

SIEGE OF QUEBEC,

IN

1759.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

NARRATIVE of the doings during the SIEGE OF QUEBEC, and the conquest of CANADA; by a NUN of the General Hospital of Quebec, transmitted to a religious Community of the same order, in France.

MY VERY REVEREND MOTHERS,

As our constitution requires us to consult the other establishments of our Congregation, in any difficulties that may occur, tending to impede the progress of our holy Institution, it must also give you the same power, I imagine, when necessary to promote our edification. The simple narration, which I am about to give you, of what passed since the year 1755, when the English determined to use every effort to acquire this colony; the part we took, by the immense labours which were consequently imposed upon us, will be the subject.

The General Hospital is situated in the outer limits of Quebec, about half a mile from the walls.

The fire, * from which our Sisters in Quebec have lately suffered, having rendered it impossible for them to continue their charge of the sick, Mr. Bigot, the *In-*

* The Hotel Dieu (nunnery) had been recently destroyed by fire, communicated by an incendiary.

tendant (or Governor) of the country, proposed that we should receive them in our hospital. We readily agreed so to do; being desirous of rendering service, and zealously fulfilling the duties of our calling, the Sisters lost no time in entering upon the sacred work. His Majesty, attentive to the wants of his subjects, and being informed of the preparations making by the English, did not fail to forward succour to the country, consisting in numerous vessels, laden with munitions of war and provisions, of which we were entirely destitute; and several regiments, who landed in a deplorable state, unfit for service, a great many men having died soon after. They were suffering from malignant fever. All the sick, officers and privates, were conveyed to our hospital, which was insufficient to contain them; we were therefore compelled to fill most parts of the building, even to the church, having obtained the permission of the late bishop Pontbriand, our illustrious prelate. He whose zeal and charity, all must readily acknowledge, being desirous of partaking in the labours of the Almoners, passed days and nights in ministering to the sick and dying; exposing his life in the midst of infection, which contributed materially to affect his health and to abridge his days. He had the misfortune to lose four of his Almoners, who perished in a few days from the pestilential infection they inhaled in their attendance upon the sick. He ministered to them himself, and his charitable attentions were readily bestowed upon his flock generally. The heavy duties with which we were charged, seemed to touch his noble heart; the loss of ten of our youngest Nuns affected him most sensibly. In their last moments they were not without consolation, conscious of having done their duty. They prayed that God would be pleased to receive them as acceptable victims in ap-

peasing his wrath; but this was only a small portion of the bitter cup of affliction prepared for us. The loss deprived us of the power to attend to all the calls upon us, arising from our numerous patients. The bishop caused ten Nuns to come to our assistance from the Hotel Dieu of Quebec; who, full of a sense of their duty, really edified us by their exertions, and indefatigable zeal, in attending day and night upon the sick. Our gratitude towards their community increased from day to day. The poverty of our establishments did not admit of our assisting them in their distress as we desired, their house having been destroyed by fire.

Let us now, dear Mothers, endeavor to give you some details of a war and captivity, which our sins have drawn upon us. Heaven, so far favorable to our supplications, preserved us on several occasions. The most holy Virgin, patroness of this country, having baffled the efforts of the enemy enabled our vessels to escape their vigilance, and the tempests and storms of the ocean. But alas! want of sufficient gratitude, deprived us of a continuation of her protection. Still, during the first attacks of our enemy, we continued to enjoy it; every where they appeared, they were beaten and repulsed with considerable loss. The taking of ————* of Fort St. George and several others, of which they were deprived, are proofs. The victories we obtained at Belle Rivière and at Carillon, were most glorious; our warriors returned crowned with laurels. They probably, did not return thanks to the God of armies, to whom they were indebted for success, as it was miraculous; their small numbers, without heavenly aid, could not so completely have accomplished it. Thereupon, the enemy, despairing of vanquish-

* Fort Chouagen probably.

ing us, ashamed to retreat, determined to fit out a formidable fleet, armed with all the artillery that the infernal regions could supply for the destruction of human kind. They displayed the British flag in the harbor of Quebec on the 26th June, 1759. On the receipt of intelligence of their arrival, our troops and militia came down from above. Our Generals left garrisons in the advanced posts, of which there is a great number above Montreal, in order to prevent the junction of their land forces, which it was understood were on the march. Our Generals did not fail to occupy most points where the enemy might land ; but they could not guard them all. The sickness suffered by our troops, lately from France, and the losses they sustained in two or three recent actions with the enemy, though victorious, weakened us considerably ; and it became necessary to abandon Point Levi, directly opposite to and commanding Quebec. The enemy soon occupied it and constructed their batteries ; which commenced firing on the 24th July, in a manner to excite the greatest alarm in our unfortunate Communities of religious ladies.

The reverend Mother Saint Helen, Superior of the Hospital, wrote to us the same day, supplicating admission into our House, for herself and her Sisters. Although we could not doubt that our building would be speedily filled with wounded from the siege, we received our dear Sisters with open arms. The tears which we shed and the tenderness exhibited towards them made it evident that we were happy to share with them the little comfort that remained to us. We surrendered the rooms to them, and confined ourselves to our dormitories. We were not long before another dislodgement took place. Next day, at six o'clock in the even-

ing, we beheld in our meadows the reverend ladies of the Ursuline Convent, who seized with fright, occasioned by the shot and shells, which had penetrated the walls of their dwelling, were hurrying towards our asylum. It became necessary to find place for upwards of thirty Sisters, who were received with no less tenderness and affection than was exhibited to the ladies of the Hospital.

It now became necessary to ascertain how we should accommodate ourselves. On the arrival of the English fleet, all the families of distinction, merchants, &c. capable of maintaining themselves, were removed to Three Rivers and Montreal, thereby relieving the garrison during the siege. Several members of our families and others whom we could not refuse, sought shelter with us, being at hand to succour their husbands and sons who might be wounded. As our house was beyond the range of the enemy's artillery, the poor people of the city did not fail to seek refuge there. All the out-houses, stables, barns, garrets, &c., were well filled.

The only consolation we enjoyed was that of daily seeing our Bishop, though in a dying state, exhorting and encouraging us not to relax in our good works. He was induced to retire from his capital, his palace and cathedral being reduced to ashes. He would not quit his flock while any hope remained of saving them; he lived with the curate at Charlesbourg, three miles from Quebec. He permitted the several Almoners to celebrate Mass in our Choir, the Church being occupied by the wounded. Most people of the neighborhood assisted at Mass, so that we were extremely crowded. It was consolatory to us, that we were enabled to have divine service during the siege, without interfering with

the attentions to the sick and wounded. The only rest we partook of, was during prayers, and still it was not without interruption from the noise of shells and shot, dreading every moment that they would be directed towards us. The red-hot shot and carcasses terrified those who attended the sick during the night. They had the affliction of witnessing the destruction of the houses of the citizens, many of our connexions being immediately interested therein. During one night, upwards of fifty of the best houses in the Lower Town were destroyed. The vaults containing merchandise and many precious articles, did not escape the effects of the artillery. During this dreadful conflagration, we could offer nothing but our tears and prayers at the foot of the altar at such moments as could be snatched from the necessary attention to the wounded.

In addition to these misfortunes, we had to contend with more than one enemy ; famine, at all times inseparable from war, threatened to reduce us to the last extremity ; upwards of six hundred persons in our building and vicinity, partaking of our small means of subsistence, supplied from the government stores, which were likely soon to be short of what was required for the troops. In the midst of this desolation, the Almighty, disposed to humble us, and to deprive us of our substance, which we had probably amassed contrary to his will, and with too great avidity, still mercifully preserved our lives, which were daily periled, from the present state of the country.

Our enemy, informed of our destitute condition, was satisfied with battering our walls, despairing of vanquishing us, except by starvation. The river was the only obstruction we could oppose to the enemy ; it like-

wise interfered to prevent our attacking them. They remained long under our eyes, meditating a descent; finally they determined on landing at Beauport. Our army, always on the alert, being apprised by the advanced guard, immediately rushed to the spot, with that ardour natural to the French nation, without calculating upon the many causes likely to wrest the victory from their grasp.

The enemy, more cautious in their proceedings, on observing our army, hesitated in landing all their forces. We drove them from our redoubts, of which they had obtained possession. They became overwhelmed, and left the field strewn with killed and wounded. This action alone, had it been properly managed, would have finally relieved us from their invasion. We must not, however, attribute the mismanagement solely to our Generals; the Indian tribes, often essential to our support, became prejudicial to us on this occasion. The hideous yells of defiance tended to intimidate our foes who instead of meeting the onset, to which they had exposed themselves, precipitately retreated to their boats, and left us masters of the field. We charitably conveyed their wounded to our hospital, notwithstanding the fury and rage of the Indians, who, according to their cruel custom, sought to scalp them. Our army continued constantly ready to oppose the enemy. They dared not attempt a second landing; but ashamed of inaction, they took to burning the country places. Under shelter of darkness, they moved their vessels about seven or eight leagues above Quebec. There they captured a great number of prisoners, including women and children, who had taken refuge in that quarter. There again they experienced the valour of a small garrison of invalides, commanded by an officer, having

one arm only, placed there in charge of military stores. The enemy, after a severe struggle, succeeded in capturing them.

After remaining in vain nearly three months at anchor in the Port, they appeared disposed to retire, despairing of success ; but the Almighty, whose intentions are beyond our penetration, and always just, having resolved to subdue us, inspired the English Commander with the idea of making another attempt before his departure, which was done by surprise during the night. It was the intention, that night, to send supplies to a body of our troops forming an outpost on the heights near Quebec. A miserable deserter gave the information to the enemy, and persuaded them that it would be easy to surprise us, and pass their boats by using our countersign. They profited by the information, and the treasonable scheme succeeded. They landed on giving the password ; our officer detected the deceit, but too late. He defended his post bravely with his small band, and was wounded. By this plan the enemy found themselves on the heights near the city. General De Montcalm, without loss of time, marched at the head of his army ; but having to proceed about half a league, the enemy had time to bring up their artillery, and to form for the reception of the French. Our leading battalions did not wait the arrival and formation of the other forces to support them, they rushed with their usual impetuosity on their enemies and killed a great number ; but they were soon overcome by the artillery. They lost their General and a great number of officers.* Our loss was not equal to that of the enemy ; but it was not the less serious.

* It is the memorable battle of the 13th September, 1759, which took

General De Montcalm and his principal officers fell on the occasion.

Several officers of the Canadian Militia, fathers of families, shared the same fate. We witnessed the carnage from our windows. It was such a scene that charity triumphed, and caused us to forget self-preservation and the danger we were exposed to, in the immediate presence of the enemy. We were in the midst of the dead and the dying, who were brought in to us by hundreds, many of them our close connexions; it was necessary to smother our griefs and exert ourselves to relieve them. Loaded with the inmates of three convents, and all the inhabitants of the neighboring suburbs, which the approach of the enemy caused to fly in this direction, you may judge of our terror and confusion. The enemy masters of the field, and within a few paces of our house; exposed to the fury of the soldiers, we had reason to dread the worst. It was then that we experienced the truth of the words of holy writ: "he who places his trust in the Lord has nothing to fear."

But though not wanting in faith or hope, the approach of night greatly added to our fears. The three sisterhoods, with the exception of those who were dispersed over the house, prostrated themselves at the foot of the altar, to implore Divine mercy. The silence and

place on the Plains of Abraham, that is alluded to. The official account of the English loss on this occasion, is as follows:

Officers, Serjeants and privates killed.....	61
Officers, Serjeants, Drummers and privates wounded....	598
Soldiers missing.....	5

Total.... 664

After the battle, several French officers admitted their loss amounted to nearly 1500 men, killed, wounded and prisoners.

consternation which prevailed, was suddenly interrupted by loud and repeated knocks at our doors. Two young Nuns, who were carrying broth to the sick, unavoidably happened to be near when the door was opened. The palor and fright which overcame them touched the officer, and he prevented the guard from entering; he demanded the appearance of the Superiors, and desired them to assure us of protection; he said that part of the English force would entour and take possession of the house, apprehending that our army, which was not distant, might return and attack them in their entrenchments,—which would certainly have taken place, had our troops been enabled to reassemble before the capitulation. Soon after, we saw their army drawn up under our windows. The loss we had sustained the day before led us to fear, with reason, that our fate was decided, our people being unable to rally. General De Lévi, second in command, who became chief on the death of De Montcalm, had set out, some days previous, with about 3000 men, to reinforce the upper posts, which were daily harassed by the enemy.

The loss we had just sustained, and the departure of that force, determined the Marquis De Vaudreuil, Governor General of the Colony, to abandon Quebec, being no longer able to retain it. The enemy having formed their entrenchments and their Camp near the principal gate, their fleet commanding the Port, it was impossible to convey succour to the garrison. Mr. De Ramsay, who commanded, with a feeble garrison, without provisions or munitions, held out to the last extremity.

The principal inhabitants represented to him that

they had readily sacrificed their property ; but with regard to their wives and children, they could not make up their minds to witness their massacre, in the event of the place being stormed ; it was therefore necessary to determine on capitulation.

The English readily accorded the articles demanded, religious toleration and civil advantages for the inhabitants. Happy in having acquired possession of a country, in which they had on several previous occasions failed, they were the most moderate of conquerors. We could not, without injustice, complain of the manner in which they treated us. However, their good treatment has not yet dried our tears. We do not shed them as did the good Hebrews near the waters of Babylon, we are still in the land of promise ; but our canticles will not again be heard until we can shake off this medley of nations, and until our temples are re-established ; then we will celebrate, with the utmost gratitude, the merciful bounty of the Lord.

After the capitulation of Quebec, all that remained of the families of distinction followed the French army to Montreal. His lordship the Bishop, having no place to dwell in, was compelled to follow their example. Before his departure, he made all necessary arrangements in his Diocese ; he appointed Mr. Briand vicar general, who is justly considered a godly man, and of such established merit that our enemies could not withhold their approbation, and, I may say, their veneration of him. He maintained his rights and those of his curates in such a manner, as to meet with no obstacles from the English. The Vicar selected our house for his residence ; beholding us charged with an infinite number of people, without resources, exposed to

many evils,—he did not consider us safe but under his own eyes. He was not mistaken ; and, in the end, we were much indebted to him.

The reduction of Quebec, on the 18th September, 1759, produced no tranquillity for us, but rather increased our labours. The English Generals came to our Hospital and assured us of their protection, and at the same time, required us to take charge of their wounded and sick.

Although we were near the seat of war, our establishment had nothing to fear, as the well understood rights of nations protected Hospitals so situated ; still they obliged us to lodge a guard of thirty men, and it was necessary to prepare food and bedding for them. On being relieved, they carried off many of the blankets, &c., the officer taking no measures to prevent them. Our greatest misfortune was to hear their talking during divine service.

The Sisters from the other Convents determined to return to their former dwellings. It was very painful for us to part with them. Their long residence with us, and the esteem and affection created thereby, caused our separation to be most sensibly felt. The Revd. Mother St. Helen, Superior, observing us overwhelmed with work, which was daily augmenting, left us twelve of her dear Sisters, who were a great relief to us. Two of the Ursuline Sisters were too weak to be removed, and they terminated their days with us. The fatigues and sickness they endured, with much patience and resignation, merited, I trust, an eternal reward. The departure of the dear Sisters gave us no additional space, as it became necessary to place the sick of the English army in the same apartments.

Let us now return to the French. Our Generals, not finding their force sufficient to undertake the recovery of their losses, proceeded to the construction of a Fort, about five leagues above Quebec, and left a garrison therein capable of checking the enemy from penetrating into the country. They did not remain inactive, but were constantly on the alert, harassing the enemy. The English were not safe beyond the gates of Quebec. General Murray, the commander of the place, on several occasions was near being made a prisoner, and would not have escaped if our people had been faithful. Prisoners were frequently made, which so irritated the Commander that he sent out detachments to pillage and burn the habitations of the country people.

The desire to recover the country and to acquire glory was attended with great loss to our citizens. We heard of nothing but combats throughout the winter; the severity of the season had not the effect of making them lay down their arms. Wherever the enemy was observed, they were pursued without relaxation; which caused them to remark, "that they had never known a people more attached and faithful to their sovereign than the Canadians."

The English did not fail to require the oath of allegiance to their King; but, notwithstanding this forced obligation, which our people did not consider themselves bound to observe, they joined the flying camps of the French whenever an opportunity offered.

The French forces did not spare the inhabitants of the country; they lived freely at the expense of those unfortunate people. We suffered considerable loss in

a Seigneurie which we possessed below Quebec. The officer commanding seized on all our cattle, which were numerous, and wheat to subsist his troops. The purveyor rendered us no account of such seizures. Notwithstanding this loss, we were compelled to maintain upwards of three hundred wounded, sent to us after the battle of the 13th September.

The stores of the French government, now in the possession of the English, being exhausted, we were therefore obliged to have recourse to the enemy. They gave us flour and clothing. But how little suited was it for our unfortunate wounded! We had no wine or other comforts to afford them. Drained long since by the great numbers, nothing remained but good will. This, however, did not satisfy them. Our officers represented to the English commander that they were not accustomed to be treated in that manner by the King of France. The Commander, piqued by this reproach, attached the blame to us, and required us to make a statement of what was necessary for the relief of these gentlemen, and then caused us to pay for it. We flattered ourselves that the French government, more just, would be proud to reimburse all our extra expenses, which were unavoidable at this time. The desire to obtain our rights and recover the country, induced us to do our utmost in support of the cause.

As we had, in our Hospital, many French soldiers of the garrison of Quebec, and of the sufferers in the action of the 13th, they implored us, when their strength was re-established, to allow them to fly and join the army; we readily agreed to it, and furnished them with clothing and provisions, to enable them to accomplish their object, which drew upon us the most severe

reproaches and menaces from the enemy. They threatened to allow us to die from starvation.

As our house was still full of sick, the Grand Vicar, who attended closely to our welfare, removed several of the Almoners who contributed to embarrass us from the scarcity of provisions. He and the reverend Mr. De Rigauville, our Chaplain, administered to the sick, and attended them in their last moments, night and day.

We have at this time upwards of two hundred English, who occupy our dining rooms and dormitories; and as many French, in our infirmaries, leaving us merely one small room to retire into. There assembled, and left to our reflections, we anticipated the worst. All communication with our friends being interrupted, we knew not what was passing in the upper parts. Our enemies, better informed, announced the approach of our army; the measures they adopted, and the additional fortifications they constructed in Quebec, supported by a strong garrison, caused us to dread the result of the struggle. On our side we had false prophets; women painting, in their imaginations, sieges without mortars or cannon; the town taken by assault. Nothing more was required to stir and animate those who were eager for the fray.

As soon as the season appeared suitable for campaigning, our army followed the ice, scantily provided with provisions, and still less with artillery suited for a siege. Our Generals did not doubt the valour of the troops; but they only flattered themselves with the prospect of success, in the event of the arrival of succour from France. In the expectation of their arrival, our army commenced their march; they arrived near

Quebec on the 26th April. The 27th was employed in landing the few guns brought from Montreal. An artilleryman, in landing, fell on a loose piece of ice, which floated him directly opposite the city. The extraordinary conveyance attracted the attention of the sentinels ; they notified the Commander, who immediately sent relief to the artilleryman. He was brought before the Commander and questioned. The poor man, seized with fright, after his dangerous escape, was quite unprepared for evasion ; he candidly acknowledged that he was one of the French army, who were within two leagues of Quebec. He related how he had been transported down the river against his will. So far the march of the army had been secret. The secret being now developed, it appeared to us a bad omen ; an event governed by a power beyond our reach or opposition. The English Commander, General Murray, informed by this means, lost not a moment. He immediately withdrew a strong advanced post, stationed about a league from Quebec, with their cannon, and blew up the Church of St. Foy, which had served as a shelter for the troops ; after which he summoned a council of war, and appeared to be alone of opinion that it was expedient to march out with a considerable portion of the garrison, and take up a strong position, establish his batteries, and there meet the enemy. The proposal did not meet with the sanction of the majority ; but, notwithstanding, he carried it into execution.

Our army, ignorant of the information accidentally obtained by the garrison, continued their march. During the night of the 27th, and 28th it rained incessantly. The heavens appeared to contend against us. The thunder and lightning, very rare at this season, seemed

to be the forerunner of the shock to which our forces were about to be exposed. The rain falling in torrents, and the roads rendered impracticable by the melting of the snow, prevented their marching in good order. General De Bourglamarque, second in command, at the head of the leading battalion, came in sight of the enemy before forming his men. The enemy's artillery lost no time in opening a destructive fire upon them, which placed many *hors de combat*. The General was wounded and forced to retire. The main body of our troops, marines and militia, better acquainted with the roads, arrived in time to support a regiment, which was near being cut to pieces, rather than retreat. The action then became most furious and general. The English having had the choice of position, possessed considerable advantage. Our army did not expect to find their foes drawn up in order of battle; they were consequently compelled to halt, and not finding the ground suitable for extending their lines, the first divisions had to bear the brunt of the fire. The main struggle took place near Quebec, on a height opposite our house. Not a shot was fired which did not resound in our ears. Judge, if possible, what must have been our situation; the interest of our country, and our close connections were amongst the combatants, producing a state of anguish it is impossible to paint. The Grand Vicar, at present our Bishop, who suffered equally with us, exhorted us to bear the shock with resignation and submission to the decrees of the Almighty; after which he retired to the church, penetrated with the deepest affliction, and threw himself at the foot of the altar, where he poured forth his prayers, imploring with such confidence that the divine Ruler of events would stay the deadly conflict, and spare the innocent, and be pleased to his care. He then arose, and the flock confident of hope, in order to

proceed to the field of battle, notwithstanding our remonstrances, which were not urged without reason, as he must be exposed to great danger. He was induced to proceed to the field, because he apprehended that there were not a sufficient number of clergy on the spot to minister to the dying, who he believed were very numerous.

Mr. De Rigauville, our Chaplain, full of zeal, was desirous of following the Grand Vicar. He was not without anxiety, his only brother, and several of his nearest connections being in the army. He had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy turn their backs and fly. The engagement lasted two hours. The intrepidity and valour of the French and Canadians drove the enemy from their strong position, and followed them up under the guns of the city. We remained masters of the field, and of their cannon, and made many prisoners. The enemy retired within the walls, and dared not again venture out. The victory, however, was dearly bought, and caused many tears to flow.

M. De Lévi, on approaching Quebec, assembled a council ; it was proposed to blow up our house, fearing that it might be a rallying point for the enemy. But God was pleased to spare us and them ; he opened their eyes, and convinced them that it was most essential to their purposes. The French commander directed us to dismiss all persons who had taken refuge in our establishment, as he looked to us as the only persons capable of taking charge of the wounded during the siege, about to be commenced. We did not fail to answer, that we would proceed to empty our house, with the exception of two hundred English sick, which

it was not in our power to remove ; but in other respects we were always ready to second his intentions, and to render all the service in our power.

After the battle he sent us an officer with a French guard, which however, did not free us from the English guard. It became necessary to find room for them. But this was but the prelude to what was yet to happen. It would require another pen than mine to depict the horrors which we were compelled to witness, during twenty-four hours, which were occupied in the reception of the wounded ; their cries and the lamentations of their friends were truly heartrending. It required supernatural strength to bear the scenes. »

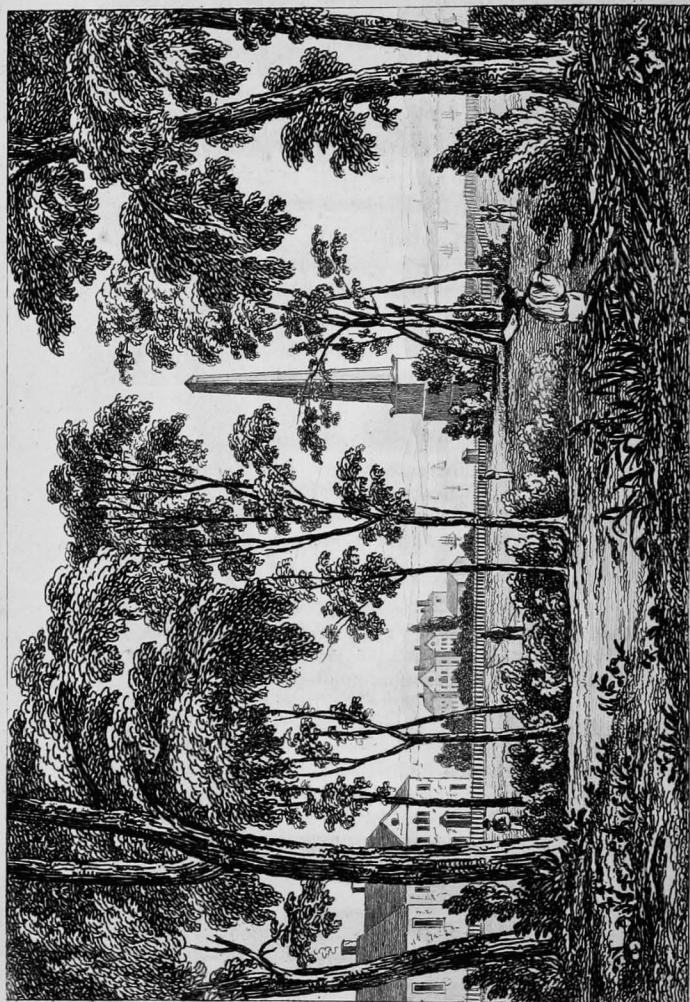
After having prepared upwards of five hundred beds, which were procured from the public stores, as many more were required.—Our stables and barns were filled with these unfortunate men. It was very difficult to find time to attend to all. We had in our infirmaries seventy-two officers, thirty-three of whom died. We saw nothing but amputation of legs and arms. To crown our distress there was a deficiency of linen ; we were under the necessity of giving our sheets and our body-linen. The French army did not fail to provide that article, but unfortunately, the vessel conveying their stores from Montreal was captured by the English.

In this instance we were differently situated from what we were after the battle of the 13th September ; we could not expect assistance from the religious ladies of the city ; the English had taken possession of their establishments for the reception of their wounded, who were more numerous than the French. About twenty

officers of the English army, who were left wounded on the field, were also brought to us.

Reverend Mothers, as I give you this account, merely from memory, of what passed under our eyes, and with a view to afford you the satisfaction of knowing that we sustained with fortitude, and in an edifying manner, the painful duties imposed upon us by our vocation ; I will not undertake to relate to you all the particulars of the surrender of the country. I could do it but imperfectly, and from hearsay. I will merely say that the majority of the Canadians were disposed to perish rather than surrender ; and that the small number of troops remaining were deficient of ammunition and provisions, and only surrendered in order to save the lives of the women and children, who are likely to be exposed to the greatest peril where towns are carried by assault.

Alas ! Dear Mothers, it was a great misfortune for us that France could not send, in the spring, some vessels with provisions and munitions ; we should still be under her dominion. She has lost a vast country and a faithful people, sincerely attached to their sovereign ; a loss we must greatly deplore, on account of our religion, and the difference of the laws to which we must submit. We vainly flatter ourselves that peace may restore us to our rights.



Wolfe's and Montcalm's Monument.

THE MONUMENT.

*Ceremony of Laying the First Stone of the MONUMENT
to WOLFE and MONTCALM, on the 20th November,
1827*

In the upper garden attached to the Castle, stands an obelisk, erected by subscription, to Montcalm and Wolfe. The proposal of erecting a monument to these celebrated men originated with Lord Dalhousie, who munificently contributed to the subscription. Captain Young, of the 79th Highlanders, composed the design. In the morning troops in garrison marched to the street which separates the upper and lower gardens, they then opened their ranks and formed a lane.

The Grand Lodge of Masons, the Merchants and Frères du Canada, the Sussex, and the St. Andrew's Lodges, the officers composing the Grand Lodge, and the Brethren being in full Masonic costume, walked in procession, preceded by the band of the 66th regiment, entered the garden, and lined the avenues to the spot where preparations had been made for the purpose which called their attendance.

The Countess of Dalhousie shortly after made her appearance in the garden, with the Hon. Lady Hill, the Hon. Mrs. Gore, Mrs. Sewell, and a large party of fashionables, and passed through the lines of Masons to the Platform; almost at the same moment His Excellency the Governor in chief, accompanied by the Lord Bishop of Quebec, and the Chief Justice, the Committee of Superintendence, and many other gentlemen, and attended by the Officers of the Staff, entered the garden, and descending the steps, joined the Countess of Dalhousie, whom he conducted, accompanied by her Ladyship's friends, to a situation commanding a view of the ceremonies to take place. His Excellency then placed himself in front of the stone and spoke as follows :

Gentlemen of the Committee, we are assembled upon an occasion most interesting to this country—if possible more so to this city---

We are met to lay the Foundation of a Column in honor of two illustrious men, whose deeds and whose fall have immortalized their own names, and placed Quebec in the rank of cities famous in the history of the world. Before, however, we touch the first stone, let us implore the Blessing of Almighty God upon our intended work.

The prayer concluded—His Lordship thus addressed the Masonic Brethren :

“Right Worshipful Grand Master and Worshipful Brethren of the Grand Lodge, I crave your assistance in performing Masonic Ceremonies and honors on this occasion.”

The R. W. Grand Master, supported by the R.W.D.G.M. Oliva on his right, and P. D. G. M. Thompson on his left, with two Grand Deacons, took his station on the east side of the foundation. The Grand Masters and the Grand Chaplain placed themselves on the opposite sides, then the Corner Stone was lowered and laid with the usual Masonic ceremony—the Grand Master advanced towards his Lordship to give the Three Mystic strokes on the Stone, and repeated the following short prayer :

“May this undertaking prosper, with the Blessing of Almighty God.”

The part of the ceremony which now followed derived peculiar interest from the presence of Mr. James Thompson, one of the few survivors (supposed to be the only man in Canada) of that gallant army which served under Wolfe on the memorable 13th of September, 1759. This venerable Mason, in the 95th year of his age, walked with the party which accompanied the Earl, and stood near his Lordship, leaning on the arm of Captain Young, of the 79th Highlanders, the officer whose pencil produced the chaste and appropriate design of the Monument. His Lordship called upon the patriarch to assist in the ceremony in these words :

“Mr. Thompson—We honour you here as the companion in arms and a venerable living witness of the fall of Wolfe; do us also the favor to bear witness on this occasion by the mallet in your hand.” Mr. Thompson then, with a firm hand, gave the three Mystic strokes with the mallet on the stone. An appropriate prayer was then pronounced by Dr. Harkness.

Then Captain Melhuish, of the R. E., having deposited Gold, Silver, and Copper Coins of the present Reign, in a cavity of the stone, the pieces were covered by a brass plate, bearing the following inscription :

HUNC LAPIDEM
 MONUMENTI IN MEMORIAM
 VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM
 WOLFE ET MONTCALM,
 FUNDAMENTUM
 P. C.
GEORGIUS, COMES DE DALHOUSIE,
 IN SEPTENTRIONALIS AMERICÆ PARTIBUS
 AD BRITANNOS PERTINENTIBUS
 SUMMAM RERUM ADMINISTRANS;
 OPUS PER MULTOS ANNOS PRÆTERMISSUM,
 (QUID DUCI EGREGIO CONVENIENTIUS ?)
 AUCTORITATE PROMOVENS, EXEMPLO STIMULANS,
 MUNIFICENTIA FOVENS.
 Die Novembris XVâ.
 A. D. MDCCCXXVII.
 GEORGE IV BRITANNIORUM REGE.

[Translation.]

THIS FOUNDATION STONE
 OF A MONUMENT IN MEMORY OF
 THE ILLUSTRIOUS MEN,
 WOLFE AND MONTCALM,
 WAS LAID BY
GEORGE, EARL OF DALHOUSIE,
 GOVERNOR IN CHIEF OVER ALL THE BRITISH
 PROVINCES IN NORTH AMERICA,
 A WORK NEGLECTED FOR MANY YEARS.
 (WHAT IS THERE MORE WORTHY OF A GALLANT GENERAL ?)
 HE PROMOTED BY HIS INFLUENCE, ENCOURAGED BY HIS
 EXAMPLE, AND FAVORED BY HIS MUNIFICENCE.
 15th November, 1827.
 GEORGE IV. REIGNING KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The ceremony concluded by the troops, under the command of Colonel Nicol, firing a *feu de joie*, after which they presented arms, the bands playing God save the King.

At the time the Monument was first set on foot, a Gold Medal, offered as a prize to the person who should produce the best inscription, was awarded to J. C. Fisher, LL. D., Editor of the Quebec Gazette by Authority, whose composition was generally admired by scholars, for the Classic purity of its style.—It is as follows :—

W O L F E . ——— M O N T C A L M .
 MORTEM VIRTUS COMMUNEM,
 FAMAM HISTORIA,
 MONUMENTUM POSTERITAS,
 DEDIT. A. D. 1827.

[Translation.]

*Military Virtue gave them a common Death,
 History a common Fame,
 Posterity a common Monument.*

MONTCALM.

LOUIS JOSEPH Marquis de MONTCALM died early on the morning after the battle of Quebec, and was buried that evening in the chapel of the Ursuline Convent. There happened, at that time, to be living in the neighborhood of the Convent, a little girl of nine years of age, named Dubé who, prompted by curiosity, followed the funeral procession into the chapel, and witnessed the interment. She afterwards became a Nun in the Convent ; and in May, 1833, when upwards of 80 years old, was enabled to point out exactly the position of the hero's grave. On searching for the remains, only a few fragments of bones were discovered, which, with the exception of the scull, were so far decayed as to crumble into dust on being touched. The scull has been carefully preserved under a glass case, in the apartments of the Chaplain of the Convent. On the scull the marks of two wounds are distinctly visible ; both having the appearance of having been inflicted with a sword or other edged weapon.

During his earlier campaigns, Montcalm had seen much service in Italy, Germany, and Bohemia ; and had, when Colonel, received three wounds in the battle of Plaisance, (13th June, 1746), and two in the desperate combat of Assiette, or Exilles (8th July 1746), in which actions he had highly distinguished himself.

A fortnight before the battle of Quebec, in a letter addressed to his cousin in France, Montcalm pathetically described how hopeless would be his situation in the event of Wolfe effecting a landing near the city ; and, with a firm heart, foretold his own fate.*

* Montcalm's despondency arose from the circumstance of a large portion of his force being composed of Militiamen, who could not stand the charge of regular troops, particularly as they possessed no bayonets.

After receiving the mortal wound, his fortitude was not abated ; he retained his intrepid bearing. Supported by two grenadiers, one on each side of his horse, he entered the city ; and in reply to some women who, on seeing blood flow from his wounds as he rode down St. Lewis street, on his way to the Château, exclaimed Oh mon Dieu ! mon Dieu ! le Marquis est tué ! courteously assured them that he was not seriously hurt, and begged of them not to distress themselves on his account—*Ce n'est rien ! ce n'est rien ! Ne vous affligez pas pour moi, mes bonnes amies.* On being informed that his wounds were mortal, he said, “ I am glad of it ; how long can I survive ? ” Ten or twelve hours, perhaps less, was the reply. “ So much the better, for then I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec.”

The French troops which served in Canada being anxious to honour the memory of their lamented General by the erection of a monument over his grave, permission to give effect to that laudable desire was requested, on their behalf, in 1761, by M. de Bougainville ; whose letter to Mr. Pitt, and that great statesman's cordial reply, were in the following terms :

“ Sir,

“ The honours paid, under your ministry, to Mr. Wolfe, assure me that you will not disapprove of the grateful endeavours of the French troops to perpetuate the memory of the Marquis de Montcalm. The body of their General, who was honoured by the regret of your nation, is interred in Quebec. I have the honour of send you an epitaph made for him by the Academy of Inscriptions : I beg the favour of you, that you will be pleased to examine it ; and, if not improper, obtain leave for me to send it to Quebec, engraved on marble,

“ that it may be placed on the Marquis de Montcalm’s
 “ tomb.

“ Should such leave be granted, may I presume,
 “ sir, that you will be so good as to inform me of it,
 “ and, at the same time, to send me a passport ; that
 “ the marble, with the epitaph engraved on it, may
 “ be received into an English ship ; and that Mr.
 “ Murray, Governor of Quebec, may allow it to be
 “ placed in the Ursuline church.

“ You will be pleased, sir, to pardon me for this
 “ intrusion on your important occupations ; but
 “ endeavouring to immortalize illustrious men and
 “ eminent patriots is doing honour to yourself.

“ I am, with respect, &c.,

“ DE BOUGAINVILLE.

“ Paris, 24th March, 1761.”

“ Sir,

“ It is a real satisfaction to me to send you the
 “ King’s consent on a subject so affecting as the
 “ epitaph, composed by the Academy of Inscriptions
 “ at Paris, for the Marquis de Montcalm ; and which
 “ it is desired may be sent to Quebec, engraved on
 “ marble, to be placed on the tomb of that illustrious
 “ Soldier. It is perfectly beautiful ; and the desire
 “ of the French troops which served in Canada to
 “ pay such a tribute to the memory of their General,
 “ they saw expire at their head in a manner worthy
 “ of himself and of them, is truly noble and praise-
 “ worthy.

“ I shall take a pleasure, sir, in facilitating, in every
 “ way, such amiable intentions : and on receiving
 “ notice of the measures taken for shipping this
 “ marble, will not fail to transmit to you immediately
 “ the passport you desire, and to send directions to
 “ the governor of Quebec for its reception.

“ I withal beg of you, sir, to be persuaded of my
 “ just sensibility of that so obliging part of the letter
 “ with which you have honoured me relating to
 “ myself; and to believe that I embrace, as a
 “ happiness, this opportunity of manifesting the es-
 “ teem and particular regard with which I have the
 “ honour to be, &c.

“ W. PITT.

“ London, April 10th, 1761.”

PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.

Among modern battle fields, none surpass in interest the Plains of Abraham.

Yet, notwithstanding the world-wide celebrity of these Plains, it was not until lately that the derivation of their name was discovered; and, as it is still comparatively unknown, even in Canada, the following explanation of its origin will, doubtless, possess attractions for such as are fond of tracing to their sources the names of celebrated localities; and who may be surprised to learn that, upwards of a century previous to the final conquest of Canada by the British, the scene of the decisive struggle had derived its name from one who, if not a *Scotchman* by birth, seems to have been of Scottish lineage. This apparently improbable fact will, however, appear less extraordinary when it is known that he was a seafaring man; and when it is considered how close was the alliance, and how frequent the intercourse which, for centuries before that period, had subsisted between France and Scotland.

This individual, whose name was **ABRAHAM MARTIN**, is described in a legal document, dated 15th

August, 1646, and preserved in the Archbishop's Palace at Quebec, as the King's Pilot of the St. Lawrence; an appointment which probably conferred on its possessor considerable official rank; for we find that Jacques Cartier, when about to proceed, in 1540, on his third voyage to Canada, was appointed by Francis I. Captain General and *Master Pilot* of the expedition, which consisted of five vessels.

That Martin was a person of considerable importance in the colony, may be inferred from the fact that, in the journals and parish registers of Quebec, he is usually designated by his Christian name only,—*Maistre ABRAHAM*; as well as from the circumstance of Champlain, the founder of Quebec, having been god father to one Abraham's daughters, and of Charles de St. Etienne Sieur de la Tour, having stood in the same relation to Martin's youngest son. He married Marie Langlois, and left a numerous family. He is entered in the Registers as Abraham Martin the *Scot (dit Ecossais)*. His youngest son, Charles Amador, became a Priest in Quebec. His daughter Hélène, married Médard Chouart des Groiseliors, the excellent Pilot, who, in 1663, conducted the English into Hudson's Bay.

Abraham Martin, in 1648, obtained 3½ acres of land in the immediate vicinity of Quebec, which with the neighbouring hill, have, ever since been known as the Plains of Abraham, and Abraham's Hill. The property was sold, by his heirs in 1667, to the Religious Ladies of the Ursuline Convent.

We are indebted for these facts to the very Revd. Abbé Maguire, G. V. of the Diocese of Quebec, who by his indefatigable industry, rescued them from oblivion.

SIEGE OF 1775.

ARNOLD'S EXPEDITION—DEATH OF MONTGOMERY.

THE invasion of Canada by the troops of the American Congress rendered the year 1775 remarkable in the annals of the Province. The principal points which will demand our attention are the expedition of Arnold, the storming of Quebec, and the death of Montgomery.

Canada, supposed to be perfectly secure, had been left almost destitute of regular troops, nearly all of which had been removed to Boston. The whole force of this description consisted of only two Regiments of Infantry, the 7th Fusiliers, and the 26th, amounting to no more than eight hundred men. Of these the greater part were in garrison at St. John's, the rest dispersed through the various posts. The Province was, however, extremely fortunate in the character, talents and resources of the Governor, General Carleton.

On the 17th September, 1775, Brigadier General Richard Montgomery, who had formerly been in the British service, appeared at the head of an army, before the Fort of St. John's, which, after a gallant defence, surrendered on the 3rd November, the garrison marching out with the honors of war. Montreal, which was entirely defenceless, capitulated on the 12th November; and General Carleton, conceiving it of the utmost importance to reach Quebec, the only place capable of defence, passed through the American force stationed at Sorel, during the night in a canoe with muffled paddles; and arrived in Quebec on the 19th, to the great joy of the garrison and loyal inhabitants, who placed every confidence in his well known courage and ability.

While the Province was thus threatened with subjugation on the side of Montreal, a new danger presented itself from a quarter so entirely unexpected, that until the particulars were ascertained the fears and superstitions of the inhabitants of the country parishes had ample subject for employment and exaggeration. An expedition of a singular and daring character

had been successfully prosecuted against Quebec from the New England States, by a route which was little known and generally considered impracticable. This expedition was headed by Colonel Arnold, an officer in the service of the Congress ; who with two regiments, amounting to about eleven hundred men, left Boston about the middle of September, and undertook to penetrate through the wilderness to Pointe Lévi, by the means of the Rivers Kennebec and Chaudière.

The spirit of enterprise evinced in this bold design, and the patience, hardihood and perseverance of the new raised forces employed in the execution, will for ever distinguish this expedition in the history of offensive operations. A handful of men ascending the course of a rapid river, and conveying arms, ammunition, baggage, and provisions through an almost trackless wild—bent upon a most uncertain purpose—can scarcely be considered, however, a regular operation of war. It was rather a desperate attempt, suited to the temper of the fearless men engaged in it, the character of the times, and of the scenes which were about to be acted on the American continent. The project, however, of Arnold was by no means an original thought. It had been suggested by Governor Pownall, in his " Idea of the service of America," as early as the year 1758. He says,—“ The people of Massachusetts, in the counties of Hampshire, Worcester and York, are the best wood-hunters in America.....I should think if about a hundred thorough wood-hunters, properly officered, could be obtained in the County of York, a scout of such might make an attempt upon the settlements by way of Chaudière River.”

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

arrived on the 4th November at the first settlement, called *Sertigan*, twenty five leagues from Quebec, where they obtained all kinds of provisions. On the 9th, Colonel Arnold arrived at Pointe Lévi, where he remained twenty-four hours before it was known at Quebec ; and whence it was extremely fortunate that all the small craft and canoes had been removed by order of the officer commanding the garrison. On the 13th late in the evening, they embarked in thirty-four canoes, and very early in the morning of the 14th, he succeeded in landing five hundred men at Wolfe's Cove, without being discovered from the *Lizard* and *Hunter*, ships of war. The first operation was to take possession of what had been General Murray's house on the St. Foy Road, and the General Hospital. They also placed guards upon all the roads, in order to prevent the garrison from obtaining supplies from the country.

The small force of Arnold prevented any attempt being made towards the reduction of the fortress until after the arrival of Montgomery from Montreal, who took the command on the 1st December, and established his head quarters at Holland House. Arnold is said to have occupied the house near Scott's bridge, lately inhabited by the Honorable Mr. Justice Kerr.

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

STATEMENT OF THE GARRISON, 1st DECEMBER, 1775.

70 Royal Fusileers, or 7th Regiment.
 230 Royal Emigrants, or 84th Regiment.
 22 Royal Artillery.
 330 British Militia, under Lt. Col. Caldwell.
 543 Canadians, under Colonel Dupré.
 400 Seamen under Captains Hamilton and Mackenzie.
 50 Masters and Mates.
 35 Marines.
 120 Artificers.

1800 Total bearing arms.

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

During this anxious period the gentry and inhabitants of the city bore arms, and cheerfully performed the duties of soldiers. The British Militia were conspicuous for zeal and loyalty, under the command of Major Henry Caldwell, who had the Provincial rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He had served as Deputy Quarter Master General with the army, under General WOLFE, and had settled in the Province after the conquest. The Canadian Militia within the town was commanded by Colonel Le Comte Dupré, an officer of great zeal and ability, who rendered great services during the whole siege.

General Montgomery, despairing to reduce the place by a regular siege, resolved on a night attack, in the hope of either taking it by storm, or of finding the garrison unprepared at some point. In this design he was encouraged by Arnold, whose local knowledge of Quebec was accurate, having been acquired in his frequent visits for the purpose of buying up Canadian horses. The intention of Montgomery soon became known to the garrison, and General Carleton made every preparation to prevent surprise, and to defeat the assault of the enemy.

For several days the Governor, with the officers and gentlemen off duty, had taken up their quarters in the Récollet Convent, where they slept in their clothes. At last, early in the morning of the 31st December, and during a violent snow storm, Montgomery, at the head of the New York troops, advanced to the attack of the Lower town, from its western extremity, along a road between the base and cape Diamond and the river. Arnold, at the same time, advanced from the General Hospital by way of St. Charles Street. The two parties were to meet at the lower end of Mountain Street, and when united were to force Prescott-Gate. Two feint attacks in the mean time on the side towards the west, were to distract the attention of the garrison. Such is the outline of this daring plan, the obstacles to the accomplishment of which do not seem to have entered into the contemplation of the American officers, who reckoned too much upon their own fortune and the weakness of the garrison.

When, at the head of seven hundred men, Montgomery had advanced a short distance beyond the spot where the Inclined Plane has since been constructed, he came to a narrow defile with a precipice towards the river on the one side, and the steep rock above him on the other. This place is known by the name of *Près-de-Ville*. Here all further approach to the Lower Town was intercepted, and commanded by a battery of three pounders placed in a hangard to the south of the pass. The Post was entrusted to a Captain of Canadian Militia, whose force consisted of thirty Canadian and eight British Militiamen, with nine British seamen to work the guns, as artillerymen, under Captain Barnsfare, Master of a transport, laid up in the harbor during the winter. At day-break, some of the guard, being on the look out, discovered, through the imperfect light, a body of troops in full march from WOLFE'S Cove upon the Post. The men had been kept under arms waiting with the utmost steadiness for the attack, which they had reason to expect, from the reports of deserters; and in pursuance of judicious arrangements which had been previously concerted, the enemy was allowed to approach unmolested within a small distance. They halted at about fifty yards from the barrier; and as the guard remained perfectly still, it was probably concluded that they were not on the alert. To ascertain this an officer was seen to approach quite near to

the barrier. After listening a moment or two, he returned to the body; and they instantly dashed forward at double quick time to the attack of the post. This was what the Guard expected: the artillery-men stood by with lighted matches, and Captain Barnsford at the critical moment giving the word, the fire of the guns and musketry was directed with deadly precision against the head of the advancing column. The consequence was a precipitate retreat—the enemy was scattered in every direction—the groans of the wounded and of the dying were heard, but nothing certain being known, the pass continued to be swept by the cannon and musketry for the space of ten minutes. The enemy having retired, thirteen bodies were found in the snow, and Montgomery's Orderly Serjeant desperately wounded, but yet alive, was brought into the guard room. On being asked if the General himself had been killed, the Serjeant evaded the question, by replying, that he had not seen him for some time, although he could not but have known the fact. This faithful Serjeant died in about an hour afterwards. It was not ascertained that the American General had been killed, until some hours afterwards when General Carleton, being anxious to ascertain the truth, sent an Aide-de-Camp to the Seminary, to enquire if any of the American officers, then prisoners, would identify the body.

A field officer of Arnold's division, who had been made prisoner near Sault-au-Matlot barrier, consenting, accompanied the Aide-de-Camp to the *Près-de-Ville* Guard, and pointed it out among the other bodies, at the same time pronouncing, in accents of grief, a glowing eulogium on Montgomery's bravery and worth. Besides that of the General, the bodies of his two Aides-de-Camp were recognized among the slain. The defeat of Montgomery's force was complete. Colonel Campbell, his second in command, immediately relinquished the undertaking, and led back his men with the utmost precipitation.

The exact spot where the barrier was erected before which Montgomery fell, may be described as crossing the narrow road under the mountain, immediately opposite to the west end of a building which stands on the south, and was formerly occupied by Mr. Racey as a brewery. It is now numbered 58. At the time of the siege this was called the Potash. The battery

extended to the south and nearly to the river. An inscription commemorating the event has been placed upon the opposite rock.

Soon after the repulse of the enemy before the post at *Près-de-Ville*, information was given to the officer in command there, that Arnold's party, from the General Hospital, advancing along the St. Charles, had captured the barrier at the *Sault au-Matelot*, and that he intended an attack upon that of *Près-de-Ville*, by taking it in the rear. Immediate preparations were made for the defence of the Post against such an attack, by turning some of the guns of an inner barrier, not far from the Custom House, towards the town; and although the intelligence proved false,—Arnold having been wounded and his division captured,—yet the incident deserves to be commemorated as affording a satisfactory contradiction to some accounts which have appeared in print, representing the Guard at *Près-de-Ville* as having been paralysed by fear,—the post and barrier “deserted,”—and the fire which killed Montgomery merely “accidental.” On the contrary, the circumstances which we have related, being authentic, prove that the conduct of the *Près-de-Ville* Guard was firm and collected in the hour of danger; and that by their coolness and steadiness they mainly contributed to the safety of the city. Both Colonel Maclean and General Carleton rendered every justice to their meritorious behaviour on the occasion.

In the meantime the attack by Arnold, on the north eastern side of the Lower Town, was made with desperate resolution. It was, fortunately, equally unsuccessful, although the contest was more protracted; and at one time the city was in no small danger. Arnold led his men by files along the River St. Charles, until he came to the *Sault-au-Matelot*, where there was a barrier with two guns mounted. It must be understood that St. Paul's Street did not then exist, the tide coming up nearly to the base of the rock, and the only path between the rock and beach was the narrow alley which now exists in rear of St. Paul Street, under the precipice itself. Here the curious visitor will find a jutting rock, where was the first barrier. The whole of the street went by the name of the *Sault-au-Matelot* from the most ancient times. Arnold took the command of the forlorn hope, and was leading

the attack upon this barrier, when he received a musket wound in the knee which disabled him, and he was carried back to the General Hospital. His troops, however, persevered, and having soon made themselves masters of the barrier, pressed on through the narrow street to the attack of the second, near the eastern extremity of *Sault-au-Matelot* Street. This was a battery which protected the ends of the two streets called St. Peter Street and *Sault-au-Matelot*, extending, by means of hangards mounted with cannon, from the rock to the river. The enemy took shelter in the houses on each side, and in the narrow pass leading round the base of the cliff towards Hope-Gate, where they were secured by the angle of the rock from the fire of the guns at the barrier. Here the enemy met with a determined resistance, which it was impossible to overcome; and General Carleton having ordered a sortie from Palace-Gate under Captain Laws, in order to take them in the rear—and their rear guard, under Captain Dearborn, having already surrendered—the division of Arnold demanded quarter, and were brought prisoners to the Upper Town. The officers were confined in the Seminary. The contest continued for upwards of two hours, and the bravery of the assailants was indisputable. Through the freezing cold, and the pelting of the storm, they maintained the attack until all hope of success was lost, when they surrendered to a generous enemy, who treated the wounded and prisoners with humanity.

The Americans lost in the attack about one hundred killed and wounded, and six officers of Arnold's party, exclusive of the loss at *Près-de-Ville*. The British lost one officer, Lt. Anderson of the Royal Navy, and seventeen killed and wounded. The following is a statement of the force which surrendered :

1 Lieutenant Colonel,	}	Not wounded.
2 Majors,		
8 Captains,		
15 Lieutenants,		
1 Adjutant,		
1 Quartermaster,		
4 Volunteers,		
350 Rank and file,	}	wounded.
44 Officers and soldiers,		
<hr/> 426 Total surrendered.		

By the death of Montgomery the command devolved upon Arnold, who had received the rank of Brigadier General. In a letter dated, 14th January, 1776, he complains of the great difficulty he had in keeping his remaining troops together, so disheartened were they by their disasters on the 31st December. The siege now resumed its former character of a blockade, without any event of importance, until the month of March, when the enemy received reinforcements that increased their numbers to near two thousand men. In the beginning of April, Arnold took the command at Montreal, and was relieved before Quebec by Brigadier General Wooster. The blockading army, which had all the winter remained at three miles distance from the city, now approached nearer the ramparts, and re-opened their fire upon the fortifications, with no better success than before. In the night of the 3rd May, they made an unsuccessful attempt to destroy the ships of war and vessels laid up in the *Cul-de-Sac*, by sending in a fire ship, with the intention of profiting by the confusion, and of making another attack upon the works by escalade. At this time they had reason to expect that considerable reinforcements, which they had no means of preventing from reaching the garrison, would shortly arrive from England; and giving up all hope of success, they became impatient to return to their own country. A Council of War was called, on the 5th, by General Thomas, who had succeeded Wooster; and it was determined to raise the siege at once, and to retire to Montreal. They immediately began their preparations, and in the course of the next forenoon broke up their camp, and commenced a precipitate retreat.

In the mean time the gallant Carleton and his intrepid garrison were rejoiced by the arrival, early in the morning of the 6th May, of the *Surprise* Frigate, Captain Linzee, followed soon after by the *Isis*, of fifty guns, and *Martin* Sloop of war, with a reinforcement of troops and supplies. Nothing could exceed the delight of the British at this seasonable relief. After toil and privation of a six months siege, it may be imagined with what feelings the inhabitants beheld the Frigate rounding Pointe Levi. and how sincerely they welcomed her arrival in the basin. The *Isis* was commanded by Captain, afterwards Admiral Sir Charles Douglass, Baronet, Father of

Major General Sir Howard Douglass, the late popular Lieutenant Governor of New-Brunswick. Captain Douglass had made uncommon exertions to force his ship through fields of ice,—having by skilful management and a press of sail carried her for the space of fifty leagues, through obstacles which would have deterred an officer less animated by the zeal which the critical service on which he was employed required. The troops on board the vessels, consisting of two companies of the 29th Regiment, with a party of marines, amounting in all to two hundred men, were immediately landed, under the command of Captain Viscount Petersham, afterwards General the Earl of Harrington. No sooner had they arrived in the Upper Town, than General Carleton, who had learned the retreat of the enemy, determined to make a *sortie* and to harass their rear. He accordingly marched out at the head of eight hundred men; but so rapid was the flight of the enemy, that a few shots only were exchanged, when they abandoned their stores, artillery, scaling ladders, leaving also their sick, of whom they had a great many, to the care of the British. The humanity with which they were treated was afterwards commemorated by Chief Justice Marshall in his life of Washington.

The conduct of General Carleton throughout the siege was beyond all praise. He always wore the same countenance, and as his looks were watched, his conduct infused courage into those of the inhabitants, who, unused to a siege, sometimes gave way to despondency. He was, indeed, a man of true bravery, guided by discrimination, conduct and experience. During the attack of the 31st December, he had taken post at Prescott-Gate, where he knew would be made the combined attack of Montgomery and Arnold, had they succeeded in passing the barriers at *Près-de-Ville* and the *Sault-au-Matelot*. Here he took his stand, and there is every reason to believe that he would have defended the post even to death. He had been heard to say, that he would never grace the triumph of the enemy, or survive the loss of the town.