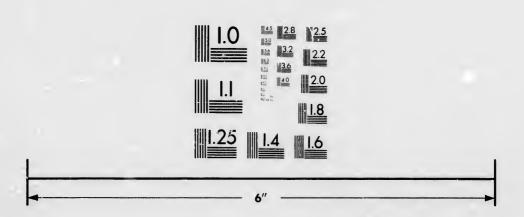


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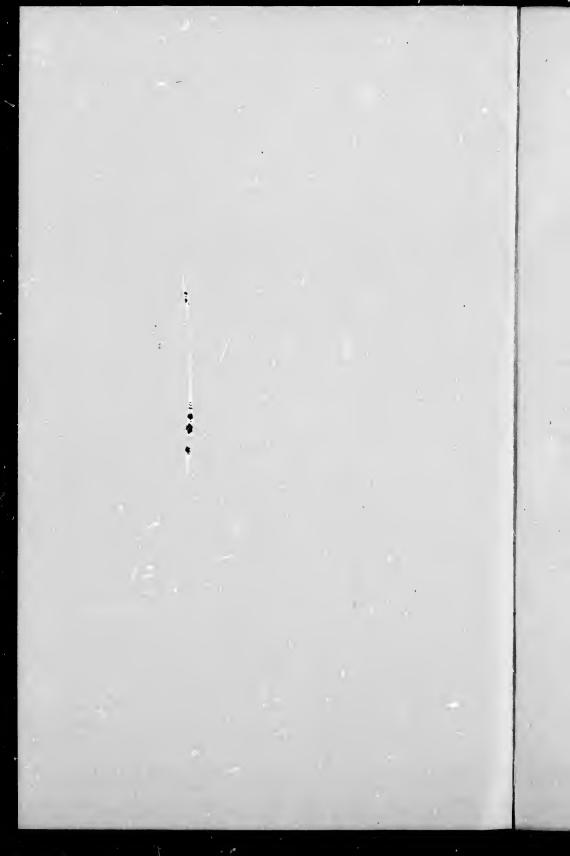
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CAPTURE OF QUEBEC, IN 1759.

[This narrative of the operations before Quebec, in 1759, appeared first in the New York Mercury of the 31st December, 1759, without the writer's name. Although it does not possess that ampleness of detail which readers the journal of Captain John Knox so valuable, or even the extent of the siege-narrative written by Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel) M. Fraser, it has, nevertheless, marked value in a historical point of view, and affords a clear, though succinct, account of the devastations inflicted by the invading army on the fertile parishes on both shores of the St. Lawrence, in the vicinity of Quebec. The Literary and Historical Society is indebted for the use of the New York Mercury of 1759, containing this narrative, to the Hon. John Fraser de Berry, M.L.C., whose ancestors, in the Highland regiments, took a conspicuous part in the Canadian campaign.—J. M. LEMOINE.]

## AJOURNAL

OF THE

### EXPEDITION UP THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE:

#### CONTAINING

A TRUE AND PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE FLEET AND ARMY, FROM THE TIME OF THEIR EMBARKATION AT LOUISBOURG 'TIL AFTER THE SURRENDER OF QUEBEC.

(Re-published under the Auspices of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society.)

On the 1st of June, 1759, we embarked on board the transports at Louisbourg, bound on the expedition to Canada.

The 4th day, we set sail for the River St. Lawrence, which we made on the 9th, and were 'til the 16th before we got into it. For about 40 leagues up the river, the depth of water is 100 fathoms. The 19th day, we came into 17 fathom water; and on the 23rd, we joined Admiral Durell, who, with 7 sail of the line and some frigates, lay as guard to protect the river at the Isle of Coudre. This island is pleasantly situated, lies partly high, and was very well peopled before we came up. And passing this island about a league up, we anchor'd and two of our small boats went in shore and were attacked by a small party of Canadians and Indians, and were obliged to retreat to their ships.

The 25th, we made the out end of the Isle of Orleans, and on the 27th landed on it without the loss of a man. A small party of the rangers were almost surrounded by a large party

of Indians; but the rangers rush'd through them with the loss of only one man: what damage the enemy sustained is uncertain.

The 29th, the French sent down five fire-ships amongst our fleet; but did no damage. The same day we march'd 6 miles under the command of Colonel Carlton, and encamped that same night in sight of the French army, and likewise in sight of the town. General Monckton's brigade and a party of rangers landed on the south side; we had a small attack, by which we had 3 killed, 2 wounded, and 4 taken prisoners.

July 1st, the enemy came against our detachment on the south side of the river with floating batteries; but our shipping soon drove them off. The same day the Louisbourg grenadiers went a foraging; we had two killed and scalp'd belonging to the 22nd regiment.

The 5th, a barge was sent between the island and the main land, to sound the depth of water; the French fired four cannon shot at her, and came down on a large bar of sand, from whence they fired small arms; also, five canoes came down the river, full of Indians, who took the barge, made one man prisoner and wounded another. On the same day their floating batteries attacked our shipping; but were soon obliged to quit their firing. General Monckton open'd a small battery upon the south side; the first day they cannonaded and bombarded on both sides, but lost not a man.

The 8th, we landed on Quebec shore, without any interception, and marched up the river about 2 miles, when the Louisbourg grenadiers were ordered out to get fascines. They, had scarce set down to take a small refreshment, and detach'd a small party of rangers to guard the skirts of the wood, before a large party of Indians surrounded them, kill'd and scalp'd thirteen, wounded the captain, lieutenant and nine privates; they likewise kill'd and wounded 14 royal Americans, wounded 2 of the 22nd and one of the 40th regiment; we got only 3 prisoners, and kill'd two of the savages.

The third day our shipping was drove off, by the enemy's shells. We got only some few prisoners, 'til the 12th day

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to mount any guns on it, for we soon demolish'd it with our field pieces and hawitzers. The 14th, their floating batteries came out after our boats, but we soon drove them back again. The 17th, we set the town on fire, about 12 o'clock, which continued burning all that day.

On the 17th, we went out a fascining, and to make oars, with a small party to cover us. 5 were killed, of which 4 were scalp'd, and we were oblig'd to quit the wood directly; the Indians came up very near, and kill'd and scalp'd one man close by us; the grenadiers of the 45th regiment fired upon them and kill'd one, but the Indians carried him off; we had five killed and three wounded; but our people returning upon them, made them fly so fast that they were oblig'd to leave their match-coats, with several other things behind them; but could not get one of them prisoner. A deserter came to us, from whom we got some account of their forces, which, however imperfect, gave us some encouragement.

The 18th, the deserter went out with the light infantry, to show them a place to cross the falls; the Indians fired on them, but hurt none; likewise the same night some of the shipping pass'd the town, and one run ashore on the south side of the river. The 19th day the floating batteries came out to attack our shipping round the harbour; but our batteries on the land side drove them off, so that the shipping received but two shot.

The 21st, all the grenadiers cross'd over to the Island of Orleans; the Indians attacked us very smartly, as we were marching to the water side. The same day the enemy open'd two batteries on us, which raked our camps. Our troops with seamen, stormed a battery on the south side, spiked the cannon, broke the mortars, broke into their magazine, took all their powder, and threw their shot and shells into the water.

The 22nd, set the town on fire, which burnt all the next day; some of the shipping attempted to pass the town, but the enemy fired so hot at them, they were obliged to turn back.

The 23rd, 300 provincials landed on the Island of Orleans, which was some reinforcement.

The 25th, the Louisbourg battalion and three more companies of grenadiers, with three companies of light infantry, went round the Island of Orleans. The 27th they arrived again at the camp, and received the news, that our forces on Montmorency side had been attack'd the day before, and had got the better of the enemy, in which, 'twas said they had 300 kill'd. Our loss was five officers and 32 privates, 12 of whom were killed, the rest wounded. The same day went to get the plunder which was discover'd on the march round the island, consisting chiefly of wearing apparel, and some cash. The same night the French sent down five firefloats, which were tow'd ashore by the men-of-war's boats, where they were burnt without doing our shipping any damage.

The 29th, Otway's, Hopson's, Whitmore's and Warburton's grenadiers went on board two transport-ships, the rest in flatbottom boats, with a full intent to land on a part of the French shore; so as by that means we might come at the town: the first push we made was on the 31st of July, with 13 companies of grenadiers, supported by about 5000 battalion men: as soon as we landed we fixed our bayonets, and beat the grenadiers' march, and so advanced on; during all this time their cannon play'd very briskly on us; but their small arms. in their trenches, lay cool till they were sure of their mark: then they pour'd their small shot like showers of hail, which caus'd our brave grenadiers to fall very fast : the General saw that our attempts were in vain, retreated to his boats again: the number of the kill'd and wounded that day was about 400 men; in our retreat we burnt the two ships, which we had ran ashore on that side to cover our landing.

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The 3rd of August, a party of Capt. Dank's rangers went from the Island of Orleans to Quebec side, a little down the river; they were attack'd by a party of French, and were smartly engag'd for the space of half an hour; but the rangers put them to flight, kill'd several and took one prisoner; the 18,

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rangers lost the lieutenant, who died of his wounds, and two or three privates. They got a great deal of plunder.

The 4th, the French made an attempt to cross the falls, but our hawitzers and cohorns obliged them to retreat without accomplishing any thing.

The 8th, two sentinels being at the falls, they took an Indian and brought him prisoner to the General, who sent him on board the Admiral. At 12 o'clock at night we threw a carcass and one shell on the enemy's battery of nine guns, which blew up their magazine, platforms, and burnt with such violence that some of the garrison were obliged to get into boats to save themselves from the flames. The 9th day we set the town on fire, being the third time.

On the 10th, the French sent down a sort of floating battery; one of the ship's boats being sent out to see what it was, and just as the seamen were going to get on it, it blew up and killed one midshipman, and wounded 4 sailors. The same day about thirty sailors went a plundering on the south side of the river, but were surprised by a party of Indians and drove off, with the loss of their plunder.

The 11th, there was an engagement between our scouting parties and the Indians; our people drove them off; we had several killed and wounded.

The 12th, we had an account of Gen. Murray's going to land above the town; he made an attempt to land twice, and was beat off; he made the third attempt, and landed on the south shore with the loss of about 100 killed and wounded. The same day we had an account from the enemy, that Gen. Amherst's army was in such a bad condition, that they were obliged to return back again.

On the 13th, we had an account by a deserter from the enemy, that they were in great want of provisions, and that a body of French and Indians were come over the falls, the same side our army was on, had with them four days' provisions, and were there still.

The 15th, Capt. Gorham returned from an incursion in which service were employed, under his command, 150 rangers, a detachment from the different regiments, highlanders, marines, &c., amounting in all to about 300; an arm'd vessel, three transports, with a lieutenant and seamen of the navy to attend him; of which expedition they gave the following account: "That on the 4th of August they proceeded down to St. Paul's bay, where was a parish containing about 200 men, who had been very active in distressing our boats and shipping. At three o'clock in the morning, Capt. Gorham landed, and forced two of their guards, of 20 men each, who fired smartly for some time; but that in two hours he drove them all from their covering in the wood, and clear'd the village, which they afterwards burnt; it consisted of about 50 fine houses and barns; destroyed most of their cattle, &c. That in this they had one man killed and six wounded; but that the enemy had two killed and several wounded, who were carried off. That from thence they proceeded to Mal Bay, ten leagues to the eastward on the same side, where they destroyed another very pretty parish, drove off the inhabitants and stock without any loss; after which they made a descent on the south shore, opposite the Isle of Coudre, destroyed part of the parishes of St. Ann's and St. Roc, where were many handsome houses with good farms, and loaded the vessels with cattle, and then returned from their expedition."

The same day, a party of highlanders came to the Isle of Orleans from General Monckton's encampment, in order to destroy all the Canada side. The same day our people set one of the enemy's batteries on fire; and in the night General Monckton set the town on fire, (being the 4th time) and the flames raged so violently, that 'twas imagined the whole city would have been reduced to ashes.

The 18th, the enemy hove a bomb from the town which killed one of our men and wounded 6 more.

On the 20th, the Louisbourg grenadiers began their march

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down the main land of Quebec, in order to burn and destroy all the houses on that side. On the 24th, they were attacked by a party of French, who had a priest for their commander; but our party kill'd and scalp'd 31 of them, and likewise the priest, their commander; they did our people no damage. The three companies of Louisbourg grenadiers halted about four miles down the river, at a church called the Guardian Angel (Ange Gardien), where they were ordered to fortify themselves till further orders; our people had several small parties in houses, and the remainder continued in the church. The 25th they began to destroy the country, burning houses, cutting down their corn, &c. At night the Indians fired several scattering shot at the houses, which killed one highlander and wounded another; but they were soon repulsed by the heat of ourfiring: it was said that the number of the enemy consisted of 800 Canadians and Indians. Sept. 1st, they set fire to the enemy's houses and fortifications, and then marched to join the grand army at Montmorency.

The 26th of August, a serjeant of the 35th regiment deserted across the falls, and the our people fired several shot at him, he got clear off to the enemy.

The 27th, some of our shipping went past the town, notwithstanding the enemy kept a constant firing of shot and shells at them, tho' without doing them much damage. The 29th, five sail more pass'd the town, up the river, amidst the constant firing of the enemy; and on the 30th, four more of our vessels passed the town without receiving any considerable damage from the enemy's batteries ashore, tho' they kept up a very brisk fire upon them as they pass'd up.

September 1st, all the sick and wounded that were on Montmerency side, came over to the Isle of Orleans: On the 2nd instant, a large body of Wolfe's troops came over with the Louisbourg grenadiers, and encamped that night on the same island.

The 3rd day, all the army left Montmorency side; they set all the houses and fortifications on fire, and then embark'd in

flat-bottomed boats and came up above the fall; the French fired very brisk all the time of their passing, but did them no damage; they went over to Point Levi and encamped there.

The 4th, the Louisbourg grenadiers and the remainder of the army cross'd over to Point Levi from the Isle of Orleans, and encamped there. The same day four men came from General Amherst's army; they were 26 days on their journey, and informed us that we were in possession of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point,

The 5th, about 5 or 600 men march'd up the river, on Point Levi side, to go above the town, and carried one month's provision up in sloops. The same day one of the Royal Americans, who was taken prisoner by the French Indians on the 31st of July, made his escape and came to the Porcupine, sloop of war, which lay a little below the fall; he informed us that there was but about 300 Indians with the enemy that carried arms; but that there was a great number of women and children, and that they were very scant of provisions; likewise that he himself had been 48 hours without any thing to eat; he further said that the enemy were very numerous in their intrenchments, consisting of at least 14,000 men, of which 11,000 were Canadians and the rest regulars, the latter of whom were heartily tired of the siege.

The 6th, the schooner Terror of France, went above the town, in the middle of the day; as she pass'd, the enemy kept up a constant fire at her, and she received several shot in her sails, but lost none of her hands.

The whole army being on Point Levi side, the main body were ordered to get ready to march above the town, on the south side, and to take with them only one shirt and one pair of stockings, besides what they had on: they marched up the river about eight miles, and then embarked on board the men-of-war and transports that were up the river; the number that embarked was 3,349 men, with a party of the train of artillery.

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The 10th, the weather being very wet, and the troops very much crowded on board the men-of-war and transports, the General thought proper to land them on the south side again; which was a great decoy to the French; we then marched to the church of St. Nicholas, under the command of General Monckton, where we halted. The next day we received intelligence of a small number of French and Indians, who were driving some cattle; we dispatched a party of 500 men who took the cattle, but the enemy got off.

The 12th, we received orders to embark on board the transports again, and to hold ourselves in readiness to land next morning at day light under the heights of Abraham; accordingly we landed at break of day, and immediately attacked and routed a considerable body of the enemy and took possession of their battery of 24-pounders, and one 13inch mortar, with but a very inconsiderable loss on our side. We then took post on the plains of Abraham, where M. Montcalm (on hearing that we were landed, for he did not expect us) hasted with his whole army, consisting of cavalry as well as infantry, to give us battle; about 9'o'clock, we observ'd the enemy marching down towards us in three columns; at ten they formed their line of battle, which was at least six deep, having their flanks covered by a thick wood on each side, into which they threw above 1000 Canadians and Indians, who gaul'd us much. We got two six-pounders to fire against the enemy; very soon, six more, besides two royal hawitzers, came up while the enemy were making haste to attack before our artillery should be got up, as they dreaded our quick firing; accordingly their regulars then marched briskly up to us, and gave us their first fire at about 50 yards distance, which we did not return, as it was Gen. Wolfe's express orders not to fire 'till they came within 20 yards of They continued firing by platoons advancing in a very regular manner, 'till they came close up to us, and then the action became general. Our artillery fired so briskly, seconded by the small-arms from the regiments, who behaved with

the greatest intrepidity, order, and regularity, with a cheerfulness which foretold victory on our side; and in about 15 minutes they gave way, so that we fairly beat them in open field, drove them before us, part into Quebec, the rest ran precipitately cross St. Charles river, over a bridge of boats, and some thro' the water. The enemy lost in the engagement, Lieutenant General Montcalm, who had three wounds from our six-pounder grape, of which he died next day: one Colonel, two Lieut.-Colonels, and at least 1500 officers and men killed and wounded, and 200 taken prisoners at their very sally-ports, of which many were officers. We lost the brave Gen. Wolfe, who received three wounds, but had the satisfaction before his death to see his own plan so executed. as to beat the enemy totally: He then said, "I thank God, now I shall die contented," were his last words. Brigadier General Monckton; Col. Carlton, Quarter-master-general: Major Berry (Barré), adjutant-general, and several other officers were wounded.

At four in the afternoon, M. de Bougainville appeared in the rear, with about 1,500 foot and 200 horse, upon which Brigadier Gen. Burton, with the 35th and 48th regiments marched to the left to receive him, but he no sooner saw our dispositions made to engage him, than he faced to the right about, and made a most precipitate retreat.

At ten o'clock at night we surprised their guard and took possession of their grand hospital, wherein we found between 12 and 1500 sick and wounded.

We remained that night on the field of battle, and on the 14th, in the morning, we secured the bridge of boats they had over Charles river, and possessed ourselves of all the posts and avenues that were or might have been of any consequence leading to the town, and began to prepare for attacking the garrison in form, and got up for that purpose, twelve heavy 24-pounders, six heavy 12-pounders, some large mortars, and the 4-inch hawitzers, to play upon the town, and had been employed three days, intending to make a breach, and to

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storm the city sword in hand, but were prevented by their beating a parley, and sent out a flag of truce with articles of capitulation; and the next day being the 18th of September, the articles were signed, (see Hutchin's Almanac) and we took possession of the city, where we found 180 pieces of cannon, from 2 to 36-pounders; a number of mortars, with a large quantity of artillery stores, &c., &c.

The day after the engagement the enemy abandoned Beauport, leaving behind them about 50 pieces of cannon, and 4 mortars, having first set fire to all their floating batteries, and blown up their magazine of powder.

M. deVaudreuil, the governor-general of New France, stole out of the city before the capitulation, leaving only about 600 men, under the command of Mons. de Ramsay, by whom the capitulation was signed. The poor remains of the French regulars, with about 10,000 Canadians, retired to Jacques Quartier under the command of M. de Levy, but the Canadians deserted from him in great numbers, and came in and surrendered themselves.

Sept. 19th, the French garrison were embarked on board transports: such of the inhabitants as would come in and take the oath of allegiance were permitted to enjoy their estates.

Brigadier General Murray is governor of the town, and the whole army left to garrison it.

During the whole siege, from first to last, 535 houses were burned down, amongst which is the whole eastern part of the lower town (save 6 or 8 houses), which makes a very dismal appearance.

The enemy were above double our number, by their own confession, besides their Indians, and were entrenched, had breast-works, fletches, redoubts, shore and floating bat teries, &c. The enemy kept a diligent look-out, up St. Lawrence river, from thence to hinder any communication with Gen. Amherst, and had intercepted two officers and four Indians coming from him to us. We burned and destroyed

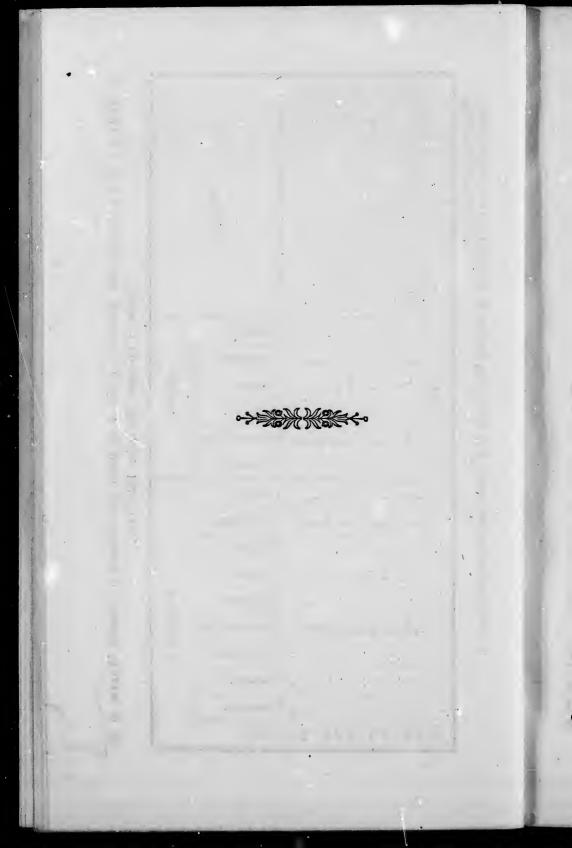
upwards of 1400 fine farm-houses, for we, during the siege, were masters of a great part of their country along shore, and parties were almost continually kept out ravaging the country; so that 'tis tho't it will take them half a century to recover the damage.

A RETURN of the Killed and Wounded of the Army under the command of General Wolfe, at the Battle of QUEBEC, September 13th, 1759.

•	Amherst Bragg Otway Kennedy Lascelles Webb Anstruther Monckton Lawrence Fraser Louisbourg Grenadiers	REGIMENTS.
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<sup>·</sup> Major General Wolfe, killed.

ege, and try; † Brigadier Monckton, Col. Carlton, Q. M. General, Major Barry, Adjt. General, and Major Spittle, wounded.



#### APPENDIX.

Boston, December 17th, 1759—We hear that George Cradock, Esquire, is appointed Collector of His Majesty's Customs, in the room of Benjamin Barons, Esquire.

The English prisoners who were exchanged this fall by a flag of truce from Monsieur de Vaudreuil, at Montreal, are returned to their respective places. Capt. James Beach, one of those who was exchanged, is arrived here: he was taken about a year ago, on his passage from Bristol, by Capt. Delabroitz, in a French 64-gnn ship, which was east away in the River St. Lawrence, as has been published. By him we learn that, when the British fleet and troops arrived before Quebec, the English prisoners, who were officers (being 12 in number), were removed from that city to Trois-Rivières, where they tarried till the day the battle was on the Plains of Abraham, when they were ordered for Montreal; but the success of our forces was kept hid from them as well as the inhabitants of Montreal, till a considerable time after: that about 800 of the militia were sent from the French army before Quebec surrendered, to gather in the harvest, and send it to the mills: that the inhabitants' stock of cattle and grain were taken an account of, and two-third parts of the whole was appropriated for the King's use: that when they received the news at Montreal of the death of Mons. de Montcalm, and the loss of Quebec, the French in general were prodigiously cast down, and dreaded their own Indians more than the English; that the Canadians were pleased with the articles of capitulation: that M. de Vaudreuil pleased them with the prospect of peace early in the spring; and that it was needless for the peasants to submit themselves to the English, as they would enjoy their possessions so soon again. While the prisoners

were at Montreal, the French had intelligence of Major Rogers destroying St. François, which they tho't to be a great enterprise; but just as the flag of truce was coming away, they endeavoured to depreciate it, by reporting to the prisoners, that there were not more than 40 Indians destroyed therein. It is said that the Island of St. John's is not very strongly fortified, any more than Montreal: but that Nut Island is made as strong as possible to make such a pass. The prisoners who were in Canada; are not all discharged, some still choosing to remain with the French, though they must fare very hard, and others among the Indians. About 80 were in Quebec when the place surrendered, and were discharged, and some of them are returned to their homes.

One of the instances of kindness and generosity of the British troops after their taking possession & Quebec, has not yet been mentioned in the public papers, which is, that when they had their allowance of provisions dealt out to them, on seeing the distressed women whose husbands, fathers and brethren had been, and some were then their inveterate enemies, freely distributed half their allowance to them, causing them to rejoice, in receiving their sustenance from those whom they had so great an aversion to. It is imagined that the French army in Germany under the M. de Contades, had that been victorious last summer, would it have behaved in like manner to Hanover? Let Mar. Belleisle's letter, or rather the conduct of Marshal Richelieu, when he had that capital in possession, determine :- "But (said the late General Wolfe) "Britons breathe higher sentiments of humanity, and listen to " the merciful dictates of the Christian Religion;" which was verified in the brave soldiers whom he led on to conquest, by their shewing more of the true Christian Spirit than the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty can pretend to.

In our last we mentioned the arrival of His Majesty's Ship "Mercury," with the money granted by Parliament in 1757 to this Province, to recompence them for their expenses in 1756:—Our readers are desired to take notice, that only twenty thousand six hundred and eighty pounds, seventeen

shillings and six pence, ster., being but part of thetwentyseven thousand pounds granted by Parliament in 1757 to this Province, was brought here in thesaid ship.

We hear His Majesty's ship "Hind," Capt. Bond, now refitting in this port, will sail from hence for England about the 25th instant.

PHILADELPHIA, December 27th, 1759.—Since our last we have been informed by Capt. Nicholson, from London, that before he left the channel, the vessel with the news of the reduction of Quebec had arrived, in a passage of 18 or 19 days; and that at Torbay and other places, they were ringing their bells, and shewing other demonstrations of joy, on receiving the glad tidings.

The navigation of this port has been stopt for a week past, our river being full of ice.

NEW YORK, December 31st, 1759.—The following is a resolution of the general assembly of the colony of Virginia, the latter end of October last:—

Resolved,—That the sum of one thousand pounds be paid by the Treasurer of this colony to Capt. Robert Stobo, over and above the pay that is due to him from the time of his rendering himself an hostage, to this day, as a reward for his zeal to his country, and a recompence for the great hardships he has suffered, during his confinement in the enemy's country.

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