AN ACCURATE

Journal and Account

PROCEEDINGS

OFTHE

New-England Land-Forces,

During the late

EXPEDITION

Against the

French Settlements on Cape Breton,

/ To the Time of the

Surrender of Louisbourg.

CONTAINING

A just Representation of the Transactions and Occurrences, and of the Behaviour of the said Forces.

Dated, Louisbeurg, Oct. 20. 1745. and in Form attested by Lieut. General Pepperell, Commander in Chief of the Forces, Brigad. General Waldo, Col. Moore, Lieut. Col Lothrop, and Lieut. Col. Gridley, of the Train of Artillery; all under their OWN HANDS.

Exhibiting a moze authentic, cozzect, and perfect Account, than any befoze made publick.

WITH

A Computation of the French FISHERY on the Bonks of Newfoundland, Acadia, Cape Breton, and neighbouring Shores, Gulphs, Harbours, &c. as it was carried on before the prefent War: The Whole of which did then depend, in a great Manner, on the Port of Louisbourg, as a Cover and Protection to it, &c.

All sent over, by General Pepperell himself, to his Friend Capt. Hen. Stafford, at Exmouth, Devon.

Printed, from the Original Manuscript, at the Desire of Capt.

Stafford, as well in Justice to the General, as for the better Information of the Publick.

EXON: Printed by and for A. and S. BRICE, in Northgatefirest; and fold by M. COOPER, in Pater-noster-row, London,

Correct Journal and account of the proceedings of the New England land forces during the late expedition against the French settlement on Cape Breton, to the time of the surrender of Louisburg, etc. All sent over by General Pepperell himself to his friend Captain Henry Stafford, Exmouth, Devon. Exon. Printed by and for A. & S. Breed. 1746.

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ΤО

Capt. Henry Stafford, at Exmould, Devon.

Louisbourg, Nov. 4. 1745.

DEAR SIR,



Have wrote you several Letters since I have been on this Island, now brought to the Crown of Great Britain; and in this inclose A true and much fuller Account of our Proceedings against the Fortresses of this Place, and there-

with also An Account, taken from English and French, the most capable of making the best Observations, wherein you will see what a VAST FISHERY the French had, and the Advantage it will be to secure this Place to the British Crown.

As to myself; — As I had the Honour to Command the Troops that were the Means of reducing the Place, I don't think it can be expected I should continue here under the Command of another Person. Accordingly, when His Majesty's Troops arrive from Europe, and this Place is well secured, my Design is to return to New-England, — unless I should have the Command here. But until such Troops arrive, I resolve to tarry, and defend it to the uttermost of my Power.

As it must be confess'd, that there would have been ro Expedition against this Place, had I not undertook

it, and considering the vast * Expence which I have been at, besides the leaving my Business in such a Hurry, and being now here detain'd in order to secure it, I cannot help humbly hoping His most Gracious Majesty's Royal Notice, and the being handsomely provided for, either in having bestow'd on me the Government kere, or some other in New-England, or near it. For no Motive but the real Good of my Country could have induced me to undertake so dangerous and fatiguing an Enterprize, and to be absent from my Family (as I fear it will be) near Two Years, from the Time of my first leaving them.

I liv'd as well in New-England as any Man, with an agreeable Family; and my Estate would then afford so to do. As to what will be allow'd me from New-England, it will not nearly make up my Expence; neither are they able at this Time to do more. And I must say, that unless Old England assists in paying the Charge of this Expedition, the Province of Massachusets-Bay, which was at the greatest Part of the Expence, will be so involv'd, as never to be able get clear of it.

But surely it cannot be esteem'd reasonable that a Private Person should spend his Estate, and hazard his Life and Health, in the Publick Service, and then be

slighted and unrewarded.

I therefore earnestly beg your Favour, and rely on your Friendship, for your now bestirring yourself to assist me. For this, it seems, is a Scheming World, and some who have done very little in this Expedition, would willingly run away with the Honour and Reward.

My

[•] In a former Letter the worthy Genera! declares he had been at Ten Thousand Pounds Cost.

My Son Andrew Pepperell is in my Busine's at Piscataqua. If you should have any Commands that Way, you may be assured of his best Service for you, for any Friend of yours.

I am, with best Respects,

Your very humble Servt.

WM. PEPPERELL.

P. S. You will excuse my giving you this Trouble, as you are my Old Acquaintance, and I know you always valued and loved my Family. —— If I should have the Government of this Place, and the Command of a Regiment, I hope I should have Liberty to visit my Family, when His Majesty's Service might allow of it.

W. P.





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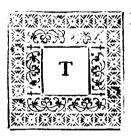
Journal and Account

OF THE

EXPEDITION

AGAINST

CAPEBRETON.



HE Forces rais'd within the Mar. 24
Province of Massachusetts-Bay, 1745-6
being about Three Thousand
Two Hundred and Fifty Men,
exclusive of Commission-Officers, embarked March 24th,
1744-5. in Seven Weeks from
the Time of the issuing Gover-

nor Shirley's Proclamation for raising them, under Convoy of the Shirley-Galley, then in the Employ of that Government, (and now His Ma-JESTY'S Frigate Shirley, Capt. Rous Commander; and arrived the 4th of April at Canso;—appointed by the Governour to be the Place of Rendezvous for the Transports and Cruizers, and

and for a Communication of Intelligence between himself at Boston, General Pepperell's Camp before the Town of Louisbourg, and Mr. Warren from the Ships before the Harbour, and for lodging all Stores not in immediate Use in the Camp and Fleet: — Where they found the New-Hampshire Forces, being Three Hundred and Four Men, inclusive of Commission-Officers, arriv'd Four Days before them; and Mar. 25. were join'd the 25th of the same Month by the 1745. Connesticut Forces, being Five Hundred and Sixteen Men, including Commission-Officers.

Chapeau-Rouge-Bay, which was the Place appointed for Landing the Troops, being so filled with Ice as to make their Landing impracticable before, they were detain'd there 'till the latter End of the Month. In which Time the General drew up and review'd the Forces on Canso Hill, and formed the several Detachments ordered to be imploy'd in the several Attacks, proposed to be made immediately after their Landing at Flat-Point-Cove, within Three Miles of the Town of Louisbourg, to the W. S. W. and Four Miles distant from the Grand Battery to the S. W. according to the Plan of Operations concerted at Boston, and there given him in Charge by the Governour's written Orders.

During the Stay of the Troops there, a Block-House was erected on Canso Hill, and called Cumberland; — the Flag being hoisted on His Royal Highness the Duke's Birth-day; picquetted without, and defended by Eight Cannon Nine-Pounders, and to be garrison'd by Two Com-

Siege of Louisbourg, &c.

Companies of Soldiers of Forty Men each, befides Officers.

From thence Two Armed Sloops were fent to Bay Verte, to take and destroy some Vessels, that, according to Information, were to carry Provisions from thence to Louisbourg. And the 18th of April the Renomée, a French Ship of Apr. 18. War, of Thirty Guns Nine-Pounders, with Three Hundred Seamen, and Fifty Marines, being charged with Publick Dispatches, fell in with the Armed Vessels in the Service of the Massachusets Government, before Louisbourg Harbour: Where she maintained a running Fight with them; but got clear by out-failing This Ship afterwards fell in with the Connecticut Troops, under the Convoy of their own Colony Sloop and the Rhode-Island Colony Sloop; the latter of which she attacked and damaged considerably. But, finally, the Sloop got off; as did the Troops with their other Convoy, during the Engagement: And, after having made Two more Attempts to push into the Harbour, and being again hinder'd and chafed by the Massachusets Cruizers, she return'd to France, without having deliver'd her Pacquets: From whence she fail'd again the Beginning of July with Six Ships more, being the Brest Squadron for Louisbourg.

The 22d of April, Capt. Durell, in His MA-Apr. 22.

JESTY'S Ship Eltham, of Forty Guns, arrived at Canso Harbour from New-England; having received Orders from Mr. Warren for that Purpose. And on the 23d, Mr. Warren, in His_____23.

B

MA-

Majesty's Ship Superbe, of Sixty Guns, with the Launceston, of Forty Guns, Capt. Kalmady, the Mermaid, of Forty Guns, Capt. Douglass, under His Command. And, after staying there some Hours, and having conferred with the General by Letters, Mr. Warren, with the rest of the King's Ships, sail'd to cruize off Louisbourg.

On the 29th of April the Troops embark'd in Apr. 29. Four Divisions of Transports, and failed for Chapeau-Rouge Bay, under Convoy of One Armed Snow and Two Armed Sloops, in the Service of the Massachusets Government; under the Fire of whose Cannon they were to land. And at the same Time a Detachment of Two Hundred and Seventy Men, under the Command of a Colonel, and the Convoy of an Armed Sloop, in the Pay of the New-Hampshire Government, were fent to St. Peter's, a fmall French Settlement on Cape Breton, with Orders (pursuant to the before-mentioned Plan of Operations) to take the Place, burn the Houses, and demolish the Fort. Which was according-Apr. 30. ly effected on the 30th of April, between Nine and Ten in the Morning.

The Fleet, having the main Body of the Troops on board, came to an Anchor in Chapeau-Rouge Bay, at the Distance of about Two Miles from the Flat-Point Cove. Upon the Discovery of which, the Enemy immediately fired some Cannon, and rang their Bells in the Town, to alarm and call in their People living in the Suburbs; and sent out of the Town a Detachment, of about 150 Men, headed by Capt. Morepang and Mr. Boulardrie, late an Officer in the Duke

's Regiment in France, to oppose the Landing of our Troops. Upon the Sight of which, the General made a feint of landing a Party of our Men in Boats in Flat-Point Cove. in order to draw the French thither. Which had its Effect: And, upon a Signal from the Vessels, the Boats returned, and joined another Party of Boats under his Stern: From whence, under the Fire of our Cannon, were landed, Two Miles higher up the Bay, about an Hundred of our Men, before the Enemy could get up with them: And, upon brifkly attacking them, (though under the Advantage of being covered with their Woods) after exchanging some Shot, killing Six of them upon the fpot, taking as many Prisoners (among whom was Mr. Roulardrie), and wounding feveral others, forced the Remainder to make a precipitate Flight towards the Town; with the Loss of some others, who were, the next Day, taken Prisoners before they recovered it. Which was done with the Damage, on our Part, of only Two Men being flightly wounded.

On the fame Day, about Two Thousand of the Troops were landed, without any further Opposition. And on the next Day, being the Ist of May, the Remainder landed, and began May 1. to get Provisions and Stores ashore. The Landing of Provisions, Ammunition, and Heavy Artillery, was attended with extreme Difficulty and Fatigue; there being no Harbour there, and the Surf almost continually running very high; fo that, frequently, for fome Days, there was no landing any Thing at all; and, when B 2

they did, the Men were obliged to wade high into the Water, to fave every Thing that would have been damaged by being wet. They had no Cloaths to shift themselves with, but poor Defence from the Weather, and at the same Time the Nights were very cold, and generally attended with thick heavy Fogs. By means whereof it was near a Fortnight before they could get all their Stores on Shore; and, notwithstanding all possible Care to prevent it, many Boats, and some Stores, were lost.

May 2. On May the 2d a Detachment of Four Hundred Men were fent, round behind the Hills, to the North-East Harbour; whither they got about Midnight, and burn'd the Enemy's Houses and Stores, about a Mile's Distance from the Grand

Stores, about a Mile's Distance from the Grand Battery. And on the 3d of May we took Poffession of that Battery, which the Enemy had deserted; — owing (as is suppos'd) to the Surprize they were in from the Firing of the Houses in the Neighbourhood. They had abandoned this Battery in so much Hurry and Confusion, that they had only spiked up their Guns, without breaking off any of the Trunnions, or much damaging of the Carriages. There were found here Twenty Eight Cannon of Forty-two Pound Shot, and Two Eighteen-Pounders; Three Hundred and Fifty Shells of Thirteen Inches, and Thirty Shells of Ten Inches, with a large Quantity of Shot.

The same Day a Party of the Enemy in Boats attempted to regain the Possession of it; but were beat off by about Fisteen or Sixteen of

our Men, who had before taken Possession of the Battery, and stood on the Beach expos'd to the Enemy's Musquetry from the Boats, and Cannon from the Town, which play'd continu-

ally upon them.

The Distance from the Grand Battery to the Island Battery is Four Thousand Eight Hundred Feet. This Battery commands the whole Harbour from the Entrance between the Light-House Point and the Island Battery. Two Flanks of Two Guns each point from hence against the Town, and a Line of Ten Guns against the Illand Battery, the Remainder to the North-East Part of the Harbour. By the Fire from hence, during the Siege, the Citadel and Houses in the Town fuffered very much, as also the Barracks at the Island Battery. The Towers of this Battery were fomething damaged, One Man killed, and a few wounded by the Enemy's Cannon, which fired very brifkly upon it, as did also their Mortars from the Town and Illand Battery, especially at the Beginning.

In a few Days the Camp was formed about Half a Mile from the Place where they made a feint of landing; but without throwing up Lines; depending only upon their Scouts and Guards. But afterwards they encamped regularly, and threw up Lines, nearer the Place of landing their Stores. And Scouts, during the whole Siege, were constantly sent out, who seldom returned without bringing some Prisoners, and very much confined the Enemy within their Walls, and prevented their making frequent Sallies.

A Journal of the

May the 4th, we began to fire from the Grand May 4. Battery, with Three Cannon which had been cleared, as also to bombard the Town from Green Hill, (being the Place where the first Battery was planted) with one Thirteen-inch Mortar. one of Eleven Inches, and another of Nine Inches; affifted with Two Cannon Nine-pounders, and Two Falconets; being Two Miles Distance from the Camp, and Fifteen Hundred and Fifty Yards from the Citadel. - Five Hundred Men were ordered to fustain this Battery. But finding the Nine and Eleven-Inch Mortars would not reach the City, they were removed May 7. the 7th of May, and planted with Ten Cohorns at the Distance of Pline Hundred Yards from the Citadel: Where a Battery was erected the --- 10. 10th of May, of Four Twenty-two-pounders. ____13. The 13th Two of them burst, owing to their not being found.

The 15th of May Four Twenty-two-pounders more were brought to this Battery, as also the Two Nine-pounders, and the Thirteen inch Mortar, from Green Hill. From this Battery the City was bombarded. And as the Shot from the faid Battery ranged through the Centre of the City, it damaged not only the West Flank of the King's Bastion, which it flanked, but also the Citadel, and the greatest Part of the Houses in the Town, and even Porte Maurepas; in the Easternmost Part of the City. This Battery was fustained by the same Forces that fustained the Battery at Green Hill. The Damage received at this Battery was, the Breaking the Trunnion of one of the Cohorns, and Burfting

Siege of Louisbourg, &c.

sting of another; Six Men wounded (of whom one died) by the Bursting of Two Twenty-two-pounder Cannons; and One Man killed, and Two wounded, by the Enemy the same Day.

The 25th of May, the Thirteen-inch Mor-May 251 tar bursted; and a Bombardier was thereby wounded, occasion'd by some Flaw in the Shell. which broke in the Mortar. Another Thirteeninch Mortar from Boston was mounted in the fame Place, and play'd the Eighth Day after the other was burft. The transporting the Cannon was with almost incredible Labour and Fatigue. For all the Roads over which they were drawn, faving here and there small Patches of rocky Hills, were a deep Morass; in which, whilst the Cannon were upon Wheels, they feveral Times funk, fo as to bury not only the Carriages, but the whole Body of the Cannon likewise. Horses and Oxen could not be employ'd in this Service; but the whole was to be done by the Men themselves, up to the Knees in Mud; at the fame Time the Nights, in which the Work was done, cold, and for the most Part foggy; their Tents bad, there being no proper Materials for Tents to be had in New-England, at the Time the Forces were raifed.

But, notwithstanding all these Difficulties, and the Peoples being taken down with Fluxes, so that at one Time there were no less than Fisteen Hundred Men incapable of Duty, occasioned by their Fatigue, they went on chearfully, without being discouraged or murmuring; and by the Help of Sledges, of about Sixteen Feet in Length Length, and Five Feet in Wedth, and Twelve Inches thick, they transported the Cannon over those Ways, which the French had always thought impassable for such heavy Bodies; and were indeed impracticable by any People of less Resolution and Perseverance, or less Experience in removing heavy Weights. And, besides this, they had all the Provisions, Powder, Shot, and Shells, which they daily made use of, to transport over the same Ways, upon their Backs.

During this Time the French erected Two Cavaliers, of Two Guns each, upon the Rampart of one of the Faces of the King's Bastion; planted a great Number of Swivel Guns upon the Wall facing the Harbour; and to secure the low Wall at the South-East Part of the Town, added to the Top of it a Plank-Work, picketted, to raise it to the same Height with the rest of the Wall, and a Range of Palisadoes at a little Distance within the Wall; and raised a little Battery of Three Small Guns upon the Parapet of the lower South Bastion fronting Cape Noix, a small Hill which very much commands the Town.

May 7. May the 7th, a Flag of Truce was fent into the Town, with a Summons to deliver it up to His Britannic Majesty. To which an Answer was return'd by Mr. Duchambon, Commander in Chief, "That the King his Master "having intrusted him with the Defence of the Island, he could not hearken to any such Proposal, 'till after the most vigorous Attack; and that he had no Answer to make but by the Mouth of their Cannon."

Siege of Louisbourg, &c. 17

Next Day the Enemy made a Sally; but May 8. were foon repulfed.

Notwithstanding all the Care and Vigilance of May 13. the Men of War, and the Colony Cruizers, a Snow from Bourdeaux got in; which they attempted to fire by a Fire-ship from the Grand Battery, but in vain.

The Cohorns, and the Nine and Eleven-inch Mortars, were removed to a Hill within Four Hundred and Forty Yards of the West Gate; from whence they annoy'd the Enemy very much, and receiv'd no Damage at all. of a Hundred Men came out of the Town in the Night, and landed near the Light-house Point; and the next Day attempted to furprize a Party that was posted at the Light-House; who first discover'd the Enemy from an Eminence, where they were on Guard. Forty only of our Men advanced towards them. Parties met in a Wood; and the Enemy was routed, Five of them killed, and a fixth (the Lieutenant) wounded, and taken Prisoner. The rest that escaped joined some others, and Eighty Indians, about Mera; and were attack'd Two Days after by another Party of our Forces, that were out on a Scout. This Dispute lasted a confiderable Time, and feveral of our Men made Thirty Discharges each on the Enemy, who were again routed. In this Action there was but one Prisoner taken. Upon the Return of this Party, another Scout was fent out the next Day, who returned in Two Days, and brought Ten Prisoners, who reported that many of their

People were killed and wounded in the last Skirmish. Our Scouts and Cruizers at different Times took and burn'd most of their small Settlements, and took about Three Hundred Prisoners.

May 17. The 17th of May the advanced Battery was raifed, bearing W. by N. half N. at Two Hundred and Fifty Yards Distance from the West Gate, and One Eighteen-pounder mounted; and the next Night another Eighteen-pounder and Two Forty-two-pounders were mounted. These were all brought from the Grand Battery, upwards of Two Miles, as the Road goes, over a very rough, rocky, hilly Way. From hence not only the West Gate was beat down, but a Breach made in the Wall adjoining; and the North-East Battery was damaged, and render'd almost useless: Their Guns lying entirely open to the Fire from this Battery.

This Battery being so near the Town, there was no Safety in loading the Cannon, but under the Fire of the Musquetry, which was very smart on both Sides. The Enemy generally open'd the Action in the Morning with the Fire of their Small-Arms for Two Hours; which we return'd with Advantage on our Side. We were likewise warmly entertained by the Enemy from a Flank of their North-East Battery, from the West-Gate Battery, and the West Flank of the King's Bastion; which last slank'd this Battery. And therefore,

May 20. On the 20th, a Trench being dug on the South End, and One Eighteen-pounder, and Two Nine-pounders, being brought from the Eight-

Eight-Gun Battery, and mounted upon the South Line against this Flank, they, with the Remainder of the Guns at the Eight-Gun Battery, dismounted some of the Enemy's Cannon, and annoyed them so much, that they were selent the rest of that Day. Which was often the Case afterwards; particularly May the 22d, May 22d the Fire was very hot on both Sides 'till Twelve o' Clock at Noon, when the French were beat from their Guns.

The 23d of May, the Enemy mounted Two May 23. new Guns at the West Flank of the King's Bastion, but in Four Hours were forced to leave them.

The 6th of June, they had Two Guns run June 6. out of the new Embrazures cut through the Parapet near the West-Gate; which soon began to play with great Fury; and we were obliged to turn Three Guns against them. And in Three Hours we dismounted one, and silenced the other for that Day. The Nine and the Eleveninch Mortars with constant Use straining their Beds, occasioned their being removed to this Battery, which was nearer the Enemy, as were also the Cohorns.

The Bombs in great Number fell all round; but did very little Damage. There were 10 Men killed, and 15 or 16 wounded, several of them with. Musquet-balls. In the mean Time, the Enemy worked constantly in the Night to barricade the Gate-Way, where a Breach was made. They also made a Retrenchment across the Circular Battery, and raised another Work to cover their

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Magazine, and laid a Boom before the Town. to hinder Boats from landing under the Walls.

At the same Time our Men of War and Cruizers were very diligent, and took feveral May 19. Prizes: And on the 19th of May there was an Engagement off the Harbour, in Sight of the Camp, between fome of our Ships and a French. -21. Man of War. — The 21st, a Letter came to the General from Commodore Warren, acquainting him, that he had taken the Vigilant, a French Ship, of Sixty-four Guns. Besides the Superbe, the Mermaid, Eltham, Massachusets Frigate, and Shirley Galley, were all in the Engagement, and at the Taking of her. Three Days after the taking of the Vigilant, Capt. Edwards, in the Princess Mary, of Sixty Guns, joined the Commodore; and the next Day Capt. Cornwall, in the Hettor, of Forty Guns.

lar 20. The 20th of May the North-West Battery. commonly called Titcomb's Battery, was erected, bearing N. W. by W. about Eight Hundred Yards distant from the West-Gate, and Two Forty-two Pounders mounted, which were brought from the Grand Battery. And about a Formight after were brought Three Forty-two Pounders more. This Battery did great Execution against the Circular Battery.

> By means of this Battery, and the Advanced Battery, not only the West Gate was demolish'd. but a large Breach was made in the Wall, to within Ten Feet of the Bottom of the Ditch. The Circular Battery was almost entirely demo-

lish'd,

lish'd, but Three Guns out of Sixteen being left standing, and those so exposed to the North-West Battery, that Nobody could keep the Platform.—The West Flank of the King's Bastion was almost entirely ruin'd, but in some measure repair'd with Timber.—This Battery, the Advanced Battery, and the Eight-gun Battery, were sustained by Thirteen Hundred and Fifty Men.

After many fruitless Preparations for an Attack on the *Island Battery*, it was attempted on the 26th of *May*, at Night, by a Party of *May* 26. Four Hundred Men. But, from the Strength of the Place, and the Advantage the Enemy had of being under Cover, and our Men exposed in open Boats, which a Musquet-ball would fink, the Surf running very high, and their not being thoroughly acquainted with the best Place of landing, they were repulsed, with the Loss of about Sixty kill'd and drowned, and an Hundred and Sixteen taken Prisoners.

The 10th of June, the Chester arriv'd from June 10. England, and joined the Commodore: And on the 12th the Canterbury and Sunderland; as did _____12. likewise the Lark, with a Store-ship under her Convoy, bound to Annapolis Royal.

It being of the utmost Consequence to be Masters of the * Island Battery, and, after the last

^{*} The Island Battery is a strong Fort at the Entrance of the Harbour, mounted with Thirty Twenty-eight-pounders, and Seven Swivels, having Two Brass Ten inch Mortars, and garrison'd with an Hundred and Eighty Men.

last Attempt, thought impracticable to reduce it by Boats, it was determined to erect a Battery near the Light-House, opposite to it, which would be Three Thousand Four Hundred Feet distant; and in such Manner as to be opposed to the Fire of but Four of the Enemy's Guns; and at the same Time to stank a Line of above Twenty of their Guns. Which, notwithstanding the almost insuperable † Difficulties that attended it, was happily effected, and Two June 11. Eighteen-pounders mounted the 11th of June,—14 and by the 14th Four more; sustained by Three Hundred and Twenty Men.

Powder growing short, the Fire had for some Days been very much flacken'd; and the French began to creep a little out of the Cazmates and Covers, where they had hid themselves during June 11 the greatest Fierceness of it. - But this being the Anniversary of HIS MAJESTY's happy Accession to the Throne, it was determined to celebrate it as became Loyal Subjects and Brave Soldiers. And Orders were given for a Difcharge of all the Cannon from every Battery, at Twelve o'Clock. Which was accordingly done, and followed by an incessant Fire all the rest of the Day. Which much disheartened the Enemy; especially as they were sensible what must necessarily be the Consequence of this new Bat-It tery.

[†] The Difficulties were, the Transporting of the Cannon, in Boats, from Chapeau-Rouge-Bay to the Eastward of the Light House; the getting them up the Bank of the Shore (which was a steep craggy Rock); the hauling them a Mile and a Quarter, over an incredible had Way, of Hills, Rocks, and Morasses.

Siege of Louisbourg, &c.

It was now determined, as foon as possible after the Arrival of the Canterbury and Sunderland, to make a general Attack by Sea and Land. Accordingly, they arriving the next Day, all the Transports were ordered off, to take out the spare Masts, Yards, and other Lumber of the Men of War. — The Soldiers were imploy'd in getting Moss, to barricade their Nettings, and Six Hundred Men were sent on board the King's Ships, at the Commodore's Request.

The large Mortar was ordered to the Light-House Battery: And a new Supply of Powder arriving, the Fire was more fierce from this Time to the 15th than ever. When the Mortar began to play from the Light-House Battery, upon the Island Battery, out of Nineteer Shells, Seventeen fell within the Fort, and one of them upon the Magazine; which, together with the Fire from the Cannon, to which the Enemy was very much exposed, they having but little to shelter them from the Shot, that ranged quite through their Barracks, so terrified them, that many of them left the Fort, and ran into the Water for Refuge.

The Grand Battery being in our Possession; the Island Battery being so much hurt by the Light-House Battery; the North East Battery so open to our Advanced Battery, that it was not possible for the Enemy to stand to their Guns; all the Guns in the Circular Battery, except Three, being dismounted, and the Wall almost wholly broke down; the West-Gate demolish'd, and a large Breach in the Wall adjoining; the West

A Journal, &c.

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This was granted 'till next Morning; when they brought out Articles; which were refused, and others sent in by the General and Commodore, and agreed to by the Enemy. — Hostages June 17. were exchanged; and on the 17th of June the City and Fortresses were surrender'd, and the Garrison, and all the Inhabitants, to the Number of Two Thousand capable of bearing Arms, made Prisoners, to be transported to France with all their Personal Effects.

During the whole Siege we had no more than One Hundred and One Men killed by the Enemy, and all other Accidents; and about Thirty died of Sickness. And, according to the best Accounts, there were killed of the Enemy within the Walls about Three Hundred, besides Numbers that died by being confined within the Cazmates.



written Journal and Account of the Proceedings of the New-England Land-Forces, during the late Expedition against the French Settlements on Cape Breton, to the Time of the Surrender of Louinbourg, contained in Fifteen Pages, to all which Proceedings We were privy, do hereby certify that the same contains a just Representation of the Transactions and Occurrences therein set forth, and of the Eebaviour of the said Forces. In Witness whereof We have hereto subscribed our Names (the Two last Lines in the eleventh Page, and the Nine first in the twelfth Page being first * obliterated).

Louisbourg, Octob. 20. 1745. Wm. Pepperell,

Lieut. General and Commander in Chief of the N. England Forces.

Sa. Waldo,

Brigadier General of the Land-Forces, and Colonel of the Second Regiment.

Sam. Moore,

Colonel of the New-Hampshire Regiment.

Simon Lothrop,

Lieut. Colonel of the Connecticut Regiment.

Richard Gridley,

Lieut. Colonel of the Train of Artillery.

And are, therefore, not inserted in this printed Copy.



A Computation of the French FISH-ERT on the Banks of Newfoundland, Acadia, Cape Breton, and neighbouring Shores, Gulphs, Harbours, &c. — as it was carried on before the present War: The Whole of which did then, in a great manner, depend on the Port of Louisbourg, as a Cover and Protection to it, &c.

HIS Louisbourg is a Harbour on the East-South-East Part of the Island of CAPE BRETON, and is about Twenty Leagues to the Eastward of Canso, and about Sixty from the Island of St. Peter's, Newfoundland. It is

but an indifferent Harbour for Shipping, and has a finall Town, on a Point of Land, on the South Side of it, regularly fortify'd and walled in; and on the North Side, fronting the Entrance, one exceeding fine Battery of Thirty Forty-two-pounders; and on the West Side of the Entrance, (which is North and South) upon an Island, another of Twenty-Eight Twenty-four-pounders, called the Island Battery; which, with the former, called the Royal or Grand Battery, were design'd to secure the Entrance of the Harbour from any Enemy's Ships going

ing in to annoy them: And were thought fufficient to answer their Design.

The Island of CAPE BRETON -(or rather the Islands of Madam [so called] and Cape Breton, which are fo contiguous that they are by most supposed to be but one Island, and vulgarly comprehended in the one, viz. of CAPE BRETON) - extends from the Gut of Canfo, the Eastern Boundaries of Nova Scotia, E. N. E. about Thirty-three or Thirtyfour Leagues; and is what helps to form the Gulph of St. Laurence, which has Three feveral Passages in and out, viz. At the Northward of Newfoundland, betwixt that and the Main, which Passage is called the Streights of Belle-Ille; another between Cape Breton, the Eastmost Part, and the West of Newfoundland, - which is the common Passage; and another through the Gut of Canlo, which is betwixt the Eastmost Part of Acadia and the Westmost Part of the Island of Medein.

This Gulph St. Laurence, (To called from the Great River of St. Laurence, or Canada River, which differenbogues itself into it, and from thence thro' those several above Passages into the Ocean) is a Sea, or Gulph, that has the River of Canada, and Land adjacent, at the West of it, Cape Breton at the Southward, Newfoundiand at the Eastward, and the main Continent, that stretches from Canada River, to the Northward and Eastward. On the North of it and in the Gulph are sundry commodious Bays, Havens, Ilands, Rivers, and Harbours; and at all Seasons of the Year great Plenty of Cod-sish, and at particular Seasons Herring, Mackrel, Squid, Alewives, and Smelts for Bait: But the Ice in Winter renders

Navigation unsafe, if not altogether impracticable, at least to make Voyages of Fish: though in the Summer Season there have been vearly Fisheries carried on at Galpay, at the Entrance of Canada River, and in the little Harbours from thence to Bay Vert, at the Islands of St. John's and Magdalene, at the Northward of the Gut of Canfo, in and through the Gut, and from thence along Shore at Nurichatte, Petit de Grat, Isles Mecheaux, St. Esprit, Forchette, Louisbourg, Laurembeque, La Baleine, Neganth, St. Ann's, Scattery, and La Bradere; and from Galpay round the North Side of the Gulph, at the feveral convenient Ports on the Main, quite to the Streights of Belle Ille; and, by an Allowance to the French in the Treaty of Utrecht, (which they have made the most of) in all the Harbours at the Northward of *Newfoundland* that were unimploy'd by the English. And although, comparatively speaking, there was but a small Number of their Ships fished at Cape Breton itself, yet the Situation of that Island is fuch, they could all of them at Pleafure repair thither, on any Emergency or Danger; especially those that fished in the Gulph, on the Main, or those at the North-West of Newfoundland, who were all within One or Two Days Sail at most; and also those Ships that laded with Mud-Fish on the Banks.

So that this Island was the Key and Protection of their whole Fishery, and for that End was fortified and garrison'd, and valued by France equal to any other of its Colonies; although the Harbour of Louisbourg is not an extraordinary good one, and the Island produces nothing either for Food or Rayment, and the Fish are not so plenty on the Coasts of Louisbourg as they are in the Gulph, off Canso, to the

Westward of it, and off the Coast of Newfound-land to the Eastward.

So that the Situation and Convenience of this Place (being, as it were, the Center of the Whole FISHERY, and a Cover and Command to the whole Gulph) was the greatest Inducement to France to fortify it, in order to protect and secure all the rest: What other Uses it might serve for as a Port to the East and West India Men, and the Ships bound to Canada, on Occasion, to refort to for Wood and Water, to clean or repair, &c. not being so much in their View as the fecuring and upholding this Trade, the FISHERY: Which they had found the Sweets of before, enough to convince them it was absolutely necessary for them to out-do us in it, if possible; in order to which they were to spare no Cost for the present for the gaining a future Benefit by it, when they had gained their Point.

Their Conviction of the growing Profit of this Branch of Trade, and the Hopes of one Time or other monopolizing it, at least so far as respected the Catholick Dominions, made them take such indefatigable and indirect Means, the last War, to procure a Neutrality, so far as related to the FISHERY; that they might even then vie with us in profecuting their Voyages unmolested, as long as the War lasted; which they obtained by Dint of Money; and, on the Peace, in order to fecure it to them for the future, fluck at no Terms to obtain this Island. Which they had no fooner effected, but immediately they began to fettle it: And a new Colony was fet on foot, to confift of Fishermen only, and Encouragement given, Forts, &c. built, and a Town garrisoned. ed, to protect them. And the whole Nation feemed to have their Eyes on the Place; so that it was peopled more and more Yearly; and a Fishery flourished so fast, that they could and did afford to under-fell us at Foreign Markets. And for the Protection of the Trade fo to do, they had annually Ships of War fent them from France, to visit and supply them, with Orders to protect and defend not only their Sea-Coasts, but their Vessels on the Banks of Newfoundland, &c. not only from Infults from us (for of that there was no Occasion) but to make and keep their Pretensions good to the several Banks, either within or without their Line, and make themfelves a Privilege, as it were, of filling almost where they pleas'd by Force of Cufforn. In which they gradually increased so, that in the Year 1732, when the Le Flenzon and the Brilliant, Two of their Men of War, were ordered on that Station, to cruize on the Banks, examine into the State of the Fishery, and give them any necessary Assistance and Protection, and from thence to Canada, and so back to the Fishery again, and then to convoy those Ships that had made their Voyages, and were ready to depart to Europe, the Marquis De la Maison Fort, who was on board one of those Ships, in his " Louis-Journal thus remarks *:---

^{*} Louissourg est un bon Port, & une Place sure; C'est hors de toute Insulte, quand les Fortisications (apres quoy 'ton travaille) seront achevez. Dans lequelle il vat Cent de plus Vaisseaux de France touts les Ans, pecher, & saire pecher des Mortres, par les Gonlettes du Pais en Batteaux qu'ils embarquent, qu'ils salent & sont secher depuis le Mois de Juin jusqu'a d'Osobre, qu'ils se preparent a en retourner chacune a leur Destination, &c. &c. Cette Isle produisant encores aucune Bleds, quoique il ait plus de quatre Mile Habitants, quoi trouvent agaigner Advantage a la Pesche qui a labourer la Terre, la laise deserse, & achetant a qu'ils ont de Besoin avec leur Poison.

" Louisbourg is a good Port, and a safe Har-" bour; and will be fufficiently provided against all " Attempts made on the same, when the Fortifica-"tions (about which they inceffantly labour) shall " be compleated. More than an Hundred Veffels " from France arrive every Year in this Harbour " to fish, and make Fish, of the Cod, which they " catch in Small Craft of the Country, and after " put into larger Vessels, where they falt them, and " dry them, from the Beginning of June to Octo-" ber; when they all get ready to depart, each " one for his affigned Port. This Island produces " fome Grain: But tho' there are more than Four "Thousand Inhabitants, they find their Account " much better in Fishing than in Husbandry; and " confequently the Land lies waste, they procuring " all Necessaries in Exchange for their Fish."

Which is sufficient to demonstrate what this Colony was establish'd for, what Encouragement it had, how fast it grew, and how beneficial it must have been, in a Number of Years more, to France, more than even it was at that Day; from whence they must of Necessity import every Necessary of Life whatsoever, and pay for the whole out of this Fishery, as the Marquis justly observes. Which Fishery was carried on during the Peace, according to the best Account from those of Ourselves, who, at Canso and at Louisbourg, have been Eye-Witnesses of Part of it, and from their Captains, &c. of their Ships, at different occasional Conversations, on comparing the French Fishery with the English; as follows, viz.

From the Gut of Canso down along Shore to Louisbourg, and from thence to the North-East Part the French Fishery, &c.

of Cape Breton, there was yearly imploy'd at least Five Hundred Shallops. And these required, at Sea and on Shore, Five Men each; which amount to Two Thousand Five Hundred Men: And Sixty Brigantines, Schooners, and Sloops, each of Fisteen Men; making Nine Hundred Men more: Which together make Three Thousand Four Hundred Men.

Allow these 500 Shallops to catch 300 Quintals of Fish each in the Summer Season; and the Whole is 150,000 Quintals: And the 60 Brigs, Schooners, &c. each 600 Quintals, which make 36,000 more. So that there is made at Cape Breton annually of Fish One Hundred Eighty-six Thousand Quintals.

Now, to carry this Fish to Europe, to Market, there must be imploy'd 93 Sail of Ships, of the Burthen of 2000 Quintals each, one with the other; and each of these Ships have at least 20 Men, which are 1860 Seamen. And these, added to the 3400 Fishermen above, make Five Thousand Two Hundred and Sixty Men, employ'd at Cape Breton only in the FISHERY.

At Gaspay, Quadre, and other Harbours, mentioned in the following Estimation, there are Six Ships yearly, which, as they come out from France mann'd to catch their own Cargoes in Shallops, which they haul up and leave in the Country every Winter, 'till they return the next Spring, one with another may be allow'd Sixty Hands. And, it has always been allow'd, from St. Maloes and Granville they have at least Three Hundred Sail of these Snips in this Fishery, that fish at Petit Nord, Fishante, Belle-Isle, and the Gulpb; which will, all computed

A Computation of

as above, (allowing those Ships, that so come out to make their own Voyages, to carry each 3000 Quintals) be as follows:

	Ships.	Men.	Quintals.
At Cape Breton — At Gaspay ————————————————————————————————————	- 6 — - 6 — 3 —	360 — 360 — 360 —	- 18,000 - 18,000 - 18,000 - 9,000
	414 - 24	4,520 —	1149,000

Here it may be objected, that of the Three Hundred Ships above from St. Maloes (which they infift upon) some of them are some of those Ships above-reckon'd at Gaspay, Quadre, &c. Which is well known to be so. — But, then, no Regard is here had to the Ships so employ'd, among the rest, from St. Jean de Luz, Bayonne, Nantz, Havre de Grace, &c. which go annually into those Parts on the same Voyage; which are a great many more in Number than those Twenty One Ships above; and would, could an exact List be had, much swell the Account.

Besides all these, there have been constantly from the River Sendre, Olune, Poiteux, Havre, &c. One Hundred and Fisty Ships at least, the French say Two Hundred Sail, imploy'd in the Mud-Fishery, or Mort Vest (as they call it), from Sixteen to Twenty-four Men each: Which carry home, upon an Average, from Twenty-two Thousand to Thirty Thousand Fish in Number; which make, on the most mode-

the French Fishery, &c.

rate Estimate, One Hundred and Fifty Sail of Ships: And, on a Medium, Twenty Men each, are Three Thousand Men, and in the Whole Three Million Nine Hundred Thousand Fishes in Tale. These Ships are sitted out in France for their Voyages on the Banks, and there tarry 'till they are laden; unless they meet with any Accident or Disturbance (in which Case they resort to Cape Breton for Shelter and Supplies); and from thence home to France. And it was, thus, frequent for them, when they had made their Voyages, to go into Cape Breton for Water essentially, as they had no other Port.

In regard to the Value of this Branch of Trade, it is necessary here to observe, that there is hereby produced a large Quantity of Train-Oil; which France has always an immediate Demand for at home. for their Woollen Manufactures, Lights, &c. And with which also their Sugar Colonies, that can't do without it, are yearly supply'd. It is certainly well known that they either do, or may at least, make One Hogsbead of Sixty Gallens of Oil, clear drawn off from the Blubber, out of every Hundred Quintals of Fish. And this, out of the Quantity of Fish before mentioned, will produce Eleven Thoufand Four Hundred and Ninety Heg sheads of Oil. And allowing that Four Thousand Fishes in Number are equal to One Hundred Quintals, when cur'd, then the Three Million Nine Hundred Thousand Mud-Fish, by the same Rule, will yield Nine Hundred Seventy-Five Hog sheads of Oil. Which added to. the other make Twelve Thousand Four Hundred Sixty-Five Hog sheads of Train-Oil, which are equal to Three Thousand One Hundred and Sixteen Tons and a Quarter.

Now,

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36 A Computation of

Now, let the 1,149,000 Quintals of Fish be valued only at 10s.

Sterling per Quintal, the prime Cost usually at Newfoundland, and it is worth

And, to this, allow 3 s. Sterling Freight per Quintal of it, in -172,350:00 English Bottoms, to Market

And then the Fish only is worth £ 746,850:00

And let the 3116 & qr. Tons of Oil be valued at 18 l. Sterling per 3-56,092: 10.

Ton, the Amount of it is ______

As to the Mud-Fish, it is generally fold in *France* at 1000 Livres per 1000 Fish; and then at 11 d. Sterling per Livre, their Value is

And thus it appears that One Year's Fishery of the French only £ 981,692: 10 is worth, Sterling,

Which great Branch of Trade, in a Manner, depends entirely on their Possession of the Island of Cape Breton, as it is impossible to carry it on without some convenient Harbour of Strength, &c. to supply, support, and protect it: And is now with us to determine whether they shall enjoy it or not.

In Addition to this, let us confider, that, in regard to the Woollen Manufacture, the Stable and Dependence of England; in which also the French

French have been vying with us, and have now brought that Trade to such a Pitch as to carry it all over, not only their own Dominions, (formerly obliged to Us for Fine Cloaths) but to a great Advantage into Italy, Spain and Turkey, even to the great Detriment of England;—I say, in regard to this Branch of Trade, allow that every Man beforementioned in the Fishery, in his Blanket, Watch-Coat, and Rugg, Pea-Jacket, &c. consumes of these Coarser Woollens Thirty Shillings Sterling per Annum: And at that Rate even their Consumption will be Forty-one Thousand Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds Sterling; which, had we the whole Fishery to Our-selves, must of Course be of our own Manusasture.

But, besides this, all due Consideration must be had to the Canvas, Cordage, Hooks, Lines, Twine, Nets, Lead, Nails, Spikes, Edge-Tools, Graplins, Anchors, &c. &c. that Five Hundred Sixty Four Ships, and the Shallops to fish for them, must expend at Sea and on Shore: And allow all these to be British, and the immediate Value of this Branch of Trade to England, could she (or rather would ing) keep it to herfelf, will discover itself of greater Confequence than any other; not even excepting the TABACCO; that is, than any other Trade dependent on the Plantations. First, in regard to the raising Seamen for the Royal Navy: Secondly, the Confumption of the British Manufacture and Produce: And, above all, in a certain Yearly Remittance of the Ballance of this Trade made to England from Spain, Portugal, Italy, &c. either in Specie or in fuch Foreign Commodities as pay His Majesty a prodigious Revenue; and this procur'd by Dint of Labour only, and fetch'd out of the Abundance of our Seas.

Thus, supposing the French entirely excluded this Fishery, (as may, and must, be the Case if England keeps Cape Breton, and allows them no longer any Privilege at Newfoundland; - for then they will not have any Port convenient for them, at least 'till they fortify upon the Main in the Gulph of St. Laurence, - which, having Cape Breton, we may hinder when we please); and adding the Advantage of their Fishery to that of our own already; and confidering that the whole Papal Empire must then depend on us folely for this Bacaláos, which they can't do without, which will give us almost the whole Trade of the Mediterranean: and all the other national Advantages that must arise from this Confequence; and the prefent Acquisition of Cape Ereton unpeopling the French Colony there, and reducing the Garrifors to His Majesty's Obedience, which must give us all the rest; is of itself a fufficient Compensation for the War; and will be fo allow'd by all those concern'd in Trade, that know the many Advantages and Benefits that must arise from this Branch of it only to England, by monopolizing the Whole of it.

But, besides the national Advantage by the Fishery; — by the Reduction of Cape Breton, and an English Garrison there, France has not any one Sea-Port for the Relief of their Trading Ships, either to or from the East or West Indies, open to them any where in North America, to the Northward of the River of Messassippi. For Canada is not to be look'd upon as an open Port to the Sea; it being first Sixty or Seventy Leagues within Land, through the Gulph, to the Mouth of the River; and then a great deal further up the River. So that it is impracticable

the French Fishery, &c. 39

ticable to think of going thither for Shelter: And of Confequence the whole Trade to and from the West-Indies, &c. will be not only expos'd to our Privateers from the Northern Colonies in War-Time, without any Place to retreat to, but even in Peace, without any Sea-port they can call their own, or lay any Pretensions now to do, in these Seas, any where to the Northward of Messaspi, as above said.

And as to Canada itself, — the River is now so much under our Command, as well as the Gulph, that all Trade there may be very easily stopped, and all Communication cut off from them by our Ships in and out of Cape Breton. So that (without Force or Arms) in a very sew Years that Colony would fall, and the whole Trade of Furs, carried on with the Indians there, come into the English Hands, as Canada may be kept unable to supply or surnish them. But a happier Consequence than this will be, that, as they may be kept from supplying the Indians to trade, so also from encouraging them to annoy our Frontiers: And they (the Indians) even must become obliged to, and dependent upon, Us; so that we shall not be in such continual Apprehensions of their Hostilities, but rather may have them in as much Subjection to Us as they have been to the French.

To all that is faid before in regard to Cape Breton, let it be added, that by this Acquisition we have secured to the Nation the Garrison of Annapolis Royal, and the Colony of Which, being a very rich and fertile Soil, Nova-Scotia. and its Coasts and Rivers abounding with Fish, and settled by French Catholicks, that Nation has much regretted the Loss of, and wanted to recover. Yea, and which they endeavoured to retake, by laying Siege to Annapolis, both the last Year, 1744, and this present Year; and would have got it, had it not been for our Expedition to Cape Breton, which caus'd them to raife their Siege and with-And by our HOLDING Cape Breton, we shall keep those French Inhabitants at Acadia in strict Allegiance to HIS MAJESTY, or else oblige them to quit their Poifessions; which are all Farms, brought to and fit for any Service immediately. Which will be an Encouragement to our own Subjects to go and fettle there; and also oblige the Cape Sable Indians, our Enemies, either to abandon

that Shore, and fly to Canada for such Shelter and Supply as they can spare them. And by that means we shall get rid of that Tribe at least, if not, by the same Means, those also of the St. John's Tribe, which have been always troublesome to us; as both these Tribes have had their Dependance entirely on Cupe Breton and the French of Acadia; the latter of which have (as Neuters) been supply'd and us'd as Subjects both by the English and French: Which we have long enough lamented the bad Consequence of, and which now is stopt; so that they must either depend entirely upon Us, and become good Subjects with us, or else on the French. And if the latter, they must of Course retreat to Canada, (where they will help distress, rather than relieve, that Colony) and leave us Nova Scotia disencumber'd both of Themselves and Salvages.

Had we not taken Cape Breton this Year, and the French had taken Annapolis, (which it's not disputed They would have done, had We been idle) the Confequence then would have been: — All the Inhabitants of Nova Scotia would have declared for the French King immediately, and the Colony at once been establish'd to Him. And all the Cape Sable and St. John's Indians, who affifted at the Siege of Annapolis with those of Canada, would have been well supply'd with Arms, Ammunition; &c. and fet loofe upon our Frontiers: And their Success have so dispirited even those other Tribes that pretend to be at Peace with us, that they must have joined with them. And they together would have carried Havock, Devastation, and Ravage, all over our Frontiers: Whilst their Men of War and Privateers, by Sea, would have destroy'd our Sea-Ports, and kept us in continual Alarms; without having it in our Power to hinder them from carrying their Conquests from Annapolis, along our Eaftern Shore, even to Cape Ann, were they fo inclin'd.

The quiet Possession of ALL WHICH for the suture in a great Manner depends immediately on this ACQUISITION and KEEPING of Cape Breton, if not Fortified Ourselves at least from the French.

