upward to the stars, and away from the petty jealousies that mar the earth. It will tell, we trust, to many generations, the story of the courage, heroic fortitude, and manly energy of those who fought behind the ramparts as well as of those who fought in the trenches. Some historians, it is true, have underrated the bravery of the defenders of the city, and even asserted that they surrendered before a breach was made in their walls, and when they might well have held out for months. The best answer to this is contained in an original document, which gives the most authentic account of the siege: Governor Shirley's letter to the Duke of Newcastle. This was certified by Pepperrell himself and by Waldo, Moore, Lothrop, and Gridley. It gives the following graphic description of the condition of the fortress when Du Chambon surrendered:

“And now, the Grand Battery being in our possession, the Island Battery (esteemed by the French the Palladium of Louisbourg) so much annoyed from the Lighthouse Battery, that they could not entertain hope of keeping it much longer; the enemy's northeast battery being damaged, and so much

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exposed to the fire from our advanced battery, that they could not stand to their guns; the circular battery ruined, and all its guns but three dismounted, whereby the Harbour was disarmed of all its principal batteries; the west gate of the city being demolished, and a breach made in the adjoining wall; the west flank of the King's Bastion almost ruined; and most of their other guns, which had been mounted during the time of the siege being silenced; all the houses and other buildings within the city (some of which were quite demolished) so damaged that but one among them was left unhurt; the enemy extremely harassed by their long confinement within their casemates, and other covered holds, and their stock of ammunition being almost exhausted, Mr. Du Chambon sent out a flag of truce.'

"And now let me ask you to consider with me for a few moments what the Louisbourg expedition meant to the world of 1745.

"Europe was then engaged in a selfish and ignoble war, in which the blood of the citizen was shed in a cause that had little more to commend it than the quarrel of pickpockets over their anticipated booty. The domains of Austria were the spoil that was fought for, and the only ruler on the continent who came out of it with honor was Maria Theresa. The troops of England gained little credit in the conflict. They cut their way through at Dettingen, but were driven back by Marshal Saxe at Fontenoy. So feeble was the flame of loyalty to the reigning Hanoverian prince, that an invading army of 6,000 Highlanders marched to within 127 miles of London. Had their leaders not faltered, they would probably have placed Charles Stuart on the throne of his fathers. Such, at any rate, is Lord Mahon's conclusion. The King sent his treasure on board ship, and was ready to return to his favorite Hanover. The Duke of Newcastle seriously considered whether it were not wiser to give in his adhesion to the Stuarts. Cambridge dons planned a pleasure drive to see the Scots pass by.

"To such an indifferent, time-serving people, the news of the capture of Louisbourg came like tidings of a miracle. No wonder they rang their bells and fired their cannon, and lighted up Cheapside and the Strand. Doubtless many a London burgher said to his wife that if Warren had com-

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manded the Channel fleet or Pepperrell the troops on land, the French squadron would have been destroyed, and the Chevalier would never have crossed the Tweed.

“The men who stood in the trenches at Louisbourg, or dragged their cannon across its morasses, were the best men of their colonies. They came hither inspired by no greed for conquest. Their expedition was really a defensive one. Their commerce had been assailed, their frontier settlements ravaged by hostile Indians, their wives and children massacred or carried into captivity. Louisbourg was the harbor where the French privateers found refuge, and whence marauding expeditions sallied forth. Its massive walls were twenty-five years in building. Time has dealt hardly with these, but their ruins still bear witness to what was called at the time the Dunkirk of America. The harbor which they covered you behold before you, landlocked and secure from the storms of this rockbound coast. The Island Battery and the Grand Battery barred all hostile entrance. And the city had magazines from which all Canada might be supplied.

“The immediate occasion of the Louisbourg expedition was an appeal for aid from Nova Scotia. In the archives of that province you will find a letter from Governor Mascarene (himself a descendant of the banished Huguenots) to Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts. It was written at Annapolis Royal, December, 1744. In this your Governor tells the story of the outbreak of war, ‘though no orders yet from home to proclaim it.’ The fort at Annapolis was ruinous; but immediately soldiers and civilians, English and French, set to work to repair it. The hostile Indians swarmed up to the glacis and set fire to the town. They were for a time dislodged by artillery; but soon Duvivier, sent by the Governor of Louisbourg, appeared with a force of French and Indians, and summoned the fort to surrender. Reinforcements from Massachusetts opportunely arrived. The brave Mascarene refused to capitulate. But he felt that he could not hold the fort much longer without further aid, and wrote to Governor Shirley for succor. In the spring it came.

“The honor of suggesting the Louisbourg expedition has

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been claimed by several. Probably the thought occurred to more than one. The New England people were ripe for the attempt.

"The General Court of Massachusetts decided, on January 29, by a majority of one vote, to undertake the expedition. Immediately preparations were made with the utmost speed. Those who had opposed the plan, because of its danger, vied with its supporters in activity to promote its success. So unremitting was this activity, so ardent was the zeal of the Colonists, that more men volunteered than could be accepted, and on March 24th the General gave his signal for sailing.

"It is not surprising that the enterprise should have aroused the enthusiasm of men like the Colonists of that day. They were the most resolute and fearless of a resolute and fearless race. Religious zeal had led some to this country. Love of adventure had influenced others. They were inured to hardship by constant struggle with nature. They had built their own houses and their own ships, had cleared forests and ploughed fields.

"The exigency of their situation had made them ready for any emergency. There were few factories in America, and the necessaries of life were largely supplied by the industry of the hamlets. The embroidered waistcoats and purple coats of the gentry, as you see them in the portraits of Copley and Smybert, came from home, as England still was called. But the garments of the sailors and farmers, who battered down the walls of Louisbourg, were woven around their firesides in the long winter evenings. The modern subdivision of labor increases its productiveness, but diminishes the dexterity of the individual in any line but his own.

"And then we must remember that the people of the thirteen Colonies were a commercial and seafaring people. They dwelt in a narrow strip of land extending along the Atlantic coast. The boy's ambition was to go to sea. The American crew of the new American steamer, the "St. Louis," a few days ago struck for higher wages. But in those days the captain often owned the ship, and every sailor expected

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to become a captain. Pepperrell's father commanded a ship before he owned one. The mariner hoped for advancement, not from fighting his owner, but from successful trade, or the capture of a Spanish galleon, laden with the silver of Potosi or of Mexico. Not only New York and Boston, but Salem and Marblehead, Portsmouth and Kittery, were thriving commercial towns. Indeed, in Pepperrell's day, Portsmouth and Kittery had as large a commerce as New York. Pepperrell himself owned a hundred vessels, and carried the cross of St. George to every port on the Atlantic and Mediterranean where Colonial ships had entrance.

"Two other characteristics of that America remain to be noticed—religious zeal and martial spirit. Grahame well describes the fervor of the former.

"'The earnest expectation that pervaded New England was at once sustained and regulated by religious sentiment. Fasts and prayers implored the divine blessing on the enterprise; and the people and their rulers, having exhausted all the resources of human endeavor, and girded the choicest of them for battle, now sought to prepare their minds for either fortune by diligent address to the great source of hope and consolation, and awaited the result with anxious and submissive awe, or with stern composure and confidence.'

"Candor compels me to admit that this zeal was often disfigured by bigotry and intolerance. These were the natural offspring of so-called religious wars. A man whose house had been burned over his head, and himself and children driven out into the snow to freeze or starve, naturally conceived rancor for the faith under whose nominal bidding his foes were acting. When we read the story of Tilly and the Thirty Years' War, we wonder that love and charity remained at all among men. It is hard for us to realize the intensity of religious animosity in those days. In our time bigotry still lingers, but only as Bunyan describes it in the Pilgrim's Progress—with palsied hand and toothless jaw, grinning at the pilgrims as they pass by. In 1745 it was a passion, in Canada and New England alike.



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The chaplain of one of the regiments took a hatchet to cut down the Popish images, as he calls them. And Gibson, in his interesting journal of the expedition, does not deign to speak of the French places of worship as churches, but styles them 'Mass-houses,' and evidently took a keen delight in making bonfires of them.

"Equally strong was the martial ardor of the time. Peace was transient, war frequent. Of this the literature and documents of those days afford countless illustrations. Let me draw your attention to one. In a memoir prepared in 1773 by the head of a noble French family, the Chevalier de Repentigny, he says :

"'In 1632, my great-great-grandfather went to Canada, with the charge of accompanying families of his province, in order to establish that colony, in which he himself settled. Since that epoch we have furnished to the corps of troops which served there fifty officers of the same name, of which more than one-half has perished in the war; my father augmented the number of them in 1773; my grandfather was the eldest of twenty-three brothers, all in the service. One son alone remains of that numerous family.'

"Such cases were not uncommon either in Canada or the British Colonies. With all their commercial spirit the Colonists were a military people. They were warlike and hardy, though not familiar with the movements of disciplined armies. Some relics of those days of conflict still remain to tell the story of anxious nights and watchful days. Block-houses that the Colonists built for defense may still be seen in the neighborhood of York and Kittery. The custom that prevailed in New England, that the father should sit at the head of the pew, originated in the days when every man took his firelock to church, and was ready to turn out at a moment's notice to repel the attack of the savages.

"Thus have I tried to sketch the characteristics of the Americans of 1745. In times of peril such characteristics always find embodiment in a leader. It is common and easy to say that great men are but the expression of their time and lead it only in the sense that the spray leads the billow.

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That is but half the truth. When God gives to mankind the inestimable gift of a great man, he does, it is true, represent the spirit of his age. But he leads it, as the moon does the tides. Happy the people who appreciate such a man and are filled by his spirit, as the Bay of Fundy in every creek and inlet is filled by the advancing flood. It was fortunate for the Colonies that in the emergency of 1745 there was a leader whom they trusted, and who was wise enough to discard the visionary schemes of others; brave enough to face the veterans of France, intrenched behind the walls which the skill and experience of Vauban had planned, and self-sacrificing enough to leave home and business, and all that made life pleasant and sweet, to endure the hardship and peril of this expedition which Parkman calls 'a mad scheme'—but which Pepperrell and his followers dared to undertake.

"I could not do justice to the occasion or the subject if I failed to speak for a moment of his remarkable career. He was a notable instance of the versatility and adaptiveness which the life of those days compelled. He was a successful merchant. He was a gallant soldier, accustomed from early youth to draw the sword in defence of his home and country. He had been in actual service against the Indians before he was twenty-one.

"He was for twenty-nine years Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Maine. He was an active and conspicuous member of his Majesty's Council for the Colony of Massachusetts. It is but just to him to add that his religion was not disfigured by bigotry or intolerance. It was an evident power in his life, but it always respected the religion of others.

"And now let me return to the story of the expedition itself. I will not dwell upon its details. Representatives of societies from various States have spoken of what each Colony did to promote its success. Massachusetts (which then included Maine) certainly did the most. She was the richest and most populous. But New Hampshire and Connecticut did much, and New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania came forward to aid, though no troops of theirs

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were in the trenches. A Rhode Island sloop of war rendered essential service.

"When we remember how difficult communication between the Colonies was at the time of which we are speaking, we shall wonder that they acted so much in concert—not that they did no more. The mails were infrequent—roads were poor. Oftentimes the travellers in a stage-coach were obliged to get out and lift the wheels out of mud in which they sunk to the hubs. No one had even dreamed of railroad or electric telegraph. The wonderful power of steam was unknown. It will help us to realize the obstacles which beset any concerted action on the part of the Colonies when we remember that even in the old mother country roads were so bad, and the transmission of intelligence so slow, that the Chevalier had been in Scotland nearly three weeks before the news reached Edinburgh. The tidings of the surrender of Louisbourg did not reach Boston until July 3, sixteen days after the event, and were first known in New York a week later.

"Such were the difficulties that our fathers had to face. Yet withal they had encouragement. Providence had favored their cause. The harvest of 1744 had been abundant, the winter was mild, the frontiers of New England had been unmolested, unexpected supplies arrived from Great Britain. The Grand Battery was not well fortified on the land side. The city had deprived itself of provisions to furnish the East India fleet and squadron for its recent voyage to France, and the 'Vigilante,' which brought supplies, was captured by Warren. The weather during the siege was generally fine. The Colonial troops captured in the Grand Battery, and fished up at the careening basin, the heavy cannon which they needed.

"But all these would have availed nothing had it not been for the courage, the perseverance, the aptitude of the men who took advantage of these favoring circumstances, and brought their fleet of one hundred vessels, with the little army of four thousand and fifty men, safely to Canseau. There to their great delight, on April 23, appeared Warren's squadron. Thence they sailed to Louisbourg; on April 30 the troops landed, and after seven weeks of toil and

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peril, diversified, as we learn, when the soldiers were off duty, by games and sports, the fortress was theirs.

" Their hardihood and daring are described in the words of one of the gallant French garrison as repeated by Gibson in the journal before mentioned :

" ' This gentleman, I say, told me that he had not had his clothes off his back, either by night or day, from the first commencement of the siege. He added, moreover, that in all the histories he had ever read, he never met with an instance of so bold and presumptuous an attempt ; that 'twas almost impracticable, as anyone could think, for only three or four thousand raw, undisciplined men to lay siege to such a strong, well-fortified city, such garrisons, batteries, etc. For should anyone have asked me, said he, what number of men would have been sufficient to have carried on that very enterprise, he should have answered not less than thirty thousand. To this he subjoined that he never heard of or ever saw such courage and intrepidity in such a handful of men, who regarded neither shot nor bombs. But what was still more surprising than all the rest, he said, was this, namely, to see batteries raised in a night's time, and more particularly the Fascine battery, which was not five-and-twenty rods from the city wall ; and to see guns that were forty-two pounders dragged by the English from their grand battery, notwithstanding it was two miles distant, at least, and the road, too, very rough.'

" The tidings of the surrender were received throughout the Colonies with the utmost enthusiasm. The contemporary accounts are too graphic not to be quoted :

" ' Now the churl and the niggard became generous, and even the poor forgot their poverty, and in the evening the whole town (Boston) appeared, as it were, in a blaze, almost every house being finely illuminated.

" ' At night the whole city (New York) was splendidly illuminated, and the greatest demonstration of joy appeared in every man's countenance upon hearing the good news.'

" There is a lesson in the recollection that the leader of the gallant band was the richest man in North America. He recognized the responsibility of his position, and knew that wealth is a power which its possessor should use for the public good and not debase to his own selfish enjoyment. Horace, in one of his inimitable satires, which Pope has ad-

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mirably reproduced in the dress of Marlborough's day, expresses the conviction that the rich man will leave to others the toils and dangers of war. He cries: 'Let him take castles who has ne'er a groat.' The councillor and merchant of 1745 was of a different mind. Let his example stand for our time and for all time, and remind our millionnaires and landed proprietors of their duty and responsibility to their country and their fellow men.

"And now, let us pause for a moment and ask what was the result of this expedition? Do its consequences merit a monument? At first sight, apparently not. The capture of Louisbourg is one of those historical events which were fruitful of great results, but which for the most part were slow in germination. Immediately it secured the cod fishery to the Colonists for three years; it cut the French fishermen off from the Banks for a like period; it destroyed the French Atlantic trade for 1745; it gave the English a prize which enabled them to buy back Madras at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. India was more valuable in the eyes of the Duke of Newcastle than all the Atlantic Colonies.

"But the remote consequences of this expedition far transcend in importance these immediate ones. It was a school of arms for the Colonial troops. Gridley, who planned the parallels and trenches at Louisbourg, laid out also the fortifications of Bunker Hill. Pomroy, who was major in one of the Massachusetts regiments, and whose skill as a gunsmith stood him in good stead when he repaired the spiked cannon in the Grand Battery, rode in 1775 from Northampton at the news of impending hostilities, strode across the neck at Bunker Hill, and was greeted by Putnam with words which expressed the temper of many a man in 1745, as well as thirty years after: 'By God, Pomroy, you here! A cannon shot would waken you out of your grave!'

"Its success showed the Colonies their power, and the necessity for their union. It showed them, too, that in the councils of Great Britain their affairs were of minor importance. This was a dreadful shock to the loyal love of the old home which then was general in the Colonies. On the other hand, the capture of Louisbourg pointed out to William Pitt

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the possibility of the conquest of the whole of Canada, and paved the way for that.

“ In the next war Canada was conquered, and the English Colonists freed from the fear of attack from their neighbor on the north. The expenses of this war, and the consequent demands of the British exchequer, led the Ministry to tax the Colonies. America resisted, and the result was the American Revolution. By an extraordinary turn in the wheel of time, the French assisted the old English Colonies to become an independent nation, while the old French Colonies remained the property of Great Britain.

“ This Revolution marks an epoch in the history, not only of America, but of Europe. It was a natural evolution from the principles of Magna Charta, the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Bill of Rights. The constitution of the United States translated these into a new form of government. The influence of this is to be seen to-day in the constitutions of Great Britain, of the Dominion of Canada, and of the republic of France. These great governments differ in many respects. Your own Dominion, with all its distinctness of administration, is a part of the British empire. But it is not too much to say that the distinctive principles of freedom, regulated by the sovereignty of law, which are embodied in the United States constitution, are more dominant in Britain, in Canada, and in France than if the thirteen Colonies had remained subject to the British crown.

“ It is now one hundred and fifty years since the surrender of Louisbourg. It is one hundred and twelve years since the Treaty of Paris recognized the independence of the United States, and confirmed to Great Britain the possession of Canada. Surely the rancor of the old wars ought by this time to be burned completely out. Surely we can now agree that the development of these countries during all that time has been promoted by the result of those old wars. And despite, perhaps partly in consequence of, the magnitude and costliness of the fleets and armies of to-day, we may believe that the ties of Christian faith, the links of mutual trade, the bands of friendship, the swift steamer, and the swifter electric current have bound us so closely together that English

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and French and American armies shall never more meet on the battlefield. We vie in the peaceful contests of art and science, and will settle the inevitable disputes by arbitration. There are social problems before us as difficult of solution as any that have vexed the past. The very complication of the interlacing nerves of our modern civilization, which offers so many obstacles to war and binds nations over to keep the peace, is producing disorders and dangers within each State that require nicer surgery than that of the sword or the bayonet.

"It is, then, with faces to the future that we dedicate this monument to the memory of all the brave men who fought and fell at Louisbourg, whether under the cross of St. George or the lilies of France. The morning sun will illumine its summit. The sunset ray will gild its massive and simple outline. The storms and fogs of Cape Breton will gather round it. In sunshine and storm alike let it tell to all mankind that peace has her victories no less renowned than war, that the courage and resolution of the fathers live in the hearts of the children, that we are prepared to face the conflict, the difficulties, and the perils of the coming century in firm reliance upon the protecting care of the same God who was with our fathers and will be with all who are loyal to Him to the end of time."

Dr. David Mackay, Superintendent of Education, an officer of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, then made an eloquent address, stating the interest his society took in the celebration, and cordially welcomed the visiting Americans. He thanked the Society of Colonial Wars for erecting a monument which commemorated an event which rendered our common ancestry famous. He also paid a warm tribute to the chivalry of the French Canadians, and referred to the high place they occupied in politics, commerce, history, and literature in Canada.

Hon. David McKeen, M.P., was then called upon to make a few remarks.

As a native of Cape Breton he thanked the Society of Colonial Wars for erecting the monument, and said that

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this celebration also commemorated the opening of the Sydney and Louisbourg Railroad, thus connecting the ancient town with the railway system of the continent, and the day would be one long to be remembered. He closed his remarks by asking for three hearty cheers for the members of the Society of Colonial Wars, which were given with a will by all those present. The chairman returned the compliment by calling for three cheers from the Americans on the platform for the people of Louisbourg and Cape Breton, which were given.

Mr. Robert Martin, of Sydney, then requested three cheers for the daughters of America present, "not forgetting those of my own, my native land."

The chairman then presented Hon. D. H. Ingraham, Consul-General for the United States for Nova Scotia, who made a few pleasant remarks, regretting that the government had not been able to have the navy represented. He congratulated the Society on the work they had accomplished, and stated that it was another link in the chain of friendship between the two countries. At the close of Mr. Ingraham's speech the band played the "Star-spangled Banner," while all persons present stood bareheaded.

Mr. H. C. V. Levatte, Chairman of the Louisbourg Auxiliary Committee, then read the following address to Howland Pell, Esq., Chairman Louisbourg Memorial Committee, and Associate Members of the Society of Colonial Wars :

GENTLEMEN : On behalf of the citizens of Louisbourg we extend you a free and hearty welcome. We beg to recall the fact that one hundred and fifty years ago your forefathers, assisted by the forefathers of many Canadian and English people (after enduring untold hardships), had the satisfaction of receiving on the 17th of June the keys of what was considered "an impregnable fortress" on this spot, where to-day you have generously erected a beautiful monument to the memory of brave and gallant men. As Louisbourg in the eighteenth century was one of the great means of bringing peace and prosperity to the continent of North America, so we believe and trust that through the erection of this



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granite shaft Louisbourg in the nineteenth century will again be the means of cementing more largely than ever brotherly love and good will—socially and commercially—between the citizens of the United States and the people of Canada. Assuring you, gentlemen, that every time we look on this monument we will remember with pleasure the Society of Colonial Wars, and trusting you may long live to carry on your noble aims and objects, we beg to remain,

Yours very respectfully,

HENRY C. V. LEVATTE,  
T. FRASER DRAPER,  
JAMES MCSHEE,  
EDMUND S. MCALPINE,  
WM. H. LEWIS,  
NEIL S. TOWNSEND,  
C. L. MITCHELL,  
RODERICK McDONALD.

The chairman thanked Mr. Levatte for the address, and for the work he had done to make the celebration a successful one, and then formally handed over the monument to the care and protection of the citizens of Louisbourg.

The next address on the programme was that of Mr. Edward F. de Lancey, of New York, who was unable to be present, which was as follows:

“It is well that the Society of the descendants of the men of the Colonial days of America, from 1607 to 1775, should by the erection of the monument before you—so graceful and effective in its Doric simplicity—commemorate, on the site of her own historic ramparts, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the capture of the famed Louisbourg, the key of New France, and the only scientifically fortified city at that time in North America.

“France, throwing off all disguise, declared war against England on the 15th of March, 1744, and England declared war against France on the tenth of the following April. But the fact of war was not known in the British American colonies generally till the beginning of the suc-

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ceeding June, so slow were the communications in those days.

“New York, the widely extended frontiers of which exposed her more than any of the other colonies to the attacks of the French and Indians from Canada, acted promptly. She took instant measures for their protection, as well as for the safety of her chief city by the sea. The whole population of the entire Province of New York, men, women, and children, in 1744, amounted to only 61,500, yet within three years, ending in the spring of 1747, she raised £70,000 currency for military purposes and operations, and a few months later £28,000 more, and also kept in the field 1,600 men.

“Notwithstanding this great drain on her resources, her Assembly, in answer to the call of the Government of Massachusetts Bay, early in 1745, the next year, for aid to the Louisbourg expedition, voted and paid to Massachusetts the sum of £5,000. She also, through her Governor, sent on to Boston for that expedition ten eighteen-pounder cannon with their carriages, and shot for the same, paying, too, the freight and expenses of their transportation. These were the heaviest guns Pepperrell possessed. She sent no men, because all she could raise were needed for the defence of her own frontiers and the city of New York.

“American writers have claimed for different New England men, Auchmuty, Vaughan, and Bradstreet, the authority for the last being Pepperrell himself, the honor of first suggesting the taking of Louisbourg. But it is a fact, and a fact which cannot be truthfully denied, that this honor belongs to Lieutenant-Governor George Clarke of New York. He first suggested it to the Duke of Newcastle in a letter dated ‘New York, 22 April, 1741,’ to be seen in the sixth volume of the Colonial Documents of New York, page 183, in which he says: ‘The harbour of Louisbourg at Breton is strongly fortified, and the entrance defended by a battery of fifty guns. There is sufficient water for the biggest ships, and the harbour is capable of containing a very large fleet; its situation gives them (the French) all the advantages they contend for; it secures their own navigation to Quebec, and

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gives them but too great opportunities to annoy and interrupt our Fishery.' And after stating that every spring ships and supplies are sent out from France, continues in these words: 'The only time, therefore, to attempt with the most advantage the taking of the place will be at the breaking up of winter, and before their ships come from France, and this may be done, and for the expedition I am persuaded that four or five thousand men may be raised in New England, if the officers, as they were for the expedition against the Spaniards, be appointed in these provinces, but then I presume it will be necessary that they be disciplined before they embark.'

"Again, on the 19th of June, 1743, in a 'state' for the Duke of Newcastle, dated at New York, Governor Clarke reiterated his proposal a second time, saying: 'But before we begin that work'—the proposed taking of Canada—'I presume to think we ought to take Cape Breton, a place well fortified, and from whence the French can annoy our fishery at Newfoundland, and guard their own navigation to and from Canada. That place is such a thorn in the sides of the New England people, that it is very probable that a large body of men may be raised there to assist in any such design.' This document is in the same volume as that first mentioned, on page 229.

"How true Governor Clarke's words were, and how perfectly his proposition and design were carried out, the result, just four years after the first, and two years after this last, statement was written, conclusively proved.

"Although first proposed by a Governor of New York, the actual expedition was solely due to William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts Bay. Defeated in his own Legislature, on first proposing the enterprise, he only succeeded, on a reconsideration, by a majority of *one*. To Shirley, and to Shirley alone, is due the greatest credit for the event we are now commemorating. He aroused the people, and his energy directed their action. He selected all the officers for his army, except the second in command, Roger Wolcott (whose appointment Connecticut made the *sine qua non* of her five hundred and sixteen men joining in the ex-

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pedition), and he appointed them all. Had Shirley never existed, Louisbourg would never have been taken in 1745. True, he was aided by circumstances, and by certain characteristics of New England at that day. One was, in the words of Parkman, the historian, 'that privateering, and piracy also, against Frenchmen and Spaniards which was then a favorite pursuit in New England.' Another was that bitter, savage, Calvinistic, Puritan hatred to the French as Roman Catholics which existed throughout New England. Still another was enmity to all outside of themselves engaged in the fisheries. And a fourth was the hereditary national antagonism of Englishmen to Frenchmen.

"There was still another element in Shirley's favor not referred to by our American historians. This was the feeling against the French for supporting the exiled house of Stuart in its attempts to regain the English throne. That of 1744 having failed, at the very time Shirley, in January, 1745, was rousing New England against Louisbourg, and barely succeeding, Prince Charles Stuart in Paris was rousing the French Government, and his own adherents in Great Britain, to a second attempt. England lost Fontenoy May 11th, four days only after the siege of Louisbourg began, and Prince Charles, fifteen days after its capture, sailed on the second expedition, which resulted in that wonderful exploit of his conquering all Scotland and half of England, winning several historic battles, and reaching the city of Derby, one hundred and twenty-seven miles only from London, before Christmas. The great bulk of the American colonists were loyal to their Hanoverian King, the New Englanders almost to a man, and were, therefore, intensely angered against Prince Charles's French allies.

"Such were the causes which contributed to the astonishing success of what Mr. Parkman—perhaps, with the exception of Prescott, the ablest of the New England historians of our day—well calls the 'mad scheme' of the expedition to Louisbourg.

"In the arrangements made for this celebration, others have spoken well and fully of General Pepperrell and his

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brave army. It falls to me to speak of Commodore Warren and his fleet, and their action during the siege.

“Commodore, later Sir Peter Warren, K.B., belonged to the ancient family of the Warrens of Warrenstown, in the county of Meath, just west of Dublin, one of the ‘English-Irish’ families ‘within the pale,’ whose estates in Ireland, part of which descended to him, were originally granted to his ancestors in Strongbow’s time. His father, Captain Michael Warren, and his grandfather, Captain Thomas Warren, both sprung from a long line of distinguished military men in Irish annals, were officers in the trying times of the wars in Ireland in the seventeenth century. His mother was Catherine, daughter of Sir Christopher Aylmer, Baronet, of Balrath, in the same county of Meath, and widow of Sir Nicholas Plunkett, Baronet; her mother being Margaret, third daughter of Matthew, fifth Lord Louth, by his wife Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Fitz William of Meryon. Sir Peter, the youngest child of his parents, was born at the family home in Warrenstown, in 1703. His father dying in 1712, his elder brother, Oliver Warren, a young lieutenant in the navy, succeeding to the family estates and their management, and the care of his father’s family, resigned and returned to Ireland. This brother, three years later, in 1715, placed Peter in the care of their maternal uncle, Admiral Lord Aylmer, then one of the highest officers in the British Navy, to be brought up in that service—a choice of life which met his own wishes exactly. Under his uncle’s instructions and care, united to his own good sense, alacrity, and attention to his duties, young Warren showed such talent in his profession that he was commissioned a lieutenant in 1722, at the early age of nineteen. Of attractive manners, quick in perception and action, but clear-headed and calm in judgment, his promotion was rapid.

“On April 17th, 1726, he was made a post-captain and appointed to the ‘Grafton,’ ship of the line, and ordered to the Mediterranean. Two years later, in the spring of 1728, Captain Warren was transferred to the ‘Solebay,’ with orders to carry the King of Spain’s despatches to his Viceroy in Mexico, to carry out the preliminaries of the peace then

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made, and afterward to proceed to South Carolina and New York. He delivered the despatches at Vera Cruz on the third of July, and sailed at once for the two colonies just named, arriving in New York late in the same year; an event which affected his whole life, and ever after bound him closely to that city and province.

"Peace from 1729 lasted for several years, and Captain Warren was unemployed until the spring of 1735. During this period he resided in the city of New York, having married, in 1731, Susannah, eldest daughter of Etienne (in English, Stephen) de Lancey, of that city, and his wife Anne, second daughter of Stephanus van Cortlandt, of Cortlandt's Manor, and his wife, Gertrude Schuyler. Mr. de Lancey was a French Huguenot gentleman, who on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, fled from France to Holland, and thence via England to New York, where he arrived June 7, 1686. He died in 1741, having held many public positions, and leaving a large estate. This marriage was the cause of Warren's identifying himself ever after with New York, an interest which caused Shirley to apply to him on behalf of his Louisbourg project in 1745. On February 11, 1730, the Common Council voted the freedom of the city of New York to 'Peter Warren, Esq., Commander of His Majesty's ship "Solebay."'\* He acquired an immense estate on the south side of the Mohawk River, just east of its junction with the Schoharie Kill, for the settling and management of which he brought out his nephew, his sister's son, afterwards the celebrated Sir William Johnson, Baronet, so prominent in the civic, Indian, and military annals of New York and North America. About 1740 Warren bought that great tract in the city of New York known to this day as 'the Sir Peter Warren farm,' extending from the North River on the west to what is now Broadway on the east, and from about Fourth Street on the south to about Twenty-first Street on the north. On the western part of this estate he built a large and splendid residence, with grounds extending to the North River, which was only demolished to make

\* New York Historical Collections, vol. xviii., for 1885, p. 483.

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way for modern improvements in 1865. In this house, in 1748, being then far out of town, the New York Assembly held its meetings, Captain Warren having written, tendering it for that purpose, as out of reach of the contagion of the smallpox, then raging in the city.

"The estates of Sir Peter in New York eventually under his will descended to his three surviving daughters (his only son Peter, dying in infancy, lies buried in the de Lancey vault in Trinity Churchyard), Anne, Lady Southampton; Charlotte, Countess of Abingdon; and Susanna, Mrs. General William Skinner of New Jersey, whose only child was the wife of Henry, third Viscount Gage. These ladies and their husbands, becoming alarmed by the French Revolution of 1789, and fearing that the then new constitution of the United States of the same year could not save this country from destruction, made the very great mistake of at once selling all their American properties.

"Sir Peter's first residence in New York, however, was near 'The Longbridge,' at the foot of Broad street, which unfortunately was one of those houses burnt during the negro plot and insurrection, as it was called, in 1741.

"When war broke out between England and Spain in October, 1739, Captain Warren, at his own request, was given the command of the 'Squirrel,' and joined the fleet in the West Indies under Commodore Pierce. From that time he was engaged in short cruises against the Spaniards, till he sailed for England in September, 1741, and was there given the command of the 'Launceston,' of forty guns, and returned to New York. Governor Clinton recommended him for the Governor's Council, and the King, in March, 1744, appointed him by mandamus a member of the Council of the Province of New York. This office he held until his death, in 1752. Early in the same year, 1744, Captain Warren was commissioned Commodore, and given the command of a fleet of fifteen ships, carrying 550 guns, stationed in the West Indies, the rendezvous of which was the Island of Antigua. His flagship was the 'Superbe,' a sixty-gun frigate. So active and successful was he in this first year of the war, that between the middle of February and the 1st

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of June, 1744, he captured twenty-four prizes, carrying 202 guns and valued at £250,000 sterling. The 'Launceston,' one of his squadron, needing many repairs, Commodore Warren returned in her to New York, arriving on the 25th June, when he was publicly received with general acclamation in testimony of his services in the war.

"As soon as the repairs of the 'Launceston,' which were made at Turtle Bay on the East River, were completed, she returned to the West Indies, and Warren resumed the command of his fleet in his flagship 'Superbe,' and continued active operations against the enemy. On the ninth of March in the next year, 1745, the sloop of war 'Hind' arrived at Antigua from England. She brought despatches to Commodore Warren with orders 'to proceed to Boston to concert measures for the annoyance of the enemy and His Majesty's service in North America.' These orders were the result of a letter written by Governor Shirley to the Duke of Newcastle in November, 1744, that Acadia and the fisheries were in danger from the French, and that a fleet of war ships was necessary for their protection. When Governor Shirley had begun his preparations, late in January, 1745, he wrote Warren at Antigua for naval aid in his expedition. On receipt of his letter Warren called a council of his officers to consider it. Though very desirous to do so, the council decided that without orders from England they had no right to detach any of the squadron from its station, and Warren so wrote Shirley. Two or three days only after Warren's answer had been sent, the 'Hind' arrived with the despatches just mentioned, and Commodore Warren at once sailed for Boston with three of his fleet, the 'Superbe,' the 'Mermaid,' and the 'Launceston.' Within thirty leagues of that port he met a schooner from which he learned that Shirley's expedition had already sailed for Canseau, and immediately bore up for that place. Arriving there on the 23d of April, 1745, he communicated his orders to Pepperrell, who was there encamped, to the intense satisfaction of that general and his army. Receiving a complimentary reply, Warren, without landing, at once sailed to blockade the entrance to the harbour of Louisbourg, about



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one hundred miles distant, with four ships of war, the 'Eltham,' of forty guns, having been ordered from Boston to Canseau by Shirley.

"Seven days later, Pepperrell with his forces arrived from Canseau, and landed with but slight opposition at Gabarus Bay, directly in the rear of the city of Louisbourg, and preparations for siege operations began. These were completed on May 7th, and then Warren and Pepperrell by a flag demanded a surrender of the fortress and city. Duchambon, the Governor, by the same flag returned the soldierly reply that their only answer would be at the cannon's mouth. This was received at 5 P.M. the same afternoon, and firing was at once opened from Pepperrell's land batteries. On the 20th of May, thirteen days later, little progress having been made, Pepperrell wrote Warren, 'Our men sicken apace, great numbers are now unfit for service,' and regretting he had made no further progress; 'which,' he continues, 'is partly attributable to undisciplined troops and sickness among them,' and stating that he had not more than two thousand men fit for duty.\*

"On receiving Pepperrell's letter, Commodore Warren called a council of the officers of the fleet on May 24th. They decided that the best plan would be for the men-of-war to sail into the harbor and bombard the town and batteries, first embarking in different ships sixteen hundred of the land forces, very many of whom were sailors and fishermen; six hundred of them to man the prize frigate 'Vigilante,' which he had captured three days before, and one thousand with their officers to be landed when judged proper to aid in the capture; the marines of the fleet, under Colonel McDonald, to join the remainder of the army on shore, and to lead in the attack as an independent brigade under Pepperrell. Previous to the council of officers, Warren had taken two French frigates, and on the 20th of May Captain Douglass in the 'Mermaid' had fallen in with the French frigate 'Vigilante,' sixty-four guns, but finding her too heavy for him, retreated towards the fleet, and she, fol-

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\* London Magazine, 1746.

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lowing, was engaged by Warren in the 'Superbe' and Captain Tyng in the 'Massachusetts' and captured, with a large amount of supplies and munitions of war, being the first of a fleet expected from Brest at Louisbourg. Pepperrell, by advice of his own council of officers, on the 26th, declined Warren's proposal of the 24th, they fearing that by agreeing to it they would give the command to Warren, and with it the credit of the capture should it prove successful, and suggested his manning the 'Vigilante' from his own fleet, and also stating that the army itself would attempt the capture of the Island Battery. This was the chief defence of the harbor, mounting thirty-two guns, and commanded at short range its entrance from the ocean.

"On getting Pepperrell's answer, Warren, on the same day, the 26th, again wrote him urging at least the six hundred men to man the 'Vigilante,' his fleet being at the time short of men; but Pepperrell again declined. The very next night, the 27th of May, two hundred men of the army were embarked in boats to take the Island Battery. They made a brave attack, but unfortunately were utterly defeated with a loss of sixty killed and one hundred and sixteen wounded.\*

"Two days after this disaster, on the 29th of May, Warren again in a letter to Pepperrell urged his former plan, saying he was sorry his views and those of his officers 'had so little weight;' quotes Shirley's letter of the 28th of January, received by him at Antigua, suggesting that if he, Warren, could 'come and take command of the expedition it would be, I doubt not, a most happy event for His Majesty's service,' and then continues: 'I do not mention this from any desire of command, because I think it impossible to do one's duty well in two capacities both by sea and land, especially as I pretend to know very little of the latter, but to show my opinion,' which 'in conjunction with the captains under my command, might have some weight and force with you.' In the same letter he further says: 'I am ready and desirous to make the ships useful as possible at all haz-

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\* Niles's History of the Indian and French Wars.

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ards in an affair of so much importance to our king and country, and that was the motive that induced me to send you the plan of operation dated the 24th inst.

“ ‘As to the sixteen hundred men we desired from you, it was in order to land them from our ships, when we should think proper; and it is impossible that anybody else should be so good judges when to land them as we on board the ships. Their officers would no doubt come on board with them and would land with them.’

“ Pepperrell, on getting this letter, called another council of his officers on June 1st. They then changed their views, and decided to send the six hundred men to man the ‘Vigilante,’ and also five hundred men with their officers to be disposed of as Commodore Warren saw fit and also that he should land his marines under McDonald as he had proposed. Their whole action from the beginning was but the result of mere provincial jealousy, of which they finally got the better.

“ Warren now put the ‘Vigilante’ in commission, and offered the command very cordially to Captain Edward Tyng of the Colonialship ‘Massachusetts,’ the senior officer of Pepperrell’s flotilla, with the rank of post-captain in the Royal Navy. Tyng, however, declined it on account of his advanced age, and recommended Captain Rouse (of the ‘Shirley,’ Colonial ship), and it was given to him.\*

“ Pepperrell’s army at this time was in a bad way. He himself wrote Governor Shirley on June 2d, ‘that powder and balls were nearly used up, and many of his guns idle; that he had borrowed one hundred and eighty-seven barrels of powder from Commodore Warren, that his troops were greatly inferior to those of the enemy, that he had fifteen hundred sick, and that a reinforcement of three thousand men was absolutely necessary from the Colonies, who had an inadequate idea of the enemies’ strength; that if it be possible to settle with Warren a general attack it would be done, but should the event bear heavily on the land forces they should only be able to act on the defensive part under cover of the ships.’

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\* Rev. T. Alden’s Memoir of Edward Tyng.

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"Not long after he reached Louisbourg, Commodore Warren was joined by three ships of the line sent to him from England, the 'Canterbury' and 'Sunderland,' sixty guns each, and the 'Chester,' of fifty guns.

"On June 1st, Warren, suspecting that the enemy were ignorant of the capture of the 'Vigilante,' with her valuable cargo of supplies and ordnance, wrote Pepperrell proposing a plan to have her French commander write to Duchambon on the ill-treatment of prisoners by his garrison, and describing his own good treatment and that of his men on Warren's ships. This suggestion was adopted, and thus the Governor and his garrison learned of her loss to them and the additions to the English fleet, thus discouraging them and so tempting them to a surrender.\*

"After the transfer of Colonel McDonald's marines to the land, and the land forces to the ships, at a meeting of the officers it was deemed best not to enter the harbor with the ships until the Island Battery was taken, and a plan to capture it from boats was formed. But on the 11th of June three more ships, the 'Princess Mary,' the 'Hector,' and the 'Lark,' joined the fleet, from Newfoundland, and Commodore Warren felt so strong that he gave up the idea of taking the Island Battery, and decided to sail into the harbor with the first fair wind and attack both battery and city. He and Pepperrell arranged a joint attack by land and sea. The preparations were completed on the 14th, and the next day, the 15th, Warren was to sail into the harbor and Pepperrell to attack on the land side at the Westgate. On that day, while Warren and Pepperrell were conferring on shore, Duchambon, the French Governor, sent a flag of truce with a letter, proposing a suspension of hostilities preparatory to negotiations for a surrender. This letter was addressed to both Warren and Pepperrell, and they sent a joint reply complying with his request, and giving him till eight o'clock the next morning to surrender, promising 'humane and generous treatment,' signing it thus—

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\* Letters referring to capture of Cape Breton, in Massachusetts Historical Society.

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“ ‘ Peter Warren.  
William Pepperrell.’

“ Duchambon, on the 16th, made his offer of surrender, but Warren declined the terms and sent his own, which were those first demanded on May 7th, with a slight addition. While these negotiations were depending between Warren and the Governor, Pepperrell sent the latter a letter demanding the surrender to him, and asking him to fix a time for his troops to enter. The Governor, not liking its language, sent it to Warren. The latter wrote at once a friendly letter to Pepperrell, saying that the terms of capitulation should at least be agreed upon before its occupancy by the troops; and, referring to the note itself, said: ‘I am sorry to find a kind of jealousy which I thought you would never conceive of me. And give me leave to tell you I don’t want at this time to acquire reputation, as I flatter myself mine has been pretty well established long before.’

“ Pepperrell subsequently told Warren his reason was that he feared that if the place was not immediately occupied by his troops its garrison might destroy much of its valuable property, an intimation of which unsoldierly conduct in his note to Duchambon caused the latter to show it to Warren. Pepperrell’s whole conduct before, during, and after the siege showed that he had no personal jealousy of Warren, but he was the commander of officers and men who thought that to the army and not to the navy was due the chief credit, a very common feeling in joint operations. Both leaders assented to the French forces marching out with drums beating and colors flying. The articles of capitulation were signed on each side on June 16th, and on the 17th the ships sailed into the harbor, and the portion of the army on shore under Pepperrell marched into the city, took possession, and garrisoned the fortifications.

“ Thus, after a siege lasting forty-seven days, Louisbourg fell. ‘The mad scheme’ proved a great success. The boldness and bravery of New England, and the courage and skill of Old England, united, met their just reward.

“ The two leaders ever remained warm friends, and Pep-

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perrell visited Warren in England a few years later. They exchanged with each other portraits of themselves and their wives. That of Warren, which was painted in England, after the confiscation and destruction which befell the last Sir William Pepperrell at the close of the American Revolution, for his siding with the crown, passed into the Sheaffe family of Portsmouth, descendants of a daughter of Sir William, and by them was placed on deposit in the Athenæum Library of that city; that of his wife has disappeared. That of Pepperrell remains, it is believed, among Sir Peter Warren's descendants in England, but a replica is now preserved at Salem, Massachusetts. Of the subsequent events following the capture, and the brilliant career of Warren, time does not permit me to speak. He died at Dublin in 1752, and lies buried with his ancestors in Warrenstown, Ireland. A splendid monument by Roubiliac, in the north transept of Westminster Abbey, on which, surrounded by naval trophies, his bust appears, commemorates his services to Great Britain."

The chairman then introduced His Honor Lieutenant-Governor Daly, who spoke as follows :

"I am requested to perform the agreeable duty of unveiling this monument, and I shall do so with the greatest possible pleasure. You will be good enough to observe by the programme that, as I have stated, my *only* duty is to unveil the monument, and you will not therefore expect a speech from me. The delivery of addresses is a duty that has been assigned to those who have preceded me. They have so thoroughly fulfilled their task, and so fully and with so much eloquence dwelt upon all the interesting details of the events that call forth to-day's celebration, that, were I even requested or inclined to speak to you at length, I could find but little to add to what has already been said in far more eloquent and graceful language than I can use.

"But I feel that I must trespass, if only for a few moments, upon your time.

"We are not here to-day for the purpose of exulting over the defeat of a brave and noble foe. In Canada at least no

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such imputation can with truth be made. In this country, where monuments to the heroic Wolfe and to the equally heroic Montcalm stand on the same plain where they gave their lives for their respective countries, there is no room left for any one to imagine that there exists an idea of wounding the susceptibilities of those who are descended from the former owners of this country. This monument is, I believe, erected to commemorate an important and interesting historical event. It will mark the spot where the military prowess and the bravery of what were 'mere colonists' (we have now passed the stage of 'mere' colonists) were displayed against regular and brave trained forces. It is erected, not by foreigners or an alien nation, but by a society which, though it may have its headquarters in New York, has its branches elsewhere, and has its members from Nova Scotia as well. It boasts of a constitution that requires its members to be of Colonial descent from the days prior to American independence, and prior to 1775. So that you will observe that this is not a national or governmental undertaking, but simply the act of a number of cultured gentlemen who form a society with the object of 'preserving historical records and emblems relating to the American Colonial period,' and 'to inspire in its members the fraternal and patriotic spirit of their forefathers.'

"Such being the case, I beg to extend to these gentlemen of the Society of Colonial Wars a cordial greeting to Nova Scotia. It is true they belong to an independent nation, but they boast of descent from Colonial ancestors, and rightly claim fraternity with us, and we in return are delighted to claim brotherhood with them. Their very presence here, and for such a purpose as to-day's celebration, is evidence of nothing else than the best of good-will. Proud as they are of their own institutions, we would fain imagine that they possess a lingering, lasting, and almost a longing regard for our own glorious nationality. At all events we give them a friendly welcome, and trust their recollections of this visit to Canada will be pleasant and agreeable.

"We are favored also to-day by the presence of one of Her Majesty's ships—and how appropriate, too, it is that on such

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an occasion the name of such ship should be the 'Canada.' We can congratulate ourselves upon the presence of her distinguished captain, and to him and his officers and ship's company we owe much for adding interest and pomp to this celebration. Just as the presence of Commodore Warren and the English fleet was necessary to the success of the operations of 1745—for, had they not been here then, the 'Vigilante' and her timely aid would have reached the besieged, the New England expedition might have ended in failure—so to-day the brave Captain Wilson and his good ship 'Canada' have done everything possible to complete and assure the success of this demonstration.

"And now I am not going to talk to you about historical incidents, the story of which is forced upon our minds to-day. I shall say nothing about Shirley, Pepperrell, Warren, Duchambon and the rest—they have all been done ample justice to; nor shall I mention Parson Moody and the others. You must know all about them, for I dare say that many of you have, like myself, refreshed your memories for this occasion from the pages of Murdoch, Campbell, or the more delightful Parkman.

"I feel that I have sufficiently taxed your good nature; doubtless you are all now burning with an eager desire that I should perform my duty and disclose the graceful proportions of the monument. I shall no longer keep your curiosity ungratified.

"I now unveil this monument, and shall conclude my remarks with the expression of my most heartfelt hope that it may long stand as a memorial to the purposes for which it has been erected. And also that it may be looked upon as a symbol of the fraternal good will that exists (and may it ever exist) between New England and Old England; and that every Canadian who may gaze upon it may learn the lesson plainly taught by it, that what Colonists have done before, Colonists can do again."

At 3.55 P.M. His Honor pulled the cords holding the veil and displayed the monument to the assembled multitude, the band playing "God Save the Queen" and the troops



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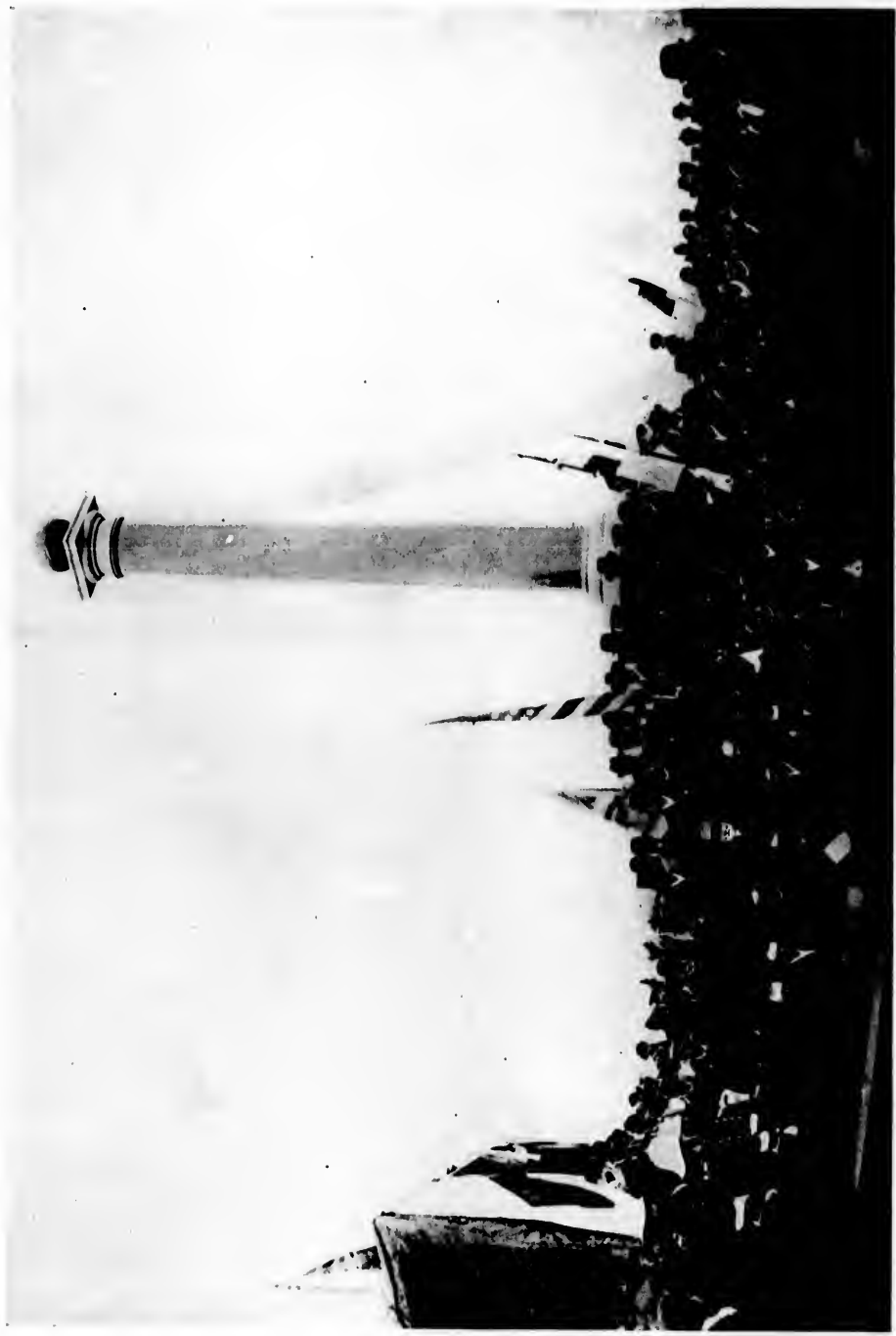
presenting arms, while the audience applauded and cheered. Three cheers were then given for the commander, officers, and men of Her Majesty's ship "Canada," after which Captain Wilson made a few well-chosen remarks. The Rev. T. Fraser Draper, of Louisbourg, then pronounced the benediction, after which the band again played the national anthem, the troops presenting arms and the audience standing bareheaded. The monument was then photographed, with the members and their guests grouped around it. The line of march was then taken to the shore, the blue-jackets and marines following, with their drum and fife corps playing American airs. The members and their guests then, on invitation of Captain Wilson, were conveyed on board H. M. S. "Canada" in the warship's boats, and kindly entertained with refreshments. "The arrangements for the celebration were practically perfect and were carried out without a hitch. Not a mishap of any kind occurred to mar the pleasure of the day's proceedings, although the gathering was the largest Louisbourg has witnessed in modern times. Everybody left the grounds, the scene of bloody conflict one hundred and fifty years ago, feeling that the people of Canada and the United States were nearer together than ever before, and mentally vowing that, if they could prevent it, neither England nor the United States nor England and France should ever again meet in bloody strife on the battlefield. Canada, as the representative of Great Britain, clasped hands in friendship with the United States across the bloody chasms of 1776 and 1812, and both extended the olive branch of peace and fraternity to brave and chivalrous France and her warm-hearted sons on this continent; and so auspiciously the third capture of Louisbourg, by the combined American and Canadian forces, on June 17, 1895, ended."\*

After being entertained on H. M. S. "Canada," the party returned to the waiting train, and reached Sydney at 7.30 P.M., where the column was again formed, and, headed by the band, the line of march was taken to the Hall, where addresses were presented to His Honor Governor Daly by

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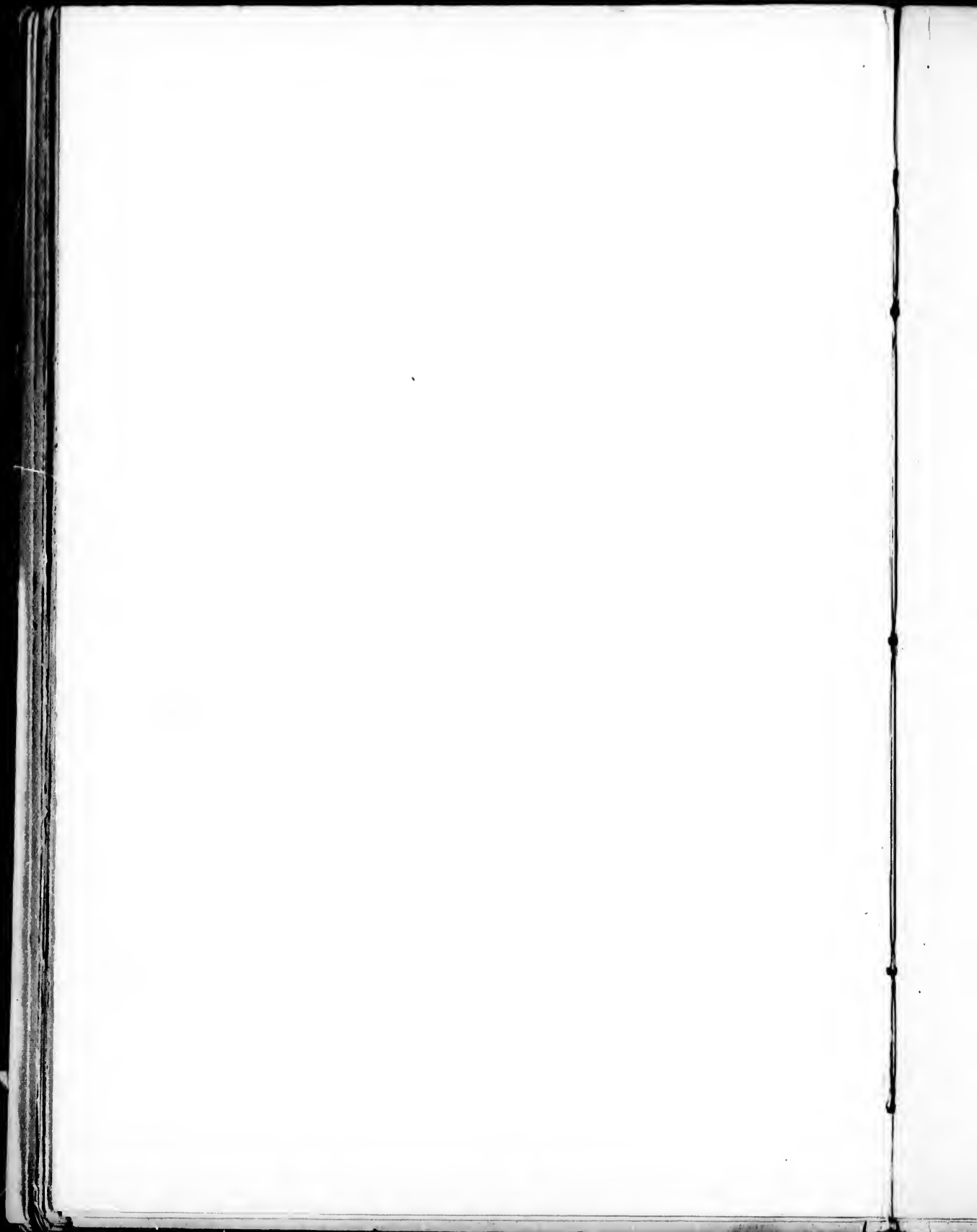
\* *The Morning Chronicle*, Halifax, June 18, 1895.

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LOUISBOURG MONUMENT UNVEILED.

June 17, 1895.



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the county of Cape Breton and city of Sydney, the members of the Society being given seats on the platform. The party was again assembled in the parlor of the Sydney Hotel at 10 P.M., and an address presented by the Warden and Municipal Council of the county of Cape Breton, and by His Worship the Mayor and the Council of Sydney, responses to which were made by Mr. Norton, of the Vermont Society, and Mr. Wyman, of the Illinois Society.

Hon. A. G. Jones, of Halifax, a member of the Massachusetts Society, then made a few remarks in relation to the success of the celebration, and the great interest taken in the event by the people of Cape Breton. The thanks of the delegation were then expressed to Superintendent Laurie, of the Intercolonial Railway, for the courtesies shown them, to which he responded ; and then with singing of "Auld Lang Syne" the eventful day was closed.

The party then retired to their special cars, and started on their homeward journey at 5 A.M., June 18th, reaching Halifax at 6 P.M. Before the train started, the English flag borne in the procession, which was loaned by Major W. McK. McLeod, commanding Battery "F," Sydney Artillery, was sent to the chairman with the following note :

SYDNEY, C. B., *June 17, 1895.*

HOWLAND PELL, ESQ.,

Chairman, Society of Colonial Wars.

*Dear Mr. Pell:* I send herewith the "Union Jack" which has floated over our Field Battery Camp each year since 1887. I am sorry it is so tattered and frayed, but these are, after all, merely the evidences of service and duty, bloodless truly, but none the less faithful. If its condition permits of its use to-day it will gratify me greatly to know that the "Star-spangled Banner" and our own loved "Jack," waving side by side at Louisbourg, may justly be regarded as an event pregnant with significance, not to the people of the American Republic and the British Empire alone, but as well to those of all other nations.

The mission upon which you and your confrères have come to Cape Breton is, I believe, without parallel ; it is

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unique. This is the "long wharf of America"—is it mere coincidence that on the very extremity of this continent, washed by the "rollers" direct from Europe, representatives of two mighty nations, kindred but long dissevered, should meet and entwine their flags in a pacific and honorable act?

May I ask you to do us the favor of retaining this "Union Jack" without separating it from its starry companion of June 17, 1895?

In haste and with kindest wishes, believe me,

Faithfully yours,

WILLIAM MCKENZIE MCLEOD.

As showing the interest taken in the event, it may be mentioned that the *Sydney Advocate* issued a special edition, handsomely illustrated, giving a full account of the siege, present condition of the town of Louisbourg, description and cut of the monument, and an account of the Society. Several thousand copies were sold. The Rev. Mr. Draper, of Louisbourg, in charge of the Church of England bazaar, on the 17th inst., had beautiful silver souvenir spoons, with a good representation of the monument, and silver scarf-pins representing the "Louisbourg Camp Colour." Divers went down in the harbor a few days before the celebration, and brought up two large iron cannon, pieces of a bronze cannon, and some cannon balls of various calibre. The train stopped for dinner at the town of New Glasgow, and the proprietor at the hotel had the following bill of fare printed:

HOTEL VENDOME.

SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS RETURNING FROM  
LOUISBOURG.

RATIONS.

Colonial Soup.

Salmon, à la Warren. Tongue, Aix-la-Chapelle.

Spring Lamb, Acadian.

Roast Beef, John Bull, Pepperrell Sauce. French Pickles.

Gabarus Potatoes. Pomeroy Peas.

New England Pumpkin Pie. Louisbourg Pudding.

Strawberries, Isle Royale.

"NIL DESPERANDUM CHRISTO DUCE."

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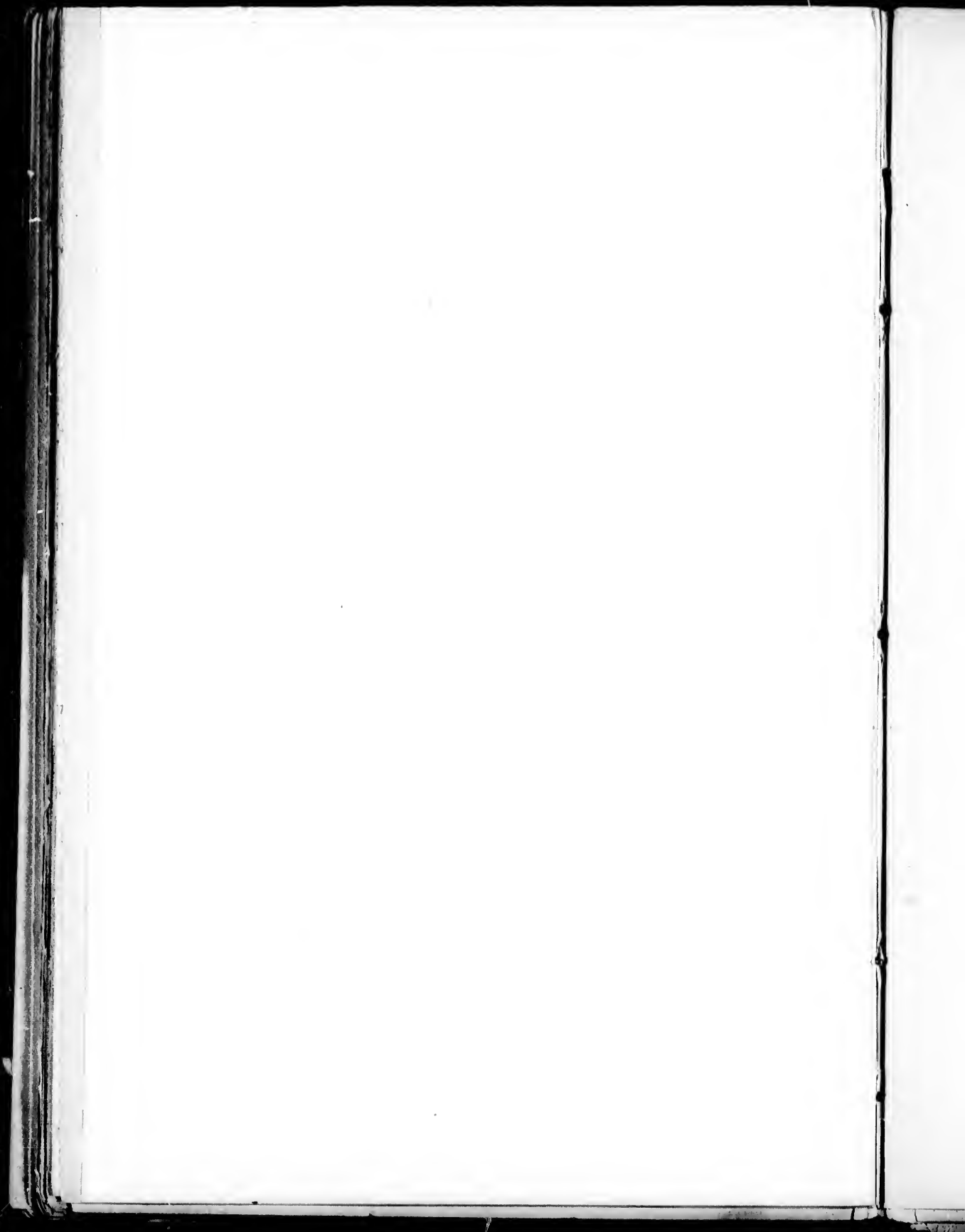
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Pickles.

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LOUISBOURG MEMORIAL.



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At Truro a telegram was received from Lieutenant-Governor Daly, wishing the delegation a *bon voyage*, to which kind wish a suitable answer was wired, and on reaching Halifax, proper resolutions were drawn up and signed, thanking His Honor for his courtesy and kindness. The delegation was driven about the city and entertained at dinner at the Halifax Club, and a most enjoyable trip brought to a close—the members returning home by sea and rail.

DESCRIPTION OF THE LOUISBOURG  
MONUMENT.

A few hundred yards from the shore of Louisbourg harbor, at the westerly side of the present ruins of the fortress of Louisbourg, is a redoubt connected by a causeway with the King's Bastion, where General Pepperrell received the keys of the fortress from Governor Duchambon in the presence of the assembled troops. It is a prominent position, visible for miles ; and it was on this spot that, on June 17, 1895, the Louisbourg monument was dedicated.

The monument is a polished granite shaft of the Roman Tuscan order, slightly modified as to proportion, standing on a base which rests on a square pedestal or die four feet high, which in turn stands on a heavy square block or platform.

The capital of the column is surmounted by a polished ball, two feet in diameter, of a dark red New Brunswick granite. From a distance it appears as a rusted cannon ball and stands as a typical emblem of war.

The polished shaft and die are of the New Brunswick Lily Lake granite, being of the same character, but lighter in color.

The monument, not including its foundation, weighs about sixteen tons, and stands twenty-six feet high above the circular mound which rises four feet above the redoubt.

The monument was erected by Epps, Dodds & Co., of St. George, New Brunswick.

There are inscriptions on the four sides of the die, which read as follows :



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TO  
COMMEMORATE  
THE CAPTURE  
OF LOUISBOURG  
A. D. 1745

ERECTED  
BY THE SOCIETY  
OF  
COLONIAL WARS  
A. D. 1895

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"PROVINCIAL FORCES"

MASSACHUSETTS BAY  
CONNECTICUT  
NEW HAMPSHIRE  
4,000 MEN  
UNDER  
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL PEPPERRELL

"BRITISH FLEET"

10 SAIL  
500 GUNS  
UNDER  
COMMODORE WARREN

"PROVINCIAL FLEET"

16 ARMED VESSELS  
19 TRANSPORTS  
240 GUNS  
UNDER  
CAPTAIN TYNG

*APPENDIX.*

TO  
OUR  
HEROIC  
DEAD

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"FRENCH FORCES"

2,500 REGULARS  
MILITIA AND SEAMEN  
UNDER  
GOVERNOR DUCHAMBON

At a meeting of the General Council of the Society held December 19, 1895, it was ordered that a set of resolutions thanking Governor Daly for his services in unveiling the monument be prepared and forwarded to him.

The resolutions were engrossed, suitably framed, and presented to Governor Daly at Halifax, N. S., on February 26, 1896, by the Hon. A. G. Jones, P.C., a member of the Society.

HOWLAND PELL,  
*Chairman.*

