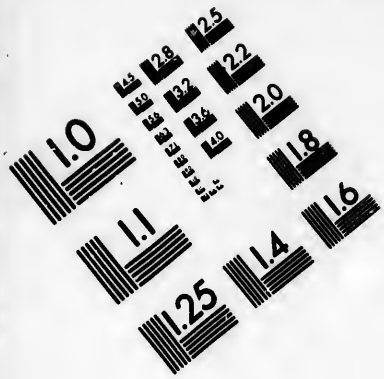

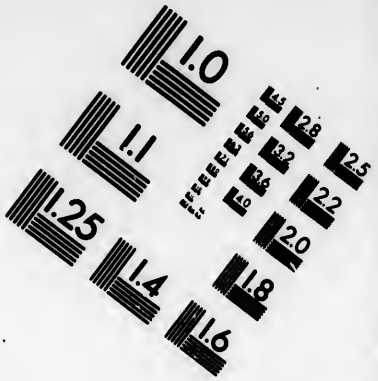

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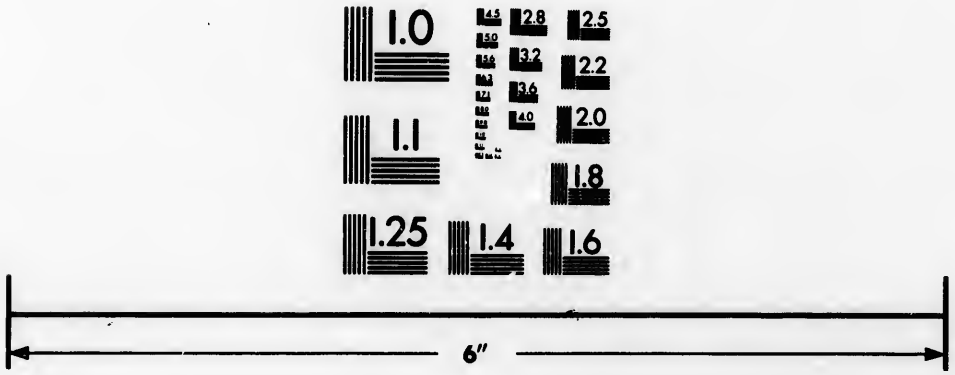

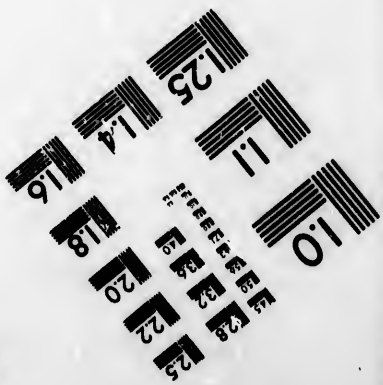

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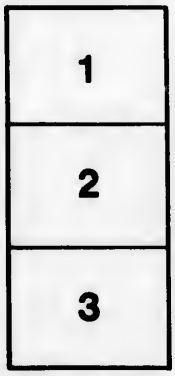

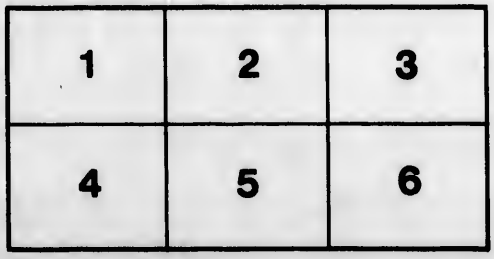

SIEGE OF QUEBEC

—ON—

31st DECEMBER, 1775.

THE CENTENARY FÊTE

OF THE

Literary and Historical Society,

HELD IN THEIR ROOMS,

ON THE

EVENING OF WEDNESDAY,

29TH DECEMBER, 1875.

QUEBEC:
PRINTED AT THE "MORNING CHRONICLE" OFFICE.
1876.

CONTENTS.

CENTENARY FÊTE.

—§—

THE year 1875 being the centennial of the defence of Quebec, against the attack of General Montgomery, the Council of the Literary and Historical Society, consisting of the following Gentlemen, viz.:

JAMES DOUGLAS, JR.....	*President.*
JAMES STEVENSON.....	*Vice-Presidents.*
R. S. M. BOUCHETTE.....	
COLONEL STRANGE.....	
DR. BOSWELL.....	
WM. HOSSACK.....	*Treasurer.*
RODERICK MCLEOD.....	*Librarian.*
CYRILLE TESSIER.....	*Recording Secretary.*
W. CLINT.....	*Corresponding Secretary.*
A. ROBERTSON.....	*Council Secretary.*
J. M. LEMOINE.....	*Curator of the Museum.*
COMMANDER ASHE, R. N.	*Curator of Apparatus.*
H. S. SCOTT.....	*Additional Members of Council.*
ROBERT CASSELS.....	
REV. H. D. POWIS.....	
J. WHITEHEAD.....	

Resolved to hold a special meeting of the members and friends of the Society to commemorate the event. Colonel Strange, and Mr. J. M. LeMoine, ex-President, having consented to address the meeting, the following advertisement was inserted in the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Quebec Mercury*. The meeting was held accordingly, in the Rooms of the Society, and the *Morning Chronicle*, next day, contained the account of the proceedings, which follows:

Literary and Historical Society.

CENTENARY OF THE DEFENCE OF QUEBEC, 1775.

THE CENTENARY OF THE DEFENCE OF QUEBEC, 1775, will be celebrated by the above Society, at their Rooms, Morrin College, WEDNESDAY EVENING, 29th December instant.

Papers relating to the event commemorated will be read by Colonel STRANGE and J. M. LEMOINE, Esq.

Chair will be taken at 8 P.M. by the Senior Vice President, J. STEVENSON, Esq., who will give the introductory and concluding remarks.

The insufficiency of room necessitates the issuing of cards of admission, which can be obtained, ONLY BY MEMBERS, from the Assistant Librarian, Mr. McDonald, AT THE ROOMS, up to NOON of 29th instant. Each member will be entitled to two tickets.

A. ROBERTSON,
Council Secretary.

December 25, 1875.

(*Extract from Morning Chronicle, 30th Dec.*, 1875.)

The Literary and Historical Society's Centenary Fete.

It would be hardly possible to imagine a more graceful or unique gathering than that which assembled in the rooms of the Literary and Historical Society last evening, for the purpose of celebrating with all possible *eclat* that gloriously memorable event, the repulse of the troops commanded by General Richard Montgomery, of the American Army, whilom officer of the 17th Regiment of Infantry in the service of his

Britannic Majesty George III, who, on the blusterous wintery morning of the 31st December, 1775, attempted an assault upon the redoubts and fortifications which at that time did the duty of our present Citadel, and whose intrepidity was rewarded with a soldier's death, and his want of success formed the nucleus of the power which is so firmly established in this Royal Canada of ours to day.

The arrangements made by the Society for the reception of their unusually numerous guests, and the decorations of the various apartments, were all that could be wished—commodious and tasteful. In the entrance hall the royal standard floated, and there the B. Battery Band was placed. Turning up the left hand flight of steps the visitor—passing the large class room of Morrin College, transformed for the nonce into spacious refreshment buffets—was ushered into the lecture room, from the galleries of which flags of many nations and many colors were drooping. The raised dais, occupied during the delivery of the addresses by James Stevenson, Esq., Senior Vice-President, L. & H. Society, in the chair; Lieut.-Col. T. Bland Strange, R. S. M. Bouchette, Esq., Dr. Boswell, Vice-Presidents, J. M. LeMoine, Esq., and Commander Ashe, R. N., ex Presidents, was flanked on either side with the blue and silver banners of St. Andrew's Society, bearing the arms and escutheon of Scotia, and their proud motto "*Nemo me impune lascessit.*" Bunting and fresh spruce foliage gave an air of freshness to all the adornable parts of the room. Immediately opposite the lectern, which was illuminated with wax candles, placed in last century candlesticks, and attached to the gallery railings, was a fine collection of Lochaber axes, clustered around a genuine wooden Gaelic shield studded with polished knobs of glittering brass. Long before the hour of eight the company had increased to such an extent that the room was crowded to the doors, but not inconveniently as the ventilation was unexceptionable. With accustomed punctuality, James Stevenson, Esq., acting in the absence of the President, opened the meeting with some highly appropriate remarks relative to the historical value of the subjects about to be discussed and summarising very succinctly the events immediately previous to the beleaguering of the fortress city. He alluded in stirring terms to the devotion which had been manifested by the British and French defenders, who, resolved rather to be buried in the ruins than surrender the city. He stated that he thought it especially meet and proper that the Literary and Historical Society here should have taken up the matter and dealt with it in this way. He alluded in eulogistic terms to the capability of the gentlemen about to address them and, after regretting the unavoidable absence of Lt.-Col. Coffin, a lineal descendant of an officer present, formally introduced the first speaker, Lieutenant-Colonel Strange, commandant of Quebec Garrison, and Dominion Inspector of

Artillery. This gallant officer, who on rising with characteristic military brevity, was received with loud and hearty cheering by the audience, plunged *in medias res*, simply remarking, at the onset, that he, in such a position, was but a rear rank man, while Colonel Coffin would have been a front-ranker; but his soldierly duty was to fill that position in the absence of him to whom the task would have been officially assigned. The subject which formed a distinct section of the major topic of the evening was then taken up. Inasmuch as it is our intention, and we believe that of the Society, to reproduce faithfully in pamphlet form the graphic, interesting and detailed word-pictures of the ever memorable events of the 31st December, 1775, as given by the learned and competent gentlemen who addressed the meeting, it suffices to say in the present brief notice of the proceedings that Colonel Strange exhaustively treated that portion which referred to the attack and defence at Pres de-Ville—the place in the vicinity of which now stands the extensive wharves of the Allan Company. Many incidents of the siege, utterly unknown to ordinary readers of history were recalled last night, and many things that have hitherto been dubious, or apparently unaccountable explained away. The story of the finding of the snow covered and hard frozen corpse of the unfortunate General and his Aide-de-Camp, was told with much pathos, as were details of his burial. The references to descendants of then existing families still residents in Quebec, were extremely interesting, because many were among the audience. At the conclusion of Colonel Strange's admirable resume, and some further pointed remarks from the Chairman, Mr. J. M. LeMoine, who is *par excellence* and *par assiduite*, our Quebec historian, whose life has been mainly devoted to the compilation of antiquarian data touching the walls, the streets, the relics, the families, the very Flora, and Fauna of our cherished Stadacona—commenced his erudite and amusing sketches of the day, taken from the stand pount of the enemy's head quarters, and the fray in the Sault au matelot. Interspersing in his own well digested statement of events, he chose the best authenticated accounts from contemporaneous participants, British, French Canadian, and American, proving that the record as presented by Col. Strange and himself last night, was a "plain unvarnished truthful tale," a reliable mirror in which was faithfully reflected all that was historically interesting as affecting Quebec in the campaign of 1775-6. When Mr. LeMoine had terminated his address, which was of considerable length, Mr. Stevenson concluded this portion of the proceedings with a most eulogistic and deserved recognition of the devotion which the two gentlemen who had read during the evening had shewn in preparing their respective papers, and a vote of thanks to them was heartily and unanimously accorded. He also made reference to the topic of the day, the restoration and embellishment of our oft sieged city, gracefully attri-

buting honor where it was due, first and foremost to His Excellency the Governor General, Earl of Dufferin, at whose instigation the plans had been prep ed, secondly to His Worship the Mayor, Owen Murphy, Esq., (who was present) for his untiring exertions and valuable assistance in developing, maturing and preparing the way for an early completion of said designs, which are to make Quebec a splendid architectural example of the deformed, transformed; thirdly, to the hearty co-operation of the public, aided in their views by the enterprise of the proprietor of the MORNING CHRONICLE, who had had prepared the splendid illustrations of these improvements, thereby reflecting infinite credit upon himself. After a few other remarks the ladies and gentlemen were invited to inspect and moved into the library, which for the rest of the evening was the centre of attraction. The *coup d'œil*, when once one had fairly entered into this beautifully designed, permanent focus of intellectual wealth, around whose walls were ranged the imperishable memorials of nearly all of man's genius that has been thought worthy of preserving, was striking and memorable. As in the lecture room, those emblems, which are our symbolical as well as actual rallying points in all times of trouble or war, draped and covered the book shelves which contain the essence almost of all that human intelligence, human thought, human wit, man's invention and ingenuity has as yet brought to light. Here, historian and poet, geographer and engineer, humorist and preacher, dramatist and theologian, are congregated, serving in the one great cause of public instruction and the expansion of the limitless ramifications which exist in the ever growing tree of knowledge. The student and litérateur, the bibliopole and dilletante novel reader, the most frequent visitors here last night were replaced by groups of fair women and patriotic men assembled to commemorate an event which had a marked effect upon the history of this continent in this nineteenth century, which will expire a few hours after these lines meet the reader's eyes. In lieu of study and thought, the attention of the throng was attracted to the splendid stand of arms reaching from floor to celling, and which as it were defended the Dominion standard that fell in long festoons behind. In the centre of a diamond shaped figure made up of scores of sabres pointing inwards, was a large glittering star of silvery steel bayonets. In chronological order were pink and gilt tablets, containing each one the names of the Lieutenant Governors of Canada, commencing with Carleton in 1775, and proceeding through the noble list which includes Haldimand, Dorchester, Dalhousie, Gosford, Colborne, Durham, Sydenham, Bagot, Cathcart, Elgin, Head, Monk, Lisgar, down to the present glorious epoch when this prosperous country is vice-regally and right royally presided over by Lord Dufferin, in the year of grace, 1875—on the opposite side of the room, under a similar spiky coronet of bristling steel, was hung the sword of the dead and vanquished,

but honored and revered hero, the trusty blade which only left Montgomery's hands, when in his death throes he "like a soldier fell," and the pitiless snow became his winding-sheet. On a table below this interesting and valuable historic relic, now in possession, as an heirloom, of J. Thompson Harrower, Esq., of this city, was exhibited the full uniform of an artillery officer of the year 1775. Several quaint old sketches and paintings were placed around the Library, which, with the Museum, was converted for the time into an extempore conversazione hall, and while the melodies of the "B" Battery band were wafted hither and thither through the building, the dames and cavaliers gossiped pleasantly over their tea or coffee and delicacies provided by the members for the guests, and declared, with much show of reason, that the Literary and Historical Society's centennial entertainment was a red-letter day in the annals of that learned and well-deserving body.

———§———

Colonel Strange and the Officers of the "B" Battery Canadian Artillery having consented to their Band playing in the Hall, on the occasion, a piece, viz.:

OVERTURE..... "HUBERT"..... .....*Supp*é,

was played in the best style by a full Band, when the members and friends of the Society had assembled in the Rooms. After the piece followed:

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY JAMES STEVENSON, ESQ., senior Vice-President of the Literary and Historical Society, on the occasion of the commemoration in their Rooms at Quebec, of the Centennial of the repulse of the insurgents of the revolted Provinces of British North America, under General Montgomery and Colonel Arnold, on the morning of the 31st December, 1775.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In the absence of the President, it devolves upon me to begin the proceedings of the evening.

We are met together to celebrate the Centennial of the successful defence of Quebec, against the attack of General Montgomery, on the morning of the 31st December, 1775.

The troops of the Gener. upied at the time nearly every important place in Canada. It was deemed expedient to take possession of the Province, in order to establish a barrier against the hostilities of the Indians, and to display to the world the strength of the insurgent forces. General Montgomery, then second in command to Major General Schuyler, who soon retired from the scene of action, moved in September, 1775, from Ticonderoga upon St. Johns, which surrendered after a siege of fifty days, and thence on Montreal, which he occupied with his troops, as well as Sorel, and subsequently Three Rivers. He pressed forward to join Colonel Arnold at Quebec, in order to precipitate an attack on the fortress with their combined forces before the severity of the season should render all prospect of success hopeless.

Winter had, however, fairly set in when Montgomery appeared before Quebec. He had no battering train, consequently he was not prepared for a regular siege, but he believed in a fair chance of success by assault. It is the repulse of the assault that we now commemorate. Upon the issue of the conflict hung the cause of the King in Canada, and the fate of the Colony as a dependency of the British Crown. A more daring attack than that of Montgomery upon Quebec is, perhaps, not on record in the page of History. An attack made at the break of day, in the dead of winter, and in the teeth of a driving snow storm. All that a daring man could do was done; but formidable defenders were within the walls—men resolved to be buried in the ruins rather than surrender.

Living as we do on the very scene of the action, it seems most meet that members of the Literary and Historical Society—an association formed fifty years ago for the prosecution of researches into the early History of Canada—should meet together with their friends to commemorate the centennial of the event.

The history of one's own country is the best of all historical studies. That memorable part of ours which relates to the storming of Quebec, will be discussed to-night by members of the Society who are conversant with the subject. Mr. LeMoine, ex-President—the author of several valuable works on Canadian History—will narrate the events of the assault by Colonel Arnold on the batteries at Sault-au-Matelot; and Colonel Strange has consented to deal with the simultaneous assault by General Montgomery on the Battery at Près-de-Ville, which intercepted the approach to the City, and which poured its fire with such fatal effect upon the foe. The Battery was commanded, I believe, by a private Gentleman, John Coffin, a loyalist, who left Boston on the breaking out of the Rebellion, and settled with his family in Quebec. He was conspicuously brave at the defence of the City. We hoped to have had a lineal descendant of his here to-night, Colonel Coffin, of Ottawa. He was invited to join us in the celebration; but official duties prevented his leaving the Capital.

In our own Society we claim the descendant of Captain Bouchette, a militia officer, who had the honor of being mentioned in the despatch of General Carleton to the Home Government as one of the bravest defenders of the City. I allude to our esteemed Vice-President, Mr. R. S. M. Bouchette, late Commissioner of Customs, whom I have the pleasure of seeing near me to-night.

It is not my intention to take up the time of the meeting any longer, lest in entering further upon the subject, I should trench upon the sections of History assigned to my friends, Colonel Strange and Mr. LeMoine. I shall therefore, without any further remarks, request Colonel Strange to favor us with the narrative of the attack on the Western part of the City, which he has kindly prepared for our information to-night.

The Colonel then read the narrative, as follows:

HISTORICAL NOTES

ON THE

DEFENCE OF QUEBEC IN 1775,

ESPECIALLY REFERRING TO THE AMERICAN ATTACK ON PRES-DE-VILLE, EXTRACTED FROM THE FOLLOWING AUTHORITIES:

J. M. LeMoine, Esq.
Hawkins' Historical Picture of Quebec.
Dr. W. J. Anderson (late President)—Papers of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.
Dr. Hubert LaRue—Histoire du Canada. Sanguinet's Journal.
Lt.-Col. Goffin, Crown Lands Department, Ottawa.
James Thompson, late Depy. Com. Genl.
Colonel Bouchette, late Surveyor General of Canada.
Major F. Duncan, M.A., D.C.L., R. A., Historian of the Royal Artillery.
Journal of Colonel Arnold's operations, by Major Return Jonathan Meigs, of the American Army.

BY

LT.-COLONEL STRANGE,

Vice-President, Literary and Historical Society of Quebec,

29TH DECEMBER, 1875.

SOLDIERS are not supposed to write History, they make it, or are merely the stuff from which it is made. There are exceptions, from the time of Xenophon, Cæsar, Napier and Jomini, down to the Soldier Historians of my own arm and day, Colonel Hamley and Major Duncan, of the Royal Artillery.

I who have passed scarce half a decade of pleasant years in the honored charge of your famous old Fortress, hallowed as it is, by the footprints of heroes, could not, without presumption, even partially attempt to pen the records of the last glorious struggle in which your forefathers hurled the invader from your gates, and kept upon your cannon crowned rock, the ancient solitary flag that alone floated securely on this continent.

One hundred years of the indomitable energy of our race has carried that banner westward to the Pacific, and eastward to our Empire of the rising sun, to belt the globe by land and sea, until it returned to its birth place, where it floats over the island cradle of our people and the palace of the gentle lady who is our Queen.

I have ventured upon no weak paraphrase of my own; where the strong, simple words of the historian suffice, I merely quote, and mainly one among you, the Washington Irving of Canada, who with truthful pen, lovingly writes the records of your people; inheriting the best brain and blood of both races, he often reminds you of what you too frequently forget: the noble records of two chivalrous races, once antagonistic, now happily supporting the same standard, loyal subjects of the same generous crown. Need I mention the name of James M. LeMoine, the gentle lover of nature, the conscientious historian. He shews that fifteen short years after the conquest, the immortal Wolfe and Montcalm had scarcely returned to their kindred dust, ere the Briton and the Gaul were shoulder to shoulder repelling the invader of our sacred soil.

Results more momentous to the new world, than the issues of Waterloo, were decided on that bleak New Year's eve, beneath the beetling crags by the shore of the St. Lawrence, where brave Montgomery found his winding sheet of snow.

The age of personal tyrants has passed. A noble civilization has more to dread, from the many headed multitudes, who are our masters. Against the tyranny of corrupt majorities lies the struggle of the future. And that struggle commenced a hundred years at this Thermopyle of Quebec, where it was decided that this new world was not to be one huge Republic, and that the wills of those who desired to dwell under the ancient institutions of their ancestors must be respected or the issue again relegated to the *ultima ratio regis et populi.*

——§——

COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES.

"In 1775, the Titanic contest commenced, in which England found herself pitted against France, Spain, and her own children.

"From that year until 1783, the student of her Military history, finds his labour incessant. America and Europe alike claim his attention." The war of Independence, and the sieges of Gibraltar and Quebec, show how the grim Old Lion stood at bay when assailed, even by his own brood. Unfortunately there are few campaigns in English history which have been more systematically misunderstood, and more deliberately ignored, than the American war between 1775 and 1783. The disadvantages under which the British troops laboured were many and great.

Soldiers will fight for a Nation which is in earnest: British Soldiers will even fight when they are merely the Police to execute the wishes of a Government: instead of a people.

But in the one case they are fired with enthusiasm; in the other, their prompter is the coldest duty.

I need not reiterate what our worthy Chairman has so ably told you, that the daring advance of Montgomery had swept all the British Garrisons from Canada till the tide of American Conquest surged as vainly against the rock of Quebec, as the waves of the mighty river that flows by its walls.

———§———

PREPARATIONS FOR THE DEFENCE.

"When," says James Thompson, "the Americans invaded Canada, in 1775, I received the orders of General Carleton, afterwards Guy, Lord Dorchester, to put the extensive fortifications of Quebec in a state of defence at a time when there was not a single article of material in stone with which to perform such an undertaking. I was consequently authorized to purchase all that was needful, and to prosecute the work with the greatest dispatch. My first object was to secure stout spar timber for pallisading a great extent of open ground between the gates called Palace and Hope, and again from Cape Diamond half-bastion, along the brow of the cape, towards the Castle St. Lewis. I accordingly succeeded in securing from Monsieur Lefleche's timber-yard, as much spar-timber as I required at three farthings per foot. I made a beginning with fourteen Canadian carpenters at Palace Gate in pallisading with loop-holes for musketry, and made a projection in the form of a bastion, as a defence for the line of pickets, in the gorge of which I erected a block-house, which made a good defence. While employed at this station of the works, a company of artificers arrived from Halifax, and another company from

Newfoundland joined me soon after. The Halifax men, I set to work at pallisading the open ground on Cape Diamond, and framing and erecting a large block-house on the outside of Port St. Louis, to serve as a captain's nightly guard-house, in order to be prepared against a surprise, also a block-house on the cape, under Cape Diamond bastion; at the same time a party was employed in laying platforms and repairing embrazures. I also had a party of the carpenters barricading the extremities of the Lower Town, by blocking up all the windows of the houses next to the river side, and those facing the water, leaving only loopholes for musketry, as a defence in case the St. Lawrence shall freeze across. Whilst these detached services were in progress, I was on horseback from the rising, to the setting of the sun, in attending the several points where my presence was required; and again, owing to the weak state of the troops in garrison, I had to mount picket with my artificers, who were armed for that purpose, from nine o'clock at night until day-break each morning, and again resume our labours at the fortifications. Thus I continued during the blockade, without being enabled in the interval to lie down in a bed—after completing the works of defence, I, with all my artificers, were called upon to do duty as soldiers, and ordered to join Major John Nairne's party as a *corps de réserve*, in case of alarm, the grand parade being fixed upon as our rendez-vous.

"On the 3rd November, 1775, Colonel Arnold, with a party of upwards of seven hundred Americans, came out of the woods at the settlements on the River Chaudière; and on the 9th they marched to Point Levy, where they shewed themselves on the bank, immediately opposite the town of Quebec. On the 14th, in the night, they passed across the St. Lawrence, and paraded in front of Port St. Louis, at about three hundred yards distance, where they saluted the town with three cheers, in full expectation, no

doubt, that the gates would be opened for their reception. At this juncture, I was on Cape Diamond bastion, and levelled and fired a 24-pounder at them, which had the effect of making them disperse hastily and retire to Pointe-aux-Trembles.

"On the 5th December, General Montgomery, their chief commander, came with troops from Montreal, and joined Arnold, making their head-quarters at St. Foye. They sent in a flag of truce, which General Carleton utterly disregarded, declaring that he would not have any communication with rebels, unless they came to claim the King's mercy. Montgomery was then induced to try his strength by erecting a six-gun battery in front of St. John's Gate; a battery of two guns on the off-side of River St. Charles; and one of four guns on the Point Levy side, none of which did us any material injury. At this time, the nights being dark, I strongly recommended the use of lanterns extended on poles from the salient angles of all the bastions, the effect of which, as witnessed by Colonel McLean, commanding the 84th Regiment, was highly approved. By means of these lights, even a dog could be distinguished if in the great ditch, in the darkest night. This we continued during the absence of the moon, with the exception of a composition burned in iron pots substituted for candles."

THE INVASION OF CANADA IN 1775.

On the 17th September, 1775, Brigadier General Richard Montgomery, who had formerly been in the British service, appeared at the head of an army, before the Fort of St. John's; which, after a gallant defence, surrendered on

the 3rd November, the garrison marching out with the honors of war. The fort of Chambly surrendered; Mr. Louis de Salaberry, was desperately wounded in the defence by an American Shell. Montreal, which was entirely defenceless, capitulated on the 12th November; and General Carleton, conceiving it of the utmost importance to reach Quebec, the only place capable of defence, passed through the American force stationed at Sorel, during the night, in a canoe with muffled paddles, and arrived in Quebec on the 19th, to the great joy of the garrison and loyal inhabitants, who placed every confidence in his well known courage and ability. Capt. Bouchette, contrived and executed the escape of the Governor through the American lines dressed as a peasant. *

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* It is perhaps not forgotten that the Canadians, during the very heat of the Provincial wars in 1775, before they could have had time to familiarize themselves with their new allegiance, stood nevertheless firm in the cause of loyalty; and that it was through the intrepidity of a party of Canadian boatsmen, chosen and commanded by the late Commodore Bouchette, himself a French Canadian, that the then Governor of the country, the late Lord Dorchester, was enabled after escaping the most critical perils, to reach the capital of the province, where his arrival is well known to have alone prevented the capitulation of Quebec, and the consequent surrender of the country. Such was the devoted feeling of the people in Canada so soon after its conquest, and such is the loyal feeling that has been confirmed and propagated under the mild and beneficent government of Great Britain.

It was a dark and damp night in November. A light skiff with muffled paddles, manned by a few chosen men, provisioned with three biscuits each, lay alongside Captain Bouchette's vessel; and under cover of the night, the disguised governor embarked, accompanied by the Honorable Charles De La Naudiere, his aide-de-camp, and an orderly serjeant, whose name was Bouthellier. The skiff silently pushed off, the captain frequently communicating his orders in a preconcerted manner by a touch on the shoulder or the head of the man nearest him, who communicated the signal to the next, and so on. Their perplexity increased as they approached the Berthier Islands, from the knowledge that the enemy had taken up strong positions at this point, especially on two islands south west of Lake St. Peter, which commanded the channel on that side, and compelled their adoption of the other to the northward, though the alternative seemed almost equally fraught with peril, as American troops were encamped on its banks.

The most imminent dangers they experienced, was passing through the narrows of Berthier, the shores of which were lined by American bivouacs, whose blazing fires, reflecting far on the surface of the waters, obliged them often to stoop, cease paddling and allow themselves to drift down with the current, exhibiting the appearance of drifting timber frequently seen on the St. Lawrence. So near did they approach that the sentinel's exulting shout, "All's well," occasionally broke upon the awful stillness of the night, indicating their perilous situation, increased, by the constant barking of dogs, that seemed to threaten them with discovery.

It obviously required the greatest prudence and good fortune to escape the vigilance of an enemy thus stationed. The descent, however, was happily effected by

While the Province was thus threatened with subjugation on the side of Montreal, a new danger presented itself from a quarter so entirely unexpected, that until the particulars were ascertained, the fears and superstitions of the inhabitants of the country parishes had ample subject for employment and exaggeration. An expedition of a singular and daring character had been successfully prosecuted against Quebec from the New England States, by a route which was little known and generally considered impracticable. This expedition was headed by Colonel Arnold, an officer in the service of Congress ; who with two regiments, amounting to about eleven hundred men, left Boston about the middle of September, and undertook to penetrate through the wilderness to Point Lévi, by the means of the Rivers Kennebec and Chaudière.

The spirt of enterprise evinced in this bold design, and the patience, hardihood and perseverance of the new raised forces employed in the execution, will forever distinguish this expedition in the history of offensive operations. A handful of men ascending the course of a rapid river, and

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impelling the skiff smoothly along the waters with their hands for a distance of nearly nine miles.

After ascertaining that the enemy had not yet occupied Three Rivers, they repaired thither from Point-du-Lac, nine miles from the town, and remaining there for a short space of time to recruit from their fatigues, Gen. Carleton and the whole party narrowly escaped being made prisoners by a detachment of the American army, who were now entering the town. Overcome by exhaustion, the general, leaning over a table in an inner room at Mr. De Tonnancour's, fell asleep. The clang of arms was presently heard in the outward passage, and soon afterwards American soldiers filled the apartment adjoining that in which was the General himself.

The Governor's disguise proved his preservation: and Captain Bouchette, with peculiar self-possession and affected listlessness, walked into the Governor's apartment, tapped him gently on the shoulder, and beckoned him away with the greatest apparent familiarity, to elude suspicion, at the same time apprising him cautiously of the threatening danger. Captain Bouchette led the way through the midst of the heedless guards, followed closely by the General, and, hastening to the beach, they moved off precipitately in the skiff, and reached unmolested the foot of the Richelieu Rapid, where an armed brig (the Fell), was fortunately found lying at anchor, which on the arrival of the Governor on board, set sail for Quebec with a favouring breeze.

Arrived at the Capital, the Governor desired to land in Captain Bouchette's boat, and was accompanied by him to the Château St. Louis, where the important service he had just rendered his country, was generously and magnanimously acknowledged in the presence of the assembled councillors and notables.

conveying arms, ammunition, baggage, and provisions through an almost trackless wild—bent upon a most uncertain purpose—can scarcely be considered, however, a regular operation of war. It was rather a desperate attempt, suited to the temper of the fearless men engaged in it, the character of the times, and of the scenes which were about to be acted on the American continent.

On the 22nd September, Arnold embarked on the Kennebec River in two hundred batteaux; and nowithstanding all natural impediments—the ascent of a rapid stream—interrupted by frequent *portages* through thick woods and swamps—in spite of frequent accidents—the desertion of one-third of the number—they at length arrived at the head of the River Chaudière, having crossed the ridge of land which separates the waters falling into the St. Lawrence from those which run into the sea. They now reached Lake Megantic, and following the course of the Chaudière River, their difficulties and privations, which had been so great as on one occasion to compel them to kill their dogs for sustenance, were speedily at an end. After passing thirty-two days in the wilderness, they arrived on the 4th November at the first settlement, called *Sertigan*, twenty-five leagues from Quebec, where they obtained all kinds of provisions.

On the 8th, Colonel Arnold arrived at Point Lévi, where he remained twenty-four hours before it was known at Quebec; and whence it was extremely fortunate that all the small craft and canoes had been removed by order of the officer commanding the garrison, On the 13th, late in the evening, they embarked in thirty-four canoes, and very early in the morning of the 14th, he succeeded in landing five hundred men at Wolfe's Cove, without being discovered from the *Lizard* and *Hunter*, ships of war. The first operation was to take possession of what had been General

Murray's house on St. Foy Road (Sans Bruit), and of the General Hospital. They also placed guards upon all the roads, in order to prevent the garrison from obtaining supplies from the country.

The small force of Arnold prevented any attempt being made towards the reduction of the fortress until after the arrival of Montgomery from Montreal, who took the command on the 1st December, and established his head-quarters at Holland House. On his arrival Arnold is said to have occupied the house near Scott's Bridge, to the east (the old homestead of the Langlois family).

The arrival of the Governor on the 19th November had infused the best spirit among the inhabitants of Quebec. On the 1st December, the motley garrison amounted to eighteen hundred men—all, however, full of zeal in the cause of their King and country, and well supplied with provisions for eight months. They were under the immediate command of Colonel *Allan MacLean* of the 84th Regiment or Royal Emigrants. composed principally of those of the gallant Fraser's Highlanders who had settled in Canada.

STATEMENT OF THE GARRISON, 1ST DECEMBER, 1775.

70 Royal Fusiliers, or 7th Regiment.
230 Royal Emigrants, or 84th Regiment.
22 Royal Artillery, 3rd Comp. 4th Battalion, Capt. Jones, ("whose services on the occasion," I find in the records of my Regiment, "received the highest praise," though he has not been noticed in the local records; now No. 8 Battery 2nd Brigade, at Ceylon, truly is their service like their motto "*Ubique quo fas et gloria ducunt.*")
330 British Militia, under Lt.-Col. Caldwell.
543 Canadians, under Col. Dupré.
400 Seamen under Capts. Hamilton and Mackenzie.

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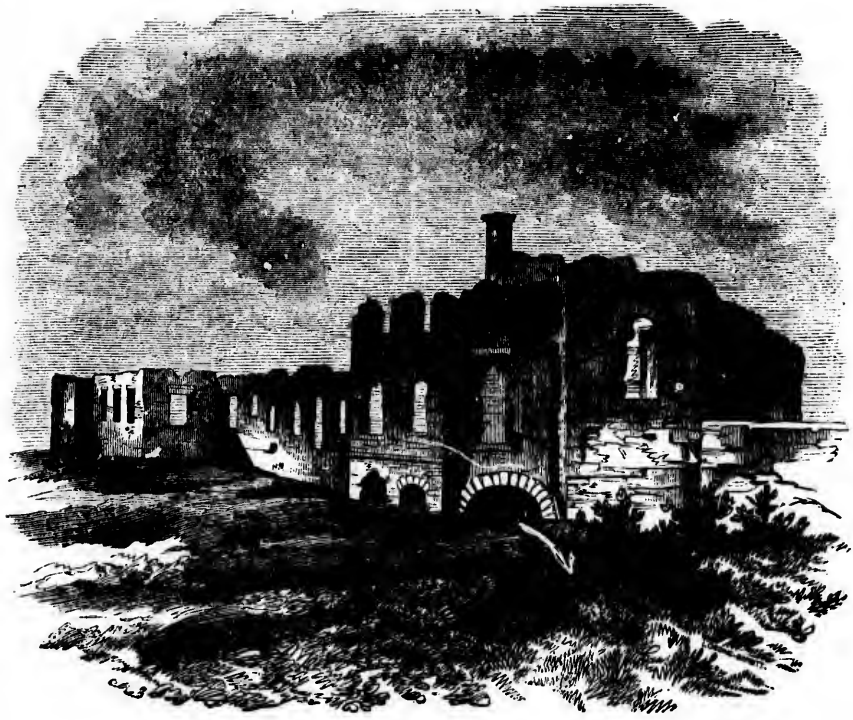

THE RUINS OF THE INTENDANT'S PALACE,

FACING THE ST. CHARLES.

This once magnificent pile was constructed under the French King's directions, and the means supplied by his munificence, in 1684, under Intendant De Meulles. It was burnt in 1712, when occupied by Intendant Begon, and restored by the French Government. It became, from 1748 to 1759, the luxurious resort of Intendant Bigot and his wassailers. Under English rule, it was neglected, and Arnold's riflemen having, from the cupola, annoyed Guy Carleton's soldiers, orders were given to destroy it with the city guns.

"13TH DECEMBER, 1775.—Skulking riflemen in St. Roch watching behind walls to kill our sentries. Some of them fired from the cupola of the Intendant's Palace. We brought a nine pounder to answer them."—(*Extract of Journal of an officer of the Quebec Garrison*, 1775.)

50 Masters and Mates.
35 Marines.
120 Artificers, under Mr. James Thompson, Assist-Engineer, formerly Fraser's Highlanders.

1800 Total bearing arms.

The siege, or rather the blockade, was maintained during the whole month of December, although the incidents were few and of little interest. The Americans were established in every house near the walls, more particularly in the Suburb of St. Roch, near the Intendant's Palace. Their riflemen, secure in their excellent cover, kept up an unremitting fire upon the British sentries, wherever they could obtain a glimpse of them. As the Intendant's Palace was found to afford them a convenient shelter, from the cupola of which they constantly annoyed the sentries, a nine pounder was brought to bear upon the building; and this once splendid and distinguished edifice was reduced to ruin, and has never been rebuilt. The enemy also threw from thirty to forty shells every night into the city, which fortunately did little or no injury either to the lives or the property of the inhabitants. So accustomed did the latter become to the occurrences of a siege, that at last they ceased to regard the bombardment with alarm. In the meantime, the fire from the garrison was maintained in a very effective manner upon every point where the enemy were seen. On one occasion, as Montgomery was reconnoitring near the town, the horse which drew his cariole was killed by a cannon shot.

During this anxious period the gentry and the inhabitants of the city bore arms, and cheerfully performed the duties of soldiers. The British Militia were conspicuous for zeal and loyalty, under the command of Major Henry Caldwell, who had the provincial rank of Lieutenant

Colonel. He had served as Deputy Quarter Master General with the army, under General Wolfe, and had settled in the Province after the conquest. The Canadian Militia within the town was commanded by Colonel Lecompte Dupré, an officer of great zeal and ability, who rendered great service during the whole siege."

General Montgomery, despairing to reduce the place by a regular siege, resolved on a night attack, in the hope of either taking it by storm, or of finding the garrison unprepared at some point. In this design he was encouraged by Arnold, whose local knowledge of Quebec was accurate, having been acquired in his frequent visits for the purpose of buying up Canadian horses. The intention of Montgomery soon became known to the garrison, and General Carleton made every preparation to prevent surprise, and to defeat the assault of the enemy. For several days the Governor, with the officers and gentlemen, off duty, had taken up their quarters in the Récollet Convent, where they slept in their clothes. At last, early in the morning of the 31st December, and during a violent snow storm, Montgomery, at the head of the New York troops, advanced to the attack of the Lower Town, from its western extremity, along a road between the base of Cape Diamond and the river. Arnold, at the same time, advanced from the General Hospital by way of St. Charles street. The two parties were to meet at the lower end of Mountain street, and when united were to force Prescott Gate. Two feint attacks in the mean time on the side towards the west, were to distract the attention of the garrison. Such is the outline of this daring plan, the obstacles to the accomplishment of which do not seem to have entered into the contemplation of the American officers, who reckoned too much upon their own fortune and the weakness of the garrison.

When, at the head of seven hundred men, Montgomery had advanced a short distance beyond the spot where the inclined plane has since been constructed in building the modern citadel he came to a narrow defile, with a precipice towards the river on the one side, and the scarped rock above him on the other. This place is known by the name of *Près-de-Ville*. Here all further approach to the Lower Town was intercepted, and commanded by a battery of three pounders placed in a hangard to the south of the pass. The post was entrusted to two officers of Canadian mililia, Chabot and Picard, whose force consisted of thirty Canadian and eight British militiamen, with nine British seamen to work the guns, as artillerymen, under Captain Barnsfare, and Sergeant Hugh McQuarters, of the Royal artillery. (I believe in accordance with the immemorial usage of the British army to have a trusty N. C. O. of artillery at every guard where there was a gun.) Captain Barnsfare, was master of a transport, laid up in the harbour during the winter. At day-break, some of the guard, being on the look out, discovered, through the imperfect light, a body of troops in full march from Wolfe's Cove upon the post. The men had been kept under arms waiting with the utmost steadiness for the attack, which they had reason to expect, from the reports of deserters; and in pursuance of judicious arrangements which had been previously concerted, the enemy was allowed to approach unmolested within a small distance. They halted at about fifty yards from the barrier; and as the guard remained perfectly still, it was probably concluded that they were not on the alert. To ascertain this, an officer was seen to approach quite near to the barrier. After listening a moment or two, he returned to the body, and they instantly dashed forward at double quick time to the attack of the post. This was what the Guard expected: the artillerymen stood by with lighted matches, and Captain Barnsfare at the critical moment

giving the word, the fire of the guns and musketry was directed with deadly precision against the head of the advancing column. The consequence was a precipitate retreat—the enemy was scattered in every direction—the groans of the wounded and of the dying were heard, but nothing certain being known, the pass continued to be swept by the cannon and musketry for the space of ten minutes. The enemy having retired, thirteen bodies were found in the snow, and Montgomery's Orderly Sergeant desperately wounded, but yet alive, was brought into the guard room. On being asked if the General himself had been killed, the sergeant evaded the question, by replying, that he had not seen him for some time, although he could not but have known the fact. This faithful sergeant died in about an hour afterwards. It was not ascertained that the American General had been killed, until some hours afterwards, when General Carleton, being anxious to ascertain the truth, sent an aide-de-camp, to the Seminary, to enquire if any of the American officers, then prisoners, would identify the body. A field officer of Arnold's division, who had been made prisoner near Sault-au-Matelot barrier, consenting, accompanied the aide-de-camp to the *Près-de-Ville* guard, and pointed it out among the other bodies, at the same time pronouncing, in accents of grief, a glowing eulogium on Montgomery's bravery and worth. Besides that of the General, the bodies of his two aides-de-camp were recognized among the slain. The defeat of Montgomery's force was complete. Col. Campbell, his second in command, immediately relinquished the undertaking, and led back his men with the utmost precipitation.

The exact spot where the barrier was erected before which Montgomery fell, may be described as crossing the narrow road under the mountain, immediately opposite to the west end of a building which stands on the south, and was formerly occupied by Mr. Racey, as a brewery, now

Allans' stores. At the time of the siege this was called the Potash. The battery extended to the south, and nearly to the river. An inscription commemorating the event has been placed upon the opposite rock, with the words: "HERE MONTGOMERY FELL."

When a duty has been faithfully performed, it is difficult and almost impossible to parcel out the praise and label each hero on the spot, doubly difficult after the lapse of a hundred years.

"When the brave hearts are dust,"
"And their good swords are rust,"

Enough. They did "What England expects of every man"—Their duty—!

Lt.-Col. Coffin, of Ottawa, quotes among other documents, a letter from Col. Caldwell to General Murray, in which he says that the brave little Garrison, after the repulse of the American Column, fell into panic at the tale of some old woman, that the Americans had carried the barrier at Sault-au-Matelot, and would take them in reverse. Sanguinet, a French Canadian contemporary, makes the same statement; he puts the number of guns at 9, and the American slain at 36. He was not, however, himself at Quebec during the siege, but at Montreal.

The ancestor of Lt.-Col. Coffin, a Loyalist gentleman Volunteer, appears to have acted with great promptitude and decision, "he drew his bayonet" and declared he would "put the first man to death who laid down his arms or abandoned his post;" let us hope such a pointed argument was unnecessary among brave men, who had just repulsed one attack, and as the sequel shewed, turned their guns to the rear, and quietly waited for a second assault, from, as they supposed, a successful and overwhelming force.

The following interesting and reliable particulars, are given by the late Mr. James Thompson, who began his

military career as a Gentleman Volunteer in the 78th Highlanders, was Overseer of Works during the siege. He died full of years and honors, on the 30th August, 1830, "if honor consists in a life of unblemished integrity."

The sword of Montgomery, in the keeping of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, is an heirloom in the family of his descendant, Mr. James Thompson Harrower, of Quebec.

" General Montgomery was killed on the occasion of his heading a division of American troops, while moving up to the assault of Quebec, on the night of the 31st December, 1775, or, rather, the morning of the 1st of January, 1776,* during a heavy snow-storm from the north-east; under the favor of which, as also to avoid the exposed situation to which his men would have been subjected had the attack been made on the land side, where there were lanterns and composition pots kept burning every night during the absence of the moon, he expected the better to carry his point."

" The path leading round the bottom of the rock on which the garrison stands, and called *Près-de-Ville*, was then quite narrow; so that the front of the line of march could present only a few files of men. The sergeant who had charge of the barrier-guard, Hugh McQuarters,—where there was a gun kept loaded with grape and musket-balls, and levelled every evening in the direction of the said foot-path—had orders to be vigilant, and when assured of an approach by any body of men, to fire the gun. It was General Montgomery's fate to be amongst the leading files of the storming party; and the precision with which McQuarters acquitted himself of the orders he had received, resulted

* It is unnecessary to observe here that the memory of the brave old sergeant, aged 96, seems to have failed him, as to the exact day. Bancroft and other standard authorities can leave no doubt on this point.

in the death of the general, two aides-de-camp, and a sergeant; at least, these were all that could be found after the search made at dawn of day the next morning. There was but one discharge of the gun, from which the general had received a grape-shot in his chin, one in the groin, and one through the thigh which shattered the bone. I never could ascertain whether the defection of Montgomery's followers was in consequence of the fall of their leader, or whether owing to their being panic-struck, a consequence so peculiar to an unlooked-for shock in the dead of night and when almost on the point of coming into action; added to which, the meeting with an obstruction (in the barrier) where one was not expected to exist. Be that as it may, he or rather, the cause in which he had engaged, was deserted by his followers at the instant that their perseverance and intrepidity were the most needed. I afterwards learnt that the men's engagements were to terminate on 31st December, (1775.)"

"Considering the then weak state of the garrison of Quebec, it is hard to say how much further the enterprise might have been carried had Montgomery effected a junction with Arnold, whose division of the storming party, then simultaneously approaching by the Sault-au-Matelot extremity, was left to carry on the contest alone, unaided, and which was left to sustain the whole brunt of the battle. But as I do not undertake to give a detailed history of the whole of the events, I return to the *General* and the sword. Holding the situation of Overseer of works in the Royal Engineer Department at Quebec, I had the superintendence of the defences to be erected throughout the place, which brought to my notice almost every incident connected with the military operations of the blockade of 1775; and from the part I had performed in the affair generally, I considered that I had some right to withhold the general's sword, particularly as it had been obtained on the battle ground."

"On its having been ascertained that Montgomery's division had withdrawn, a party went out to view the

effects of the shot, when, as the snow had fallen on the previous night about knee deep, the only part of a body that appeared *above* the level of the snow was that of the general himself, whose hand and part of the left arm was in an erect position, but the body itself much distorted, the knees being drawn up towards the head; the other bodies that were found at the moment, were those of his aides-de-camp Cheseman and McPherson, and one sergeant. The whole were hard frozen. Montgomery's sword, (and he was the only officer of that army who wore a sword that I ever perceived,) was close by his side, and as soon as it was discovered, which was first by a drummer-boy, who made a snatch at it on the spur of the moment, and no doubt considered it as his lawful prize, but I immediately made him deliver it up to me, and some time after I made him a present of seven shillings and sixpence, by way of prize money."

As to the disputed point of who fired the fatal gun, it is of little importance. The guard was no doubt under the command of Captain Chabot and Lt. Picard, of the French Canadian militia. The British tars under Captain Barnsfare served the guns. But it was then, as it still is the custom, for a steady N. C. O. or gunner of Royal Artillery to mount with every infantry guard where there are guns. I have no doubt in my own mind that honest sergeant Hugh McQuarters of the Royal Artillery, "feared God only, and kept his powder dry,"—that he fired the fatal gun point blank down the road which he, and the gallant guard had steadily watched through, the long dark hours of that eventful night—"*Palmam qui meruit ferat.*"

James Thompson, continued:—"As it is lighter and shorter than my own sword, I adopted it and wore it in lieu. Having some business at the "Séminaire," where there was a number of American officers, prisoners of war, of General Arnold's division, I had occasion to be much vexed with my-

self for having it with me, for the instant they observed it they knew it to have been their General's, and they were very much effected by the recollections that it seemed to bring back to their minds ; indeed, several of them wept audibly ! I took care however, in mercy to the feelings of those ill-fated gentlemen, that whenever I had to go to the Seminary afterwards, to leave the sword behind me. To return to the General; the body on its being brought within the walls (the garrison) was identified by Mrs. Widow Prentice, who then kept the hotel known by the name of "Free Mason's Hall," by a scar on one of his cheeks, supposed to be a sabre cut, and by the General having frequently lodged at her house on previous occasions of his coming to Quebec on business. General Carleton, the then Governor General, being satisfied as to his identity, ordered that the body should be decently buried, in the most private manner, and His Excellency entrusted the business to me. I accordingly had the body conveyed to a small log house in St. Lewis street, (opposite to the residence of Judge Dunn,) the second from the corner of St. Ursule street, owned by one Francois Gaubert, a cooper, and I ordered Henry Dunn, joiner, to prepare a suitable coffin; this he complied with, in every respect becoming the rank of the deceased, having covered it with fine black cloth and lined it with flannel; I gave him no direction about the burying party, as I had a party of my soldiers in waiting at the Chateau to carry the corpse to the grave at the moment that General Carleton conceived proper; and when I did ascertain his wishes to that effect, I proceeded to Gaubert's, where I was told that Mr. Dunn had just taken away the corpse; this was about the setting of the sun on the 4th January, 1776. I accordingly posted up to the place where I had ordered the grave to be dug, (just alongside of that of my first wife, within, and near the surrounding wall of the powder magazine, in the gorge of the St. Lewis bastion,) and found, in addition to the six

men and Dunn, the undertaker, that the Rev. Mr. De Montmollin, the military chaplain, was in attendance, and the business thus finished before I got there. On satisfying myself that the grave was properly covered up, I went and reported the circumstances to General Carleton, who expressed himself not to well pleased with Dunn's officiousness. It having been (subsequently) decided to demolish the powder magazine, and to erect a casemated barrack in its stead, I took care to mark the spot where Montgomery was buried (not so much perhaps on *his* account, as from the interest I felt for it on another score) by having a small cut stone inserted in the pavement within the barrack square, and this precaution enabled me afterwards to point out the place to a nephew of the General, Mr. Lewis, who, learning that the person who had had the direction of the burial of his uncle's corpse was still living, came to Quebec, about the year 1818, for the laudable purpose of obtaining the permission of the military commander, General Sherbrooke, to take away the remains. I, of course, was called upon for the purpose of pointing out the spot; and having repaired thither with young Mr. Lewis and several officers of the garrison, together with Chief Justice Sewell and some friends of the deceased, I directed the workmen at once where to dig, and they accordingly took up the pavement exactly in the direction of the grave. The skeleton was found complete, and when removed a musket ball fell from the skull: the coffin was nearly decayed. No part of the black cloth of the outside nor of the flannel of the inside were visible; a leather thong with which the hair had been tied, was still in a state of preservation after a lapse of forty-three years; there is a spring of water near the place, which may have had the effect of hastening the decay of the contents of the grave."

"The particulars attending the removal of the remains through the several towns of the United States to their ulti-

mate place of deposit (Broadway, New York,) were published in all the public papers in that line of communication."

"(Signed,) JAMES THOMPSON,
"Overseer of Works.

"Quebec, 16th August, 1828."

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THEN FOLLOWED

THE AMERICAN ACCOUNT.

An AUTHENTIC JOURNAL *of Occurrences which happened within the Circle of* Major Meigs's *observation—with the Operations of that Army against Quebec.*

Nov. 19. Early in the morning we decamped and marched up to Pointe aux Trembles, about 7 leagues from Quebec. The country through which we passed was well settled. Every few miles a handsome little chapel. We have with us 7 prisoners and 2 deserters.

20. An express came in this morning from Gen. Montgomery at Montreal—the contents were, that the king's troops had abandoned the town and fled to the shipping, and that he was about to attack them with row-gallies and boats with artillery mounted in them, and that he should immediately join our detachment with men and artillery. We have now an express ready to return to Montreal, by which conveyance I write to my family.

21. The curate of the parish at Pointe aux Trembles dined this day at headquarters.

22. An express from Montreal, which informs us that all the shipping were taken last Sabbath evening, and that Gen. Montgomery was about to march for Quebec.

23. An express arrived from Montreal, by whom we have intelligence that Gen. Montgomery was on his march, and that yesterday he had sent clothing for our troops. One of our men came in from the woods, who had been left behind; and says that himself with one more killed a horse and lived on the flesh several days.

24. This morning the Hunter sloop of war, and three other armed vessels, appeared in sight. An express is now going to meet the troops that are coming down from Montreal.

25. The Hunter sloop, a large snow, and an armed schooner, came to an anchor opposite to our quarters. This morning a number of men were sent up the river in a canoe to meet the troops that were coming down.

26. A number of gentlemen came in this morning from Quebec—I wrote to my father and Mrs. Meigs.

27. We are informed that the house of Major Caldwell in which our troops were quartered is burnt.

28. Col. Arnold went up to Jackarty, to hasten down the ammunition.

29. Capt. Morgan, who had been sent down to the neighbourhood of Quebec, sent up to our quarters two prisoners which he took in the suburbs.

30. This day an express went to Gen. Montgomery—Capt.——is arrived with ammunition and provisions.

Dec. 1. Gen. Montgomery arrived this day at I P. M. with 3 armed schooners, with men, artillery, ammunition, and provisions; to the great joy of our detachment. Towards evening our detachmont turned out and marched down to the General's quarters, and was there received. The General complimented us on our appearance.

2. In the morning I assisted in sending down our field-pieces by land. The large cannon are ordered down in batteaux, which, when landed, the batteaux are to go to Point Levi for the ladders.

3. Major Brown arrived from Sorel. The soldiers drew for their clothing.

4. We marched at 12 o'clock with our camp before Quebec. At evening I quartered at the house of the curate of the parish of St. Augustin; we were entertained with hospitality and elegance. The curate's name is Michael Barrau.

5. In the morning proceeded on our march for St. Foye, our camp before Quebec, where we arrived about noon. This day wrote to Mrs. Meigs.

6. I wrote to Titus Hosner, Esq., at Middle Town. Weather cold, with storms of snow.

7. I am informed that our men yesterday took a sloop with provisions and some cash.

8. We received some shot from the city, but no person was hurt.

9. A party of 100 men are ordered to cover the train this evening while they bombard the town: I went with this party. Twenty-seven shots were thrown into the town. This day we began to erect a battery before St. John's gate.

10. The enemy cannonaded our camp early in the morning and continued it till night: a party of our men are ordered into St. Rue to cover the train which are ordered there also with 5 mortars and 2 field pieces. This evening 45 shells were thrown into the town, the enemy returned a few, and some 24 pounders and grape shot. No person on our side was hurt, besides a Canadian who was shot thro' the body.

11. The town kept a warm cannonading upon our men, one of whom was wounded in the thigh. In the evening we sent 45 shells into the town. I had the command of the working party at the battery this night. The enemy gave us a few shot and shells, but not one of them struck the battery. W. E. exceeding cold.

12. The platforms nearly ready for the gun battery. W. E. cold.

13. We opened our battery, had two men wounded in it by a cannon from the city. Five men of Col. Livingston's regiment of Canadians were also wounded by a cannon shot which went through a house in St. John's suburbs where they were quartered.

14. One of our men was killed in the battery and several wounded. In the evening we threw into the town 24 shells; at the same time we were briskly cannonaded from the town.

15. This morning before sun rise our battery began to play and continued one hour, then ceased by order of the general. A flag was then sent in to the city, but was refused admittance. After some discourse with the officers from the ramparts the flag returned. (The discourse was that Gen. Carleton would suffer no truce with rebels; if they came to implore mercy from the king he would then give them a hearing.) At 2 P.M. our battery began to play upon the town, and mortars also from the suburbs of St. Rue, which sent in 50 bombs. This day we had two men killed at our battery, and our guns damaged by a shot from the enemy. It is now in agitation to storm the town, which if resolved I hope will be undertaken with a proper sense of the nature and importance of such an attack, and vigoureusly executed.

16. The enemy this morning began to cannonade our quarters; several shot struck the house, on which it was thought best to remove elsewhere. One of our men was shot through the body with a grape shot; his life is despaired of. I wrote to Mrs. Meigs by way of Montreal. This evening a council was held by all the commissioned officers of Col. Arnold's detachment, when the majority were for storming Quebec, as soon as the men were provided with bayonets, spears, hatchets, and hand grenades.

17. All day at Capt. Hanchet's quarters. Nothing extraordinary happened. Cold and snow.

18. This morning I came to Mr. Duveno's house to quarter. W. E. snow.

19. No occurrences extraordinary. W. E. moderate and snowy.

20. Several of our men have the small pox at this time. W. E. cold.

21. We have orders for all our men to wear hemlock sprigs in their hats, to distinguish them in the attack upon the works.

22. Preparations are making and things ripening fast for the assault upon the works of Quebec. The blessing of heaven attend the enterprize!—This evening celebrated the anniversary of a happy event or circumstance in my life.

23. This day the officers of our detachment met; the general attended to compose some matters of dispute, which were happily settled.

24. I was on a general court martial. Our chaplain preached a sermon in the chapel of the general hospital, which is exceeding elegant inside, and richly decorated with carriages and gilt work.

25. Col. Arnold's detachment paraded this evening at Capt. Morgan's quarters. At 4 P. M. his honour Gen. Montgomery attended, and addressed us on the subject of an assault upon the town in a spirited manner.

26. Nothing material happened; W. E. cold.

27. This evening the troops assembled by order of the general, with a design to make an attack upon the works of Quebec—when an order from the general came for their returning to their quarters, the time and season not being thought proper for the attack.

28. The following came out in the general orders, "the General had the most sensible pleasure in seeing the good disposition with which the troops last night moved towards the attack. It was with the greatest reluctance he found himself called upon by his duty to repress their ardour; but he should hold himself answerable to those brave men, whose lives might be saved by waiting for a more favourable opportunity." This day is the 25th anniversary of my birth. A variety of scenes have presented themselves in this short term; prosperity and adversity have alternately chequered my path. Some dangers escaped, and favours innumerable received by me, demand a tribute of the warmest gratitude.

29. This day I dined with Gen. Montgomery, and spent the afternoon and evening with him in an agreeable manner. This evening as a party of our men were executing a command in the suburbs of St. Rue, they were fired upon from the walls and one man was wounded in the leg.

30. This morning between the hours of 1 and 3 o'clock, our train threw into the city about 30 shells, which produced a number of shells and a brisk cannonading from the town. Continued our preparations to make an attack upon the city, the ladders being now ready, and the W. E. stormy, which was thought best for our purpose; the troops were ordered to parade at 2 o'clock to-morrow morning.

31. The troops assembled at two o'clock this morning; those that were to make the attack by the way of Cape Diamond collected at the general quarters upon the heights of Abraham, and were headed by Gen. Montgomery. Those that were to make the attack by suburbs of St. Rue, were headed by Col. Arnold, and which were two battalions that were detached form the army at Cambridge.—Col. Livingston with a regiment of Canadians, and Major Brown with part of a regiment from Boston, were to make the false attack upon the walls southward of St. John's gate, and in the mean time to set fire to the gate with combustibles prepared for that purpose.

These different bodies were to move to the attack from their places of assembly exactly at 5 o'clock; but the different routes they had to make, the great depth of snow, and other obstacles prevented the execution of Col. Livingston's command. The general moved his corps and a number of carpenters, to the pickets at Cape Diamond; the carpenters soon cut the pickets with saws, the general pulled them down with his own hands, and entered with his aid de camp Mr. M'Pherson, Mr. Antill the engineer, Capt. Cheesman, the carpenters and others. The troops did not follow, except a few who attacked the guard house: the enemy gave them a discharge of grape shot from their cannon, and of small arms at the same time, by which the general, his aid de camp, Capt. Cheesman and some others bravely fell. The firing then entirely ceased, and the lights in the guard house were out, at which time, 'tis said, the troops might have entered.—But Colonels————thought of retreating, which they did, and carried off the wounded to the camp.

I come now to Col. Arnold's division, which was to proceed to the attack in the following manner—A lieutenant and 30 men were to march in front as an advanced guard, then the artillery company with a field piece mounted on a sledge; and as the main body, of which, Capt. Morgan's company was the first. The advanced party were to open when arrived near the battery, which was raised upon a wharf, and which we were obliged to attack on the way; and when our field piece had given a shot or two, the advanced party were to rush forward with ladders and force the battery, while Captain Morgan's company were to march round the wharf if possible on the ice. But the snow was so deep, the piece of artillery was brought on very slow, and we were finally obliged to leave it behind; and add to the delay the main body mistook their way, there being no road, the way dark and intricate, among store-houses, boats, and wharfs; and harrassed at the same time with a constant fire of the enemy from the walls, which killed and wounded a number of men, without our being able to annoy them in the least, from our situation. The field piece not coming up, the advanced party, with Capt. Morgan's company, attacked the battery, some firing into the port-holes, or a kind of embrasures, while others scaled the battery with ladders, and immediately took possession of it with a guard, consisting of 30 men. This was executed with so much dispatch, that the enemy only discharged one cannon. In the attack, we lost one or two men, the enemy the same number. At this battery Col. Arnold received a wound in one of his legs with a musquet ball. So soon as the prisoners were taken care of, and a few men come up (which was near half-an-hour) our men attempted the next barrier, but could not force it; and as the main body were some time coming up, occasioned by the obstacles before mentioned: adding to this, that the part of the army, commanded by General Montgomery, after his fall, having retreated, gave the enemy the advantage to turn their whole force and attention upon us: so that before our men attempted the second barrier, the enemy had such a number of men behind it and in the houses, that we were surrounded with such a fire, from double our numbers, we found it impossible to force it, they being also under cover, while we were exposed to their fire. To add to the embarrassment, we lost the help of one of our companies, which was quartered on the north side of the River St. Charles, by their not having notice in season, who, in endeavouring to join the main body, were surprized by a party of men who made a *sortie* through Palace Gate, and most of them were made prisoners. Our men, near the second barrier, took possession of some houses, and kept up a fire from them for some time, but as the body which sallied out of Palace Gate, came upon the rear, and our numbers were greatly lessened by being killed and wounded, it was thought best to retreat to the battery that we had taken, which we did, with the greatest part of our men, where at a consultation of officers present, it was the unanimous opinion that it was impracticable to retreat, as we must have passed a great part of the way, under the walls of the town, exposed to a line of fire, and our rear, exposed to the fire of the enemy at the same time; besides having the party that sallied out through Palace Gate to oppose in front. We maintained our ground till about ten in the morning, but were at last obliged, with great reluctance, to surrender prisoners of war.

By the best accounts we can obtain, our loss, by killed and wounded, amounts to about one hundred; the loss which the town sustained, we cannot learn; it must be small in comparsion with ours, owing to the advantage of situation. We had one Captain and two Lieutenants killed; wounded officers, Colonel Arnold, Capt. Hubbard, Capt. Lambe, Lieut. Steel, Lieut. Tisdale and Brigade Major Ogden. The loss in that

part of the army commanded by the General besides himself, was his Aid-de-Camp, Mr. M'Pherson and Capt. Cheesman; privates, number unknown. His Honour, Brigadier General Montgomery, was shot through both his thighs and through his head: his body was taken up the next day, an elegant coffin was prepared, and he was decently interred the Thursday after. I am informed, when his body was taken up, his features were not in the least distorted: his countenance appeared regular, serene, and placid like the soul that late had animated it. He was tall and slender, well limbed, of a genteel, easy, graceful, manly address, and had the voluntary love, esteem and confidence of the whole army. His death, though honorable, is lamented, not only as the death of an amiable, worthy friend, but as an experienced, brave General; the whole country suffers greatly by such a loss at this time. The native goodness and rectitude of his heart might easily been seen in his actions; his sentiments, which appeared on every occasion, were fraught with that unaffected goodness, which plainly discovered the goodness of the heart from whence they flowed.

James Stevenson, Esq., Vice-President of the Literary and Historical Society, has kindly placed in my hands the above valuable and interesting journal, * though the plain, unvarnished tale of a soldier. Time will not permit me to give you many extracts; it agrees entirely with the accounts I have read to you.

General Montgomery has been censured for not making the real attack where the feint was made, and judging from the accounts of the incomplete state of the defences between Diamond Bastion and St. John's Gate, it would appear a military mistake to attack where, had he been successful, he would have had to make a second attack on the line of works that surrounded the Upper Town, and perhaps a third on the redoubt that occupied the position of the Citadel. Whereas had he succeeded in entering Diamond Bastion, the whole would have been taken in reverse. Mr. Thompson attributes this attack not having been attempted to the system of Light's balls and lanterns, he had inaugurated, which, as he says, would have lighted up a dog in the ditches along the Western front. Probably

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* Our esteemed fellow citizen, George Hall, Esq., is the proprietor of this rare journal.

the General knew the proclivities of American riflemen, made them prefer an attack among the houses of the Lower Town to an assault in the open at day-break. Moreover, he relied upon the sympathies of his friends in the town, with whom he was in communication. It is however easy to be wise after the event. Montgomery's soldierly summary of the situation is given in the following letter to his father-in-law, shewing the chronic complaints from which soldiers suffer who have the misfortune to serve many masters :

" To R. Livingston, writing about this time, Montgomery says :

" For the good fortune which has hitherto attended us, I am, I hope, sufficiently thankful, but this very fortune, good as it has been, will become a serious and unsurmountable evil, should it lead Congress either to overrate our means or to underrate the difficulties we have yet to contend with. I need not tell you that till Quebec is taken, Canada is unconquered, and that, to accomplish this, we must resort to siege, investment or storm. The first of these is out of the question, from the difficulty of making trenches in a Canadian winter, and the greater difficulty of living in them, if we could make them ; secondly, from the nature of the soil, which, as I am at present instructed, renders mining impracticable, and were this otherwise, from the want of an engineer having sufficient skill to direct the process ; and thirdly, from the fewness and lightness of our artillery, which is quite unfit to break walls like those of Quebec. Investment has fewer objections, and might be sufficient, were we able to shut out entirely from the garrison and town the necessary supplies of food and fuel during the winter, but to do this well (the enemy's works being very extensive and offering many avenues to the neighbouring settlements,) will require a large army,

and from present appearance mine will not, when brought together, much, at all, exceed eight hundred combatants. Of Canadians I might be able to get a considerable number, provided I had hard money with which to clothe, feed and pay for their wages, but this is wanting. Unless therefore I am soon and amply re-inforced, investment, like siege, must be given up."

"To the storming plan there are few objections, and to this we must come at last. If my force be small, Carleton's is not great. The extensiveness of his works, in case of investment, would favor him, will, in the other case, favor us. Masters of our secret, we may select a particular time and place for attack; and to repel this the garrison must be prepared at all times and places—a circumstance which will impose upon it incessant watching and labor by day and by night, which, in its undisciplined state, must breed discontent, that may compel Carleton to capitulate, or perhaps to make an attempt to drive us off. In this last idea there is a glimmering of hope. Wolfe's success was a lucky hit, or rather a series of such hits. All sober and scientific calculation was against him, until Montcalm, permitting his courage to get the better of his discretion, gave up the advantages of his fortress and came out to try his strength on the Plains. Carleton, who was Wolfe's Quartermaster-General, understands this well, and it is to be feared will not follow the Frenchman's example. In all these views you will discern much uncertainty; but of one thing you may be sure, that unless we do something before the middle of April, the game will be up, because by that time the river may be open and let in supplies and reinforcements to the garrison in spite of anything we can do to prevent it; and again, because my troops are not engaged beyond that erm, and will not be prevailed upon to stay a day longer. In reviewing what I have said, you will find that my list of wants is a long one—men, money, artillery, and clothing

accommodated to the climate. Of ammunition Carleton took care to leave little behind him at this place (Montreal). What I wish and expect is that all this be made known to Congress with a full assurance, that if I fail to execute their wishes or commands, it shall not be from any negligence of duty or infirmity of purpose on my part. *Vale, cave ne mandata frangas.*"

GENERAL MONTGOMERY.

From Hawkins' New Historical Picture of Quebec—1834.

" Richard Montgomery was a gentleman of good family, in the North of Ireland, and connected by marriage with Viscount Ranelagh of that Kingdom. He had been Captain in the 17th Regiment of Foot, and had fought successfully the battles of England. He afterwards married a daughter of Judge Livingston, of Livingston Manor, on the North River, who was living in 1818. Montgomery imbibed the prevalent politics of his father-in-law's family, and joined the cause of the Colonists against the mother country.

Marshall, however, in his life of Washington, remarks that, "though he had embraced the American cause with enthusiasm, he had become wearied with its service, as was the case with nearly all the British born professional soldiers who had joined the continental. He had determined to withdraw from the army, and had signified before marching from Montreal, his resolution to resign the commission which had been conferred upon him." Marshall adds as a probable incentive to the storming of Quebec on the 31st December, 1775, "the desire of closing his military career with a degree of brilliancy suited to the elevation

of his mind, by the conquest of Quebec, and the addition of Canada to the United States."

The excellence of his qualities and disposition procured him an uncommon share of private affection, as his abilities and services had of public esteem. Soon after his death, the Continental Congress ordered a magnificent Cenotaph to be erected to his memory, in St. Paul's Church, New York.

The memory * of Richard Montgomery has suffered un-

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* The injustice unwittingly perpetrated on his memory by several historians, was rectified in a Memoir published in 1866, by J. M. LeMoine, in the *Saturday Reader* and other Reviews. Amongst other documents referred to, is a letter from the War Office, written in reply to an enquiry by the late George Coventry, Esq., of Cobourg, Ontario, which I subjoin, and which shows conclusively that the name of the Capt. Montgomery, of the 43rd, concerned in the St. Joachim massacre, was Alexander, whilst the name of the Près-de-Ville Montgomery was Richard.

[*Copy of Letter from War Office.*]

PALL MALL,

20th September, 1866.

"SIR.

I am directed by Secretary Lieutenant General Peel to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 14th instant, and in reply I am to inform you that there was a Captain *Richard* Montgomery who sold out of the 17th Foot on the 6th April, 1772, and that there was a Captain *Alexander* Montgomery who sold out of the 43rd Foot on the 13th February, 1766, but that the records in this office do not shew which of the two was the officer who attacked Quebec, in 1775. I am to add that, as far as can be ascertained, the following regiments were serving in Canada in 1759, viz:

(The 7th Royal Fusiliers and 26th Canadians have been omitted.)

2nd Battalion, 1st Foot; 15th, 17th, 22nd, 27th, 28th, 35th, 40th, 42nd, 43rd, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 55th, 58th, 60th, (at that time called the Royal American Regiment,) 77th, 78th and 80th Regiments of Foot, as well as the Artillery and Engineers.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
(Signed,) EDWARD LUGARD."

GEORGE COVENTRY, Esq.,
Cobourg,
Canada West.

NOTE.—Whether Lieutenant Richard Montgomery was present at Quebec at the battle of the Plains, or during Wolfe's time, I am not prepared to decide, as though his regiment, the 17th, was then serving under Amherst, at the reduction of the forts on Lake Champlain, he might have held some staff appointment under Wolfe, or been temporarily attached to some other *corps*, but I unhesitatingly think him guiltless of the St. Joachim atrocity—which was perpetrated by Capt. Alex. Montgomery, of the 43rd—(perhaps his brother), and this opinion I have already recorded in the *Saturday Reader*, in 1866, as well as in the French press, and in a guide book, now in press.

J. M. LEMOINE.

Sillery, July, 1871.

deserved reproach from his having been confounded with his brother, Alexander Montgomery of His Majesty's, 43rd Foot, who served under Wolfe at Quebec, incurred the just displeasure of that gentleman of whom it is recorded, that when desired by the Duke of Cumberland to pistol a fallen foe on the field of Culloden, replied "my commission is at your Royal Highness' disposal, it is that of a soldier, not of an executioner."

It was natural to look with extreme aversion at the bloody reprisal taken by Alexander Montgomery upon a party of French Canadian peasantry, headed by their Priest, who was shot. Upon certain other details of this painful story it is unnecessary to dwell; they justify the appellation given it, of the butchery of St. Joachim.

As stated in the Journal of Major Meigs: the troops assembled at Two o'clock on the morning of the 31st December; those that were to make the attack by the way of Cape Diamond collected at the general quarters upon the heights of Abraham, and were headed by General Montgomery. Those that were to make the attack by the suburbs of St. Roch, were headed by Colonel Arnold, and which were two battalions that were detached from the army at Cambridge. Colonel Livingston, with a regiment of Canadians, and Major Brown, with part of a regiment from Boston, were to make a false attack upon the walls southward of St. John's Gate, and in the mean time to set fire to the gate with combustibles prepared for that purpose.

These different bodies were to move to the attack from their places of assembly exactly at five o'clock; but the different routes they had to make, the great depth of snow, and other obstacles prevented the execution of Colonel Livingston's command. The General moved with his corps and a number of carpenters, to the pickets at Cape Dia-

mond; the carpenters soon cut the pickets with saws, the General pulled them down with his own hands, and entered with his Aide-de-Camp, Mr. McPherson, Mr. Antill, the Engineer, Captain Cheesman, the carpenters and others. The troops did not follow, except a few who attacked the guard-house. The enemy gave them a discharge of grape shot from their cannon, and of small arms at the same time, by which the General, his Aide-de-Camp, Captain Cheesman and some others bravely fell. The firing then entirely ceased, and the lights in the guard-house were out, at which time, 'tis said, the troops might have entered. But Colonels ——— thought of retreating, which they did, and carried off the wounded to the camp.

Brigadier General Montgomery, was shot through both his thighs, and through his head; his body was taken up the next day, an elegant coffin was prepared, and he was decently interred the Thursday after. I am informed when his body was taken up, his features were not the least distorted; his countenance appeared regular, serene, and placid, like the soul that late had animated it. He was tall and slender, well limbed, of a genteel, easy, graceful, manly address, and had the voluntary love, esteem and confidence of the whole army. His death though honourable, is lamented, not only as the death of an amiable worthy friend, but as an experienced, brave General, the whole country suffers greatly by such a loss at this time. The native goodness and rectitude of his heart, might easily be seen in his actions, his sentiments, which appeared on every occasion, were fraught with that unaffected goodness, which plainly discovered the goodness of the heart from whence they flowed.

Major Meigs says: "In the afternoon, the officers were confined to the Seminary, and well accommodated with bedding; the privates were confined in the Récollets' or Jesuits' College. I dined this day with Captain Law,

whom in the morning I had made prisoner, but in a few hours after, I was in my turn made prisoner also. Captain Law treated me with great politeness and ingenuity.'

"Major McKenzie brought Montgomery's knee buckles, and Mr. McPherson's gold broach, and made a present of them to me, which I highly value for the sake of their late worthy owners."

The character of Richard Montgomery seems to have been entirely different from that of his brother. To judge fairly the men of that day, we must put ourselves in their position. Swayed as they doubtless were, by the conflict between allegiance and constitutional rights, family ties and sentiments of the heart, which made it hard for the head to decide its line of action. Montgomery is said to have been overlooked and hardly used by the Home Government before he took the Continental side, but it is not probable that personal feelings would influence the conduct of such a man as Montgomery; perhaps the key note to his conduct is to be found in his private letters, in one of which he wrote:—"The Congress having done me the honor of electing me a Brigadier-General in their service, is an event which must put an end for a while, *perhaps forever*, to the quiet scheme of life I had prescribed for myself; for, though entirely unexpected and undesired by me, THE WILL OF AN OPPRESSED PEOPLE, COMPELLED TO CHOOSE BETWEEN LIBERTY AND SLAVERY, MUST BE OBEYED." It is difficult for us, who are subjects of the Crown, to understand any force of circumstances or personal injuries which could compel an Englishman or a Loyal Irishman born, to raise his hand against the standard of his country, much less a soldier who had once carried it with pride and honor as an Ensign of H. M. 17th Regiment. Montgomery fell in the attempt. At this distance of time it is better to dwell only on his brilliant bravery and the

many noble qualities he possessed, admitted alike by friend and foe. The Being who knows the secrets of all hearts, in whose presence the gallant soldier has long since stood, will doubtless judge more gently and justly than we can do. (Prolonged applause.)

At the conclusion of Colonel Strange's narrative, Mr. Stevenson remarked to the meeting as follows :

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—You have listened, I am sure, as I have done, with deep interest to the graphic account which Colonel Strange has given us to-night of the attack and repulse at Près-de-Ville, where the gallant Montgomery was slain. It is a fit subject for a military man to handle, and the Colonel has done it ample justice. With respect to the conduct of Montgomery in taking up arms against his King and Country—perhaps it is not our Province to pass judgment. I do not think, however, that he realized the harmony and beauty of character attributed to him by his admirers, and especially by Bancroft, in his "History of the United States." Montgomery took up arms, as many did in those trying times, against a sea of troubles; and may have vindicated the act to himself and his friends. For my part, I fail to see any justification in his case—having so recently held a Commission in the British army. I may have to allude to the subject again in my concluding remarks, and refrain from saying any more now. But what shall we say of Sir Guy Carleton, Colonel McLean, John Coffin, Barnsfare, Bouchette, Frazer, Nairne, and other brave fellows, who fought for their King and Country as loyal men should do, and immortalized their names by deeds of daring never to be forgotten. They, in our hearts, and in our gratitude, have built themselves an everlasting monument.

Captain Ashe, R. N., ex-President, and a devoted friend of the Society, remarked, respecting the conduct of Montgomery: "I cannot conceive of any extenuating circumstance in his case. Nothing could justify one who had held a Commission in the Army in taking up arms against his King and Country—in breaking all the bonds of comradeship—in firing, perhaps, upon his former friends and messmates; such conduct I consider utterly indefensible—I cannot hold such a man in esteem, or entertain any admiration of his character—whatever his courage and his daring may have been, they were spent in the wrong direction."

Band played Montgomery's Funeral March—*Hartman.*

Mr. Stevenson then requested Mr. LeMoine to favor the meeting with his narrative of the attack by Colonel Arnold on the Barriers at Sault-au-Matelot.

ADDRESS

By J. M. LeMoine, Esq.,

—on—

Arnold's Assault on Saul't-au-Matelot Barriers,

31st DECEMBER, 1775.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The event which we intend commemorating this evening, is one of peculiar interest to us as Canadians and more especially so to us, as Quebecers: the narrow, I may add, the providential escape of the whole Province from foreign subjugation one century ago. It is less a chapter of Canadian annals, I purpose to read to you this night, than some minute details little known, and gleaned from the journals left by eye witnesses of the thrilling hand to hand fight which took place a few hundred yards from where you sit, under our walls, on the 31st December, 1775, between Col. Arnold's New England soldiery and our own garrison.

Possibly, you may not all realise the critical position of the city on that memorable morning. Next day, a Sunday, ushered in the new year. Think you there was much "visiting" much festivity on that new year's day? alas! though victory crowned our banner, there was mourning in too many Canadian homes: we too had to bury our dead.

Let us take a rapid glimpse of what had preceded the assault.

Two formidable parties, under experienced leaders, in execution of th. campaign planned by George Washington and our former Deputy Post Master General, the able Benjamin Franklin, had *rendez-voused* under the walls of Quebec: both leaders intimately knew its highways and by-ways. Brigadier General Richard Montgomery before settling near New York had held a Lieutenant's commission in His Britannic Majesty's 17th Foot, and had taken a part in the war of the conquest, in 1759, and had visited Quebec. Col. Benedict Arnold, attracted by the fame of our Norman horses, had more than once, been in the city, with the object of trading in them. My friend Col. Strange has left me little to add touching the luckless hero of Près-de-Ville —General Montgomery. I shall therefore confine my remarks to Arnold's assault on the Lower Town, at Sault-au-Matelot Street.

Benedict Arnold, was indeed a daring commander. His successful journey through trackless forests between Cambridge and Quebec—his descent in boats through rivers, choked with ice, and through dangerous rapids; the cold, hunger and exposure endured by himself and his soldiers —feats of endurance of which any nation might justly feel proud.

Major-General Sir James Carmichael Smyth, a high authority on such matters, says, of this winter campaign: "It is, perhaps, one of the most wonderful instances of perseverance and spirit of enterprise upon record." So much for the bravery and endurance of our foes. I am compelled to pass unnoticed many important incidents of the campaign, in order to reach sooner the main facts.

What was the real state of the Colony on that identical 31st December, one hundred years ago? Why, it was simply desperate. The wave of invasion had surged over our

border. Fort after fort, city after city, had capitulated, and sued for quarter: Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Fort St. John, Fort Chambly, Montreal, Sorel, Three Rivers. Montgomery, with his victorious bands, had borne everything before him like a tornado. The Canadian peasantry dreaded the very sight of warriors, who must be ball-proof, as they were supposed by a curious mistake, to be "incased in plate-iron," *vêtus de tôle*, instead *de toile*.† The red * and black flag of successful rebellion floated over the suburbs of Quebec. Morgan and Humphrey's riflemen were thundering at the very gates of the City: those dear old walls—(Loud applause)—which some Vandals are longing to demolish, alone kept away the wolf.

Levi, Sillery, Ste. Foye, Lorette, Charlesbourg, the Island of Orleans, Beauport, and every inch of British territory around the City were in the possession of the Invaders: every house in the suburbs sheltered an enemy—every bush in the country might conceal a deadly foe. Treachery

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† LOSSING'S FIELD BOOK—I, p. 195; thus describes the dress of the Invaders: "Each man of the three rifle companies (Morgan's, Smith's and Hendrick's) bore a rifle barrled gun, a tomahawk, or a small axe, and a long Knife, usually called a scalping knife, which served for all purposes in the woods. His under-dress, by no means in a military style, was covered by a deep ash-colored hunting-shirt, leggins, and moccassins, if the latter could be procured. It was a silly fashion of those times for riflemen to ape the manners of savages." "The Canadians who first saw these (men) emerge from the woods, said they wore *vêtus en toile*—clothed in linen. The word *toile* was changed to *tôle*, iron plated. By a mistake of a single word the fears of the people were greatly increased, for the news spread that the Mysterious army that descended from the wilderness was clad in *sheet iron*."

* "The flag used by what was called the Continental troops, of which the force led into Canada by Arnold and Montgomery was a part, was of plain crimson; and perhaps some times it may have had a border of black. On the first of January, 1776, the army was organized; and the new flag then adopted was first unfurled at Cambridge, at the Head Quarters of General Washington, the present residence of the poet Longfellow. That flag was made up of thirteen stripes, seven red and six white; but the Union was the Union of the British flag of that day, blue, bearing the cross of St. Andrew combined with the cross of St. George and a diagonal red cross for Ireland. This design was used by the American army till after the 14th of June, 1777, when Congress ordered that the Union should be changed, the Union of the English flag removed, and in its place there should be a simple blue field with thirteen white stars, representing the thirteen colonies declared to be States. Since that time there has been no change in the flag, except that a new star is added as each new State is admitted. The present number being thirty-eight."

W. C. H.

stalked within the camp—disaffection was busy inside and outside of the walls. At first many of the citizens, English as well as French, seemed disinclined to take part in the great family quarrel which had originated at Boston: the British of New England pitted against the British of Canada. The confusion of ideas and opinions must at first have been great: several old British officers, who had served in the war of the conquest of Canada, had turned their swords against their old mess-mates—their brothers-in-arms—amongst others, Richard Montgomery, Moses Hazen, and Donald Campbell. Quebec, denuded of its Regulars, had indeed a most gloomy prospect to look on. No soldiers to man her walls, except her citizens, unaccustomed to warfare—no succour to expect from England until the following spring—scantiness of provisions, and a terrified peasantry, who had not the power, often no desire to penetrate into the beleaguered and blockaded city during winter.

Were not these trying times for our worthy sires?

Such was the posture of affairs, when to the general joy, our gallant Governor Guy Carleton, returned and rejoined his dauntless little army at Quebec, having succeeded, thanks to Capt. Bouchette and other brave men, to elude the vigilance of the enemy in possession of Three Rivers, Sorel and Montreal. Turn over the records of those days, and you will see the importance our fathers attached, to the results of the *Sault-au-Matelot* and *Près-de-Ville* engagements.

For more than twenty-five years, the 31st December, 1775, was annually commemorated, generally by a club dinner given at Ferguson's Hotel; (Freemason's Hall,) or at some other Hotel of note—sometimes a *Chateau* ball, was added by the Governor of the Province. In 1778, we find in the old *Quebec Gazette*, a grand *fête champêtre*, given by Lady

Maria Carleton, and her gallant partner Sir Guy, at The RED HOUSE, a fashionable rustic hostelry, kept by Alex. Menut, the Prince of Canadian *Soyers* of those days, who had been *Maitre d'Hôtel* to General Murray, and was selected that year by Their Excellencies; it stood on the Little River road, (the land is now owned by Mr. Tozer,) about two miles from Quebec. It reads thus in the *Gazette* of 8th January, 1778:

Quebec, 8th January, (1778).

"Yesterday, seventh night, being the anniversary of the victory obtained over the Rebels in their attack upon this City in the year 1775, a most elegant Ball and Supper were given at Menut's Tavern by the Gentlemen who served in the Garrison during that Memorable Winter. The Company, consisting of upwards of two hundred and thirty Ladies and Gentlemen, made a grand and brilliant appearance, and nothing but mirth and good humour reigned all night long. About half-past six, His Excellency SIR GUY CARLETON, Knight of the Bath, our worthy Governor and successful General, dressed in the militia uniform, (which added lustre to the Ribbon and Star,) as were also all the gentlemen of that corps, who served under him during the siege, entered the assembly room accompanied by Lady Maria, &c., &c., and the Ball was soon opened by her Ladyship and the Honorable Henry Caldwell, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the British Militia. The dancing continued until half-past twelve, when the Ladies were conducted into the supper-room, where Mr. Menut exhibited fresh proofs of that superior excellence in the *culinary* art he so justly claims above his Peers.....The company in general broke up about four in the morning, highly satisfied with their entertainment and in perfect good humour with one another. May that disposition prevail until the next and every succeeding 31st of December; and may each return of that glorious day (the event of which was not only the preser-

vation of this garrison but of the whole Province), be commemorated with the same spirit and unanimity in grateful rememberance of our happy deliverance from the snares of the enemy, and with thankful acknowledgments of those blessings of peace and tranquillity, of Government and Laws, we now enjoy in consequence of that day's success."

The *Gazette* of the following year carefully chronicles the gathering of the Veterans of 1775:—"Thursday last being the anniversary of the 31st December, a Day which will be ever famous in the annals of this Country for the defeat of Faction and Rebellion, the same was observed with the utmost festivity. In the evening a Ball and cold Collation was given by the Gentlemen who composed the Garrison in the winter of 1775, to His Excellency and a numerous and brilliant assembly of Ladies and Gentlemen; the satisfaction every one felt in Commemorating so Glorious an event, strongly appeared by the joy which was visible in every countenance."

In 1790, according to the *Quebec Herald*, the annual dinner was held at the *Merchants' Coffee House*, by about 30 survivors of the Veterans, who agreed to meet twice a year, instead of once, their joviality apparently increasing with their age.

In 1794 * the *Gazette* acquaints us that the ANNIVERSARY DINNER was to be held at Ferguson's Hotel, (Free-

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* *Extract from the Quebec Gazette, May 1st, 1794.*

"CLUB"

"The Gentlemen who served in the Garrison of Quebec in 1775-76, are acquainted that their Anniversary Dinner will be held at Ferguson's Hotel, on Tuesday, 6th May.

Dinner to be on Table at half-past-four o'clock.

The Honble. A. de Bonne, " " J. Walker, Simon Fraser, Senr., James Frost, } Esquires, Stewards,

John Coffin, junr., Secretary.

Quebec, 28th April, 1794."

mason's Hall,) on the 6th May.† We find both nationalities fraternizing in these loyal demonstrations. M. DeBonne (afterwards Judge DeBonne) taking his place next to loyal John Coffin, of Près-de-Ville fame, and probably Simon Fraser and the Hon. Hugh Finlay, will join Lieutenant Dambourgès and Col. Dupré, in toasting King George III. under the approving eye of Lt.-Col. Caldwell, Wolfe's Deputy Quarter-Master General. Col. Caldwell, lived to a green old age, and expired in this city in 1810. Our esteemed fellow-citizen, Errol Boyd Lindsay, remembers him well, and in front of whom I stand, a stalwart Volunteer of 1837, Col. Gugy, is now relating how when a lad he once dined with Col. Caldwell, some seventy years ago at Belmont, amidst excellent cheer.

The *Quebec Gazette* teems with loyal English and French songs of 1775 for a quarter of a century; and for more than twenty-five years the Anniversary Banquet, Ball or Dinner was religiously kept up.

But we must hie away from these "junketings"—these festive boards, which our loyal ancestors seem to have infinitely enjoyed. We must hie away: the long wished for "snow storm," the signal of attack has come. 'Tis five o'clock before dawn. Hark to the rattle of the alarm drum. Hark! Hark to the tolling of every city bell (and you know Quebec bells are numerous), louder! louder even than the voice of the easterly storm. TO ARMS! TO ARMS! resounds in the Market Place—the *Place d'Armes*—and in the streets of our slumbering city.

Instead of giving you my views on the attack, I shall summon from the silent, the meditative past, one of the stirring actors in this thrilling encounter, an intrepid and youthful Volunteer, under Arnold, then aged seventeen

† Date of departure of Invaders in 1776.

years, John Joseph Henry. He will tell you how his countrymen attacked us:

"It was not," says Judge Henry, until the night of the 31st of December, 1775, that such kind of weather ensued as was considered favorable for the assault. The fore part of the night was admirably enlightened by a luminous moon. Many of us, officers as well as privates, had dispersed in various directions among the farm and tippling houses of the vicinity. We well knew the signal for rallying. This was no other than a "snow-storm." About 12 o'clock, P.M., the heaven was overcast. We repaired to quarters. By 2 o'clock we were accoutred and began our march. The storm was outrageous, and the cold wind extremely biting. In this northern country the snow is blown horizontally into the faces of travellers on most occasions—this was our case.

When we came to Craig's house, near Palace Gate, a horrible roar of cannon took place, and a ringing of all the bells of the city, which are very numerous, and of all sizes. Arnold, leading the forlorn hope, advanced, perhaps, one hundred yards, before the main body. After these followed Lamb's artillerists. Morgan's company led in the secondary part of the column of infantry. Smith's followed, headed by Steele; the Captain, from particular causes, being absent. Hendrick's company succeeded, and the eastern men, so far as known to me, followed in due order. The snow was deeper than in the fields, because of the nature of the ground. The path made by Arnold, Lamb, and Morgan was almost imperceptible, because of the falling snow. Covering the locks of our guns, with the lappets of our coats, holding down our heads (for it was impossible to bear up our faces against the imperious storm of wind and snow), we ran along the foot of the hill in single file. Along the first of our run, from Palace Gate, for several hundred paces, there stood a range of insulated buildings, which seemed to be store-houses; we passed these quickly in single file, pretty wide apart. The interstices were from thirty to fifty yards. In these intervals, we received a tremendous fire of musketry from the ramparts above us. Here we lost some brave men, when powerless to return the salutes we received, as the enemy was covered by his impregnable defences. They were even sightless to us; we could see nothing but the blaze from the muzzles of their muskets.

A number of vessels of various sizes lay along the beach, moored by their hawsers or cables to the houses. Pacing after my leader, Lieutenant Steele, at a great rate, one of those ropes took me under the chin, and cast me head long down, a declivity of at least fifteen feet. The place appeared to be either a dry-dock or a saw-pit. My descent was

terrible; gun and all was involved in a great depth of snow. Most unluckily, however, one of my knees received a violent contusion on a piece of scraggy ice, which was covered by the snow. On like occasions, we can scarcely expect, in the hurry of attack, that our intimates should attend to any other than their own concern. Mine went from me, regardless of my fate. Scrambling out of the cavity, without assistance, divesting my person and gun of the snow, and limping into the line, I attempted to assume a station and preserve it. These were none of my friends—they knew me not. I had not gone twenty yards, in my hobbling gait, before I was thrown out, and compelled to await the arrival of a chasm in the line, when a new place might be obtained. Men in affairs such as this, seem in the main, to lose the compassionate feeling, and are averse from being dislodged from their original stations. We proceeded rapidly, exposed to a long line of fire from the garrison, for now we were unprotected by any buildings. The fire had slackened in a small degree. The enemy had been partly called off to resist the General, and strengthen the party opposed to Arnold in our front. Now we saw Colonel Arnold returning, wounded in the leg, and supported by two gentlemen; a parson, Spring, was one, and, in my belief, a Mr. Ogden the other. Arnold called on the troops, in a cheering voice, as we passed, urging us forward, yet it was observable among the soldiery, with whom it was my misfortune to be now placed, that the Colonel's retiring damped their spirits. A cant term "We are sold," was repeatedly heard in many parts throughout the line. Thus proceeding, enfiladed by an animated but lessened fire, we came to the first barrier, where Arnold had been wounded in the onset. This contest had lasted but a few minutes, and was somewhat severe, but the energy of our men prevailed. The embrasures were entered when the enemy were discharging their guns. The guard, consisting of thirty persons, were either taken or fled, leaving their arms behind them. At this time it was discovered that our guns were useless, because of the dampness. The snow which lodged in our fleecy coats was melted by the warmth of our bodies. Thence came that disaster. Many of the party, knowing the circumstance, threw aside their own, and seized the British arms. These were not only elegant, but were such as befitted the hand of a real soldier. It was said, that ten thousand stand of such arms had been received from England, in the previous summer, for arming the Canadian militia. These people were loath to bear them in opposition to our rights. From the first barrier to the second, there was a circular course along the sides of houses, and partly through a street, probably of three hundred yards or more. This second barrier was erected across and near the mouth of a narrow street, adjacent to the foot of the hill, which opened into a larger, leading soon into the main body of the

Lower Town. Here it was, that the most serious contention took place: this became the bone of strife. The admirable Montgomery, by this time, (though it was unknown to us) was no more: yet, we expected momentarily to join him. The firing on that side of the fortress ceased, his division fell under the command of a Colonel Campbell, of the New York line, a worthless chief, who retreated, without making an effort, in pursuance of the general's original plans. The inevitable consequence was, that the whole of the forces on that side of the city, and those who were opposed to the dastardly persons employed to make the false attacks, embodied and came down to oppose our division. Here was sharp-shooting. We were on the disadvantageous side of the barrier, for such a purpose. Confined in a narrow street, hardly more than twenty feet wide, and on the lower ground, scarcely a ball, well aimed or otherwise, but must take effect upon us. Morgan, Hendricks, Steele, Humphrey's, and a crowd of every class of the army, had gathered into the narrow pass, attempting to surmount the barrier, which was about twelve or more feet high, and so strongly constructed, that nothing but artillery, could effectuate its destruction. There was a construction, fifteen or twenty yards within the barrier, upon a rising ground, the cannon of which much overtopped the height of the barrier, hence, we were assailed by grape shot in abundance. This erection we called the platform. Again, within the barrier, and close into it, were two ranges of musketeers, armed with musket and bayonet, ready to receive those who might venture the dangerous leap. Add to all this, that the enemy occupied the upper chambers of the houses, in the interior of the barrier, on both sides of the street, from the windows of which we became fair marks. The enemy, having the advantage of the ground in front, a vast superiority of numbers, dry and better arms, gave them an irresistible power, in so narrow a space. Humphrey's, upon a mound, which was speedily erected, attended by many brave men, attempted to scale the barrier, but was compelled to retreat, by the formidable phalanx of bayonets within, and the weight of fire from the platform and the buildings. Morgan, brave to temerity, stormed and raged: Hendricks, Steele, Nichols, Humphreys, equally brave, were sedate, though under a tremendous fire. The platform, which was within our view, was evacuated by the accuracy of our fire, and few persons dared venture there again. Now it was, that the necessity of the occupancy of the houses, on our side of the barrier, became apparent. Orders were given by Morgan to that effect. We entered—this was near day-light. The houses were a shelter, from which we might fire with much accuracy. Yet, even here, some valuable lives were lost. Hendricks, when aiming his rifle at some prominent person, died by a straggling ball through his heart. He staggered a few feet backwards, and fell upon

a bed, where he instantly expired. He was an ornament of our little society. The amiable Humphreys died by a like kind of wound, but it was in the street, before we entered the buildings. Many other brave men fell at this place; among these were Lieutenant Cooper, of Connecticut, and perhaps fifty or sixty non-commissioned officers and privates. The wounded were numerous, and many of them dangerously so. Captain Lamb, of the York artillerists, had nearly one-half of his face carried away, by a grape or cannister shot. My friend Steele lost three of his fingers, as he was presenting his gun to fire; Captain Hubbard and Lieutenant Fisdle, were all among the wounded. When we reflect upon the whole of the dangers of this barricade, and the formidable force that came to annoy us, it is a matter of surprise that so many should escape death and wounding as did. All hope of success having vanished, a retreat was contemplated, but hesitation, uncertainty, and a lassitude of mind, which generally takes place in the affairs of men, when we fail in a project, upon which we have attached much expectation, now followed. That moment was foolishly lost, when such a movement might have been made with tolerable success. Captain Laws, at the head of two hundred men, issuing from Palace Gate, most fairly and handsomely cooped us up. Many of the men, aware of the consequences, and all our Indians and Canadians (except Natanis * and another,) escaped across the ice, which covered the Bay of St. Charles, before the arrival of Captain Laws. This was a dangerous and desperate adventure, but worth while the undertaking, in avoidance of our subsequent sufferings. Its desperateness, consisted in running two miles across shoal ice, thrown up by the high tides of this latitude—and its danger, in the meeting with air holes, deceptively covered by the bed of snow. Speaking circumspectily, yet it must be admitted conjecturally, it seems to me, that in the whole of the attack, of commissioned officers, we had six killed, five wounded, and of non-commissioned and privates, at least one hundred and fifty killed, and fifty or sixty wounded. Of the enemy, many were killed and many more wounded, comparatively, than on our side, taking into view the disadvantages we laboured under; and that but two occasions happened when we could return their fire, that is, at the first and second barriers. Neither the American account of this affair, as published by Congress, nor that of Sir Guy Carleton, admit the loss of either side to be so great as it really was, in my estimation.....

* Natanis and his brother Sabatis, and seventeen other (Abenaquis) Indians, the nephews and friends of Sabatis, marched with Arnold to Quebec.—(*Hen y's Journal*, page 75.) This may account for their successful venture through the trackless wilderness between Massachusetts and Quebec.

as to the British; on the platform they were fair objects to us. They were soon driven thence by the acuteness of our shooting.....

Perhaps there never was a body of men associated, who better understood the use and manner of employing a rifle, than our corps; while by this time of the attack, they had their guns in good order. When we took possession of the houses, we had a great range. Our opportunities to kill, were enlarged. Within one hundred yards, every man must die. The British however were at home—they could easily drag their dead out of sight, and bear their wounded to the Hospital. It was the reverse with us. Captain Prentis, who commanded the provost guards, would tell me of seven or eight killed, and fifteen or twenty wounded; opposed to this, the sentries, (who were generally Irishmen, that guarded us with much simplicity, if not honesty,) frequently admitted of forty or fifty killed, and many more wounded. The latter assertions accorded with my opinion. The reasons for this belief are these: when the dead, on the following days, were transported on the carioles, passed our habitation for deposition in the "dead house," we observed many bodies, of which none of us had any knowledge; and again, when our wounded were returned to us from the hospital, they uniformly spoke of being surrounded there, in its many characters, by many of the wounded of the enemy. To the great honor of General Carleton, they were all, whether friends or enemies, treated with like attention."

The Continentals of Brigadier General Montgomery had settled on the following plan of attack:—Col. Livingston, with his 300 Canadians and Major Brown, was to simulate an attack on the western portion of the walls—Montgomery to come from Holland House down by Wolfe's Cove, creep along the narrow path close to the St. Lawrence and meet Arnold on his way from the General Hospital at the foot of Mountain Hill, and then ascend to Upper Town.

Let us hear Mr. Sanguinet's account:

"The 31st December, 1775, "says he," at five in the morning, the *Bostonnais*, about 350 strong, headed by General *Montgomery*, advanced to take the place by escalade; simultaneously 550 men under Arnold directed an assault on Sault-au-Matelot street. Captain McLood, of the Royal Emigrants, who was on duty at that post, though notified by his sentries of their approach, pretended to discredit the fact. The guard

wanted to prepare, but he said no, so that the Bostonnais got over the palissade and took possession of the guns, which were posted on a wharf. The British sentries retired to the guard house, and the Bostonnais took the guard prisoners without firing a single shot, and located themselves in the houses of Sault-au-Matelot street. Captain McLeod, the commanding officer of the guard, feigned intoxication, and got four men to carry him. It appeared manifest to many he was in league with the foe: he was kept under arrest, until spring, when the Bostonnais evacuated Quebec. Some school boys who were near the spot, rushed up to the Upper Town and give the alarm. Instantly every bell in the city was tolled and the drums beat to arms. Soon every body was awake and running to the *Place d'Armes*, (the Ring).

The seminary scholars and some citizens who were mounting guard that day, made for Sault-au-Matelot street, and advanced towards the guard house of that post, ignoring that the Bostonnais were there. Great was their surprise in finding themselves amidst the Bostonnais, who extended their hands towards them, shouting "Liberty for ever." These exclamations, showed them they were among the enemy. This was very perplexing: many of them tried to escape, but the Bostonnais seeing their aim, disarmed them. Several returned to the Upper Town and halted at the *Place d'Armes*, where the whole garrison was assembled, shouting at the top of their voices, that the enemy was in possession of Sault-au-Matelot street—that they had captured the guard and a battery. Their youth caused their assertions to be doubted. General Guy Carleton then ordered Col. McLean, to hurry to the Lower Town to ascertain the real state of things. He soon returned, saying "By heaven, 'tis too true the enemy has got in at Sault-au-Matelot street," General Carleton then turning towards the people said, "Now is the time to show of what stuff you are made," and instantly dispatched a detachment of 200 men to that quarter. On arriving there, the soldiers became scared and surprised at the great progress the Bostonnais had made: the invaders had already placed three scaling ladders on the third *barrier, which was the weakest and the easiest to escalade; our alarm was increasing: all was excitement: disorder was getting the upper hand and our leaders seemed disinclined to advance. Fear was taking hold of the stoutest royalists, on their hearing the enemy say "Friends" calling at the same time several Quebecers by their name, "are you there?" a proof there were yet many traitors in the city, this caused all good citizens to shudder. However a Canadian named

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*Sanguinet mentions a "third barrier" though other writers mention but two.—(J. M. L.)

Charland, as athletic as he was brave, pulled the ladders over the barrier to his side; there were at that moment, several Bostonnais lying dead along the barrier: firing on both sides being pretty brisk. The invaders in order to know one another, wore a band of paper secured to their caps, with the words "*Liberty for ever*" or "*Death or Victory*" inscribed on it. The Bostonnais then gave up the idea of escalading the third barrier, and took refuge in the houses, opening the windows and firing through, in all directions. They thus approached from house to house, and had they not met with opposition, they would have reached the house which formed the corner of the barrier, but Mr. Dumas, who was a Captain, gave the order to storm this house instanter—M. Dambourges, by the aid of the ladder taken from the enemy, and followed by several Canadians, entered by one of the windows, and broke through the gable window of a house, wherein, he found a number of *Bostonnais*. Discharging first his fire-lock, he flung himself in, flourishing his bayonet, followed by a number of Canadians, full of spirit like himself; the inmates, panic struck, surrendered.

About this time, General Guy Carleton, sent by Palace Gate, a detachment of 200 men, under Capt. Laws, to cut off the retreat of the enemy, if he attempted to get back, and place them between two fires. Our men in Sault-au-Matelot street, were immediately advised of this movement; it inspired them with new ardor. Capt. Laws, with his 200 men, marched to the other (the eastern) end of Sault-au-Matelot street, from Palace Gate, and entered a house where the officers of the invading army were holding a council of War; several of them instantly drew their swords to despatch him; he then said he had under him twelve hundred men outside, and that unless they instantly surrendered, they would all be cut to pieces without mercy. Some of them looking out of the window, saw what they took to be a large force of British, though it numbered but 200 men; they then made terms with Capt. Laws, and gave themselves up as prisoners. This saved his life. As the Canadians were at the end of Sault-au-Matelot street, on the lower town side and kept up a constant fire on the *Bostonnais*, they heard a voice saying "*Canadians, cease firing, else you will hit your friends,*" at first it was thought it was merely a ruse on the part of the foe, and as the firing was still kept up, the same words were repeated. The firing then stopped, and the voices of some of our own people were distinguished; they had been taken prisoners by the enemy; at the same time, the Bostonnais sued for quarter, saying that they surrendered; some of them threw their arms out of the doors and windows; the others, under the effect of fear, hid in cellars and garrets; the greater portion presented the stocks of their fire-locks. The fight lasted two hours."

Such, ladies and gentlemen, is the narrative furnished by Simon Sanguinet, a Montreal lawyer, who arrived in Quebec, on the 15th May, 1776.

Let us hear Col. Caldwell; writing in the spring of 1776 to his friend Gen. James Murray, in England, he thus describes the attack:

"The burning of my house led me into this digression. The day after this happened, my clerk, (Joshua Wolf) trying to save some more work was taken prisoner by some of the enemy's flying parties, and a few days after, General Montgomery (brother to him, you might remember, at Quebec,) and lately a Captain in the 17th Regiment, and your old acquaintance and friend, Colonel Donald Campbell, quarter master-general, arrived at Holland's house (now the rebel head-quarters.) We were not idle, in the mean time, in town: we got the merlons and embrasures repaired; platforms laid, guns mounted, the picketing at Cape Diamond and behind the Hotel Dieu repaired; barriers were made between the upper and lower town, and at the extremities of the Lower Town, and at Sault-au-Matelot, and at the other side, at Prés-de-Ville, which, you may remember, is on the further side of the King's wharf, past the old King's forges; these posts were strengthened with cannon. In that situation, we were in the month of December; about the 14th, Mr. Montgomery got a battery formed of gabions, filled with snow, and rammed close, with water thrown on it, which made it freeze, which, intermixed with fascines and snow, did not answer well; but as well as could be expected. On this battery, he mounted five guns, 12 and 9 pounders, and then sent a flag of truce which the General would not receive, except on condition that they came to implore the King's mercy, which, indeed, was the way he treated several flags of truce that the enemy wanted to send in. Mr. Montgomery then contrived to have several letters thrown into the town on arrows, directed to the———and inhabitants of the town, full of threats and scurrility. He then opened his battery, which was erected on a rising ground, in a line with the tanners, who lived on the road to *Sans Bruit*, but without any effect; and Arnold's corps, which took posts in St. Roch, under our walls, were continually firing at our sentries—the three Rifle companies in particular—these sometimes wounding a sentry. They also got seven Royals behind Grant's house,* and threw a number of shells into town, also to no effect; and their battery was soon silenced, and some of their guns dismounted

* Grant's house stood about the centre of St. Roch.

by the superior fire from the town. About the 23rd, at night, my clerk made his escape, and brought with him one of their people. He effected it by getting a bottle of rum, and making the sentry over him drunk. He brought us the first certain accounts of their intention to storm the town; of their having ladders prepared, and of the different attacks that they were to make, as talked of amongst their troops; that Mr. Montgomery had declared his intention of dining in Quebec on Christmas day; and in public orders he promised the plunder of the town to his soldiers, which we afterwards found was true. We had before kept a good look out, but this put us more on our guard. The few regular troops, such as they were, were off guard, ordered to be accoutered, with their fire-arms beside them; the sailors, formed into a corps, under the command of Capt. Hamilton, of the *Lizard*, lay in their barracks in the same manner; and the two corps of militia, assembled at different points, to take their rest, in the same manner also. They remained quiet until the 31st of December; about five o'clock in the morning we were alarmed at our picket by Captain Frazer, who was captain of the main guard, and returning from his rounds, told us that there was a brisk firing kept up at Cape Diamond. The morning was dark, and at that time a drizzling kind of snow falling. McLean (who was second in command in the garrison, and who really, to do him justice, was indefatigable in the pains he took,) begged that I would take part of my corps to Cape Diamond, and if I found it a false attack (as we both supposed it to be), after leaving the necessary reinforcements there, I might return with the rest. I accordingly went there, found the enemy firing at a distance, —saw there was nothing serious intended, and after ordering a proper disposition to be made, proceeded to *Port Louis*. There I met Captain Laws, an officer to whom the General had given the command of an extra picket, composed of the best men of the detachment of the 7th and McLean's corps there; him I ordered back again to wait the General's orders, and proceeded to St. John's Gate, when I first learned that the enemy had surprised the post at Sault-au-Matelot, and had got into the Lower Town. I still had part of the B. Militia with me, and took upon me also to send some whom I found unnecessary on the ramparts, to the party to wait for orders; and took an officer with a small party of the Fusileers with me, by Palace Gate, just at the time when the officer I had mentioned to you, with about 70 men, was ordered to make a sortie and attack the enemy at the Sault-au-Matelot in the rear. I hastened, with what expedition I could, by the back of the Hotel Dieu, in the Lower Town, and on my way passed by the picket drawn up under the field officer of the day, who was Major Cox, formerly of 47th, and now Lieut-Governor of Gaspe. I got him to allow me to take your friend Nairne, with a subaltern and thirty men, and then proceeded to the Lower Town,

where I found things, though not in a good way, yet not desperate. The enemy had got in at the Sault-au-Matelot, but, neglecting to push on, as they should have done, were stopped at the second barrier which our people got shut just as I arrived. It was so placed as to shut up the street of the Sault-au-Matelot from any communication with the rest of the Lower Town. As I was coming up I found our people, the Canadians especially, shy of advancing towards the barrier, and was obliged to exert myself a good deal. To do old Voyer, their Colonel, justice, though he is no great officer, yet he did not show any want of spirit. However, my coming up with Nairne and a Lieutenant, with fifty seamen, gave our people new spirits. I posted people in the different houses that commanded the street of Sault-au-Matelot; some in the house where Levy, the Jew, formerly lived, others at Lymeburner's; the officers of the Fusileers I posted in the street with fixed bayonets, ready to receive the enemy in case they got on our side of the barrier; they had on their side of it, fixed some ladders, and then another to our side as it were to come down by; that was useful to us. I ordered it to be pulled away and fixed it to the window in the gable end of a house towards us; the front of which commanded the street of the Sault-au-Matelot, and their side of the barrier. Then I sent Captain Nairne, and Dambourges, an officer also of McLean's corps, * with a party of their people; Nairne and Dambourges entered the window with a great deal of spirit, and got into the house on that side, just as the enemy was entering it by the front door. But Nairne soon dislodged them with his bayonets, driving them into the street; nor did they approach the barrier afterwards. They however kept up a brisk fire from back windows of the houses they had occupied in Sault-au-Matelot street on our people in Lymeburner's house, on his wharf, and the street adjacent, from one of their houses. I had a narrow escape, for going at day break to reconnoitre on the wharf under them, just as they took post there, they asked, "Who is there"? At first I thought they might have been some of Nairne's people, who I knew were next door to them, and answered "a friend"—Who are you? they answered "Captain Morgan's company." I told them to have good heart for they would soon be in the town, and immediately got behind a pile of boards beside me, not above ten or twelve yards from them, and escaped. Their fire, however, a good deal slackened towards nine o'clock, especially after I brought a 9-pounder on Lymeburner's wharf to bear upon them: the first shot of which killed one of their men and wounded another. I then called out to Nairne in their hearing, so that he should let me know when he heard firing on the other side:

* It was there that an athletic Canadian, named Charland, distinguished himself, together with Capts. Dumas and Lt. Dambourges.

our General had sent 500 men to hem the enemy in on that side; they soon after began to give themselves up and surrendered to Nairne, who sent them through the window to us. They then began to crowd in in such numbers, that we opened the barrier, and they all gave themselves up on that side, while the party that made the sortie were busy in the same manner on the other side of the post and which had delayed so long from coming up, in taking and sending in by Palace Gate some straggling prisoners; but they had not a shot fired at them. and just arrived on that end of the post, the enemy surprised at the time the officer I sent to take possession of our old post, arrived with a small party, supported by Nairne with 100.men ! thus ended our attack on that side, in which the enemy had about 20 men killed, upwards of 40 men wounded, and about 400 made prisoners."

One account limits the casualities on the British side, to five privates killed, two wounded ; to which must be added Captain Anderson, who had previously held a commission in the Royal Navy, and a Mr. Fraser, a master-carpenter ; doubtless there were many others. A Journal, quoted by W. Smith, the historian, gives great praise to the regulars, the militia, the seamen : " The Royal Fusiliers, under Captain Owen, distinguished themselves, the Royal Emigrants behaved like Veterans." " The French militia shewed no backwardness ; a handful of them stood the last at Sault-au-Matelot ; overcome by numbers, they were obliged to retreat to the barrier." Welcome, my friends ! your praise was not sung every day, in English ears, in these troublous times.

" From December (1st), 1775, to the 6th May, 1776, according to Sanguinet, the Bostonnais fired seven hundred and eighty cannon shots on the city ; they threw one hundred and eighty small shells of 15, 18, 20, 25, 30 pounds, with the exception of five or six shells of 50 to 60 lbs. : their balls were mostly all of 9 lbs. weight. During the same interval, Quebec fired, including the shots to clean the guns, ten thousand four hundred and sixty-six shots—nine hundred and ninety-six shells—from 30, 40, 50 to 130 lbs.

weight—others of 160, 175, 200 lbs., and some of 300 lbs. weight, and six fire-pots, which set fire to four houses in St. Roch suburbs."—(*Sanguinet's Journal*, p. 130.)

The blockade lasted from 4th December, 1775, to 6th May, 1776: the chief incidents in the interval we find recorded in the Siege Journals under the heading of "innumerable houses in St. Rocque and St. John Suburbs, burnt by Arnold's soldiery, to cut off the supply of fire-wood from the garrison." Frequent ball practice between the enemy's piquets in St. John Suburbs and at Menut's Tavern, and the garrison: occasional desertions from the 95 American prisoners who had enlisted, and some of the Royal Emigrants disappearing, to which may be added several false alarms. Where Prescott Gate was built in 1797, there existed, in 1775, a rough structure of pickets;—Hope Gate, erected and named by Col. Hope eleven years after, did not of course exist in 1775—this is why Capt. Laws and his party were sent by Palace Gate.

Never was there a more utter rout than that of the heroes of Ticonderoga—Crown Point—Fort St. John—Fort Chambly—Montreal—Sorel—Three Rivers, &c. The Commander-in-Chief, Brigadier General Richard Montgomery, with his Aides-de-Camp, McPherson, Jacob Cheesman, and some dozens of others, fell at Près-de-Ville. Col. Arnold,* wounded in the leg, was conveyed from Sault-au-Matelot street by the Rev. Samuel Spring, the Chaplain of the force, and by Matthew Ogden (afterwards General M. Ogden), whilst Hendricks, and others of his chief officers, were shot, and his second in command, Lt.-Col. Green, the two Majors, Bigelow and Return J. Meigs, Adjutant Febezer and Capt.

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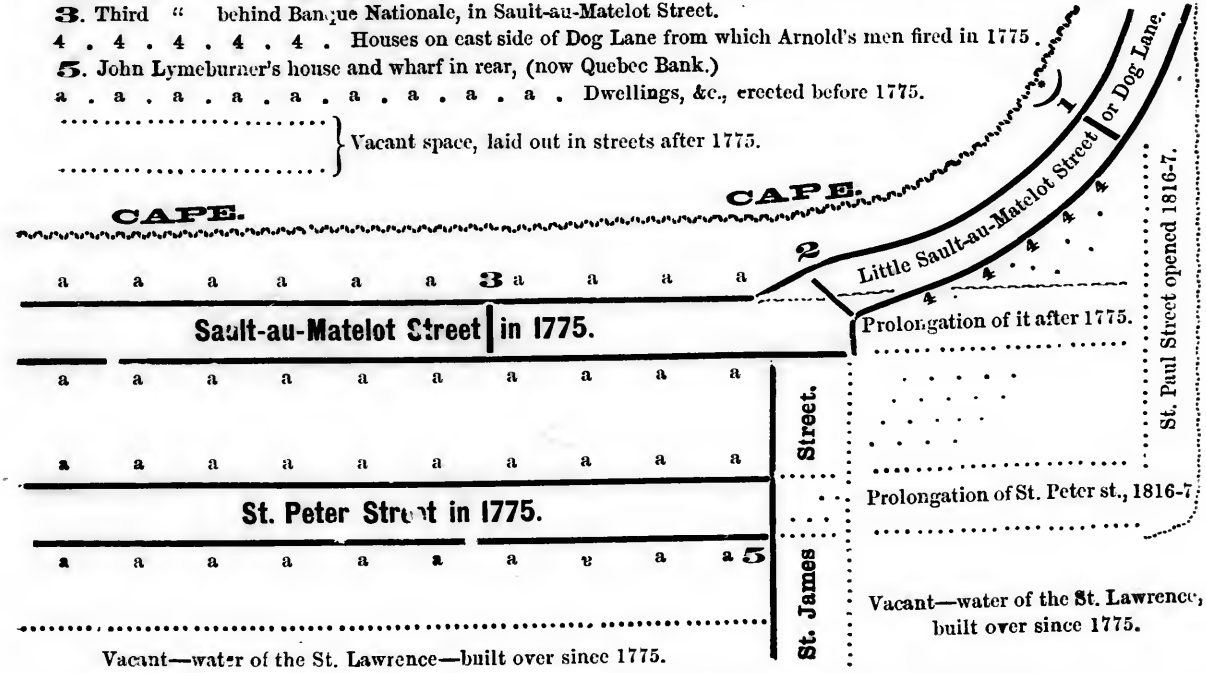
* Arnold was thirty-four years of age at the storming of Quebec in 1775. He was called a double traitor—first to England, next to America, having offered to surrender West Point to the English, for £33,000 and the retention of the rank he then held in the American army. He was born in Norwich, Conn., and died (near Brompton, London,) 18th June, 1801, aged 60 years.

Sketch of Arnold's Assault in 1775—By J. M. LeMoine.

1. First Barrier in Dog Lane, under * half-moon Battery on Ramparts above.
2. Second " closing up Dog Lane, where No. 5 Fire Station now stands, (entered by Capt. Nairne and Dambourges.)
3. Third " behind Banque Nationale, in Sault-au-Matelot Street.
4 . 4 . 4 . 4 . 4 . Houses on east side of Dog Lane from which Arnold's men fired in 1775.
5. John Lymeburner's house and wharf in rear, (now Quebec Bank.)
a . a . a . a . a . a . a . a . a . a . Dwellings, &c., erected before 1775.
..... } Vacant space, laid out in streets after 1775.
.....



Matthew Duncan, and some four hundred and twenty odd officers and privates were taken prisoners.

In order to render more clear the mode of attack and defence, on Sault-au-Matelot Barriers, I have prepared the foregoing rough sketch, showing, as near as possible, the locality in 1775, and its present state. The eastern termination of *Little Sault-au-Matelot* Street or Dog Lane is less abrupt than formerly. Figure **5** denotes the site of Lymeburner's house, where our men were. The wharf in rear, provided in 1775 with cannon, existed, so I am told, as late as 1823, and was occupied by the Warehouses of the Hudson Bay Co.; the Inland Revenue offices, and other buildings in St. James Street, have since taken the place of the St. Lawrence. From the title-deeds of property in my possession, there can be no doubt as to the site of Lymeburner's house, though I have failed to discover the site of the house, which Caldwell in his narrative calls "the house of Levy, the Jew." Where was, in 1775, Lymeburner's * house, now stands, since 1863, the stately structure known as the Quebec Bank.

I have my doubts, whether there really existed a "Third Barrier," though on the statement of Sanguinet, I have shown in the sketch a "Third one." However valuable the testimony of Mr. Sanguinet, the Montreal advocate, may be, as bearing on the incidents which took place in the latter city during his residence there in the winter of 1775-6, having only reached Quebec on the 15th May, 1776, his testimony as to the Quebec incidents of the preceding winter, is not like Caldwell's, that of an eye witness—it is merely secondary evidence.

* There were three Lymeburners: John, the proprietor of the St. Peter Street house, who was lost at sea in the fall of 1775; Adam, his brother, who succeeded to him—the able delegate sent to England to oppose the New Constitution of 1791, dividing Canada into two Provinces. He died in England as late as 1836; and Matthew Lymeburner (Lymeburner & Crawford); he was yet alive in 1816. None, that I am aware of, left children in Quebec.

Tradition points out as the house, at the eastern end of *Little Sault-au-Matelot* Street, in which Major Nairne and Lieut. Dambourgès entered, a small two-story Tavern removed a few years back and replaced by "No. 5 Fire Station." According to the narrative of Capt. Siméon Thayer, one of Arnold's officers, who formed part of the 427 prisoners taken, "the Continental troops of Arnold were, for upwards of four hours, victorious of the Lower Town, and had taken about 130 prisoners," when the fortune of war turned against them. His description of the capture of the First Barrier, guard and piquet, is worthy of notice :

"The front," says he, "having got lost by a prodigious snow-storm, I undertook to pilot them (Arnold's party), having measured the works before and knowing the place. But coming to the Barrier, two field pieces played briskly on us that were there. But on their drawing back to recharge, Capt. Morgan and myself, quickly advancing through the Ports, seized them with 60 men, rank and file, which was their main guard, and made them prisoners. Immediately afterwards, advancing towards a picket that lay further up the street, where there was a company of the most responsible citizens of Quebec, found their Captain drunk, took them likewise prisoners, and taking their dry arms for our own use, and laying ours up in order to dry them, being wet, and advancing, by which time our whole party got into the First Barrier. We rallied our men and strove to scale the second. Notwithstanding their utmost efforts, we got some of our ladders up, but were obliged to retreat, our arms being wet, and scarcely one in ten would fire ; whereon some did retreat back to the First Barrier we had taken, and when we came there we found we could not retreat without exposing ourselves to the most imminent danger."

They fell into the clutches of Capt. Laws. It is clear, from Capt. Thayer's statement, that it was neither a British nor a French militia officer who was captain of the piquet, past the First Barrier, "further up the street," where both the captain and piquet were taken prisoners—but Capt. McLeod, of the 84th or Royal Emigrants. Of whom was the piquet composed? of the "most responsible citizens of Quebec." Their nationality is not here given. Did this piquet, commanded by a British Regular officer, constitute the guard of the "Second Barrier?" * Probably not, else if it had, the

* Would it be Col. Voyer?

piquet being made prisoners of war, what would have prevented Arnold's men from scaling the Second Barrier ? Ladies and Gentlemen, notwithstanding all the minute details submitted, there is yet, you see, some margin for conjectures and hypotheses, and each nationality will set up a theory as to who defended the Second Barrier, in the beginning of the fray, before Caldwell, the Commander of the British Militia, Nairne, Dambourgès and Dumas struck out for Death or Victory, though this is a minor point.

You see in the Sketch the houses marked 4 . 4 . 4 . 4 in Dog Lane, from the back windows of which Morgan and Lamb's riflemen could pink our brave boys, sheltered in Lymeburner's house.

If time permitted, there are a thousand anecdotes and *traits* illustrative of those warlike times, I could relate you. I should tell how two sturdy New England wives followed their husbands, through the wilderness of forest and snow—to Quebec ; one surviving her husband, who, having fallen ill, had to be left to his fate in these inhospitable regions, round the Kennebec : the other, Mrs. Grier, a matronly person, was the wife of Sergeant Grier, "a large, virtuous and respectable woman." The other was "a pretty Jemima," the spouse of private James Warner. * Poor Warner, alas ! you died from eating too much.

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* James Warner had a most lamentable fate. He was young, handsome in appearance, not more than twenty-five years of age ; he was athletic and seemed to surpass in bodily strength. Yet, withall, he was a dolt. His wife Jemima was beautiful, though coarse in manners. In December, the wife or widow of poor James Warner came to our quarters in the low grounds (near the General Hospital ?) bearing her husband's rifle, his powder-horn and pouch. She appeared as fresh and rosy as ever. Her husband, she said, was a great eater. His stores of provisions, after the partition, at the head of the Chaudière, were in a little time consumed. The consummate wife ran back from the march, and found her beloved husband sitting at the foot of a tree, where he said he was determined to die. The tender-hearted woman attended her ill-fated husband several days, urging his march forward ; he again sat down. Finding all her solicitations could not induce him to rise, she left him, having placed all the bread in her possession between his legs, with a canteen of water. She bore his arms and ammunition to Quebec, where she recounted the story. The nephew of Natanis (an Indian guide), afterwards at Quebec, confirmed the relation of this good woman. For when going up, and returning down the river, with our inestimable friend, McCleland ; she urged him, suffused in tears, to take her husband on board. He and many others lost their lives by an inconsiderate gluttony : they ate as much at a meal as ought to have been the provision of four days.—(Henry's Journal, p. 198.)

A young friend of mine, from Ottawa, Mr. J. M. O'Leary, sends me some quaint bits of history, anent some Quebec heroines of the period, several of whom received pensions from the British Government as late as 1818. Some incurred incredible risks in bearing letters to or from Quebec—others were captured by Arnold and Montgomery's scouts. We read of a Miss Charlotte or Elizabeth Loiselle, who for meritorious services received a pension of £20 per annum. On this roll of merit, we find widows Dambourgès, Lortie, Cramahé and Vallerand

It is likewise refreshing to find that the bitterness engendered by this deadly strife did not poison the sympathy of the victors. Thus, on New Year's day, 1776, the unfortunate prisoners of war immured in the Seminary and the Récollet Monastery were treated to a whole hogshead of English porter, with bread and cheese, by the Lower Town merchants.

The praiseworthy efforts of the *Seigneur* of Crane Island, Capt. de Beaujeu—of the *Seigneur* of St. Jean Port Joly, de Gaspé—of the *Seigneur* of St. Thomas, Couillard—of William Ross, late of the 78th Highlanders—with the aid of brave *Curé* Bailly, failed to route the Invaders at St. Pierre, during the winter, and brought on their loyal heads, dire disaster and defeat. You know, of course, how staunch the *Seigneurs* and R. C. Clergy were to the British Crown in 1775-6. I hear some one saying, that their loyalty meant security of "*rentes et dimes*," and that the animosity with which Uncle Sam viewed the concessions granted by the Home Government to the Canadians by the Quebec Act of 1774, had opened the eyes of the *Seigneurs* and *Curés*. It is hard at this distance of time to judge of their motives: and though the Americans had warmly condemned the British for upholding † the Roman Catholic Religion in

† The favor which England extended to the R. C. faith in Canada in 1774, compared to the disabilities and penal statutes affecting those who professed it in other

Canada, no doubt, in their zeal to annex the Province, they would have overlooked the Roman Catholic and many other faiths—We have merely to deal with the fact that *Seigneurs* and Clergy were loyal.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, let me ask you who saved Quebec—pardon, I mean—the whole Province, for Britain, in 1775? Some, I hear replying, "the British Regulars and British Militia"; others argue it was "the City Walls." many assert, it was the R. C. Clergy—the *Seigneurs* and French Militia. Unquestionably all those elements were instrumental, some in a greater, others in a less degree. But in the atmosphere of prostration, disaffection, division and defeat, which surrounded the British standard, each separately, or even the whole of them put together, would have failed—signally failed. It required, in order to weld into one harmonious whole, so many dissolving, discordant elements—one master mind—one leading spirit—conciliatory—firm—able and brave. This leading spirit Quebec had received within its walls, from the jaws of death or defeat, on the 19th November, 1775. Need I tell you the name of this true-hearted man and noble leader?

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parts of her dominions, has suggested to the brilliant writer of the *London Times*, William Howard Russell, the following remarks:

"Is it not strange that Great Britain should have accorded such concessions to Roman Catholics and colonists, when the penal system was most rigorously enforced in Ireland? But is it not stranger still, that the people of the American colonies, who were about to set themselves up as the children and champions of freedom of faith and conscience, should have taken bitter umbrage at those very concessions! The Americans of the North had an exceeding animosity to the French Canadians. They remonstrated in fierce, intolerant, and injurious language with the people of Great Britain, for the concession of these privileges to the Canadians, and the Continental Congress did not hesitate to say that they thought 'Parliament was not authorised by the constitution to establish a religion fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets.'

In a strain of sublime impudence, considering the work they were ready for, the same Congress also expressed their astonishment that Parliament should have consented to permit in Canada 'a religion that had deluged your island with blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and *rebellion* through the world.'

* * * * * * * * * * *

The French Canadians of the present day, in accusing the British Government of a hundred years ago of want of liberality and foresight in the administration of their newly acquired territory, are wilfully blind to the sort of Government which they received from the Bourbons."—(*Canada, its Defences*, pages 144-5.)

* Guy Carleton was the hero of Quebec. (Applause.)

I shall not trespass any longer on your time; you have had three versions of the Sault-au-Matelot assault, two by eye witnesses, one by a contemporary. I do not know whether you have been as much struck, as I was with the candid account of that youthful Volunteer, John Joseph Henry, who lived to see himself President of a Pennsylvania Court of Justice, and who remained for nine months a prisoner of war, first in the Recollet Monastery, which was burnt in 1796, and the remainder of the winter in the Dauphin prison near St. John's Gate; he has described in a very attractive style, how his countrymen deprived of their leaders—hemmed in on all sides, surrendered or bravely fell before Guy Carleton's Musqueteers.

You have also heard Sanguinet, a staunch loyalist, picture the fiery French, forgetful of their grievances, led by Dupré and Dambourgès, sealing with their blood the covenant, that oath of allegiance, sworn by them sixteen years previous, to Britain.

Lastly, Col. Hy. Caldwell, a companion in arms of the immortal Wolfe, with becoming pride, has related how British pluck—British hearts—British bayonets upheld the glorious flag of England, one hundred years ago, in this most ancient, most historical, most picturesque old city. All races you saw that day, united like one man, to hurl the invader from their doors.

There remains for me but one word to add, one hope to express. Should the voice of our country ever again summon her sons, to her rescue, may they prove as united, as brave, as true to themselves, as loyal to their hearths and homes, as the men of Quebec of 1775! (Prolonged applause.)

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* General Carleton was knighted for his gallantry in defending Quebec in 1775; he became Lord Dorchester, in recognition of the services rendered subsequently to England, at New York, though he was second in command to General Burgoyne. He died in 1808.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

BY MR. STEVENSON.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—We are really greatly indebted to Mr. LeMoine for the facts of History which he has imparted to us to-night: indeed Canada owes a debt of gratitude to him for his unwearied industry in rescuing from oblivion every particular of our history which may prove interesting, encouraging and valuable to ourselves and to posterity.

We cannot help reflecting at this moment how very different might have been the destiny of Canada but for the bravery of a few men, of British and French Canadian origin, who fought against the insurgents for the maintenance of a connection which was dearer to them than life. I will not say that the Republican form of Government, which Montgomery ventured to force upon us, is a great evil; on the contrary, there is much good in it; and the highest conception of that form of Government contains the elements of real freedom; and is based, not on feeling, but on the thought and self consciousness of man recognizing the spiritual character of his existence. Canadians, however, of both French and British origin, in the exercise of freedom, in the exercise of their rights, preferred to live under a Monarchical form of Government, which gives to the state an immovable centre, and consigns, ostensibly, sovereign possession to a dynastic family in trust. In fine, they preferred to remain in fraternal union with the people of Great Britain; and to form part of the great British Empire, of which Canada constitutes now not the least influential or least important portion.

With regard to the American Revolution, it has been well said that "It is very seldom men come to one opinion concerning the character and the consequences of a great contest, the event of which was decided by the sword, after a long war, which had been preceded by a much longer and not less bitter combat of words and phrases. The war of the American Revolution, so far as it concerned Americans and the people of Great Britain, was a civil war, and whatever is great and good in its history is the common property of both. The valor of the two armies belongs to the common stock of the martial virtues of that race. The issue of the contest was in a measure fixed by physical facts before a gun was fired. Great Britain was too far removed from the scene of action to admit of their superiority in numbers and wealth being made available in an age when steam navigation was unknown. The people of America and the people of Great Britain can look back to the American Revolution, if not with complacency, at least with calmness, and deduce, I hope, from its history, the sound conclusion, never again to engage in a contest with men of their own blood."

The true theatre of history, I mean the history of human development and civilization, rather than of wars, is the temperate or northern half of the temperate zone. When pressing needs are satisfied, man turns to the more general and more elevated; but in the extreme zones, such pressure may be said never to cease, never to be warded off; men are constantly impelled to direct their attention to the elements, to the burning rays of the sun, or to the icy frost.

On this northern half of America, we witness a state of general prosperity; and in our own portion of it, an increase of industry, and population, civil order, and firm freedom. Where our lot is cast, the severity of the climate renders the struggle of life more arduous perhaps than it

is in the western, and more temperate parts of the Dominion. On the other hand we claim to possess physical advantages which go far to counterbalance the disadvantages which we labor under in other respects. I refer to the great maritime high way to the ocean, and other high ways in process of construction, which, when completed, may tend to restore to our old city a great measure of its former importance, prosperity, activity and trade.

Improvements are also in contemplation for the preservation of our historic monuments, and the embellishment of the city by using effectively the natural advantages of its site—blending the work of nature with that of art, for purposes of utility and adornment. These improvements we hope to see soon begun and completed.

We are indebted to our present distinguished Governor General of Canada for suggesting the improvements, and providing the plans, which if followed and realized, will render Quebec the most remarkable and probably the most interesting city on this continent. Let me add, that we are also indebted to our energetic and able Mayor, Owen Murphy, Esq., for seconding the efforts of His Excellency; and to the Members of the Corporation and others for their cordial co-operation in furtherance of the great object in view.

I cannot close my remarks without acknowledging on behalf of the society, the receipt of a most interesting sheet with our *Morning Chronicle* on Xmas day, headed, "Quebec Improvements," in which the subject is remarkably well handled by the Editor. The typography of the sheet is perfect, and the illustrations are artistic and executed in good style—the whole reflecting infinite credit upon the taste and enterprise of the proprietor of the paper. We thank him for it. The original plans, admirably designed

and executed by Mr. Lynn, the civil engineer employed by Lord Dufferin, are on the table in our library, and may be seen by any lady or gentleman desirous of examining them.

I have now to acknowledge the services of many members and friends of the society who have contributed in various ways to the success of the celebration this evening; and we are particularly indebted to one of our members, Captain Lampson, and to the artillerymen attached to the military store department, for the decorations in our library rooms. The principal of Morrin College kindly accorded us the use of the lecture room in which I have now the pleasure of addressing you; and the beautiful banners with which it is draped are the property of the St. Andrew's society of this city. Flags have been kindly lent to us by Messrs. Dinning & Webster, without which we should have made but a poor display of buntin in celebration of the centennial.

It remains for me now only to thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for the pleasure your company has afforded us this evening; and for the kind consideration you have shown in listening so attentively, and so patiently, to all we have told you to-night about so memorable an event in the history of our country, as the defence of this fortress, on the 31st December, 1775.

The company were then invited to view the sword of General Montgomery, suspended with crape, under a star of bayonets, in the Library of the Society, after which the guests were conducted to the Refreshment Rooms, where ice-creams, jellies, blanc manges, and other delicacies were provided for them.

Music continued until the departure of the company.

PROGRAMME.

MÉLANGES ..... { "British Grenadiers,"..... .....
"Canadian Quadrilles,".....*St. Germain*

SELECTION,....."Scotch Airs,"..... ..... *Wallace*

SELECTION,....."Irish Airs,"..... *Sullivan*

VIVE LA CANADIENNE.—GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

The thanks of the Society were given to the Band for their kind services on the occasion—and the Bandsmen were invited to partake of refreshments.

Thus passed a pleasant meeting commemorating a memorable event in the History of Canada.

—§—

The celebration of the Centenary at the Literary and Historical Society was followed by a similar demonstration at the Institut Canadien of Quebec, on the 30th, which went off with great *éclat*, and by a Ball at the Citadel, on the 31st, given by the Commandant, Colonel Strange, R. A., and Mrs. Strange, who entertained a large number of guests dressed in the costume of 1775.

The following verses, contributed by a Montreal lady, were made an appropriate introduction to the festivities:

LINES
ON
THE CENTENNIAL,
1775–1875.

DEDICATED TO

LIEUT.-COLONEL T. BLAND STRANGE,

COMMANDANT OF QUEBEC.

Hark! hark! the iron tongue of time
Clangs forth "a hundred years,"
And Stadacona on her "heights"
Sits shedding mournful tears!

Oh ! spirits fled, oh ! heroes dead
Oh ! ye were slain for me,
And I shall never cease to weep.
Ah ! Wolfe, brave soul for thee.

Again the foe are made to know
The Force of British steel ;
Montgomery and his comrades brave
Fall 'neath the cannon's peal.

Sudden she sprang upon her feet,
With wild dishevelled hair—
" What are those sounds I hear so sweet
Upon the trembling air ?

The frowning Citadel afar
Is all ablaze with light,
And martial notes, but not of war,
Awake the slumbering night."

Then on she sped, with airy flight,
Across th' historic " plains,"
And there beheld a splendid sight -
Valor with beauty reigns !

Where fearless Carleton stood at bay
A hundred years ago.
Under the gallant Strange's sway
They still defy the foe.

" My sons ! my sons ! I see ye now.
Filled with the ancient fires,
Your manly features flushing forth
The spirit of your sires !

Yet here, surrounded by the flower
Of Canada's fair dames,
Ye are as gentle in these bowers
As brave amidst war's flames.

Long may ye live to tell the tale
Transmitted to your mind,
And should again your country call
Like valor she will find."

E. L. M.

One hundred years have passed away, and again soldiers and civilians in the costume of 1775 move about in the old fortress, some in the identical uniforms worn by their ancestors at the time of the memorable repulse.

The Commandant, in the uniform of his corps in 1775, and the ladies in the costume of the same period, received their guests as they entered the Ball-room—the approaches to which were tastefully decorated. Half way between the dressing and receiving rooms is a noble double staircase, the sides of which are draped with Royal standards intermingled with the white and golden lilies of France, Our Dominion Ensign, and the stars and stripes of the neighbouring Republic. On either hand of the broad steps are stands of arms and warlike implements. Here too, facing one, when ascending the steps, is the trophy designed by Captain Larue of the "B" Battery. The huge banners fell in graceful folds about the stacks of musketry piled on the right and left above the drums and trumpets; from the centre was a red and black pennant (the American colors of 1775,) immediately underneath was the escutcheon of the United States, on which heavily craped, was hung the hero's sword—the weapon with which one hundred years before this night, Montgomery had beckoned on his men. Underneath this kindly tribute to the memory of the dead General, were the solemn prayerful initials of the *Requiescat in Pace.* At the foot of the trophy were two sets of old flint muskets and accoutrements, piled, and in the centre a brass cannon captured from the Americans in 1775, which bears the lone star and figure of an Indian—the arms of the State of Massachusetts. On either side of this historical tableau, recalling as it did, so vividly, the troublous times of long ago, telling the lesson so speakingly of the patience and pluck, the sturdy manhood and bravery of a century gone by, were stationed as sentries, two splendid specimens of the human race, stalwart giants considerably over six feet in height, who belonged formerly to the famous Cent Gardes of Napoleon III, but now in the ranks of B. Battery. The stern impassiveness of their faces and the immobility of their figures were quite in keeping with the solemn trust they had to guard.

Dancing commenced: dance succeeded dance, and the happy hours flew past till the midnight hour, which would add another year to our earthly existence. About that time there were mysterious signs and evidences that something unusual was going to happen. There was a hurrying to and fro of the *cognoscenti* to their respective places, but so noiselessly and carefully were the preparations made for a *coup de théatre*, that the gay throng who perpetually circulated through the rooms took little heed, when all of a sudden the clear clarion notes of a trumpet sounding thrilled the hearts of all present. A panel in the wainscoating of the lower dancing room opened as if by magic, and out jumped a jaunty little trumpeter, with the slashed and decorated jacket and busby of a hussar. The blast he blew rang in tingling echoes far and wide, and, a second later, the weird piping and drumming, in a music now strange to us, was heard in a remote part of the Barracks. Nearer and nearer every moment came the sharp shrill notes of the fifes and the quick detonation of the drum stick taps. A silence grew over the bright *cortege*, the notes of the band died away, the company clustered in picturesque groups around the stairs where was placed the thin steel blade, whose hilt one century gone by, was warmed by the hand of Montgomery. The rattle of the drums came closer and closer, two folding doors opened suddenly, and through them stalked in grim solemnity the "Phantom Guard," led by the intrepid Sergeant Hugh McQuarters. Neither regarding the festive decorations, nor the bright faces around them, the guard passed through the assemblage as if they were not; on through saloon and passage; past Ball Room and conversation parlour, they glided with measured step and halted in front of the Montgomery trophy, and paid military honors to the momento of a hero's valiant—if unsuccessful act. Upon their taking close order, the Bombadier, Mr. Dunn, who impersonated the dead Sergeant, and actually wore the sword and blood-stained belts of a

man who was killed in action in 1775, addressed Colonel Strange, who stood at the bottom of the staircase already mentioned, as follows :—

"Commandant! we rise from our graves to-night, *
On the Centennial, of the glorious fight,
At midnight, just one hundred years ago,
We soldiers fought and beat the daring foe;
And kept our dear old flag aloft, unfurled,
Against the Armies of the Western world.
Although our bodies now should be decayed,
At this, our visit, be not sore dismayed;
Glad are we to see our Fortress still defended,
By Canadians, French and British blended,
But Colonel, now I'll tell you, why we've risen,
From out of the bosom of the earth's cold prison—
We ask of you to pay us one tribute,
By firing from these heights, one last salute."

The grave sonorous words of the martial request were hardly uttered ere through the darkness of the night, the great cannon boomed out a soldier's welcome and a brave man's requiem—causing women's hearts to throb, and men's to exult at the warlike sound. While the whole air was trembling with the sullen reverberation and the sky was illuminated with rockets and Roman candles, Colonel Strange responded to his ghostly visitant, in the following original composition :

"'Tis Hugh McQuarters, and his comrades brave,
To-night have risen from their glorious grave—
To you we owe our standard still unfurled,
Yet flaunts aloft defiance to the world :
God grant in danger's hour we prove as true,
In duty's path, as nobly brave as you.
This night we pass, in revel, dance and song,
The weary hours you watched so well and long,
Mid storm and tempest met the battle shock,
Beneath the shadow of the beetling rock ;
When foemen found their winding sheet of snow,
Where broad St. Lawrence wintry waters flow.

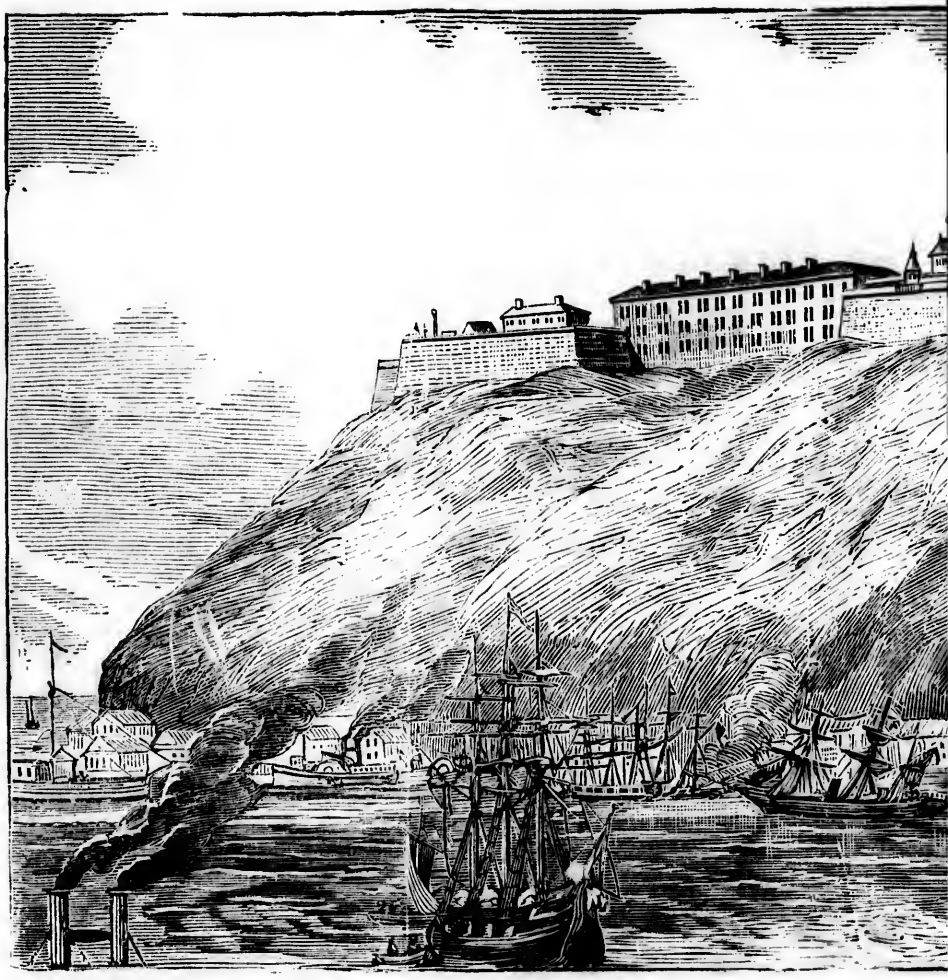
* Bombadier Dunn, who impersonated the dead sergeant, Hugh McQuarters, is the author of these lines.

Yes! once again those echoes shall awake,
In thunders, for our ancient comrades sake;
The midnight clouds by battle bolts be riven,
Response like Frontenac's may yet be given
If foeman's foot our sacred soil shall tread.
We seek not history's bloody page to turn,
For us no boastful words aggressive burn,
Forgotten, few, but undismayed we stand,
The guardians of this young Canadian land.
Oh, blessed peace! thy gentle pinions spread,
Until all our battle flags be furl'd,
In the poet's federation of the world.

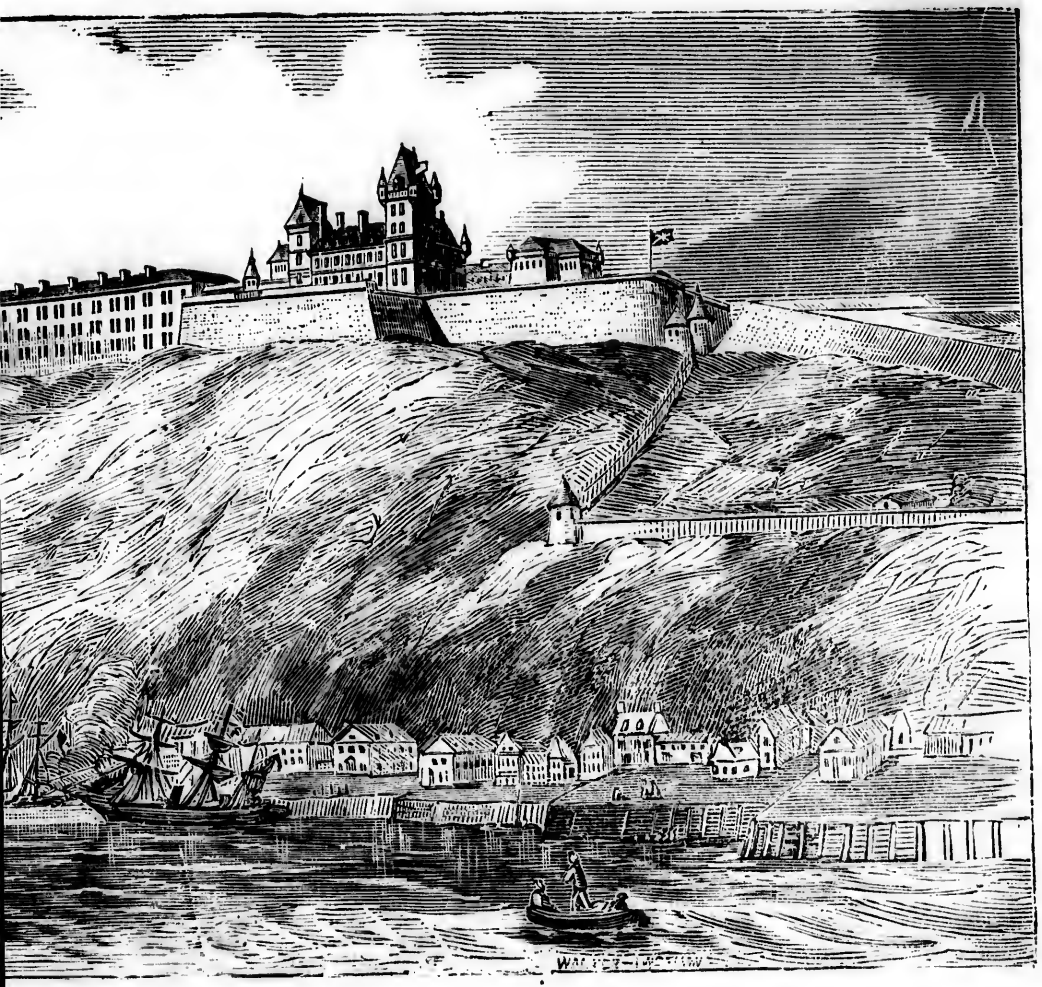
For us will dawn no new centennial day—
Our very memories will have passed away,
Our beating hearts be still, our bodies dust;
Our joys and sorrows o'er, our swords but rust.
Your gallant deeds will live in history's page,
In fire side stories, told to youth by age;
But sacred writ still warns us yet again,
How soldier's science and his valour's vain
Unless the Lord of Hosts the City keep:
The mighty tremble and the watchmen sleep,
Return grim soldiers to your silent home
Where we, when duty's done will also come."

It will not be easy for any of those fortunate enough to have witnessed the impressive and natural way in which this *coup de theatre* was arranged ever to forget it. Taken either as a *tableau vivant* of a possible historic event, or as an example of truthful spirited eloquence, on both sides, it was a perfect success.

At the suggestion of the resident American Consul, Hon. W. C. Howells, the old house in St. Louis Street, in which the body of General Montgomery was laid out on the 1st January, 1776, was decorated with the American flag, and brilliantly illuminated that night.



General Views of Citadel and Chateau St.



itadel and Chateau St. Louis from St. Lawrence.

QUEBEC IMPROVEMENTS.

—§—

The Fortress City of America.

—§—

QUEBEC AS IT WAS AND AS IT WILL BE.

—§—

LORD DUFFERIN'S PLANS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF ITS HISTORIC MONUMENTS.

—§—

EMBELLISHMENT OF THE ANCIENT CITY AND IMPROVEMENT OF ITS NATURAL ADVANTAGES.

—§—

REVIVAL OF THE HISTORIC CASTLE OF ST. LOUIS.

—§—

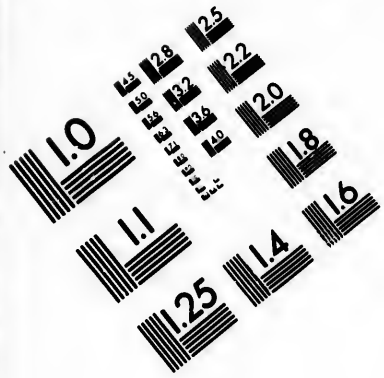
QUEBEC TO BE THE SUMMER RESIDENCE OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA.

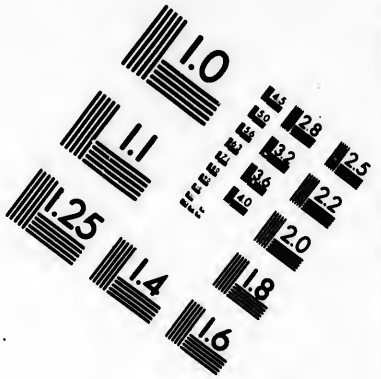
—§—

"Many a vanished year and age,
And tempest's breath and battle's rage,
Have swept o'er Corinth; yet she stands
A fortress formed to Freedom's hands.
The whirlwind's wrath, the earthquake's shock,
Have left untouched her hoary rock,
The key-stone of a land."—

The Siege of Corinth.—LORD BYRON.

It is scarcely necessary to point out to the reader how pertinently and forcibly these memorable lines apply to the world-renowned fortress of America. In natural situation and varied history, there are so many strong points of resemblance between the ancient city of Quebec and the Corinth which Lord Byron has immortalized in his mellifluous and undying verse, that they must be our excuse for quoting the noble bard on the present occasion. This





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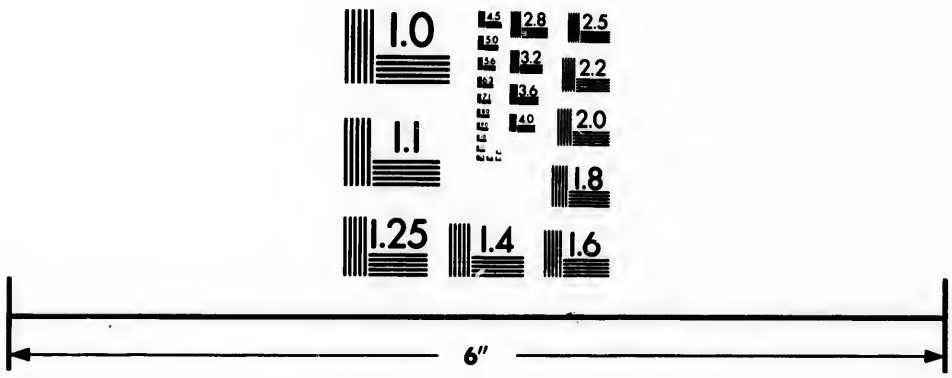

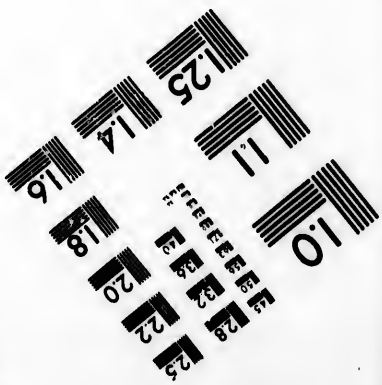

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occasion is specially one, when, as a journal having at heart the advancement of the grand old place, the preservation of its peculiar character of interest to the world at large, and the enhancement of that veneration in which it is held all over the civilized globe, we deem it our duty to make generally public the enlightened measures of improvement and embellishment, coming from the very highest and most influential quarter in the country, of which Quebec may, in the poet's language, not be inaptly termed "the keystone," and which, when carried out, will not only preserve to the Gibraltar of America its historic landmarks, its interesting associations and traditions, and its exceptional character of quaintness and antiquity, but subserve the realization of those more modern ideas of progress, which fail to see that it is much easier to tear down than to build up. For this commendable purpose, we have taken the trouble, at considerable expense, to present, to the friends of the MORNING CHRONICLE on this Christmas morning, correct illustrations of the embellishments and improvements proposed and contemplated by His Excellency, the present able and distinguished Governor General of Canada, for the idea of which the citizens of Quebec in particular, and the civilized world in general, cannot be too thankful to the noble lord, as well as for the hearty interest which he has ever taken in the ancient capital of New France, and all that concerns the welfare and prosperity of its people. To our kindred race in the neighboring republic, one in blood, as they are one in desire with us for the religious preservation of our historic monuments, we may specially commend the present subject; and, in order that they may acquire a proper understanding of it, we quote from our columns, in the issue of the Quebec MORNING CHRONICLE, of the 22nd November last:

"If the scheme of city improvement and embellishment submitted by his Excellency the Governor-General, for the consideration of the City Council, and briefly outlined in our issue of Saturday, may be said to have taken the citizens somewhat by surprise, we believe we are correct in interpreting the popular feeling on the subject, when we state that the inhabitants of the ancient capital are, and will ever be deeply grateful to Lord Dufferin for the deep and continuous interest which he takes in Quebec, the flattering

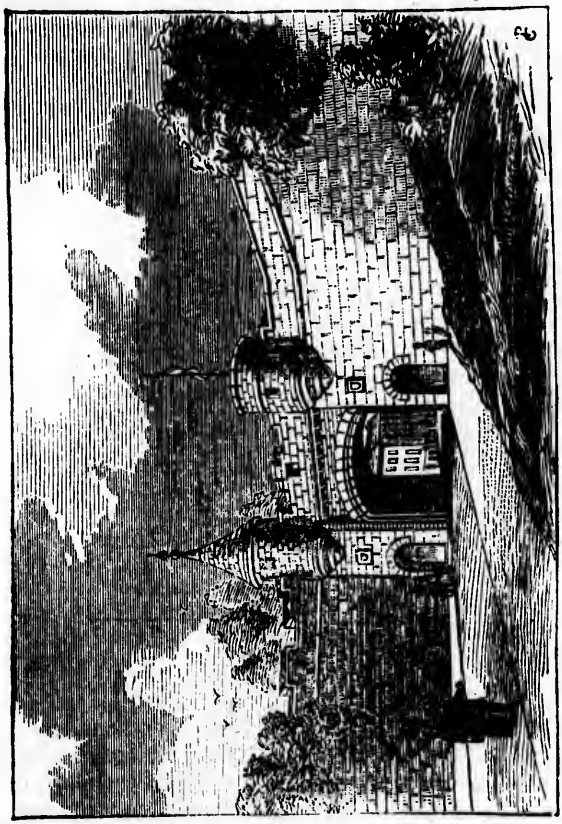
preference he shows for it on all occasions, and the present signal manifestation of his good will and desire to promote its importance by the enhancement of its historic and scenic attractions, without very materially adding to the burthens of its tax-paying population. It surely must be a subject of general pride and congratulation to find such distinguished and influential patronage extended to our good old city, and to look forward to the prospect of future advantage which support in such a quarter is certain to open up for it. There is no denying that if the scheme proposed by His Excellency be carried out in its entirety, in connection with other improvements actually in contemplation, Quebec will not only have its modern requirements more than satisfied, but will become the show city of this continent, to which thousands of strangers will annually flock to view a grandeur of scenery unsurpassed on this side of the Atlantic, conjointly with the relics of an eventful and heroic past for which the outside world has a special veneration. Familiarity, it has been truly said, breeds contempt, and this self-same familiarity with our crumbling fortifications has engendered among ourselves an underestimate of the value attached by strangers to them, and to the other mementoes of by-gone days, which abound in our midst. Not altogether improperly, outsiders regard Quebec as common property, a bit of the old world transferred to the new, tucked away carefully in this remote corner of the continent, and to be religiously preserved from all inonoclastic desecration, especially from that phase of the latter, which goes by the name of modern improvement with some, but passes for wanton vandalism with others. They wish to have to say still of Quebec at the present day, as Longfellow sang of Nuremberg, that it is a—

> "Quaint old town of toil and traffic,
> Quaint old town of art and song,
> Memories haunt thy pointed gables,
> Like the rooks that round them throng."

In addition to being the oldest city in North America, Quebec, historically speaking, is also the most interesting. The traditions and associations, which cling to its beetling crags and hoary battlements, and cluster around its battlefields, monuments and institutions, are numerous and important in the eyes of the world. History speaks from

every stone of its ruined walls, and from every standpoint of its surroundings; antiquity is stamped upon its face, and quaintness is its chief characteristic. In the computation of our yearly income, the revenue we derive from these attractions, coupled with those supplied by the magnificent panorama of Nature with which the city is encircled, forms no inconsiderable item. We imagine it will not be denied by any rational person that the stream of travel which tends this way with the return of each fine season, as surely as that season itself, is an immense advantage to the totality of the inhabitants, for it is a well recognized truth that where any special class, trade or calling in a community is benefitted, the whole are benefitted by the increase of the circulating medium. It is therefore a self evident duty on our part to do all we reasonably can to preserve to Quebec its character of interest and antiquity, which is much prized by the rest of the world, and is so valuable in a material point of view to ourselves. We should also, if possible, exert ourselves in the same direction to so enhance, by artificial means, the splendid scenic advantages we offer to admiring sight-seers, that like the Neapolitans, when they speak of Naples to the European traveller, we may tell the American to see Quebec and die. At the same time such modern improvements as can be effected without serious detriment to our historical monuments, such as our gates and ramparts, should not be neglected, to advance the growth and embellishment of the city and to facilitate communication between its older and newer parts. This is just what Lord Dufferin's plans and views with regard to Quebec propose to do. We have been favored with a sight of the admirably executed plans and designs, prepared by Mr. Lynn, the eminent civil engineer commissioned by Lord Dufferin to carry out his intentions, and who, it will be remembered, accompanied His Lordship and the Minister of Militia last summer on their examination of the military works and grounds. It will also be recalled that it was with considerable reluctance that His Excellency consented at all to the removal of the old gates and the cutting through of the walls on the western side of the fortress, and that it was only his well-known consideration for the wishes and requirements of the people of Quebec that induced him to concur in the demand for increased facility of communication between the city and

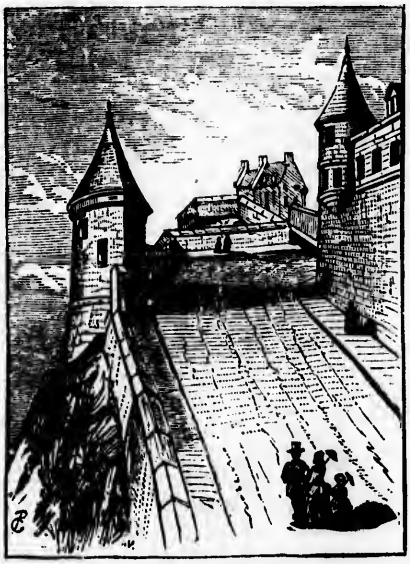
its suburbs. According to Mr. Lynn's plans, it is easy to see that His Excellency still adheres to his original ideas in the matter, to some extent, while desiring at the same time to meet the popular wish and necessity. It is proposed that all the gates, with the exception of Hope Gate, or rather the present apertures, are to be bridged or arched



St. John's Gate.

over, in viaduct fashion, with handsome bridges either in iron or stone, so as to preserve the continuity of the fortifications. In this way, the openings in the ramparts, including that for the extension of Nouvelle street, will remain as free to traffic as they are at present. St. John's Gate is,

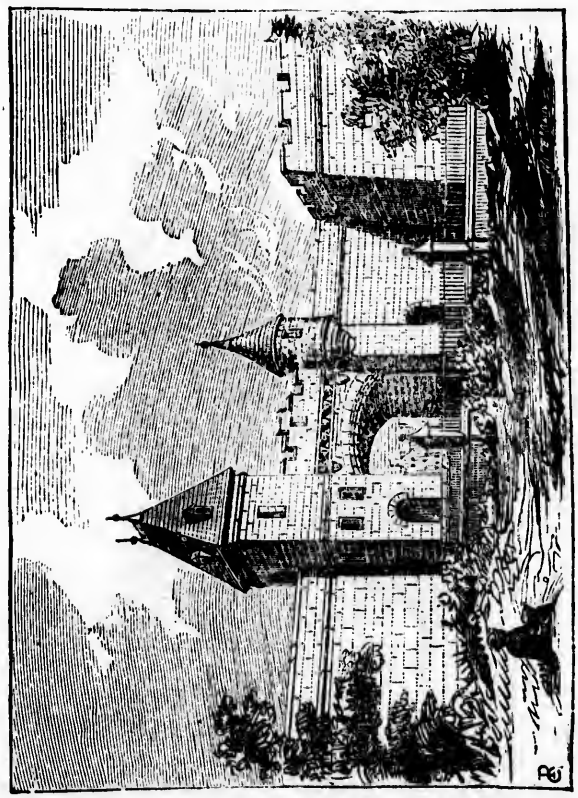
of course, included with the others in this category. All the bridges or arches over the gates will be flanked with picturesque Norman turrets, of different size and design, such as are frequently seen in old French and German castles. Hope Gate, it is contemplated simply to flank with such turrets, some twelve more of which will also at different other points adorn and relieve the monotonous effect of the long dead line of wall from Palace Gate to the Parliament Buildings. His Excellency next proposes a bou-



Hope Hill.

levard or continuous drive around the entire fortifications, commencing at the Durham Terrace, which he wishes to have prolonged westwards to the King's Bastion, and thus make it one of the most magnificent promenades in the world, with an unequalled view of river, mountain, crag and island scenery, and taking in both the upper and lower portions of the harbour. Thence the boulevard will continue, rising by an easy incline to the foot of the Citadel, and thence will run along the crest of the cliff at the foot of the walls round to the rough ground or Cove field, through

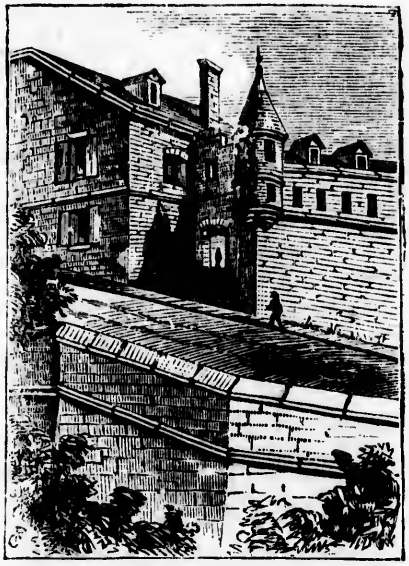
which it will be carried, following the line of the fortifications, crossing St. Louis street and entering the Glacis on the north side of that thoroughfare ; the square of which comprised between St. Louis street, St. Eustache street, the extension of Nouvelle street and the walls, His Excellency wishes to have formed into a park or ornamental pleasure



St. Louis Gate.

ground, communicating with the Esplanade by means of a sally-port through the rampart. Through this park, the boulevard will be continued down across St. John street and around through the gardens and grounds of the Artillery Barracks, to Palace Gate, crossing in its passage three other openings in the fortification wall to give direct communication with the city to D'Aiguillon, Richelieu and

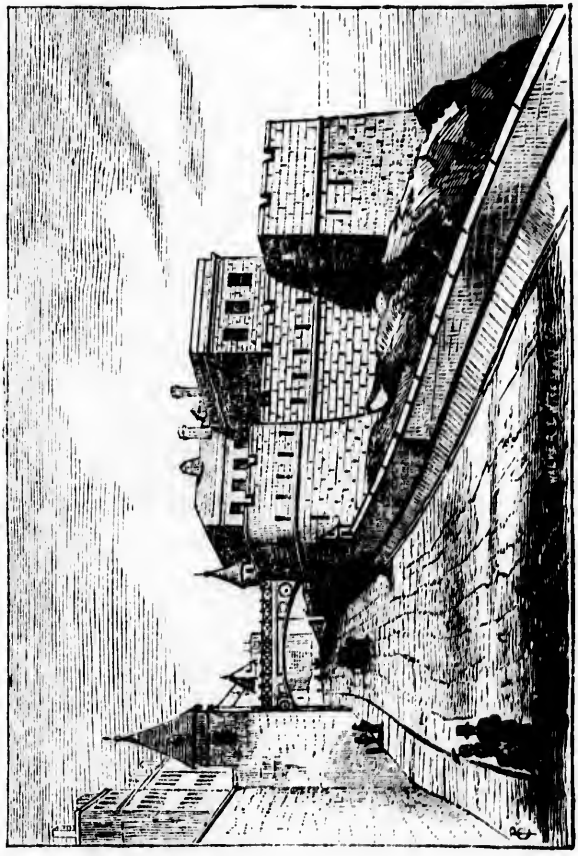
St. Olivier streets, such openings being bridged over in the same fashion as the others. From Palace Gate the boulevard will follow the present line of Rampart street round to the Parliament Buildings, in rear of which it will pass, and then traverse Mountain Hill over a handsome iron bridge flanked with turrets, on the site of old Prescott Gate, to Fortification Lane, in rear of the Post Office, which will be enlarged and graded up, back again to the Durham Terrace or original point of departure, thus making a con-



Artillery Store—Palace Gate.

tinuous, unbroken circuit of the entire fortifications, and providing a public promenade that will undoubtedly be unsurpassed by anything of the sort in the world, and cannot fail to attract thousands of profitable visitors to Quebec. The cost of the undertaking would not be so enormous, as might appear at first sight. It is estimated that His Excellency's capital idea in this respect could be carried out at an outlay of ninety thousand dollars, of which the city would only be asked to contribute thirty thousand, the

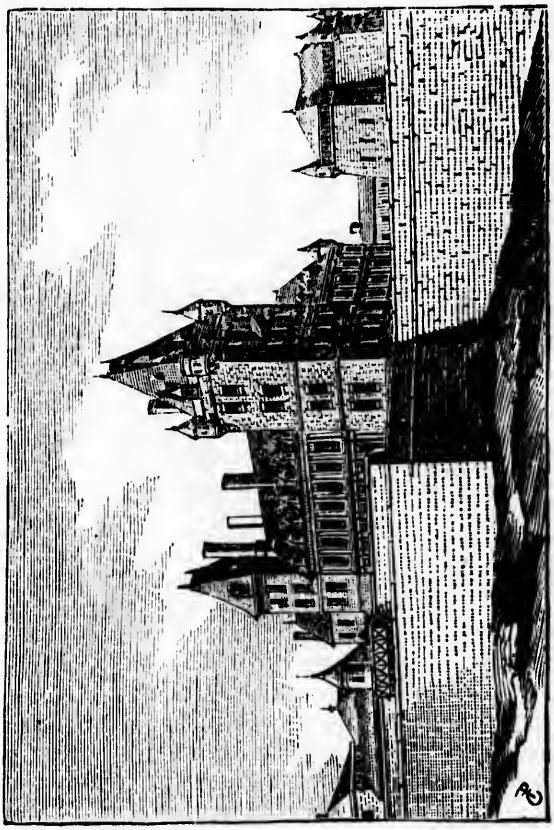
Federal authorities making up the difference. But His Excellency does not seem satisfied to stop short even at this work of embellishment in his desire to promote the interest of our good old city. He wishes that it should become also



Mountain Hill.—Iron Bridge.

the abode of the representative of royalty in Canada, at least during the summer season, and, in order that it should enjoy to the fullest all the importance and material benefit likely to flow from this circumstance, he further proposes to have a regular and fitting vice regal residence erected for

himself on the Citadel, to be styled the Castle of St. Louis or *Chateau St. Louis*, and to revive the ancient splendors of that historic residence of the early governors of New France. We have also seen the plans and sketches of this building and must admit that, if constructed, it will of itself materially enhance the appearance of Quebec, and, when



The New Chateau St. Louis.

taken in conjunction with the proposed new Parliamentary and Departmental buildings and new Court House, will contribute largely to the scheme of the city embellishment. As Quebec is approached by water or from any point whence the Citadel is visible, it will be a striking object, as it will

stand forth in bold relief to the East of the present officers' quarters, with a frontage of 200 feet and a depth partly of 60 and partly of 100 feet, with a basement, two main storeys and attics, and two towers of different heights, but of equally charming design. The style of architecture is an agreeable "melange" of the picturesque Norman and Elizabethan. The intention is, we believe, to have the quoins and angle stones of cut stone and the filling in of rough ashlar—the old stone from the fortifications being utilized for that purpose. The estimated cost of the structure is $100,000; but we have not heard whether the city will be asked to contribute to it. We are inclined, however, to think not, as it would be solely a Dominion work, for Dominion purposes, and erected upon Dominion property. Such, as far as we understand it, from the plans, is Lord Dufferin's very excellent and praiseworthy project for the improvement and embellishment of Quebec, and we are satisfied that as His Lordship appears to have made up his mind in its favor, it will not fail to be carried out in due time. As to when it will be commenced, of course, we are not in a position to speak; but when it does, the expenditure of money it will entail and the employment it will give to the labouring classes and tradesmen generally, apart from any other of the favourable considerations we have pointed out, will be very opportune and acceptable to the people of the ancient capital. In bringing the matter forward so prominently, Lord Dufferin has done a great thing for Quebec, for which its inhabitants cannot thank him too warmly. It only remains for the city to meet his generous proposition in a like spirit of liberality, and it will go hard with old Stadacona if, between the North Shore Railway, the graving dock, the tidal docks, the harbor improvements of all kinds, and the proposed new buildings for the Legislature, public departments and the law courts, the condition of its people be not before long materially bettered and the appearance of things considerably improved. We should, perhaps, add that in the general scheme of Corporation improvements, in addition to those mentioned in our report of the City Council in Saturday's issue, are included the project of a stairs, leading directly from St. George Street, on the ramparts, to Sault-au-Matelot street, in the vicinity of the Quebec Bank, which would obviate the present tedious detour for foot passengers by Mountain Hill; of a

street parallel to St. Paul street, and of an elevator for vehicles and foot passengers from the Champlain Market up the Cliff and underneath Durham Terrace to the North end of the Laval Normal School."

For the information of outsiders, we may add that since the above was written, the City Council of Quebec has not only responded nobly to His Excellency's suggestions, but the Local Government has gone a step further and made provision, as far as comes within its purview, to co-operate in carrying out of Lord Dufferin's admirable designs.

It is scarcely necessary on this occasion, to recall the eventful history of Quebec, but, as the present year brings about a memorable anniversary, interesting alike to ourselves and to our republican neighbors, it may be well to allude to it. We refer to the centennial of the death, at the very portals of this fortress, of a gallant foe, the American General Montgomery. It is not our desire by any means to rekindle the rancors and strifes of that distant period; and, to prove this, on the 31st of December instant, exactly one hundred years since Arnold and Montgomery were thundering at our gates, and the latter was shedding his life-blood amid the snows at Près-de-Ville, the military authorities—descendants of the men who so bravely withstood the attack—and the citizens of Quebec generally, intend to commemorate in becoming manner the important event. There, commingling together in perfect harmony, will be found the representatives of the two great mother nations, who contended so long and so bitterly for sovereignty in the New World, as well as of that young, but vigorous offshoot of Great Britain, which is now personified in the United States. Beneath the folds of the flag of England, all these will join to do honor to the memory of a brave man, who, although a foe, was not the less an estimable gentleman and a gallant soldier. On such an occasion, it is needless to point out the additional interest with which Quebec will be invested. It would be superfluous also to more than briefly advert to the main facts in the history of the oldest city of America, from the days when Jacques Cartier first discovered the country, and Champlain planted the cross of Christianity on the banks of the mighty St. Lawrence, down through the eventful years, when the

young and struggling colony had to battle for dear life with the savage Iroquois, when the power of France was launched forth from its battlements to harass the New England colonies, or to hurl defiance at Britain's attempts at conquest from the mouths of Frontenac's cannon, down to the days when Wolfe and Montcalm struggled for the mastery, with so fatal an ending for both these illustrious men and one so disastrous to France's tenure of power on this side of the Atlantic—down, we may add, to our own less troublous and remarkable times.

The limits of our present space will not permit our entering into such details just now; but we may simply remind the reader that, from a military point of view, Quebec has been ever regarded as occupying the strongest natural position, next to Gibraltar, in the entire world. Hence the continued and sanguinary struggle for its possession between two of the greatest nations of the old world, and, latter on, between Great Britain and the States of the American Union. It has in its day successfully and unsuccessfully withstood many sieges, now at the hands of the savage aborigines of the country, and now at those of their more civilized brethren. From its foundation down to a century ago, its history has been mainly characterized by warfare and bloodshed, stirring events of flood, and field, and military glories, which are alike claimed by the descendants of two great races, who form its present population. Turning from this aspect of the ancient city, it must also be remembered that for two centuries it was the cite whence France exercised an astonishing sovereignty over a gigantic territory extending from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, along the shores of that noble river, its magnificent lakes, and down the Mississippi to its outlet below New Orleans; and, whence, in the assertion of the supremacy of the Gallic lily, the missionary pioneered the path of the soldier, in those benevolent plans for the religious instruction and conversion of the savages, which at one time distinguished the policy of the early Governors of New France. In fine, as we have already stated, history speaks from every stone of its frowning battlements, from every tortuous winding of its antiquated streets, from the number and age of its institutions of religion, charity and education, from its quaint buildings, and generally from the many monuments and relics of an

eventful past, which crowd each other within its hoary walls. All these it is the commendable desire of Lord Dufferin not only to carefully preserve, but to improve as far as possible, without obstructing the growth and advanced ideas of modern Quebec, as will be more readily gathered from the illustrations of his designs which we present to our readers this morning, hoping with all our heart to see them carried out at an early date, so that we may still further strengthen the claim of the interesting and venerable city of Champlain to its present device—*Natura fortis, industria crescit.*

THE OLD FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC.

By J. M. LeMoine, Author of "Maple Leaves."

One is safe in dating back to the founder of the city, Champlain, the first fortifications of Quebec. The Chevalier de Montmagny, his successor, added to them, and sturdy old Count de Frontenac, improved them much, between 1690 and 1694. Under French rule, Le Vasseur, de Calliere, de Lery, Le Mercier, Pontleroy, either carried out their own views as to outworks or else executed the plans devised by the illustrious strategist Vauban.

The historian Charlevoix thus describes, in 1720, what the fortifications were in 1711:

"Quebec is not regularly fortified, though, for a long time past, efforts have been made to turn it into a strong place. The town, even with its present defences, cannot easily be taken. The port is provided with two bastions, which in the high tides are nearly flush with the water: that is, about twenty-five feet above low water mark. During the Equinox, the tide reaches to this height. A little above the bastion, he right, a half-bastion has been constructed, which runs into the rock, and higher up, next to the Gallery of the Fort, there are twenty-five pieces of cannon, forming a battery. A small square fort, which goes under the name of the Citadel, is higher up, and the paths from one fortification to the other are very steep. On the left side of the port, along the shore, until the River St. Charles, there are good batteries of guns and a few mortars.

From the angle of the Citadel, facing the city, an oreillon of a bastion has been constructed, from which a curtain extends at right angles, which communicates with a very elevated cavalier, on which stands a fortified wind-mill. As you descend from

this cavalier, and at the distan musket shot from it, you meet first a tower flanked with a bastion, and at the same distance from it, a second. The design was to line all this with stone, which was to have had the same angles with the bastions, and to have terminated at the extremity of the rock, opposite to the Palace, where there is already a small redoubt, as well as one on Cape Diamond. Such was the state of the fortifications at Quebec in 1711. Such they are this year (1720), as may be seen by the plan in relievo that Mr. Chaussegros de Léry, Chief Engineer, sends this year home (to France), to be deposited with other plans in the Louvre. In fact, the King had been so pleased with this plan, that he sent out instructions, and the works were begun in June, 1720.

The fortifications commenced at the Palace, on the shore of the Little River St. Charles, and ended towards the Upper Town (the city walls then must have extended a little this side of St. Ursule Street), which they encircled and terminated at the heights, towards Cape Diamond. From the (Intendant's) Palace, along the beach, a palisade had been erected, up to the Seminary fence (in Sault-au-Matelot quarter), where it closed in at the inaccessible rocks called the *Sault-au-Matelot*, where there was a three gun battery. There was also above this, a second palisade, terminating at the same point. The entrances to the city, where there were no gates, were protected by beams across and hogsheads filled with earth, instead of gabions, crowned by small field pieces. The circuitous path from the Lower to the Upper Town, was intercepted by three different intrenchments of hogsheads and bags of earth, with a species of *chevaux de frise*. In the course of the siege, a second battery was constructed at the Sault-au-Matelot, and a third at the gate (Palace Gate,) which leads to the St. Charles. Finally, some small pieces of ordinance had been mounted about the Upper Town, and specially on a declivity, where a wind-mill had been erected as a cavalier—(on Mount Carmel, in rear of the old Military Hospital.)

The city had but three gates under French dominion: St. Louis, St. Jean* and Palace. General James Murray records in his diary of the Siege, the care with which on the 5th May, 1760, he had Palace gate closed, "Palais gate was shut up all but the wicket."

Traces of the old French works are still plainly visible near the Martello Tower, in a line with Péreault's Hill, north of them. Under English rule, it will thus appear that the outer walls were much reduced.

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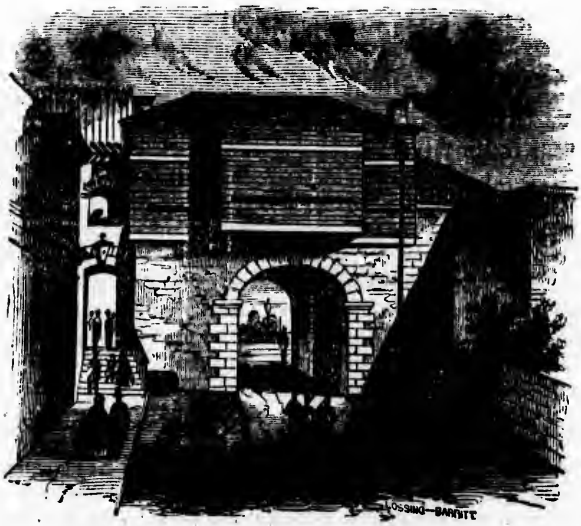
* "Cette même année (1694), on fit une redoubte au Cap au Diamand, un fort au Chateau, et les deux portes Saint Louis et Saint Jean...La même année (1702) on commenca les fortifications de Québec, sur les plans du Sieur Lovasseur, qui ont quelque discussion avec M. Le Marquis de Crisasy, qui, pour lors commandait a la place."

(Relation de 1682-1712, publiée par la *Société Littéraire et Historique.*)

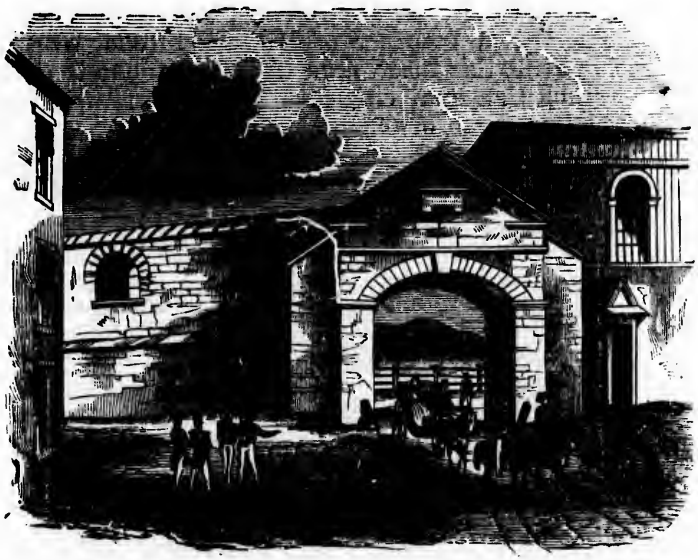


PRESCOTT GATE, DEMOLISHED, AUGUST, 1871.

General Robert Prescott, had the lower town gate which bears his name, erected about 1797, and the outer adjoining masonry.

Judging from an inscription on the wall to the west of the gate, additions and repairs seem to have been made here in 1815.

A handsome chain gate intercepting the road to the citadel, was erected under the administration of the Earl of Dalhousie in 1827—also the citadel gate which is known as Dalhousie Gate. On the summit of the citadel, is erected the Flag Staff, wherefrom streams the British Flag, in longitude 71° 12′ 44″ west of Greenwith, according to Admiral Bayfield; 71° 12′ 15″ 5. o. acccording to Commander Ashe. It was by means of the halyard of this Flag staff, that General Theller and Colonel Dodge in October, 1838, made their escape from the citadel, where these Yankee sympathisers were kept prisoners. They had previously set to sleep the sentry, by means of drugged porter, when letting themselves down with the flagstaff rope, they escaped out of the city despite all the precautions of the Commandant Sir James MacDonnell, a Waterloo veteran.



HOPE GATE.

The following inscription on Hope Gate describes when it was erected :

HENRICO HOPE
Copiarum Duce et provinciæ sub prefecto
Protegente et adjuvanto
Extructa,
Georgio III, Regi nostro,
Anno XXVI et salutis, 1786.

The martello Towers, named from their inventor in England, Col. Martello, date from 1805. They were built under Col. (General) Brock, and their erection, superintended by Lt. By,* afterwards the well known Lt. Col. By, the builder of the Rideau Canal in 1832, and founder of Bytown, (now Ottawa.)

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* Lieutenant By during the period, 1805-10 had two Superior Officers at Quebec—Colonel Gother Mann, who was succeeded by Lieut.-Colonel R. H. Bruyeres.—See Morgan's *Celebrated Canadians*.

From an entry in the unpublished diary of the late Mr. James Thompson, overseer of Military Public Works at Quebec, in 1786, this inscription would be due to the action of the French Canadian citizens of Quebec, in appreciation of the condescension of General Hope in granting them a city gate at this spot.

"September 9th, 1786. Weather pleasant. The people employed as yesterday. "This afternoon the masons finished laying the Facia to the gate. I think it was "high time, tho' in fact it could be no sooner reasonably expected, not only from the "hands we have got, but from our not having cut stone ready before hand to bring us "forward. We have seven hands at it, four of them are artillery men who can "hardly be called half bred masons, and one of our three civilians is only a stone "layer. Thus, when we have a course of stones cut we lay it, and set to cutting "another, which makes the work exceedingly tedious. I am persuaded it will take "us till some time in November, before we can close the pedement. The French in- "habitants, in compliment to the commander in chief have requested to have some- "thing inscribed on a stone in this pediment to perpetuate his memory for his readi- "ness in condescending to give the people a Gate in this quarter."

The citadel was substituted to the detached works raised at different times by the French. The imperial Government in 1823, carried on the magnificent but costly system of defensive works, approved of by His Grace the Duke of Wellington.†

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† "The fortifications of Quebec" says W. J. Anderson, "are well worthy of special attention. Originating three centuries ago from the necessity of protecting the few inhabitants from the sudden and secret attacks of the Iroquois: from their small beginning in 1535, they eventually attained such vast proportions as to make Quebec be styled the *Gibraltar* of America.

Recently very great changes have been effected, in the first place arising from the great changes in the military art; in the second place from the new policy of the Imperial Government, which has withdrawn every soldier. Prescott and St. Louis gates have been removed during the past autumn (1871) and other still greater changes have been talked of, but this will diminish very little the interest of the Tourist, who unless informed of the fact, would not be aware of the removal of the gates; the remaining fortifications are in themselves a sight not to be seen elsewhere on this continent.

The fortifications now consist of those of the city proper, the *Ancient City*, and of the independent fortalise of the Citadel, which though within the City walls, is complete in itself—The ramparts and bastions form a circuit of the extent of two miles and three quarters, but if the line is drawn without the outworks would be increased to three miles. The Citadel occupies about forty acres. In order to inspect the works to most advantage, the visitor is recommended to proceed from his hotel up St. Louis street, and turning up the road between the *Gate* and the office of Engineers, ascend by its winding. The first thing that will attract his attention on arriving at the outworks, is the *Chain Gate*, passing through which and along the ditch he will observe the casemated *Dalhousie Bastion*, and reaching *Dalhousie Gate* he will find that it is very massive and of considerable depth, as it contains the Guard-rooms. Passing through, a spacious area is entered forming a parade ground. On the right hand, there are detached buildings—amunition stores and armoury—On the south, the bomb proof hospital and officers quarters overlooking the St. Lawrence,

Charles Watterton ‡ on his visit to Quebec, in 1824, viewing the magnificent citadel with a prophetic eye, asks whether the quotation from Virgil is not applicable.

Sic vos, non vobis . . . . .

The stone for this grand undertaking was conveyed from river craft in the St. Lawrence below, by machinery, on an inclined plane of which the remains are still extant.

ST. LOUIS GATE, DEMOLISHED, AUGUST, 1871.

St. Louis gate was originally built in 1694 ; it underwent considerable changes, until it received in 1823 its present

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and on the Town side, the Bastions with their casemated barracks, commodious, and comfortable, the loop holes intended for the discharge of musketry, from within, serving to admit light and air—from the Bastion to the Flag Staff, the Citadel is separated from the Town by a deep ditch and steep and broad *glacis*—At the Guard House at *Dalhousie Gate*, a soldier is detached to accompany visitors, who generally carries them along the circuit pointing out the most striking features of the fortress—The view from the Flag Staff is very grand, but it is recommended that the visitor on

‡ Watterton's Wanderings.

appearance. It might have been, not improperly, called "The Wellington Gate," as it forms part of the plan of defence selected by the Iron Duke.

An old plan of de Lery, the French engineer, in 1751, exhibits there, a straight road, such as the present; there, from 1823 to 1871, existed the labyrinth of turns so curious to strangers and so inconvenient for traffic.

PALACE GATE.

Palace gate was erected under French rule, and Murray, after his defeat, at Ste. Foye, 28th April, 1760, took care to secure it against the victorious Levi. In 1791, it was reported in a ruinous condition and was restored in its present ornate appearance, resembling, it is said, one of the gates of Pompeii, about the time the Duke of Wellington gave us our citadel and walls.

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arriving at the western angle overlooking the St. Lawrence, should place himself on the *Princes' Stand* indicated by a stone on which is sculptured the "Prince's Feather," and there feast his eyes on—the wondrous beauties of the scene. Should time permit, the armoury is well worthy of inspection—Returning, the visitors, if pedestrians, should ascend the ramparts, 25 feet high, on which will be found a covered way, ex-

THE FRENCH SHIELD OF 1759.

On one of the three city Gates existing at Quebec in 1759 (probably the most fashionable and most used under French rule—Palace Gate) was hung the trophy † shown above.

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tending from the Citadel, and passing over St. Louis and St. John's, Gates to the Artillery Barracks, a distance of 1837 yards, occupied by bastions, connected with curtains of solid masonry, and pierced at regular intervals with sally ports. This forms a delightful promenade furnishing, especially at St. John's Gate, a series of very fine views,

The Artillery Barracks, at the south west corner of the fortifications, overlook the valley of the St. Charles. Part of the buildings, which are extensive, was erected by the French in 1750; they are surrounded by fine grounds. Lately a very handsome additional barrack was erected for the use of the married men and their families. The *French* portion is two stories high, about six hundred feet in length, by forty in depth. They are now vacant.

From the Artillery Barracks the walls, loopholed and embrasured, extend to the eastward and are pierced by Palace and Hope Gates, both of which lead to the valley of the St. Charles.

The first, Palace Gate, was one of the three original Gates of the City, and through it, a great portion of Montcalm's army passing in by St. John's and Louis Gates, after its defeat on the plains, went out again, and crossed by the Bridge of Boats to the Beauport camp. The Palace, St. John's and St. Louis gates were reported in such a ruinous condition in 1791, that it became necessary to pull them down successively and rebuild them. The present Palace Gate is not more than forty years old, and is said to resemble one of the gates of Pompeii. The handsome gate of St. John has been built within a very few years; not that the old gate was in ruin but to meet the requirement of the times. St. Louis Gate for the same reason was wholly removed during the past year.

From *Palace Gate*, the wall extends to *Hope Gate*, a distance of three hundred

† This antiquarian discovery is due to the researches of Mr. J. M. O'Leary Ottawa.

The shield is surmounted with a crown. In the centre there are three *fleurs de lis*. The following inscription appears on a tablet, beneath it, in the Town Hall of Hastings:

"This shield was taken off one of the gates of Quebec at the time that a conquest was made of that city by His Majesty's sea and land forces, in the memorable year 1759, under the commands of Admirals Saunders and Holmes and the Generals Wolfe, Monkton, Townsend and Murray, which latter being appointed the first British Governor thereof, made a present of this trophy of war to this corporation (the city or town of Hastings,) whereof he, at that time, was one of the Jurats."

In a topographical description of the town of Hastings, in Sussex, England, inserted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1786, the first allusion is thus made to the Shield:

"The Town Hall, over the market place, is a modern building, erected in 1700. In a frame hung up in it, is a long list of its Mayors, the first of which was sworn as such in the year 1560, before which time a bailiff was the chief magistrate: the list commences in 1500. Near it the Arms of France is fixed, largely carved in wood, and painted in proper colour, with embellishment, and was presented to the corporation by one of the officers (a Jurat of Hastings) who was at the reduction of Quebec, where it was fixed over one of the Gates of the city, all of which is inscribed on a tablet under the arms."

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1792, appears the following letter, dated 20th January:

"The shield was taken from one of the Gates of Quebec, in 1759, and was presented by General Murray to the Corporation of Hasting. As this trophy recalls a feat of arms so illustrious, and equally honorable to the General who presented, the insertion of this letter in your Magazine, will oblige.

Your humble Servant.

LINCOLNENSIS."

Mr. James Thompson, as overseer of Works, in 1775, was instructed to erect palisades at the avenues, which led into the city, where Prescott Gate was since erected; the object of these defences being to keep out Colonel Benedict

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yards. Hope Gate was built in 1786; all the approaches are strongly protected, and from its position on the rugged lofty cliff, it is very strong. At Hope Gate, the ground which had gradually sloped from the Citadel begins to ascend again, and the wall is continued from it, to the turning point at *Sault-au-Matelot*, between which and the Parliament House, is the *Grand Battery* of twenty-four, 32 pounders and four mortars, This Battery is two hundred feet above the St. Lawrence, and from its platform, as well as from the site of the Parliament House, another magnificent prospect is obtained. Immediately under the Parliament House, which is built on the commanding site of the ancient *Bishop's Palace*, was, the last year, *Prescott Gate*, protected on either side by powerful outworks. This gate was built in 1797, while General Prescott was in command, and like St. Louis Gate was removed, for the accommodation of the public, From Prescott Gate the wall extends to *Durham Terrace*, the rampart or foundation wall of which, was the foundation of the Castle of St. Louis. This famed building, founded by Champlain in 1623, had continued to be the residence of all the future Governors of Canada."

Arnold, Brig.-General Richard Montgomery, and all other marauders.

Palace Gate, though a pet gate for strangers, is doomed, we fear, as well as Hope Gate. * It is to be hoped that St. John's Gate will be spared.

"In the course of the demolition of the city gates it was to have been expected that corner stones or inscriptions of historical value would have turned up somewhere, but the search has so far been productive of little result. At Hope Gate this spring, (1874) a stone with a plate and Latin inscription was found, supposed to contain a deposit of coins, &c. This was donated by the contractors to J. M. LeMoine, Esquire, who had it placed in the City Hall for inspection by the authorities, previous to its removal to his museum at Spencer Grange. To-day the contractor Mr. Piton's men in breaking up the heavy old timber doors of Palace Gate, found the following inscription between the inner planks.

"Those Gates were made in 1831 by William McKeown, Robert Milburn, William Presston; W. Poriston, master carpenter; Wm. Mountain, Superintendent: This thing (the inscription?) by Wm. McKeown, of the County Armagh, Ireland."—(*Quebec Mercury.*)

ST. JOHN'S GATE, DEMOLISHED, 1865.

* Both were razed.

In 1694, St. John's Gate was first raised in stone. Doubtless the old gate which escaped until 1865, exhibited in the following view, formed part of the Wellington Fortifications of 1823.—In 1865, it being quite too narrow for the purposes of traffic, it was razed and the present handsome Gate, with four openings, the design of which had been approved of by the English War Office, put up at a cost of $40,000. All it now requires is a statue of the founder of the city, to crown this structure.

The modern style of warfare has of course rendered it necessary to adapt the defences of cities accordingly. The marvellous Pointe Levi casemates and Forts have restored Quebec, to the proud position it occupied thirty years ago; it is still, notwithstanding its changes, the Gibraltar of North America.

Quebec, 1st August, 1871.