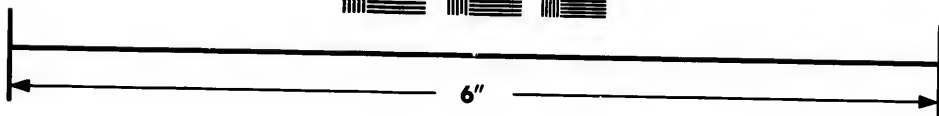
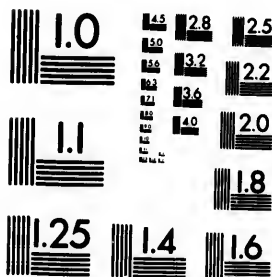


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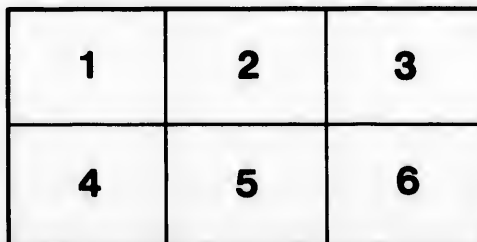
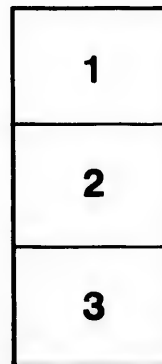
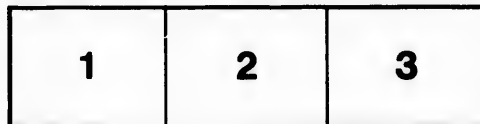
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The Battle of Quebec.

FROM CAPTAIN JOHN KNOX'S "HISTORICAL JOURNAL OF THE CAMPAIGNS IN NORTH AMERICA FOR THE YEARS 1757, 1758, 1759, AND 1760."

Sept. 11, 1759. Great preparations are making throughout the fleet and army to surprise the enemy, and compel them to decide the fate of Quebec by a battle. All the long-boats below the town are to be filled with seamen, marines, and such detachments as can be spared from Points Levi and Orleans, in order to make a feint off Beauport and the Point de Lest, and endeavor to engross the attention of the Sieur de Montcalm, while the army are to force a descent on this side of the town. The officer of our regiment who commanded the escort yesterday on the reconnoitring party, being asked in the general's hearing, after the health of one of the gentlemen who was reported to be ill, replied "he was in a very low indifferent state," which the other lamented, saying, "He has but a puny, delicate constitution." This struck his Excellency, it being his own case, who interrupted, "Don't tell me of constitution: that officer has good spirits, and good spirits will carry a man through everything."

September 12. A soldier of the Royal Americans deserted this day from the south shore, and one came over to us from the enemy, who informed the General "that he belonged to a detachment composed of two officers and fifty men who had been sent across the river to take a prisoner; that the French generals suspect we are going higher up to lay waste the country and destroy such ships and craft as they have got above; and that Monsieur Montcalm will not be prevailed on to quit his situation, insisting that the flower of our army are still

below the town; that the reduction of Niagara has caused great discontent in the French army, that the wretched Canadians are much dissatisfied, and that Monsieur de Levis is certainly marched, with a detachment of the army, to Montreal, in order to re-enforce Mr. Bourlemacque and stop General Amherst's progress." This fellow added "that, if we were fairly landed on the north side of the river, an incredible number of the French regulars would actually desert to us." In consequence of this agreeable intelligence, the following orders were this day issued to the army:—

ORDERS.

ON BOARD THE "SUTHERLAND."

"The enemy's force is now divided, great scarcity of provisions now in their camp, and universal discontent among the Canadians. The second officer in command is gone to Montreal or St. John's, which gives reason to think that General Amherst is advancing into the colony. *A vigorous blow struck by the army at this juncture may determine the fate of Canada.* Our troops below are in readiness to join us. All the light artillery and tools are embarked at the Point of Levi, and the troops will land where the French seem least to expect it. The first body that gets on shore is to march directly to the enemy, and drive them from any little post they may occupy. The officers must be careful that the succeeding bodies do not, by any mistake, fire upon those who go on before them. The battalions must form on the upper ground with expedition, and be ready to charge whatever presents itself. When the artillery and troops are landed, a corps will be left to secure the landing-place, while the rest march on and endeavor to bring the French and Canadians to a battle. *The officers and men will remember what their country expects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers, inured to war, is capable of doing against five weak French battalions, mingled with a disorderly peasantry.* The soldiers must be attentive and obedient to their officers and resolute in the execution of their duty."

The Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, with the troops under their command, re-embarked this day from the parish of St. Nicholas, and returned to their ships. This evening all the boats of the fleet below the town were filled with marines, etc., covered by frigates and sloops of war, worked up, and lay half-

channel over, opposite to Beauport, as if intending to land in the morning and thereby fix the enemy's whole attention to that quarter. The ships attending them are to edge over at break of day as near as possible, without grounding, and cannonade the French intrenchments. At nine o'clock this night our army in high spirits, the first division of them put into the flat-bottomed boats, and in a short time after the whole squadron moved up the river with the tide of flood, and about an hour before daylight next morning we fell down with the ebb. Weather favorable, a starlight night.

THURSDAY, Sept. 13, 1759.

Before daybreak this morning we made a descent upon the north shore, about half a quarter of a mile to the eastward of Sillery; and the light troops were fortunately by the rapidity of the current carried lower down between us and Cape Diamond. We had in this debarkation thirty flat-bottomed boats, containing about sixteen hundred men. This was a great surprise on the enemy, who from the natural strength of the place did not suspect, and consequently were not prepared against so bold an attempt. The chain of sentries which they had posted along the summit of the heights galled us a little, and picked off several men* and some officers before our light infantry got up to dislodge them.† This grand enterprise was conducted and executed with great good order and discretion. As fast as we landed, the boats put off for re-enforcements, and the troops formed with much regularity. The General, with Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, was ashore with the first division. We lost no time here, but clambered up one of the steepest precipices that can be conceived, being almost a perpendicular, and of an incredible height. As soon as we gained the summit, all was quiet, and not a shot was heard, owing to the excellent conduct of the light infantry under Colonel Howe. It was by this time clear daylight. Here we formed again, the

* In the boat where I was, one man was killed. One seaman, with four soldiers were slightly, and two mortally, wounded.

† Captain Donald M'Donald, a very gallant officer of Fraser's Highlanders, commanded the advanced guard of the light infantry, and was consequently among the foremost on shore. As soon as he and his men gained the height, he was challenged by a sentry, and with great presence of mind, from his knowledge of the French service, answered him according to their manner. It being yet dark, he came up to him, told him he was sent there with a large command to take post, and desired him to go with all speed to his guard, and to call off all the other men of his party who were ranged along the hill, for that he would take care to give a good account of the B-- Anglois if they should persist. This *finesse* had the desired effect, and saved us many lives, etc.

river and the south country in our rear, our right extending to the town, our left to Sillery, and halted a few minutes.* The general then detached the light troops to our left to rout the enemy from their battery, and to disable their guns, except they could be rendered serviceable to the party who were to remain there; and this service was soon performed. We then faced to the right, and marched toward the town by files till we came to the Plains of Abraham, an even piece of ground which Mr. Wolfe had made choice of, while we stood forming upon the hill. Weather showery. About six o'clock the enemy first made their appearance upon the heights between us and the town, whereupon we halted and wheeled to the right, thereby forming the line of battle.† The first disposition then was "grenadiers of Louisburg on the right, forty-seventh regiment on the left, twenty-eighth on the right, and the forty-third on the left." Part of the light infantry took post in the houses at Sillery, and the remainder occupied a chain of houses which were opportunely situated for that purpose, and covered our left flank, inclining toward our rear. The general then advanced some platoons from the grenadiers and twenty-eighth regiment below the height on our right, to annoy the enemy, and prevent their getting round the declivity between us and the main river, which they had attempted. By this time the fifteenth and thirty-fifth regiments joined us, who formed a second line, and were soon after followed by the forty-eighth and fifty-eighth, two battalions of the sixtieth and seventy-eighth regiments (Highlanders), by which a new disposition was made of the whole, namely: "first line, thirty-fifth to the right, in a circular form on the slope of the hill; fifty-eighth, left; grenadiers, right; seventy-eighth, left; twenty-eighth, right; forty-seventh, left; forty-third, in the centre." General Wolfe, Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, to our front line; and the second was composed of the fifteenth and two battalions of the sixtieth regiment under Brigadier Townshend, with a reserve of the forty-eighth regiment, under Colonel Burton,

* *The hill they climbed, and halted at its top, of more than mortal size ;
Towering they seemed, an host angelic, clad in burning arms !*

† Quebec was then to the eastward of us in front, with the enemy under its walls. Our right was flanked by the declivity and the main river to the southward, and what is called the lower road leading (westward) from the town, with the river Charles and the north country, were on our left. If the reader will attend to this description, observing the cardinal points, he may thereby form as lively an idea of the field of battle as if a plan were laid before him: and, though our first disposition was afterward altered, yet our situation, with that of the enemy and the scene of action, could not vary.

drawn up in four grand divisions with large intervals. The enemy had now likewise formed the line of battle, and got some cannon to play on us, with round and canister shot; but what galled us most was a body of Indians and other marksmen they had concealed in the corn opposite to the front of our right wing, and a coppice that stood opposite to our centre inclining toward our left. But the Colonel Hale, by Brigadier Monckton's orders, advanced some platoons alternately from the forty-seventh regiment, which after a few rounds obliged these sculkers to retire. We were now ordered to lie down, and remained some time in this position. About eight o'clock we had two pieces of short brass six-pounders playing on the enemy, which threw them into some confusion, and obliged them to alter their disposition; and Montcalm formed them into three large columns. About nine the two armies moved a little nearer each other. The light cavalry made a faint attempt upon our parties at the battery of Sillery, but were soon beat off; and Monsieur de Bougainville, with his troops from Cape Rouge, came down to attack the flank of our second line, hoping to penetrate there. But, by a masterly disposition of Brigadier Townshend, they were forced to desist; and the third battalion of Royal Americans was then detached to the first ground we had formed on after we gained the heights, to preserve the communication with the beach and our boats. About ten o'clock the enemy began to advance briskly in three columns, with loud shouts and recovered arms, two of them inclining to the left of our army, and the third toward our right, firing obliquely at the two extremities of our line, from the distance of one hundred and thirty, until they came within forty yards, which our troops withstood with the greatest intrepidity and firmness, still reserving their fire and paying the strictest obedience to their officers. This uncommon steadiness, together with the havoc which the grape-shot from our field-pieces made among them, threw them into some disorder, and was most critically maintained by a well-timed, regular, and heavy discharge of our small arms, such as they could no longer oppose.*

*When the general formed the line of battle, he ordered the regiments to load with an additional ball. The forty-third and forty-seventh regiments, in the centre, being little affected by the oblique fire of the enemy, gave them, with great calmness, as remarkable a close and heavy discharge as I ever saw performed at a private field of exercise, insomuch that better troops than we encountered could not possibly withstand it; and, indeed, well might the French officers say that they never opposed such a shock as they received from the centre of our line, for that they believed every ball took place, and such regularity and discipline they had not experienced before, our troops in general, and particularly the central corps, having levelled and fired — *comme un coup de canon*.

Hereupon they gave way, and fled with precipitation, so that by the time the cloud of smoke was vanished our men were again loaded, and, profiting by the advantage we had over them, pursued them almost to the gates of the town and the bridge over the little river, redoubling our fire with great eagerness, making many officers and men prisoners. The weather cleared up, with a comfortably warm sunshine. The Highlanders chased them vigorously toward Charles River, and the fifty-eighth to the suburb close to John's gate, until they were checked by the cannon from the two hulks. At the same time a gun which the town had brought to bear upon us with grape-shot galled the progress of the regiments to the right, who were likewise pursuing with equal ardor, while Colonel Hunt Walsh, by a very judicious movement, wheeled the battalions of Bragg and Kennedy to the left, and flanked the coppice where a body of the enemy made a stand as if willing to renew the action; but a few platoons from these corps completed our victory. Then it was that Brigadier Townshend came up, called off the pursuers, ordered the whole line to dress and recover their former ground. Our joy at this success is inexpressibly damped by the loss we sustained of one of the greatest heroes which this or any other age can boast of,—General James Wolfe,—who received his mortal wound as he was exerting himself at the head of the grenadiers of Louisburg; and Brigadier Monckton was unfortunately wounded upon the left of the forty-third and right of the forty-seventh regiment at much the same time, whereby the command devolved on Brigadier Townshend, who, with Brigadier Murray, went to the head of every regiment and returned thanks for their extraordinary good behavior, congratulating the officers on our success. There is one incident very remarkable, and which I can affirm from my own personal knowledge,—that the enemy were extremely apprehensive of being rigorously treated; for, conscious of their inhuman behavior to our troops upon a former occasion, the officers who fell into our hands most piteously (with hats off) sued for quarter, repeatedly declaring they were not at Fort William Henry (called by them Fort George) in the year 1757. A soldier of the Royal Americans who deserted from us this campaign, and fought against us to-day, was found wounded on the field of battle. He was immediately tried by a general court-martial, and was shot to death pursuant to his sentence. While the two armies were engaged this morning, there was an incessant

firing between the town and our south batteries. By the time that our troops had taken a little refreshment, a quantity of intrenching tools were brought ashore, and the regiments were employed in redoubting our ground and landing some cannon and ammunition. The officers who are prisoners say that Quebec will surrender in a few days. Some deserters who came out to us in the evening agree in that opinion, and inform us that the *Sieur de Montcalm* is dying, in great agony, of a wound he received to-day in their retreat. Thus has our late renowned commander by his superior eminence in the art of war, and a most judicious *coup d'état*, made a conquest of this fertile, healthy, and hitherto formidable country, with a handful of troops only, in spite of the political schemes and most vigorous efforts of the famous *Montcalm*, and many other officers of rank and experience at the head of an army considerably more numerous. My pen is too feeble to draw the character of this *British Achilles*; but the same may, with justice, be said of him as was said of *Henry IV.* of France: *he was possessed of courage, humanity, clemency, generosity, affability, and politeness.* And though the former of these happy ingredients, how essential soever it may be in the composition of a soldier, is not alone sufficient to distinguish an expert officer, yet I may with strict truth advance that *Major General James Wolfe*, by his great talents and martial disposition, which he discovered early in life, was greatly superior to his experience in generalship, and was by no means inferior to a *Frederic*, a *Henry*, or a *Ferdinand*.

“When the matter matched his mighty mind,
Up rose the hero: on his piercing eye
Sat observation, on each glance of thought
Decision followed, as the thunderbolt
Pursues the flash.”

The strength of our army this day in the action will best appear by the following return, to which I shall subjoin that of the enemy as delivered to me afterward by an intelligent Frenchman.

OFFICERS PRESENT, RANK AND FILE, Etc.

Number of Corps.	Regiments.	Commissioned.						Staff.				N. Com.		Rank and File.	Total of all Ranks, including General Officers, etc.	
		Colonels.	Lieutenant Cols.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Adjutants.	Quartermasters.	Surgeons.	Mates.	Sergeants.	Drummers.			
15th	Amherst's	1	0	1	4	15	5	0	0	1	0	21	6	352	406	
28th	Bragg's	1	0	1	5	9	8	0	0	1	0	23	11	362	421	
35th	Otway's	0	1	1	5	11	8	1	1	1	0	23	11	456	519	
43d	Kennedy's	0	0	1	6	6	4	1	1	0	0	17	11	280	327	
47th	Lascelles's	0	1	0	5	8	8	0	0	0	0	31	2	305	360	
48th	Webb's	0	1	0	4	16	7	1	0	1	1	33	14	605	683	
58th	Anstruther's	0	1	1	4	7	6	0	0	0	0	20	0	296	335	
60th	{ Monckton's	1	0	0	2	6	6	0	0	0	0	26	15	266	322	
	{ Lawrence's	0	1	0	4	11	8	0	0	0	0	28	14	474	540	
78th	Fraser's	0	0	0	7	12	7	1	0	0	0	28	14	603	662	
22d	{ Louisburg } { Companies } { of Grenad. }	0	1	0	2	8	0	1	0	0	0	9	4	216	241	
40th																
45th																
	Total	3	6	5	48	109	67	5	2	4	1	259	102	4215	4816	4828

One major-general, three brigadiers-general, one quarter-master-general, one aid quartermaster-general, one adjutant general, four majors of brigade, two aides-de-camp.

STATE OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

Right Column.		Centre Column.		Left Column.	
Troupes de Colonie	550	Regiment de Berne	360	Royale Rousillon	650
Regiment de la Sarre	500	Regiment de Guienne	360	La Colonie	650
Reg. de Languedoc	550	Des Milices	1200	Des Milices	2300
Des Milices and one } six-pounder }	400				
	2000		1920		3600

Monsieur de Bougainville's corps from Cape Rouge, consisting of five companies of grenadiers, cavalry, Canadian volunteers, savages, and militia, two thousand and sixty; total of the enemy, nine thousand five hundred and eighty.

Deserters who are come over to us since the action inform us that it was very difficult to persuade Monsieur de Montcalm and the other commanders that the flower of our army were behind the town: and, after the marquis had marched his troops over the river Charles, and taken a view of us, he said: "They have at last got to the weak side of this miserable garrison. Therefore, we must endeavor to crush them with our numbers, *and scalp them all before twelve o'clock.*" Every coppice, bush, or other cover that stood on our ground this morning were cut down before night, and applied to the use of our new works. The houses were all fortified and several redoubts thrown up round our camp, which is about one thousand yards from the garrison, before ten o'clock.

ORDERS.

SEPTEMBER 14.

"Parole, Wolfe; countersign, England."

"The remaining general officers fit to act take the earliest opportunity to express the praise which is due to the conduct and bravery of the troops, and the victory which attended it sufficiently proves the superiority which this army has over any number of such troops as they engaged yesterday *They wish that the person who lately commanded them had survived so glorious a day, and had this day been able to give the troops these just encomiums.* The fatigues which the troops will be obliged to undergo, to reap the advantage of this victory, will be supported with a true spirit, as this seems to be the period which will determine in all probability our American labors. The troops are to receive a gill of rum per day, and will receive fresh provisions the day after to-morrow. The regiments and corps to give returns of their killed and wounded yesterday, and the strength of their corps. The pioneers of the different regiments to bury the dead. The corps are to send all their tools not immediately in use to the artillery park. All French papers or letters found are desired to be sent to the headquarters. No soldier to presume to stroll beyond the outposts. Arms that cannot be drawn are to be fired into the swamp near the headquarters. The admiral has promised the continuance of all the assistance which the naval service can spare, to ease the troops of the fatigues which the farther operations will require of us. General Townshend has the satisfaction to

acquaint the troops that General Monckton's wound is not dangerous. The commanding officers of the corps will order the rolls to be called every half-hour to prevent marauding, etc."

Last night Brigadier Townshend went with a detachment of two hundred men to the French general hospital, situated on the river Charles, and about a mile from the town. This is a convent of nuns of the Augustine order, who — from principles of charity and piety — take care of all sick and wounded men and officers. Lands are appropriated for the support of this institution, besides which the French king endows it with a yearly salary; and a table is kept there at his expense for convalescent officers, directors, surgeons, apothecaries, etc. The brigadier found an officer's guard at the convent, but he immediately took possession of the place by posting a captain's command there. The unfortunate Marquis de Montcalm was then in the house, dying of his wound, attended by the bishop and his chaplains. A transport, a schooner, and a parcel of boats, with ordnance and stores, passed the town last night. The enemy fired briskly on them, but without any effect. The garrison appear to be at work upon their ramparts, as if resolved to prolong the siege. Some deserters who came out to us this day inform us that Monsieur de Levis, who has rejoined and collected their shattered forces, had intended to surprise the rear of our camp at daybreak this morning, but, upon reconnoitring our situation and finding we had made such excellent use of our time in erecting redoubts and other works, prudently declined the undertaking. The Sieur* de Montcalm died late last night. When his wound was dressed and he settled in bed, the surgeons who attended him were desired to acquaint him ingenuously with their sentiments of him; and, being answered that his wound was mortal, he calmly replied, "he was glad of it." His Excellency then demanded "whether he could survive it long, and how long." He was told, "About a dozen hours, perhaps more, peradventure less." "So much the better," rejoined this eminent warrior. "I am happy I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." He then ordered his secretary into the room to adjust his private affairs, which, as soon as they were dispatched, he was visited by Monsieur de Ramsey, the French king's lieutenant, and by other principal

*The appointments of this great man as lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief, etc., did not exceed a thousand sols per day; and I have been credibly informed that all his other emoluments did not amount to more than the like sum, — the whole equivalent to about nine hundred and thirty pounds sterling per annum.

officers who desired to receive his Excellency's commands, with the farther measures to be pursued for the defence of Quebec, the capital of Canada. To this the marquis made the following answer: "I'll neither give orders nor interfere any farther. I have much business that must be attended to, of greater moment than your ruined garrison and this wretched country. My time is very short, therefore pray leave me. I wish you all comfort, and to be happily extricated from your present perplexities." He then called for his chaplain, who, with the bishop of the colony, remained with him till he expired. Some time before this great man departed, we are assured he paid us this compliment: "Since it was my misfortune to be discomfited, and mortally wounded, it is a great consolation to me to be vanquished by so brave and generous an enemy. If I could survive this wound, I would engage to beat three times the number of such forces as I commanded this morning with a third of their number of British troops."

We are drawing artillery and ammunition ashore with all expedition, in which we are much favored at present by the weather, and have found a convenient road for the purpose leading directly from the cove to the camp. This is the place that had been intended for our descent yesterday; but the morning being dark, and the tide of ebb very rapid, we were imperceptibly carried a little lower down, which proved a favorable circumstance, for there was a strong intrenchment that covered the road, lined by a detachment of one hundred and fifty men. It is still much more fortunate that the general had not deferred the execution of his project to another day; for two French regiments, with a corps of savages, were actually under orders of readiness to march at six o'clock on the morning of the 13th, and intrench themselves immediately along the heights; but, happily, our troops were in possession of that ground before the enemy had any thoughts of stirring. Several men and officers wounded to-day in camp by shot and shells from the town. The French regulars in the late engagement fired slugs of lead and iron from their small arms. Some of them were found in the shot pouches of the officers that were made prisoners, who, being challenged upon this subject, replied with a magnificent shrug, "It was their custom, without any ill design." A flag of truce came from the garrison this afternoon, requesting permission to bury their dead. All that were within our reach we had interred before. Brigadier Monck-

ton took the opportunity in this cessation to pass the town to his tent at Point Levi, of which notice was sent to the governor and to our batteries on the south shore.

After our late worthy general of renowned memory was carried off wounded to the rear of the front line, he desired those who were about him to lay him down. Being asked if he would have a surgeon, he replied, "It is needless: it is all over with me." One of them then cried out, "They run, see how they run!" "Who runs?" demanded our hero with great earnestness, like a person roused from sleep. The officer answered: "The enemy, sir. Egad, they give way everywhere." Thereupon the general rejoined: "*Go, one of you, my lads, to Colonel Burton—; tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed down to Charles River, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge.*" Then, turning on his side, he added, "*Now, God be praised, I will die in peace!*" and thus expired.*

. . . . *Quis*

*Myrmidonum, Dolopumque, aut duri miles Ulyssæi,
Temperet a lachrymis?*

This resignation and greatness of soul calls to my remembrance an almost similar story of Epaminondas, the Theban general, who, having received in fight a mortal wound with a sword, which was left in his body, lay in that posture till he received intelligence that his troops had obtained a victory, and then permitted it to be drawn out, saying at that instant, "This is not the end of my life, my fellow-soldiers; it is now your Epaminondas was born who dies in so much glory."

When Horace Walpole wrote the annals of his time, he thus described the impression made on the English public by the touching and inspiring story of Wolfe's heroism and death: "The incidents of dramatic fiction could not be conducted with more address to lead an audience from despondency to sudden exaltation than accident prepared to excite the passions of a whole people. They despaired.

*Various accounts have been circulated of General Wolfe's manner of dying, his last words, and the officers into whose hands he fell. And many, from a vanity of talking, claimed the honor of being his supporters after he was wounded. But the foregoing circumstances were ascertained to me by Lieutenant Brown, of the grenadiers of Louisburg, and the twenty-second regiment, who with Mr. Henderson, a volunteer in the same company and a private man, were the three persons who carried his Excellency to the rear, which an artillery officer seeing, immediately flew to his assistance; and these were all that attended him in his dying moments. *I do not recollect the artillery officer's name, or it should be cheerfully recorded here.*

they triumphed, and they wept; for Wolfe had fallen in the hour of victory. Joy, curiosity, astonishment, was painted on every countenance. The more they inquired, the more their admiration rose. Not an incident but was heroic and affecting." England blazed with bonfires. In one spot alone all was dark and silent; for here a widowed mother mourned for a loving and devoted son, and the people forbore to profane her grief with the clamor of their rejoicings.

New England had still more cause of joy than Old, and she filled the land with jubilation. The pulpits resounded with sermons of thanksgiving, some of which were worthy of the occasion that called them forth. Among the rest, Jonathan Mayhew, a young but justly celebrated minister of Boston, pictured with enthusiasm the future greatness of the British-American colonies, with the continent thrown open before them, and foretold that, "with the continued blessing of Heaven, they will become, in another century or two, a mighty empire"; adding in cautious parenthesis, "*I do not mean an independent one.*" He read Wolfe's victory aright, and divined its far-reaching consequence. . . .

Half the continent changed hands at the scratch of a pen. Governor Bernard, of Massachusetts, proclaimed a day of thanksgiving for the great event, and the Boston newspapers recount how the occasion was celebrated with a parade of the cadets and other volunteer corps, a grand dinner in Faneuil Hall, music, bonfires, illuminations, firing of cannon, and, above all, by sermons in every church of the province: for the heart of early New England always found voice through her pulpits. Before me lies a bundle of these sermons, rescued from sixscore years of dust, scrawled on their title-pages with names of owners dead long ago, worm-eaten, dingy, stained with the damps of time, and uttering in quaint old letterpress the emotions of a buried and forgotten past. Triumph, gratulation, hope, breathe in every line, but no ill-will against a fallen enemy. Thomas Foxcroft, pastor of the "Old Church in Boston," preaches from the text, "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." "Long," he says, "had it been the common opinion, *Delenda est Carthago*, Canada must be conquered, or we could hope for no lasting quiet in these parts; and now, through the good hand of our God upon us, we see the happy day of its accomplishment. We behold His Majesty's victorious troops treading upon the high places of the enemy, their last fortress delivered up, and their whole country surrendered to the King of Britain in the person of his general, the intrepid, the serene, the successful Amherst."

The loyal John Mellen, pastor of the Second Church in Lancaster, exclaims, boding nothing of the tempest to come: "Let us fear God and honor the king, and be peaceable subjects of an easy and happy government. And may the blessing of Heaven be ever upon those enemies of our country that have now submitted to the English crown, and according to the oath they have taken lead quiet lives in

all godliness and honesty." Then he ventures to predict that America, now thrown open to British colonists, will be peopled in a century and a half with sixty million souls,—a prophecy likely to be more than fulfilled.

"God has given us to sing this day the downfall of New France, the North American Babylon, New England's rival," cries Eli Forbes to his congregation of sober farmers and staid matrons at the rustic village of Brookfield. Like many of his flock, he had been to the war, having served two years as chaplain of Ruggles's Massachusetts regiment; and something of a martial spirit breathes through his discourse. He passes in review the events of each campaign down to their triumphant close. "Thus God was our salvation and our strength; yet He who directs the great events of war suffered not our joy to be uninterrupted, for we had to lament the fall of the valiant and good General Wolfe, whose death demands a tear from every British eye, a sigh from every Protestant heart. Is he dead? I recall myself. Such heroes are immortal: he lives on every loyal tongue; he lives in every grateful breast; and charity bids me give him a place among the princes of heaven." Nor does he forget the praises of Amherst, "the renowned general, worthy of that most honorable of all titles, the Christian hero; for he loves his enemies, and while he subdues them he makes them happy. He transplants British liberty to where till now it was unknown. He acts the general, the Briton, the conqueror, and the Christian. What fair hopes arise from the peaceful and undisturbed enjoyment of this good land, and the blessing of our gracious God with it! Methinks I see towns enlarged, settlements increased, and this howling wilderness become a fruitful field which the Lord hath blessed; and, to complete the scene, I see churches rise and flourish in every Christian grace where has been the seat of Satan and Indian idolatry."

Nathaniel Appleton, of Cambridge, hails the dawning of a new era. "Who can tell what great and glorious things God is about to bring forward in the world, and in this world of America in particular? Oh, may the time come when these deserts, which for ages unknown have been regions of darkness and habitations of cruelty, shall be illuminated with the light of the glorious gospel; and when this part of the world, which till the later ages was utterly unknown, shall be the glory and joy of the whole earth!" . . .

All, and more than all, that France had lost England had won. Now, for the first time, she was beyond dispute the greatest of maritime and colonial powers. Portugal and Holland, her precursors in ocean enterprise, had long ago fallen hopelessly behind. Two great rivals remained, and she had humbled the one and swept the other from her path. Spain, with vast American possessions, was sinking into the decay which is one of the phenomena of modern history; while France, of late a most formidable competitor, had abandoned the contest in despair. England was mistress of the seas, and the

world was thrown open to her merchants, explorers, and colonists. A few years after the peace the navigator Cook began his memorable series of voyages, and surveyed the strange and barbarous lands which after-times were to transform into other Englands, vigorous children of this great mother of nations. It is true that a heavy blow was soon to fall upon her: her own folly was to alienate the eldest and greatest of her offspring. But nothing could rob her of the glory of giving birth to the United States; and, though politically severed, this gigantic progeny were to be not the less a source of growth and prosperity to the parent that bore them, joined with her in a triple kinship of laws, language, and blood. The war or series of wars that ended with the peace of Paris secured the opportunities and set in action the forces that have planted English homes in every clime, and dotted the earth with English garrisons and posts of trade.

With the peace of Paris ended the checkered story of New France,—a story which would have been a history if faults of constitution and the bigotry and folly of rulers had not dwarfed it to an episode. Yet it is a noteworthy one in both its lights and its shadows: in the disinterested zeal of the founder of Quebec, the self-devotion of the early missionary martyrs, and the daring enterprise of explorers: in the spiritual and temporal vassalage from which the only escape was to the savagery of the wilderness: and in the swarming corruptions which were the natural result of an attempt to rule, by the absolute hand of a master beyond the Atlantic, a people bereft of every vestige of civil liberty.

Scarcely were they free from the incubus of France when the British Provinces showed symptoms of revolt. The measures on the part of the mother-country which roused their resentment, far from being oppressive, were less burdensome than the navigation laws to which they had long submitted; and they resisted taxation by Parliament simply because it was in principle opposed to their rights as freemen. They did not, like the American Provinces of Spain at a later day, sunder themselves from a parent fallen into decrepitude, but with astonishing audacity they affronted the wrath of England in the hour of her triumph, forgot their jealousies and quarrels, joined hands in the common cause, fought, endured, and won. The disunited colonies became the United States.—*From Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe."*

“The Peace of Paris,” says Parkman, in the concluding chapter of his “Montcalm and Wolfe,” “marks an epoch than which none in modern history is more fruitful of grand results. With it began a new chapter in the annals of the world”; and he borrows the words of Green in his “History of the English People”: “With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham began the history of the United States.” John Fiske’s judg-

ment is that "the triumph of Wolfe marks the greatest turning-point as yet discoverable in modern history." It was a significant and great event because it settled the fact that North America should be New England, and not New France.

"The British cause," says Hinsdale, in his "Old North-west," "was the cause of the North-west and of America. Put in the broadest way, the question was, whether French or English ideas and tendencies should have sway in North America. Montcalm and Wolfe were both gallant soldiers and able commanders, both true patriots and chivalrous gentlemen; but they stood on the Heights of Abraham that September day for very different things: Montcalm for the *old régime*, Wolfe for the House of Commons; Montcalm for the alliance of king and priest, Wolfe for *habeas corpus* and free inquiry; Montcalm for the past, Wolfe for the future; Montcalm for Louis XV. and Madame de Pompadour, Wolfe for George Washington and Abraham Lincoln."

Of the long struggle of France for the possession of this continent Parkman is the historian, his great series of books, ending with the "Montcalm and Wolfe," constituting a body of historical work which is unique and monumental. "Mr. Parkman's Histories" is the subject of a special Old South Leaflet, 7th series, 1889, No. 3; and to that the student is referred for representative selections and careful historical and bibliographical notes.

Captain John Knox's "Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760," from which the account of the battle of Quebec given in the present leaflet is taken, is a large work in two volumes, published in London a few years after the battle, and is of high value as the careful record of one who was a participant in the great events described. There is a large number of contemporary narratives of the siege of Quebec, both on the English and French sides; and a careful account of them may be found in the notes to Justin Winsor's chapter on "The Struggle for the Great Valleys of North America," in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," vol. v. There are few great historical events concerning which the original material is more abundant or valuable. The most important life of Wolfe is that by Wright. There is an admirable brief biography by Bradley in the "English Men of Action" series. Special attention should also be called to the address by Sabine before the New England Historic-Genealogical Society in 1859, the hundredth anniversary of the death of Wolfe. The appendix contains much valuable matter; and the study of the many different accounts of Wolfe's last moments is of peculiar interest. Knox's account differs in important respects from others; but Mr. Sabine's verdict is that it is his version which we may confidently adopt. This, too, is the account followed by Parkman.

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