THE SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL JOURNAL.

Sometime in the Month of January, [1744-5]¹ an Expedition was concerted by the Province of [Massachusetts] Bay, against Louisbourg.

A Proclamation was Issued for the enlistment of $30[00]^2$ effective men; which enlistment was compleated & enlarged by the 25 of March following—

These Troops were divided into Regiments [under] the Command of the following Colonels:³

Over whom the Hon^{ble}. Lt. General Pepperrell⁴ was ap[pointed] to Command in Chief.

The Colony of Connecticut raised for y^e Same Exp^d. 500 [men] commanded by Maj^r. Gen. Woolcot.⁵

³ The list of Colonels mentioned is not given in the text nor is it found in any other contemporary journal of the expedition. Usher Parsons in his Life of Pepperrell prints a list of officers, and another list prepared by Charles Hudson was published in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for October 1870. Mr. Hudson continued his work and in the Register for July 1871 gave a list of the privates engaged in the expedition so far as they could be identified. The best list of participants is that in the appendix to the Pepperrell Papers (6 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. X, 497). There is no adequate list of the sea forces engaged. A few of the seamen are mentioned by Hudson, and the officers and crews of the Caesar and Fame are in the Register for April 1905 but, in general, the names of the officers and crews of the British and Colonial vessels engaged are to be ascertained only by consultation of widely scattered sources of information.

⁴ Pepperrell held commissions from three Colonial governments. His commission from Governor Shirley was dated Jan. 31, 1744-5 and on March 19 he was given power to hold court-martials and appoint officers therefor.

⁵Roger Woolcot or Wolcott was second in command, with rank of Major-General, and was in immediate command of the Connecticut forces. Of the Brigadier-Generals, Samuel Waldo, commanding the 2d Massachusetts Regiment, was from the Maine district and Joseph Dwight of Boston led the Ancient and Honorable Artillery.

¹Words within brackets have been supplied by the editor.

 $^{^{2}}$ Other writers give 3,250 as the number of men in the Massachusetts contingent and this exclusive of commissioned officers. These figures may explain the "compleated and enlarged" enlistment mentioned in the text.

[Oct.,

The Province of New Hampshire raised 350 men commanded by Col. Sam¹. Moor.

New Hampshire had no general officers. A part of her contingent was enlisted in a Massachusetts regiment and the remainder was commanded by Col. Samuel More or Moore. The report of the Adjutant General of New Hampshire for 1866 gives the rolls of the soldiers from that colony, and the Shirley account under date of April 25, gives the number of the Connecticut forces as 516, including commissioned officers.

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JOURNAL OR MINUTES MADE IN AN EXPEDITION AGAINST LOUISBOURG. ANNO DOMINI 1745.

Lords Day This morning Commodore Rouse⁶ gave a signal March 24. for weighing anchor.

1744/5. About noon M^r. Hutchinson bro't orders from his Excel, for sailing.

Ab^t. 4 P. M. the fleet under convoy of Com. Rouse [set] sail from King Road⁷ for Cape Breton -

Fair Weather but greasy in W. Board. W^d . N. W. b N. -

Abt. 10 veer'd out to N. E. Fresh gale all night. Course E. b. N.

- M. Mar.25. This morning found ourselves ab^t. 10 leag^s. from [Cape] Cod; C [oast] bearing W. Fleet all well, tho' pretty much scatter'd by last nights gale. Abt. 8 in y^e morn. a signal gun, for bearing up & then stood in for land. Course N. W. b N. Wind out, Weather fair. P. M. Wind vearing to the S. E. alter'd our course and stood off N. E. b E. All n^t. lay the shore along. In the morning was abt. 20 leag^s. E. of C [ape] Elizabeth.
- T. Mar. 26. This morning the wind pretty fresh at S. E. a signal gun was fired. The Com^{dor}. bore away

⁷The Nantasket of to-day.

⁶Commodore John Rouse or Rous, the latter being the seaman's own spelling, held commission from Massachusetts but obtained a later commission of Captain in the royal service. Edward Tyng, in command of the frigate *Massachusetts*, was the senior provincial naval officer acting under Shirley's commission. He had seen service in the previous year against French privateers and on May 24, 1744, had been thanked by the town of Boston. At the time of sailing Rous commanded the convoy galley, *Shirley*.

N for the land & presently discover'd the White Hills. P. M. It was determined to go to Sheepscot. The wind fresh S. E. & look't like dirt.⁸ Abt. 5 came to an Anchor in Sheepscot harbour, abt. a league within the Chops or ent [raĥce] & there lay this n^t.

Wd.Mar.27 The fleet lay at Sheepscot. A. M. Wind S. E. P. M. E. Foggy, some rain.

- Th. Mar.28 At Sheepscot. A. M. A severe gale at N. E. with rain & sleet. Abt. noon wind veer'd into the N. & blew very hard.
- Fr.Mar. 29 At 9 this morning the fleet sailed from Sheepscot. W^d. abt. N. W. midling gale. Fair weath^r. but very cold. Course E. S. E. P. M. W^d. Western'd, an easie gale all n^t. Towards morn. W^d. abt. S. [Fleet] was now abt. middle of B [ay of] Fundy.

Sat. Mar. 30 This morning blew fresh at S. with rain, & made a very sharp sea which contin^d. all day. Abt. 10 this n^t. ship't a pretty deal of water, wet our Chest on deck, some concern, but in a few hours after, the Lord was pleas'd to moderate the w^d. & weath^r. & the storm was turn'd into a calm.

Lords Day This day foggy. A. M. Small air at S. E. Abt. Mar. 31 5 P. M. a glin at W. & in the evening cleared up all fair but before midnight came in thick of fog [with] the w^d. at E. & threatned us with another storm; but the Lord was better to us than our fears.

Mond. Thick weath^r. W^d. S. E. & so continued till Apr. 1. noon. Then veer'd to W. with thick fog & a tumbling sea. Distance fr. Cape Sable abt. 20 l [eagues]. Course all nt. S. E. By reason of bad weather, the fleet except a few seperated.

 8 This expression frequently used in sailors' logs of this date is the equivalent of the more modern dirty or disagreeable weather.

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- Tu. Apr. 2. This morning W^d. W. N. W. Fair weather. Course E. N. E. Abt. 10, bro't too for a sloop y^t made a signal of distress. Abt. 12 made Cape Sable & stood in for the land; at this time we had abt. 20 Sail of the fleet in sight. P. M. Run down by the land; at sunsett was off LaHave abt. 4 l[eagues] dist^{nce}. Stood along shore this n^t. Course E. b. N. Wind W. N. W. Fair weath^r.
- W. Apr. 3. Abt. an hour before day y^e wind came abt. at N. E. and blew fresh, thick of snow & very cool so could not lay our course. Abt. sunrise tack't & stood in N. W. for the land; in abt. 2 or 3 hours the wind shifted, weath^r. cleared up & being off Malagash [Mirlegash] tack't, stood along shore E. N. E. Abt. one of y^e clock y^e W^d. came up fresh at S. W. Abt. 4 was abreast off Cape Sambrough (45 leag^s. fr Canso). Stood along shore this n^t. W^d. S. W. b W. pretty breeze, fair weath^r. Course N. E.
- Th. Apr. 4. Wind W. b. S. Course E. N. E. run by Liscomb harb^r. In Harb^r. White Head, White Point & abt. 4 P. M. arrived at Canso Harb^r. where we found many sail of our fleet arrived safe. Twelve sail of New Hampshire vessels with their troops⁹. Capt. T[yng] in the Mass [achusetts] F [rigate and Capt.] Donehoe with a sloop who had taken sundry Indians at Owls Head which Ind^s. were examined this evening on board Com. Rouse.
- Fr. Apr. 5. This day lay at Canso. W^d. E. b. S. Look't like dirt, very raw and cold. Capt. Fletcher in a brig belonging to y^e P [rovince] bro't in here y^s day a Martinico sloop, bound for Louisb.

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⁹ Shirley, in his journal, states that 304 New Hampshire troops, inclusive of commissioned officers, arrived four days earlier at Canso. Rous was in command of the *Shirley* on which the examination of the Indians was conducted. The name Donehoe is given elsewhere as Donehew and Donahew. Possibly Capt. Philip Donahoe is intended.

which he took a few days since off C. Breton. She was loaden'd with rum molasses etc. Capt. [Jonathan] Snelling came in y^s day. A Council of War held y^s day on Canso Hill. -

Lay at Canso. Rainy. W^d. at E. Sat. Men begin to sicken. Apr. 6.

Lords Day At Canso. Showry. A. M. W^d. out. P. M. Apr. 7. W^d. N. Preparation made for y^e several detachments for attacking Louisb.

At Canso, Fair Weath^r. W^d. S. W. Fresh gale Mond. & cool; several of our transports y^t were seperated Apr. 8. from the Com [modore] by bad weather came in this evening.

Tu. Apr. 9. At Canso. N. E. W^d. Some snow & very raw and cold. Whilst we lay here the army was preparing cartridges etc. and detachments [were] drawn out for the several attacks intended to be made on the several parts of the City of Louisb.

N. E. W^d. Dry, very cold. W.Apr.10. At Canso.

At Canso. W^d. N. b. W. Fresh gale, pretty Th. Apr. 11. cold. 6 or 7 of our transports y^t were sep^{ted} by storm arrived here this day. C [apt.] Fletcher's prize vessel sailed with a packet of letters for Boston.

At Canso. A. M. W^d. E. b. S. Lowry. P. M. Fr. A storm of snow. C [apt.] Donehoe sent to the Apr. 12. Gut of Canso. Several shalloways seen off S^t. Piere; G [eneral Pepperrell] ill, conf^d. to b [ed?].

Sat. Apr. 13.

Showry with thunder. W^d. E. b. S. At Canso. Several canon heard at a distance. Fleet order'd to sail tomorrow morning if wind & weather permit-A block house erected here.

Rainy. Something warm^r. W^d. N. Lords D. At Canso. b. W. This evening Capt. Donehoe came in Apr. 14. here from y^e Gut of Canso & bro't in with him

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3 Indian men, 2 wom. & 3 childr. whom he took yesterday at y^e Gut. The 3 men were bro't to [the] G [eneral] & being seperately examined, declared that the inhabitants of St. Peters was alm^t. all drawn off etc. A Council of War was called, wherein it was unanimously agreed that y^e intended att. on S^t. P. sh^d. be deferr'd & that those forces sh^d. attend y^e main body to Cabbarouse [Gabarus] Bay and that Doneh. sh^d. proceed a few leagues before the fleet to prevent our Discovery from Foshee & St. Esprit. Orders [to] sail at break of day if w^d. & weath^r.

M. Apr. 15. This morning the W^d. failing, the fleet do not proceed as intended. Calm in y^e morn. P. M. W^d. S. W. Weath^r. serene & y^e most moderate day we have had since our arr. at Canso. Capts. [Sylvanus?] Cobb & B [ush] in 2 whale boats sent to St. Peters, but by reason of ice there was prevented landing.

T. Apr. 16. At Canso. Foggy, Rainy W^d. E. b. S.

W.Apr. 17. At Canso. A. M. W^d. N. N. W. P. M. W^d. S.
b. W. Showry weather, moderate. Abt. 10 Capt. Fletcher bro't in a prize brig. (lately Capt. Lorings) from Martinico bound to Louisb. loaden'd with rum molasses & coffee. She was taken yesterday morning abt. 10 l[eagues] fr. hence in the ice. This prize brig. lately took a fishing schooner on B [lack Point?] Bank which she order'd into Louisb. There was another brig in company bound for Canada. A sail being seen off [shore, Capts.] Donehoe, Becket, Swan etc. were sent out –

Th. At Canso. W. N. b. W. Rainy & cool. A
Apr. 18. sea chase and fight between Canso & Petidegrat
by our cruisers and a French ship. 9 of our
vessels were after her but she outsailed them

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& escaped-[Capts.] Donehoe & Swan bro't in a French brig,¹⁰ which they took a leag. or 2 off this place this afternoon. Com. Rouse went out at 2 P. M. after ye ship yt appeared in the bay, but thick weather & night came on so that he lost her; next morning got sight again & gave chase but c^d not come up with her.

Fr. Apr. 19.

Sat.

At Canso. W^d. N. W. b. N. Something cloudy. Many guns heard off [shore]. Smither's mate bro't in a Cape Ann schooner, which he retook at Cabbarouse [Gabarus Bay].

At Canso. This morning clear, W^d. Rouse continued out. Furnel [Capt. John Fer-Apr. 20. nald] bro't in a Boston schooner one [Capt. William] Adams mast^r. which sd. Furnel retook

at Cabbarouse.

Lords D. Apr. 21.

At Canso W^d. S. E. Rainy. Col. [Edward] Eveleth in a schooner with 70 men sent to St. Peters [being] piloted by a French prison^r. taken a few days belonging to St. Peters. 4 men ashore for wood & water were surprised & fired upon & taken by 2 Frenchmen & an Indian sent fr. St. Peters & being carried away some miles, arose upon the Frenchmen & took them & bro't them in with their arms; y^e Indian made his escape.

[Capts.] Donehoe & Becket sent to the Bay of Vert.

At Canso. W^d. S. W. A hard gale. Snow squall, very cool. This evening Capt. Dorrell,¹¹ in the Eltham, a 40 gun ship arriv^d. here in 6 days from Piscataqua.

¹⁰ This was the *Renomée*, a French ship of war of 30 guns, having a crew of 300 seamen and 50 marines and charged with government dispatches. An account of the chase of the French ship is given in a letter of Capt. Edward Tyng to Pepperrell, received April 21. 6 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. X, 126.

¹¹Capt. Dorrell is probably Capt. Philip Durell, although Charnock (Biographia Navalis IV, 262; London, 1796.) gives John Durell as captain of the Eltham at this 'time.

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Tu. Apr. 23.

Wed.

Apr. 24.

At Canso. W^d . N. W. Fair weath^r. This morning our people (that were sent to S^t. Peters on Lords Day night) returned & bro't with them a little French sloop loaden'd with wood. Three of our men wounded there by the enemy. Commodore Warren appeared in the offin this morning with a 60 & two 40 gun ships; they anchor'd off the harb^r. a league or two; tarried alm^t. all day.¹² In the evening came to sail & stood off for Louisbourg. – Capt Furnel sent out to St. Peters harb^r.

At Canso. A. M. W^d. N. W. b. N. P. M. W^d. Fair weather. Abt. break of day a S. W. signal was given for sailing, but y^e wind failing, they desisted. Abt. 8 vs morn. the Connecticut forces appeared in sight and at 11 they came into y^e harb^r. There was also in comp^y. a Rhoad Island sloop Capt. [Daniel] Fones with 14 g [uns] & 90 men. Yesterday morning Fones was chased off at Popes Head into the sea by a French ship who fired at Fones [but] being a good sailor he soon got out of sight. The remaind^r of y^e fleet stood along their course to Canso. Capt. Swan dispatch't at noon with an express to Com. Warren off Louisbourg.

Th. At Canso. W^d. S. b. E. Cool weather & Apr. 25. rainy.

At Canso. A. M. W^d . N. W. Rainy. P. M. Veer'd to S. Capt^s. Rouse & Fones went out to look for the French ship that chased Fones supposed to be abt. 30 l[eagues] Westward. C [apt.] Swan returned from Com. Warren, with a letter informing us he had taken a sloop,

Th. Apr. 25. Fri. Apr. 26. 147

¹²Warren Commanded the Superb of 60 guns. The two 40-gun vessels were the Launceston, Capt. W[illiam?] Calmody and the Mermaid, Capt. James Douglass. The appearance of Warren was a welcome surprise to Pepperrell, as on leaving Boston he was unaware that the British captain had received orders for Louisbourg.

[Oct.,

schooner & shallop. The Com [modore] sailed so near to y° town yt yy fired 12 guns at him. At Canso. A. M. W^d. S. b. W. Foggy. P. M. S. W. b. W. At 7 y^s. even. signal given for Apr. 27. weighing anchor - Now calm.

At Canso. A. M. W^d. E. N. E. Fresh gale but Lords D. dry, a fog bank off [shore]. P. M. W^d. E. b. S. Apr. 28. Foggy. One of our men of war seen off our Harb^r.

> This morning between 5 & 6 the fleet sailed from Canso for Louisb. Small W^d. at N. W. b. N. Course out of Canso harb^r. E. to clear y ledges which are abt. 4 miles distance from y land. Then our course along shore E. N. E. Abt. 9 or 10 calm awhile & abt. noon a breeze from the shore, the most warm & pleasant day since our arrival on this coast. 4 or 5 vessels with their comp^y. under the command of Col. [Jeremiah] Moulton order'd to attack St. Peters y_{1}^{s} day.¹³ A brig sent off with stores for the fleet. St. Piere, St. Esprit & Foshee, small French settlements between Canso & Louisb. [were destroyed.]

P. M. Came up with Com. Warren & y^e rest of his fleet at sea abt. 6 leagues fr. Cabb. [Gabarus -Bay].¹⁴ Here we heard of Capt. Tyngs engaging a French ship on Thursday n^t. in which action he lost one man. The Frenchman had a boy killed in his bed, but y^e ship got in safe to Louisb.

Tu.

Abt. 9 y^s morning the fleet came to an anchor in Cabbarouse Bay abt. 2 miles above Flat Apr. 30.

18 Shirley: "270 men sent to St. Peters." These appear to have been New Hampshire men and were sent under convoy of a sloop in the pay of that colony. Col. Jeremiah Moulton was from York County in Maine. As a result of the expedition the fort was destroyed, the houses burned to the ground and the first advantage of the siege obtained. See entry for Monday, May 6.

¹⁴ The bay of anchorage is given in the Shirley account, as well as in this text, as Chapeaurouge, Cabbarouse and Cabarus. It is better known by the French name, Gabarus.

Sat.

М.

Apr. 29.

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Point. Here we saw the light house & y^e steeples in the town. Whilst we were preparing to land, a large party of y^e enemy appeared in arms on Flat Point, near which place i. e. at Flat P. Cove, a numb^r. of boats with souldiers were order'd to land, but coming near to v^e shore found it impracticable. In the meantime many other a consid^{ble}, number were order'd to land immediately abt. 2 miles above. The enemy soon discovered them & immediately marched precipitately to the place to prevent them but our men was too quick for them. Some of our men that first landed immediately marched down towards the enemy & soon met them, fired upon them, killed & wounded some & took others prisoners. The enemy soon turned their backs & ran, in order to recover ye city. Mortpong¹⁵ who command^d was among them. We were covered in our landing by C[apts.]Fletcher, Bush & [Thomas] Saunders who fired their canon smartly on the enemy as they were approaching the place of our landing.

While y^s was transacting the French rang the bells & fired their canon in the city – Upon the return of the French party y^t escaped, they burnt many of the houses that stood near the outside of the west gate of the city. We saw the smoakes arise – Towards evening most of the transports moved up to the head of the Bay, it being much smoother & safer riding there. P. M. Fair weather, fresh S. W. wind. Abt. 2000 men on shore y^s n^t. –

Wed. This morning many more landed,¹⁶ & abt. noon, May 1. the army proceeded towards the town & campt

¹⁵The name is given as Morepang by Shirley and in the "Accurate Journal and Account." The better spelling is that of the anonymous "Lettre d'un Habitant" where it is stated that M. Morpain was at this time Capitaine de Port at Louisbourg.

¹⁶ The Shirley account gives more details as to the difficulties of landing stores and artillery, and the expedition against North East Harbor is described as of May 2.

abt. $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the town. W^d. S. W. Fair weather. Several prisoners brought in this day – A detachment of 4 or 500 men went to N. E. Harb^r. burnt their houses, & bro't off some hund^d. quint^{1s}. of fish – Many cows taken & several horses – Our ships took a store ship from France.

Th. May 2. This morning W^d. N. b. W. Cool. 2 prisoners bro't in from N. E. Harb^r. The enemy having deserted the Royal Battery our people entred it y^s morning & found they had spike't up the canon, removed the powder & done other damages.¹⁷ Removed our camps, the enemy's ball, having disturb'd us the last n^t. An alarm y^s n^t.

This morning went up the W[est] Hill near the town, viewed the town, and battery, & Light House. Whilst I was there 4 shalloways full of French, went in full view from the town towards the Royal Battery. A few (abt. 13) of our people being on the shore near the R. Batt. fired briskly on those shalloways, which fire the French returned from the shalloways & they fired also with their canon from the town, but however the enemy's hearts failed [and they] dared not proceed to y^e R. Batt. where y^y were bound to bring off their effects, but put back again to the town.

The enemy finding we were in possession of the

¹⁷ In its account of the capture of the Royal Battery the Shirley journal refers to it as the Grand Battery and places the event one day later than the record here given. Pepperrell in his letters to Warren refers to the battery under each name but later references usually prefer the designation, Grand Battery. This fortification was on the shore of Louisbourg harbor, about half-way to North East Harbor, taken the preceding day. With the battery, the Colonial troops obtained 30 cannon, a large amount of ammunition and practical control of the inner harbor. From this point, indeed, an effective fire could be maintained against the city itself, and the mortars located at first on the Green Hills in the rear of the newly captured fortress, were moved nearer the shore and were able to reach the city as shown by the entry for May 4. In a word, the city was open to attack from two sides in place of one, a range of less than 500 yards was secured, and unless relieved by water its capture was but a question of time.

R[oyal] B [attery] fired briskly all day on them with their canon & mortars, but did no damage.

Fr. May 3.

Sat.

May 4.

May 5.

 W^{d} . S. W. Look't like dirt-A. M. 5 Prisoners bro't in y^s day. An alarm. Our people at the G [rand] Batt. played on the town with one canon. 3 of our shot entred ye Intendants house & put the women & child. to the cry which our people heard. Our mortars were halled up to the ground where y^y were to play, which was at y^e W. Gate abt. $\frac{3}{4}$ distance.

Fair weath^r. W^d. S. W. P. M. Our mortars began to play upon the town, which were answered immediately by ye enemy's canon from the town. Several prisoners bro't in-91 shot sent from G [rand] Batt [ery] to the town by our people. The enemy played on the G. Batt. with their mortars from the Island Battery & their canon from the town.

Fair weather. W^d. fresh S. W. St. Peters Lords D. fleet i. e. Col. Moulton & those vessels that were with him, arrived at Cabbarouse (Gabarus Bay]. One of the canon at G. Batt. split & wounded 5 of our men. Eleven prisoners bro't in this n^t. Not much canonading this day on either side. Mr. [Rev. Elisha] Williams preach't fr. Ps^{ms}. [CXVIII,9.] It is better to trust in the Lord y^n to put confidence in Princes. Killed & dresst 5 neat cattle to send off to Com. Warren.

Mond. May 6.

:5

Col. Moulton came to the camp with the news of his destroying St. Peters & taking several prisoners, with the loss of one of his own men & one man wounded. [He stated that] the live stock & prisoners which he took he carried & left at Canso and that Cap^t. [Richard] Jaques, who went with Capt. Donehoe up the Bay of Vert was killed & Donehoe repulsed. Fair &

[Oct.,

warm weather. Canonaded briskly from G[rand] Battery.

Com. Warren came on shore y^s morning to y^e G [eneral's] tent & there dined. Two more guns split at G. Battery. Canons halling across the morasses to the town-Cohorns placed nearer the walls are now with [in] 700 Yards of the city. This n^t. 2 French girls bro't in-

Tu. May 7. This morning E. W^d. Cloudy but dry & warm for the season. Our cohorns played briskly on the town; they returned shot & bombs –

Com W [arren] on shore & din'd. At 11 A. M. Capt. [James?] Agnue with a Drum & Serieant was sent with a summons to the commanding officer in Louisbourg to deliv^r. up the city &c. to the subjects of the Crown of Great Brittain. P. M. Drums beat to arms for a general muster. At 5 y^s afternoon Capt. Agnue returned to the Camp, and bro't with him the enemies answ^r. to the above mentioned summons-Which was that the F [rench] King their master had great dependance on them & that they would return no answer, but from the mouths of their canon. The whole time the flag was in the city all hostility ceased, but at 5 when the time appointed for answer was expired, the canonading began on both sides & continued very smartly this evening.

Abt. 800 men sett out fr. Cabb. [Gabarus Bay] in whale boats to attack the Island Batt.¹⁸ but daylight coming on they did not attempt it. The surff was large & dang. landing. A calm N^t.

Wed. May 8. Foggy. W^d. S. 5 Prisoners bro't in-Moving large canon to batter the town-Preparing to

¹⁹ The Island Battery was a strong fort at the entrance of the harbor mounting thirty 28-pound guns beside two brass ten-inch mortars and seven swivel guns. It had a garrison of 180 men and was the natural point of attack for the Colonial troops after the surrender of the Grand Battery. It was about half-way across the neck of the harbor, between the city and the Lighthouse Battery. 1909.]

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attack the Isl. Batt. but did not proceed. A sally made this evening by a number of y^e enemy.

Th. Foggy. W^d. S. A canon ball from the city May 9. wounded five men at the Green Hill. One man lost both legs & soon died. Another attack on Island Batt. but did not proceed. Several wounded by the splitting of our own musquets.

This morning W^d. W. b. N. Fog cleared off. Fr.

May 10. Blew hard & cool. Abt. 20 prisoners bro't in men, women & children. Much canonading fr the enemy this day-The bed of our great mortar failed-Twenty of our men was attack't by a party of Indians abt. 6 miles fr. G [rand] Battery. Whale boats carried across the land to G. Batt. Another att. on Isl. Batt. but did not proceed-Col. Moulton accidentally wounded. Com. Warren lodged here.

This morning very cool. W^d. N. W. b. N. May 11. Cloudy. Blew fresh as usual when the wind at this point. A battery forming to canonade v^e W. Gate. Fluxes prevail –

Lords Day This day fresh N. W^d. cool - [Capt. Moses] Bennet May 12. sailed for Boston. Appeared here.

Mond. May 13.

Sat.

This day cloudy, cold, windy & at E. A French snow got safe into Louisbourg harb^r, from Bourdeux. Two canon at our Bomb Batt. split & wounded 4 or 5 men. A gunner bel [onging] to C [ommodore] W [arren] had his leg shot off. One man killed at G [rand] Batt. by a shot from v^e city & 2 wounded. Dysenterys prevail-Great mortar bed mended last n^t. & [mortar] began to play on the town-A fire ship sent on the enemys shipping near the town wall. The enemy ceased their fire on our Fascines Batt. & fired very smartly on the fire ship. A cold stormy, rainy n^t. The great mortar moved this n^t. nearer the walls of the city.

arrived yesterday.

Tu. May 14.

Wed. May 15.

Last night cool; froze the ground. Morning W^d . N. W. b N. Fair weather – This morning our canon fr. Bomb Batt. near G [reen] Hill at y^e cittadel side began to fire. Split the mouth of one canon & the enemy's canon ball broke another. A Fascine Battery called Titcombs to be erected with 4 or 5 42 pounders fr G [rand] Battery to batter W [est] Gate – Com. Warren & other ships sailed out of Cabb. [Bay]. A great swell [high tide?]. Hospital built. One of Col. Moultons men killed by a bomb.

This day snow, hail & rain. Fresh N. W^d. very

cold. Not much canonading this day except fr. G [rand] Battery on the brig or snow that

Th. May 16.

Fr. May 17. This day fair, raw, cold. S. W^d . A parcel of 23 canons, found near the Light House. Our canon at y^e Batt.¹⁹ played advantageously against y^e cittadel— Transports²⁰ preparing to return. Last n^t, froze hard.

 W^d . S. Fair & moderate weather. By the splitting of a canon at G[rand] Battery Capt. [Daniel] Hale & others was wounded, Capt. Hale dangerously. Abt. one P. M. abt. an hundred Frenchmen, who came out of the city last night & in shalloways landed towards N. E. Harbour, came upon a party of our men at Light-House Point & killed one of our Indians. Our men dangerously wounded a man of distinction

²⁰ These transports were used to convey most of the prisoners thus far taken, to Boston. They were the *Victory*, Capt. William Adams; the *St. Peters*, Capt. Davis, and two prize vessels, commanded by Capts. Arno and Joseph Richardson, respectively.

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¹⁹ The Shirley account states that the smaller mortars at the Green Hill Battery could not reach the citadel and were accordingly moved to a location but 440 yards from the West Gate [Titcomb's battery mentioned in text of May 15.] "whence they annoyed the enemy very much and received no damage at all." The Accurate Journal and Account speaks of a battery raised on May 17, but 250 yards from the West Gate, the guns being brought from the Grand Battery and this is confirmed by a letter, Pepperrell to Warren, May 19.

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belonging to Canada, who was with the enemy & took him captive and beat back the enemy into the woods.

Near 300 Canon Ball was flung from our 8 G[un] Battery against the walls & works of the enemy, and some of their canon was dismounted. Several transp.²¹ fr Boston with provision for y^e army. A man wounded at 8 G. Battery –

Sat. May 18. W^d. N. E. Blew fresh & cool but fair. Last night a Fascine Battery was raised within a quart^r. of a mile of the West Gate; from whence was fired one eighteen pounder, that being the only gun of 4 y^t was there which was mounted, by which the W. Gate was soon demolished. Our people fired briskly all this morning with their musquets at the enemy on the ramparts some of whom they suppose they killed & wounded others. The enemy also played briskly their canon & musquets on our people at these new works & by one of their canon the brave Capt. [Joshua] Pierce was killed. One of our gunn^{rs} was killed by a musket ball thro' ye Ambroziers.²² Three men wounded at the same place & 2 killed by a canon at Batt. near W. Gate. Many taken with an inflamatory feavr. Trethocick a store vessel for Com.W[arren] arrived in Cabb. B [ay]. By y^e splitting of one of our own bombs one of our men killed & another wounded.

Lords Day A. M. W^d. N. E. P. M. E. & foggy. A remark-May 19. able day. Early this morning one N. Hicks, stragling from the New Fascine Batt. at W. Gate, e're he was aware got so near the walls that the enemy shot a volley of small arms at

 $^{^{21}{\}rm There}$ appear to have been seven transports in this fleet commanded by Capts. Bradford, Bramham, Clark, Stinson, Rackwood and Jones from Massachusetts, and Capt. Ward of New Hampshire.

²²Coming through one of the "ambroziers" or embrasures of the battery.

him, wounded him in 5 places tho' not mortally & besides very much shatter'd & tore his upper garment which was a borrowed loop coat at which y^e wound^d man seem'd more concern'd y^n for his own wounds. I[n addition] a gunner was killed at N. F. Batt. by a canon Ball. -2 barr^{1s}. powd^r. fired by accident at N. F.' Batt. wounded 3 or 4 men, killed one, one a fracture of tib & fibula. One of the 42 pounders at N. F. Batt. killed 2 men & wounded others.

About noon a large French ship (which proved to be the Vigilant a ship of war mounting 64 guns) came up with the Mermaid (in sight of the camp) & fired upon her, & soon after with Capt. Rouse in y^e Shirly Gally. Both of those ships fired frequently at the Vig^t. but did not care to come too near therefore bore away towards the Commodore & other of our ships which were nearer y^e shore. The Com. & other ships soon discovered y^r fire & motions & being to windward of her bore down & in the levening came up with her. We heard a pretty constant firing all the Afternoon & in y^e evening at a considerable distance & hope they will be able to give a good acct. of her tomorrow.

Much canonading on both sides this day & pelting with small arms. A prize brig sent into Cabbarouse Bay.²³

A very cold, Easterly fogg. An Indian wounded

in y^e back and a lad in y^e heal by a canon.

This morning news came to y^e camp, that [when] Capt. Fletcher [was] watering at Cabb. [Gabarus

Mond. May 20.

1745. 6 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. X, 187.

Bay] the Indians had killed 8, & captivated 3 of his men-A battery raised this night over the ²³ "Yesterday Capt. [Daniel] Fones had the good fortune to take a French brigg from St. John de Luz, laden with wine, brandy, and provisions for Lewisbourg, which he carrys in with him to Chapeauxrouge Bay." Warren to Pepperrell, May 19,

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Tuesd.

cove to rake ye Kings gate & Circular Battery. $O^{ne} M^n D^d$ in Hosp [ital.]

W^d. S. W. Foggy & very cool. Abt. noon Capt. Tyng bro't a letter on shore from Com. May 21. Warren, with the very agreeable News of his having taken [the Vigilant²⁴] a French ship of 64 guns-the same that he engaged with the Lords Day evening. After some dispute the Frenchman having above 20 men killed & abt. as many wounded, strook, but it being foggy & a large sea, the Com. not hearing ye cry for q^r. gave him a broadside & than lost the prize, it being dark, but the Mermaid being near & knowing she had strook sent her boat with 4 men on board the prize where y^y stayed all n^t. The next morn. the Com. discov^d her at a little distance in much confusion her rigging, yards & masts much hurt & soon went to work to make y^e proper distribution of the prisoners & rectifie the ship in order to bring her in -3 prisoners (y^t left the prize brig) taken y^s day [near Louisbourg,]and 7 more taken at a little Eastern harb^r. or town. A scout of 29 men y^t went out abt. 3 or 4 miles N. W. from the camp discovered & fired upon a party of French-A large scout went out a 2^d time, fired upon the centory, recovered a gun, bro't away a cow & 2 oxen, burnt 2 houses, and got a little plunder. C [apt.] Gavton arriv^d y^s day.

Wed. May 22.

S. W^d. P. M. W^d. W. Warm & calm. A. M. An Indian wounded in the head by a stone which was strook by a canon ball fr. the enemy.

²⁴ In a letter of May 20, to Pepperrell, Commodore Rous mentions this vessel and his experience with her. A French fleet was expected to arrive at any time and the Vigilant was considered as a member of this fleet, separated by some fortune She was commanded by M. de la Maisonfort. An account from her comrades. of her capture and a vigorous condemnation of the course of her captain in laying himself open to attack is given in the anonymous Lettre d'un Habitant de Louisbourg. Wrong's edition pp. 45-49.

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A man blown up by gun powder at [Capt. Svlvester] Richm [ond's] Batt. An attack on Island Batt. intended, but failed. A large ship fr the W^t. joined our fleet, supposed to be [the] Aurora Borealis

Th. May 23.

Fr.

Sat.

S. E. W^d. Moderate & fair weather.

Capt. [William] Vaughan with a few men approached y^e W [est] Gate undiscovered, but as they drew off ye enemy wounded one of the men. Brisk canonading from the G [rand] Batt. & from all the Fascine Batterys-An attack on Isl. Batt. intended this night but failed.

W^d.|N. Brisk gale & cool-Com. W [arren's] gun^r. died.²⁵ The Hector a 40 g. ship arrived. May 24.

A. M. W^d. N. P. M. E^t. Woods on fire. May 25. Warm weather-This evening a party of our men killed one of ye enemy & bro't in 3 prisoners.

Lords Day W^d. S. W. Warm weath^r. A. M. Cool evening & foggy. This n^t an attack was made by [400]May 26. of our men command^d by Capt. [Edward?] Brooks on the Island Battery & were repulsed with ye loss of abt. 60 men killed & 112 captivated several of whom were wounded.²⁶ In this action our men were und^r much disadvantage. The surf runing high their arms, many of y^m, were wett in the landing; the enemy having some intimation of their coming were well prepared to receive them, having y^r canon charged with langrage²⁷ which y^y discharged

²⁷ Langrage or langrel was a variety of projectile consisting of bolts, nails and other small pieces of iron fastened together loosely. It was used more particularly at sea for tearing the sails and rigging of opposing vessels and for repelling boarders.

 $^{^{25}}$ See entry for May 13 where the injury to this gunner is noted.

²⁶ The men engaged in this attack seem to have been in large part volunteers. A letter of Benjamin Green to Robert Hale is among the manuscripts of the Society, in which, as secretary to Pepperrell, he directs that all pistols in Hale's regiment be given to men volunteering for the engagement and in 6 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. X, 516, is a list comprising the names of 41 men who volunteered to serve, under Beamsly Glaizer of the 5th Massachusetts Regiment, in the attack.

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on our Boats before y^y could land & put them into much disorder & keept back a great part of those y^t sh^d have landed, whereby those few that were landed were dispirited, & so, as many as could, after a firing of abt. an hour or two got off the Island & broth to the camp the sorrowful news of y^r defeat. By the sudden splitting of a bomb in our great morter it was unhappily broke this night, which added much to our heaviness. Now things look't something dark—but yet few or none. discouraged.²⁸

Monday May 27.

May 28.

Tu.

W^d. S. W. foggy. 8 Prisoners bro't in from Mera; 2 men wound^d. at Isl. Batt. bro't to y^e hospital. –

A. M. W^d. S. W. Foggy & cool. Even. Fair. W^d. W. moderate. 2 men wounded by a bomb in Col. [Sylvester] Richmond's 'ditch-1 man wounded by a musq^t ball thro' y^e peoris & scrotum. The ball lodged in his thigh-This day a party of 400 men went out from G [rand] Batt. Abt. 2 P. M. came up with a party of 100 F [rench] & 80 Indians with whom they skirmish't several hours; of our men 10 wounded & 5 killed among whom was Capt. Demick & Lt. Allen. Of the enemy we recovered one & they say y^r was killed & wounded 13 more-We recovered several boats with provision belonging to y^e enemy.

Wed. May 29. W^d. S. E. Fair & something moderate. Gen-[eral Pepperrell] went to G. Batt. Scouts returned from Cabb. discovered nothing $-A 2^d$ scout sent to Mera consisting of 400 men - Sickness abating.

²⁸ Of the 400 persons participating in this attack An-Accurate Journal and Account states the number of lost as prisoners at 116. According to one account Captain Brooks, who headed the attack, had forced his way with a few soldiers at his back into the battery, where he was killed in a fierce hand to hand fight. If this be the case the leader was some other than Edward Brooks of New Hampshire as he is mentioned later in this record.

Th. May 30.

May 31.

W^d. S. W. Foggy. Vigilant carried to Cabb. [Gabarus Bay] to refit—The French flag staff shot down this morning-

A. M. W^d. S. & foggy. P. M. Fogg cleared off W^d. Western'd. This day 7 male & 3 female captives were bro't in by our scout that went out from G. Batt. ye day bef. yesterday. Some of these came out of Louisb. with Mouns^r. Bobesang [Beaubassin] abt. 12 days since-They say that many of their people were killed & wounded by our people in a skirmish y^y had a few days ago. And they further say that Bobesang & 5 more with him in a shallop got into the city this morning. 2 guns planted last n^t. by the enemy on new works near W. Gate-[were] silenced by our people's canon this -day -----

C[apt.] Newmarth who was sent in a schooner to Annapolis returned & reported he was so briskly attackt by the India^s at his entring the bason, he was oblig^d to return, it being impracticable for him to go up to the fort.

Saturday

Last night y^e enemy planted 9 guns on the walls near the W. Gate. A scout of 200 men went in quest of the enemy to Mera abt. twenty miles distance from y^e camp. Foggy, W^d. E. Moving camps. Small shot i. e. 9 & 18 pound expended. A Council of War to debate on the plan of action sent on shore by Com. Warren.

Lords Day W^d. N. Cloudy, cool, rained hard y^s n^t. foggy. A French brig belong^g, to Louisb. loadⁿ, with June 2. bread, wine & brandy fr. Nantz, was taken by Cap^t. [William] Montague-

> Capt. Donehoe arrived here in 8 days fr. Boston, with a large morter, shells ready filled & fused and 50 barr^{is} of powder; this unexp. supply was matter of great joy. Capt. Rouse with a tender order'd to Annapolis. None killed or

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Fr.

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June 1.

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wounded this 2 days.—Sickness abated. A conference was held this morning by one of our men in the trench at the advanced battery with a Frenchman on the walls of the city who talked English, asking each other to breakfast &c. This held abt. $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, during which time the soldiers on each side stood exposed but no firing & than retired from the walls & to firing again—

A battery order'd to be erected at the Lighthouse to annoy Island Battery, & any shipping of the enemy that might come into the harbour. C[apt.] Bush sent to land carrages for y° canon there.

Mond. June 3. W^d. N. b. E. Cool & cloudy. Gen. [Pepperrell] & other officers went off to Com. W [arren] to consult upon some plan of action.²⁹ A sloop from Canada, loaden with provision was taken by C [apt.] Griffith abt. 3 or 4 miles east of the Light House. The crew being 22 men ran her ashore & escaped, firing upon our people as they came to get off the sloop-Lodged at newbuildings y^s n^t. -

Tuesday June 4. W^d. S. W. Fair & warm weather. Red hot shot fired this day. A French souldier deserted from the town & came to the camp. [Capt.] Giddens saild for Boston by whom I sent my letter^s to wife y^t I wrote Lords Day. Another French sloop from Cannada. A scout that went up to Duvivier Farm bro^t. in 17 prisoners, killed 2 Frenchmen & brot in plunder. [Capt. Moses] Bennet from Boston brot. a letter & sunddry^s from Boston from [Stephen⁸⁰] Greenleaf—

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 $^{^{29}}$ A letter of this date from Commodore Warren to Pepperrell states that in the journal of the brig captured by Capt. Montague the day previous, there was found a mention of a fleet of eight French vessels seen from the brig. Warren asks, therefore that the *Vigilant* be manned and sent to his aid that he may be ready to meet the Frenchmen, and that a council be called for consultation as to further action.

Wend^y.
W^d. N. A. M. & Fair. P. M. Cloudy. A sloop from Canso with advice that the seige of Annapolis was raised & that the Indians & French were drawing on near to Louisbourg. A thunder shower at sea the first we had - A Carolina ship taken. 12 guns mounted -

Thursday W^d. N. W. Fair & pleasant. A boy stragled June 6. from the city-[Capt.] Bush came on shore-Mov^d. the hospitall-4 persons died.-

Fryday W^d. S. Calm & moderate -

June 7. Went up Chab. [Gabarus] Bay-

Saturday W^d. S. E. Large rain—Flag of truce went in June 8. this day. A horse killed by a cannon from the town—the rider wounded in his heel—

Lords Day W^d. W. Flying clouds sprinkling showers. Our June 9. ships in chase this day – The army picketing in the camp^s workt all hands. Two Swiss deserters came to the Gen^{ll}. this morning & were examined who has it is tho^t. gave a pretty just account of the state of the town. They s^d. a souldier was hanged in the town a day or two ago who was abt. to desert with a letter from one of our men in the city. 112 Swiss [in the town?]-

Monday June 10. W^d. N. W. Fair warm & pleasant weather. The Chichester man of war, a ship of 50 guns from England joyn^d. Com^d. Warren. They brot advice that they parted with two 60 gun ship^s [the Sunderland and Canterbury] a few days ago who were to rendevouze [at Canso] where it was exspected they were arrived. A schooner was dispatched to Canso immediately. A scout of men und^r. Major [Richard] Cutt went out this day. The 2 deserter^s sent off to Com. Warren. The camp totally enclosed. The Light House Batterry began to play. One of our men there killed by a cannon from Island 1909.]

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Tuesday

W^d. N. E. Pleasant. A smart fireing from L. June 11. House Battery to Island Battery. French fired many bombs day & night they say 64 - A man wounded at Rds. [Rhodes] Battery by musket ball in thigh. Gen¹. & other officer^s went off to Com. Warren.³² Went to G. Battery & viewed the city & Island Battery with glass. 6 transport^s ordered to take in the mast & yards of the ship^s. A man wounded the night at R[oyal] B [attery] by the split of a bomb. 2 small mortar^s mended that was broke.

Wednesday W^d. N. E. Cool but pleasant. Two men of war, each 60 guns from England joyned our fleet-June 12. also [the Lark] a man of war of 40 gun^s & a prise ship of 20 guns.-Two sloops of wood order^d off to the fleet; Oakum & Moss prepared for the ship^s use for their neting -20 bb. of Powder sent to L [ight] H [ouse] Batt. French fired briskly. Two 42 pounders was haulled the n^t. to Titcombs Battery-Maj^r. [Richard]

The same writer in another place speaks of Pepperrell as "étant bien aisé de nous forcer à nous soumettre, avant que l'Escadre se fût mise en devoir de nous y contraindre."

 32 During the period June 10-15, when the preparations for a final assault were being made, the correspondence between Pepperrell, Warren and other officers in charge of various details of the attack is extremely helpful. The letters are printed in 6 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. X, 255-280. From them it may be seen that Warren was the more urgent for an attack while Pepperrell remembering the result of the attack on the Island Battery relied more upon the siege and a gradual wearing out of the French defense. Each arm of the service, however, supported the other. Many men from the land forces went on board the vessels and the latter furnished much of the ammunition needed ashore. Numerous joint councils of war were also held and many of these are recorded in the Pepperrell papers referred to above.

³¹With the arrival of these naval re-enforcements and the completion of the fortifications at the light house battery, Warren felt that the surrender of the city was at hand, and wished that the capitulation should be made to him rather than to In the words of the anonymous Lettre d'un Habitant "L'Amiral Pepperrell. de son côté songeoit à se procurer l'honneur de nous reduire." He therefore sent an officer to propose that if the French must surrender, it would be better to do so to him, because he would show a consideration that, perhaps, they might not find with the commander of the land force.

Cutt^s scout returned but no discovery. A great mortar moved this night.

Thursday W^d. S. W. Fair & pleasant & mod. weather.
June 13. The whole of the transport^s ordered out of Chap. Bay to the fleet to clear the ship^s of y^r lumber in order to go into the harbour of L [ouisbourg for the attack]. Titt [comb's] 4 gun Batt. fired briskly this day on the town-One 42 pounder hauled to Titt. Batt^r. The French bomb[arded] briskly-

> W^d. S. E. Foggy P. M. W^d. S. W. – A warrant from Com. Warren for 150 barell^s of powder from store ship—All our batterys fire briskly more so yⁿ ever—

3 large piles of brush set on three hills near the town for a beacon for Com^d. Warren-Enemy fird at the [soldiers] erecting them-Ladder⁹ carried down to Adv [anced] B [attery] in ord^r. to attack to morrow. 45 bombs flung by the enemy to us this night but without any considerable damage.

W^d. S. W. Fresh gale, fear wether-Com. W [arren] on shore and the ridg^t being drawn upon the perade he made a speech encouraging them in the designd attack on the town.³³ The fleet anchored at sea abt. 2 leagues from shore off against the camp-600 of our forces embarqued in the severall ship⁸-A flag of truce from the city desireing time to draw up articles of capitelation-Till 9 [o']clock next morning given-A man killed by a boumb at Light House Battery-

³⁴Plenty of capling a small fish like a smelt but w^{th} . y^s dif. y^e former have a large fin near the belly.

⁸⁴ This is a marginal note in the manuscript.

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Saturday June 15.

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Friday

June 14.

³⁵ There is among the manuscripts in the Society's collection a letter from Benjamin Green to Robert Hale of this date directing the latter to detail men from his regiment to make ladders in preparation for this designed attack on the town.

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Lords Day W^d. E. Foggy very cool. This day abt. 9
June 16. Capt. Bonnr^e. [Bonnaventure] came as a flag of truce from town. Articles were drawn by Gen^{II}. [Pepperrell] & C [ommodore Warren] & sent in to be ans^d. by 6 P. M. Hostages sent to ratifie the terms.

Monday Gen¹¹. [Pepperrell] & other officer^s & souldiers June 17. enterd the town in form this evening. Ship^s & transport^s entred the harbour. Rained hard this night. Sick this day.³⁵

Tuesday Foggy & rainy this P. M. & night-A French June 18. Ship taken this morning at the entry of the harbour. I went into the city this afternoon. Lodged this evening at G [eneral Pepperrell's] house-The French troop, abt. 500, embarqued this day on bord the ship^s-Rec^d. a letter from Mr. [Rev. George] Whitefield.³⁶ [Capt. Joseph] Smith³⁷ arrived from Boston-Sick.

Wednesday Foggy this day. Many of the French officers & June 19. gent. paid there compliment⁹ to the Generall. Gen¹. dind on bord [the ship of the] Comodore. Many complaints of abuses done by the Eng. soldier⁸ to the French inhabitants.³⁸

148 ambraseers³⁹ [embrasures] in the Town-

 35 This entry is also a marginal note and possibly of an unofficial character as is the note at the close of the entry of June 18.

³⁶Whitefield was a friend of Pepperrell and much interested in the Louisbourg expedition. He preached a sermon to the troops before they left Boston and another after the fall of the fortress was known. Neither appears to have been printed.

³⁷ Captain Smith reached Canso with supplies from Boston on June 15 and was hurried on to Pepperrell by Capt. Ammi R. Cutter who commanded at that place. In addition to his stores he brought directions from Shirley for the fortification and defense of Canso harbor.

^{SS} These complaints are well summarized in the anonymous "Lettre d'un Habitant," pp. 65-67. They are aimed at Pepperrell and his Colonial forces rather than at Warren. This may be due to the fact that the English had obtained much plunder from the prize ships captured during the siege, none of which had gone to the Americans, and that Pepperrell's soldiers were, therefore, more eager to secure booty from the French after the surrender.

²⁹ In this list of guns captured, ambraseers probably refers to the number of cannon captured suitable for mounting in the embrasures of the fortifications.

[Oct.,

2 Brass mortars at Iland Batt.

5 D°. in City–

1 D°. Irron in City Swivell Gun^s.

Thursday Foggy, rainy-Very rainy night. W^d. S.-This June 20. night answered Mr. [George] Wh[ite]f[iel]ds letter. [Capt. Moses] Bennet saild with an express for Boston. Wrote to my wife by Bennet. Enemy obs. y^e remarkable workings of Providence for us in the season &c.

Friday June 21.

W^d. S. W. Foggy & rainy the most time since we landed on this Iland-Hospitall agreed by y^e F [rench] to be divided between F [rench] & Eng [lish]. Agreed all the vessels &c. outside y^e adv [ance] line & from thence on a streight line to the L[ight] House Battery.

Saturday June 22.

Foggy. W^d. S. W. Packet for New England finisht by Generall & Com [modore]. Inhabitants preparing to embarque for France. Gen¹. gave a warrant to Capt. Brook^s to search for plunder. Order^s given for the weighing of such French vessels that were within our line that were sunk. Concell sett A. M. Many of the inhabitants by permitt^s go to the neighboring villages to bring in their familly^s. The French clandestinely bring away there shalloways from No. E. Harbour. Our officers collect the arms of the inhabitant^s to be put into the Kings armoury.

Lords Day W^d. S. Foggy. The Rev^d. Mr. Walker of June 23. Roxbury [preached] the first sermon in the Kings Chapple from Ps. 81-Sung part of the [blank] Concluded with part of the [blank] Mr. Newman Preached P. M. from Ps. Cannon heard at sea. A ship seen from our camp & notice thereof sent to the Generall. 12 Frenchmen enterd.

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W^d. S. Foggy & rainy. Councill sett. Severall Monday transpourt^s of the Prov: - app [eared] & [are] June 24. prepareing to carry the prisoners to France. Acc⁸. taken of the King stores [of] provission, ammunition &c. The Lanceston, a man of war app. & prepared for to transport presonors to France. Her Cannon shott taken out & put on shore. -

W^d. S. & foggy. Capt. Rouse arrived here from Tuesday Annapolis with 2 mortar^s & shel^s. & fuses. June 25. Councill set. The inhabitant^s selling their goods to the Eng. souldier^s &c. The Eng. souldier^s strained for accommodation in town by reason of the French barracks & houses being much shattered. The names of the sev. officers & number of severall soulder^s that were raised by the sev^r. p [rovinces] to be transmitted home.

Wednesday W^d, S. A. M. Foggy. Glin or clearing away abt. 11. Continued clear all day. Evening W^d. June 26. E. & foggy & cool. More than a 1000 barrell^s of flower in the kings garden & 50 barrells of pork [with] hospitel stores & utensils. An inventory thereof to be taken. This day 4 French shalloway^s arrived here with French in order to surrender – A scooner [arrived] from Annapolis –

Thursday W^d . E. Very rainy & cool. June 27.

Friday

W^d. S. Warm & foggy-June 28.

Saturday [There is no entry for this day in the journal of June 29. the expedition.]

Lords Day W^d. S. Cool. Mr. [Rev. Samuel] Moody preach^t. June 30. this morning. The Hector [Capt. Frederick Cornwall] sailed early this morning for Boston.

W^d. S. W^t. Foggy morning. Clear^d. up & fogg Monday off. The French going on bord the severall July 1. vessells with their baggage. Lancheston [Laun-

Tuesday July 2. ceston] guns hauled to supply amberseer^s [embrasures.] Drew on Com^{sys} for 1 yr^s. [supplies] for hospitall.

W^d. S. W. Foggy morn^g. & even^g. - Moun^t. John Rouse⁴⁰. Ship^t. [of] French baggage & there persons cont [inued.] [Capt] Giddin^s arrived at Chaperouse & some hands came on shore.

Wednesday Foggy A. M. P. M. Rainy W^d. S.. The Lanceston a ship of war with 6 or 800 prisoners saild for [Rochfort,] France. Cap^t. Tidimon [Richard Tiddeman] in a ship of warr sail^d. for Boston. The Red Iland ship arrived from Anapoles & a 20 gun ship of war from Neufourland [Newfoundland?] & England. [Capt.] Giddin from Boston came into the harbour with ab^t. 40 men & with powder & shott –

Thursday July 4. Friday July 5.

y W^d. W. & by S. Severall of our sloop transports saild for France this day.

[Capt. Thomas] Saunders saild for Boston by whom I wrote to wife & enclosed one for son fro. Mr. [Rev. Samuel] Moody. Coll. Chote [John Choate arrived] in a schooner from Boston with 90 men. W^d. S. E.

Saturday July 6.

ay W^d. N.W. The 1st feair day since we came to Louisbourg. Cap^t. Rouse saild for London [*illegible*]. Capt. [Jonathan] Snelling arrived with near 200 recruits. Many French inhabitants of y^e Ile of Cape Breton arrived here with stock & baggage. W^m. Shurbune with recruits from Boston.

Lords Day W^d. S. W. Pretty hard thunder. Pleasant
July 7. wether. A. M. Mr. Moody preach^t. from Heb^s.
1. Mr. William^s P. M. Red. a box from Dr.
Greenleff [Dr. Daniel Greenleaf] with meddicines by Snelling.

⁴⁰ This entry refers to remounting on the ship of Captain Rous guns taken ashore to aid in the attack. Rous sailed for England July 6. See entry under that date.

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Monday July 8. Pleasant morning W^d. S. W. Superb man of warr,& another went out this morning on a cruise. Cap^t. Donahew's sloop arrived from Gutt of Canso & bro^t. the melancholly new^s of the Death of Capⁿ. Donahew & 11 other^s who were killed by the Indian^s at G [utt of] C [anso.]⁴¹

Tuesday W^d. S. W. Something cloudy-

July 9. 7 transport^s sail^d for Boston with French prisoner^s. Wrote to W⁴². by Tref [ethen.] Tref [ethen] saild for Portmouth. Marines drawn off from city.

Wednesday W^d. S. E. Foggy part of the day P. M. Many July 10. of the sick dismist.

- Thursday W^d. W. Blew fresh. A fogg bank off [shore and] hot day later. Evening showery. Night Several schooners with prisoner^s saild for Boston. A schooner from [blank] arrived this night. Cap^t. Thomson with sickley solders &c. sail^d for Boston this morning.
- Friday Calm smoaky warm morning W^d. S. Shalloway^s fitting out by Eng^h. for fishing. Wrote to wife by [*illegible*] in Cap^t. Michall & by Cap^t. Durell to W [arren]. Five or 6 sail with Eng. & French sail^d. for N. England.

SaturdayW^d. S. W. Fresh pleasant morningP. M. BlewJuly 14.hard N. W. Many of the sloops from S^t. Anns[13?]with wood &c. arrived. [Capt.] Durell saild. 43

⁴³ The date July 14 is evidently an error in this entry. The confusion may have been caused by the coming in of the sloops on both Saturday and Sunday and by the fact that Captain Durell found the wind too strong for him when he put to sea on the 13th.

⁴¹An account of this skirmish with the Indians at Canso, resulting in the death of Captain Donahew, is given in more detail in a letter of July 7, from Ammi R. Cutter to Pepperrell. The news seems to have been brought by Captain Daniel Fones who was with Donahew at the time of the engagement. See: 6 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. X, 324.

⁴² This letter was probably to Richard Waldron at Portsmouth with whom Pepperrell kept in close touch as to popular feeling in New Hampshire and from whom news of the possibility of the removal of Gov. Wentworth and the appointment of Pepperrell in his place was received in a letter of July 20.

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Lords Day Cloudy morning. W^d. N. A. M. Calm P. M.
July 14. Very warm. New^s of Cap^t. Fletcher taking a Cannada sloop with 30 hands laden with wood & provisions. Wood sloop^s. retur^d. from S^t. An^s. Durell saild.

Monday Cloudy. Looks rainy W^d. N. E. [Capt.] Tyng July 15. [set out] for a cruise.

Tuesday Cloudy, rainy, foggy. W^d. fresh S. W. 7 or
July 16. 8 sail from Boston with troop^s from Boston & a lette^r. from wife June 5 & from son, the first that ever he wrote. Letter^s from Boston informing of the great joy of the town at the news of the reduction of Louisbourg. Road Iland sailors for Vigilant.

Wednesday Flying cloud^s sprinkling rain. W^d. N. W.

July 17. Cooll. [Capt.] Sneling sailed from [for?] Boston. Wrote to my wife [by] Jn^o. Wise from Portsmouth by whom I rec^d. a letter from wife. Connecticut troop^s. arrived from Boston. Some French sail^d for France—

Thursday W^d. W. Fear. Cap. Tyng sail^d for Boston. July 18. Some sail^d for France-This day was celebrated a publick Thanksgiveing Day on the late joyfull occation- Wrote to [Com.] W [arren.] Rec^d. a letter from wife by Cap^t. Wise & rec'^d a box-2 shirts 1 pr of stockings-

Friday Foggy W^d. S. E. Severall vessell^s went out July 19. for wood to harb^r. Eastward [Northeast harbor?]. Severall plunder vessell^s appraised —

Saturday Foggy morning W^d. S. E. A ship from Boston July 20. one [Capt. Moses] Pearsons with whom came 3 women the first English women y^t arrived. A grt. load of provission brot.

Lords Day [There is no entry for this day in the journal of the July 21 expedition.]

1909.] The Sir William Pepperrell Journal.

Monday Cloudy W^d. S. E. Severall transport^s from July [22.] Boston, [Capt. Moses] Bennet amoung them. A large ship appeared in the offen at noon. Suposed to be a French man of war—

Tuesday W^d. at E. This morning two 60 gun ship^s was towed out of the harbour in ord^{er} to fight a French man of war which lay 3 or 4 leagues off the harb^r. mouth. She proved an India ship. Our ships came up. Severall wood sloops came in with [Capt.] Fletcher. This morning abt.
9 A. M. fire^d with there small arm^s & thⁿ. one broadside. She strook imediately & presently hoist^d. her couller^s. Again wore round & made sail & stood off but our ships presently over haul^d. her & she strook again –

Wednesday A. M. W^d. E. Cloudy. P. M. Rainy, show-July 24. ery & cool. W^d. S. W. Abt. 6 evening Cap. Edw^{ds}. & Hoar & the sloop of Coneticut came in & brot. whith them an East India prise ship about 40 guns, 110 men & one Gelⁿ. from Bengall veary richly laden. She strook a^t y^e first fire from our ships.

Thursday W^d. N^o. Fair weather. The East India prize July 25. Ship saluted the town by discharging her guns which was answered by the discharge of 16 cannon from the town. Cap^t. Griffith in the Rhode Island snow was ordered out to convoy the French transport ship that was bound for France and to prevent her speaking with the Indiamen expected on the Coast.

A schooner from Rhode Island with provission &c. Colony Rhode Island sent 150 troop^s.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ This Rhode Island contingent it will be noticed arrived too late to be of service in the attack. Hutchinson assumes that the colony had no desire to risk her soldiers and declares that "Rhode Island waited until a better judgment could be made of the event" before sending her men (Hist, of Mass. Bay, II, 371). This view has not been universally accepted. Gov. Gideon Wanton protested against it in a letter to the colonial agent at London (Dec. 20, 1745, R. I. Col. Rec. V, 145), and Edward Field in his State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations (Vol. I, pp.

Friday July 26. W^d. S. A. M. P. M. S. E. Several transports & traders arrived here y^s day. Many wood vessels went out to load at Chapeaurouge & S^t. Peters. Cap^t. Hodge & others saild for N[ew E[ngland] with expresses for the sale of the East India cargo.

Saturday July 27.

Rainy weather. W^d N. E. In the offen this morning appear'd 10 sail about 4 or 5 leagues
W. They prov'd to be wood sloops bound to S^t. Peters. About 2 P. M. 2 large ships and a topsail sloop appeared off Eastward. Standing in they prov'd to be 2 of our men of war and a tender from Bay of S^t. Lawrence.

Lords Day This morning very early a sail appeared off
July 28. Seatteree. 2 ships of war being at anchor outside the light soon came to sail & gave chase. Ab^t. 10 came up with her, gave fire & presently went out of sight. We wait the event. W^d. S. W. Fresh fair weather. Order containing 17 articles to regulate the garrison now pasted on a board & set up in publick guard houses.⁴⁵

Monday July 29. Fair pleas^t. morning. Warm. W^d. S. Cap^t. Fones who was with the ships of war yesterday at the taking the ship, brou^t in news that she proves to be another East Indiaman 24 guns & ab^t. 4 scowmen. Comm^d. Warren made a speech to the Army & Governour Shirleys letter was read.

P. M. Cloudy. Looks like rain. Calm & in the evening fresh S. W. [wind.] India prize ship of

¹⁸⁶ and 561, Boston, 1902) recording merely that "one-half of the Rhode Island troops unfortunately arrived too late for the attack," emphasizes garrison duty performed and the services of Rhode Island upon the sea. The entry for Apr. 24 (ante p. 147) would seem to imply that some Rhode Island men reached Louisbourg at that date.

⁴⁵ A letter of July 26 from Sir William Pepperrell to Robert Hale enclosing "rules and orders for the good regulation of this place", reproduced in facsimile, faces p. 133.

20 odd guns brou^t. in by Chester & Mermaid ab^t. 5. Saluted the town by firing 15 guns. Returned by Comm^d. Warren. 2 ships appear'd ab^t. dusk to y^e W. and fired. A sloop arriv'd from Boston wth live stock & lime.

Tuesday July 30.

Friday

Aug^t. 2.

[Capt.] Branscom from Portsmouth with 5 companys being ab^t . 120–230 men arrived here last night. 2 vessells from Boston & 1 from Salem. Advice from Boston of the eruption of the Indians at the E^t. Killed 1 man, 50 or 60 cattle and beset S^t. Georges Fort—A storm of rain wth. a smart gale at S. E. Many taken ill with fevers—68 sheep & 20 cows sent by the province.

Wednesday Foggy A. M. S. W^d. & moderate – Many kinds July 31. of East India goods sold now.

Thursday A. M. Fair. Small gale at S. E. P. M. Very Aug^t. 1. hot day-summer-like weather. Parsons saild for N. E.

> This morning early a ship was discovered abt. 4 leagues dist. in the offen near Seatteree. Immediately 2 ships of war, in the harbour of Louisb. viz. The Canterbury a 60 and the Chester a 50 gun ship was towed out, it being almost calm. Soon after they got out a pretty fresh breeze arose. They stood down for the ship and about 9 A. M. came up with her & fired a gun at her. She strook immediately. Cap^t. Fletcher in a Brig^t. was outside of the French ship & might have boarded her e're the [English] ships came up, but for reasons he forbore, especially seeing the ships of war at hand. Cap^t. Fletcher took a boat with an officer & some men that belonged to the last E. India prize, which boat went on shore to Seatteree for a pilot & was now coming off to Fletcher-taking him

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to be a French Brig.-to inform him Louisbourg was taken & to prevent his going in supposing that he might go up to Canada. P. M. S. W. Foggy off. Cap^t. Ward from Kittery. Powel from Casco. News of Indians mischief. A number of boats with wood from S^t. Peters in the morning. Ward says he saw 5 large ships near C. Sable & some sloops. Ab^t. 4 P. M. the 2 ships arriv'd.

Saturday Foggy day. W^d. out. Lightned much in the Aug^t. 3. evening. A malignant feaver prevails.

Lords Day Foggy morning. A schooner from N York. Aug^{t} . 4.

Monday 5. Very thick of fogg. W^d. out. Some rain.

Tuesday 6. Very rainy day. P. M. W^d. fresh S. W.

Wednesday S. W b. W^t. wind. Very rainy weather.

Aug^t. 7. The first soldier punished by riding the wooden horse.

Thursday Fair morning, W^d. N^o. P. M. Cloudy & very cool Aug^t. 8. for the season-Several transports^t wth. y^e sick saild. Bennet & others. Cap^t. Ryan wth. whom Mr. Moody saild.⁴⁶

Friday N. E. W^d. Fresh gale & very cool. Several Aug^t. 9.
sloops from S^t. Peters. Sherburns schooner cast away on a ledge in this harbour. A schooner arriv'd from Newport.

Saturday W^d. Fresh E^t. Cloudy looks like dirt. A Aug^t. 10. sloop from y^e E^t. A vessel from Charlestown, another from N. Y.

1st. man whipt 39 lashes for distressing a French

⁴⁶ Pepperrell's orders for the day direct the Colonel of the several regiments to report the condition of arms and equipment of soldiers under them charging that no ammunition be wasted and that arms be kept in good order. On the 9th, orders were issued for the cessation of profanity and other vice and for the promotion of good order among the soldiers. Such orders as these with the punishments mentioned in the text show the attempts made to maintain discipline in the captured fortress. See entry of July 28 ante.

corpse robbing [it] of 2 winding sheets & leaving the corpse above Ground.

Sunday Wind fresh E^t. Cloudy cool and began to wett. Aug^t. 11. P. M. W^d. abated.

Monday Foggy drisly weather. Small wind at N. E^t . Aug^t. 12. P. M. W^d. S. E. & rainy.

Tuesday This morning the Sun breaks out. Clouds

Aug^t. 13. scatter W^d. N. b W. almost calm. P. M. went wth. the Governour to the Light House and viewed Col^o. Gorhams French & Fascine Battery, which played advantagiously upon the Island Battery as also did our great mortar w^{ch}. was planted near the Lighthouse. [Capt.] Branscom saild for N. Eng^d.

Light House built by Lewis XV. 1731-576 pains of glass.

Wednesday Fear morning. W^d. N. P. M. Wind S. E. & Aug^t. 14. pleasant wether.

Jno. Gammell Died & 3 more-

Thursday Fear morning W^d. at E. [Capt Daniel] Fones Aug^t. 15. fr. Canso. A number of transport^s [sailed] fro. hence to Shedbuckda for wood for the garrison. P. M. W^d. fresh S. W. 7 or 8 sails appeared in sight [in the] offing coming from the westward. These severall vessell^s. prov^d. to be trader^s from sev¹. colonies [making] long passages.

Friday Cloudy. Very fresh w^d. S. W. Dark like dirty Aug^t. 16. [weather.] Rained at noon. At 6 P. M. the Supperb & Hector arrived in whom came His Excellency &c. One of Coll. Willard's soldier^s shot accidentally. A shot through the arm.

Saturday A fair pleasant day & very warm. W^d. N. W. Aug^t. 17. The most sumer like day for the season. -

His Excellency came on shore ab^t. 11 & was saluted by the ship^s in the harbour & a royall salute by the town. The troop⁸ was in arm⁵. to rec. him.

Severall fine vessels from Boston th^s day. News that the Indians were desireous for peace.

Lords Day Rainy. W^d. S. W. Cap^t. Tyng arrivd. this Aug^t. 18. morn^g in whom came severall of the Councell. Monday Foggy & rainey morn^g. P. M. Cleared of cloud^s. Aug^t. 19. Broke away. Moved my lodging^s. that night

 Broke away. Moved my lodging^s. that night to the Gen^{lls}. house. Ganaston died y^s n^t.

Tuesday Fair wether W^d. S. W.

Aug^t. 20. Rec. a Letter fr. W. by packet.

Wednesday Fair morning W^d. N. W. A store vesell from Aug^t. 21. the Province arrived with rum &c. & a company of artificer^s. Severall trading vesells arrived here. P. M. His Ec¹.y visited the Grand Battery. At his depar^t. the cannon of the garrison was discharged and as he passed by the ship^s. in the harbou^r. he was saluted by the fire of some [of] there cannon.

Thursday Aug^t. 22.

day Fair Morning, W^d. N. W.
Severall trading vesel^s. arrived. P. M. [His Excellency] viewd the Iland Battery & was saluted by disch of the cannon at his landing there & at his departure. Rec^d. a Letter from Mr. [Rev. John?] Blunt.

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