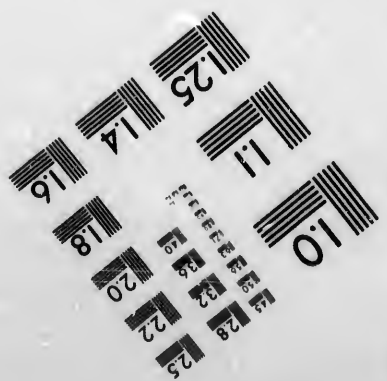
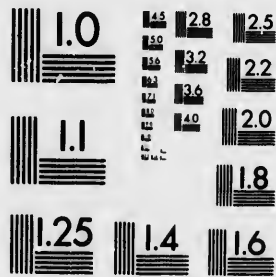


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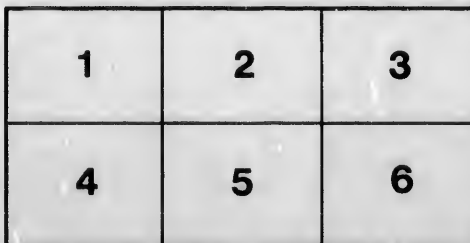
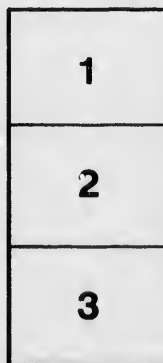
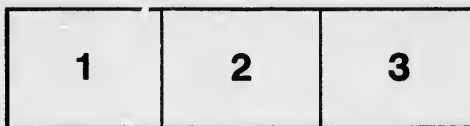
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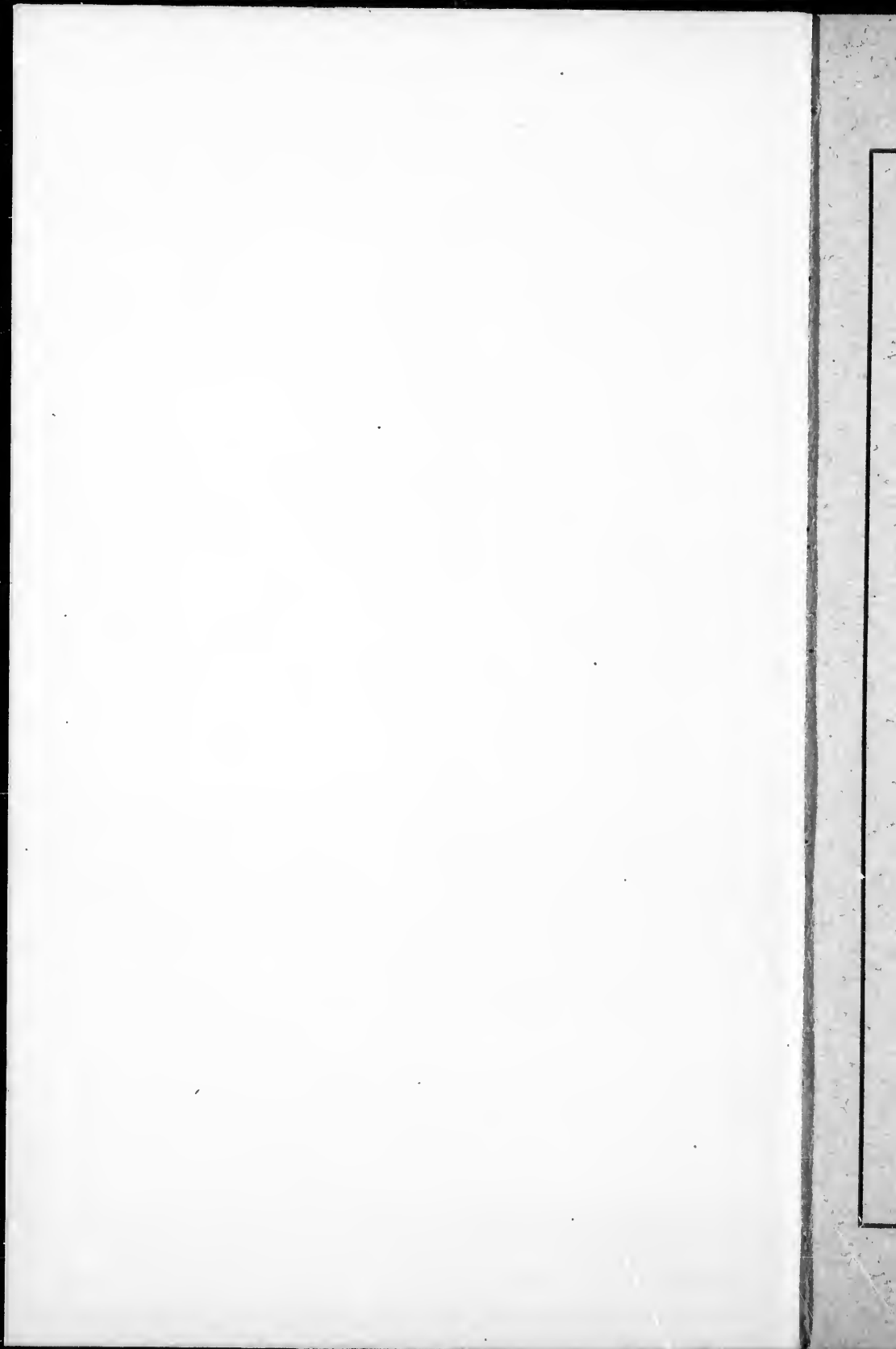
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P367-
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NEW YORK
AND
ADMIRAL SIR PETER WARREN

AT THE
CAPTURE OF LOUISBOURG
1745

AN ADDRESS AT THE INAUGURATION OF THE MONUMENT AT
LOUISBOURG, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH
ANNIVERSARY OF ITS CAPTURE, BY THE SOCIETY
OF COLONIAL WARS
1895

BY
EDWARD FLOYD DE LANCEY

REPRINTED FROM THE REPORT OF THE SOCIETY'S
PROCEEDINGS ON THE OCCASION

Douglas Brynner Esq
with the respects of

Edward G. de Lancey

14.

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THE address of Mr. Edward F. de Lancey, of New York, who was unable to be present at the unveiling of the monument, was as follows :

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* London Magazine, 1746.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pepperrell’s army at this time was in a bad way. He himself wrote Governor Shirley on June 2d, “that powder and balls were nearly used up, and many of his guns idle; that he had borrowed one hundred and eighty-seven barrels of powder from Commodore Warren, that his troops were greatly inferior to those of the enemy, that he had fifteen hundred sick, and that a reinforcement of three thousand men was absolutely necessary from the Colonies, who had an inadequate idea of the enemies’ strength; that if it be possible to settle with Warren a general attack it would be done, but should the event bear heavily on the land forces they should not be able to act on the defensive part under cover of the ships.”

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

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

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

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

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

"Peter Warren.
William Pepperell."

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

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

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

The two leaders ever remained warm friends, and Pep-

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

DESCRIPTION OF THE LOUISBOURG MONUMENT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TO
COMMEMORATE
THE CAPTURE
OF LOUISBOURG
A. D. 1745

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

"PROVINCIAL FORCES"

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

"BRITISH FLEET"

10 SAIL
500 GUNS
UNDER
COMMODORE WARREN

"PROVINCIAL FLEET"

**16 ARMED VESSELS
19 TRANSPORTS
240 GUNS
UNDER
CAPTAIN TYNG**

**TO
OUR
HEROIC
DEAD**

"FRENCH FORCES"

**2,500 REGULARS
MILITIA AND SEAMEN
UNDER
GOVERNOR DUCHAMBON**

