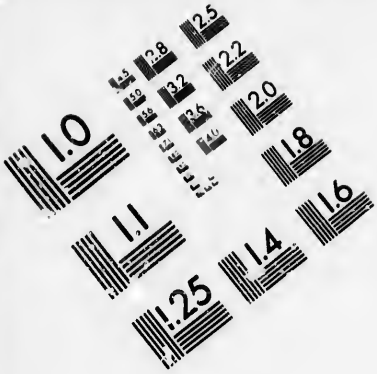

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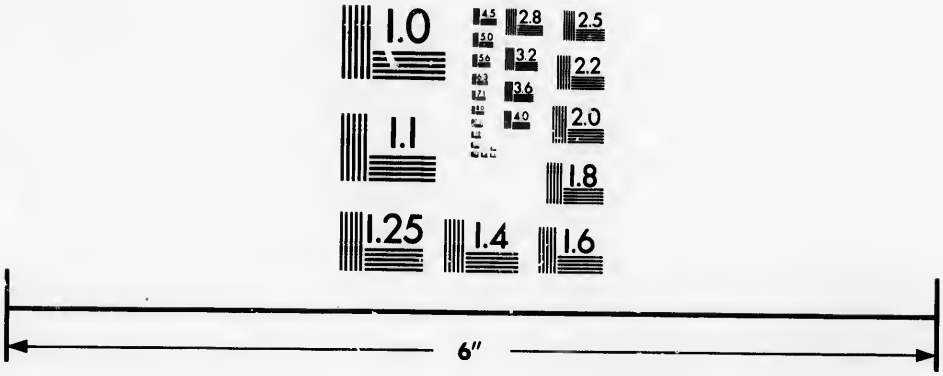

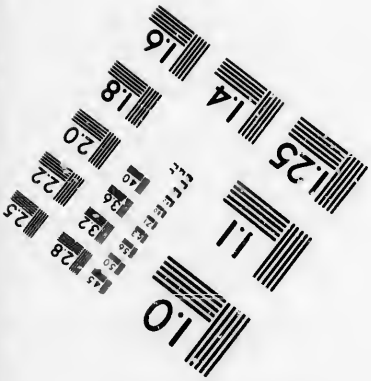

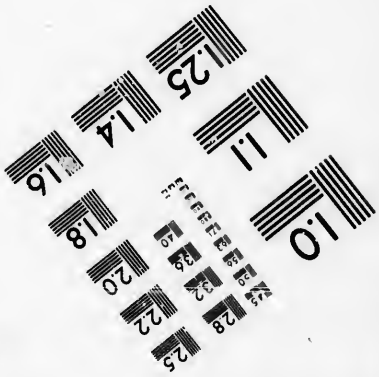

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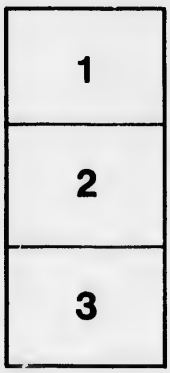

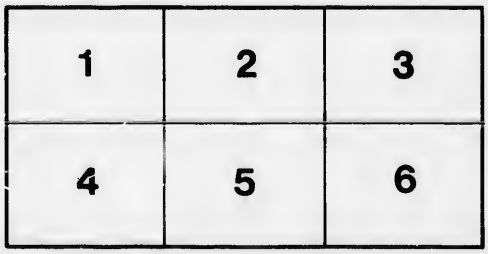

JOURNAL

OF

THE PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

DURING THE

SIEGE OF QUEBEC

BY THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONISTS UNDER GENERALS MONTGOMERY AND ARNOLD, IN 1775-6:

CONTAINING

MANY ANECDOTES OF MOMENT NEVER YET PUBLISHED,

COLLECTED FROM SOME OLD MANUSCRIPTS ORIGINALLY

WRITTEN BY AN OFFICER,

DURING THE PERIOD OF THE GALLANT DEFENCE MADE BY SIR GUY CARLETON, (AFTERWARDS LORD DORCHESTER.)

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

A PREFACE AND ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES,

BY W. T. P. SHORTT.

—legio Æneadum vallis obsessa tenetur:
Nec spes ulla fugæ. Miseri stant turribus altis,
——— et rara muros cinxere corona—
Hi jaculis, illi certant defendere saxis,
Molirique ignem, nervoque aptare sagittas.
Virg. Æn. x.

——— others to a city strong
Lay siege encamped, by battery, scale and mine
Assaulting; others from the wall defend
With dart and javelin, stones and sulphurous fire;
On each hand, slaughter and gigantic deeds.
Milton, Par. Lost xi. 655.

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PREFACE.

THE American Revolution, in 1775, was an event of the greatest magnitude, howsoever it may be considered; one of the most remarkable occurrences ever known in the history of any nation; a dismemberment long considered as a remote contingency by politicians: for it was not expected that the *Erinnys* of war would so soon drive the people of such a vast plantation as now forms the American Republic, to the forcible appeal of arms; still less that its warriors would dare to stand the attack of British veterans, as they did in the outset, at Lexington and Bunker's Hill. It paved the way for events of moment, mighty in themselves, inasmuch as they ultimately effected and still maintain a sway

over the greatest portion of Europe and America. In a philosophical point of view, it was one of the primary causes of the French Revolution; of that general rising against the ancient dynasty of the Capets, which, aided by the want of firmness in the monarch, opened the way to the sanguinary scenes of that period, and hurled despotism for a time from the throne, to be replaced by a race of fanatics infuriate with the thirst of blood, till the time when the French Directory was annulled by the authority of Bonaparte, and things emerged by degrees from that impending anarchy, which threatened to overwhelm them. It was not to be expected that the troops with which Rochambeau and La Fayette aided Washington (those numerous French legions which were the chief means of storming the dismantled redoubts of York-Town, and of expelling the armies of the mother country) would return to their native soil without deeply imbibing the seeds of republicanism, and of principles calculated to foment public sedition, particularly in a country where disordered finances, emanating from the errors

of Government, soon brought affairs to a truly awful crisis. But the subject of the present publication is, as connected with the above important struggle, occasioned by an attempt at taxation by England, without giving representation highly interesting to the public. The cause of the invasion was a national one; Canada was a fortress that overawed the rebellious colonies; it was a depôt for troops and arms, and would, to a nation possessing no great maritime power, become a potent means of aggression, when aided by the warlike legions of the mother country. It was certainly strange to see the colonists from Great Britain, for whom the war of 1756 had been undertaken, to shield their limits from the depredations of Old France, aided by the numerous savage nations, (in conjunction with whom perpetual encroachments were made on the territory of the states, by frequent sorties and excursions, for the purpose of plundering, scalping, and dragging the wretched inhabitants into captivity,) endeavouring in the first outset of their policy to wrest a province of such magnitude as Canada from her grasp. The reduction of that country in 1760, by the embattled forces

of Britain, " far more merciful than wise," while she exhausted her treasure to guard her offspring, and extend their trade, certainly weakened the bond of allegiance among the colonists, and made them feel less indebted to the military power of Great Britain, since they had no longer any fears from the savages of that quarter, or of aggression from the chain of French forts, which had been planned and constructed by able officers, to unite their vast colony with Louisiana, through the efforts of the Sieurs de la Jonquière and La Galissonière, who claimed all countries north and west of a line they had drawn, from Cape Canso to the river Penobscot, and from thence nearly as far as New Orleans, in the Gulf of Mexico, and thus deprived Great Britain of her most valuable settlements, and the fur trade on Lakes Erie, Ontario and Champlain; circumscribing her within a tract of land lying between the sea and the Alleghany mountains. It was never perhaps foreseen by our ministers, that the reduction of it, although attended with so much glory, would materially weaken the

dependence of the neighbouring states on England; or that it would have hastened that disunion, which sooner or later takes place, whenever the offspring of the parent state consider themselves capable of being supported by their own resources alone. There was a mania in England for colonies at that period;[1] it was called "a darling conquest," the days of the Edwards and Henries were said to be revived. Perhaps Monsieur Choiseul, the French minister, when he stipulated that the country should be totally surrendered to its victor, at the peace of ~~Utrecht~~ Paris in 1762, had sagacity enough to foresee the events that would result from such a measure.

[1] After its subjugation in 1628, by Sir David Kirk, who acted under a commission from Charles I., three abortive attempts were made to retake it, (it having been given up at the peace,) one of which was made in 1690, by Sir William Phipps, another under Sir Hoveden Walker in 1711, who lost 8 transports and 800 men on Egg Island by shipwreck, on the north shore, having sailed from Boston with 6,400 men. Another failed in 1746, being given up, under Admiral Lestock, who had 25 companies of Americans on board, under General St. Clair.

It has been said by Lord Byron, that the world of the present century

> ——— was growing blind
> To the great Marlbro's skill in giving knocks,
> Until his late life by Archdeacon Coxe.

But the present manuscript, which has none of the voluminous character of that work, nor even of Captain Drinkwater's well-known siege of Gibraltar, only professes to give a full account of the events which took place during the siege undertaken by General Montgomery, one of the principal leaders of the rebel troops, whose catastrophe is well known, from the circumstances recording his fall in a desperate attempt to take the town of Quebec by storm. The celebrated Arnold showed at that period a sanguine adherence to the cause of republicanism, which gave but very distant impressions of that inclination to apostacy, which proved in after times the principal cause of the death of the gallant and lamented Andrè, but was nevertheless most beneficial to the British troops with whom he afterwards served, and by whom his courage as a leader was never called in

question. It is for this purpose that the manuscript has been raised from the oblivious situation in which it had lain for many years succeeding the period of the siege, and given to the public with numerous improvements and additions. The celebrated Franklin, "stoic Franklin's energetic shade" had in vain endeavoured to corrupt the fealty of the Canadians; circulars were distributed by Congress without effect among a people whose chief bond of allegiance was riveted by the power of their priesthood, and the rigid observance of the Roman Catholic faith. They abhorred an union with a power of a different persuasion from their own; their priests, who were all attached to the British Government, used a most potent spell to terrify those who might wish to join the invaders, by refusing them absolution and the sacraments of their church, and more particularly the benefit of extreme unction, in case of sickness: to this may be attributed the cause why only a few (about three hundred raised by Livingston, near Montreal) joined the standard of the rebels. Although but a brief period of years had

elapsed since the reduction of the country, the inhabitants, always peacefully inclined, had greatly forgotten the warlike spirit of their ancestors from old France, and felt a prepossession for the milder sway of Britain, particularly as they had been generally subjected to martial law before the conquest, and forced to take up arms, and serve with the French regulars, under pain of severe punishment; General Montcalm always threatening to send the savages among them, to burn their habitations and corn fields, and giving orders to kill those that fled from battle, during the invasion under the English Epaminondas, General Wolfe, who there,

> Profuse of life, cut short the date
> Of rising honors, by untimely fate.

Arnold commenced his march from New England, just by Lake George and then by the Merrimack the sources of the river Kennebec, through an almost impenetrable wilderness; this action appeared as chimerical a scheme as the incursion of any horde of barbarians, in old time, more deserving of commendation, however, than the wild adventures of another Ameri-

can general, one of the worthies of the late war, whose perambulations among the herds of buffaloes in a desert country lying between the United States and the Floridas, were designated by his countrymen as equal to the sublimest stories recorded by Plutarch and Xenophon. Instigated by the hopes of conquest, the followers of Arnold endured the greatest hardships in passing this trackless waste; many abandoned him, dismayed at the difficulties that presented themselves, and returned to more civilised regions. Dearborn, who was a major in this detachment, (and afterwards figured as a general in the war of 1812, though not in the most striking colours,) divided his favorite dog among his tattered comrades, who were in danger of perishing with hunger, and was abandoned in consequence of excessive weakness, at the period when they emerged from the gloomy bosom of those devious forests which surround the vicinity of the Chaudière, a noble fall of water, possessing the most romantic grandeur, far superior to the pigmy works of nature exemplified in most European cataracts. A

Canadian bard, addressing the Chaudière, says, in allusion to this wild expedition,

> 'Twas by thy drear inhospitable stream,
> Where wood-fires ne'er from cheerful cottage gleam,
> The hardy Arnold led his daring few,
> Who braving hunger dared their point pursue;
> But all their courage of how small avail,
> Their aim was conquest, but their fate a gaol.

Montgomery was brother to Conway Montgomery, whose romantic courage is said to have been only paralleled by that of Charles XII., and who is said to have fought his last duel in an arm-chair, when weakened by age and infirmity. They were of a respectable family in the county of Donegal.

It is strange to relate that Gen. Sir Guy Carleton, whose conduct was a parallel to the gallant stand made by the Protestants at Londonderry, was the son of a government officer, who resided only a few miles from the same spot. Richard Montgomery, who had the chief command in the expedition here commemorated, was undoubtedly a hero; he had been an officer in a regiment of Wolfe's army, but left the service afterwards in disgust, and having,

says Captain Stedman, married an American lady, completely threw off his allegiance to Great Britain. His fall drew tears from many of his colleagues, who had fought along with him in various engagements; and a distinguished member of the British Senate could not refrain from regretting the circumstances that led to the untimely end of one whose courage, he considered, might have been employed in a better cause. The conduct of the American Republic sufficiently shows its people to be of an enterprising disposition. After the engagement at Bunker's Hill they prided themselves on their obstinate efforts in the cause of liberty; and when covered by intrenchments and ramparts impenetrable to an attack conducted solely by musketry, and defended by natural barriers, sufficiently cleared themselves from the imputation of cowardice, and of being heroes "who would fly at the sight of a grenadier cap." The reduction of Canada has long been their aim, from political as well as commercial views, (particularly the navigation of the St. Lawrence, and the advantages of the fur

trade,) and from the immense command it would give them of the more northerly Atlantic shores, and of Nova Scotia; but in this they have been hitherto completely foiled, particularly in their last attempts, instigated by the emissaries of our implacable enemy, Napoleon Bonaparte, when England was involved in a bloody continental war; and it is to be hoped that the example of those few British battalions who, aided by a small number of Canadians and Indians, planted their standards on the walls of Detroit and Niagara, and completely baffled the invasion of upwards of thirty thousand Americans at various points of this vast province (containing from S. W. to N. E. a distance of more than 900 miles), will long serve to instigate in like manner its future defenders, whenever any aggressions are attempted, and which, from the natural advantages of the country, its defiles, roaring rapids, and the fortified communications between its immense lakes, will no doubt prove as completely abortive as those of any preceding period. And notwithstanding the danger arising from the

vicinity of a power of increasing magnitude,(in which, as in every unwieldy empire, dissensions will nevertheless arise between the different states, to check any overpowering superiority), there is little doubt but that it will be long preserved as a trophy of British valor, and as a land of renown, the relict of numerous heroes, to whom it has served as the scene of more than an ordinarily glorious career.

A JOURNAL,

&c. &c.

TRANSACTIONS.

DEC. 1775.[1] **From the 1st to the 8th of this month our redoubted foe, General Montgomery, in conjunction with his colleague in arms, Colonel**

[1] Dec. 1st. This account of the siege begins about the period when Arnold had formed a junction with Montgomery, who, after reducing the forts of St. John and Chamblée, and capturing the few British vessels stationed for the defence of the province, entered Montreal, which being totally defenceless, in consequence of its situation, and the want of British troops (those few belonging to the 6th and 26th regiments having surrendered), immediately capitulated to the invader. Having clothed his troops, and provided them with the necessary *materiel* for conducting a siege, he hastened, although in the depth of winter, to reinforce Arnold, who had arrived before Quebec at an earlier period. The town was defended by the brave Colonel M^c^Lean, who (after retreating before the enemy on the Sorel) threw himself into

Queb.

Arnold, and other officers in the rebel army,

it with 150 Scotch emigrants, who had left their native country for the purpose of settling in Canada, and were the only followers that proved true to him. It was at a critical period, for the inhabitants had been divided by various factions; and general dissatisfaction, occasioned by the passing of the Quebec bill in Parliament, tended not a little to weaken their attachment to the mother country. But seeing the enemy at their gates, they all united for the preservation of public and private property, fearing the calamitous consequences of a general assault and pillage, and forgot former dissensions. Sir Guy Carleton, who had found his troops hardly capable of coping with the invaders, from their small numbers, and in vain attempted to embody the Canadian militia, who persisted in remaining neuter, escaped (in company with a few faithful followers) in the night from Montreal, through the enemy's flotilla, in a boat with muffled oars, and landed without being discovered at Quebec, at the exact period when Arnold arrived at Port Levi opposite the town, and by whose followers he was seen crossing the river. The inhabitants were immediately armed and disciplined, and the sailors of the transports and merchant vessels in the harbour incorporated, and appointed to the working of the great guns. Arnold sent a flag of truce, after he had landed on the Heights of Abraham, demanding a surrender, but it was fired upon from the garrison, and all communication with the rebels prevented. In a letter from head-quarters, written by General Montgomery to Governor Carleton, he strongly remonstrated against such a breach of the law of nations, as he called this firing on a flag of truce; and after intimating to him the fruitlessness of any defence that could be made by his motley garrison, advised him not to destroy any public stores, as had been

(who have lately figured as the principal chieftains of the insurgent forces, leagued together for our destruction,) prepared to besiege us in form; and after taking possession of the principal houses in the neighbourhood of the town, employed all the inhabitants in the laborious task of cutting fascines, and opening lines of circumvallation; which account we learn from numerous deserters. On the 5th of this month Montgomery, who it appears had taken posses-

done in other places above, that had surrendered; "for in that case," says he, "by heavens you can expect no mercy." Arnold, after attempting to storm one of the city gates, (that of St. Louis) was beaten off with loss, and fearing McLean would make a sortie, retreated to Pointe aux Trembles, at some miles' distance from the town, till reinforced by the arrival of Montgomery, when a bombardment commenced, and 200 shells were thrown into the garrison; and it was on the 31st of the month that they prepared for a general attack, in the midst of a tremendous storm of snow from the N.E., which covered their approach, after promising the plunder of the town to their followers, many of whom were greatly discontented, and murmured at the severe hardships they encountered in the midst of a Canadian winter.

At the commencement of the late war the gasconading manifestoes of the American generals endeavoured to inspire their followers by such expressions as, "Are ye not related to the heroes whom Montgomery led, who have visited the tomb of the chief, and conquered the country in which he lies? Has the race degenerated, or have ye, through contending factions, forgotten your native land?" &c.

sion of the parish of St. Croix, two miles from this city, at first posted himself there with some field artillery, having landed his heavy cannon at Cap Rouge, beyond the Heights of Abraham—Arnold's detachment taking possession in the interim of the Grande Allée from St. Louis' Gate, and the other principal avenues, so as to cut off all communication with the country. On the 7th several letters addressed to the principal merchants, and written in an imperious strain, came in, advising immediate submission, and promising manifold indulgence in case of their compliance with such an unreasonable demand. They were clandestinely introduced to the garrison by some perfidious female, who brought likewise an epistle to Sir Guy Carleton, our governor, written in very strange terms, and demanding in peremptory language a surrender of the town; but he took no further notice of the insidious conduct of the rebels, beyond imprisoning the messenger for a short time, and then ordering her to be drummed out, as she deserved.

9th. Received information that the enemy were preparing to erect a heavy battery, on a spot situated on the heights, a little above the bark mill, at the end of St. John's Suburbs: all this day a constant fire of small arms was kept up from the village of St. Rocks, in which they

have entrenched themselves, on the two-gun battery (en barbette) next the barracks, but did no execution. From a late hour this evening, till about three o'clock in the morning, they threw thirty-five shells into the garrison, from behind Mr. Grant's garden wall, (say cohorns,) but none of them did any damage, although they burst in every direction. The upper town much alarmed at hearing the reports of these unexpected winged messengers, "portending hollow truce," from the hideous orifice of our adversaries' thunderers—

> On entendoit gronder ces bombes effroyables,
> Des troubles de la Flandre enfants abominables;
> Dans ces globes d'airain le salpêtre enflammé
> Vole avec la prison qui le tient renfermé;
> Il la brise, et la mort en sort avec furie.
>
> VOLTAIRE, *Henriade*, c. vi.

10th. This morning at day-light the enemy's battery, hitherto masked, of five cannon and a howitzer, (which seemingly consisted entirely of fascines, and had been hastily thrown up in the darkness of the preceding night, like the Bunker's Hill intrenchment) appeared on the face of the mill above-mentioned, about 700 yards from the walls, which was only exposed to the guns from St. John's Gate, and the fortifications downwards, from which quarters a constant fire of two twelve, and two twenty-four

pounders, was kept up all day upon the insurgents, which annoyed them greatly, and is said to have done considerable execution among their working detachments. At noon a sallying party was sent out to destroy several large houses nigh St. John's Gate; but finding much difficulty in pulling them down, they were fired; a circumstance which, although the result of inevitable necessity, the governor afterwards disapproved of. After burning all night, and destroying about six houses more, the fire went out of itself. At one o'clock in the morning the enemy began again to throw their shells from the same quarter, and in the space of three hours sent in the critical number 45, but did no damage whatever: (if they elevate their mortars to that range, they may indeed amuse themselves as they please, but do us very trifling injury:) in return we threw several into their battery and post at St. Rocks, which seemed to fall as directed.

11th. Busied all day in supplying the hospital with rugs, canvas, &c. for bedding—to provide for casualties, and ensure the safety of any who may suffer from the inclemency of the weather. In the afternoon a corporal of the Royal Emigrants was unfortunately killed on the two-gun battery, by a musket-ball from St. Rocks. In the course of this evening, and till late in the

morning, the enemy sent in thirty-five shells; but like the others, these did little or no damage, so that their ill-omened attempts at reducing us by bombardment alone, appear completely ineffectual, and have not made the least impression on the body of our citizens.

12th. The garrison busied all day in bringing more guns to bear on the enemy's works:—mounted two 32-pounders and two ten-inch howitzers on the ramparts, which with the others keep up a constant fire of round and grape, and have made very good shots. The inhabitants of the town say that the militia and sailors murmur much at the governor's not allowing them to burn that hornet's nest, St. Rocks and St. John's Suburbs, and thereby drive the besiegers at once from the strong holds they possess.—Two *Yankees* killed by our marksmen, from the two-gun battery, with musket-shot.

13th. Nothing particular:—kept up a constant fire of shells and round shot on the enemy's works. Still annoyed from St. Rocks with small arms; the balls from which whistle round our fatigue-parties on duty, who nevertheless are providing measures for soon returning them the compliment in a handsomer style.

14th. Preparing mortars and royals for throwing shells: all day kept up a constant fire from our different batteries on the enemy's works,

having opened the Cavalier Redoubt, consisting of two thirty-six, and two thirty-two pounders, besides a flanker from Cape Diamond, which are all directed so as materially to annoy the besiegers at their fortifications, and to sweep away all that appear from the ground within the range of their destructive influence.

15th.[1] The enemy opened their battery upon

[1] The conduct of Sir Guy Carleton, in refusing to admit any flags from the enemy, by which the firmness of his garrison might be shaken, deserves the greatest praise. It reminds the reader of the siege of Stirling Castle in 1745, and its defence by General Blakeney; also of THE CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNOR OF FORT WILLIAM,

——————————— who withdrew
Into the castle, with those thought true,
Who chose with him the siege to stand,
To their life's end, with sword in hand—
And all of use he thought to be
Were welcome to his company.
Th' unloyal he charged not to tend it,
For to the last he would defend it.—
Stapleton a French *tambour* sent,
Beating a parley as he went:
The captain asked, for what he came?
He said, "From General Stapleton,
To you, Sir Governor, with this letter—
'Tis to surrender—you can't do better."
"Then to your general this answer give,
'No letters from rebels I receive.'—
I shall do better, and him defy,
Even to the last extremity."——*Old Poem.*

us this morning at day-light, from which they continued to fire till nine o'clock, with the intention of making a practicable breach, when it suddenly ceased playing, either owing to their guns having bursted, or to the powder magazine or caissons having blown up: at half past ten o'clock they sent a flag of truce; but the governor, Sir Guy Carleton, would neither admit it, nor listen to their proposals. On receiving a message to this effect from the ramparts, they replied, that the inhabitants were to blame, and that the governor would answer the consequences, and then marched off towards the general hospital.[1] About two o'clock they again began their fire from the battery, which lasted till dark, without doing any material damage; at the same time, they threw in about twenty shells, and at night sent in about fifteen more, without any effect. Our batteries kept up a well-directed fire all day, which did a great deal of damage, and during the night as well as day threw a number of shells into their battery and St. Rocks. Employed in giving out materials to

[1] Arnold himself was the bearer of this white flag, but was refused admittance, and desired to carry back his letter, as the governor strongly discountenanced any communication whatever with the insurgents, and was determined to frustrate any preparatory stratagem of this kind, which might intimidate the garrison under his command.

make 2000 sand-bags or gabions, to repair the embrasures.

[1] 16th. As soon as day-light appeared we re-opened our battery on the enemy, the guns

[1] The bombardment of the town by the rebels appears to have had little effect on the garrison, particularly in a space so widely extended for their shells to play on, as the fortifications of Quebec presented :—

> Their shots fell weak, and came too short,
> Some fell before they reach'd the fort:
> Cohorns, bombs, and a twelve-pounder,
> In vain at such a distance thunder.——*Old Poem.*

And the inclemency of the weather, in addition to the small calibre of the guns they levelled against these fortifications, seems to have been an insurmountable obstacle to any attempts at reduction by other measures than a regular assault.

A propensity to burn and destroy appears to have been the prevailing feature in the conduct of the besiegers, and which their countrymen appear to have been too fond of reiterating during the late war, when they totally ruined many settlements of the Upper Province, by devastations not generally practised in the course of honorable warfare. Among these the burning of the flourishing village Newark, near Fort George, on Lake Ontario, in the depth of a hard winter, was an instance of unexampled barbarity, for which the perpetrators would have suffered in the most signal manner, had they not saved themselves by a disgraceful flight. It was in retaliation for such deeds of atrocity that the principal buildings of Washington were destroyed when the British troops entered it.

of which were played off incessantly till night, and seemed to annoy them very much, by a well-directed fire, conducted by Captain M'Kenzie of the Hunter sloop of war, and Captain Goseling of the merchant service, who acted as gunners. At half past two the enemy again opened their battery; but instead of five, they could only make use of three of their cannon, the largest of which were only twelve-pounders: however, they kept up a fire of shot and shells till dark, without doing any material damage except throwing down a few chimnies, and one of their cohorns bursted in a house near St. John's Gate, which in some measure destroyed it, and wounded a little boy, but not dangerously. From the number of the *Yankees* visible about St. Rocks in the dark, and particularly in the Intendant's palace, we were suspicious of an attack in the night, and a heavy snow-storm which began to fall late, seemed to encourage their designs, and to increase our fears.

17th. Just as we supposed, it turned out; for about a quarter before five o'clock in the morning the alarm was given both by ringing of the town bells, and beating of drums; on which, to the great honor of the inhabitants, every one of them repaired to their alarm-posts immediately, where they waited for further orders:

at the same time care was taken to support the weakest and most suspected places. After remaining some time under arms, we were informed that no real attack had been actually made, but that the number of the enemy descried approaching towards Palace Gate had increased in proportion to the fears of the sentry, who swore that he had seen thousands of them advancing towards his post; and so positive was he in his opinion (although the morning was very dark and gloomy), that he insisted they formed seven deep, and that there seemed no end to their line. In short, a few discharges of small arms was all that was heard; a circumstance rather singular than otherwise, ever since the enemy took possession of St. Rocks.[1] The governor

[1] In the defence of a fortification which extends over a great space of ground, and in which the besieged are comparatively but few, the effectual measure has been often adopted of calling the garrison to their posts at a moment's warning, by giving a false alarm. This stratagem, which has the power of showing the real strength of a fortress, was resorted to by Sir G. Prevost at Quebec in 1813; three cannon being discharged at midnight, and the troops quartered in the town, as also all the inhabitants, roused from their slumbers with the report of the enemy being at the gates, though they were at the time nearly 300 miles distant from the town, and had a *few* arduous difficulties to surmount before they could come within cannon-shot of its walls.

appeared about seven o'clock, and after thanking the inhabitants for their alacrity, dismissed them. During the course of the day a heavy firing commenced from St. John's suburbs, at the sentinels on the lines, which was soon silenced by a twenty-four pounder, loaded with case-shot. During the night a few shells were thrown in from them, and a number returned from our howitzers. Not a shot from their battery this day, nor is there a person to be seen in it: we have imagined it is abandoned, and considered untenable. The inhabitants of the suburbs were afterwards seen marching home with their spades and pick-axes on their shoulders: we supposed that they were tired of acting as pioneers, and of raising batteries, which they have seen so soon destroyed by the galling fire of destructive missiles from our guns.

18th. Learnt this morning that some person in woman's clothing had been killed the evening before, going towards Palace Gate, in the dusk. About noon one of the emigrants was wounded by a musket-ball from the enemy's marksmen in St. Rocks. In the evening the enemy threw into the town about twenty shells, but they all burst without doing us any damage. During the night many were thrown into St. Rocks by our gunners, some of which were thirteen-inch shells. A canoe from Point Levi came over to the Lower town in

the course of the day, with four men: they were immediately conducted to the governor, who suspected they came over for no good purpose, (although they brought a little provision with them for sale,) and ordered them immediately back under an escort to the water-side. It seems there is a party of about 50 of the enemy in that neighbourhood, who, it appears, (if we can believe the rascals who have just embarked) prevent them from sending their provisions into town. But attend to the absurdity: a party of fifty rebels hinders a body of from 4 to 5,000 Canadians from doing as they please, showing them to be a set of traitorous, faithless, ungrateful villains![1] Colonel M^c^Lean this day received a

[1] The country part of the population, descended from the old French stock that migrated from Normandy, and other parts, with Samuel de Champlain in 1608, are a peaceful class of mortals, in general averse to war, and little solicitous about any change of rulers that may take place in the country, as long as they are permitted to possess their rural domains in tranquillity. Immediately after the French garrison of Quebec in 1759 had beaten the *chamade*, and capitulated to General Townshend, the Canadians surrendered, and solicited permission to reap their harvest. The Beauport people, in particular, received our soldiers with joy. On the 22d and 24th of September (nine days after the battle) they delivered up their arms in great numbers, and took the oaths, after which they returned home with their effects and cattle, and began to reap their corn, in which our soldiers off duty assisted them. The expression of Virgil (Georg. Lib. ii.

letter from some friend without, which is fraught with very agreeable information; such as that the besiegers are greatly dissatisfied with their general's proceedings, and that their body of men appears backward in doing the duty required of them; also that there is a great scarcity of gunpowder, as well as of cannon and musket-balls among them—intelligence which afforded us great satisfaction.

19th. Every thing quiet; busy in fortifying the town and mounting cannon: one of the emigrants deserted to our foes in the night over the wall of the Sally Port, while posted there on sentry: the enemy threw in a few shells without doing any damage. Threw a great many also from the garrison in return.

[1] 20th. This day several letters came into town, which confirm what had been written to Colonel M'Lean, and also desire the governor to beware of the machinations of some of the captains of the militia; they can be no others than those of the French part of the

458. et seq. v. O fortunatos nimium, &c. Agricolas!) is in a most particular manner applicable to the situation of the Canadian peasantry.

[1] This account of the besieging force does not correspond with that given by other writers, by whom it is stated at 1500 rebels alone; the 400 Canadians were those raised by Livingston, for none of the inhabitants of the vicinity of Quebec served with them except under compulsion.

population; a secret correspondence being kept up, it is said, through that channel, by which the enemy is made acquainted with every thing that passes within the town. These accounts further mention, that among the rebel forces there are actually not more than 800 true-blooded *Yankees*, and 400 apostate Canadians from above, under arms, together with 300 of the inhabitants of this neighbourhood, forced into their service; in all 1500 men, employed in the siege: but were they twice the number, we have now little to fear, the town being so well fortified. We are also informed that the enemy is retreating up the country, probably in consequence of the severity of the winter. This evening we threw a great many shells into St. Rocks, and fired it in two different places; but there being little or no wind, the conflagration ceased, and was completely extinguished in the morning, without doing great damage. It is confidently asserted, that the person disguised in woman's attire, mentioned as having been killed at St. Rocks, turned out to be the enemy's chief engineer in disguise, and that draughts of the suburbs were found in his pockets. About half past five o'clock this morning an alarm was given by the sentinels at the Saut du Matelot, (some of the faithful) and the great bell was set ringing; but on the rumour being found

out to be a false one, it was stopped, and but a few of the inhabitants turned out, who immediately retired again to their respective habitations.

21st. Employed in preparing carcasses,[1] (to pour defiance into the mouths of the rebels' artillery,) and fixing wall-pieces round the garrison. Only a few musket-shots fired from St. Rocks. The block-house behind the Hôtel Dieu was completely finished, and the one at Cape Diamond very much advanced. Very few of the enemy seen to-day. Another emigrant is said to have deserted over the battery behind the barracks.

22d. The sentinel above-mentioned, it seems, did not desert, but committed a most unsoldier-like offence; for being taken ill on his post, he went directly home to his barracks, without acquainting the guard. Late last night a young gentleman, clerk to Lieutenant-Colonel Caldwell, who had been taken prisoner about the time *St. Bruit* was burned, came into the town by way of Drummond's wharf, and brought in one of the enemy with him, having got under our guns, (the French militia having the guard)

[1] A species of shell filled with combustibles, with several holes in its circumference, thrown from mortars and howitzers, and intended to burn an enemy's lodgment, palisades, or habitations.

without being challenged: he gives an account of great preparations making among the besiegers for storming the town: confirms their number as being in all about 1500, and that their general's head-quarters were at Holland House, on the St. Foy Road: that Montgomery resolved on making a grand attack between that evening and Christmas, having assured his party that they should most certainly dine in town on or before that day. He likewise maintains that great numbers were infected by that dreadful scourge the small-pox, and that they had many killed as well as wounded during the period of their working the guns at their battery. In short, that they were very much dissatisfied with the general situation of affairs; but that General Montgomery, with the promise of giving to each man who would volunteer to mount the wall with him the sum of 100*l.*, had gained their assent to hazard an attack.[1] All this

[1] The reader will recollect the anecdote of the great Condé, who, speaking of the intrepidity of soldiers, says, that he promised fifty *louis* to any one who should carry a palisade (which it was found necessary to burn) by a coup de main. A soldier more courageous than the rest, and who preferred honor to money, said he would relinquish the fifty *louis* if the prince would make him sergeant of his own company. His Highness, pleased with this generous feeling, promised him both; and the soldier, animated by the prospect of reward, completely succeeded in the hazardous attempt.

matter being corroborated by his associate, extraordinary pickets, and additional guards, were ordered. Continued throwing shells as usual into St. Rocks.

23d. Most of the town under arms, in expectation of an attack; but nothing material happened. Busy all day in mounting more flanking guns. One of the emigrants killed from St. Rocks, while standing sentinel on the two-gun battery. In the evening a deserter came in; but on examining him closely, his accounts were so contradictory, both in regard to their numbers and intentions, that little or no credit was given to him; on the contrary, we suspected he only came in as a spy, to mislead us by false or supposititious information, and if possible to desert again to the enemy with intelligence; in consequence of which, instead of being well treated, as he seemed to expect, he was sent to gaol. He formerly did duty in this town with the 52d regiment, when quartered here, and marched off with his comrades when they were ordered to Boston; so that it is imagined he deserted that corps in the dubious skirmish which took place at Lexington[1] in Massachusetts as

[1] The spot where the first affray took place between the regulars and revolutionary forces; the latter having intrenched themselves behind stone-walls, houses, bushes, &c. from which they kept up a scattering fire on our troops

he mentions having been present in that affair, but was left wounded on the field, and afterwards forced by threatening measures into the enemy's service. A few of the besiegers seen about the heights, and in St. Rocks. Threw shells into the enemy's position all night. Still all quiet.

24th. The volunteer picket continued, in expectation of an attack. Busy in mounting more flanking guns. Nothing else particular. All the posts were reinforced, and the night passed away in tranquillity. The usual proceeding of annoying our foes, by throwing shells, regularly continued.

25th. Still employed in bringing up more heavy cannon to bear on the works of the besiegers. Last night one of the British Militia unfortunately killed a sergeant of the Royal Emigrants, it is said in a quarrel, having shot him dead on the spot.

26th. The volunteer picket continued under arms. This morning the coroner's inquest sat on the body of the man who was shot yesterday, and after due examination, brought in the

as they retreated. It may be observed, that the acrimony, even at this early stage of the contest, existing between the two parties, was great indeed, when it is considered that several of the wounded of Major Smith's party were scalped by the savage republicans, into whose hands they had fallen.

verdict, murder. About noon we received intelligence that about 350 of the enemy had got into St. Rocks last night, with their scaling ladders, and meditated a decisive stroke this evening; in consequence of which, every one was on the spot, expecting they would attempt to carry the town by a coup de main: but the night passed in silence on their side; on ours, we continued to throw shells from our guns as usual, and to keep a strict look out, at the advanced posts, for fear their intentions should be verified, to our peril and damage, and that any ambuscades may be frustrated, which their skulking parties may attempt to form, being determined to oppose them, however numerous, with the utmost vigor.

27th. The volunteer picket still continued. Employed in reinforcing the different out-posts, and destroying out-houses, which might shelter the besiegers. A few cannon fired at the suburb of *Minues*, to drive the rebels from their lodgment there. Mounted more guns in the lower town during the evening. Shells at night as usual, from the howitzers.

28th. The volunteer picket mounted guard as usual; but every thing passed in tranquillity. Nothing else this day worthy of relation. These deceptive calms, however, we fear, forebode a sharp storm, and carry some great events in

their bosom, from what we can at present discover.

29th. This morning early another deserter came in, who confirmed the information which we had received, regarding their intentions of attacking us by surprise, and also agreed in his account with that of Mr. Wolfe, of their numbers; in consequence of which most of the out-posts were reinforced, and more cannon mounted today.

30th. Very quiet all day. Only a few of the enemy to be seen. Fired a few shots at their outguard at St. Rocks, and threw a great number of shells this evening into that neighbourhood. The volunteer picket continued as usual.

[1] 31st. The darkness of last night, and the

[1] The writer of this journal appears to have been chiefly engaged in the defence made by the garrison in the narrow pass leading to the lower town, where the attack was conducted by General Arnold in person, at the head of the 600, some say 350, New England men, who seem to have collected all the courage they were masters of on this evening; their irregular valor, now and then having the propensity of *oozing* out, like Bob Acres's valor, at their fingers' ends: for we never hear of the New England men attempting any warlike action, unless they "*felt bold,*" and had perfect confidence in themselves. After his left leg had been shattered by a musket-ball, which rendered him lame ever after, the general was carried off to the hospital, a convent of Augustine nuns, founded by St. Vallier, Bishop of Quebec, at

gloominess of this morning, seemed fit for the

an early period, on the St. Charles' river, and famous in former days for being the spot where the celebrated General Montcalm died of his wounds, after the battle of Quebec, in 1759, where he vainly attempted to rally his flying legions. The first barrier was carried by Captain Morgan (afterwards a general in the service of the rebels), who entered it through the embrasure, just as one of the guns was discharged with grape, (so near that only one man was killed,) and who in vain attempted to force the second, in consequence of the heavy fire from its battery and the adjoining houses; but was forced to surrender with the greatest part of his attacking force to a detachment which came in his rear, and so placed him between two fires. Lieutenant Anderson, who was an officer of the navy, doing duty as a captain in the garrison, mentioned here, (if we may credit what is said in Marshall's life of Washington,) fell by Morgan's own hand, as he was calling to the enemy to surrender. His body was immediately drawn into the embrasure, and a heavy fire of musket-shot commenced from the neighbouring windows on the Americans. Morgan had been originally a waggoner in General Braddock's army during his ill-fated expedition against Fort Du Quesne (now Pittsburg, on the Monangahela); and having quarrelled, it is reported, with one of the British sentinels on duty, he raised his fist, and knocked the soldier down, for which offence he was condemned to receive 300 lashes; and it was an observation of his in after times, that the British still owed him a lash; for, says he, "they promised to give me 300, and they only gave me 299, for I counted them every one." He was afterwards the cause of General Frazer's being marked out and shot, in an engagement during the revolutionary war; for observing that officer to be the spirit of the troops, as he rode on a white horse,

blackest designs, and, as many suspected, would

and led them on to the attack in a most gallant manner, he directed one of his company, whom he knew to be a good marksman, to ascend a tree, and take particular aim at the "man on the white horse," which was done in too fatal a manner, as that officer was shot through the body from the tree, by the rifleman. He also contributed, by skilful manœuvring, to the disaster at Cowpens, where Colonel Tarleton commanded. The American Colonel, Washington, (soon after wounded and made prisoner,) commanding the cavalry, is said to have called out, while in pursuit of the British, "Which is Colonel Tarleton?" and one of the British troopers, who answered, "that he was not *Tarleton*, but thought he could, nevertheless, do for the American colonel," was shot by Washington's trumpeter, while attempting to cut that officer down. Morgan took advantage of the impetuosity of our troops in that combat; but it must be recollected most of them were young recruits, who had never seen service. He was a man of dissipated habits, who passed great part of his time in playing at dice, and drinking at taverns, and generally went by the name of the *rifleman*, among the British officers, several of whom were quartered in his house after the surrender of Cornwallis at York-town. Captain Nairns, mentioned here, was a brave Highland officer, whose services were very instrumental in the defence of the town; and his loyalty was rewarded by government with the grant of a considerable tract of land on the St. Lawrence. His friend Dambourgesse was the first who entered the house, and he himself followed, and ran the American officer, who commanded, through the body with his sword. His son, who was a captain in the 49th, and a brave and distinguished officer, was slain by the first discharge of artillery in the combat which took place at Chrystler's Farm, above Montreal, in 1812, between

effectually encourage the blow meant and planned against this place; as so it turned out: for about half past five o'clock in the morning we were all alarmed at our pickets with the report of an attack being made by the enemy: in consequence of which the alarm bell of the cathedral rung, and all the drums beat to arms; during which, they sent in a number of shells from their battery, (whilst we were stationed in the quarter of Recollects) which burst in all directions with a great crash, and served to increase the alarm of those who yet remained in the interior of the fortress. Colonel M'Lean was informed by a person just come from the grand battery, that the post of Saut du Matelot[1] was in possession of the enemy; upon hear-

Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison's Spartan band of 800 British troops, and nearly 4000 Americans, under the command of General Boyd. But his death was not left unrevenged by his companions in arms, by whom upwards of one hundred of the enemy (including a General of Brigade) were killed, and nearly 240 wounded, without including more than 150 prisoners and a six-pounder taken. The British were so drawn up, that their flanks, which were covered by the river, and by a wood, could not be turned, and the Americans were forced to march to the attack up to the knees in ploughed ground, exposed to a heavy fire of musketry, and of Shrapnel shells from our six-pounders.

[1] The Seaman's Leap. A narrow pass under the precipitous rocks of the upper town, defended by a battery mounting

ing which we repaired to the lower town to reinforce the guard, but on arriving at the place of action, found all in disorder and confusion; learnt that a number of the other picket, who had advanced too precipitately, were made prisoners along with Adjutant Mills of the British Militia, and that Captain Lester had narrowly escaped. This being the situation of things, there was no keeping of any order among either the few British or French Militia, who had repaired to the assistance of this post, for there were two other attacks made at the same time. Day-light appearing, in some small degree relieved our distress, and removed a considerable share of anxiety, but even then we found there were no proper commanders, at least any whose authority had sufficient weight with the people so as to keep them to the charge or lead them on. Our out-post was thus surprised, without, I may freely say, firing a gun; the guard and advanced parties being made prisoners; and the enemy, having thus gained possession of the barrier after a short struggle, advanced to the narrow pass that leads to the lower town, and took possession of the houses as they came along, from the back parts of which a constant

two 12-pounders, which opened on the enemy with grape as soon as they were perceived.

fire of musket-shot was kept up by them, and returned by us under the best cover we could find at this critical juncture; for had the enemy pushed boldly on through the defile, having got under our last barrier in the Saut du Matelot, they must certainly have carried it. While things were at this crisis, a most seasonable reinforcement of the heroic band of volunteers arrived, aided by the volunteer company formed by the captains of our merchant-vessels, the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Caldwell, Captain Nairn, and Lieutenant Anderson (the latter of whom was soon killed by a shot through the head); and being thus aided by such able officers, things soon bore a very different aspect; for having disposed of the greatest part of the whole body in the neighbouring houses (say Captain Gill's, Mr. Vialar's, and Lymburner's), from which places we kept up a constant fire of musketry, we prevented the enemy from getting over our barrier, or advancing by any other quarter; at this very moment a sailor got upon the stage behind the barrier-gate, and laid hold of a scaling-ladder, which the rebels had put up and were attempting to ascend, and pulled it over his head. This we mounted against an end-window, which faced the street, being that of the house next the barrier-gate, in which the enemy had made a lodgment, when a Mr.

Dambourgesse, doing duty in the Royal Emigrants as an officer, and Captain Nairn of the same corps, mounted the ladder, followed by many others, and having forced the window, made themselves very soon masters of the [illegible] after killing one of the enemy on the spot, and wounding several others.[1] In this place they continued intrenched for nearly an hour, during which time the fire of small arms from both sides was kept up extremely hot and galling, in which dispute the British Militia were the only corps that suffered; the first man killed was a servant of Mr. Drummond, at the corner of Flanagin's *Hangard;* a servant of Mr. Renaud was also wounded in the thigh, and a Mr. Lester mortally wounded at the end of Mr. Lymburner's gallery; Charles Daley was also wounded in the mouth, while firing the great gun, in the redoubt which enfiladed the street from the 2d barrier gate, and a Mr. Fraser, shipbuilder, was shot dead by my side at the two pair of stairs' window in Lymburner's house; however, these horrid spectacles wrought but little on our minds, who were determined to fight to the last; for notwithstanding these un-

[1] All readers conversant with naval history, will be here naturally reminded of the gallantry of Lord Nelson in boarding the San Nicholas Spanish man of war, through the cabin-window, at the head of a brave party of sailors and marines.

happy accidents, the firing on our side never ceased until such time as victory declared in our favor, a circumstance as unexpected as singular, for about nine o'clock we found ourselves in possession of nearly 200 prisoners, with our friends formerly taken released, and busy in escorting them off. How we were conquerors at a juncture when we imagined all lost, and at a time when we so little expected it, you will now be informed, viz. The governor being apprised by repeated messengers, some voluntary, while others were ordered to carry him intelligence to the castle, in rotation of duty, how likely the lower town was to fall into the hands of the enemy, they having forced our out-post, and nearly gained our last barrier, he, in consequence of this, with the greatest coolness, ordered an immediate sortie to be made from Palace Gate to outflank them,[1] conducted by

[1] In a surprise we must come directly to a determination one way or another, for the enemy will not allow us time for reflection; and the quality most essential to a General is a prompt and just discernment and judgment in his decisions. Boldness may often supply the want of quickness of imagination, and furnish resources in embarrassing circumstances, but an ardent temperament, which is in its place at the head of a regiment of grenadiers *only*, deprives the mind of the faculty of thinking, and exhibits every object in a false light. A truly great warrior will always be master of events, instead of allowing himself to be mastered by them;

Captain Lawes of the Royal Engineers, which party was covered by a Captain M^c^Dougal of the Royal Emigrants, and this body had no sooner gained the bottom of the hill than they fell in with the rear-guard of the enemy, who were so much confounded at so unexpected an attack, that they immediately threw down their arms, and submitted themselves prisoners without firing a shot. Captain Lawes kept boldly advancing (leaving M^c^Dougal to dispose of the enemy who had fallen into his hands, as was thought proper) and soon gained the outpost at Saut du Matelot, which he entered without opposition, none of his party having as yet come up, and rushed into the midst of the rebels, crying out, with the greatest *sang froid*, "You are all my prisoners." If the rear party, which consisted of upwards of 300, were astonished at being made prisoners so unexpectedly, you may well conceive the surprise of those who had made themselves masters of our post, at being addressed in such language. "How," said they, "your prisoners! you are ours." "No, no, my dear creatures," replied he, "I vow to God you are all mine, don't mistake yourselves." "But where are your men?" "O, ho!" says he,

and when he happens to be surprised, will himself surprise the enemy.—Vide *Chevalier Johnstone's Memoirs.*

"make yourselves easy about that matter, they are all about here, and will be with you in a twinkling." Conversation to that purpose, for near ten minutes, was carried on, during which period a proposal was made to kill him, which was overruled; in the interim his party arrived, made themselves masters of the post, and placing the enemy between two fires, secured it, with the assistance of Captain M'Dougal. Thus the whole body of the enemy which had taken possession of the Saut du Matelot were made prisoners. In this manner we within the town were released from impending ruin through this unexpected manœuvre of the general, by which means their whole party was either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; among the former were 3 officers[1] and 50 privates; 44 were wounded. On our side we had only 5 killed and about twice as many wounded, (say thirteen, two of whom are since dead.) The total amount of prisoners taken was 427, thirty-two of whom were officers, including Lieutenant-Colonel Green, Major Biclowe, and many others of note.[2] Thus ended the at-

[1] Captain Hendricks and Lieutenant Humphries of the Pensylvania Rifflemen, and Lieutenant Cooper.

[2] The contest had been so hot, that many of our foes, who escaped unhurt, were scorched by the powder of the muskets discharged at them; for every one that showed

tack of the Saut du Matelot which was conducted in person by our old acquaintance Arnold, who being wounded in the leg, during the approach, was carried off to the general hospital; as soon as the enemy were seen approaching, a constant rolling fire of musketry was kept up from behind the barracks all along by the pickets, to the Saut du Matelot battery, on their advancing party, by which great numbers were killed and wounded. Several of the former were not yet covered with the snow, of which there was a great fall immediately after they were found, and victory was scarcely declared in the town, when the enemy made another attack at Près de Ville, near Drummond's Wharf, and the Potash, of which many of the town were ignorant—this body was repulsed, leaving behind them nine killed, and two wounded. A party of the garrison was afterwards ordered to sally out to St. Rocks, which, after bringing in a 6-pounder brass field-piece with the small mortars, shells, &c. of the enemy's battery, set fire to almost the whole village of St. Rocks, beginning a little below Palace Gate, taking in M'Cord's street, the Intendant's palace, and the whole of that neighbourhood, with several houses near the

himself in the street or at the windows, was immediately fired at, and shot down.

Saut du Matelot, which were all entirely consumed before next morning.[1] Thus ended the glorious operations of a day which threatened destruction to Quebec and its inhabitants, with the total subversion of the whole province. Let us therefore, with one voice, express our gratitude to the King of kings for our miraculous preservation: for the Almighty was with us in the day of distress; the Lord of Hosts severely smote our enemy; they were overwhelmed as with a whirlwind, and left us triumphant to gather them up and lead them into captivity; for which blessing, glory, honor and praise be to the Most High! At a subsequent period, St. Silvester's day, (so named in the Roman Calendar from a bishop of Rome in 314), the anniversary of this contest was commemorated by the survivors, as a festival, with the usual solemnities observed on such an occasion.

[2] Jan. 1st, 1776. Every thing quiet during the

[1] The Intendant's palace mentioned here was a large building, the ancient seat of the French government in the province, (having been founded in 1639,) and it was there that the "Conseil Souverain" met four times a week to transact public business, it being the residence of the lieutenant-governor. It was fired on account of its proximity to the walls, and because the enemy annoyed the garrison from it with their rifles.

[2] The spot where General Montgomery attacked the town was by a narrow pass leading to an out-post, near

night. In the morning two Canadians came in,

Près de Ville; which was commanded by a small redoubt, and a battery which enfiladed the approach. He advanced at the head of 900 men, in the midst of a snow storm, along this narrow path, over which impended the rugged precipitous rocks of Cape Diamond, and which was bounded on the other side by huge masses of ice, piled up by the stream of the St. Lawrence. The Canadian sentinel fired a few random shots, and fled to the redoubt, which gave the alarm. The General, who encouraged his men to follow by his entreaties and example, immediately helped to pull up the palisades with his own hands; but as he was advancing, the guard fired a volley of grape and musketry at his advanced party, by which himself and many others were killed. Stedman says, that a captain of a transport commanded in the redoubt, of the name of Brainsfeather, who allowed the assailants to approach within forty yards of the guns. The New York men who followed became disheartened, and immediately, under the command of Colonel Campbell, without making any further attack, retreated. The gun that commanded this important pass is said to have been fired with the *slow match* in the hurry of the moment.[1] General Carleton in his letter seems to have had little notice of the attack on this quarter of the town, while engaged in frustrating that undertaken by Arnold. In his letter he says, " The attack *on the other out-post* was soon repulsed with slaughter :—Mr. Montgomery was left among the dead."—Captain Malcolm Fraser of the 78th Highlanders (a comrade of General Wolfe) was the officer who discovered the

[1] In the spring of 1820 died at Norfolk, Mr. Ayres, tavern-keeper in that city, who was one of the men stationed at the gun.

thinking the lower town in possession of the enemy, who, upon being carried to the main guard and examined, reported that they had come from the general hospital that morning, where there was no account given of General Montgomery. This intelligence, joined to the circumstance of a fur cap, marked in the bottom R. M., having been brought in, immediately led us to suspect that he must have been killed in leading his men on to the attack of our out-post at Près de Ville. A Canadian, also, named *Gagne*, who had been out plundering, having found a considerable sum of money on the body of one of the rebel officers, orders were sent down to bring up all the dead bodies from that quarter, amongst which were found by a ser-

advance of the Americans in the storm of snow, and as he was going his rounds, ordered his drummer to beat to arms, and thus gave notice to the garrison.—The American government sent a few years back for the bones of General Montgomery, to whom a cenotaph had been erected among the tombs of other heroes at New York, by the continental congress; and the spot where he was buried (accompanied by the honors of war, on the 2d of January, according to General Carleton's order) was pointed out by Mr. Thompson, who is possessed of his sword, having been a Sergeant at the time of the siege, and found his body in the snow next morning. He had received not less than eleven balls. Other accounts say his chief wounds were one in each thigh, and one on the head.

geant and drummer, who went out, (fortunately for us) General Montgomery,[1] also his aid-de-camp Captain M'Pherson,[2] a Captain Cheesman of their artillery, and the general's orderly sergeant, all lying dead together, pierced with wounds. This unexpected discovery gave new spirits to the town, and greatly relieved us from the apprehensions of any second attack. The prisoners, officers and men, appear much pleased with their usage, it being greatly beyond their expectations.[3] A great many shells thrown into

[1] *Anquetil*, the French historian, committed a gross blunder (it may be here observed) when he says, that Arnold was wounded in endeavouring to avenge the death of Montgomery—(Le bouillant Arnold reçut une blessure en voulant le venger).

[2] The American biographers have recorded some idle story concerning M'Pherson (who was aid-de-camp to their hero), stating that in consequence of his having followed the standard of the Republican cause considerable acrimony had arisen between him and a brother who was an officer in the British service, by whom he had been long blamed for the part he had chosen; but that on the receipt of a letter from him, written from the exact spot on which, as it was termed, Wolfe sacrificed his life for the honor of England "in alliance with America," that officer, who soon after became informed of his brother's catastrophe, threw up his commission and joined the revolters.

[3] Something similar occurred after the battle of Quebec in September 1759, when the French officers that were made prisoners begged for mercy in the most humble manner on their knees, with their hats off, fearing that they should be

the farther part of St. Rocks; otherwise all quiet.

2d. Nothing remarkable all day:—the governor down surveying the post at the Saut du Matelot, and giving fresh orders in regard to its fortifications.[1] All the militia under orders to attend the sombre funeral of our late brave companions, Messrs. Fraser and Kenzie, who were slain during the conflict of the 31st.

3d. Several prisoners were brought in, among whom was an officer, having come too nigh the walls, thinking their friends were in possession of the lower town; they all agreed that the

put to death by the British, to retaliate upon them the cruelties they had inflicted on the garrison of Fort William Henry, by giving it up to the savages. The American officers taken (according to the accounts of one of their countrymen), were thrown into close confinement, and every day tauntingly told that they should be sent to England in the spring, and hanged as rebels. However, most of them were allowed to depart after the siege was raised, on their parole of honor, to which it would appear some of them paid but little regard in after times.

[1] It may be here observed that Sir G. Carleton, who was a brave old officer, and had been a colonel under General Wolfe, showed all the talent, genius and capacity needful in turning a victory to account, which is said to be the criterion by which we discover the great soldier. The gaining of a battle is often the effect of pure chance, and many have been dreadful even after a defeat—like the Parthian "fidentem fuga versisque sagittis."

report of all the country was that the lower town was taken, and that no accounts had reached them of General Montgomery's death; on the contrary, a report was spread that General Carleton was killed. A firing of small arms heard towards St. Foys, but in no way accounted for. Continued to throw shells as usual. This day Major Meigs, prisoner, was allowed to go out of town to collect and bring in all the officers' baggage, and is to return the 5th instant.

4th. Every thing quiet. This day attended the funeral of our late comrade Mr. John Lester, who was mortally wounded on the 31st ult.

5th. No accounts this day worth rehearsing; only that one of our friendly citizens, John M'Cord, came to town, and had an audience with Captain Fraser over the ramparts.

6th. This day all well. Nicolas Marchant was tried for the murder of Niel Nicolson, as formerly mentioned; when the Jury, on mature consideration, brought it in manslaughter.

7th. This morning two Frenchmen and a savage, taken prisoners, were set at liberty, and sent over among the Point Levi people: for what purpose is not yet known. Three Canadians taken prisoners while plundering without the walls.

8th. This morning we were informed that General Wooster had arrived from Montreal to

take the command of the rebels without; and that the detachment of troops he commanded there were all ordered down to reinforce them. At parade time 100 of the prisoners taken on the 31st ult. (being all old Britons) entered voluntarily into Colonel M'Lean's corps of Royal Emigrants, to do duty with them till the first of June next (each of them having received a dollar to drink, on their swearing the oath of allegiance to King George), after which period they are to be discharged, and sent home at the expence of government, should they be inclined to leave the province; at the same time whatever baggage they had left in the country was sent into town, from the camp of their late associates. The volunteer picket discontinued for the present. Every thing quiet.

9th. Nothing to-day remarkable on either side. An easterly storm has continued blowing with great vehemence incessantly for the last three days.

10th. Clear weather:—fatigue parties out, employed in clearing away the snow from the guns and walls. Busied in making new barriers to the lower town, and fortifying the Saut du Matelot.

11th. Every thing quiet:—not even a surmise to-day, in or without the town.

12th. The same:—only three more Cana-

dians, who had been taken prisoners, and a savage, set at liberty, and crossed for Point Levi, along with three Recollect Friars.

13th. Busy in erecting a mortar battery to play upon the farther houses of St. Rocks, where the enemy station their main guard; a foraging party out to-day for fire-wood, and also square timber.

16th. This morning a Recollect Friar went out at Palace Gate and walked over the ice to Beauport; and the same day Mrs. Richée got leave to go into the country by way of the general hospital, but was stopped by the rebels at the end of St. Rocks. A sortie was made to bring in the Record of the province, which was lodged in a vault under the Intendant's palace, now presenting a mass of ruins and rubbish, in consequence of the late conflagration.

17th. A Mademoiselle *Baboche* (since pensioned by our government), who had been employed to bring in intelligence, and was detected by the Yankees, and confined, made her escape, and came in to-day. She confirms the account of General Wooster and his three companies having arrived from Montreal, accompanied by Mr. Walker, who it seems also takes a command; and further says, that since the affair of the 31st ult. above 200 of them had deserted; and in going off the Canadians endeavoured to

stop them, whereupon a scuffle ensued, and it was reported that several of them were killed. There you may see how the Faithfuls serve us;[1] it is thus we are requited for our abundant lenity showed them upon all occasions.

18th. This being the Queen's birth-day, a royal salute was fired, in honor of her Majesty.

19th. Every thing quiet: the mortar battery opened against the enemy's guard-house at the west end of St. Rocks, and continued playing till two o'clock: it escaped destruction, but great damage was done by the bombs to the neighbouring houses. A sortie was made to-day into St. Rocks for fire-wood (of which we began to be in great want), and upwards of 35 cords of that material were brought in, and divided among the British and French Militia. In the evening three of the late prisoners who had entered into Colonel M'Lean's corps made their escape behind the barracks, and carried with them their arms and ammunition. About 11 o'clock the rebels set fire to some of the remaining houses in St. Rocks, to prevent us, as we

[1] The Canadians are distinguished by this epithet, out of pleasantry with respect to General Carleton—who, like the Marquis Vaudreuil de Cavagnal, the last French Governor in 1759, always relied in a great measure on the dauntless courage of the "faithful Canadians" when he wished to ensure success.

supposed, from getting in hay and wood, which was lodged in some of them.

20th and 21st. These two days nothing particular, only that on the night of the 21st the enemy fired a sloop that lay behind the ruins of the Intendant's palace, and more houses in St. Rocks; otherwise all quiet in the garrison.

22d. This day a long 26-pounder was brought down to the mortar battery, (and mounted *en barbette*,) which is likely to annoy the enemy greatly at their guard-house: nothing else now occurring, except that fatigue-parties are out clearing away the snow from the lines, which are more open to assault in consequence of the drifting of the late heavy storms.

23d. This day, a party having made a sortie under cover of a strong guard, and a brass field-piece 3-pounder, a great deal of wood was got in. In the morning about eleven o'clock, we witnessed the burning of many houses in St. Rocks by the rebels, which appalling conflagration continued all night, and had a very grand effect amid the thick darkness which surrounded all other objects. Busy in making additions to the battery at the Saut du Matelot.

24th. In the evening, a party went out under the command of the brave Captain Lawes, and lodged in Mr. Drummond's distillery all night, with intent to surprise the enemy's marauders

in case they should attempt burning the shipping, as it was expected; but none of them appeared.—N.B. This extra guard it is said is to be continued until further orders. The recreant enemy burnt more houses in St. Rocks, as it would appear for the purpose of exciting our feelings of retaliation hereafter, as they are debarred from injuring us in a more material manner, at present, and not inclined to attempt a second *coup de main* under cover of the smoke, as it is understood by intelligent officers that the destruction of the suburbs was the certain precursor of their late desperate effort.

25th. This day the guards are to be relieved at nine o'clock, on account of a sortie being made by a party under the command of Major M'Kenzie (to bring in wood), covered by a field-piece 3-pounder. While the party was out, a great many shot and shells were fired at the guard-house, from the Devil's battery, as the enemy called that on which our two heavy guns are mounted. The governor went out and desired the party to advance, to divert their attention; to which they conformed with the utmost alacrity. Our people being now within musket-shot, the enemy's out-sentinel having taken the alarm, was immediately sent off for succour, as we suppose, for in less than half an hour their guard was reinforced by a detachment from

Minues, consisting of 50 men; but neither they nor the guard chose to attack us, although our party, which consisted of 30 meh, was posted within reach of their musketry. A little before the retreat was beat, one of the enemy separated himself from the rest, and seemed to be coming over to us on snow-shoes; but when he got well within musket-shot, whether through fear of our firing on him, or that he had advanced through the spirit of enterprise, he returned to his party.

From the 26th to the beginning of February, there are facts of daily occurrence which too plainly bespeak the direful effects of the fatal contest that has divided the British empire against itself. Our foes must be now convinced that they have nothing to trust to beyond implicit submission or effectual resistance; and the crisis is of so delicate and important a nature that we cannot at present hazard a conjecture as to the choice they will hereafter make. Large reinforcements are expected from England, and Halifax, as soon as the river is freed from ice; and the Laurentian stream, stained with Montcalm's, Wolfe's, and Montgomery's blood, will probably smoke for another campaign with the thunder of opposing hosts, and re-echo the dissonant groans of warriors whose blood may for a third time saturate the greensward of Ca-

nadian plains;' although it is to be hoped that no more will be shed in the course of further rebellion, and that our troops and those of the provincials will cease to slaughter each other for the diversion of our natural enemies in Europe.

* * * * * *

Blow, Eurus, blow, and with propitious gales
Fill the stretch'd bosom of Britannia's sails,
Waft her brave sons to the ungrateful shore,
Glutted, alas! too oft with heroes' gore—
Rise from thy hallow'd tomb, Wolfe's glorious shade!
In injured Hamlet's awful form arrayed!

Feb. 8th. This day the enemy were observed in great numbers about their outposts, and burnt many houses in the suburbs. We attribute the cessation of their firing to their cleaning their muskets. They have two field-pieces placed by Minues on the highway, ready to act against any of our sallying parties. This evening, a detachment, under the command of Captain Nairn, lodged in St. John's suburbs, with a view of detecting some one or other of these vagabonds as they come to burn the houses, but none came.

' Odi, frementi
D' impaziënte ardore, i guerriér' l'aure
Empier di strida: e rimbombár la terra
Al flagellár della ferrata zampa
De' focosi destrieri; urli, nitriti,
Sfolgoreggiár d' elmi e di brandi, e tuoni, &c. &c.

ALFIERI.

9th. Every thing quiet. A severe snow.

10th. Nothing particular. The snow storm still continues.

11th. This day about noon, a flag of truce was seen approaching. Colonel M^c^Lean demanded their business over the walls, and was answered, that they had letters from Captain Godwin of our artillery, addressed to the governor, along with several others, of various import; however, they were dismissed without our receiving any of their credentials. It has been supposed that the purport of the embassy was to exchange a Captain Godwin for a Captain Lamb of their artillery, a prisoner, and wounded. He conducted a field-piece mounted on a sledge, against the first barrier, on the night of the 31st December, but was forced to abandon it on account of the snow, and was afterwards shot in the eye, and made prisoner.

12th. All the garrison off duty employed in clearing away the snow from the ramparts.

13th and 14th. Still busy in clearing away the snow. A great many people seen with sledges at *Minues*, and at the guard-house at St. Rocks. Kept up a constant fire on the former for some time; and so well directed was it that their duration there was but short, and they soon dispersed with some broken bones. Five more deserters went off this morning early, three of them were

prisoners that enlisted in Colonel M'Lean's corps; the others were, one of his own men, and a sailor, who, as we suppose, were corrupted by the rest. They knocked down the militia sentinel, and threw his gun over the walls, whilst he was upon duty behind the barracks. More houses fired in St. Rocks suburbs. Another flag of truce seen advancing, but was not allowed to approach.—N.B. The sailor and emigrants did not go over the wall behind the barrack, but over the pickets behind the Hôtel Dieu, &c. This convent was founded by a French duchess of the first eminence (D'Aiguillon), at an early period, for nuns who should exclusively attend to the sick. During the siege in 1760 they carried on a clandestine communication with the French troops outside the walls, which so exasperated General Murray, that he swore he would turn them all out, and convert their convent into a barrack.

15th. Nothing particular all day. Several of the rebels seen at the old battery. This evening four more deserters went off, from behind the barracks, being also part of those who had enlisted with Colonel M'Lean's corps, as it would appear, simply from a treacherous motive. An order issued out, that no persons are to come into the street, during the darkness of the evening, without a light. In the evening was heard a smart firing of small arms

from St. John's suburbs by the enemy's marksmen; and more houses were fired at the same time. The shipping at St. Rocks was also attempted to be set on fire by the enemy; but this scheme was prevented by our endeavours, and the vessels were saved.[1]

16th. This morning all the prisoners that

[1] The city of Quebec, which now bids fair to be called the Gibraltar of British America, was at this period in no very considerable posture of defence, the works having nearly gone to ruin during the interval of sixteen years which followed its reduction by the British arms. Even in 1760, when besieged by Monsieur de Levi, the fortifications facing the heights of Abraham were but weak, till strengthened by new defences, which withstood the fire from the enemy's batteries; for the trenches were opened on the evening of the 28th of April, on the very day when the battle was fought (with dubious success) between General Murray, at the head of 3140 British, and 15000 of the French regulars and colony troops. On the 11th of May they unmasked their batteries against Cape Diamond, the citadel and the Ursuline Bastion, with 24, 18, and 12-pound shot, and fired at the Jesuits' College and powder-magazines with shells. But 150 pieces of cannon on the ramparts appear, after a fierce cannonading, to have rendered all their attempts abortive, in addition to the cohorns which were thrown into the "boyaux," and other parts of their lines of circumvallation. Improvements were in operation during the period when Sir James Craig was governor, preceding the late war with America, which would have made this post utterly inaccessible, strengthened as it was with strong lines of circumvallation, bastions, and redoubts, mounted with heavy cannon and mor-

had entered into Colonel M'Lean's corps (in

tars. But in the year 1821 the province had its line of defence considerably altered. The Isle au Noix, as the great key to the lower regions of Canada, was ordered to be converted into a complete fortification; and the Isle of St. Helen at Montreal was purchased by government for the purpose of being made a grand depôt, and strengthened by numerous fortified works. The Lachine canal, from Montreal to Lachine, nine miles in length, was begun to be excavated; and for the purpose of continuing a line of military communication, distinct from that by which the St. Lawrence is exposed to an enemy, with the Upper Province, a canal was begun on the Outawa, near the military settlements on that river, which is said to be nearly 2 leagues in length, and the same in breadth. The plan of fortification at Quebec was totally altered—very much for the better. All the old circumvallations, from the gates of St. Louis to that of St. John, being comparatively of small importance, were planted with rows of young forest trees. A fortified line was formed on the Heights of Abraham, beyond the town, on which four strong martello towers had been before erected, mounting heavy cannon, (in digging the foundations of which towers many skeletons, arms, and other mementos of the conflicts which had taken place on the spot, were found) and was intended to be the strongest post of defence in that quarter. Cape Diamond was formed into a most extensive citadel, and 400 men were daily employed at the excavations which were made in the solid rock, to carry the design into execution, and form a lofty monument of human industry—intended for the site of an impregnable fort, which should surmount all the other works; and to which cannon and the munitions of war were elevated by the power of steam from the base of that stupendous precipice.

consequence of the frequent desertion among them) were again sent to gaol, a circumstance which has seemingly given great satisfaction to all the other members of the garrison, as this plan is the only effectual one that can be devised to frustrate their traitorous designs. Many shots fired at Minues from the Devil's battery, great numbers of the enemy being seen in that quarter. This evening a volunteer picket was again established, and the guards at Cape Diamond and Port Louis were reinforced, in consequence of the height of snow in these places, as the enemy might have walked in at the embrasures, had they felt inclined to make another assault.

17th. Nothing particular:—the volunteer picket still continued, until we have clear moonlight all night. Several houses fired in the evening in St. John's suburbs, and some shot fired from the enemy.

18th. Every thing quiet:—the guards on the ramparts continued to be reinforced. More houses set on fire in the suburbs, by the rebellious marauders.

19th. No occurrences worth relating. The enemy continued to amuse themselves by burning more houses in St. John's suburbs during the night; a barbarous measure, which can be of

no service to them beyond the pleasure of doing us as much damage as lies in their power.

20th. Nothing particular; only that an officer and twenty privates of the British Militia were ordered to be ready at day-break to make a sortie. Strong pickets held, and all the guards reinforced, in expectation of an attack; but the night passed in tranquillity. The enemy still continued, without intermission, to fire the houses in St. John's suburbs.

21st. At day-break the snow-shoe party went out at St. John's Gate, to cover the bringing in of wood from the few remaining houses. About eight o'clock the enemy fired a few cannon-shot from behind the right of the old battery. Our guns played away briskly on their guard-house in that neighbourhood, which annoyed them greatly. In the evening, a party under the command of Colonel Caldwell, Captain Nairn, and several subaltern officers, took possession of the English burying-place in the suburbs, fortifying a house that stood there, and which was under cover of a stone wall, which inclosed that spot, to secure the remainder of the houses for the use of the garrison, and lay hold of some of the vagabonds who usually pay that place a visit almost every night: a few made their appearance at different times, but as soon as they discovered our out-sentinels near

the cemetery (or rather, perceived the approach of the lieutenant, who was then on his rounds, and also commanded those desperadoes, the British Militia), they made off without firing a shot.

22d. This morning the out-party was relieved, and the garrison busied in getting in wood.[1] In consequence of the general tranquillity without the walls, all the out-parties were ordered in at seven o'clock. Every thing passed in quiet.

23d. A covering party stationed out all day, which continued till night, so that a great deal of wood was brought in by our foragers. Very few of the enemy seen to-day. In the afternoon a few shots were fired at Minues and the guard-house at the end of St. Rocks. This evening a deserter came in from the enemy, who gave a very contradictory account of himself; insomuch, that after a short examination, he was

[1] The necessity of procuring this indispensable material in a country where the intense cold of winter is so severely felt, and which produces no coal, is one of the principal evils under which a besieged force could labor; particularly as the inexhaustible forests of the province are at some distance from the capital. During the winter of the siege in 1760, General Murray constantly sent wood-cutters to the forest of St. Foy, which has since disappeared, and the trees were felled and conveyed to the town in sledges.

sent to gaol as a spy: it is much suspected that he has been sent in by our foes, to learn the cause of there being no more desertion, and to form some plan of aggression with the prisoners that entered into Colonel M^c^Lean's corps, whom they might still imagine at liberty, and just as capable of carrying on their perfidious designs as before.

24th. Every thing quiet. By the deserter that came in last night, we learn that both the Generals, Lee and Schuyler, had been ordered to reinforce the rebels without; but were both countermanded, (particularly as there is a report of Colonel Johnson having entered the province with a large party of Indians,) owing to the critical situation of affairs throughout the colonies; for by a newspaper account, Governor Dunmore was said to be destroying their sea-ports in Virginia,[1] while other royalists to the southward had given the *liberty* boys a severe drubbing: he likewise acquaints us, that Governor Tryon was intrenched on Long Island, a most proper spot for landing our soldiers, and reduc-

[1] The towns of Norfolk and Portsmouth, in consequence of the annoyance they gave our ships of war. A few bombs were thrown into each place, and the friends of the provincials set fire at the same moment to every house, the owner of which was supposed to be well affected to government.

ing the colonists to obedience; and had been reinforced by large bodies of foreign troops: that without, the enemy were employed in making scaling ladders; and that he left Montreal lately, where things were in confusion, owing to the militia officers in that quarter refusing to deliver up their commissions. In town all well, and in high spirits. He likewise says that Colonel Clinton had arrived with about 100 men, and is to take the command.

25th. This morning, between the hours of eight and nine o'clock, the enemy fired six shots from their new battery, which they have taken great care not to expose to view; so that their balls are merely thrown at random into the town, and hitherto have done no damage. The volunteer picket still kept up on duty at Mr. Collins's house, for the convenience of being near the ramparts in case of an attack. By the newspaper which the deserter brought in, we find a great account of the events of the 31st December, which, when it reaches Old England, will cause much uneasiness to our friends, as they will naturally imagine from the numbers taken and killed of the enemy, that many of their own friends within the walls must have fallen a sacrifice to their heroic exertions in repelling the invaders.

26th. The regular picket which has hitherto

met at the Hôtel Dieu was this day ordered to meet at Mr. Drummond's at retreat beating, for the purpose of being near the ramparts. The Cape Diamond guard continues to be regularly reinforced every night, and sentinels are placed without the walls; so that there is no relaxation in our vigilance. Several of the enemy were seen in scattered parties lurking about the heights, for the purpose, we suppose, of reconnoitring. This evening a person went out over the ice on snow-shoes to the island of Orleans, for intelligence, with an intent to return in a few days.[1]

27th. All day a very great thaw, and rain in the evening. Mounted more flanking guns at Cape Diamond, being dubious of an attack in

[1] This island is 14 leagues in circuit, and was erected into an earldom in 1676 by the French government, under the name of St. Lawrence, in favor of Fr. Berthelot, secretary-general of the artillery, who had purchased it from Fr. Delaval, first bishop of Quebec, and it then had four villages on it. The inhabitants had the reputation of being devoted to witchcraft. J. Cartier, who brought over the first colony, called it the island of Bacchus, from the numerous wild vines growing on it. The earthquake of 1663 overturned a mountain, and threw it into the river at some distance below the extremity of this island, which occasioned the rapids of the Saguenay river, below Les Isles aux Coudres, and formed a peninsula called Chicoutimi, near which, and at its entrance into the St. Lawrence, there was consequently formed an equilibrium of the tides.

that quarter. Some of the enemy seen about their old battery, seemingly employed in clearing away the snow.—N. B. Omitted to mention in its proper place that there has been a guard of twelve men stationed at Lauchlan Smith's[1] house for these ten days past, without Palace Gate, which is still continued, to prevent the enemy from firing the shipping, or surprising that part of the town; and the guard that was kept in the distillery is now taken off.

28th. This morning an inhabitant of Chambly,[2] (15 miles from Montreal,) out fifteen days, and lately arrived from the island of Orleans, came in at the Saut du Matelot, and brings us the following agreeable accounts, which he learnt from undoubted authority in that neighbourhood; viz. That advice had arrived at Montreal of a general officer having landed at New York with

[1] An old resident, who was a soldier in Wolfe's army, and died lately at the advanced age of 100.

[2] This post is a fort on the Sorel river, which issues from Lake Champlain. Chambly and the river adjacent were so called from two captains in the regiment de Carignan, who were among the first settlers of the province, after Champlain's expedition, in 1608. When the fortress of St. John had been surrendered to Montgomery by Major Preston, Chambly also fell a sacrifice to the invaders, and opened the way to the reduction of Montreal the following year, in consequence of the stores it contained.

a reinforcement of 10,000 men; (it was rather doubted that so large a body had arrived at such an unseasonable time of the year;) and that large reinforcements had sailed from Halifax and Louisbourg to give early succours to this place; also, that the enemy had sent about 150 sledges over the lakes to bring their expected reinforcements; but had returned with only about 100 men, whom they had picked up as recruits at different places, their intended succours being recalled, having enough to do in their own colonies, with the different subdivisions of the king's troops: and he further states, that the whole amount of their force, both here and above, did not exceed 2,000 men. He likewise says, that the enemy have been *talking* of going away, but that the country people won't let them; saying, "that as you have brought us into a scrape of this description, you must bring us out of it again, and take Quebec," as it appears they are weak enough to imagine that the invaders would be able to keep it eventually in possession. The enemy have also amused the inhabitants with telling them that General Carleton had offered to give up the garrison, but that they did not choose to take possession till their reinforcements arrive, as they would then be better able to retain it.[1]

[1] These artifices call to remembrance the plan pursued

He also mentioned many other satisfactory circumstances, all of which put the garrison in high spirits:—clear weather, but frosty.

29th. Every thing quiet without:—strong pickets still held, in expectation of an attack. A signal fired from the grand battery.

March 1st. Nothing particular all day:—about five in the afternoon, several cannon-shot were fired at a large house on the Beauport side of the river, where the rebels have been seen lurking for these several days past. About eight o'clock this evening a small house at the back of Mr. Drummond's distillery took fire, supposed by the wad from the guns that were fired in the afternoon, they being right over the house, and a number of the town's people went out to extinguish it.[1] Several musket-shot fired at our out-

by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, in 1760, who, to keep up the spirits of the Canadians, held out to them that the "Grand Monarque" would send them abundant succour in the spring, and that he had lately made an entire conquest of Ireland, to divert their enemy's attention from the province.

[1] A similar accident occurred May 3, 1760, when a fortified house near the Intendant's Palace was fired by the *wad* of a gun from the ramparts, during the period of an incessant cannonade on the trenches of the French troops. Such accidents are common, through the hurry of firing, and inadvertence of gunners. We hear about the same time of an advanced block-house, against which the enemy fired double-headed shot, being blown up by accident, of several

sentinels on duty at Palace Gate, between three

of the defenders being wounded by a spark falling on an ammunition chest, which it blew up. On the 24th of November preceding, some French vessels having passed the town with the ebb tide, received 100 shot and many shells, from the guard battery, and one of them was forced ashore and abandoned. A number of seamen having entered her, she blew up, having been provided with a match and train to her powder room, by which most of them were killed; but 4 officers and privates who survived were brought ashore by a Canadian of Pt. Levi, who rubbed them with bear's grease, and treated them humanely, for which act of kindness she was rewarded by the governor. The attention of the reader might be recalled to the disastrous circumstance attending the storming of Fort Erie in 1814, in which the British troops who were sent to take that formidable post with the naked steel, suffered so severely. The enemy's guns were turned upon themselves by our brave fellows, on entering the fortifications; and it is supposed that a *wad* penetrated in some unaccountable manner the magazine of the bastion, which exploded while 200 of the assailants were on it; unless we are at liberty to imagine that such a proceeding originated in a train secretly laid by our perfidious foes for that purpose. Great animadversion was made at the time on such an unseasonable measure as taking away the flint from the soldier's firelock, which rendered him perfectly defenceless in the attack of a fort, in which his foes had the advantage of him at a distance with the great guns and the rifle, who in the darkness of the night mistook the abattis of the fort for an American detachment, but immediately pushed forwards after driving in their picket, and scaled the walls. Colonel Scott of the 103d, greatly distinguished himself, by turning the cannon on the enemy—almost alone.

and four o'clock in the morning, from a few of the

He was soon afterwards killed—so was Colonel Drummond. But it was the lot of most of our heroes in America, at that period, to be sacrificed to their gallantry, and they only swelled the catalogue of brave officers who were mowed down in numbers by the hand of an insidious foe. What these triumphs were may be gathered from the records of those warriors who fought under Sir Isaac Brock at Detroit and Queen's-town; who routed the N. W. army on the rivers Raisin and Miami, and were the meritorious comrades of the brave Indian Sachem Tecumseh:—the 49th and 89th regiments, who, reduced to 800, repelled the attack of 4,000 invaders, under Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison; the 300 Canadians who defeated a like number of assailants in the Thermopylæ of Canada; the heroes who stormed Fort Niagara, and inflicted a just vengeance on its lawless marauders, and those who conquered under General Drummond at Lundy's Lane. Far be it from our fate, that such reverses as those of Fort Erie and New Orleans should ever again occur to our armies, that our foes should exult in such a catastrophe, and pride themselves in being enabled to reiterate the carnage of Bunker's Hill; as they did, while entrenched behind bales of cotton, at the latter scene of destruction (New Orleans). We must not be recalled by any lamentable *gaucherie* in our measures to the unhappy days of Maddock, and of the sanguinary failure at Ticonderoga, in consequence of the misbehaviour of a drunken or insubordinate corps, chosen to lead the advance. Let all irregularities in the march of a leading column be punished by a *drum-head* court-martial, even on a victorious field, if other means prove ineffectual. The conqueror of the field of Maida showed his steadiness in enforcing the regulations of discipline, even after completely defeating his Gallic foes.

enemy who had lurked about the Intendant's Palace:—otherwise all quiet.

2d. All well during the day:—in the evening Colonel M'Lean had like to have been killed while placing the sentinels without the walls, he going out without first acquainting the guard of St. Louis' Gate, who were not aware of the circumstance, and would have taken him for one of the besiegers skulking about in the dusk.

It is to be hoped that the disasters of a *Cannæ*, or a *Philippi*, will never be felt by England; that nothing so detrimental will occur in her annals. Posterity will in a succeeding age appreciate the glories of her armies, and the beauty of the laurels that entwine her stern uncorruptible "heart of oak," with more enthusiasm than the present, while the recollection of the heroic deeds of her warriors who fell on the field of glory is perpetuated by the annals of the historian and the grateful memory of survivors, or by the embossed sculpture of "monumental emblems:"—

Wrapt in the cold embraces of the tomb,
Adorn'd with honors on their native shore,
Silent they sleep, and hear of wars no more.—

I have often admired the laconic, but pithy and expressive tribute, paid to Caulincourt, by the celebrated General Rapp, aid-de-camp to Napoleon the Great, when he recounts how he met his fate at the bloody conflict of Borodino. "Restait un dernier retranchement qui nous prenait en flanc et nous accablait. Caulincourt avança, sema au loin le désordre et la mort. Il se rabattit tout d'un coup sur la redoute et s'en rendit maître. Un soldat caché dans une embrasure l'etendit roide mort." "*Il s'endormit du sommeil des braves —il ne fut pas temoin de nos désastres.*"

3d. All well during the day:—in the evening three soldiers of Colonel M'Lean's corps deserted at the old place behind the barracks. Several musket-shot fired from the Beauport side, by our foes, supposed at the people that are expected from the island of Orleans. Clear weather, and moonlight.

4th. Nothing particular all day; excepting that two grates (for holding the fire-balls) were placed at Cape Diamond, and a few shots fired from the Devil's Battery into Minues, and also some rockets thrown up at night.

5th. This day perceived that the enemy had displayed two flags, a red one at Mr. Lynd's farm, and a black one in the neighbourhood of the guard-house, near their old battery. Various are the conjectures concerning them; some imagine them to be signals for prisoners within (who are now very strictly looked after), while others say it is in commemoration of that seditious day at Boston, when Captain Preston is said to have ordered his soldiers to fire upon the populace, during the tumult, and killed several people of the town; and some few think it is to show they will give no quarter when they attack us again.[1]

[1] This was considered as the first exertion of military power in the colonies, when General Gage was Governor of Boston, after the passing and repealing of the Stamp act. Various attempts were made to tax the colonists, which,

A strong easterly wind, with hail and rain, all night. Mounted more guns on the face of the ramparts. All quiet.

6th. All tranquillity. Blowing hard, with hail and snow:—no flag seen to-day.

7th. Fine weather. Fatigue-parties out making a snow ditch without the walls, and mounting more cannon on the face of the ramparts. Many of the enemy seen marching backwards and forwards in the environs of the town. The red flag hoisted again.

8th. Busy in finishing the snow ditch, and mounting more cannon. Some of the enemy were seen passing and repassing from Wolfe's Cove, carrying off square timber. Fired a wall piece at two of them who came rather nigh: one of them fell. This evening, about five o'clock, a Canadian from the Beauport side, came in at Palace Gate, and was fired upon by the guard in that neighbourhood, but escaped unhurt. He

it is well known, met with universal disapprobation. Being likewise denied the benefit of free representation in Great Britain, the torrent of popular feeling became so strong, and so irritated were the colonists against the parent dominion, that they flew to arms with the warmest zeal, and showed the utmost enmity to her, although fostered under her wing for so long a period, and protected from insult by her arms. The tragical scenes which first took place at Boston are too well known to be repeated here.

was sent to the governor, but seemed so fatigued and frightened, he could get nothing out of him: he was then ordered under the care of Mr. Dunn for that evening, by whom he was conducted to the lieutenant-governor's house; but had not remained long there, before he gave them the slip. Great search was made after him; but the poor man was at last found, and soon gave his reasons for leaving the house, having imagined he might have slept where he pleased, and so went to Mr. Marcout's in the lower town: however, Mr. Dunn sent him back for the evening, for fear of any *espionage*. About eight o'clock the Saut du Matelot guard was alarmed by the firing of small arms on the river towards Beauport, seemingly from people engaged in that quarter, as upwards of 60 shots were counted. In consequence of which a number of both British and French militia repaired to the support of that guard. The firing then ceased, though not without a confused cry. Not long after two men were seen approaching upon the ice, who, upon being challenged, answered "Friends," and desired admittance. We imagined that we should then be able to know the meaning of the firing, but on this point they remained silent; and being immediately conducted to the governor, said they had brought good news, so that every one was anxious for the approach of morning, to know the particulars.

9th. The two persons that came in last night were both Canadians of some consequence above: one of them had been taken prisoner at St. John's, and carried up to the Congress, from whom, by repeated solicitations, he had received permission to return to Canada, they having imagined he was in their interest; the other was an inhabitant of the neighbourhood of Montreal, who had prudently remained silent with regard to his public sentiments in the present critical situation of affairs, and consequently was not suspected to be a royalist: the former of these brought a letter from Governor Tryon of Long Island,[1] (where the rebels have been since intrenched and advantageously posted as well as at New York, with upwards of 100 pieces of cannon for the defence of the town, and to ob-

[1] On the 27th of August was fought the battle of Brooklyn, on Long Island, between Lord Howe and the Generals Sullivan, Lord Sterling, and Udell, who were all three made prisoners. The British landed in company with Colonel Donop's chasseurs and Hessian grenadiers, supported by 40 pieces of cannon; and the rebels, at the close of the contest, fearing their retreat would be cut off, attempted to secure it across a morass and creek that covered the right of their works; in which however they failed, and were completely routed with the loss of 3,300 killed, wounded, and prisoners. Many were suffocated in the morass, in the course of their flight, and five field-pieces and a howitzer were taken.

struct our fleet in its passage up North River,) fraught with agreeable intelligence; also many scraps of newspapers, which inform us of the dismal situation of our enemy to the southward; while the other brought a letter from the *superior* of the clergy at Montreal, to the Governor also, which, I understand, paints things in that quarter in a miserable situation, and gives information that the enemy intend making an attack in the course of a week, and were preparing scaling ladders for that purpose. All the garrison are in high spirits, and wait with impatience to put a finishing stroke to our long contest. In a few days a gazette is to be published of all the news. This afternoon the man mentioned in the first part of my day's work is sent out, he being seemingly a fool; at least it was thought more prudent to dismiss him in that manner than keep him in town, lest he should turn out to be something worse.

10th. All well during the day. At ten o'clock at night an alarm was given at Cape Diamond, of a number of people seen approaching the walls, which was announced to the inhabitants by the ringing of bells, and beating of drums. Every one repaired to his post; but after waiting some time under arms, they were all dismissed. The Governor appears extremely satisfied at seeing us all so alert, for in less than half an hour

we had 100 men under arms :—the remainder of the night passed in silence.

11th. This morning a general parade of the British militia took place, who, without any compliment to that corps, made a very respectable, soldier-like appearance. The General (through Colonel Caldwell) thanked us for our alertness in turning out the preceding evening, saying, that he was extremely sorry we were disappointed, being well convinced, that had the enemy approached, they would have met with a very warm reception. One of the sailors of the Saut du Matelot guard deserted; but was taken by our out-sentinels at Palace Gate, and sent in irons to gaol; and another who was privy to the action is likewise in confinement.

12th. This day snowy weather. Nothing material occurred.

13th. Clear weather, but cold. Fatigue-parties out clearing away the snow from the walls. A flag of truce from the enemy came in, and said they had papers for General Carleton. They were probably encouraged by a permission granted for the prisoners' baggage to enter the town. But it was answered, that unless they contained supplicating terms, and exhibited a true sense of the heinousness of their crimes, and a wish to implore the King's mercy, they would not be received: on which the party that addressed

Major Le Maître[1] made a low bow, and marched off. This will serve as a damper to their confidence, should they return again with any more attempts at correspondence. All well during these twenty-four hours.

14th. This morning, about 11 o'clock, an out-sentinel of the enemy was seen on the heights near Cape Diamond, which gave occasion to think that there must be some work going on below, or at least that the enemy were posted in that quarter; upon which an officer of the seamen, with 15 men, went out; on seeing whom the Yankee sentinel, after firing his gun, ran off; so that when our party had gained the face of the hill, the enemy below were alarmed, and a smart firing commenced, which lasted about five minutes, during which time our people fired off all their ammunition; not, however, before the whole party had scampered from Wolfe's Cove, leaving behind two or three killed and wounded. It seems they were a working party of pioneers, having raised sheds on the beach; and the circumstance of many of them having no arms gave us strong reasons to suspect so. A number of the enemy seen going towards Montmorency[2] this morning.

[1] He was afterwards the bearer of despatches from Sir Guy to Lord G. Germaine, in July following, and recommended as an officer of merit and intelligence.

[2] A romantic village beyond Beauport, so named from

15th. A fatigue-party of twenty privates

Montmorency, Lord High Admiral of France and Viceroy of Canada, famous for its stupendous falls, which take their rise from a rapid stream flowing from a lake situated among lofty mountains. The spot is famed for having been the scene of the attack by Wolfe's grenadiers in 1759, on the formidable intrenchments in its neighbourhood, thrown up by the French, in which the British troops were repulsed, after a gallant effort to storm them. An old French cannon that had burst, lies in the road near the intrenchment, a memento of the sanguinary conflict. It was on the beach near this spot that the heroic conduct of the two wounded officers of the Royal Americans (60th), Captain Ochterlony and Ensign Peyton, became so conspicuous, which was compared to the gallant actions of two of Cæsar's centurions, Pulfio and Varenus. (De Bello Gall. v. 44.) The savages rushed down upon them, armed with their murderous scalping knives; and first of all attacked the captain, whom they severely wounded in the belly, and then endeavoured to pillage; but Peyton, who lay at some distance, disabled by a wound in the knee, discharged his double-barrelled *fusil* at one of them, and shot him through the head. The other in advancing received a ball directly through the *thorax;* but nevertheless pushed forwards towards the ensign, who warded off the purposed blow with one hand, and with his bayonet in the other "stung" the savage to the heart; but he still defended himself, like a wild beast in the agonies of death, and was only despatched with many wounds. A grenadier carried off the ensign on his shoulders, by Captain Ochterlony's orders, (to whom he at first offered his services,) in the midst of a heavy fire of cannon and musketry; but the captain was carried into the town, and shortly after died of his wounds. The French soldier who accompanied the

and an officer, out clearing the snow from the ramparts. In the afternoon a canoe was sent off, to discover what was doing in the Aunée de Mer, at Wolfe's Cove, but could only see a few men with some sheds they had raised in going up, to keep off the snow. Having kept well to the other shore, they were hailed from that quarter, and some of the Point Levi *habitants* desired to know if they might bring in provisions; to which they were answered in the affirmative, when they replied they would come over next day. Dark weather, and snow.

16th. At midnight two men in a canoe came up from below with provisions, (the first since the town had been invested). They were immediately conducted to the governor, and all that we can learn is, that some parishioners in their neighbourhood are much disposed, during the present scarcity, to give us assistance. In daily expectation of another attack: a strong French picket held at Mr. Lymburner's; the British militia about establishing another for the lower town, which it is reported will be held at Mr. Willcock's house:—rain all these 24 hours.

17th. Nothing particular: a few fascines seen

savages, and was the means of the captain being removed from the fatal field, was rewarded by General Wolfe with a sum of money; but M. de Montcalm prevented its being retained, and it was sent back by his orders.

put together by the enemy, on the Point Levi side, supposed with an intent to raise a battery. The *habitants* who came up in the canoe, report that they have got a few small guns, and a 10-inch howitzer on that side: however, we as yet can see no appearance of the people at work.[1] This being St. Patrick's day, the governor (who is a true Hibernian,) has requested the garrison to put off keeping it till the 17th May, when he promises they shall be enabled to do it properly, and with the usual solemnities. Busy in preparing three large batteaux to cruise in the river, one of which is to carry a six-pounder. The ice breaking up very fast.

18th. This day no occurrences worth recording, only that Captain Harrison's and Lester's companies assembled, according to orders, at Willcock's post for the first time. The canoe that came on the 16th instant set off with large *pacquets* for the priests below, and as is thought, will produce the desired effect on the inhabitants. The enemy were seen transporting ladders from different quarters to this neigh-

[1] During the siege in 1759 the town had been warmly cannonaded from this quarter; but the batteries made no real impression on the town, although the iron shower of balls and bombs succeeded in laying the greatest part of it, including the Cathedral, in ashes.

bourhood, for which reason we keep a very good look out on their motions. All well.

19th. This day snowy weather: in the afternoon, one batteau and two ships' long boats were launched, the first carrying a six-pounder, and the others swivels, and went up as far as Sillery Point, but could discover nothing particular owing to the day being so far spent. Canoes seen passing from Wolfe's Cove in the afternoon, to the other side, transporting (as it is thought) their small pieces of cannon.—N. B. When the boats were sent off, a corps of reserve was ordered out at Cape Diamond, (belonging to the Royal Emigrants,) to support them in case any thing should happen, &c.

20th. Clear weather, but extremely cold. The last of the King's wood was delivered out today to the garrison: however, the Governor and Lieutenant-governor have still got about 150 cords to spare for the present. The lower town picket regularly attended. All tranquillity these last twenty-four hours.

21st. Busy laying platforms for heavy guns and mortars, to bear on the enemy's works, which are now seen erecting at the Point Levi side. Nothing else material.

22d. * * * * *

25th. This day the advanced guard of a

detachment of Canadians, which had been raised by that partisan of tried fidelity, Monsieur Beaujeau, to relieve his friends in the town, was met, as we are informed, by a superior body of the rebels, and completely defeated: the rest, wearied with repeated misfortunes, and finding themselves hardly capable of coping with their foes, who are superior to them in the science of war, are said to have dispersed, and returned home. We will at any rate give them due credit for their good intentions respecting us: but we cannot but place ample confidence in our own British and Canadian militia, who behave with a steadiness and resolution hardly to be expected from men unused to arms, and seldom met with but in veterans. Lieutenant-Colonel M'Lean continues indefatigably zealous in the King's service, and Captain Hamilton (acting as Colonel), of His Majesty's ship Lizard, who commands the battalion of seamen, has by his example encouraged both officers and men to act with that alacrity and intrepidity, which is chiefly to be met with as truly characteristic in the hearts of Britons. The judges and other officers of Government, many of whom are considerable sufferers by the present hostile invasion, have all along cheerfully submitted to every privation, in defence of the town, and showed a spirit of perseverance, amidst the most untoward circum-

stances, that does them the greatest honor.—Considering our being so ill supplied with necessaries, it is hardly to be expected that we should have been at all kept together for so many months, in the midst of such inclement frosts and snows: while we can scarcely refrain from wondering how our enemies without the walls, undisciplined and ill provided as they are, can endure the hardships of so severe a climate, compelled as they must needs be by officers, to whom, by all accounts, they scarcely deign submission.[1]—Nor are we disposed to give much credit to a report, which is supposed by some to be authentic, concerning a memorial and petition said to have been presented to the French King, and signed by thirty of the principal French inhabitants of this province, entreating that potentate to take advantage of the times for the recovery of his ancient province, and promising that all his former subjects will crowd with alacrity to his standard.—In our Governor's opinion, the intrepid conduct of the citizens will prove a lasting monument to their honor; and it is to be hoped that their example will inspire the unhappy sufferers in the neighbouring states,

[1] There, on an icy mountain's height,
Seen only by the Moon's pale light,
Stern Winter rears his giant form,
His robe a mist, his voice a storm.

with similar powers of mind, in order to rescue themselves from impending miseries.

* * * * * *

31st. We receive information this day, of a desperate plot formed by the prisoners (the *Yankee* part of them, in particular, the others who had enlisted into Colonel M'Lean's corps being in a different prison) to escape, and let in General Arnold. It seems at the bottom of the gaol where they were, there is a well from which they procure their water; so that having frequent occasion to go to that place, they concerted a scheme among themselves for effecting their escape; which plan must have been encouraged by some of our *good* friends in town, as we find they were furnished with various instruments for undermining the wall, besides pistols, cutlasses, and other deadly weapons: this fallacious purpose they had very nearly effected, but for the vigilance of one of the sentinels. So soon as this circumstance was clearly known, they were all examined; and how much then must our surprise be heightened, when it was found out that one of them had actually decamped. This discovery immediately led to others; for though threats and rewards were held out to the whole of them, only one turned evidence against the rest, and gave the

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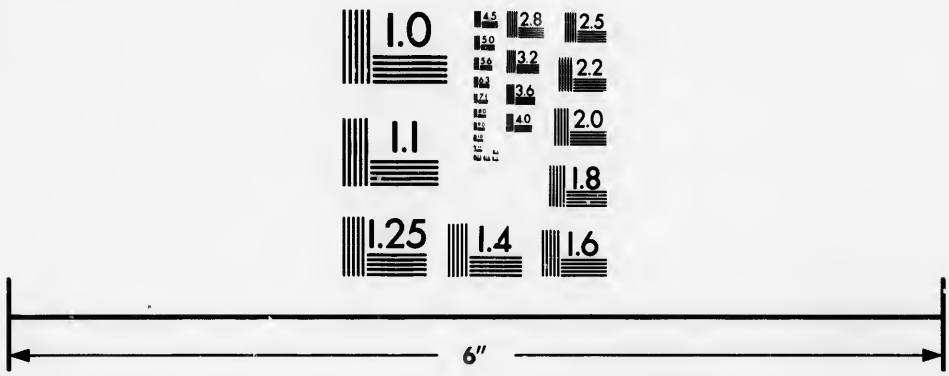

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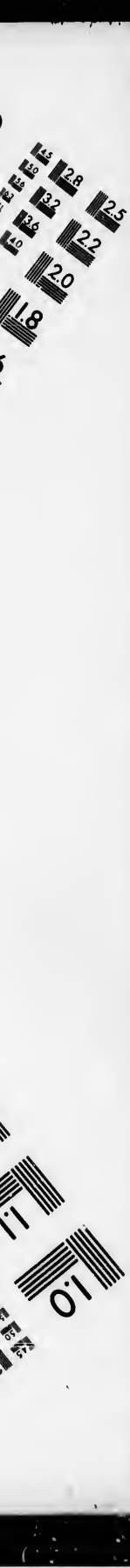
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following account of their preconcerted scheme. Had it succeeded, being planned with considerable ability, and supposing that these prisoners had appointed officers of tried courage among themselves, proper to conduct them, when they got out, their first attack was to have been directed against St. John's Gate, where they meant to cut and destroy every one they met with: this done, having fixed a signal to give notice to their companions who had already escaped, they intended forthwith to turn the guns in that quarter on the town, and set fire to three different houses; the rebels without were then expected to advance with all speed to that gate, while others supported them, by marching towards Palace Gate, where they did not doubt of their comrades within being able to admit them, as there was a detached party on their getting out actually appointed to massacre that guard also: this done, and their friends admitted, they were neither to spare young nor old, but to smite all their foes without mercy, till they had made themselves masters of the town, resolving to a man to conquer or die in that brutal manner. However, that All-seeing Providence, which so miraculously saved us on the 31st of December, again distinguished itself on this day. All those who had taken any command among these insurgents (say to the number of twelve) are in

irons, closely confined, and the others carefully looked after. The Governor, pleased with this unexpected discovery, and being possessed of the signal expected without by the enemy, immediately resolved to avail himself of the benefit derived from such information, and endeavour to decoy them within range of the ramparts, by ordering out the whole garrison under arms, at two o'clock in the morning, and every man to his alarm-post; which being accordingly done, two small brass field-pieces were brought down to St. John's Gate, and three different fires were kindled in various directions, as if so many houses were burning; when immediately the two guns fired away, and continued repeated discharges of blank cartridge for about ten minutes. The garrison being now supposed to be alarmed, all the church bells were set ringing, and the drums beating: at the same time, small arms were fired in various directions, while a party kept hallooing, Liberty, Liberty for ever! This scheme, although extremely well-conducted, had not however, unfortunately, the desired effect; for not a single man of the enemy appeared in the face of our works. Had our plan succeeded, and they boldly advanced in consequence of these signals, instead of being so extremely wary and over-cautious, they would have met with

such a reception as would have completely put an end to the blockade, as well as to our tedious fatigues. Another deserter came in to-night, who gives much the same account with the former, and says we shall soon have many more come in.

April 1st. To-day nothing new occurred, excepting that a few shot and shells were fired at the enemy's battery from the Upper Town. The rebels have now opened four embrasures, but as yet have fired no cannon. This evening a deserter came in; two others attempted to follow him, but our sentinels prevented them from entering the town, by firing upon them. He informs us that General Wooster, who has hitherto remained at Montreal, is just arrived at the camp with a small party of about 14 men; and further says, that his Canadian allies, who are greatly dispirited, have almost all abandoned the rebels in disgust, and that Colonel Hazen's battalion of renegade Canadians, which he was raising in the neighbourhood of Chambly, was now reduced by desertion to 60 men: also confirms, to the full extent, what the others have said respecting the insurgent forces being in a sickly condition, and upon the whole very much dissatisfied with their campaigning adventures.

2d. Soft weather, and extremely hot in the

morning. A few shells and shot sent from the grand battery. In the afternoon the Lizard's cutter went up the river, and had like to have been taken, off Sillery,[1] by two armed batteaux; was fired at from them, as well as from two pieces of cannon which the enemy had planted on the point, but got safe back to the harbour. This night the extra pickets were discontinued, and all the garrison off duty allowed to sleep in their clothes, till further orders, it being now moon-light.

3d.[2] This morning the enemy opened their

[1] A village on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, situated in a creek about a quarter of a mile from the spot where the British troops disembarked on the 13th September 1759; the first descent being made by 1600 men in 30 flat-bottomed boats, which served as a complete surprise to the French general, who, from the natural strength of the frowning precipices, never suspected, and was completely unprepared to resist, so arduous an attempt.

[2] We have hardly a parallel in history to the persevering spirit of Arnold in thus conducting a blockade amid the stern inclemency of a Canadian winter, excepting the siege of Frederickshall in Norway, by Charles XII., the chivalrous Alexander of the North. In Voltaire's history of that part of the Swedish monarch's career, we have the following energetic observations: "Le soldat, transi de froid, pouvait à peine remuer la terre endurcie sous la glace; c'était ouvrir la tranchée dans une espèce de roc; mais les Suédois ne pouvaient se rebuter en voyant à leur tête un Roi qui partageait leurs fatigues. Plusieurs de ses soldats tombèrent

battery at Point Levi,[1] nearly on the same spot as those erected during the former siege, with three 12-pounders, and one eight-inch howitzer. They continued to play away till about twelve

morts à leurs postes; et les autres presque gélés, voyant leur Roi qui souffrait comme eux, n'osaient proférer une plainte."—After the days of Gustavus Adolphus the Swedes carried on war in winter as in summer. The Czar of Russia, Peter the Great, besieged Narva in 1700, in the midst of the most severe frosts and snows; and it is related that the army of Charles XII. (which had advanced to succour the besieged) marched boldly to the attack of his intrenchments, while a dreadful snow-storm was blowing right in the faces of their enemies. In later times, we have viewed the Emperor Napoleon, in the height of his ambition, leading a numerous army into the frozen climes of Russia, the greatest part of whom served to whiten the desarts of that immense region with their bones.

> Thou other element! as strong and stern,
> To teach a lesson conquerors will not learn,
> Whose icy wing flapped o'er the faultering foe,
> Till fell a hero with each flake of snow:—
> How did thy numbing beak and silent fang
> Pierce, till hosts perished with a single pang.
>
> *Age of Bronze.*

[1] This populous village, so called from the Duc de Ventadour, Viceroy of North France, extends a great distance along the opposite coast of the St. Lawrence, and its bold and precipitous cliffs are thickly wooded with dark groves of fir-trees.

o'clock; but their firing did not the least damage. They began again about one o'clock, and finished an hour after, entirely owing to a heavy shower of rain coming on, which lasted all the evening. On our part, as soon as they opened their battery, nine large pieces opened against them, none less than 24-pounders, and two 13-inch mortars, and continued to play upon them with shot and shells as long as they remained in their battery, during which time a number of our shot took effect, and damaged them greatly. At noon we heard the report of six heavy cannon; but cannot conceive what quarter it proceeds from. The evening being very obscure, the extra pickets are again ordered to meet, and lie on their arms all night:—but every thing remains quiet.

4th. This morning the enemy began to fire from their battery, which now mounts four guns besides the howitzer, with shot and shells, which did no damage whatever. Returned the fire, but in a far superior style to theirs. Their battery now appears like a honey-comb, which in my opinion is a target that will not stand much more firing at. Snowy weather, which stops all cannonading for the day. In the night not a hand stirring without the walls, as far as we could see.

5th. All the garrison off duty employed in clearing away the snow from the ramparts. The enemy renewed their fire, which they continued without any effect all the afternoon. In return our artillery-officers fired from the batteries upon them with well-directed cannon. This evening a large schooner that lay in the Année de Mer, with several batteaux, drifted down the river with the ice; and about ten o'clock an inhabitant of repute in the neighbourhood of Montreal, came in at the Saut du Matelot. He was immediately conducted to the Governor, who delayed hearing his information till morning; so that all we could learn is, that things without are in a most dismal plight. Soon after, a deserter came in at Cape Diamond, who was detained till morning at the main guard for examination, while the other slept at Mr. Melvin's, being related to him.

6th. By the joint information of those who came into the garrison last night, we learn that the enemy are about erecting two other batteries; one in the neighbourhood of the old one on the heights, and the other over at the ferry-house on the river St. Charles, under cover of the old redoubt on its north side.[1] The number of

[1] This old French tête-de-pont formed part of their fortifications erected all along the banks of the river from

sick at present is said to form nearly a third of the whole army of the besiegers, among whom there are constant desertions; and it is said that they were not able to bring their troops to hazard another attack. Also that a few of the inhabitants down the river, to the number of 40, had risen, (being headed by their priests), with a firm intention of surprising the enemy's guard at Point Levi, and bringing them prisoners to town; but they were unfortunately betrayed. However, they took post in a large house, where, after bravely defending themselves some time, they were obliged to surrender, having about five of their number killed, and several others wounded; among the latter the priest who commanded them, mortally.[1] On the enemy's part they had

Beauport to the St. Charles. On the 22d of September, 1759, a party of 200 men and 6 officers was posted there after the surrender of the town, and on the 24th a skulking party of the enemy, supported by some light horse, attempted to force the redoubt, but they were repulsed; one horse and trooper being killed, and several others wounded. Fifty men were then sent to reinforce the post; but on the approach of M. de Levi towards Quebec it was evacuated, and the guns spiked.

[1] The Canadian priests have great influence over their parishioners, as is generally the case among true Catholics. During the siege under General Wolfe, while the British troops were intrenched on the Montmorency shore, a priest

seven killed, besides wounded. Since this skirmish General Wooster has ordered all the priests and inhabitants below of consequence to be sent up to camp, that he may detain them as hostages for the frustration of any more such attempts.

7th. Blowing weather, with rain, &c. Nothing particular occurring.

8th. Fatigue-parties out, making additional batteries to play on the enemy. Carpenters employed erecting two block-houses without the walls. This evening a random shot from the enemy's battery killed Mr. Melvin's son, a child of about 8 years of age, almost in his mother's arms—the only accident of the kind that has happened since the 31st of December.

with about 80 partisans fortified themselves in a strong building at Chateau Richet, a few miles east of the camp, on the north side of the river. He then sent a polite invitation to some of the British officers to dine with him, which honor they declined from motives of prudence. On the 25th of August a detachment of light infantry was placed in ambuscade near the house, and a field-piece was brought up, and began to play, upon which the gallant priest sallying out, fell into the ambush, and with 30 of his followers was killed and scalped. They had disguised themselves as Indians, and it was for this reason that the New England rangers paid them the compliment of the knife. Afterwards the chateau and village were reduced to ashes.

9th. This morning a few shots fired from the enemy's battery as usual, but they did no damage. About twelve o'clock a deserter of rather a genteel appearance came in at Cape Diamond, from whom we learn that the whole army without is in a miserable situation; that there were not more than 1800 of them, altogether; and only 1000 of these fit to do duty. Confirms the accounts of the last deserter, and says notwithstanding that they are about raising two other batteries, which will chiefly mount 12-pounders and howitzers, they having only one 24-pounder brass field-piece in their train of artillery; and that they still meditate another attack on or before the 15th instant. Also, that a plan was actually formed for destroying the shipping, which was to be undertaken by a set of officers, for a reward of £300. He further states, that he had never taken up arms among them, but followed the army as suttler, having formerly belonged to Sir John Johnston's corps; and adds, that Arnold had that morning set off for Montreal, to take the command there. In short, he says, in a few words, (though many suspect he has been sent in as a spy,) that if we keep a good look-out we have nothing to fear from the besiegers—a hint which was immediately adopted, for now all the garrison off duty, except

those who are for guard next day, are assembled at their different pickets.

10th. At an early hour this morning a young man, who was taken in the fall of last year with the vessels above, near Montreal, came down from Cape Rouge in a canoe, at the potash: from him we learn little or nothing new, he having remained all the winter above. He says the Gaspée brig is much damaged by lying aground, and must have a thorough repair before she can be fit for service.[1] The usual employment, cannonading, continues. All quiet these twenty-four hours past.

11th. Blowing, disagreeable weather; not a gun fired to-day; a few of the enemy seen at their new battery on the heights;—the snow going away apace.

12th. A few guns fired with hot shot from Point Levi, which were all intended to burn the shipping. Some of their balls took place, but no bad consequences ensued. On our part we gave them in return a very warm reception, by which they were soon silenced. In the evening we were a little alarmed in the lower town, owing

[1] She was taken along with seven other vessels, and 150 privates of the 26th regiment, at Montreal, by Colonel Easton.

to our hearing some firing from above; but we soon learned it was the explosion of the loaded pistols which were in the fire balls, thrown in while burning, on the ramparts. At the same time there were several sky-rockets thrown up, to perplex the people without, who are accustomed to make such signals.—N.B. This scheme we have frequently adopted, for various reasons.

13th. Busy erecting another block-house in the neighbourhood of Mount Pleasant. In the afternoon a slight cannonading commenced from Point Levi, which was smartly returned.

14th. Employed laying new platforms, and mounting heavy cannon, to bear on the enemy's works. A few shots fired at all their batteries. In expectation of another attack, all the garrison are under arms. Dark gloomy weather.

15th. A number of shots exchanged to-day. Some of the enemy's missiles were red-hot balls, intended to fire the shipping in the Cul de Sac; but their infuriate scheme of destruction had not the least effect. Every thing in a state of tranquillity during the night.

16th. Nothing particular all day, only that 8 pieces of cannon were placed o. Mr. Grant's wharf and *hanguard*. A few shots fired at Point Levi, and returned from the enemy's battery.

17th. At mid-day two deserters came in at the

Saut du Matelot with their arms. They confirm in some measure the information the last one brought in (Mr. Chauser), that the besiegers, who still meditated an attack, were erecting their new batteries with all expedition, and planning a scheme to destroy the shipping in the Cul de Sac. They likewise say, that the New York troops, consisting of about three hundred, whose period of service has expired, have refused to do duty any longer; and that the night before they themselves came in, 150 of that division of the army had actually revolted with an intention to join us, previously to which scheme they intended to burn their magazine; but being discovered, they were all made prisoners, and disarmed: notwithstanding which they still huzzaed for the king. All this intelligence did not in the least slacken our zeal in the performance of our duty. Fire-balls and rockets as usual.

13th. This day nothing worth recording; only a few shots exchanged as before.

19th. Fatigue-parties out, raising a battery to oppose the enemy at the ferry. Every thing quiet these twenty-four hours.

20th. Early this morning two of our people, who were taken with the fleet, near Montreal, in the fall, made their escape in a canoe from Pointe aux Trembles, 7 leagues fromtown, (so called from the *Tremble* or aspen-poplar grow-

ing on the spot,) and came in at Près de Ville, from whom we learn, that Hector McNiel had taken the command of all the vessels, and that the Yankees were preparing the Gaspée for a fire-ship, to burn the shipping, and had offered 2000 livres to any incendiaries that would undertake it; but not having the money to pay down, no one would engage to perform that meritorious service, although several of the French Acadians (i. e. those of Nova Scotia, formerly called Acadie) had offered to do it on these terms; also that many of the people who had left the town were actually in the service of the rebels, particularly Messrs. Wells, Swift and Freeman.—General Carleton, it may be observed, had permitted every one who wished to depart from the garrison, to leave it, as he was determined not to have any correspondence kept up with the rebels.[1] They likewise inform us, that a report prevails in the enemy's camp,

[1] It is a plan sometimes resorted to, when a town is besieged, to dismiss all the useless members for fear of famine, and to prevent any treasonable designs that may be undertaken within the walls. When Quebec was besieged in 1760, General Murray sent out all the inhabitants (except the bakers, who were required to issue bread to the troops), although they murmured exceedingly at the measure, and said, that the English were, as they always imagined, des gens sans foi.

that Colonel Caldwell, (a most active and diligent officer, and faithful subject of his Majesty, who commanded the militia all the winter,) with the troops under his command, at different posts, was coming down the country, notwithstanding his being a considerable sufferer by the invasion, to our assistance; and that General Arnold, who escaped from us on the 31st of December, had gone up to Montreal to oppose them; and also, that General Lee, with about two thousand men, who was endeavoring to pass the lakes, had lost all his cannon, and afterwards hearing that the Canadians would not join him, but remain strictly neuter, returned without performing any service. Our informant further says, that Walker and Price, who had gone up to the Congress to give evidence against General Prescott, (who was taken with the fleet last fall, and it is said, treated with such rigor, that from his age and infirmities fatal consequences might be apprehended,) were put under arrest at Philadelphia, for misleading its members by the solemn assurance they had given of the inhabitants of this province in general being ready to join any army that might be sent into this country, our enemies having found the contrary to their woful experience; and lastly, he states, that Mr. Chauser, who came in lately, was a "formidable"

spy, (sent no doubt to overhear any secret whispers among the besieged, and learn our future purposes of aggression,) having a few days before received a company as a reward for undertaking that service. All these matters put together have not only raised our spirits (well knowing that we shall soon have reinforcements), but have redoubled our diligence in securing the garrison from assault during these dark nights, for in the day time we fear nothing.—Busy in mounting more cannon. All quiet during the night.

21st. The Point Levi battery still continues firing shot and shells, and has been replied to during the whole of the day, by the gunners in the lower town, who have directed the eight pieces of cannon mounted on Mr. Grant's premises on the 16th, with great effect against the rebels on the opposite bank. The night passed in silence.

22d. This day the rebels opened another battery upon the town from the opposite bank of the river St. Charles, upon which they have mounted two heavy guns and a howitzer. Their object in erecting this work, at which they have been engaged for several days past, is evidently to burn the town and destroy the shipping, as they have fired red-hot balls from that quarter likewise: but they have done us little injury

beyond intercepting our supplies and burning the miserable remains of the suburbs, which still afforded a scanty allowance of fuel.

We understand that a large part of their army has left St. John's, probably to reinforce their comrades here. After firing several shots from the guns bearing on the St. Charles, during the day, and mounting more cannon, the garrison were ordered under arms, lest another assault should be attempted. Extremely dark at night.

23d. The enemy attempted to annoy us by throwing in a few shells from a battery lately erected on the heights opposite Port St. Louis; but they were soon silenced by a superior fire from our artillery, which has exceedingly damaged this, as well as every other they have erected.

* * * * * *

May 3d.[1] About ten at night a fire-ship

[1] We have here an instance of that determined ferocity, which prompts civilised nations to resort to such infuriate instruments as fire-ships, and other savage methods of destruction, not sanctioned by the laws of honor amongst belligerent powers, and long disused by the British Government, which generally contents itself with bombs and Congreve rockets, for the purpose of destroying an enemy's ships or magazines, and with using what is generally termed "fair shot" by the common consent of mankind. Fire-ships seldom answer the purpose intended,

attempted to run into the Cul de Sac, where the greatest part of our vessels is at present laid up in ordinary for the winter. She dropped down at ebb-tide, with the expectation of doing a great deal of injury; but the scheme proved abortive, for our batteries opened upon her when she came to leeward of the shipping; and the incendiaries on board having deserted her through fear of the flying shot from the town, she was run aground and burnt to the water's edge, without at all answering the purpose intended. It is generally supposed that the insurgents would have attempted a general assault during the confusion naturally ensuing from the burning of the ships and the lower town contiguous.[1]

from the danger of their being sunk by opposing batteries, and the arduous nature of the service required from the engineer on board. It may not be amiss here to recall to the memory of the reader the *torpedoes* so ingeniously (we will not say diabolically) contrived by our transatlantic foes to destroy our ships of war, during the late contest in 1814. If Milton thought proper to apply the term of "devilish engin'ry" to the artillery of the great apostate spirit, I see no reason for classing the torpedo intended to blow up the Ramillies, 74, within the circuit of any other less distinguishing epithet. The fire-ship *Infernal*, sent in by the famous Commodore Benbow to burn St. Maloe's, is well recorded in our Naval History; but she struck on a sand-bank, and the utmost damage she did, was throwing down part of the town walls, and terrifying the inhabitants, being set on fire too soon by the engineer.

[1] During the siege of Quebec in 1759, we find, among

On the 6th of May[1] the Surprise frigate, Isis, and sloop Martin, came into the basin. Captain Douglas of the Isis, which sailed from Portland on the 11th of March, with succours on board for this town, made the island of St. Peter on the 11th of April, and from thence with the greatest difficulty and exertion made his way through large fields of ice, which for fifty or sixty

other instruments of destruction (such as fire-rafts, and boats filled with loaded gun-barrels and hand-grenades,) sent down the St. Lawrence to burn the shipping, a fire-organ, made of a square timber frame, in which were fixed a number of barrels loaded with slugs and nails, and provided with a train, by which a midshipman and two men, who jumped on board, were severely wounded, and another man alongside, killed.

[1] Here ends the narrative of the principal occurrences of this important blockade, from which it will clearly appear, that Sir Guy Carleton possessed thoroughly that presence of mind and self-possession, combined with quickness of imagination, which makes itself superior to the casualties of any events which may occur. In honor to the humanity of this officer, who, it is said, by some warm expression which escaped in the ardor of his zeal for government, "was suspected of too keen a resentment to those unhappy men against whom he was employed," it is but just to mention, that after a subsequent series of military operations, he issued a proclamation commanding the officers of the militia "to make diligent search" for all wounded and disabled Provincials dispersed in the woods and parishes of Canada, and to afford them all necessary relief, and convey them to the general hospital, for the purpose of alleviating their distresses.

leagues were of such thickness and consistency, that the ship could only be forced onwards by carrying a heavy press of sail. After clearing the Gulf he made the inhospitable island Anticoste, (an ill-wooded and barren spot, 40 leagues in extent, from N. E. to S. W., without a good harbour, granted to the Sieur Joliet by the French, on his return from the discovery of the Mississippi,) and entering the river, was joined near *Isle aux Coudres* by the two other vessels which sailed from Plymouth on the 20th of March. As soon as the detachment of the 29th regiment on board with a party of marines had landed, they were joined by the garrison; and the Commander-in-chief, wisely availing himself of the impression which the arrival of the ships of war had made on the insurgents, marched out to engage them, with a strong party, from the gates of St. Louis and St. John. The enemy were found busied in making preparations for a rapid retreat, and after exchanging a few shots, fled in the utmost confusion. The alarm being given, the plains, as well as the adjacent wood, were soon completely cleared of the marauders. Several stragglers were made prisoners, and the *dastardly villains*, after in vain attempting to rally and charge our troops, scampered off, having abandoned fifteen pieces of cannon, with all their military stores, petards,

scaling ladders, and baggage. The parties on each side of the river were prevented from joining in their flight towards Montreal by two armed vessels, sent by Captain Douglas as far as the Rapids, in the hope of annoying them in their retreat, which was so precipitate, that most of their cannon were left ready loaded, and their ammunition, provisions, intrenching tools, and even muskets, in many cases abandoned. An armed schooner, carrying ten guns, 3 and 6-pounders, was taken by the Surprise and Martin, her crew escaping to the woods; and the Gaspée schooner, which had been sunk by the rebels, was weighed up, and recovered without much damage.

Further reinforcements arrived from Halifax on the 8th of May, consisting of the 47th regiment, in three transports, convoyed by His Majesty's ship Niger, which were soon followed by others from England. Captain Forster, with a detachment consisting of two companies of the 8th regiment, some Canadians, and a party of 500 Indians, who had pursued the rebels, came up with them at the Cedars, (the 3d rapid or fall, Coteau du Lac being the 4th,) a spot beyond Lac St. Louis, where there are cascades at the upper end of Isle Perrot, separating that Lake from the Lac des deux Montagnes.[1]

[1] Captain Forster, on his way down the St. Lawrence, car-

Two pieces of cannon and 390 prisoners were surrendered in this post, at discretion: and about the same time a party of 120 insurgents, passing from the island of Montreal to Kinchin, were defeated by Messrs. Lorimer and Montigny. General Carleton, on receiving his reinforcements, pushed forward with all expedition, after ordering the troops to rendezvous at Three Rivers (25 leagues from Quebec, formerly a French military post for trade). On the 8th of June the rebels attempted a bold stroke against the troops at Three Rivers, having crossed to the number of nearly 2,000 men, in 50 boats, from Sorel, and landed at a place called the Point du Lai, before day-break, out of the range of the armed vessels at anchor above the town. They were, however, speedily repulsed in an attack on the 62d regiment, and made a quick retreat up the river through the woods, finding that General Nesbit had formed in their rear with a large body of

ried this post at the Cedars, consisting of five hundred men, after killing 50 of the enemy, and capturing many others. The Indians having lost a Sachem in the attack, it was with great difficulty that they were restrained from putting the prisoners to death. The officers were kept as hostages for the due performance of a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, and the rest were dismissed; but the Indians, not considering their oath sufficiently binding, slit all their left ears, to know them again, in case they should be found with arms in their hands.

troops from the transports, and that General Fraser was too strongly posted to be driven from the town by their endeavours alone. Those two officers then pursued and attempted to seize their boats, and cut off the retreat of the insurgents from the swamps in which they had taken refuge, but they had fled with such precipitation, that only two boats and about 200 prisoners were taken, through the exertions of the sloop Martin and the armed vessels which sailed up the River du Loup. Among those who surrendered were Major-General Thompson, and Irwin, the second in command. The rebels continued their flight, pursued by the troops to Longueil, (four leagues from Chambly,) and from thence by La Prairie to St. John's. On the night of the 18th the head of General Burgoyne's column took possession of the redoubts of St. John, when they found all the buildings in flames, and all the craft and large boats that could not be dragged up the Chambly Rapids burnt by their retreating foes. Twenty-two pieces of cannon are also said to have been abandoned and hid in the woods. On the 11th and 13th of October, General Carleton put the finishing stroke to the expulsion of the invaders, by defeating their fleet on Lake Champlain, in two actions, near Valicom Isle and Crown Point; only three vessels escaping out of fifteen, two of which,

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with General Waterburgh, the second in command, were taken, and ten others burnt and destroyed. Arnold immediately set fire to the buildings of Crown Point, and after blowing up his flag-ship, escaped to Ticonderoga.

The prodigies of labor said to have been effected since the rebels were driven out of Canada, in creating and equipping a fleet of above thirty armed vessels, together with the transporting over land, and dragging up the two Rapids of St. Terese and St. John thirty long boats, above four hundred batteaux, and other flat-bottomed vessels, are almost incredible. The flotilla was also manned by a large body of prime seamen, two hundred of whom engaged from transports to serve on board during the expedition. With all these advantages, it is not to be wondered at that nearly the whole of the rebel fleet met destruction.

During the late contest in 1813 and 1814, our naval engagements on the Lakes of Canada were not marked with that brilliancy of success which attended the heroic exertions of General Carleton, who exerted himself so manfully to avenge his country's wrongs. With the exception of Lake Ontario, where the brave Sir James Yeo commanded, and whose appearance there struck such awe into the hearts

of his opponents, that they never dared to engage him, our naval exploits were comparatively attended with but a trifling degree of splendor.

But it cannot be denied that they were all well fought actions; and when the immense superiority of their foes in naval equipments, in possessing the best of riflemen to man their tops, and in being quite at home, provided with the numerous resources of war, is considered, there will be a great deal to be said in extenuation of the conduct of our gallant seamen, in the two actions fought between Captain Barclay (one of the heroes of Trafalgar) and Commodore Perry, on Lake Erie, and between the brave Downie and Commodore Macdonough, on Lake Champlain. In the former contest, although our flag-ship, the Detroit, was manned with at best a motley crew, there not being above 50 British seamen in the whole fleet, and armed with guns of four different calibre, she appears to have been fought with a most determined spirit of heroism. By the accounts of her opposing foes, the enemy's vessel, Lawrence, suffered most severely, having 27 men killed and 61 wounded when she struck, and was only saved from capture by drifting out of the range of the Detroit, when the Niagara was brought up to bear upon the latter through the exertions of the commanding officer. The Lawrence's men were mowed down on their birth-deck, and even in the cockpit, and the

officers appointed to command the crew were twice appointed, and twice successively shot down. One ball nearly penetrated the magazine, and another killed a seaman standing close to Commodore Perry on deck. As to the failure on Lake Champlain, and the manner in which both the fleet and its brave mariners were sacrificed, as it would appear, in a most unnecessary manner, in consequence of non-co-operation from the shore, and the neglect showed most unaccountably in not occupying the fortifications of Plattsburg, I shall say but little, having no wish to reiterate the story of events generally known, or recall to recollection the melancholy tale of disasters which then attended our naval exertions. Hardly any better success could have been sought for, when it is considered that the Confiance went into action in a state quite unprepared to meet a superior foe, supported by gun-boats, and by every hostile preparation that the nature of the lake afforded.

In the foregoing narrative we have seen the garrison of Quebec bravely holding out against a numerous and determined body of enemies, in defiance of hardships and the wintry rigor of a climate as severe as that of any northern latitude, recalling to our minds the gallantry of those 540 brave Prænestines who defended Casilinum against Hannibal, till nearly half

their number had perished by the sword and by famine, and affording an illustration of what can be achieved even by inexperienced recruits and unwarlike citizens, when aided by the profound sagacity, clear and unerring insight into the measures of a hostile leader, and superior energy of mental resource possessed by that veteran governor, under whose auspices they ventured to exert their native valour, for the steady purpose of retaining what had been wrested in former days from the overweening dominion of Gallic foemen.

When the more distant possessions of a country are invaded in this manner, its inhabitants naturally look up to men, who, having been accustomed to a military life, are perfectly qualified to perform all warlike duties of protection and defence. But in consequence of the small number of regular troops that could be disposed of at this critical juncture, and the inefficacy of the Canadian part of the population, we here find a body of men so placed, as to be under the necessity of exerting themselves by personal courage and the endurance of fatigue, many of whom were not originally called to the profession of arms, and to support the glory of their country, but notwithstanding performed every action of a soldier for their own private advantage, and to secure themselves from the disas-

trous consequences of a storm, undertaken by an exasperated body of rebellious plunderers.

In a service, such as is undergone in a country like America, abounding with impenetrable forests, and almost impassable morasses, where the great art of a military character is to avoid a surprise and to secure the most important passages and defiles of an immense extent of territory, and thereby to circumscribe the hostile operations of foes, whose manœuvres are peculiar to themselves, and materially distinguish them from European warriors, great circumspection is required, and no small share of address, to overcome them; and a needless slaughter should never be promoted by temerity, particularly in places where bush fighting is practised to so uncommon an extent. This was sufficiently proved during the last war. And when the contest is carried on against an enemy by no means generous, he ought to be combated with his own weapons, according to the Indian mode of fighting; for he rarely courts an engagement in open plains, being aware of a decided inferiority. It is a maxim not to be denied by any philosopher, that from various causes the benefit of a standing army is always indispensable, particularly with respect to a nation like our own, whose commerce proceeds not so much from mere innate sources of profit, as from its connexion with its foreign colonial possessions, to

which it acts as a species of centre—a vivifying influence, which agitates every thing within its sphere, and even the most remote objects with which it is concerned. The inevitable defects in the political body of empires have, from very distant periods, become the infallible origin of perpetual wars—a sort of distemper which, it appears, arms man against his fellow, fomented indeed almost always by a wish to seek aggrandisement through interference with his neighbours, and constant encroachments on their borders; by national animosity, and by endeavours to lessen that preponderance which any powerful monarch may possess, and thereby increase the dangers which ensue to other princes in his more immediate vicinity. Man has always appeared to have had a ruling passion for contention—a sort of opposing spirit in his nature. When any broils foment disturbance in the cabinets of Europe, his hand, like Ishmael's of old, "is against every man, and every man's against him." Terms of reconciliation are rejected, the sword is drawn, and the spirits of war and destruction let loose throughout the territories of his enemies. He is constantly on the watch to enrich himself with the spoils of his neighbours.

This being the case, it is also plain, that the animosity borne us by foreign nations, from an invidious feeling towards our superiority, will

always demand an armed force by sea and land, of which the members, "like brave men will always think well, and think justly of themselves, when destined to serve their country, and capable of serving it, ought." What a Gaul once observed to me speaks volumes:—although nothing beyond the career of a privateersman, he said, that if it was in his power he would do every thing to injure and ruin England, though he allowed, that neither his own paltry efforts nor those of all Europe united, would ever have the least chance of destroying its preponderance. The plotting and conspiring of Count Gyllembourg, (ambassador from Sweden at the Court of London in 1717,) for which he was seized and confined, is well known in our annals, and the scandalous duplicity of the Neapolitans and their refugee commanders, Mack and St. Philip, about the time when the fleet of the immortal Nelson was co-operating for their deliverance, are by no means to be cited as solitary instances of the ungenerous feeling nurtured towards us by foreigners. A French military writer (the Count de Stendhal) says, with exultation, that we have rendered ourselves particularly odious to most of the Continental nations, and are at the same time detested by the Americans, who in twenty years will swarm upon our trade with five hundred privateers.

In the military manœuvres of former days, the chief thing observable was the great simplicity evinced by the movements of armies. At Crecy the English were drawn up in solid square, thirty deep; in front were generally placed the men at arms, before whom stood the archers, who endeavoured to overpower the chivalry of their foes with a shower of arrows, (as the ancient Parthians at Carræ did the Romans under Crassus) which was done effectually, at the above-mentioned battle, as well as at Poictiers and also at the action of Holmedon Hill, fought against the Scots during the reign of our Henry IV., before a general charge was made by the heavier troops armed with the pole axe and two-handed sword. At Agincourt each bowman was provided with a fascine or stake to cover him from the French missiles, and after the arrows were expended, the combatants mingled hand to hand in the more certain work of mutual destruction. Manual strength, particularly revived in our own days during the eventful contest at Waterloo, was the augury most relied on, in the securing of victory among the heroes of former ages; and during the Homeric campaigns and subsequently, for a long period, we find it combined with no very regular observation of tactics. Ambuscade, which is the general masterpiece of savage nations, and attended with frequent success, their

attempts being more calculated to overpower by stratagem than by any steadiness of manœuvre, was constantly resorted to, when any practicability offered of employing it. Hannibal was no doubt considered a captain of remarkable skill; for his method of defeating an enemy evinces much greater discernment than was possessed by most commanders of his day.[1] A sudden surprise, rapidity of manœuvre, speedy marches, combined with the taking advantage of his foes in a foggy day, and attempts to fall upon their flanks and rear, were his principal sallies of skill. His attack on the Romans, at the lake Thrasymenus, was suggested by the simple locality of the country and by securing the narrow defiles in front and in the rear of their army, while the main body of his troops occupied the heights directly above them. We find him placing his Numidians during another skirmish, in the caverns of hollow rocks, so as to

[1] Hannibal, it must be allowed, possessed great superiority in military skill, when opposed to the consuls of Rome, for his knowledge of war was derived from a long series of campaigns. His experience would consequently tend in a great degree to foil the efforts of such leaders as private citizens, or warriors taken from the plough, who could know but little of warfare beyond mere animal courage and the superstitious idea of devoting themselves, to ensure victory to their countrymen.

fall upon the enemy unawares, well knowing the effect of a panic in defeating troops, who would otherwise stand their ground with the utmost obstinacy. Like Napoleon the Great, he possessed remarkable penetration, was exceedingly rapid in his movements, and excepting his conduct after the fatal field of Cannæ (similar to Charles XII. when flushed with conquests he fell from the zenith of his glory by marching into the desarts of the Ukraine,) followed up all successes with the greatest ardor, being too well acquainted with the dispirited condition of an army which has sustained defeat, to allow his adversaries to recover by granting them leisure to recruit their dismayed forces.

At the battle of Dettingen in 1743, we have an instance of a proceeding of the same kind, the battle being gained by the obstinate resistance of our troops alone. They seem to have fought to gain an appetite for their provisions at Hanau. The French showed superiority of manœuvre in taking advantage of our army by occupying the villages both in its rear and front, while their cannon enfiladed it from the opposite side of the Mayne. There certainly was a clumsiness attending the warfare of European nations about that period—a sort of systematic campaigning, particularly in the sieges of towns and in regularly going into win-

ter quarters, which protracted wars for several years. The heroes of that day would have been surprised to hear of such an expedition as that of Napoleon to Moscow in the midst of a Siberian winter, the numbing influence of which certainly gave a fatal blow to his overgrown power, by destroying so many veterans who had been the spectators of his glory, particularly at Marengo, Austerlitz and Jena. Our troops about that period were quite unacquainted with the method of opposing an enemy who had so strange a plan of attacking as the Scottish Highlanders, during the rebellion of 1745; and of course if they fled, as generally happens in all battles gained with the sword, a complete defeat necessarily ensued. The plan which the Duke of Cumberland devised at Culloden was extremely simple, by masking his guns loaded with grape, behind the front line, and ordering the second rank to reserve their fire till the mountaineers approached very near, while the front line presented their bayonets at arms' length like a chevaux-de-frise, to the brunt of the broad-sword. It was not for a long time that our soldiers overcame the dread of the tomahawk in America, and found that the efforts of a perfidious foe were abortive when employed against discipline and true courage in the field. The celebrated battle of Fontenoy, amongst

others, was one which showed but little manœuvre; the importance of sharp-shooters was but little attended to in the field at that time. General Wolfe's grand plan was to allow the enemy to come within a few yards' distance of us at Quebec, not to throw away our shots at random, but to fire upon their columns with additional balls, and then rush upon them with fixed bayonets. It may be here observed that at the present day we hear of no such systematic *politesse* as that of our regiment of Guards taking off their hats to their opponents, and asking them to pay them the compliment of giving the first fire. There are few troops bigotted to so severe a point of honor at the present day, such frivolous salutations being considered as almost too unnecessary an appeal to the feelings of an enemy, when accompanied by so heavy a shower of musket-balls, as we are told was directed towards the French battalions by the English column at Fontenoy. The serried body of our troops in that battle was a column simply formed in consequence of their wings being galled by the batteries on the right and left, and falling back on the centre. A French military writer therefore ascribes the general formation of columns, to fear arising from a circumstance of this nature (La peur forme des colonnes). The weight of so huge a body defeated every separate brigade that was brought

up against it; for then indeed it was truly formidable, but not in so great a degree, when attacked upon different quarters, in consequence of its unwieldiness. The great Condé at Rocroi, broke the Spanish infantry, as strong and closely united as that of the Macedonians, with a body of cavalry, after surrounding and attacking it three times; the close files of such a phalanx affording too true a mark to an enemy's artillery. The battle of Fontenoy was lost not only through the misconduct of the Dutch troops, in not co-operating with our army, but also in consequence of the supineness of the cavalry, who deemed themselves cut off from the rest of their comrades, by the fire from the French redoubts, which, strange to relate, for a long time discharged their guns loaded with powder alone, all their balls being expended. A new system of military tactics sprung up during the last war; the reveries of Marshal Saxe, and the too precise manuels of Frederic the Great of Prussia, and of Laudohn and Suvarof, became totally exploded, while the greatest improvements have been made by our warriors in the school of Bellona, in consequence of the Peninsular contests and those which succeeded; all which have proved equally glorious in the annals of British heroism, as to the laurels which they have contributed.