D: Colonel

I am sorry for the condition of your poor People, & will take an early opportunity of sending the men you speak off to the Continent — a Volunteer of your forming, has just now repulsed 200 Indians w: 20 men — he had taken post in a house, & drew them to attack, w: great good management & great courage.

I shall give him the first Commission vacant in the Army — The Indians started never heard half an hour

I wish you health & am w: great truth & esteem D: Sir

Your faithfull & Obed: Servant

Jam: Wolfe

16th Aug: 1759.

THE

FALL OF NEW FRANCE

1755-1760

BY

GERALD E. HART

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES, MONTREAL, PAST VICE-PRESIDENT AND LIFE MEMBER OF THE NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, MONTREAL, ETC.

WITH PORTRAITS AND VIEWS IN ARTOTYPE

Quis nescit primam esse historiæ legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat; deinde ne quid veri non audeat.—*Cic. de Orat. Lib. II.*

MONTREAL: W. DRYSDALE & CO
TORONTO: R. W. DOUGLAS & CO
NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
1888

PRINTED BY GAZETTE PRINTING COMPANY, MONTREAL.

TO

JOHN READE, Esq., F.R.S.C.,

PAST PRESIDENT,

AND THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY FOR HISTORICAL

STUDIES, MONTREAL, THIS MONOGRAPH

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY

THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The past history of Canada from a provincial aspect is replete with interesting episodes of adventure, discovery, conquest—religious and political—and war by sea and land, which have ever been the subject of polemical discussions. The Society for Historical Studies, young as it is, has not been slow to elucidate many events which have been so fruitful of interest to all of us and the community at large. In a heterogeneous population such as that forming the present Dominion of Canada, it is not surprising that our history has been written from an uncosmopolitan point of view, pandering to national prejudices. It is with gratification, therefore, that we see this Society rising above selfish views, delving to the foundation of history and presenting it in conformity with

Cicero's injunction on the title page hereof, as it should be, free from all bias and consequences, having truth and fact for its basis. The present pages form the subject of a paper read before one of the Sessions of the Society, which was deemed worthy of more extended use and publicity. It is therefore offered, in the hope that it will merely be the forerunner of many others worthy of greater preservation, which it has been my good province to hear read at its Sessions and which, properly collated and edited, will form together a valuable history of the Dominion.

As the eye is the window of the soul, treating it likewise as the avenue to the mind, I have added illustrations of the leading actors (or such of them as are obtainable) and principal cities, from originals of the time, which generous possessors have largely enabled me to contribute. Original portraits and views are more difficult and costly to obtain than the public are probably aware of; the few examples now remaining are either in inaccessible

places or equally so in the hands of collectors, who do not desire to see them reproduced. It is a pleasure therefore to me thus publicly to acknowledge the spontaneous and generous offerings I received from Mr. Robert Jenkins, Rosedale, Toronto; Mr. Lawrence Heyden, Toronto, the owner of the valuable letter from Wolfe herein produced; Mr. Justin Winsor, Harvard University; Mr. John Horn, Montreal, some of whose originals as well as autograph signatures from rare documents or letters in *fac-simile*, adorn these pages.

G. E. H.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Biographical sketches and descriptions appended at end of narrative.

"One voice, one people, one in heart
And soul, and feeling, and desire!
Re-light the smouldering martial fire,
Sound the mute trumpet, strike the lyre,
The hero deed can not expire,
The dead still play their part.

Raise high the monumental stone!
A nation's fealty is theirs,
And we are the rejoicing heirs,
The honored sons of sires whose cares
We take upon us unawares,
As freely as our own.

We boast not of the victory,
But render homage, deep and just,
To his—to their—immortal dust,
Who proved so worthy of their trust
No lofty pile nor sculptured bust
Can herald their degree."

SANGSTER.

The Fall of New France.

1754-1760.

A retrospective glance at the colonization period of the history of North America will show us that the country was claimed, in the first half of the 17th century, by the Spaniards on the south, closely bordered on the north by the doubtful claim of the French to the Louisiana country, which had not then been named; the English, in their neighboring colony of Virginia, already well-established; the Dutch New Netherlands adjoining them on the north-east; New England following to the further north-east, with a small strip of territory and coast-line; New France, the rest of the country to the North Pole.

We have thus all the great Christian nations of the world colonizing and taking possession of the

beautiful continent of North America, each outvieing the other in their vain effort to establish a religious hierarchy, according to their different tenets, in a land which knew not the Cross, but which opened to them a prospect of peace they could not enjoy in their own homes.

While commercial enterprise was the main factor in establishing these colonies, the propagation of the Gospel and the advancement of the divine glory, "by bringing the Indians and savages resident in "these parts to human civility and a settled and "quiet government," were the chief objects to be attained.[1]

Vexilla Regis prodeunt;
Fulget crucis mysterium.

The unfortunate divergent opinions as to the mode in which Christianity should be worshipped,

[1] The Charter of the One Hundred Associates, granted on the 29th April, 1627, by King Louis XIII, read: "For the primary pur- "pose of converting the Indians to the Catholic Faith," and "for "the purpose of obtaining for his Majesty's Subjects new commer- "cial advantages, derivable from a better management of the fur "trade."—*Faillon Histoire de la Colonie Francaise en Canada*, p. 126 *et seq.*

were now transplanted from the Old to the New soil. The Spaniard, with his ultramontane views, more Catholic than the most exacting Roman; the Norman and Breton peasant, with his mild and sweet submission to the doctrines of the parental Church of Rome, under the Order of St. Francis, to be later on exchanged for that of the more turbulent and despotic control of Loyola; the direct opposing faction of the Virginian, who had left his home, bringing with him a charter, in which it was a special duty that "the true word and service of God, according to the "rites and services of the Church of England, should "be preached, planted and be used in the Colonies "and among the neighboring savages;"[1] the Puritan exile, in his sacerdotal oligarchy, in which "no "man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body "politic, but such as are members of some of the "Churches within its precincts;" and the New Netherlander, acting under the parent Government of the States-General of Holland, whose mission was "peace and amity, without Church, that "everyone should enjoy the free exercise of their

[1] James the First, November 20, 1606, Instructions for the Government of Virginia.

" religion within their own houses ;" [1] were now the doctrines to be established and enforced within their usurper's rights of territory in America, and extended to the natives thereof.

Each colony, under political allegiance to the parent Government, was subservient to the fate of the nation as it became embroiled in European controversies. Thus, by a series of successive wars, the fate of several of these American possessions was like a kaleidoscopic view—one day French, the next English; followed by an occasional victory for the Spaniard and the Hollander!

All these facts have been dwelt upon, in detail, in the very interesting series of consecutive papers read this session. I will, therefore, merely point out the state of the map of America at the period I am desired to lay bare before you. We have the Spaniards driven to the mountainous region of Mexico, their occupation of Florida being merely nominal. The Hollander absorbed by England, which latter claimed the entire coast-line of the Atlantic between latitudes 28° 50′ and 62° north, with boundary to the west by the water-line of the Mississippi River,

[1] Annals of North America (Howland), page 101.

north-west the Lakes and the River St. Lawrence; running to the east as far as the River Bustard, or St. John; thence north, obliquely, in longitude 62°, she claimed Labrador, or New Britain, and the Hudson Bay Territory to the Pole. The French, in their formerly majestic Province of New France, absorbing three-fourths of the whole continent, were now confined to the narrow strip of land lying between what was known as the Height of Land, or Hills, dividing the water-shed between the Hudson Bay and the St. Lawrence and having, as its southernmost boundary, the St. Lawrence, the Lakes, and south-easterly the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico.

This division, however, while laid down on the French maps, was never formally accepted by the Canadians or the French Government. They claimed the English western boundary to be the Alleghany ridge of mountains and not the Mississippi River, and in this intervening valley France planted, built and maintained forts of more or less strength. This disputed territory, a land of inexhaustible wealth of lumber and minerals, teeming with the richest of fur bearing animals, was not in the actual possession by occupation of either

contestants. The English while claiming it, had not yet extended beyond the confines of the coast-line of the Alleghany chain. A few missionaries of the Moravian or United Brethren sect, avowing tributary allegiance to the Virginian Government, had established posts for the conversion of the Indians, chiefly in the Pennsylvania district among the Delawares; outside of them, the French traders alone were met with in their honorable traffic with the natives, for which they were always distinguished, in sad contradistinction to the practices of the Provincials.

England deemed it incredible that France would lay claim, by right of La Salle's discovery of 1674, to this large interior, commonly known as the Five Nations country; for the English were determined to make good the pretensions they had always maintained (perhaps without foundation) of a prior discovery by Wood in 1654, and by Bolt in 1670. This claim is to some extent recognized by the fifteenth clause of the treaty of peace at Utrecht.[1] It is said

[1] Section XV., Treaty of Utrecht, 11 April, 1713:—"The subjects "of France inhabiting Canada, and others, shall hereafter give no "hindrance or molestation to the five nations or cantons of Indians "subject to the Dominion of Great Britain, nor to the other natives "of America, who are friends to the same. In like manner the

that it was only in 1742 that the country west of the mountains was occupied by the first Englishman who had ever wandered beyond the great Appalachian chain. This was John Howard, of Virginia, who was closely followed by Conrad Weiser and the Moravian missionaries, who established permanent posts.[1]

The French had unquestionably approached nearer an occupation by erecting trading posts and had had extensive dealings with the natives for thirty years. This was followed, in 1749, by France sending an armed expedition under De Céleron to take official possession of the disputed territory, by affixing leaden

" subjects of Great Britain shall behave themselves peaceably " towards the Americans, who are subjects or friends of France; " and on both sides they shall enjoy full liberty of going and " coming on account of trade. As also the natives of those coun- " tries shall, with the same liberty, resort, as they please, to the " British and French colonies, for promoting trade on one side, and " the other, without any molestation or hindrance, either on the part " of the British subjects, or of the French. But it is to be exactly and " distinctly settled by commissaries, who are, and who ought to be " accounted the subjects and friends of Britain or of France."

[1] It is true, prior to this, in 1714, immediately after the Peace of Utrecht, Col. Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, personally and with indefatigable labor, made the first certain discovery of a passage over the Appalachian Mountains, but nothing further came of it.

plates at prominent localities, under the orders of De la Gallissonière, the Viceroy of Canada and New France, to oppose the cession made by England to the Ohio Company hereafter mentioned.

The territory in question was very fully occupied by the Indian races, who had their villages established; their tribal hunting-grounds well defined; with council fires burning at Shamokin, the capital of the Delaware country, and Onondago, that of the Iroquois; where they discussed, at periodical intervals, their common foe—the white man. Here overtures were made by La Joncaire-Chabert for the French—William Johnson for the English—accompanied with liberal presents, to obtain their powerful assistance in attacks upon Canada or the New England colonies, as the case might be. Well may they have been puzzled as to which cause they should espouse, for both were their common enemy in driving them from the soil of their forefathers; the game upon which they subsisted was rapidly receding before the encroachments of civilization.

The Gospel had been preached to these different tribes by most zealous Jesuit missionaries for over a century, in the interests of France; and by Moravian

and other missionaries on the English behalf, without making much progress, as the Indian of that day was not a creature to be influenced by religion to any appreciable degree, the chase and the battle-axe being the objects alone for which he lived. While not so effective in establishing the Catholic worship in their hearts; the French,—by their congenial nature for hunting, honest traffic, and a dauntless courage for which their officers were most feared and beloved—were more successful in gaining over the friendship and powerful assistance of these tribes in the war which was now about to commence.

The Iroquois, through their eloquent Mohawk chief, Hendrick, responded to the call of the English, at a conference with Col. William Johnson, in the following terms:—"We don't know what you "Christians, English and French, intend. We are "so hemmed in by you both, that we have hardly a "hunting place left. In a little while, if we find a "bear in a tree, there will immediately appear an "owner of the land to claim the property and "hinder us from killing it, by which we live. "We are so perplexed between you, that we hardly

"know what to say or think." [1] Subsequently, in a direct reply to their appeal for assistance, he reproached them with neglect, if not cowardice:—
"We could have taken Crown Point, but you
"prevented us. Instead, you burnt your own fort
"at Saratoga and ran away from it, which was a
"shame and a scandal to you. Look about your
"country, and see! You have no fortifications; no,
"not even in Quider (Albany). It is but a step
"from Canada hither, and the French may come and
"turn you out of doors. You desire us to speak
"from the bottom of our hearts, and we shall do it.
"Look at the French; they are men! They are for-
"tifying everywhere. But you are all like women,
"bare and open, without fortifications!!" [2] The Iroquois became allies of the French, and remained so until the year 1759.

In 1749, the Ohio Company received a grant of a large territory from the English Government, consisting of 500,000 acres, on the east bank of the Ohio, within the disputed country. They were to have the monopoly of the Indian trade.

[1] *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. VI., p. 813.
[2] *Pichon's Memoires du Cap Breton*, 1760, p. 245.

The French considered this an encroachment, claiming, as I have before stated, by the right of discovery and occupation, all the lands watered by the tributaries of the Mississippi. The Ohio Company, opposed alike by the French and the Indians, endeavored to take forcible possession of their property by erecting a fort at Redstone (now Brownville), on the Monongahela. The French proceeding with the erection of additional forts, the English Government, through Lord Holderness, Secretary of State, wrote to the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia, that "whenever the French were found within the undoubted limits of their provinces," force should be used to repel force. [1] Thus matters stood ready for an open conflict, and it is not suprising that a rupture soon occurred to which neither party attached much importance. With the exception of this skirmish in 1750, at a block-house said to belong to the English on the Miami River, in which the French were successful, nothing of any moment arose to mar the peace established since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of

[1] Parkman says that this letter was signed by the King personally.

1748[1] It was only in 1753 that the French gave unmistakeable signs of their intention of maintaining by force the country claimed by both.

In this year, Lieut.-Gov. Dinwiddie, of Virginia, purchased the right from the Indians on the Monongahela to erect a fort at the junction of that river with the Alleghany. He then determined upon sending an envoy to the French commandant at the nearest fort, named Le Bœuf, built on what was known as the French Creek, demanding their immediately vacating the territory.

This emissary introduced to American history its greatest and most remarkable statesman, the celebrated George Washington; who, though then but twenty-one years of age, offered to undertake this perilous adventure. Accompanied by the land surveyor, Gist, and a few Indians; he reached the fort,

[1] In like manner to the English instructions, retaliatory orders were given by the Governor of Canada to arrest all Englishmen found beyond the Alleghanies, and seize their goods; this was put in execution, and several English traders were forwarded to France and lodged in the prisons of Rochelle. (*The Mystery Revealed*, London, 1759, p, 298.) A remonstrance and demand for their release, from the Court of England, was presented by the English Ambassador at Paris, the Earl of Albemarle, on the 7th March, 1752 (*idem*, p. 314), but received no satisfaction.

was well received, delivered the Governor's message, but obtained no satisfaction. In the following year, 1754, Washington, then lieutenant-colonel of a Virginia regiment, with 300 men, was sent to enforce his mission of the year previous and to erect military works on the banks of the Ohio!![1] He was to be followed by Col. Fry, who was to assume command, but this latter died *en route.*

It was a strange decree of fate, that the chosen Warrior to set on foot the " seven years' war " in America, ending with establishing England's supremacy on this continent, should have been a native-born American and the same individual who, a few years hence, dealt the blow which annihilated her sovereignty over the larger and more valuable part of the same territory. Stranger still, that Providence ordained, when fighting on behalf of his Mother Country at Forts Necessity and Braddock's Fields, the only engagements of the War in which he took a prominent part, both should be disastrous failures ; while his last effort, when directed against her at Yorktown in 1781, should have been that of an overwhelming victory, upon which he rose to the pin-

[1] *Washington's Journal,* 1754.

nacle of fame and severed at one blow the parental ties which had existed over one hundred and fifty years in uninterrupted harmony with her cherished colonies, for which she had so often fought and bled.

Washington, with half of his regiment, reached Wills' Creek, a fort of the Ohio Company, which was to form the base of operations. He sent Capt. Trent to erect a fort at the present site of Pittsburg, but the foundations had barely been laid before he was suddenly faced by a force of 500 French militia, with cannon, and obliged to desist. No engagement took place, and he was allowed to rejoin Washington. The works were then demolished, and gave place to the erection by the French of Fort Duquesne. In anticipation of an attack by a detachment from this same force under Commander Ensign Jumonville de Villiers, who was sent on a reconnoitering expedition of which Washington was advised through friendly Indians, but which was considerably magnified by them ; he proceeded to meet them on the 26th May, and in the encounter Jumonville was killed, with nine others, and twenty-one prisoners taken. This gave rise to a great deal of controversy in France and Canada and Washington was accused of violating

all known articles of war in attacking a peaceful embassy. With the lapse of time and cooler judgment, both French and Canadian authors have withdrawn this ridiculous and gratuitous accusation.

Expecting a more formidable attack, he built an entrenchment, which he named Fort Necessity. Being reinforced with Col. Fry's detachment of the Virginia militia, he had a force of 300 men and one company of regulars under his command. The French, on the 3rd July, about 900 strong, commanded by Coulon de Villiers, brother of Jumonville, attacked the entrenchment in a vigorous onslaught and after nine hours incessant fighting, a flag of truce was sent asking a capitulation, which Washington accepted with "honors of war."[1]

No doubt, while this was a disastrous failure for Washington; in result, it was, practically speaking, a drawn battle, without loss of honor or prestige to him. He was opposed by a much larger force; but having the advantage of position, with a fort, a sufficient garrison and the overtures of a parley coming

[1] *The Mystery Revealed; or, Truth brought to Light.* London, 1759, p. 22. Also *idem, Villier's Journal*, p. 167, and *Washington's Journal*, 1754.

from the attacking force, he should have held his ground with probably ultimately a result of a complete rout to his attackers. An Indian chief expressing his opinion of the fight to Washington (Conotocarious, as he was called by them), exclaimed, "The French behaved like cowards; the "English like fools!!" It was upon the 4th July, 1754, in his twenty-second year, that he surrendered and retreated from Fort Necessity; it was a remarkable coincidence and synchronism that upon the 4th July, twenty-two years afterwards, he began and consummated the liberty and independence of a nation destined to become one of the greatest commercial and controlling powers of modern times.[1]

Parkman, in *Montcalm and Wolfe*, says "the defeat "at Fort Necessity was doubly disastrous to the "English, since it was a new step and a long one, "towards the ruin of their interests with the "Indians; and when in the next year the smoul- "dering war broke into flame, nearly all the west- "ern tribes drew their scalping-knives for France.

[1] A further synchronism in this remarkable man's life is the date of his birth being the year in which the patent of Georgia, which made up the thirteen old colonies, was granted, and for which he afterwards obtained independence and autonomy.

"Villiers went back exultant to Fort Duquesne, "burning on his way the buildings of Gist's settle- "ment and the storehouse at Redstone Creek. Not "an English flag now waved beyond the Allegha- "nies."

I must now direct your attention to another part of America, the seat also of continuous dissensions and warfare since it was disposed of by the Treaty of Utrecht, signed on the 11th of April, 1713.

ACADIA, the home of the pioneer immigrants of La Nouvelle France, suffered more vicissitudes from European conflicts than any other portion of the American mainland. Alternating according to its political fate in name with New Scotland, or Nova Scotia, as given to it by the eccentric Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, who received the territory as a gift from the Scotch King, James VI, and 1st of England;—the country remained in the hands of a few French fishermen and peasants[1] until it surrendered permanently to the English on the 2nd October, 1710. At this time, there were but 352 fami-

[1] More than *Mêtis*, for there was a considerable sprinkling of Scotch as well as Indian blood among these progenitors of the exiled Acadians.—Rameau, *La France aux Colonies.*

lies in all resident in the Province. They were, by the Treaty of Utrecht, allowed their option either to retire, with their moveable effects, to any other place within a year, or remain, upon becoming subjects of the Crown of Great Britain. They were also to have the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, so far as the laws of England permit.

But few emigrated, though nearly all expressed their determination of doing so after the next harvest.

Finding that they remained and showed no intention of leaving, Gov. Caulfield requested them, on the 3rd May, 1715, to take the oath of allegiance to the new King, George 1st. This they refused to do, likewise, in 1717, 1719 and 1720. The local English Governor was in no position to enforce the oath, having but 200 soldiers in garrison, and the French population having increased to several thousands. The Home Government, with a stolid indifference, heeded not the warnings from so unimportant a colony, and allowed matters to take their own course, presumably relying on the legal assumption that the inhabitants, remaining one year after the Treaty, in accordance with its terms, became *ipso facto* the

subjects of Great Britain, whether they took the oath or not.

English settlers gradually coming into the Province, their protection and the upholding of the authority of England, both military and civil, entailed considerable anxiety upon the Local Government at Annapolis. This disquietude was enhanced by the well-known antipathy the Acadians bore to everything English. It had already been a source of complaint that, under the sacred cassock, the servile and credulous Acadian was being secretly instructed in political ethics anything but friendly to the Local Government. To counteract the danger accruing therefrom, officers were sent out in 1725 to insist upon an immediate oath of loyalty being taken. Meeting with the usual opposition, but determined to have an oath taken, they unfortunately modified the form, and had it subscribed to; upon which the Acadians ever afterwards claimed the character of "Neutrals!!" *They were not to bear arms against the French, English, or Indians!!*

As soon as this was reported to Lieut.-Gov. Armstrong, he repudiated the act of his Officers, and

submitted the matter to the Home Government, who likewise declined to admit the position assumed by the Acadians or accept the oath as worded.[1] Gen. Richard Philipps, who enjoyed the sinecure position of Governor-General of the Colony from 1717 to 1749, returned from England upon the special mission to enforce an unconditional oath. This he obtained in 1730 in the following terms: "Je promets et jure sincère-" ment en foi de Chrétien que je serai entièrement " fidèle et obéirai vraiment Sa Majesté le Roi George " le Second, que je reconnais pour le Souverain " Seigneur de l'Acadie, ou Nouvelle Ecosse. Ainsi, " Dieu me soit en aide."[2] Even this oath, plain as it is, in effect, was objected to by the Home Government as being insufficiently explicit in terms.[3]

Notwithstanding the admonition given to the people and priests, the political sermon still continued, and an example having to be made to enforce

[1] Murdock's *History of Nova Scotia*, Vol. I., p. 437.

[2] (Translation.) I promise and swear sincerely, on the faith of a Christian, that I will be entirely faithful and truly obey his Majesty George 2nd, whom I acknowledge as the Sovereign of Acadia, or Nova Scotia. So help me God.

[3] Murdock, *idem.*, p. 457, Vol. I.; also *Nova Scotia Archives*, 1869, p. 84.

law and order, Gov. Armstrong, in 1729, ordered Mons. Breeley, the priest, to leave the Province within a month. An excellent view of the position, from a contemporary writer, of 1748, may here be quoted: "Though these inhabitants became English subjects "by virtue of the Treaty of Utrecht and their oath "of allegiance of 1730; yet the French Governor "and Bishop in Canada preserved the chief influ- "ence and command over them, and cultivated in "them their former hereditary attachment to the "French King; so that they continued a distinct "body of French Roman Catholicks, exempted by "the English Government from bearing arms in "defence of it, and kept by their priests so unmixed "with and separate from the English, that no Eng- "lish families could settle among them. The conse- "quence of all which was, that the increase of these "Acadians, instead of strengthening the King's "Government, as they naturally ought to have "done, became dangerous to it, and by remaining "in the Province were of much greater service to "France, than if they had removed into the French "Government (Canada) immediately after the Treaty "of Utrecht, as they were a growing stock in Nova

" Scotia or settling it with French inhabitants, even " whilst it was in the hands of the English, and at " the same time contributed to the growth of Cape " Breton by supplying it with provisions."[1]

Subsequent events, and the effect of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, having been very ably treated by the President at the last meeting of this Society, I have only to add, that upon an effort being made to get the oath of allegiance taken, after they had been again transferred by the French Government to the British, on the 18th April, 1748, the usual artifices of neutrality were employed to avoid it.

In 1755, Halifax and Annapolis Royal had sprung into places of considerable importance, and other English settlements being rapidly formed, it was deemed absolutely necessary to put down, even with a harsh hand, the numerous predatory and hostile acts the Acadians were constantly harassing these new settlers with. Murder, rapine and open warfare, instigated by them, were incurred at the hands of the native Micmacs. Several hundreds of the former, with a large contingent of the

[1] *Memoirs of the Principal Transactions of the Last War.* London, 1758, p. 18.

latter, were found in arms at the forts of Beaubassin and Baye-verte. The alarm of the English inhabitants was widespread, especially as events were pointing to another conflict between the crowns of England and France at no distant day. This conflict promised to be a war of extermination to one or the other party in America. I will again quote the position of matters from contemporary writers :—

JOHN HUSKE, in his work on the "Present State of North America," published both in London and Boston in 1755, prior to the Acadian removal, says (pages 39-40): "Since the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, " the French have erected, in Nova Scotia, one fort " at Beaubassin and another at Baye-verte. From " hence they have furnished the Indians, who make " about 300 fighting men, with arms, ammunition, " provisions and clothing. Upon our attempt to colo- " nize the Province immediately after the late war " with France, they spirited up these Indians to war " against us, by their ample supplies; by their " giving them a large bounty for every English pri- " soner they brought to them, and a much larger for " every English scalp they could produce; by their " promising to protect them in their forts, and by

" disguising themselves and occasionally joining the " Indians in their enterprizes against our settle- " ments, etc., etc. The Indians surprised the village " of Dartmouth one night, and, altho' it had a " guard of soldiers, they burnt the houses and put " both men, women and children to death. The " French also, as soon as they had built these two " forts, threatened to destroy all the French subjects " of his Majesty and burn their settlements without " their forts on the peninsula, if they did not retreat " into the country within their forts; therefore they, " *who have always inclined to the French* on account of " their religion, etc., though ever indulged in the " free exercise of that and every thing else, burnt " their houses, destroyed their plantations, and went " under the protection of the French, and prove as " good subjects of the French king as any he has in " America. Contrary to their oath of allegiance, " many of them have been detected in joining the " French and Indians, both in peace and war, " against his Majesty's subjects."

Another, DR. WILLIAM CLARKE, in his *Observations on the Late and Present Conduct of the French with Regard to their Encroachments upon the*

British Colonies in North America, published at Boston, just prior to the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755, states (page 28): "The French inhabitants of Aca- " dia are well-known to be better inclined to the " French than the English Government, and must " eternally be so, as long as they are suffered to " have French Roman Catholic priests, subjects of " the French king and under the direction of the " Bishop of Quebec, among them; and as the Eng- " lish have not one fort, except Annapolis Royal, " that can hold out one day against a proper number " of regular forces provided with sufficient cannon, " if the French should, before the English are aware " of it, send a large body of troops, with necessary " artillery, and a number of men-of-war to protect " them, *the French inhabitants, who amount to many thou-* " *sands, would, upon their first appearance, universally* " *revolt*, and the conquest of that whole province " would not take up one fortnight. When the French " have once made a conquest of this province and " strengthened themselves in it, they will have laid " a good foundation for dispossessing the English, in " some future time, of all their other colonies in " North America, and securing them to themselves " with all the advantages of them."

Yet another,—a French contemporary writer—BUTEL-DUMONT, in his *Histoire et Commerce des Colonies Anglaises*, published in 1755, at page 72 states: "La cession qui a été faite de ce pays à la Grande "Bretagne a rendu la Nouvelle Angleterre plus tran- "quille et a assuré son commerce. *Les Anglais ne* "*sont pourtant pas tout-à-fait délivrés des inquiétudes que* "*leur donnaient les alliances des Sauvages avec les Fran-* "*çais.* Ces derniers qui habitaient en Acadie n'ayant "pas voulu se soumettre à la domination anglaise, "se sont retirés dans la Gaspésie, *d'où ils incommodent* "*leurs voisins.*"[1] This has reference to the year 1755, when the French inhabitants were supposed to be, at least, "*Neutrals!*" Allusion is here made to the new English settlement at Chebucto, then named Halifax.

The *Memoirs of S. de C.*,[2] a contemporary writer of

[1] (Translation.) Butel-Dumont, in his *History and Commerce of the English Colonies*, published in 1755, states: "The cession which "had been made of this Country to Great Britain rendered New "England more quiet, and secured its commerce. *The English* "*were neverthe less, not altogether free from anxiety, occasioned by the* "*alliances of the Indians with the French.* These latter, who inhab- "ited Acadia, not being willing to submit to English domination, "withdrew to Gaspé District, *from which they worry their neighbors.*"

[2] Believed to have been written by Vauquelin, a Captain in command of one of the French war vessels in the St. Lawrence, both at Louisbourg and Quebec.

1748 to 1760, published by the Quebec Literary and Historical Society in 1838, at page 60, condemns in no unmeasured terms the acts of these native-born subjects of England against the charitable treatment they had ever received; his words are: "Le Gouver-
" neur-Général de l'Acadie voulant également rétablir
" l'ordre et la tranquillité dans ce pays, manda aux
" habitants de venir à Chebuctou (Halifax), y prêter
" au Roy serment de fidélité. Les propositions qu'il
" fit faire étaient des plus raisonnables; elles étaient
" qu'on leur conserverait les priviléges que le traité
" d'Utretch et la Reine Anne leur avaient accordés:
" les Acadiens s'imaginèrent qu'ils étaient plus craints
" qu'on ne pensoit; ils refusèrent de faire serment.
" Le Gouverneur leur répartit: Vous êtes réellement
" sujets du Roy d'Angleterre, vous êtes nés sous sa
" domination, vous l'avez même souvent reconnu
" pour tel; la France sur laquelle vous vous fiez,
" n'agit que par politique et vous fait jouer le rôle
" de rebelles, pour nous inquiéter jusque chez nous;
" enfin il les menaça de sévir contre eux, et ajouta
" que s'ils ne se résolvaient au plus tôt, il allait faire
" tirer les canons de la ville sur eux, afin de s'en dé-
" faire promptement: les Acadiens poussés d'un zèle

" fanatique, excités par les prêtres, refusèrent cons-
" tamment d'obéir au Gouverneur, qui ayant fait ré-
" flexion que sa réputation souffriroit moins de se dé-
" faire de ce peuple en les dispersant, résolut de les
" faire embarquer par familles, et de les envoyer dans
" les différentes possessions Anglaises dans l'Amé-
" rique."[1]

Other French authors of the period confirm these statements, notably PICHON in his *Lettres et Memoires sur Cap Breton*, 1760, pp. 239 *et seq.*, while those of our day speak as follows: RÉVEILLAUD, in his *Histoire du Canada*, page 22, states: " La population totale des
" Acadiens français s'élevait à cette époque à 16,000
" âmes ; de ce nombre 4,000 peut-être avaient émigré
" dans les îles du golfe St. Laurent, où elles se retrou-

[1] (Translation.) " The Governor-General of Acadia, wishing
" to rëestablish order and tranquility in the country, requested
" the Inhabitants to come to Chebuctou (Halifax) and take
" there the oath of fidelity to the King. The propositions
" which he had made to them were of the most reasonable;
" they were to the effect that they should be confirmed in the
" privileges given to them at the Treaty of Utrecht and by Queen
" Anne. The Acadians imagined that the Government were
" more afraid of them than they actually were. They refused to
" take the oath. The Governor replied: 'You are in reality sub-
" 'jects of the King of England; you are born under his domination,
" 'you have on several occasions admitted his sovereignty; France,

" vaient sous le pavillon de la France ; un nombre à
" peu près égal s'était refugié dans les postes encore
" occupées par les troupes françaises autour de l'Isth-
" me de Shédiac et *c'étaient des Acadiens qui composaient*
" *la plus grande partie de la garnison dans les forts de*
" *Beauséjour et de Gasperéaux que nous venons de voir pris*
" *par le colonel Winslow.* Le reste des Acadiens, soit
" donc une population de 8,000 habitants, vivaient
" paisiblement dans leur presqu'île, sur les terres
" qui les avaient vus naître, que leurs pères avaient
" défrichées et qu'ils cultivaient avec amour, donnant
" l'exemple de toutes les vertus privées et *domestiques.*
" Ils avaient subi, sans trop protester, la souveraineté
" de l'Angleterre, et tout ce qu'ils demandaient, c'é-
" tait qu'on les laissât cultiver en paix leurs petits
" domaines et qu'on ne les contraignit pas à porter

" ' upon which you rely, acts only by policy, and makes you play the
" ' *rôle* of rebels, by which we are annoyed at our very doors.' Fin-
" ally, he threatened them with severe punishment, and said ' if they
" ' did not come to an immediate decision, he would have the cannons
" ' of the town turned upon them, to get rid of them summarily.' The
" Acadians, actuated by a fanatical zeal, instilled by their Priests,
" constantly refused to obey the Government, who came to the con-
" clusion that their reputation would suffer less by deporting them
" and dispersing them, therefore resolved: To embark them by
" families, and to send them into the different possessions of England
" in America."

" leurs armes contre leurs anciens compatriotes, con-
" tre les hommes de leur langue, de leur religion et
" de leur sang. *Une sorte de convention tacite s'était*
" *établie sur ce point entre eux et leurs gouverneurs*, et leur
" avait valu leur nom de 'Français neutres.'" †

RAMEAU, in *La France aux Colonies*, p. 35, states : " A
" la suite du traité d'Utrecht le canton des Mines et de
" Beaubassin, où se concentraient de plus en plus la
" majeure partie des Acadiens, *demeura donc Français* par
" le fait, *quoique Anglais par les traités ;* ils étaient restés

† (Translation.) Reveillaud, in his *History of Canada*, p. 22, states " The total population of the French Acadians reached at this epoch " 16,000 souls ; of this number about 4000 emigrated to the Islands in " the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where they were under the French flag " an equal number found refuge in the posts occupied by French " troops surrounding the Isthmus of Shediac, and *it was Acadians* " *who composed the greater part of the Garrisons of the Forts of Beausé-* " *jour and Gaspéraux, which we have just seen captured by Col. Winslow.* " The remainder of the Acadians, about 8000 Inhabitants, were living " quietly in the Peninsula on the lands upon which they were born, " which their forefathers cleared and which they themselves culti- " vated with love, giving an example of every virtue, private and " domestic. They had submitted to, not without protestations, the " English Sovereignty ; and all they asked in return, was to be " allowed to cultivate their lands in peace, and that they should not " be obliged to bear arms against their former compatriots, against " men of their own language, religion and blood. *A sort of tacit* " *agreement was established on this point between them and their Governors,* " which gave them the name of French Neutrals."

" d'ailleurs en communication par l'isthme de la pres-
" qu'île avec les français du Canada, qui avaient con-
" servé toutes les côtes du continent, malgré les pré-
" tentions des Anglais. De la sorte, ces Acadiens, en
" dépit de quelques tiraillements et vexations, de-
" meurèrent pendant trente à quarante ans dans un
" état de neutralité supportable, *quoique pénible et mal*
" *défini*."[1]

Section XIV of the Treaty of Utrecht reads as follows: " It is expressly provided, that in all the said " places and colonies to be yielded and restored by " the Most Christian King, in pursuance of this " treaty, the subjects of the said King may have " liberty to remove themselves within a year to any " other place, as they shall think fit, together with " all their moveable effects. But those who are

[1] (Translation.) Rameau, in *France in the Colonies*, p. 35, states: " Following the Treaty of Utrecht, the District of Minas and Beau-
" bassin, where were concentrated the greater number of the Aca-
" dians, *remained French by the fact, while English by the Treaties;* the
" people were, besides, in communication, by way of the Isthmus,
" with the French of Canada, who retained possession of all the coast
" of the Continent, in spite of the pretensions of the English. From
" which, these Acadians, notwithstanding some difficulties and
" vexations, lived during thirty to forty years in a state of tolerable
" neutrality, though somewhat *painful and badly defined.*"

" willing to remain there, and to be subject to the " Kingdom of Great Britain, are to enjoy the free " exercise of their religion, according to the usage of " the Church of Rome, as far as the laws of Great " Britain do allow the same."

Is it not clear, from the very language of this section, not altered by any other, that all *remaining* inhabitants became, *ipso facto*, by choice, subjects of Great Britain? In fact, it was so regarded by the Crown at that day, for no oath was requested until a new king ascended the throne, when it became one of allegiance to him personally as an act of " foi et hommage." To the State—the Government—they had become British subjects, *by tacit consent*, in remaining residents of the country, and it required no further oath to legalize or complete the status.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle expressly confirmed and reiterated the above clause of the Treaty of Utrecht; thus, the French Acadians were twice confirmed British subjects. They had not even the privilege granted to them (as by that of Utrecht) of having one year in which to decide. This latter concession they asked for, and endeavored to claim, but the authorities emphatically refused it.

Gov. Cornwallis, of Nova Scotia, in 1749, left no uncertain sound on the subject of their allegiance and oath in the minds of his hearers. He stated, in a lengthy reply to a deputation: "We have cause to be much "astonished at your conduct. This is the third time "you have come here, and you do nothing but "repeat the same story. To-day, you present us a "letter, signed by a thousand persons, in which you "declare openly that you will be the subjects of his "Britannick Majesty on such and such conditions. "It appears to me you think yourselves independ- "ent to any government, and you wish to treat with "the King as if you were so. But you ought to "know that, from the end of the year stipulated in "the Treaty of Utrecht for the evacuation of the "country, those who chose to remain in the Pro- "vince became at once the subjects of Great Britain. "The treaty declares them such; the King of France "declares, in the treaty, that all the French who "shall remain in this Province shall be the subjects "of her then British Majesty. It would be contrary "to common sense, also, to suppose that one can "remain in a province, and possess houses and lands "there, without being subject to the Sovereign of

" that Province. You deceive yourselves, if you " think you are at liberty to choose whether you " will be the subjects of the King or no. From the " year 1714, that no longer depended upon you. " From that moment you became subject to the laws " of Great Britain. You ought to have taken the " oath of allegiance to your King the moment you " were required to do so. You tell me that Gen. " Phillips granted you the reservations you demand ; " and I tell you the General who granted you such " reservations did not do his duty ; and also that " this oath has never, in the slightest degree, " lessened your obligations to act always as a sub- " ject ought to act. *You allow yourselves to be led* " *away by people who find it to their interest to* " *lead you astray.* They have made you imagine it " is only your oath which binds you to the English. " They deceive you. It is not the oath which a " king administers to his subjects that makes them " subjects. The oath supposes that they are so " already. The oath is nothing but a very sacred " bond of the fidelity of those who take it. It is only " out of pity to your situation, and to your inexpe- " rience in the affairs of government, that we conde-

" scend to reason with you; otherwise, the question " would not be reasoning, but commanding and " being obeyed."[1] It must here be remembered that the oath administered by Phillips[2] contained no reservation, but they claimed that a verbal one had been made by him, which induced them to accept the oath.

No less than five opportunities[3] were afforded to them between the years 1749 and 1755 to take the oath of allegiance; but upon each occasion they positively refused to do so, except with the old reservation, which could not now be accepted. To defer action longer would be pusillanimous, if not degrad-

[1] *Nova Scotia Archives*, 1869, p. 174.

[2] See *ante*, p. 20.

[3] As an illustration of one of these "opportunities," I copy, *verbatim*, the language used: "In the King's name. By order of his " Excellency, CHARLES LAWRENCE, Esquire, Lieutenant-Governor " and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Nova Scotia, or Aca- " dia, &c. Proclamation. To the inhabitants and all others, natives " of Chignecto, Baie-verte, Tintamar, Chepoudi, St. John's River, and " their appurtenances and adjacent parts, and all others, who have " not yet made their submissions;

"Whereas, most part of the inhabitants of the above and other " places have not yet made their submission to the King of Great " Britain, but, on the contrary, have demeaned themselves contrary " to all orders and loyalty to their proper Sovereign. Therefore,

"This is to command them to repair immediately to my camp,

ing, in the extreme. The first key-note of the coming action was in October, 1754, when the Lords of Trade wrote to Gov. Lawrence the following:—

" As to the inhabitants of the district of Chignecto, " who are actually gone over to the French at Beau- " sejour, if the Chief Justice should be of opinion " that by refusing to take the oath without a reserve, " or by deserting their settlements to join the French, " they have forfeited their title to their lands, we " could wish that proper measures were pursued for " carrying such forfeiture into execution by legal " process." [1]

On May 10th, 1755, Gov. Lawrence writes from Halifax to Gen. Braddock, the English Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, who was then on his ill-fated expedition in the Ohio Valley :—" Should a rupture hap- " pen with France (an event founded upon appear- " ances and reports), it would be extremely necessary

" in order to make their submission, bringing along with them all " their firearms, swords, sabres, pistols, and all other instruments " of war; in disobedience of which, they shall be treated, as rebels, " with military execution.

" Given at the camp of Chignecto, this thirteenth day of May, " 1755. Signed, ROBERT MONCKTON." (*The Mystery Revealed*, 1759, p. 257.)

[1] *Nova Scotia Archives*, 1869, p. 237.

" for us to keep on our guard. I esteem it my duty " to acquaint you that, in such case, the three regi- " ments, augmented as it is proposed [to a thousand " men each], with the scouts, the militia, and all the " forces that we can depend upon, will no ways be " in proportion to the number of posts which we " must be obliged to defend, especially if it be con- " sidered that, even in the heart of the Province, we " have what they call neutral French—inhabitants " well armed, well experienced in the use of arms, " and also are connected with the French King; so " that, upon the least attempt which Canada should " make to invade us, I believe it is more than pro- " bable that they would immediately join them. As " I take this article to be of importance, I thought it " my duty to submit it to your reflection." [1]

Before a reply was received from Gen. Braddock, circumstances compelled the Governor to act promptly. Upon receipt of a memorial, couched in most offensive tone, of date June 10, 1755, said to have been occasioned by the rumour that a fleet of French vessels were close at hand to protect them, he sent Capt. Murray to remove their firearms, but this

[1] *The Mystery Revealed*, 1759, p. 235.

officer was so insolently treated, that the Governor-in-Council, on 4th July, 1755, felt constrained to pass the following resolution:—"Council, after considera-"tion, were of opinion that directions should be given "to Capt. Murray to order the French inhabitants, "forthwith, to choose and send to Halifax new "deputies with the general resolution of the said "inhabitants in regard to taking the oath, and that "none of them should, for the future, be admitted "to take it after having once refused to do so, but "that effectual measures ought to be taken to "remove such recusants out of the Province."[1]

The deputies were informed of this resolution, and it was at once read out at the church doors to the people. By the end of July, answer had been received from all the French settlements to the effect that they would take no new oath; the Council[2]

[1] *Nova Scotia Archives*, 1869, p. 256.

[2] The Council present at this important session were:

The Lieutenant-Governor, the Hon. CHARLES LAWRENCE, Major in Warburton's regiment of foot, was present at both engagements at Louisbourg. Councillor, in 1749, in Gov. Cornwallis's Cabinet. Colonel in 1757. Administrated the Government of Nova Scotia upon the retirement of Gov. Hopson. Was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, 1754; Governor-in-Chief, 1756. During his administration, the first Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia was

E.ᵈ Boscawen.

thereupon decided—at which were present the English admirals, Boscawen and Mostyn—that "as it "had been determined before to send all the French "inhabitants out of the Province if they refused to "take the oath, nothing now remained to be consid- "ered but what measures should be taken to send "them away, and where they should be sent to. "After mature consideration, it was unanimously "agreed that, to prevent as much as possible their "attempting to return and molest the settlers that "may be set down on their lands, it would be most "proper to send them to be distributed amongst the

convened at Halifax on the 2nd October, 1758. Died, at Halifax, Sunday, 19th October, 1760, after eight days' illness, in the prime of life, of inflammation of the lungs. He was unmarried. The Legislature voted a monument to his memory, to be erected in St. Paul's Church, Halifax. "From a grateful sense of the many "important services which the Province had received from him "during a continued course of zealous and indefatigable endeavors "for the public good, and a wise, upright, and disinterested "administration." (*Nova Scotia Archives*, p. 236.)

Benjamin Green.—Native of Massachusetts; born 1713. Son to the Rev. Joseph Green, rector, and a graduate of Harvard. Merchant in Boston. Secretary to Gen. Pepperell at Louisbourg, 1745. One of Gen. Cornwallis's Council in 1749. Treasurer of the Province of Nova Scotia. Administrator of the Government in 1766. Died at Halifax, 1772. (*Nova Scotia Archives* p. 569.)

John Collier.—The Hon. John Collier was a retired officer of the army. He came out with the first British settlers in 1749. Was a

" several colonies on the continent of America, and " that a sufficient number of vessels should be hired " with all possible expedition for that purpose." [1]

The die was cast, the irrevocable decree was issued. Let us pass over, as rapidly as we can, the harrowing details of the final troubles of a misguided people—far from as perfect and amiable as Longfellow, in his beautiful dramatic poem, " Evangeline," has sung, or that the Abbé Raynal, in his pathetic and romantic narrative, would feign have us believe; but sufficiently innocent of mundane matters to have been happy in their rural retreats —homes of guileless innocence and complacent trust,

justice of the peace and militia officer. Appointed Councillor, 1752. Died at Halifax, 1769.

William Cotterell.—Capt. Cotterell was the first Provost Marshal, Councillor 1752, and Provincial Secretary.

John Rous.—Master of a Boston privateer. Captain in Royal Navy, 1745. Present at Louisbourg and Quebec. A brave and intrepid officer. Councillor, October 1754. Died at Halifax, 1760.

Jonathan Belcher.—Second son of Gov. Belcher of Massachusetts. Graduate of Harvard. Completed studies in England, where he became a member of the Society of the Middle Temple. Chief Justice of Nova Scotia in 1754. Administrator of the Government upon the death of Gov. Lawrence in 1760. Died at Halifax 1766, aged 65.

By invitation.—The Hon. Vice-Admiral Boscawen and Rear-Admiral Mostyn.

[1] *NovaScotia Archives*, 1869, p. 267.

where communism in its most favorable aspect ruled and thrived—were it not for the machinations and intrigues of their spiritual preceptors; who, forgetting their sacred mission and adopting that of the political demagogue, obtained easy victims in the pious, artless, and intellectually deficient Acadian, incapable of penetrating the delusive chimera they presented to their vision, of French ascendency once more in Nova Scotia!

Self-condemned, and without evasion or prevarication, they admitted the allegations brought against them of allegiance to the French Nation, the open foe of the English; of cöoperating, assisting, intriguing with the native Indians, in their more open warfare upon the English settlers; and thus, authors of their own misery, they had now to take the punishment decreed by retributive Justice, harsh and malevolent as it may seem.[1]

[1] Extract from Petition of 3500 escaped Acadians, retired to Miramichi in spring of 1756, addressed to Gov. de Vaudreuil, Quebec, in May 1756:—

"The inhabitants of all Acadie, represented by their deputies, "have the honor to expose to you their melancholy fate, and that "into which they are ready to fall, if you do not hold out the hand "of succor. *They beg you to observe that the sole cause of their misery is "their exclusive attachment to France, and their character of subjects of*

Sufficient to say, the summons from Col. John Winslow, to meet in the church at Grand-Pré on the 5th September, 1755, was fully attended by the elders, who were immediately made prisoners, and addressed in the following terms : " GENTLEMEN,— " I have received from His Excellency, Gov. Law- " rence, the King's commission, which I have in my " hand ; and by his orders you are convened together, " to manifest to you His Majesty's final resolutions to " the French inhabitants of this his Province of Nova " Scotia, who, for almost half a century, have had " more indulgence granted them than any of his

" *that crown, which the English have been unable to constrain them to* " *renounce. Brought up by their fathers in uniform sentiments of devo-* " *tion to their King, whose kindnesses they have on different occasions* " *experienced ;* can they, without failing in duty to their religion and " to themselves, *give in to the terms exacted of them, especially at a time* " *when France in arms takes openly the part of avenging them, etc.* Do " not their actual misery, *that which they have done, and their constant* " *refusal to obey the English, speak in their favor ?* And do they not " destroy the bad impressions that some persons have tried to give " you in the business of Beauséjour ! Observe, my lord, their " perplexity at that critical period ; alternately intimidated and " caressed by an English army superior to the French forces, *they* " *dared neither to act or speak.* BESIDES, WHY WERE THEY NOT LED " AGAINST THE ENEMY ?"—(Murdock's Nova Scotia, Vol. II., p. 312.)

The full force of this petition will be better understood by reference to De Vaudreuil's letter of the 18th September, 1755, to the Minister of Marine and Justice, published at length in Vol. X.,

" subjects in any part of his dominions; what use
" you have made of it, you yourselves best know.
" The part of duty I am now upon, though neces-
" sary, is very disagreeable to my natural make and
" temper, as I know it must be grievous to you, who
" are of the same species; but it is not my business
" to animadvert, but to obey such orders as I receive,
" and therefore, without hesitation, shall deliver you
" His Majesty's orders and instructions, namely:—
" that your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds
" and live stock of all sorts, are forfeited to the

N. Y. Colonial Documents, p. 358. This letter fully proves the complicity of the Canadian Government in their effort to raise the Acadians in open rebellion against English authority.

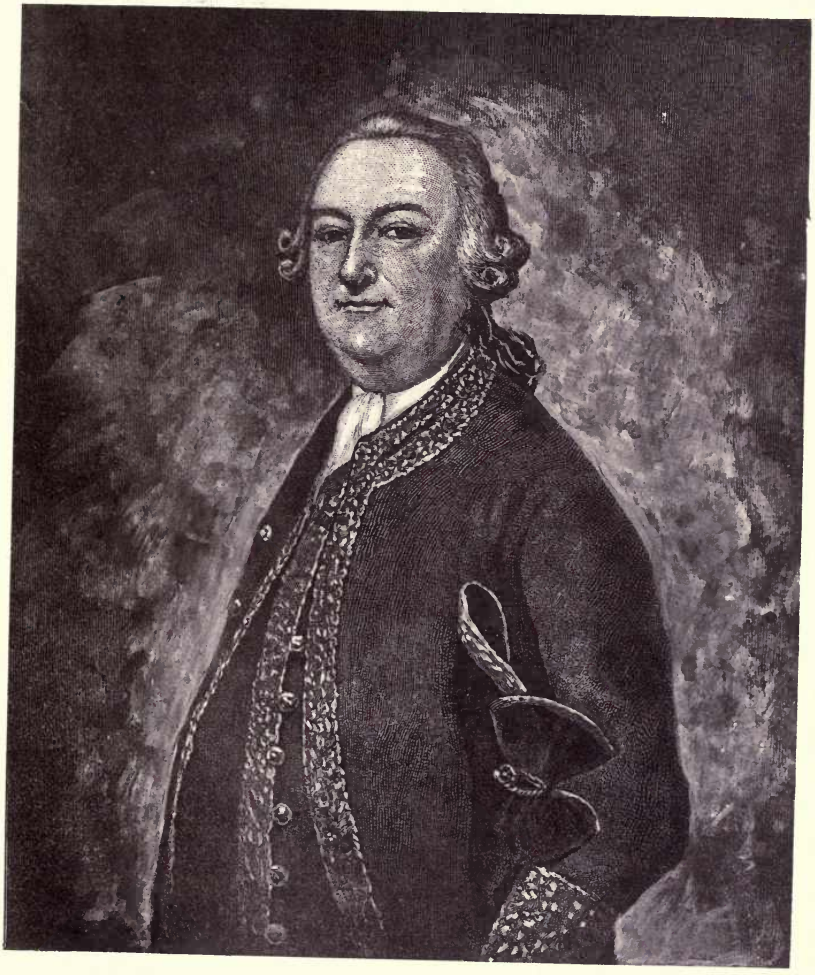
In the judgment of the court-martial, 20th September, 1757, upon the Sieurs Vergor and De Villeray for surrendering the forts Beauséjour and Gaspéraux, is the following: " L'avis unanime à " été de renvoyer les officiers absous; on a eu égard pour le fort de " Beauséjour, à ce que les Acadiens ont forcé le commandant à " capituler pour assurer leurs vies. *Ils avaient, autrefois, prêté* " *serment de fidélité à l'Anglais*, qui les avait menacés de les faire " pendre *pour l'avoir violé*."—(Ferland, *Cours d'Histoire de Canada* p. 556.)

(Translation.) The unanimous opinion was to discharge the Officers absolved, on the ground that they were obliged to surrender the Fort de Beauséjour because the Acadians compelled them to do so to save their lives. *They had previously taken the oath of fidelity to England, who threatened to hang them for having violated it.*—(Ferland's *History of Canada*, p. 556.)

" Crown; with all other your effects, saving your " money and household goods, and you yourselves " to be removed from this his Province. Thus it is " peremptorily his Majesty's orders, that the whole " French Inhabitants of these Districts be removed; " and I am, through his Majesty's Goodness, directed " to allow you liberty to carry off your money and " household goods, as many as you can without dis- " commoding the vessels you go in. I shall do every " thing in my power that all these goods be secured " to you, and that you are not molested in carrying " them off; and also that whole families shall go in " the same vessel, and make this remove, which I am " sensible must make you a great deal of trouble, as " easy as his Majesty's service will admit; and hope " that in whatever part of the world you may fall, you " may be faithful subjects, a peaceable and happy " people. I must also inform you, that it is his " Majesty's pleasure that you remain in security " under the inspection and direction of the troops " I have the honor to command."[1]

Summing up from Winslow's Journal, as published by the Nova Scotia Historical Society at pages

[1] *Winslow's Journal*, N. S. Hist. Soc., Part III., p. 94.



John Winslow

72, 185, 190, 192 :—5788 men, women and children were, all told, thus exiled, from October 1755 to January 1756, with as much humanity as the transport of such a large number of people in small vessels permitted. Every care was taken to avoid separation of the families, and this end was attained with but few disunited family groups ; the few which did occur, were occasioned by escape from capture.[1]

The appended copies of orders from Col. Winslow will be sufficient to show the charitable feelings with which this urbane commander carried out the most disagreeable duty (he so often reiterates in his journal) it was ever his province to execute. " October 6, 1755.—With the advice of my captains, " made a division of the Villages, and concluded, " that as many of the Inhabitants of each as could be " commoded should proceed in the same vessel, and " that whole families go together ; and sent orders to " the several families to hold themselves in readiness

[1] Some authors maintain that a much larger number were exiled; this is impossible, as Acadia, in 1754, only contained 9215 inhabitants all told, and it is admitted that fully 3540 escaped capture (Cf. Rameau, *La France aux Colonies*, Vol. I., p. 42) and settled in Canada and that part of Massachusetts Bay now known as the State of Maine. (See Petition Note, p. 41.)

" to embark with all their household goods, etc., but " even now could not persuade the People I was in " earnest.—Orders of the day. Parole Plympton. J. WINSLOW."[1]

" CAMP AT GRAND-PRÉ, October 13, 1755.—Whereas " complaint has been made to me by the French " Inhabitants that they are greatly injured, as well " by Seamen as People who come after cattle, etc., " These are therefore to direct that no Seaman, with- " out the Master of the Vessel being with him, or an " order in writing from the Master, showing their " business, be allowed to pass higher than the Dutch- " man's house, nor on the other side of the River " Gaspereau. Nor any Englishman or Dutchman " stir from their quarters without orders; that an " end may be put to distressing this distressed " people; and I have given directions to all march- " ing parties and patrols to pick up all such people " as disobey these orders, and bring them to camp " that they may receive punishment military; and " the Masters of Vessels severally are to notify their " respective Crews of this order. JOHN WINSLOW."[2]

[1] *Winslows Journal*, p. 164.
[2] *Winslow's Journal*, p. 171.

Provision was made in the charter parties of the Vessels, that not more than one person was to be taken to two ton's measurement, and ample victuals were stored for thirty days passage. Letters to the Governors of the different Colonies were handed to each Captain for delivery upon arrival,[1] but, unfortunately, no previous notice had been sent, though the deputation had been agreed upon by the Commander-in-Chief of the forces Braddock, and the chief instigator of the movement Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts Bay, who had advocated strongly since 1745 both the banishment and the capture of Louisbourg.

They were landed, under these orders, in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia and the Carolinas. Aliens in language, nationality and religion, they were not very welcome immigrants, especially from the circumstances under which they came, and yet with but few trifling exceptions, they were humanely treated and supported at public expense; throwing into bold relief, the cold and repellant reception the three thousand refugees who found their way into Canada met with at the hands of their fellow country-

[1] See copies in *Nova Scotia Archives*, p. 277. Pennsylvania which received 1923 of the number, expended over £7500 on their support of public funds. (Penn. Hist. Soc. Vol. for 1858, pp. 285 *et seq.*)

men, who gave them hides and horse-flesh as food, and scant supply at this, as many of them, it is recorded on the dark pages of French-Canadian history, died from starvation.[1]

Politically speaking, the expulsion was absolutely necessary, justified and in full accord with the law of Nations, to such an extent that not even France itself, nor a solitary Foreign Power, alluded to it, in its diplomatic relations, or remonstrated, with England for the act. Not even is it a *casus belli* on the part of France, and yet many insignificant and tri-

[1] Ils furent donc réduits à presque mourir de faim : le peu de nourriture qu'ils avaient, la mauvaise qualité des aliments,—leur malpropreté naturelle,—le chagrin et leur paresse en firent mourir un grand nombre ; ils furent forcés de manger du cuir bouilli pendant une grande partie de l'hiver, et d'attendre ainsi jusqu'au printemps dans l'espérance que leur sort s'améliorerait ; c'est en quoi ils furent trompés.—(*Mémoires Sur le Canada depuis* 1749 *jusqu'à* 1760 ; Québec, 1838, p. 62. *Cf. de Montcalm en Canada*, pp. 111-112.)

(Translation.) They were reduced almost to death by starvation. The little quantity of food they had ; the bad quality of the provisions,—their natural uncleanliness,—grief and indolence caused many deaths. They were forced to eat boiled hide during a great part of the winter, and to abide thus the coming of the spring, in the hope that their position would then be improved, in which hope they were much mistaken.—*Memoirs on Canada*, 1749 *to* 1760. Quebec, 1838, p. 62. *Cf. Montcalm in Canada* (by Abbé Martin), pp. 111-112.


CONCORDIA PR. STABILITA.


LUDOVICUS XIIII. REX CHRISTIANISSIMUS.

vial grounds, as compared therewith, are specifically mentioned in the Declaration of War. Sufficient to show that France fully recognised that England had a perfect right to treat her own subjects, when disloyal, as she saw fit.

Precedents for this deportation unfortunately exist in all epochs of the World's History. Analogy may be found in ancient times, in the removal of the Messenians by the Spartans, and in the dispersal of the Jewish race by the Romans. In mediæval history, we have that remarkable siege of Calais by Edward the Third in 1347, resulting in the expulsion of several thousands of the French who refused to take the oath of allegiance. After 210 years English occupation, France reconquered it, and in turn expelled unmercifully the English, without the option of oath-taking to remain.

In more modern times, we have the precedent of the French in the expulsion of 2500 English Inhabitants of forty years standing,—differing from the Acadians in being men of wealth, intelligence and culture—from St. Christopher's in 1666 ; sufficiently justified and heroic to warrant the Government striking a commemorative medal—*fac-simile* of which

is given herein. We have that vain-glorious capture of New York and Albany in 1689, proposed so artfully by the Sieur Chevalier de Callières Bonnevue, Governor of Montreal, to the Marquis of Seignelay, and adopted by the Court of France in their instructions to the Compte de Frontenac. By this proposal, it was intended to capture these two places, destroy the habitations, lay waste the country, and "If he find among the inhabitants of New "York, whether English or Dutch, any Catholics "on whose fidelity he considers he can rely, he "may leave them in their habitations, after making "them *take the oath of allegiance to his Majesty.* The "officers and principal inhabitants, from whom "ransoms can be exacted, must be detained in prison. "Respecting all other foreigners,—men, women and "children—his Majesty deems it proper that they "should be put out of the colony and sent to New "England, Pennsylvania and such other quarters as "shall be considered expedient, either by land or "sea, *together or in divisions, all according as he shall "find will best secure their dispersion and prevent them, by "reunion,* affording enemies an opportunity to get "up expeditions against that colony."[1] Adopting,

[1] *Documentary History of New York,* Vol. I., p. 295.

LES ANGLOIS CHASSEZ DE L'ISLE DE SAINT CHRISTOPHLE.

L'Isle de Saint Chriſtophle, abondante en ſucre, en tabac, & autres marchandiſes, eſt une de celles qu'on appelle Antilles, ſituée dans la mer de l'Amérique méridionale. Les François & les Anglois s'y eſtablirent en 1626, & pour ſe délivrer des inconvenients, qu'ils eſprouvoient à la poſſéder en commun, ils s'aviſérent de la partager entre eux également. Chacun jouiſſoit paiſiblement de ſa moitié, lorſque la guerre de l'Angleterre, & de la France en Europe paſſa juſqu'en Amérique, & mit aux mains leurs Colonies. Le Gouverneur Anglois, qui le prémier eut avis de la rupture entre les deux Nations, voulut s'en prévaloir, & ſe mit en eſtat de ſurprendre les François. Mais ceux-cy, avertis de ſon deſſein, par ſes mouvements & par ſes préparatifs, oſérent, quoi qu'inférieurs en nombre, le prévenir; attaquérent ſucceſſivement divers poſtes que la Colonie Angloiſe occupoit, & l'en chaſſérent. Ils ne ſe découragérent pas meſme par la mort de leur Chef, tué dés la ſeconde attaque. Ils pourſuivirent leur entrepriſe auſſi heureuſement qu'ils l'avoient commencée, forcérent les ennemis de rendre par capitulation leurs Forts, leur canon, leurs armes, & demeurérent ſeuls poſſeſſeurs d'une Iſle ſi importante au commerce des Indes Occidentales.

C'eſt le ſujet de cette Médaille. On y voit une Femme veſtuë à l'Américaine, ayant à ſes pieds un Bouclier aux Armes d'Angleterre, & appuyée ſur un Bouclier aux Armes de France. La Légende, COLONIA FRANCORUM STABILITA, ſignifie, *la Colonie Françoiſe affermie.* L'Exergue, ANGLIS EX INSULA SANCTI CHRISTOPHORI EXTURBATIS. M. DC. LXVI. *les Anglois chaſſez de l'Iſle de Saint Chriſtophle 1666.*

almost *verbatim*, this same course, the Council at Halifax puts into execution this bold, cruel project, *but against* the very originators of it.

Humanly speaking, the dispersal of so many families, at one fell blow, from friends and relations (not without warning, however, for we find the English Government alluding to the possible necessity of the step, so early as the 28th December, 1720,[1] and constantly repeated since), was an act of refined cruelty, our humane feelings at the present day revolt at. While reciprocal policy, acting under the Biblical instruction of an "eye for an eye, tooth for tooth," may condone the act, it is a healthy sign of advancing civilization and good augury for the future peace and welfare of mankind, that so many important writers of the present day, sinking historical truths and facts, in their anxiety to condemn the deportation, combine in lamenting and execrating this sad event of Nova Scotia history.

The course of the narrative of the expulsion has somewhat interfered with the order of other important events as they arose. In 1754, France fully awakened to the fact that England not only intended

[1] Murdock's *Nova Scotia*, p. 381.

to maintain her position in the wilds of America, but likewise by sea. She equipped an armament, under the command of Admirals Macnamara and Bois de la Mothe, of eighteen ships of the line and nine frigates, having on board, ostensibly for Canada, eleven battalions of troops under General Dieskau, an *élève* of Marshal Saxe. England, apprised of this force being sent, despatched Vice-Admiral Boscawen with eleven ships of the line and one frigate to intercept it *en route*. Both sailed about the same time, the 22nd of April, 1755. The French Ambassador at London being duly notified, replied: "That his royal master would consider the first gun "fired at sea in a hostile manner, to be a declaration "of war."[1]

The esoteric instructions of the French fleet were to rendezvous at Chebuctou Harbour, destroy Halifax and then proceed to Annapolis for the same purpose.[2] While the instructions were of necessity secret; it was well known in Acadia that an attempt would soon be made by France to recover possession of the Province. It was this fleet, so eagerly expected by the Acadians, that gave

[1] Entick, *History of the War*, 1765, Vol. I., 127.
[2] Pichon, *Memoires sur Cap Breton*, 1760, p. 264.

rise to the insolent manner in which they addressed the Council at Halifax, and which led to an immediate removal of their arms and subsequent dispersal.

Owing to misadventure, some of the French fleet under Macnamara, had to put back to Brest; the remainder met the English off the coast of Newfoundland in a dense fog, avoiding an engagement, several of them escaped by taking the northern route *via* Belleisle,—the first instance in which it is known to have been traversed, and which led to this route being preferred in the future—successfully reaching their "harbour of refuge," Louisbourg.

The "Lys" and the "Alcyde" were sufficiently unfortunate to be compelled to face the guns of the English frigates "Dunkirk" and "Defiance," and after five hours close engagement the "Lys" struck its colors,—a sad premonition of the future downfall of the Bourbon emblem on the coast of America,—followed by the "Alcyde," when Hocquart in command, became Boscawen's prisoner by sea for the third time, together with £76,000 sterling in money, eight companies of soldiers and several officers and engineers.[1]

[1] Entick, *History of the War*, 1765, Vol. I., p. 138.

The unexpected *rencontre* with Boscawen's fleet, the loss of two of their vessels, and the knowledge that the garrison at Halifax was considerably reinforced by the forces brought out by Boscawen; caused the abandonment of all attempts to recover Acadia. Dieskau, after landing a few regiments at Louisbourg, proceeded to Quebec.

Reprisals by sea and land naturally followed.

England, with a formidable fleet of one ship of 110 guns, five of 100 each, thirteen of 90, eight of 80, five of 74, twenty-nine of 70, four of 66, one of 64, thirty-three of 60, three of 54, twenty-eight of 50, four of 44, thirty-five of 40, forty-two of 20, four of 18, two of 16, eleven of 14, thirteen of 12, one of 10, besides a great number of bomb-ketches, fire-ships and tenders; a force sufficient to oppose the united maritime strength of all the powers of Europe:—as against that of France's six ships of 80 guns, twenty-one of 74, one of 72, four of 70, thirty-one of 64, two of 60, six of 50, and thirty-two frigates, had very little to fear by sea.[1]

[1] Tomlin's *History of England*, Vol. III., p. 198; cf. Entick, Vol. I., p. 2.

General Edward Braddock[1] was despatched to the New England Colonies, on behalf of England, with 2000 regulars. He assembled the Provincial Governors at Alexandria, in Virginia, for a conference; the result of which was that some of the Colonies agreed to furnish money and men for the coming contest. This was of no small import. England, while rich in naval resources, was sadly deficient as a military power. Threatened by invasion at her own doors; trammelled by obligations to protect the family possessions of the Hanoverian King; protector, by treaty alliances, to many small States, she had as much on hand as she had men and means to make use of. Without, therefore, the assistance of the American Colonies at the beginning of the War, her future as an American Power would have indeed been problematical. But fortunately the Congress, convened at Alexandria, accepted the War as their own.

With a population of 1,200,000 inhabitants as against 100,000 in Canada, a crushing issue, if harmony of counsel prevailed, could not be long deferred. Unfortunately, local jealousies between the

[1] A man desperate in his fortune, brutal in his behaviour, obstinate in his sentiments, intrepid and capable.—*Walpole's Memoirs*, p. 390.

Colonies already existed, and State rights were possibly even more zealously considered and guarded then, than they are at the present day. Some considered the War of no interest to them, and declined to furnish levies or money. Some wanted a more prominent hand in the management of the troops. Some wanted to be generals before they were soldiers. The result was that the burden fell on the more willing Colonies of Massachusetts Bay and New York; the disparity in population between the two contending Powers in America was thus levelled, and the War prolonged beyond all expectation.

The operations for 1755 were adopted as follows:[1] Braddock, as Commander-in-Chief, was to march from Alexandria with 2000 men to attack Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio. Secondly, two regiments were to be detached by the Hudson River, the Mohawk River

[1] It might be interesting to note that Thomas Pownall, Governor of Massachusetts Bay, when upon a visit to England in 1756, laid before the Rt. Hon. Mr. Secretary Pitt the full scheme of operations which proved so successful, and which were carried out as he mapped them. He further enforced on the English Government his views; that no peace could exist in America until French domination was overthrown.— (*Pownall's Administration of the Colonies*, London, 1765, p. 245 *et seq.*)

and Lake Oneida to Oswego (a British Post on Lake Ontario) from whence they were to proceed to attack the new French Fort at Niagara.

Thirdly, a corps of Provincial troops was to be sent to blockade Crown Point, a post on Lake Champlain, which the French had occupied in force. Lastly, the disposable troops, regulars and provincials, from Nova Scotia and Massachusetts, about 2000 men, were to attack the French settlements in the Bay of Fundy, and particularly Fort Beauséjour, situated on the isthmus connecting the peninsula of Nova Scotia with the continent, the result of which latter I have already laid before you.[1]

This was the first determined scheme of operations, adopted by unanimous voice, having for its object the project of total extinction of French power on American soil, which had occupied the minds of the New England Colonists, since 1690.

General Braddock, with a detachment of 1200, pushed on in advance of the main body of his troops, and reached his bivouac ground about the 8th July, 1755. Though fully forewarned of ambuscades and surprises, he ridiculed them and while advancing

[1] *Précis of the Wars in Canada*, by General Smyth, p. 44.

on the following day upon Fort Duquesne, he readily fell a victim to his own rashness from a force of 350 Canadians under De Beaujeu, and 600 to 700 Indians under Athanase a Lorette Indian and Pontiac (the celebrated Indian Chieftain of after years), in which he was very signally defeated, receiving his own death-wound after five horses had been shot under him. Seigneur Daniel Liénard de Beaujeu, the commandant, who had so successfully laid this ambuscade, a Canadian by birth and an officer of high intelligence, spirit and promise, most regretfully fell at the first onslaught. Washington was again in this defeat, and was among the very few officers who escaped the slaughter by the Indians which ensued. Sixty-four English officers and 700 men were killed and wounded, while the loss of the French was trivial. The balance of Braddock's command, under Colonel Dunbar, retreated to Fort Cumberland, Virginia; form thence they joined Shirley's force at Albany.[1]

The effect of so overwhelming a victory for the

[1] (*Walpole Memoirs*, p. 392, states the English loss was thirty officers killed, thirty wounded; 300 men killed. There was no scalping, no torture, no pursuit, and that not more than fifty of the enemy were slain.)

French, on the excitable nature of the Indian led to most disastrous consequences and more than any other cause, alienated them for several years from English alliances. Their peculiar mode of warfare, that of detached parties, slaying and scalping the inhabitants of all isolated hamlets, was immediately carried out throughout the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers and among the Moravian missionary establishments in the Ohio Valley, where scenes of cruelty and torture were of daily occurrence, many narratives of which, well authenticated, have come down to us as evidence of this disastrous defeat at Braddock's Fields.

The expedition against Crown Point was committed to the care of William Johnson, who became famous, in the annals of British Canada, in subduing the unfriendly Indians to British rule. This gentleman, a native of Ireland, nephew to Admiral Sir Peter Warren (the naval commander, in the previous war, at the taking of Louisbourg 1745), had long resided on the banks of the Mohawk River, in the western part of New York State. He was very popular with the native races and had an unbounded influence over them, speaking their language with

fluency and marrying, according to Indian rites, into their family. The English Government depended entirely upon his efforts to obtain alliance with the different nations and as a reward for same and his victory at Fort William Henry, Lake George, he was made a Baronet on the 27th of November, 1755, and was voted by the English Parliament a gratuity of $20,000.

Johnson, in September 1755, advanced with 1200 men to Fort William Henry, where he was unexpectedly attacked on the 11th September by Baron Dieskau, Commander-in-Chief of the French forces at the head of 2000 men, but successfully defeated them and made Dieskau (who had been severely wounded) a prisoner. He was not exchanged, and remained a prisoner at New York until the Peace of 1763. In this engagement fell Hendrick, the celebrated Chieftain and Orator of the Mohawk race, and Grand Chief of the Six Nations, who, personally friendly to the English, had joined them with a few followers the year previous. With exception of the Mohawks, the Iroquois as a body were more favourable to the French until 1759. In this very engagement they were on both sides. This action, though decisive

in favor of the English, was followed by no important consequence, as it was deemed too late in the season to proceed against Crown Point.

The utter failure of Shirley's expedition against Niagara, which reached Oswego only and then retreated by Albany, closed the campaign of 1755, which, on the whole, was regarded as disadvantageous to the English in America. By sea, captures had been made of 300 trading vessels belonging to France, with about 8000 sailors, which were brought into the ports of England.

Thus ended what might be termed the piratical year 1755, for in the absence of a declaration of war, conquests made could not be, by the law of nations, legitimately retained. The vessels captured were sequestered and cargoes inventoried, for compensation to owners later on.

Adversity making strange bed-fellows, was never better exemplified than in the shuffle now proposed. Former hereditary enemies were to extend the right hand of fellowship and work hand and glove in crushing their former allies. The political map of Europe was, *pro tempore*, to be completely metamorphosed.

France, feeling her inferiority by sea, determined to attack England through her King, George II., in his personal property of Hanover. She at once dispatched an army of 200,000 men to invade this territory. England seeking an ally, found one in Prussia, who had become estranged from her of recent years; her former ally, Austria, withdrawing from the treaty obligations entered into with England, on the pretext that the war had begun in America, in which she had no interest. Austria then joined France, and was only too glad to form an alliance with so powerful a military nation, who could assist her against Prussia in reconquering from the Fatherland the Province of Silesia, lost in the last war. France also obtained Russia, Sweden and Poland as allies; all were until recently her open enemies, and enemies to each other. Thus the parties were ripe for the great War of the Seven Years, destined to encircle the world in fire and brimstone, and which was formally proclaimed by England on the 18th of May, 1756, and by France in June following, the encroachments in America being the burden of both declarations.

Prussia was the chief seat of battle in Europe; Canada and the West Indies in America; India in Asia. England played but a secondary part on the European side; the heat of her battle being felt by France in America and the Indies. With inexplicable bad judgment France neglected, in fact abandoned her colonies, and devoted her attention to the European conflict, in which she eventually gained nothing.

The Court of France was singularly constituted at the inception of this war. Louis XV. had all along his career abandoned himself to a life of pleasure and dissipation. With the decadence of the French power at the death of his grandfather, the youthful King, under the example of the dissolute Prince Regent, never attempted to elevate himself above his immoral and vicious surroundings. The reflex of the Court, being an absolute power, upon the people occasioned an apathy for national glory which was truly lamentable. France, careless of her interests, gradually sunk deeper and deeper her prestige and priority as a commercial and colonizing power of the 17th century! From 1685 to 1712 the French fleets had humbled the allied squadrons of England

and Holland and for this period only in the world's history she held the supremacy of the seas, a legacy of the great and incomparable commercial minister, Colbert. But once since was she able to hold her head aloft from the debasement in which her King had placed her and then only through the means of a foreigner and Calvinist, the Marshal Saxe, a victory which Catholic France reluctantly accepted. To Richelieu, Louis XIV. and Louvois, Canada owed its religious nationality, more Catholic than Rome itself, a nation in which it was death for an heretic to enter; "to live in New France is in truth to live in the bosom of God," wrote a pious Jesuit Father. To Louis XV. all of this was as chaff before the wind, a heritage which had no further value to him than the revenues he could derive to squander on his mistresses and pleasures abroad.

The inanition of the King had naturally an effect on the Court. But few men of ability or self-respect would permit themselves to be under the dictation of the King's mistresses, to whom he had delegated all regal power. Already had begun the conflict between State and Parliament, which, as in the reign of Charles I. of England ended in the complete

Mme de Pompadour

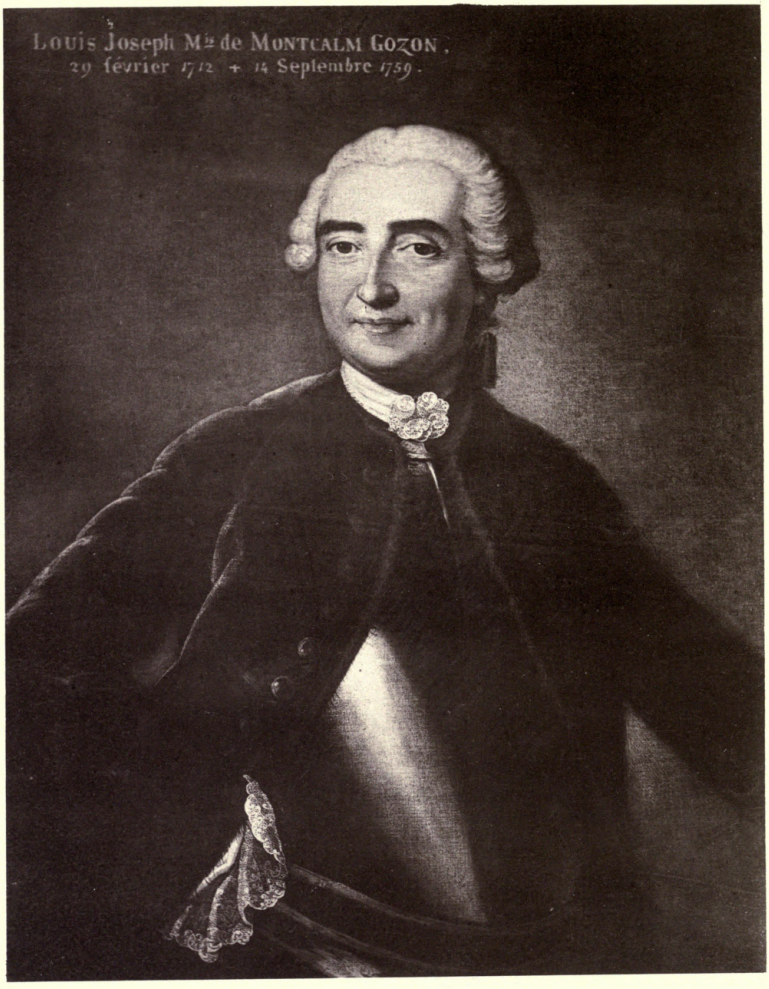
overthrow of the dynasty and the sacrifice of the succeeding King's head.

France at this time was under the control of Jeanne Antoinette Poisson, a daughter of a butcher, now created Marquise de Pompadour. She was elevated, by capturing the King's heart, into being the reigning absolute Minister of France and fully exercised the powers conferred on her. Making and unmaking cabinets, formulating and dissevering political connections, nominating and dismissing commanders-in-chief at will, the Marquise was recognized as the leading power in the Court of France, her ambition and pride being alone satisfied when addressed by the Courts of Austria and Spain as "Ma chère Cousine."[1] For Canada she entertained the sentiments of Voltaire, which were equivalent to a practical abandonment of a colony which they were pleased to characterise as an ice-floe from the Northern Pole, a country unworthy the sacrifices which France had already made for it.

Canada at the time of the declaration of war was governed by Pierre de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil Cavagnal, a native of Canada and son to the

[1] Guizot's *History of France*, Vol. V., p. 197.

former Governor Phillippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, 1703-25. Doubly a Canadian, having married into the Deschambault [an old-established Canadian] family, he was warmly welcomed by the people. He had also been Lieutenant-Governor of Three Rivers in 1733. Having been for some years past Governor of Louisiana, with which colony intimate relations with Canada always existed its chief settlers having immigrated therefrom, enhanced by the consanguinity of a large number of the people of both countries, his fame, sociability and popular administration had preceded him. Imitating the Court of France, with whose ways he was perfectly familiar, he was not outdone in splendor, luxury, military display and expenses of every kind. Gayarré, in his *History of Louisiana*, Vol. II., p. 66, says: "The administration "of the Marquis of Vaudreuil was long and fondly "remembered as an epoch of unusual brilliancy. "Remarkable for his personal grace and comeliness, "for the dignity of his bearing and the fascination "of his address, he was fond of pomp, show and "pleasure; surrounded by a host of brilliant officers, "of whom he was the idol, he loved to keep up a


Louis Joseph Mis de Montcalm Gozon,
29 février 1712 + 14 Septembre 1759.

" miniature court, in distant imitation of that of " Versailles; and long after he had departed, old " people were fond of talking of the exquisitely " refined manners, the magnificent balls, the splen- " didly uniformed troops, the high-born young offi- " cers, and many other unparalleled things they had " seen in the days of the great Marquis."

Unfortunately, this was blurred by accusations of malfeasance, which, however, did not affect his popularity with the people.

The Intendant General of Canada, or chief civil officer, was the notorious Francis Bigot, of infamous memory, who had distinguished himself in his dishonorable conduct while acting as Intendant at Louisiana, prior to 1748 when he was transferred to Canada. He had great family influence and the patronage of Madame de Pompadour.

The command of the army had been invested in Baron Dieskau, but after his capture Louis Joseph de Saint Veran, Marquis de Montcalm, Mestre de Camp, a title to-day known as a Cavalry Colonel, was appointed Commander-in-Chief. Upon his arrival, Canada had an available force of 4200 regulars, augmented later on by 1000 recruits, and

15,500 militiamen. The total population could not have been less than 100,000 souls, including the army and Indians.[1] The New England Colonies had a population of 1,200,000, with an available military force of 60,000 men, but these, like the Canadians, were not to any extent enrolled or drilled. The respective populations of France and England at this time were twenty-four millions against twelve—a relative proportion as existed ever since the colonies were founded, demonstrating a character in the English for colonizing truly remarkable, born of that love for freedom and adventure the Saxon has always inherited and displayed.

Of the 15,500 Canadian militiamen, not more than 5000 were enrolled and most of these were required for garrisoning the three cities and other forts during the absence of the regulars. In one respect, comparatively speaking, Canada possessed a more serviceable militia force than the Americans, inasmuch as almost

[1] Rameau, *La France aux Colonies*, Vol. II., p. 82, puts the population at about 71,000 souls, including 5000 *voyageurs* and hunters, 4200 regulars, and 15,500 militia, but omits all mention of the domiciliated Indians, fully 15,000 strong! Being converted and civilized, they were as useful militiamen and guides as the *habitants*. Dussieux, in *Le Canada*, p. 213, says 82,000 souls.

every man was by nature a sharp-shooter, by occupation a hunter, after he was old enough to handle a gun, while the land was tilled and the hand of the plow was served by the *Habitant Dame*, the equal of her husband in husbandry, thus leaving him to the service of his country and martial fame.

Montcalm, upon his arrival, had not a larger available force than 8000 men in all.[1] Other authorities place the regulars at 5300, with 2000 militiamen enrolled.[2] His staff consisted of the Chevalier de Lévis (Brigadier), afterwards Field Marshal the Duke of Lévis (a member of a very ancient Languedoc family enjoying great influence in France), who was second in command; De Bourlamaque (Colonel of Infantry) third in command, with De Bougainville (Captain of Dragoons) as Aide-de-Camp.

The Indian allies, undomiciliated and savage, were not at any time to be depended upon—success would bring a large number to the front, but disaster would call as quick a desertion. *They were born politicians and diplomats.* Excellent skirmishers, they were useful as auxiliaries, but never could be depended upon for regular support. For reasons

[1] *Montcalm en Canada*, Martin, p. 18.
[2] De Bonnechose, *Montcalm*, p. 31.

before stated, the Canadians had more material assistance from them throughout the campaign than the English. At one time they numbered as many as 3000 in their support, but, as a rule, they seldom assisted in bodies of over 500 to 600 strong.

Gov. Wm. Shirley, who was one of the Commissioners engaged at Paris in the vain effort to settle what was meant by the cession of Acadia to England by the Treaty of Utrecht and that of Aix-la-Chapelle, had been recalled and re-assumed the government of Massachusetts. Being the senior officer, upon the death of Braddock he became Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, a position for which he was not adapted by military knowledge. Making plots and plans on paper are vastly different to carrying them out in the field; hence, his military schemes for the season of 1756 were grand in conception and theory, but disastrous failures in practice. Ten thousand men were to advance against Crown Point—6000 for service on Lake Ontario, 3000 for an attack on Fort Duquesne and 2000 to advance up the River Kennebec, destroy the settlement adjoining the Chaudière and descending the mouth of that river within three miles of Quebec, keep all that part of Canada in alarm.[1]

[1] Minot's *History of Massachusetts*, Vol. I., p. 264.

While each of these armies was being put into motion, the season had become too far advanced for action at any one point. Moreover, the British Government, dissatisfied with a Provincial officer being at the head of its army in America, determined upon sending out General Lord Loudoun. While Shirley was preparing, Montcalm advanced against the three forts at Oswego, the terror of the French in the Iroquois country and which had been their desire to destroy for many years back; they likewise commanded the entrance to Lake Ontario. The English had a garrison of 1800 men in these divided between Fort Ontario under command of Colonel Littlehales, Fort Oswego (the old fort) under Colonel Mercer, and Fort George, or Rascal, under Colonel Schuyler, about a mile distant from each other. Montcalm, with his army of 2000 regulars and 2500 militia and Indians, crossed the lake from Fort Frontenac on the 12th of August and without much opposition captured the two former forts, the "*chamade*" being beat for want of proper generalship. Fort George also succumbed. The garrison under Colonel Littlehales surrendered and were immediately transported as prisoners to Montreal; the commander, Colonel Mercer, having

fallen at the outset. The naval force of eight vessels, mounting sixty-eight guns, under Commodore Bradley, were at the mouth of the river, but were of very little service in defence of the forts. They were included in the capitulation.

As an evidence of the intrepidity displayed throughout this war, I would specially mention that a body of 2500 Canadians and Indians swam across the river, under a heavy fire, to prevent communication being had by land with Colonel Schuyler at Fort George—an act of daring and valor nothing but a native-born patriotism could engender.

No sooner was Montcalm in possession of the three forts at Oswego than, with admirable policy, and an excellent speech upon English aggressiveness and duplicity in dealing with the Indians, he demolished them in presence of his Indians allies, in whose country they had been erected, and whose suspicions they had excited.[1] Before leaving the ground of his victory,—this being his first conquest —he had a column erected, upon which he placed

[1] Holmes' *American Annals*, 1813, Vol. II., p. 127. Minot and Manté, with *Williamson's Life* and *Pouchot's Memoirs*, all contemporary authors (Williamson and Pouchot being present at the engagement), agree with the above version.

the Shield of France, with the inscription,

"Manibus daté lilia plenis,"

a legend which was not destined to be fulfilled.[1]

Shirley was much blamed for this defeat and the failure of his projects, and lost both his government and command, being succeeded by John Campbell, fourth Earl of Loudoun, Baron Mauchlaw, one of the sixteen Peers of Scotland, with General Abercromby as second in command—both notorious for previous incompetency,—the former the hero of the retreat from Inverness in 1745. They were sent out with considerable reinforcements, and had transferred to them by Shirley 16,000 men in the field, of whom 6000 were regulars, but with that masterly inactivity and indecision for which Loudoun was most renowned, no further movement was made this year.

The year 1757 was not distinguished by any military movements of much moment. It was intended to attack Louisbourg, Cape Breton, and with this

[1] An enormous amount of stores fell into the hands of the French, viz., 135 pieces of artillery, 1070 musquets, 23,000 pounds gunpowder, 8000 pounds musquet balls, 2950 cannon balls, 450 bombs, 1476 grenades, twelve months provisions for 4000 men, and 18,954 livres in money.—*Williamsons Life*, Lond., 1759, p. 87.

object Lord Loudoun reached Halifax on the 11th of July with 6000 regulars and was met with fresh arrivals from England of 5000 British troops under George Viscount Howe, a squadron of sixteen ships of the line and eight frigates, under Admiral Holbourn.[1] After the force was collected at Halifax, information was received that a French fleet had lately sailed from Brest for Louisbourg, that Louisbourg was garrisoned by 3000 regulars, exclusive of militia, and that it was also defended by eighteen line of battle ships and six frigates, which were moored in the harbor. Loudoun's apologists state; there being no hope of success against so formidable a force, the enterprise was deferred to the next year; the General and Admiral, on the last of August, proceeded to New York, and the Provincials were dismissed!!

The renown for bravery with which British generals and admirals have been always distinguished, was here open to the rare exception of the white feather, and in this war we have to lament the actions of Admiral Byng at Minorca, for which he suffered death and that of Lord Loudoun

[1] *Précis of the Wars*, p. 54; Holmes' *American Annals*, p. 188.

in the present instance, for which he was justly disgraced and recalled by the new Prime Minister and Secretary of State, William Pitt, leaving the command with General Abercromby. Not only his military skill, but his courage and integrity were questioned.[1] Admiral Holbourn partially redeemed himself by pushing out, with a part only of his squadron, to entice Admiral La Mothe to give him battle in front of Louisbourg, but to this challenge the French Admiral did not deem fit to comply.

Montcalm, finding himself free from attack, penetrated with his army of 7606 men[2] to Fort William Henry, at the head of Lake George. Included were 2000 Indians. The fort was garrisoned by 2264 regulars under Colonel Munroe, of the 35th Regiment, and in the neighborhood there was an additional force of 4600 men under General Webb. On the 3rd August the fort was invested and after a summons to surrender was rejected, the attack was begun and continued with undiminished fervor until the 9th at noon, when a capitulation was signed. General Webb did not join Munroe, as he was instructed to do by Aber-

[1] Murdock's *History of Nova Scotia*, Vol. II., p. 315.
[2] *De Montcalm*, Martin, pp. 64-97.

cromby's plans, some cowardice being attributed to him by contemporary writers.

An incident of the war, which has given rise to a great deal of controversy and ill-feeling up to the present moment, was the so-called massacre at Fort William Henry, the outcome of the numerous horde of savages the French had as allies in the engagement.

The natives of America, like their prototype the Arab of the Desert, have always been noted for their love of spoliation ; it is, therefore, not surprising that their opportunity for looting having been prevented by the surrender, they took the law into their own hands and committed the depredations of which De Montcalm and his officers have been unjustly accused.

On the morning following the surrender, the garrison was to march out under a proper escort to protect them from injury at the hands of the Indians. The evacuation had barely commenced, when a repetition of the looting of the day previous, which ensued immediately after the capitulation had been signed, was attempted. An effort being made by the escort to stop it, some drunken Indians attacked the

defile, which resulted in the murdering and scalping some sixty or seventy of the prisoners; maltreating and robbing a large number of others.

Upon a careful investigation of the contemporary authorities, no blame whatever can be attached to the good fame of the brave and humane Montcalm or De Lévis. True it is, the articles of capitulation guaranteed a sufficient escort to protect the surrendered garrison from the fury of the Indians and while the sufficiency of it may be open to question, it cannot be denied that a guard of 500, under ordinary circumstances, would have sufficed. It was clearly the duty of the English commander to have refused to open the gates unless he was satisfied ample protection was accorded. The escort, no doubt, had become panic-stricken at the ferocity of the attack, and the officer in charge, St. Luc de la Corne, a Canadian, whether from incompetence or national prejudice, did not enforce in time the authority he should have exercised; but it must also be remembered that 2000 Indians under the influence of liquor are not to be governed by friend or foe, and while possibly some blame may be attached to the officers in charge of the escort, none whatever can be

to General Montcalm or De Lévis, who were at a considerable distance from the scene of the revolt. They hastened back and distinguished themselves here, as they did throughout the war—notably at Oswego, where the Indians were with the utmost difficulty restrained by Montcalm, personally, from making a similar attack under very similar circumstances—*as military officers without a peer in any army for courage, genius, heroism and humanity* wherever they could be exercised. "Kill me, but spare those under my protection," was the thrilling cry of Montcalm, heard above the din of the savage war-whoop; while, sword in hand, he penetrated the savage horde and protected a band of women and children from massacre.[1]

Fort George, or William Henry, as it was indifferently called, like its compeer Fort Oswego, was

[1] The event was greatly magnified by contemporary writers, but the facts seem to me to be in a mean between the outrageous statements of Captain Carver and the Jesuit Roubaud, as evidenced by the moderate statements of chroniclers of the time, such as Pouchot in his *Memoirs* (p. 105, Vol. I., original edition); Manté, *History of the late War*, 1772 (p. 95); Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts Bay*, Vol. III., Lond., 1828, p. 60: "*The prisoners acknowledged that the "French strove to restrain the Indians, but were overpowered.*"—Minot's *History of Massachusetts Bay*, and Bancroft, Vol. II.

razed to the ground and the army retreated into their winter quarters at Montreal.

The termination of the year left the French masters of Lakes Champlain and George, together with the chain of great lakes connecting the St. Lawrence with the Mississippi; also the undisturbed possession of all the country in dispute west of the Alleghany Mountains.

The destruction of the forts at Oswego and William Henry left an impression of superiority of the French nation on the minds of the Indians, which took years to eradicate. In fact, notwithstanding the ultimate victory of the English, Pontiac's war, which ensued after the Peace of 1763, may be clearly traceable to these victories.[1] Circumstances had hitherto forced on the French the offensive, but only with the object of protecting their own frontiers. All this was now to change, and acting entirely on the defensive, they were to lose with greater rapidity, in the space of two short seasons, all that they had so easily acquired before by genius, military skill and prowess.

With a more vigorous hand Pitt determined

[1] See *Pouchot's Memoirs*, Yverdon, orig. edit., Vol. I., p. 80.

to act. "*My Lord, I am sure I can save this country, and no one else can,*" was the egotistic, bold, yet true assertion of William Pitt in his opening speech in the House of Commons upon announcing his method of conducting the war in the future.[1] True to his word, his method was a radical change—he wished to aggrandize Britain in general, but thought not of obliging or benefiting individuals; the day of the men characterized so aptly by the King as "*Après diner—la moutarde,*" people such as the Mordaunts, Conways, Cornwallises, Abercrombies, Byngs and Loudouns, was over; none but soldiers of recognized ability and bravery were to control the forces of England. His first selection could not have been more sapient. He returned to the St. Lawrence, Admiral Boscawen accompanied by Generals Amherst and Wolfe, three names which must always take precedence in the rank of England's greatest heroes, as they must and will live for ever in the annals of Canadian history as having accomplished its greatest political regeneration.

On the 2nd June 1758, there anchored in the Bay of Gabarus, about one mile and a half to the

[1] Walpole's *Memoirs of George II*, Vol. II., p. 271.

westward of Louisbourg, 157 vessels; but of these twenty-three only were ships of the line, with eighteen frigates. The force consisted of 12,260 men, under the control of the three officers before mentioned.

Louisbourg, the pride of France in North America, was garrisoned by 3080 regular troops, 300 militia formed of the inhabitants and 750 Canadians and Indians,[1] under the command of the Chevalier Drucourt, and I may add, without doing him any injustice, his brave wife, who daily inspirited the forces to increased exertions. The marine service consisted of five ships of the line and seven frigates with 3,000 men, mounting 544 guns. The fortifications had cost France over thirty million francs to build, and were deemed almost impregnable. Over twenty-five years constant labor had been expended on them, and during this period they had been but once assailed, when it took over six weeks constant attack from an overwhelming force, naval and military, before the garrison surrendered and then only, it is alleged, from mutiny within it. The little damage done had been repaired when they again

[1] Dussieux (*Le Canada*, p. 190) says 7000 soldiers in all; but his distribution of them would imply a force of over 10,000 men, including Marines.

reverted to France at the Peace of 1748, and were now in first class condition.

The fortifications formed a circuit of nearly two miles, with four bastions, a citadel, and batteries at every available point, mounting 221 cannon and eighteen mortars. The coast line, a craggy shore, with a restless surge beating against steep, perpendicular hills and barbed rocks, apparently as inaccessible as the great engineering masterwork itself, was covered with earthworks and concealed batteries at every prominent position, while the harbor was protected by three special batteries and two inner ones, all armed to the teeth, as uninviting a spot for an enemy to try to enter as it was possible for nature and man together to make.

Such was the result of the reconnoitre exposed to the view of the three General Officers upon their arrival. Even the brave Wolfe hesitated to make the attempt to land; but, upon the advice of Boscawen, who, as Pitt said, "never turned his face from danger, always being full of expedients and who knew not the meaning of the word 'failure,'" Wolfe was induced, after waiting six days for the wind to fall, to take to the boats and lead off in the effort.

The unfriendly surf and the too warm reception accorded to him by those on the heights, tried his courage to the utmost, despairing of his chances of success while the high wind prevailed, he felt constrained to beat a retreat; but he had no sooner done so than, regretting the step, with characteristic valor, he turned it into an effectual *ruse* to cover a further attempt at a landing, a short distance off, which he saw a possibility of obtaining. Wading in surf to their waist, they were successful, to the surprise and dismay of the enemy, who were totally unprepared for the act of military daring and superhuman courage the attempt entailed. Surrounded by a hail-storm of bullets, the valorous Wolfe maintained his ground behind the protecting ægis of rocks until he was followed by the remainder of his army and then soon dislodged, at the point of the bayonet, the enemy before him! This "battle of the surf" cost the British 111 killed, wounded and missing, and about 100 boats with ordnance. The intrepidity of the attack which followed soon drove the French from each of their posts in succession; abandoning their earthworks and hotly pursued by General Wolfe, they took shelter under and within the walls of Louisbourg.

The historian Entick says : " Such were the incre-
" dible service and extraordinary achievements of a
" day that must be ever glorious in the annals of this
" nation, and convince posterity that no difficulties
" nor dangers are sufficient to withstand the impetu-
" osity of an English army under efficient leaders."

Time and space will not admit recounting the many exploits and acts of heroism displayed before the walls of Louisbourg between the 2nd June and the 26th July, the day upon which the fortress surrendered to the British arms. To Chevalier Drucourt, without an adequate navy or army to efficiently garrison so extended a line of fortifications, the contest was a somewhat unequal one, and to him is due the utmost praise for his persistent, energetic and heroic defence of France's Dunkirk in Canada. He surrendered but a ruined fortress and a desolate town, upon terms not so honorable as were usually accorded, but such only as could be consistently granted under the present intentions of the English Ministry to annihilate the French dominion in Canada! Thus his army of 5637 regulars, officers, sailors and marines, were carried prisoners to England, while the inhabitants of the Island 4100, as

well as those of Isle St. Jean (the present Prince Edward Island), included in the capitulation, were transported in English vessels to France. His loss was 1,500 lives; that of the English 400.[1]

The particulars of this victory were immediately carried to England by Captain Amherst, brother to the commander, who brought with him eleven stand of colours. No more welcome intelligence had entered England since the war began than that of the fall of Louisbourg. The colours were, by His Majesty's orders, carried in pompous parade, escorted by detachments of Horse and Foot Guards amid kettle-drums and trumpets, from the Palace of Kensington to St. Paul's Cathedral, where they were deposited as trophies, under a discharge of cannon and other noisy expression of triumph and exultation. Indeed, the public rejoicings for the conquest of Louisbourg were diffused

[1] The garrison and French forces, by the majority of writers, are put down at 2500 and yet at the surrender they all admit the correctness of the above figures!! proving that the place was defended by 7137 military and naval men in all. Garneau, in his usual style of exaggeration of figures and facts wherever the French interests are concerned, an unpardonable blemish on his otherwise acceptable *History of Canada*, states (Vol. III., edit. 1848, p. 110) that the English force consisted of 30,000 men, while the French had only 2100 regulars, 600 militia, while he, contradicting his own figures, admits at p. 118 that 5600 formed the garrison which surrendered. See also Ferland's *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*, p. 561.

through every part of the British dominions and addresses of congratulation were presented to the King by a great number of flourishing towns and corporations. A day of public thanksgiving was appointed and services in praise of the event were held throughout the kingdom.

In the New World, the importance of this victory was felt to be such as tending to the eventual fall of New France, that the joy and delight of the English colonists knew no bounds; finding vent largely in numberless thanksgiving services and prayer assemblies, the records of which have come down to us in innumerable editions of their most popular preachers' addresses, which were ordered to be printed at the public expense.

The other military operations in 1758 were unimportant in results. It was intended to dislodge the French from Ticonderoga and Crown Point by an army 16,000 strong (7000 of whom were regulars), under Major-Generals James Abercromby and Lord Howe, and to send a fresh expedition against Fort Duquesne, the scene of the unfortunate exploit of General Braddock. For the latter, some 7000 men were placed under General Forbes.

The former was not a success. Embarking on the 5th July, in 1035 boats,[1] at the spot where the ill-fated Fort William Henry stood the year previous, Abercromby disembarked the next morning about two miles from Fort Ticonderoga, or Carillon (as the French called it), and which he determined to carry by assault. Here they were met by Montcalm with 2970 regulars, 101 Indians and 487 militia. He was subsequently joined by De Lévis with 400 regulars, 1600 Canadians and Indians.[2] From the 6th July in the morning until the 9th, Abercromby invested this fort, but strange to say his shot fell short of its mark, his attacks futile and notwithstanding his numerical superiority, he was defeated in several engagements his brave opponents met him with. Carillon must have had indeed a Divine protection, to have saved it and its garrison from instant destruction from such an overwhelming force. Inexplicable as it may seem, Abercromby retreated in a complete rout and most disorderly state, so much so,

[1] What a regatta for Lake George and beautiful panoramic view this must have been, with the handsome uniforms of the Royal Artillery, the 27th, 42nd Highlanders, 44th, 46th, 55th, 1st and 2nd Battalions of Royal Americans (the 60th), commingled with 9000 Provincial troops.

[2] Dussieux (*Le Canada*, p. 331, *et seq.*) gives a force of 5300.

that had he been followed by Montcalm, he would not have escaped without a tremendous loss of life. That Montcalm did not take advantage of his position, is a further evidence of his humanitarian principles of warfare. The English loss was 1947 officers and men killed and wounded, including Lord Howe, who fell on the first day, an officer universally admired and lamented, and who had already become beloved by his army for his valour and respected for his military knowledge; the French loss was 494 men killed, with about 1100 wounded. The Canadian militia loss was, in addition, eighty-seven killed and 240 wounded. Fortunately, Abercromby was immediately recalled, as it was to his want of ability and capacity the English rightly attributed this striking defeat. He was fifty-two years of age, of heavy build and lethargic, and prematurely old in appearance. By temperament he was wholly unfit for the great heat incurred in the bush in the month of July; enervated thereby, it is no wonder failure was a result. He had already expressed himself unfit for American service, and eagerly looked for his recall.

To this day, the French Canadians are fully justi-

fied in commemorating so providential and unexampled a victory as that of Carillon, by carrying aloft the "Drapeau Blanc," the charmed flag which shot and shell could not penetrate, conserved religiously in the National Sanctuary at Quebec.[1]

Col. Bradstreet, with 3000 men, a contingent from Abercromby's defeated army, partially redeemed themselves by a forced march upon Fort Frontenac, which, being garrisoned by only 150 men, capitulated after making but a slight resistance. A large part of the spoils obtained at Oswego were here recaptured.

Forbes, upon reaching Fort Duquesne, on the 24th November, obtained an easy conquest—the garrison of 500 men, under De Ligneris, recognizing the impossibility of defence against so large an army, satisfied themselves by repeating against Bouquet, in command of a vanguard of Forbes' army, the

[1] For this victory, Montcalm was made Lieutenant-General and decorated with the Grand Cross of St. Louis; De Lévis, Maréchal de Camp, and all other officers promoted a grade.

A very beautiful poem has been produced on this theme, worthy of as everlasting fame as the victory itself, from the pen of Joseph Octave Crémazie, a Canadian, entitled "Le Drapeau de Carillon."

successful ambuscade of De Beaujeu against Braddock and then burned and vacated the Fort as Forbes approached. From these smouldering ashes and settlers from Forbes' army arose, phœnix-like, an embryo city which they named *Pittsburg*, after the great Minister,—a sole monument of the Fall of New France, which was created by it and has come down unchanged in name in direct memento of the memorable events which contributed so much to the welfare of this country and the French inhabitants of the Province. Forbes, a much esteemed Scotch Officer, fell a victim to this fatiguing expedition, and lived but to reach his home at Philadelphia in the following January.

The campaigns of 1758 closed the career of France on the St. Lawrence, in the valley of the Ohio and northern Mississippi. The falling of Fort Frontenac dealt it a death-blow on the Lakes, which rendered it open to easy conquest in the following season. The outlook was dark indeed, and raised the first cry from the Colony to its Mother Country for peace, or an adequate supply of forces to cope with England, before all were sacrificed and lost. A vain cry to the heedless, degenerate King who occu-

pied the throne of France under the selfish aphorism, up to which he was living, "*Après moi—le déluge.*"[1]

The census of February 1759 gave a total population in Canada of 82,000 souls, with 20,000 men able to carry arms.[2] The Quebec forces in April are stated to be 3686 regulars, 1500 colonial troops, with 3500 militia, and a body of hunters, trappers, Indians, etc., of no fixed residence, amounting to 11,900 men in all.[3]

The dissensions in the Colony at this time were most painful, the civil and military authorities being as much at open warfare as the troops of the two different nations. The state of society at the capital and other centres was depraved in the extreme. Licentiousness, gambling, peculation and other vices were the rule and indeed

[1] The very walls of Versailles, the residence of the King, were placarded with doggerels, among which were many of a most treasonable character. All more or less pointed to the feminine influence over the King, in such couplets as these:—

"Bateaux plats à vendre,†
Soldats à louer,
Ministres à pendre,
Généraux à louer."

"O France, le sexe femelle
Fit toujours ton destin,
Ton bonheur vint d'une Pucelle,
Ton malheur vient d'une catin."

† Referring to the numerous boats built for the invasion of England, but never used. This scheme originated with Madame de Pompadour.—Walpole's Memoirs of George II, Vol. II.

[2] Rameau, *La France aux Colonies*, p. 86 and notes. This would not include the regular army and domiciliated Indians, about 25,000 in number. See note, p. 68, on the same subject.

[3] *De Montcalm en Canada*, p. 172. These figures are clearly an underestimate.

fashion. The Intendant Bigot, imitating his Royal master, kept open court in the valley of the St. Charles, and not to be outdone by Versailles, had his Pompadour in the person of Madame Péan, whose husband (as he had not the power to elevate to the ranks of the aristocracy) he rewarded by constituting a sharer in his plunder of the public chest. So openly was this perpetrated that the people nick-named their establishments, both at Quebec and Montreal, "*Les Friponnes.*"[1] The Governor-General and La Marquise were participants in many of these innocent amusements, as they were then regarded; and both had become most unpopular, being universally detested by the people for pride, avarice and cruelty.[2]

Their conduct in Canada gives color to the public accusations laid against them by the Intendant, Michel de la Rouvillière, of Louisiana in 1751. In his official statements and declarations to the Home Government, he stated: "There is no "question but that the Governor is interested, for "one-third, in the profits made at the post of Tom-"becbee, where De Grand Pré commands, and that

[1] "*The Cheats.*"

[2] *Mayhew's Sermon on the Reduction of Canada.* Boston, 1760, p. 40.

" he has the same interest in all the other posts,
" nobody doubts it here. The commanders at the
" posts are all Canadians, who are his creatures, or
" who are kinsmen or relations of his own or his
" wife. Mr. de Pontalba, the only one who does not
" belong to this gang, holds the Government of
" Pointe-Coupée, solely because he shares his profits
" with the Governor's lady. I have it from his own
" mouth. Such are the causes which increase the
" expenses beyond the Intendant's control. There
" is no discipline ; the most indulgent toleration is
" granted to the soldiers, provided they drink their
" money at the licensed canteen. It is Mr. de Belle-
" isle, the Aid-major, who has the lease and adminis-
" tration of the liquor shop, and who gives for it a
" certain sum to the Major—others say to the Gover-
" nor's lady ! What is positive is, that Mr. de Vau-
" dreuil has drawn upon the treasury for ten thous-
" and livres of his salary as Governor, which he has
" given to Mr. de Belleisle, and it is with these funds
" that the supplies of the liquor shop have been
" bought. Moreover, Madame de Vaudreuil is capa-
" ble of carrying on a still baser kind of trade. She
" deals here with every body, and she forces mer-

" chants and other individuals to take charge of her " merchandise, and to sell it at the price which she " fixes. She keeps in her own house every sort of " drugs, which are sold by her steward, and in his " absence she does not scruple to descend herself to " the occupation of measurement, and to betake her- " self to the ell. The husband is not ignorant of " this. He draws from it a handsome revenue, to " obtain which is his sole wish and aim. The first " use which has been made of your Excellency's " order to put a cadet in each company, was to " bestow these favors on new-born children. There " are some, between fifteen months and six years " old, who come in for the distribution of provi- " sions."[1]

Certain it is, that in the trial which ensued in 1763 upon the return of the Governor to France, while he was acquitted and released from the Bastile, *he was denuded of his fortune*, and died broken-hearted the ensuing year.

The Colony must have been throughout, in a truly deplorable moral condition, for there prevailed the most shameful venality, the stream of corrup-

[1] *History of Louisiana*, C. Gayarré, pp. 58-61, Vol. I.

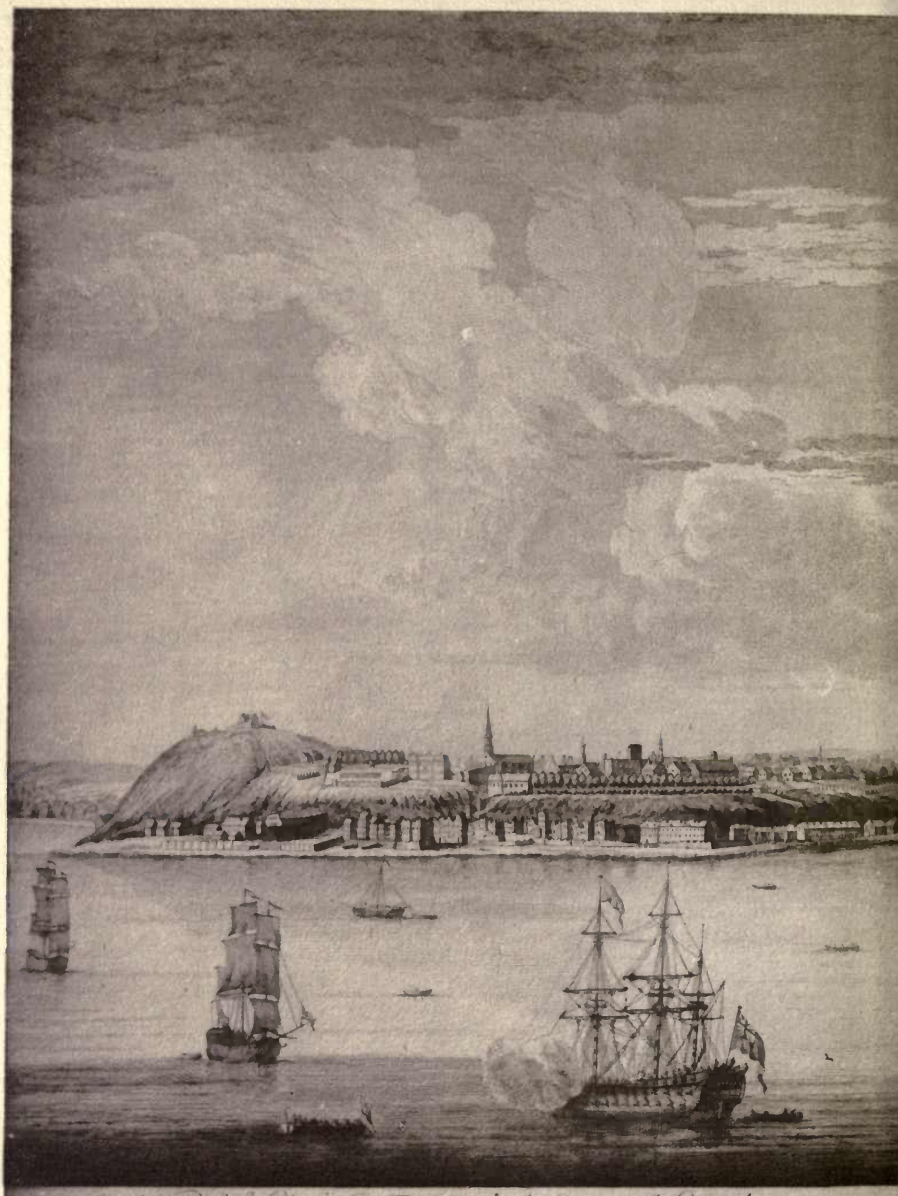
tion originated in and ran down from the upper regions of society. But there were exceptions! Montcalm and his colleagues, De Lévis and De Bougainville, openly refused to be participants or countenance these shameless orgies. They thus incurred the personal dislike of the libertinous civil court and of its chiefs, the Governor and Intendant. Matters had come to such an open rupture that Montcalm begged his recall, while De Vaudreuil censured his conduct in his official despatches and plainly intimated that he could not get along with him as a military adviser. The Court of France, no doubt with the despatches of 1751 from Louisiana fresh in its mind, placed but little reliance on the Governor's complaints and commanded that Montcalm should remain at his post, the Governor being told that in all military matters he was subservient to the Lieutenant-General of the Army, to which grade Montcalm had been promoted.

Accepting this command as a favorable augury of support, Montcalm thought possibly, a personal appeal would now be more efficacious than letters, and thereupon sent De Bougainville as a special emissary to the Court, to lay before them the abso-

lute necessity for reinforcements being sent at once, as well as provision and ammunition ; otherwise, the Colony must succumb to superior numbers. This appeal was very coldly received, in the face of disasters France had met with throughout the world. Senegal and Goree conquered in Africa,—Madras and Pondicherry in India,—Martinique and Guadaloupe in the West Indies, while the Army of Westphalia triumphed at Madden. Everywhere, save in Canada, her armies were defeated. Berryer, the Colonial Minister, replied: "Monsieur, quand le "feu est à la maison on ne s'occupe pas des écuries. "On ne dira pas du moins, que vous parlez comme "un cheval," repartit hardiment de Bougainville.[1] The result of his mission was to obtain 326 recruits ! and seventeen ships loaded with ammunition and provisions, and which arrived in the harbor of Quebec on the 10th May! He returned charmed with the graces of Madame de Pompadour, who promoted him to the grade of Colonel. It may readily be conceived the distress of Montcalm upon finding the result of this mission, upon which he had built his hopes.

[1] Translation.—"Sir, when the house is on fire, we do not bother "with the stables." To which Bougainville boldly replied: "We "could not say, at least, that you speak like a horse."

De Bouguinville



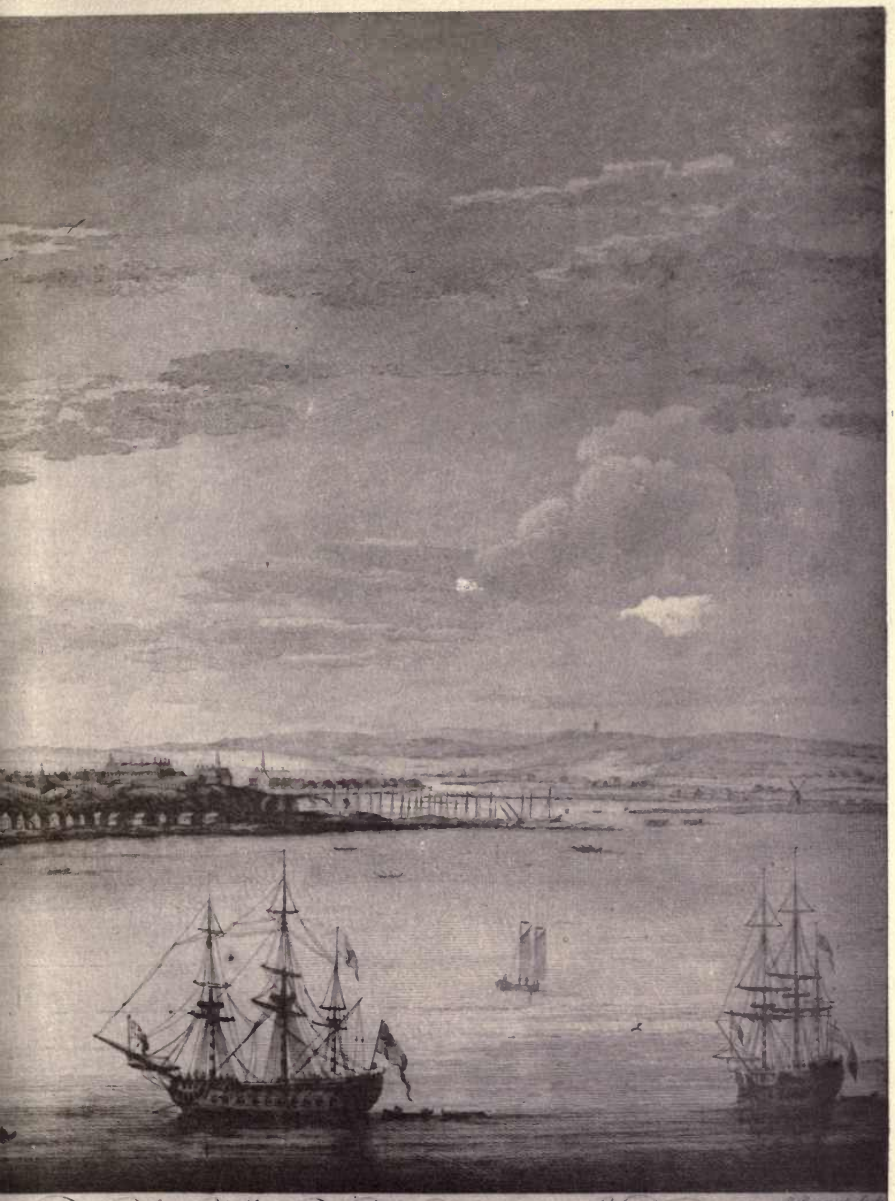
A View of the City of QUEBEC, the Capital of Canada.

Taken partly from Pointe des Pere, and partly on Board the Vanguard Man of War, by Captain Hervey Smyth.

To the Right Honourable William

These SIX VIEWS of the most remarkable Places in the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence are m

Published according to Act of Parliament Nov. 1. 1760. by J. Jefferys near Charing Cross.



Vue de la Ville de QUEBEC, Capitale du Canada

Prise en partie de la Pointe des Peres, et en partie à bord de l'Avantgarde Vaisseau de Guerre, par le Cap.ne Hervey Smyth

One of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council & Principal Secretary of State.

This Inscribed, by his most Obedient humble Servant Hervey Smyth. Aid de Camp to the late GEN.l WOLFE.

It was clear now, Canada was to be sacrificed for European prestige,—the very provisions sent were just one-fourth of what was required to supply the Colony, as husbandry had been largely neglected of late seasons and but little was left in the granaries of the country.

Nothing now remained but to make the best use possible of the small force of regulars, and exhort the people to the rescue. Loyalty, courage, patriotism and honour were not lacking, at least in the military commanders France was fortunate enough to have in Canada.

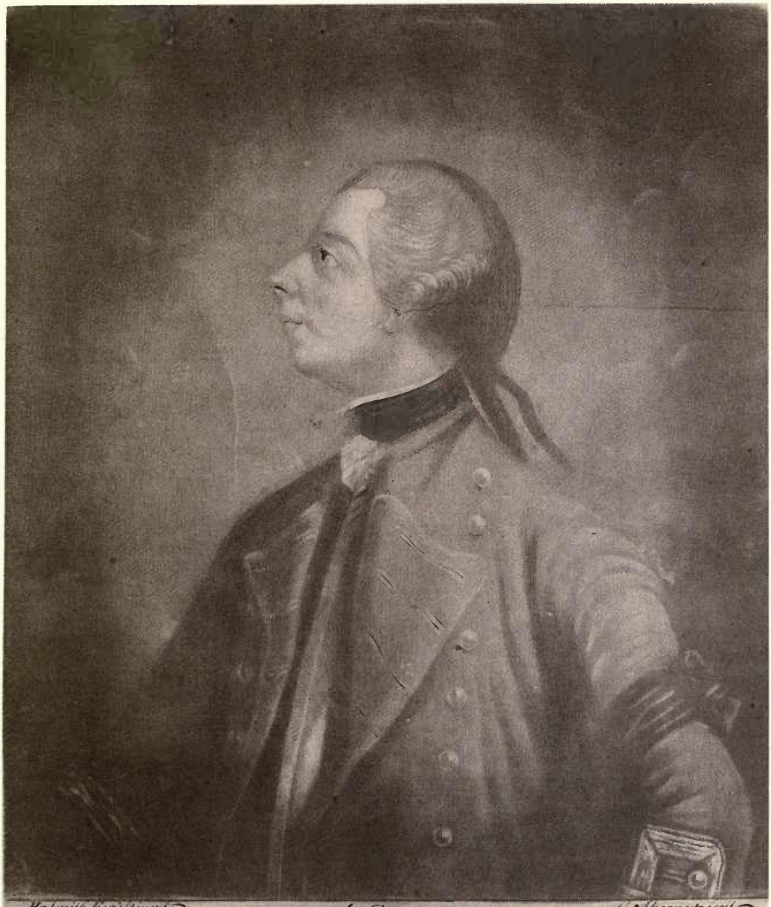
Summoning the people, by patriotic and religious appeals, exhorting them to protect their wives, their children and their goods from the fury of the heretics, a large concourse, about 25,000, was obtained within the gates of Quebec from youths of twelve to patriarchs of eighty. Every one, I have no doubt, even Amazons capable of pulling a trigger, was there in support of their dear city, their religion, their homes and their flag, in answer to such entreating appeals from their beloved Bishop. With such a multitude of willing workers, it is no longer a question of wonderment that within

four weeks a chain of earthworks, intrenchments, redoubts and batteries were erected along the heights of the St. Charles and the St. Lawrence, from the walls of Quebec to the Falls of Montmorenci, a distance of fully nine miles in a direct line, while additional works of the same nature were erected on the heights of Abraham, extending to Cap Rouge and along the base of the cliff. In fact, every available inch was fortified and protected by fully 17,000 zealous patriots who remained under arms to share the burdens of the campaign.[1]

Such was the vision of Wolfe upon arriving with his 8600 men all told,[2] inclusive of the marines (1300), in the twenty-two ships of war, five frigates, seventeen sloops and numberless transports, storeships, traders and other attendants, which cast anchor at the Island of Orleans between the 26th June, 1759, and the 4th July, under the command of Admirals Saunders, Durell and Holmes.

[1] *Memoirs S. de C.*, Ferland's *Canada*, p. 586. *Knox's Campaigns:* (A Priest says 22,000, Vol. 11, p. 165.) Cf. Vol. 1, pp. 309, 318, 326. *Viger's MSS.*, p. 13: Twelve hundred men in Quebec garrison; over 15,000 outside.

[2] Captain Knox, *Campaigns in America*, Vol. I., London, 1769, pp. 256-340; General Smythe's *Précis of the Wars in Canada*, p. 71; Entick, Vol. IV., states 7000 as the full number of effective men.



H. Smith Esqr. pinxt. C. Spooner Sculpt.

Major-General JAMES WOLFE
Commander in Chief of His Majesty's FORCES
in the Expedition against Quebec

Printed for JOHN BOWLES at the Black Horse in Cornhill London.

Chas. Saunders.

This magnificent fleet of 1886 guns had been telegraphed, in its advance stages from Cap des Rosiers, near Gaspé, to Quebec by means of the ancient system of telegraphy, or signals, from ship-masts and balls erected on the highest points of land, for day use, and by bonfires at night,[1] spreading consternation and the wildest alarm among the small force of regulars the brunt of the defence would depend upon, the entire navy in the country consisting of ten frigates and six armed merchant vessels, with about a dozen of unimportant trading ships, in all mounting about 300 guns, the senior officer of which was Captain Vauquelin, of the "Atalante." To add to the mortification of the French officers and army, the English fleet comprised many captures of their own vessels, making possible the well known tale that they were facilitated in navigating the St. Lawrence by displaying French colors on the French vessels, sent in advance of the others, by which they captured pilots, who were compelled at the peril of their lives to conduct the vessels on their route.[2]

[1] A system in use in Canada until 1844, when it was superseded by electricity.

[2] Denis de Vitré, a Canadian who entered the marine of France and became Commandant of "La Renommée," thirty-nine guns

Notably among these was the "Alcyde," bearing the same name and guns as when she succumbed to Boscawen's prowess at the first shot of the war by sea in 1755.

Wolfe foresaw that he would be compelled to attack from the north side of the Montmorenci and dislodge the enemy foot by foot, with three rivers to ford—the Montmorenci, Beauport and St. Charles—an herculean task his small force could not well undertake. It had been contemplated that General Amherst, who was to advance by way of Lake Champlain with his invading force of 11,000 men, would find the road so open that he would join Wolfe in his attack upon Quebec about August. It was therefore determined to abide his coming, and, in the meanwhile, to harass the besieged as much as possible by shot and shell.

Point Lévis was occupied without opposition about the 21st of July, and a battery immediately erected,

was captured in 1757, and has been credited by Garneau (p. 172, Edit. 1848, Vol. III) and other historians with having piloted the fleet up the St. Lawrence. In his *MS. Memoirs*, unpublished in my library, he successfully refutes all such accusations, though he was threatened with death, if he refused. He was saved through Townshend's intercession, and states that the piloting was done by Canadian fishermen voluntarily.

from which the storming of Quebec, assisted by the navy, was kept up incessantly by night and day. Vessels were sent up and down the river, destroying the habitations of the people, reprisals for scalping and other acts of cruelty daily reported to the camp, but women and children were to be treated with humanity, otherwise death would be the punishment, was the General Order issued by Wolfe.[1] Foraging parties most successful in their expeditions, supplying the army, for a considerable time, with abundance of fresh meat, poultry and dairy produce; belying the statements of Bigot and others, that the Colony was so reduced in supplies that the people were obliged to live on horse meat and salt cod, and that starvation stared them in the face. In one of these expeditions, a number of French Canadian ladies of the first families were brought captive to Wolfe's headquarters; where, amid tears and protestations, fearing ill-treatment, they were, much to

[1] *Knox's Campaigns*, Vol. I., p. 313,—General Orders: "No "Churches, Houses, or buildings of any kind, are to be burned or "destroyed without orders; the persons that remain in their habi- "tations, their women and children, are to be treated with human- "ity; if any violence is offered to a woman, the offender shall be "punished with death."

their surprise, most regally entertained, and returned under a flag of truce to the garrison of Quebec—an act of gallantry and favor which did much to cement the feeling of satisfaction and friendship, which ensued after the Conquest, between the Quebec people and Wolfe's army. The time was thus employed awaiting Amherst. Numerous skirmishes had taken place between the outposts of both armies, but no move of any serious moment had been made by either army.

Wolfe determined, on the 31st July, to venture an attack upon the Beauport heights, the only important engagement which supervened between his arrival and that of the battle of the 13th September. The design was to capture a redoubt commanding the Montmorenci and force the French forces to an open battle. Availing himself of a high tide and covering the landing by a furious cannonade from the three vessels Saunders brought up the shallow channel, part of the troops landed and formed into squares, but a precipitous rush from the Grenadiers, without orders, and a tempest of rain coming down, caused him to beat a hasty retreat with a loss of 443 killed and wounded; the French loss being 200

A View of the Fall of Montmorenci, and the Attack made by General Wolfe, on the French Intrenchments near Beauport, with the Grenadiers of the Army, July 31st 1759.

Vue de la Chûte ou Saût de Montmorenci et de l'Attaque des Retranchements Français près de Beauport, par le Général Wolfe, avec les Grenadiers de l'Armée le 31 Juillet 1759.

Drawn on the SPOT by Capt. Hervey Smyth. Engraved by Wm. Elliot.

Published as the Act directs, 1 st. October 1760, by Capt. Hervey Smyth, Robert Sayer & Thos. Jefferys at the Golden Buck, Charing Cross, and Henry Parker at the Golden Ball, St. Paul's Church Yard, and Henry Parker at the Golden Ball in Cornhill.

killed and wounded. In the General Orders of the day, he blames the Grenadiers for their precipitous and irregular attack and attributes to them the defeat which followed. He highly compliments Amherst's regiment, under the command of Major P. Æ. Irving, and the Highlanders, "who, "by their soldier-like and cool manner they were "formed in, would undoubtedly have beat back "the whole Canadian Army if they had ventured "to attack them.[1] Be this as it may, sufficient was shown by the venture of the impregnability of the French lines on that side.

Constitutionally weak and dispirited by ill success, disappointment and anxiety, the summer waning, Amherst not heard from, the brave General succumbed to a chronic malady of gravel and rheumatism, and was confined to a bed of serious illness. His brigadiers, Monckton, Townshend and Murray, took command, and in

[1] A view of this attack is given on the opposite page, the squares representing the regiments above complimented. The vessels in the offing are the "Centurion," sixty guns, on board of which Admiral Saunders hoisted his flag and did considerable service in covering the landing, and two armed transport boats, which stood a very heavy fire and did very effectual service, their commanders being complimented in the General Orders.

a council they decided upon the attempt to land on the south-west side and invite an open battle. As soon as Wolfe recovered he was informed of this resolution, and upon a personal reconnoitre approved of it. Removing his camp from L'Ange Gardien to Lévis; Wolfe, receiving a message from Amherst, that he could not carry out the campaign agreed upon and that he would have to rely entirely upon his own resources, resolved upon an immediate attack, as the fall season was rapidly coming on and his fleet would have to retire. He looked with envy upon the Heights of Abraham as the spot most eligible, but how to get there was the question.

Notwithstanding the vigilance maintained by a corps of light cavalry and infantry, 3,000 in number, under De Bougainville, set to watch that he did not obtain a landing; by a successful *ruse*, on the night of the 12th September, Wolfe with Generals Monckton and Murray and 1500 picked men, landed between 1 o'clock and 3.30 in the morning at L'Anse au Foulon (Fulling Mill Creek), in what is now known as Wolfe's Cove, the place shown to him by Maj. Stobo.[1] Pull-

[1] Major Robert Stobo, in his Memoirs, p. 70, takes credit for having suggested this landing place to Wolfe. Having been a

The Hon.ble Robert Monckton Major General
Governor of New York
Colonel of His Majesty's 17th Regiment of Foot, and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces
on the Expedition against Martinico

ing themselves up the steep precipice of 250 feet in height, tree by tree, man by man, while the path-way was invisible and unknown to them they noiselessly reached the summit, protected by a redoubt and 100 men, where DeVergor, the Commander, inert and unsuspicious, was captured and his men surrendered after a few shots only from the sentinels had been fired ![1]

The heights were thus gained in a miraculous manner, in which the hand of Providence was clearly visible; for within gunshot echo was De Bougainville, with the flower of the French light cavalry and infantry, over 2000 strong, busily engaged watching the antics and diversions of Admiral Holmes; a strategy successfully employed to cover the noiseless descent of Wolfe with his advance guard of 1500 picked men, who were silently proceeding to the landing place

hostage prisoner at Quebec for a considerable time, he had opportunities of discovering its weak spots, and possibly his statement is true.

[1] It has been the custom to accuse DeVergor of treachery; but of this, his acquittal may be read in the words of the contemporary account written by the Superioress of the General Hospital, Quebec, as follows (translated):—"They landed on giving the pass-"word; the officer, De Vergor, detected the deceit, but too late. "He defended his post bravely with his small band, and was "wounded."

and evading the numerous guards and sentinels they met on the way by repeating in French, a chance forethought that they were bringing supplies to the city!! Within a radius of three miles, on either side of the landing, were numerous pickets and sentinels, below and above, yet none alive to the danger to their country their lack of alertness entailed.

The vantage ground obtained, the balance of the force, under Townshend, from Point Lévis joined. By day-break the army, 4828 strong,[1] was formed in battle array, with two pieces of cannon in the centre. The position was: On the first line—the 35th to the right, in a circular form, on the slope of the hill; 58th to the left; Grenadiers to the right, 78th to the left; 28th to the right, 47th to the left; 43rd in the centre. Generals Wolfe, Monckton and Murray on the first line.[2] The second column was composed of the 15th and two battalions of the 60th, under Townshend, with a reserve of the 48th under Colonel Burton, the whole drawn up in four divisions, separate

[1] Knox, *Campaign in America*, Lon., 1769, Vol. II., p. 74; Wright's *Life of Wolfe*, p. 580.

[2] The actual force engaged, which turned the French column, and to whom the victory belongs, were those on the first line, numbering 2865 men in all.

and distinct from each other, and of about equal strength.

General Montcalm, apprised of the successful footing obtained by the English, at first could not credit it. He little suspected that the incessant cannonade kept up by Admiral Saunders throughout the night on the Beauport Flats, and which had prevented him from retiring in the supposition that it was meant to cover an attempt at a landing of the forces at this point, in reality meant a feint to divert attention from the landing at Wolfe's Cove!! Only too true; there they were, already drawn up and coolly awaiting his attack. Without thought or reflection and overcome with surprise at the audacity with which they had gained their position, he immediately summoned the entire garrison to follow him to the attack.[1] In this, however, he was thwarted by the enmity[2] of the Governor-General, De Vaudreuil, who remained in camp and retained around him a large body of the

[1] "S'il faut donc combattre, je vais les écraser." "If we must "fight, I will crush them."—Walpole, *Memoirs George II.*, Lon., 1822, p. 386.

[2] Some intimate poltroonery and incapacity.— *Cf. S. de C., Memoires sur le Canada*, pp. 126, 166.

forces,[1] while the Commandant of Quebec City, De Ramezay, would neither leave his fortress nor send cannon to Montcalm's assistance.

Thus Montcalm had but a portion of the troops with him. Lévis, his trusty right-hand friend and coadjutor, had been sent by the Governor-General with 1200 men to the attack of Amherst after the victory of Beauport on the 31st July, in which he had participated; while Colonel De Bougainville with his force was watching Admiral Holmes' by-play, as before stated. A courier, sent by Montcalm, brought De Bougainville hastily to the scene of battle; and there can be no doubt that he took an active part in the engagement.[2] The actual force Montcalm had with him in the battle is difficult to determine. Comparing the authors and dissecting the conflicting statements made, I lean to the belief that there were 1940 regulars, 5000 militia 500 Indians, and

[1] *Memoirs of S. de C., ibid*, p. 165.

[2] Knox, who was present, distinctly asserts the fact, which Entick and others fully corroborate, Vol. IV., pp. 116-120; Manté, p. 257; also Annual Register, 1759, p. 41.

Without motive or design, the narrative of Captain Knox, written at the time from personal participation and knowledge, commands our serious acceptance of its truthfulness; it bears its own imprint, and admits of no denial."

De Bougainville's force, about 2000, making, in all, 9,440 men. Captain Knox, the eminent and impartial historian of this battle, who was present, states:—"The French had now (7 a.m.) likewise "formed the line of battle a straight front, six "deep, and got some cannon to play on us with "round and canister shot; but, what galled us "most was a body of Indians and Canadians "concealed in the corn opposite to the front of our "right wing, and in a coppice that stood opposite "to our centre, inclining towards our left; but "Colonel Hale, by Brigadier Moncton's orders, "advanced some platoons alternately from the 47th, "which, after a few rounds, obliged these skulkers "to retire; we were now ordered to lie down, and "remained some time in this position. About 8 "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 then formed "them into three large columns; about 9, 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 Cap*
" *Rouge, came down to attack the flank of our second line,*
" *hoping to penetrate there; but by a masterly disposition of*
" *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 the boats.

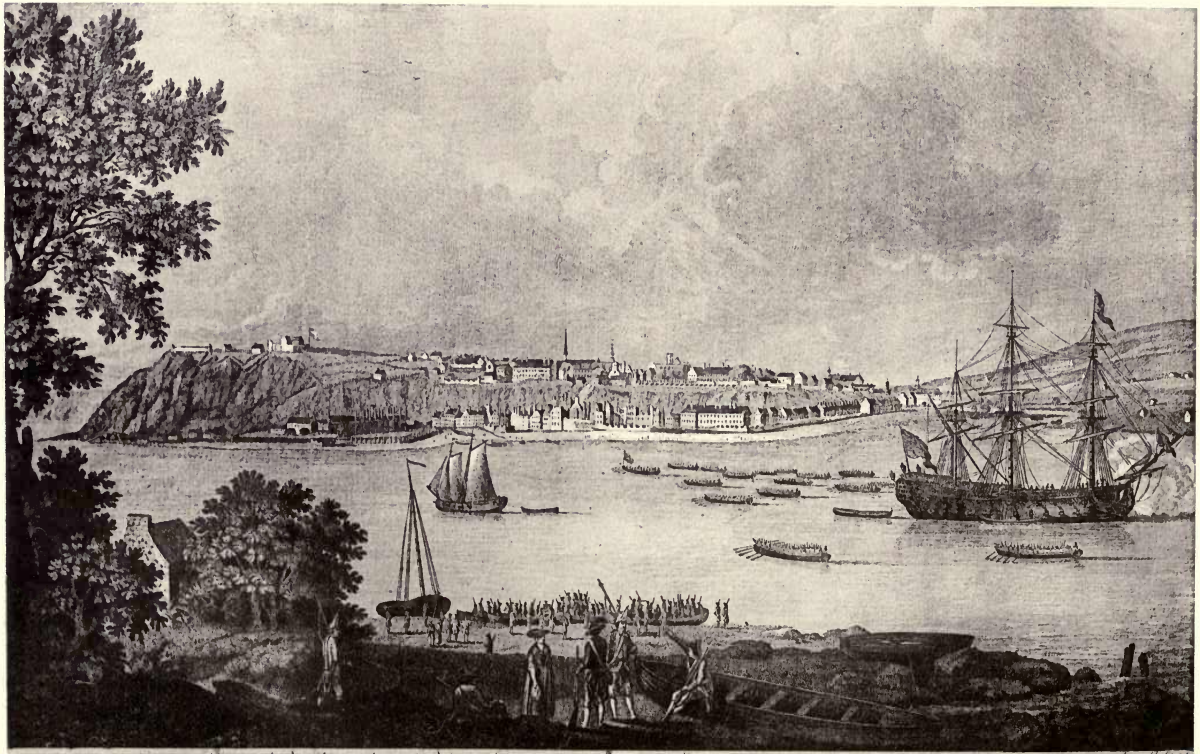
" About 10 o'clock, the French began to advance
" briskly, in three columns, with loud shouts and
" reversed arms, two of them inclining to the left of
" our army, and the third towards our right, firing
" obliquely at the two extremities of our line, from
" the distance of 130 yards, until they came within
" forty yards, which our troops withstood with the
" greatest intrepidity and firmness, still reserving their
" fire, and paying the strictest obedience to their offi-
" cers; 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; thereupon
" they gave way and fled with precipitation, so that,

" by the time the 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 eager-
" ness, making many officers and men prisoners.
" The weather cleared up, with a comfortably warm
" sunshine; the Highlanders chased them vigor-
" ously towards Charles River, and the 58th 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 com-
" pleted our victory.

" Then it was Brigadier Townshend came up,
" called off the pursuers, ordered the whole line to
" dress and recover the 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 Louis- " bourg Grenadiers, and expired upon the field of " battle, aged thirty-two, and Brigadier Monckton " was unfortunately wounded upon the left of the " 43rd and right of the 47th, 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 behaviour, congratu- " lating the officers on our success, While the two " armies were engaged, there was an incessant firing " between the town and our Lévis 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. " Montcalm entered the gates of Quebec mortally " wounded, and expired, aged forty-eight, at 4 a m. " of the 14th."

Thus ended the battle of the 13th September by



A General View of Quebec from Point Levy.

To the Hon.ble SIR CHARLES SAUNDERS Vice Admiral of the Blue

These Twelve Views of the Principal Buildings in QUEBEC,

Vue Générale de Quebec prise de la Pointe Lévy.

(and Knight of the most Honourable Order of the BATH

are most Humbly Inscribed by his most Obedient Humble Servant

Richard Short

which practically Quebec City and Fortifications fell forever from the military power of the French into that of the English, though it was not until the 18th current that the gates of the city were open to receive them under articles of capitulation agreed to by Commandant de Ramezay. The conditions were favorable to the French, but what cared Townshend, situated as he was! Any would have been acceptable to him, so long as he could gain possession of the Citadel and thus cripple, if not end, the military *régime* of the French in Canada.

Granting the honors of war to troops to be transported to France, some 700 in number (De Vaudreuil had removed the others), and the protection in person and property to the inhabitants, with the free exercise of their religion, were easy terms upon which to acquire the Capital of the French dominions in North America. Neither Admiral Saunders nor Brigadier-General Townshend felt encouraged by the position of matters to seek or ask better terms. At every moment they were expecting a renewal of the battle at the hands of De Lévis, who had the reputation of being a daring officer and most efficient in military tactics and knowledge and who, they

well knew, was at the head of a still much larger army than they commanded and had the advantage of position in being able to wedge them between the walls of Quebec on the one side and his own overwhelming force on the other.

It was, therefore, with a great sigh of relief and irrepressible joy they accepted the terms proposed and placed the keys of the gates of Quebec in the hands of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Murray, for entry of the army on the morning of the 18th September. Knox states: "The keys of the ports were "given up this evening (the 17th) to General Towns-"hend, and safe-guards were sent into the town, pur-"suant to the Treaty; in the morning the Louisbourg "Grenadiers marched in, preceded by a detachment "of artillery,[1] and one gun, with the British colours "hoisted on its carriage; the Union flag was dis-"played on the citadel. Captain Hugh Palliser,

[1] Commanded by Colonel George Williamson, who afterwards became Lieutenant-General. Knox highly compliments this officer, a graduate of the academy at Woolwich, as being an experienced master of his profession, especially shown by his service of the artillery during the siege. We have reason now to deplore his marksmen's accuracy as having been the means of destruction of so much that was of value and interest, historically and archæologically.

Townshend

SIR HUGH PALLISER, BART.,

ADMIRAL AND GOVERNOR GREENWICH HOSPITAL,

COMMANDANT H. M. S. SHREWSBURY, 74 GUNS.
At Quebec, 13th September, 1759.

" with a large body of seamen and inferior officers, " at the same time took possession of the lower " town, and hoisted colours on the summit of the " declivity leading from the high to the low town, " in view of the bason and the north and south " countries below Quebec." Thus to Colonel Williamson and Captain Palliser[1] belong the honor of hoisting the first English colors, in token of victory and conquest, on the soil of the mainland of Canada since the days of Kertk, 1629-32, to remain there an emblem of brotherly love between the Anglo-Saxon and Gallic races; so long as the flag-staff of the majestic citadel-point of La Nouvelle France will waive them in recognition of the new-born Christianity, that of mutual respect and esteem, the conquest of Canada brought to both races

The loss on both sides was heavy for so short an engagement (began at 10 o'clock a.m. and ended at 11), particularly so among the officers, proving the fearlessness of those in command, even to a degree of rashness. Both Commanders fell, while the

[1] The honors were evidently divided between the land and sea forces by this selection; the portrait of Captain Palliser being herein given.

Brigadiers Sénezergues, De Fontbrune and St. Ours on the French side were killed, and Monckton, on the English side, severely wounded. The French admitted 640 killed and wounded, and 300 prisoners,[1] while the English admit a loss of sixty-one killed, 598 wounded, and five missing.

What became of De Vaudreuil, the Governor-General of the Colony, all this time! From 5 in the morning until noon, the enemy were within sight, and a serious battle was being fought, which would decide the fate of the country, within two miles of his camp! and yet not a move to the assistance of the brave General in action. Montcalm's early estimation of his character turned out now to be accurate. In one of his letters, he says "he is *inactive and* "*incapable.*"[2] History must assert that his apathy was largely occasioned by his personal antipathy to Montcalm, in addition to his military failings and fear that, by his assistance, victory might be his rival's! No contemporary or reliable author men-

[1] Knox states these figures should be 1500 killed, wounded and prisoners, but I infer he includes the capitulated force of Quebec, some 700, so that there is not much discrepancy between the two statements.

[2] Murdock, *History of Nova Scotia*, p. 364.

tions any action taken by De Vaudreuil at this critical moment, though he himself, in his despatches to the Government, claims that he joined Montcalm before the battle was over, but too late, as Montcalm could not rally his men from retreat. This statement is uncorroborated and bears its own refutation. The fact is, De Vaudreuil would sacrifice his country to gratify his revenge! His excuse that he was detaining his forces to prevent the landing of the British troops at the Lower Town, is frivolous and unworthy serious consideration. Immediately following the retreat, he desired to capitulate and hand over the country at once; but was prevented by the loyalty of French officers, who refused to comply.[1] Walpole, in his *Memoirs*, at p. 387, says: "Had Vaudreuil taken part and been captured, our men "were determined to scalp him, he having been the "chief and blackest author of the cruelties exercised "on our countrymen. Some of his letters fell into "the hands of the English, in which he explicitly "and basely said that *Peace was the best time for* "*making war on the English.*" Was there any necessity for the surrender, or fall of Quebec, consequent

[1] *De Montcalm en Canada*, p. 202.

upon Montcalm's defeat? I hold not. It was premature, and the result of military incapacity of Dr. Vaudreuil and De Ramezay.

On the afternoon of the 13th, after the hurried Council in which the Governor-General wished to surrender at once, De Ramezay, the Commandant at Quebec, simply instructed to retain the city as long as he could, the Governor moved off with his legion of 10,000 men (the balance of Montcalm's army and his own) to safe quarters, beyond the range of the English guns.[1] De Lévis had been summoned to return to take command of the army. Making all haste possible, he reached Vaudreuil's camp at Jacques Cartier on the 17th, and exclaimed, "Never was there such a rout, as that of Quebec; "the people are running away with fear, I met them "as far as Three Rivers." He immediately upbraided Vaudreuil for forsaking Quebec[2] with such an army of fresh troops as he beheld before him—fully 13,000 men. He enjoined immediate return and reopening

[1] Ainsi, M. Saunders eut la satisfaction de voir fuir devant lui une armée plus formidable que la sienne.—*Memoirs S. de C.*, p. 166. (Translation.) Thus Saunders had the satisfaction of seeing flying before him an army much larger than his own.

[2] *De Montcalm en Canada*, p 222.

of the battle. De Vaudreuil, fearful that his instructions to De Ramezay may have caused a capitulation, sent *avant courriers* to stop it,—while every haste was made by the army to reach the field ere it was too late. They reached it only in time to see —as in a *Fata Morgana*—the Lilies of France reversed,[1] and inscribed *Perfidia Eversa*, while the stern reality showed the proud banner of England floating from the flag-staff at the citadel, the gates wide open, and the 241 cannon they had so frequently loaded, now turned forever, crammed to the muzzle, against themselves.

From this scene of perfidy, let us turn to a bright oasis of courage and duty exemplified by woman.

In the valley of the St. Charles, facing the field of battle, stood the General Hospital from the windows of which the Nuns of St. Augustine order in charge, paralyzed with fear, were unwilling witnesses of the scene of strife. The knell of the cannon-ball, the whizzing of shot, brought death to their sight; pursued, bayonetted or sabred, they saw their loved ones fall in the vain attempt to defend that sacred land of Canada, the refuge of the pilgrim's cross, the

[1] As per De Vaudreuil's orders in *De Montcalm en Canada*, p. 223.

harbour of the missionary's delight, where martyrdom at the savages excruciating torture was but the passport to eternal bliss beyond. Terror-stricken, they open the gates to receive the wounded and dying; friend and foe alike, bleeding, maimed, scalped or distorted, Montcalm the heroic general, mortally wounded among them, are laid at their feet for the merciful treatment of woman, rendered more tender by that nursing of religion to which they had sacrificed their terrestrial life. Regardless of race or faith, nationality or uniform, they administered the sacred calling of their profession with that impartiality indicative of true religion borne of faith, hope and charity—the one touch of nature which makes the whole world kin.

The actual number in the engagement is still an open question. A little dissertation on this important point may not be uninteresting. On the part of the English, sufficient authority and confirmation exist to establish the number, as given by Knox at 4828, and which I have assumed. On the French side the weight of historical evidence is in favor of 1940 regulars, 5000 colony troops and Canadian militiamen and 500 Indians.[1] By including De

[1] For note referring to this, see next page.

On this controverted point of history as to the number engaged at the battle of the 13th September, the downfall of Quebec, it is interesting to note the variance of figures given by historians :—

Wolfe's Army.		Montcalm's Army.
3000 to 4000	*Memoirs S. de C.*, 1749-1760	Not stated. but intimated to be larger at p. 166.
3000 to 4000	Bigot, Intendant. Despatch to French Government	3500.
Over 4000	*Pouchot's Memoirs*	Not given.
8000	Abbé Maurault, *Histoire des Abenakis*	4500.
4000 to 5000	Martin's *De Montcalm en Canada*	4500.
5000	De Bonnechose, *Montcalm en Canada*	5000.
8000. Wolfe's full army was 30,000	Garneau, *History of Canada*	4500.
5000	Dussieux, *Histoire de Canada*	4500.
4828	Lemoine's *Picturesque Quebec*, p. 307	7520.
Not stated, except that Wolfe's full army was 30,000	*Histoire des Ursulines de Québec*, Vol. II, pp. 327-328	4500.
Moins nombreuse que notre armée d'un cinquième et (ou) d'un quart. (Translation.) Less numerous than our army by a fifth or fourth.	*Viger's MSS.*, published by Lit. & His. Soc., Quebec, p. 24	Not given.
5000	Paul de Cazes, *Notes sur le Canada*	4500.
4828	Knox, *Campaigns in America*, Vol. II, p. 75	9580.
About 5000	Jeffrey, *History French Domtnion in North America*, Lond., 1760. Vice-Admiral Saunders Despatch to Secretary Pitt	Whole army at Beauport were engaged.
Equal in numbers	Bancroft's *History of the United States*	Both being less than 5000.
4800	Hawkin's *Picture of Quebec*, 1834	5000.
Less than 5000	Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 4th edition, p. 120	More than 7500.
About equal	Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Vol. II, p. 298. Comes to no conclusion, but believes the armies to have been	About equal.
4828	Rogers *Canada*	7520, exclusive of Indians.
4828	Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*	7520, besides Indians.
4826	Wright's *Life of Wolfe*	7520, besides Indians.
4816	Smith's *History of Canada*, 1815	7520, exclusive of Indians.
Over 8000	Abbé Ferland, *Cours d'Histoire*	About 4500.
4828	Entick, *History of the Late War*, 1766	6440

Bougainville's flying column of 2000 men, we would have about the figure of 9580, claimed by Knox to have been engaged, which, he says, he learned from a French officer as the actual number present, and which is confirmed by taking the whole force at what it was represented to be, viz., 17,000 strong, divided as follows:[1] With Montcalm in battle, 7500; with Lévis, 1200; with De Ramezay, 2000; with Vaudreuil, 3300; with De Bougainville, 2000; at Samos and Jacques Cartier, 1000.

We have other corroborative evidence worthy of considerable credence. I allude to the numerous sermons and discourses delivered at the time upon the public rejoicings which followed. While due allowance may be made for the latitude of language which such an overwhelming victory may occasion, sufficient is left to impress the mind by the unanimity of the statement that "Montcalm's army was "greatly superior in number to Wolfe's;" that it

[1] Bigot states (p. 83 *Ramezay's Memoirs*, Quebec, 1861,) "that he "had to provide 20,000 rations daily for the Quebec army, or 30,000 "for the three divisions of the army." Knox, Vol. II, p. 166 states: "That a Recollet Father told him that throughout the country there were 27,000 Canadian militiamen under arms, apart from the Regulars and Indians."

was an admitted fact at the time. One of these discourses, in particular, attracts our attention for its truthfulness, and serving to prove the correctness of the others,—as it was delivered in the capital itself, in the presence of the very army engaged and people interested, within a very few days of the occurrence of the battle.

The sermon was that of the Rev. ELI DAWSON, Chaplain to the Forces, delivered at the Chapel of the Ursulines, in Quebec, on the 27th of September, 1759,[1] in which he uses the following language (pp. 10-12):—

"The indulgence of Providence therefore, without "doubt, is to be gratefully acknowledged for every "success and advantage, even though the superiority "has been never so great on the side of the triumphant "party. For it is not in mortals to command success; "the aid of Providence can alone secure the battle

[1] A Discourse delivered at Quebec in the Chappel belonging to the Convent of the Ursulins, September 27th, 1759; occasioned by the Success of our Arms in the Reduction of that Capital: At the request of Brigadier General Monckton, and by Order of Vice Admiral Saunders, Commander in Chief. By the Reverend Eli Dawson, Chaplain of His Majesty's Ship Sterling Castle, on Board of which the Vice Admiral hoisted his Flag, during the Siege. London: R. Griffiths, 1760.

" to the strong, and victory to the brave. We may " observe, however, that as it gives a higher relish " of joy, so it must be a higher incentive to grati- " tude, when the party *that is inferior becomes victo-* " *rious.* This was evidently our case! which makes " the favor of Providence still greater. *For so small* " *was the number of our land forces! such the superiority of* " *the enemy*, with all the advantages of their situa- " tion, that they thought themselves secure; while " the highest that our hopes could aspire to, was to be " serviceable to our country, by making a diversion " in this part of the continent to favour our military " operations in another,"..... "But, remember, " he is greatly fallen! Tell *how he fell*, ye proud " Towers!—Ye Ramparts! Were ye not Wit- " nesses? Speak with what a blaze of Glory you " saw the Heroe surrounded!—Tell how ye shook to " your Foundations at the presence of the Con- " queror! *Tell how you saw your numerous Hosts, like* " *the Dust, scattered over the Plain!* Tell how vainly " they sought shelter amidst these ghastly ruins! " Ye Mountains of *Abraham*, decorated with his Tro- " phies, tell how vainly ye opposed him, when he " mounted your lofty Heights with the strength

" and swiftness of an Eagle! Stand fixed forever " upon your rocky base, and speak his Name and " Glory to all future Generations! Ye Streams of " Lawrence! and propitious Gales! speed the glad " Tidings to his beloved Country! and let Britannia " soon receive the last, the richest pledge of her " Heroe's filial Duty and Affection! Ye Heralds of " Fame,[1] already upon the Wing, stretch your " Flight, and swell your Trumpets with the Glory " of a Military Exploit through distant Worlds. An " Exploit! which for the fineness of address in Stra- " tagem! the Daringness of the Attempt! and the " Spirit of its Execution! shall take rank with the " choicest pieces of Ancient or Modern Story in the " Temple of Fame, where it remains immortal! " Whilst, we trust in God, HE is gone to take Pos- " session of that more substantial Immortality, into " which all Patriots, all Lovers of Virtue and Man- " kind, who hold their Lives in ready resignation to " the call of God and their Country, will most " assuredly enter."[2]

[1] Alluding to the Expresses sent with the news of the Surrender of Quebec to Great Britain and the Continent of America.

[2] Captain Knox entry of this Sermon in his Historical Journal, Vol. II, p. 168, reads: "In consequence of orders for this purpose,

Among the numerous others, I will give extracts from a few of the more important. Chandler says :—[1]

" On the other hand, passing the deserted Villages " and many wonderful occurrences of Providence, " come see the scenes opening in the Siege of Que- " bec. Altho' Britons love Peace, they can use the " sword with bravery, when it is necessary to guard " their interests and repel their Foes. Sway'd by a " love to their Sovereign and the glory of his arms, " with a flush of sanguine spirits, they made an " onset. 'The Artillery roars—disgorging mortal " Ball—hurling, fiery globes ; which kindle into a " furnace of flame, and bursting into ragged instru- " ments of ruin, scatter death all around them.' " The British Banner moving from one Station to

" to-dav has been dedicated to Divine Service and a solemn Thanks- " giving for the success of His Majesty's Arms, in the reduction of " this fortress; the troops were excused all duties of labour and " fatigue, and about eleven o'clock, the several regiments marched " to the Church of the Ursulines, preceded by our General Officers, " where they heard an excellent Sermon suitable to the occasion ; " several French merchants, said to be Hugonots, attended, though " unacquainted with our language."

[1] Extract from Sermon. SAMUEL CHANDLER, A.M. (p. 22-23), Pastor of a Church in Glocester, preached Thursday, November 29, 1759, Being the day of the Provincial Anniversary Thanksgiving. Boston: New England. Printed by Green & Russell at their Office in Queen Street.

" another, is set up at length, and part of the troops
" are arrayed on the Plains of Abraham. Alarm'd
" at this, the *Gallic* Bravoes quitted their inaccessible
" Intrenchments, and advanced with haughty
" strides, *numerous and formidable*, with rage in a
" blaze; like the Giant to crush David. Our bold Bat-
" talions, *comparatively few and despicable*, are planted
" as a Battery of Rock, in a judicious disposition,
" becoming the British Hero who commanded.
" Courage sat in state on the martial brows. Prow-
" ess brightened in their aspect. In the critical
" moment, they arose intrepid, rushed into the
" thickest havoc of the battle, and fought like men
" who knew no medium between conquest and
" death. The fierce attack was broken; the coward
" bands were put to flight—their courage fled in the
" combat—and the *tripid multitude* fled, like the Roe
" upon the Mountains, trembling as they fled; and
" Victory, auspicious to us, spread itself all along the
" Plain. Pursued with alertness and vigor, they
" fled to the City and soon surrender—the Capital
" of New France is surrendered, a Trophy to the
" conquering arms of Great Britain."

Extract from Mr. COOPER'S sermon[1] (pp. 40-44) :—

" I find myself at a loss for words upon this " memorable occasion. I know not how to express " the importance of that success with which it has " pleased God to bless His Majesty's Arms, and yet " I feel it; and so I doubt not does everyone in this " Assembly. Joy sparkles in every eye; Triumph " sits upon every face. But when the Bosom swells " with an unusual tide of Gladness, it is harder to " paint what we feel in suitable expressions, than " upon more common occasions.

" God has heard our Prayers, and those of our Pro- " genitors. We behold the day which they desired " to see, but saw it not. We have received a Salva- " tion from Heaven, greater perhaps than any since " the foundation of the Country. The power of " *Canada* is broken. Its Capital is reduced; and the " British Banners float triumphant upon the Walls

[1] Occasioned by the Reduction of Quebec. Preached before His Excellency Thomas Pownall, Esq., Captain General and Governor in Chief, The Honourable His Majesty's Council and House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, October 16th, 1759, by request. By Samuel Cooper, A.M., Pastor of a Church in Boston. Boston: New England; Printed by Green & Russell, and Edes & Gill, by order of His Excellency the Governor, and both Houses of Assembly.

" of Quebec !..... Courage is the most brilliant " quality to common eyes, as it is truly the basis of " a Soldier. But had this necessary quality been " found alone at the head of our small army, it never " could have undertaken and effected such various " services, for which it was so often divided, with- " out giving some fatal advantage to a numerous " and watchful Foe. Here then that conduct shone, " which strikes with admiration the judicious and " marks the great Captain. A sagacity and pru- " dence sufficiently animated, but not disturbed or " over-borne, by that martial ardor, so natural to the " breasts of Heroes.

" As soon as General Wolfe had disembarked his " Army, he gained upon the Enemy, even without " a Battle, and never for a moment quitted his supe- " riority. At length, by a motion, prudent as it was " bold, meritorious as it was successful, he drew the " French, *much superior in numbers*, from their inacces- " sible intrenchments, and obtained that great and " decisive victory, which was soon followed with " the surrender of Quebec.

" When we consider the situation of his Service " in the heart of Canada; the comparative smallness

" of his force, and the manner in which he employed " it, must we not acknowledge, that he had made a " successful and shining campaign, even before the " Thirteenth of September! But what an occasion " of Glory to himself, of service to his Prince, and " felicity to his Country, did that Day afford! That " remarkable Day, not only exhibited the superiority " of *British* courage, but shewed a young British " Commander, who had never before been at the " head of an Army, vanquishing by superiority of " skill an experienced and successful General of " France."

Extract from Sermon of ANDREW ELIOT, M.A.[1] (pp. 34-37) :—

" And yet, God has caused us to see greater things " than these. Amidst all the joy which arose in our " breasts, at the success of the British Arms to the " westward ; our hearts were in pain for the brave " General Wolfe, who with his little Army was en-

[1] Pastor of the New North Church in Boston. Preached October 25th, 1759. Being a Day of Public Thanksgiving appointed by Authority for the success of the British Arms this year, especially in the Reduction of Quebec, the Capital of Canada. Boston: Printed by Daniel and John Kneeland for J. Winter in Union Street, opposite to the King's Arms. 1759.

" camped before Quebec, and opposed by the main
" strength of Canada, commanded by M. Montcalm,
" a name too well known among us. We had heard
" of the difficulties with which this army strug-
" gled; of the repulse it had at one time met with;
" of the strength of the City; of the numbers that
" defended it; of the impenetrable lines, behind
" which they had secured themselves. Our last
" advices were that the General had made such a
" change in the situation of our Army, as was like
" to bring on something decisive. The event has
" been agreeable to these expectations. It bro't on
" the battle which has decided the fate of Quebec;
" which has decided 'tis probable, the fate of Canada;
" that country, which we were ready to fear was
" never to be conquered; at least, it gives us reason
" to hope for this happy consequence.

"The surrender of this important fortress is an event
" truly great. It is great, as the welfare of this country
" is nearly affected with it; it breaks all the designs
" of the French; and affords an agreeable prospect,
" that our civil and religious privileges will be con-
" tinued to posterity. It is great, as we may hope,
" it will put an end to the ravages of the Indians on

" our frontiers. It is great, as it was attended with " difficulties, which would have been insurmount- " able to any, but a General of such heroic fortitude " and consummate skill, such fine officers, and such " intrepid soldiers. It is great, as our army in the " battle which introduced it *was opposed by near* " *twice their number*, with a General at their head of " great experience in the art of war, and who had " not yet failed in any attempt he had made. It " is great, as these colonies have had this con- " quest so long in view, and have met with so many " disappointments in their designs against it. It is " great to us, as we were ready to give up all hopes " of success; and no doubt, had we failed in this last " struggle, we must have given over the expedition; " the consequences of which, who can tell! So low " were our expectations sunk, that when the news, " that Quebec was in the possession of the English " first arrived, we could scarce think it a reality:

" ' It seemed at first a pleasing dream
Of what we wished to see.'

" Then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our " tongues with singing; joy was painted on every

" countenance, but no one knew how to express " what he felt."

Extract from Rev. JONATHAN MAYHEW, D.D., Pastor of the West Church in Boston.[1] Two Discourses delivered October 25th, 1759 (p. 27):—

" Behold him there, with his little body of British " troops, himself the head to direct, and the soul to " animate the whole, if such troops needed anima- " tion; the force of Canada moving towards him " with slow and solemn steps, under a try'd, expe- " rienced and approved commander! Unhappy " Montcalm! Courageous at least, if not prudent " at this time! What is it that in an unpropitious " hour, tempts thee thus to forego those advantages, " which could not, perhaps, have been forced from " thee! What is it that induces thee to put the " Capital of Canada, and, with it, the whole country, " upon so desperate a risque, as the event of the

[1] Two Discourses delivered October 25th, 1759, Being the day appointed by Authority to be observed as a Day of Public Thanksgiving for the Success of His Majesty's Arms, more particularly in the Reduction of Quebec, the Capital of Canada, with an Appendix containing a brief account of two former expeditions against that City and Country, which proved unsuccessful, by JONATHAN MAYHEW, D.D., Pastor of the West Church in Boston. Boston, New England: Richard Draper. 1759.

" ensuing battle! *Perhaps thou reliest on thy superior* " *numbers!* But dost thou not know both British " troops and French ones better, than to think " the latter can stand before the former on even " ground, *though the disproportion of numbers be so* " *great!*".....

It has been claimed by military authorities,[1] and apparently most correctly, that Montcalm's position at Beauport was not judicious or advantageous. The high ground on the right, or southern, bank of the St. Charles would have been the preferable situation for the defence of Quebec. Had the French army occupied this ground, the disembarkation at Wolfe's Cove might not have succeeded. The battle of Quebec is regarded as even a more fatal error. A battle was Wolfe's object and most generally is that of every assailant. To avoid one ought consequently to have been that of Montcalm. His attack upon Wolfe's corps was gallant, but it was rash and precipitate. Finding Wolfe landed, he should have retreated within the walls of Quebec and have compelled him to attack him there. To have established batteries and to have broken

[1] *Précis of the Wars in Canada*, by General Smythe, p. 80.

ground, would have been an operation requiring considerable time and labour. The season was slipping away rapidly and the French had every thing to gain from delay. There is no doubt the battle of the 13th September was unnecessary and uncalled for and on this fatal error—whatever the merits of Montcalm may be as a man and they were socially and morally many—his reputation as a General must rest and the verdict of posterity must be a strong condemnation of his ability as a military man and General in command of the defences of Quebec. His prowess, which was his *forte*, served him well on other occasions, but at Quebec, where it was of no avail, he was outgeneralled and sadly inefficient in military tactics.

Townshend, upon whom, from seniority (Monckton having been rendered *hors-de-combat* by a wound), the command had devolved, in his official despatch to the Government, endeavoured to aggrandize himself at the expense of Wolfe and others, who took a much more active part in the engagement than fell to his lot; but the ridicule and coolness which this brought upon him, soon induced him to rectify his error and do tardy justice to the fallen hero and those to

whom credit was rightfully due. Wolfe always entertained suspicions of his sincerity, and generally relegated him to inferior positions in engagements; thus in the battle of Quebec he was placed in command of the rear guard in charge of the landing place, while Murray, his inferior in rank, was placed in the van of the attack.[1]

A few days after the capitulation was executed, Monckton recovered sufficiently from his wounds to resume command. He appointed Murray to take charge of the garrison, sent Townshend to England, and he himself removed to New York, to which he was shortly afterwards appointed Governor.

Saunders and Townshend immediately returned to England, conveying the sick and wounded, and the embalmed corpse of the hero Wolfe, whose sad premonitions of death, as related of him, were so soon

[1] He was not a favorite of Wolfe's! In fact were it not for his great family and personal influence, Wolfe would not have consented to have had him on his force. But the King having given away to him in his selection of his intimate friend Guy Carleton, against whom the King had personal prejudices, Wolfe, after many refusals to do so, consented to Townshend being given the second Brigadiership. It was not until the last moment that this consent was obtained. In every other respect Wolfe's army was his own selection, an unusual privilege granted to him by Pitt.

WOLFE'S MONUMENT.

to be verified. The evening before, in a melancholy mood, he deliberately left instructions with and gave his valuables to his schoolmate, Captain John Jervis, afterwards Admiral Earl St. Vincent, to be conveyed to England. Mourning was universal and worn by all classes for months. His body was received and funeral conducted with as much military display as could be shown. To the honor of England be it said, the nation in and out of Parliament could not sufficiently shew its sincere grief at the loss it had sustained. A magnificent and costly marble monument was erected in the nation's mausoleum, Westminster Abbey, but a greater monument and a more lasting one, was erected to his memory, namely, the page of history inscribed to his merits as a man, a hero of many battles, a patriot and general, esteemed by friend and foe, which will be as everlasting as the nation of Canada, which he helped so materially to establish.

Brigadier-General Murray was left in command at Quebec with 7000 men and two 20-gun ships. He was appointed Civil and Military Governor of the same.[1]

[1] In Quebec he obtained 241 pieces of cannon, viz.: Ten 36-pounders, forty-five 24 do., 180 18 do., thirteen 12 do., forty-three

The French had too important interests at stake at Quebec, to give much opposition elsewhere. The detachment of Bourlamaque, some 3000 strong, were instructed to harass and prevent the advance of Amherst, but not to give battle or risk valuable lives. Thus, as Amherst penetrated his route, he met with little opposition; obstacles unimportant were placed in his way, and, as he overcame them, he only found a burning or blown up fortress for his reward. Ticonderoga, the invincible Carillon of two previous campaigns, Crown Point and other strongholds were thus treated, and by the time he reached the St. Lawrence, he found it too late to advance to the assistance of Wolfe, and decided upon wintering at Crown Point, where he could begin operations from, early the next season. He left Colonel Haviland in charge with 3300 men.

The Niagara expedition was entrusted to Generals

8 do., sixty-seven 6 do., thirty-three 4 do., seven 3 do., five 2 do.; mortars, twenty-one; shells, 1100; with a considerable quantity of powder, ball, small arms, intrenching tools, etc., etc.—Entick.

Capt. John Montresor, an Engineer whose Journal is published by the New York Historical Society, states that in the vicinity of Quebec they obtained 330 cannon, 20 mortars, 501 barrels of powder, with great quantities of ammunition. He found the fortifications of Quebec in good order and very strong. Page 234 Vol. 1881.

Jas. Murray

Prideaux and Sir Wm. Johnson. Their duty was to annihilate the French posts on the Lakes and in the Ohio Valley. Fort Niagara, under the efficient guarding of Captain Pouchot, after a three weeks resistance, finally surrendered, handing over 600 men as prisoners. General Prideaux being killed early in the engagement, the command devolved on Johnson.

General Stanwix, in the Ohio Valley, met with no opposition.

Thus the end of 1759 saw the French dominions reduced to the narrow strip of territory on the St. Lawrence between Jacques Cartier and Kingston, Montreal and Isle-aux-Noix being the only posts of any importance to reduce.

After the falling of Quebec and its surrender, De Vaudreuil and Lévis moved their headquarters to Montreal, leaving 1000 men in winter quarters at Jacques Cartier.

The first attempt in 1760, as soon as the climate permitted, was naturally to recover Quebec. De Lévis and De Vaudreuil, with 6000 men, well drilled and trained for this last and special effort and a large concourse of irregulars,—the country having

been drummed up for the purpose,[1]—took their position at Sillery on the 28th April. Murray, falling into the error of Montcalm, drew up his troops, some 3000 men and twenty field-pieces, on the Heights of Abraham,[2] and opened the attack by an advance on Lévis at Sillery and Ste. Foy, thus getting beyond the protection of his cannon! Being outnumbered and over-reliant he was defeated with a loss of 1000 men and the cannon he had temporarily left in his rear. French loss was 1800 men killed and wounded. Retreating within the walls of Quebec, he was immediately invested by Lévis. The latter erected redoubts and completed his batteries, opening fire against the city on the 11th May; but finding two English vessels of war arriving on the 15th, and not knowing how many more were in the wake, he determined upon desisting and withdrawing his army to Montreal for a final stand, evacuating his position on the 17th.

For an insufficient reason, Lévis precipitately abandoned an advantageous position and siege, with

[1] Amounting in all to 13,000 men (see pp. 122-124, Quebec Lit. and Hist. Soc., Sess. 1869, Part VII).—Rameau, *La France aux Colonies*, p. 86. Smith's *Canada*, 1815, p. 335.

[2] *Idem*, Lit. and Hist. Soc., pp. 122-124. Smith's *History of Canada*, p. 335.

de Levis

a well disciplined force of overwhelming numbers, as compared with Murray's handful of soldiers, many of whom were prostrated from the effects of scurvy. Such advantages in the hands of an able General could not have failed to replace Quebec in the hands of the French. His disgraceful withdrawal equalizes Abercromby's action at Carillon. Well may it be called "De Lévis' folly."

The English campaign for 1760 was a descent of the army of Amherst, 10,170 strong, including 760 Indians under Sir Wm. Johnson, by the Mohawk River and the Oneida Lake, to Oswego; there to embark on Lake Ontario and to proceed to Montreal by descending the St. Lawrence. Colonel Haviland, with his 3300 men, was to advance from Crown Point by Lake Champlain upon Montreal. General Murray was to ascend the St. Lawrence with whatever disposable force he might have, after leaving a proper garrison for the security of Quebec. The collapse of Lévis' investiture enabled him to move with 2450 men. Thus, by these arrangements, a force consisting of nearly 16,000 men, it was expected, would be assembled against Montreal.[1]

[1] Smythe's *Précis of the Wars in Canada*, p. 84. Smith's *Canada*,

Military authorities have since strongly condemned this campaign as laid out by Amherst, as at many points in this open and dangerous route, the General's army was open to complete annihilation had any troops opposed it. But no! De Lévis was not prepared to expect so rash an experiment at the hands of so experienced a General as Amherst; his supposition being that the Champlain would be the sole route of approach for the English army on Montreal. He therefore fortified Isle-aux-Noix and Chambly as strong as he could make them, while detaching a considerable number of his troops at points on the St. Lawrence—especially Sorel—to contest the advent of Murray should he attempt to come up from Quebec.

Amherst thus met little or no obstruction except that ordained by Nature, in which he was sadly worsted, having lost over sixty-four boats and 100 lives in the Cedars Rapids alone.[1] He reached La-

Quebec, 1815, Vol. I, Appendix XIX, gives in detail the numbers and corps forming the three armies. Strange to say, this figure, so precisely known and authenticated, has been magnified by De Vaudreuil in his despatches to France at 32,000; by De Lévis at 40,000; by Beaugrand, in *Le Vieux Montréal*, at 32,000; and by De Bonnechose *Montcalm* at 20,000.

[1] The contemporary portrait of Amherst given herein, shows

Jeff: Amherst

chine on the 6th September, marching quickly upon Montreal; to the west of which, in a plain,[1] he took up his ground the same evening, when overtures were at once made by De Vaudreuil for a complete surrender and termination of warfare, and which absorbed the whole of the next day discussing.

Haviland's contingent reached Isle-aux-Noix on the 16th August, erected batteries, and prepared to attack it; when, upon the 27th, the garrison was withdrawn by De Bougainville, who retreated to Montreal. On his further advance, Forts St. John and Chambly were also evacuated. He then crossed country and reached Longueuil, opposite Montreal, on the south side of the St. Lawrence, and encamped immediately opposite Murray's forces on the 6th September.

Murray left Quebec on the 14th July in 51 vessels, meeting with little opposition as he advanced up the

him in a contemplative attitude. while his troops are seen descending the Rapids—a danger which the artist was evidently alive to and paints Amherst as feeling.

[1] I locate his position about the foot of Côte des Neiges hill, between Guy street and Clarke avenue on the one side; Sherbrooke street and Dorchester street on the other. The house in which the Capitulation was signed existed until quite recently, and was at the head of the hill, near the site of the Côte des Neiges old toll-gate.

river, notwithstanding the elaborate preparations made by De Lévis to prevent his advent. The enemy were evidently discouraged from making any further stand, and the *habitants* already began to show that it was a "forlorn hope" to offer any further resistance ; profiting by the " Placart," or Proclamation, issued by Murray, they eagerly accepted the right hand of fellowship and friendship and 7000 of them *en route* subscribed to the oath of loyalty to King George II. Awaiting Amherst at Isle Ste. Thérèse, as soon as Haviland's contingent arrived, Murray advanced on the 7th to within two miles below the city, where both were informed of the arrival of Amherst and of the negotiations pending.

The conjunction of these three armies within forty-eight hours of each other, after the many mishaps they were subject to in such long and dangerous routes, and occurring within the time originally determined upon, shows a marvellous conception of military tactics and precision of movement reflecting the highest credit and renown upon the Commander-in-Chief Amherst,and Generals Murray and Haviland, who so successfully carried it out.

Illustrative of Indian character and the difficulty

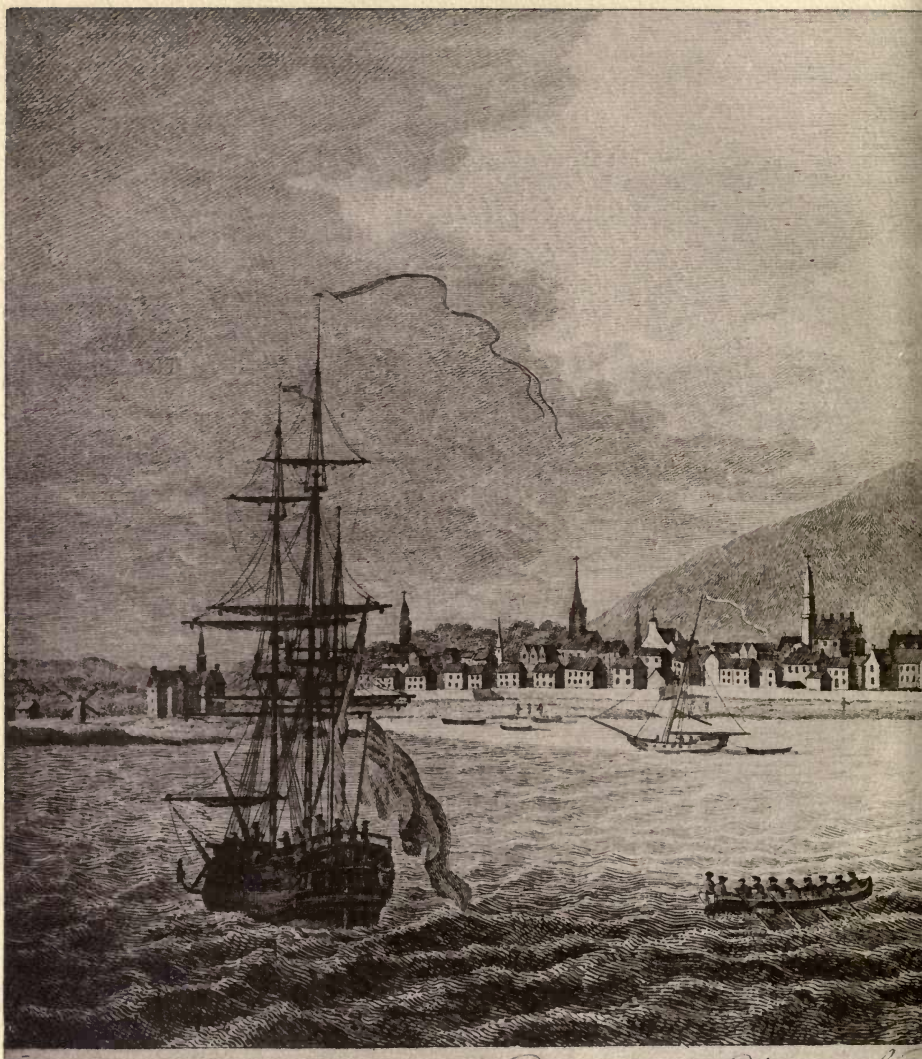
of restraining them from excesses in time of war, may be mentioned that, upon the surrender of Fort Lévis, on an island at the head of the Gallops Rapids, the Indians desired to enter the fort to massacre the garrison. General Amherst, being apprised of their intentions, immediately sent orders to Sir William Johnson to persuade them, if possible, to desist; declaring, at the same time, that if they offered to enter the fort, he would compel them to retire. The stores, he promised, should be delivered to them, as his army was not in want of what few blankets might be found there. This message had its desired effect. The Indians, though with great reluctance and apparent ill humour, were prevailed on to return to their camp. However, their resentment increased to such a degree that Sir William Johnson informed the General he was apprehensive they would quit the army. The General replied "that he believed " his army was fully sufficient for the service he " was going upon without their assistance; that, " although he wished to preserve their friendship, " he could not prevail on himself to purchase it at " the expense of countenancing the horrid barbarities " they wanted to perpetrate;" and added, "that if

" they quitted the army, and committed any acts of " cruelty, he would on his return assuredly chastise " them." Upon this, the whole retired with the exception of 170, who were afterwards distinguished upon their arrival at Montreal by the gift of a medal from the General, that they might " be known at the English posts, and receive the civil treatment their conduct deserved."[1]

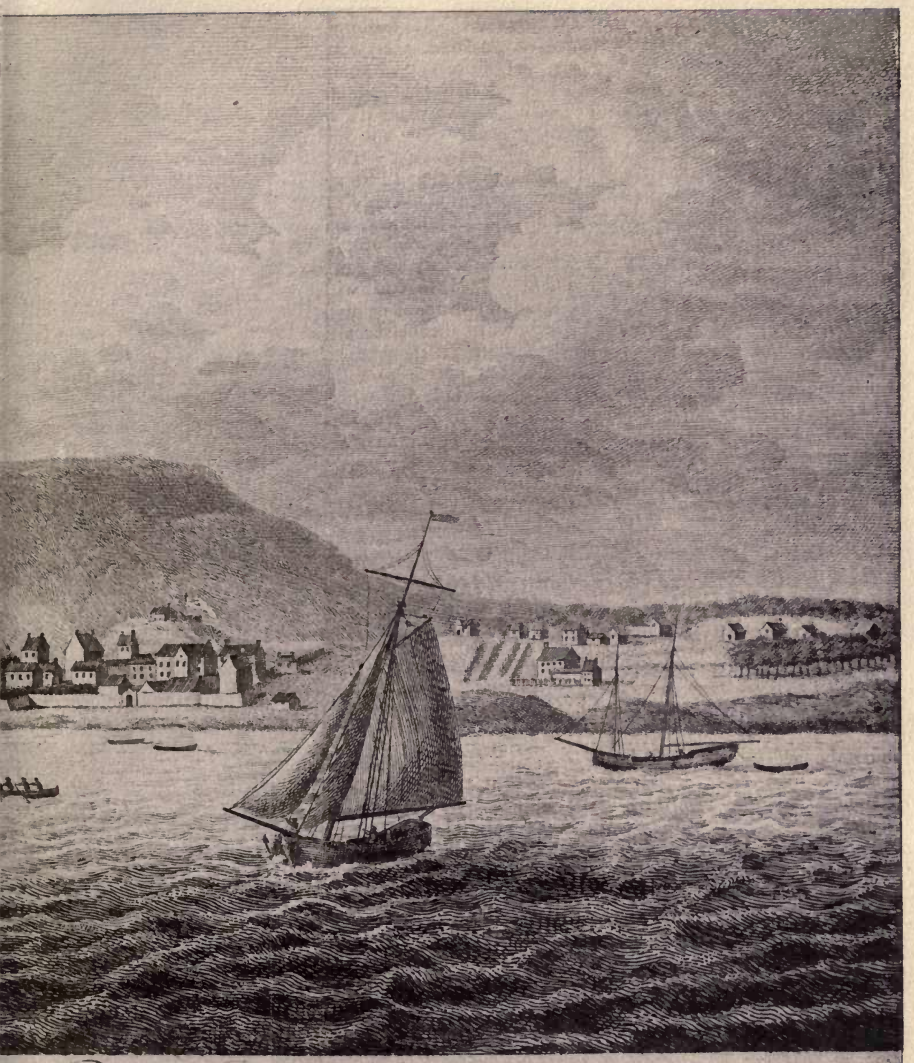
Amherst, with great generosity, had consented to all the fifty-five articles of capitulation requested by De Vaudreuil with the exception of a few reserved for the Royal sanction and two which he declined, viz., the perpetual neutrality of the inhabitants and military honors for the army. The Chevalier de Lévis, upon being refused this latter, desired to retire to St. Helen's Island and fight it out to the last man; but being peremptorily forbidden by De Vaudreuil, he broke his sword rather than surrender it unsheathed, while the regiments burnt their colors to prevent them being carried in triumph by their enemies.[2]

[1] Manté, p. 306: This medal is well known to numismatists. The obverse has a view of Montreal; the reverse plain, with the name and tribe of the Indians engraved. As it was given before the General's departure, and is very archaic, it must have been made in Montreal at the time.

[2] *De Montcalm en Canada*, p. 232. Amherst was doubtful that



A Perspective View of



.N TREAL in Canada .1760

The following morning, the 8th September, without a gun being fired, the complete surrender of the Province was made, and a capitulation to that effect was signed by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Governor-General. Colonel Haldimand, afterwards Governor, being the first to enter the city and plant the British Ensign of possession.

Four thousand and eleven regulars, with 16,422 militiamen, were comprised in the capitulation of Montreal and submitted their arms to their conquerors,[1] while 90,000 souls[2] exchanged the turbulent and despotic Fleurs-de-lis of the Bourbons for the broad banners of St. George, where liberalism and freedom in their broadest sense reigned supreme, and to none more were these exemplified than to the

the colours did not exist, and desired to have the baggage searched. *Archives Report*, 1884. The colours carried by the French regiments at the Quebec battle are described by Capt. Knox to be: A white silk flag, with three *fleurs de lys*, within a wreath or circlet, in the center part, and two tassels at the spear end, all of gold.

[1] Smith's *Canada*, Quebec, 1815, Vol. I, p. 372. Ferland's *Canada*, Vol. II, p. 606.

[2] Knox, Vol. II, p. 461, 1780, claims there are over 100,000 souls. Abbé Raynal, *Histoire Philosophique Génève*, 1780, 4 to., p. 125, gives the population of Canada in 1758 at 91,000 exclusive of the French army and 16,000 domiciliated Indians in the midst of the French habitations.

conquered peasantry,[1] who had been held in a state of ignorance, vassalage and religious tutelage equal to that of the dark and middle ages, from which an emancipation such as the present could not but be hailed with delight.

Never were more generous terms conceded by any conqueror than those granted by the English commanders, Townshend and Amherst.[2] Truly Wolfe said in his manifesto to the Canadians: "We come "not to disturb you, either in property or religion, "so long as you remain neutral—we come to war on "our enemies, the army and navy of France!" Howsoever much the Canadians forfeited, by their actions, this intended clemency, as a legacy of the beloved Wolfe, his army and brother officers generously respected his wish, and carried it out wherever opportunity offered. To Wolfe and Amherst, Boscawen and Saunders, the French Canadians owe the liberty they enjoy to-day in religious privileges and rights, language, laws, and hereditary national observances conceded to them, so contrary to the prevail-

[1] See Ferland's *Canada*, p. 606-607.

[2] "Les Anglais accordèrent sans difficulté les articles que l'on "avait demandés tant pour la religion que pour l'avantage du "Citoyen. La Joye qu'ils eurent de se voir en possession les rendit

ing code of their conquerors, affording no parallel example of liberality to the vanquished in ancient or modern history.

By the articles of capitulation, the territory ceded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil as Governor, forming what he claimed the sovereignty of France over Canada, comprehended the Lakes Huron, Superior and Michigan and a direct line therefrom to the Red Lake, taking in by a serpentine course the River Ouabachi, as far as its junction with the Ohio, and from thence extends along the latter river as far, inclusively, as its influx into the Mississippi. The eastern boundary being the territory watered by the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Ocean.[1] Louisiana had also been ceded about this period by secret compact to Spain.

" les plus modérés de tous les vainqueurs, nous ne pourrions sans " injustice nous plaindre de la façon dont ils nous ont traités," etc.—*Relation d'une Religieuse de l'Hôpital Général de Québec en* 1759, p. 11.

(Translation.) 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 occasions failed, they were the most moderate of conquerors. We could not without injustice complain of the manner in which they treated us.—*Relation of a Hospital Nun of Quebec*, 1759, p. 11.

[1] *Hansard Parliamentary History of England*, Vol. XV., 1753-65, p. 1061.

By the Treaty of Paris, signed on the 10th February 1763, these boundaries were ratified and indeed extended, the territory being divided into the Provinces of Canada, East and West Florida.

Amherst, as Commander-in-Chief, received the submission of Murray as Governor of Quebec, but immediately re-affirmed him in it, and further appointed Brigadier-General Thomas Gage as Governor of the District of Montreal, and Colonel Ralph Burton as Governor of the District of Three Rivers; these districts to have the same limits as under the French *régime* for all matters of civil administration. It is significant that General Gage, in his proclamation, styles himself Governor-General; but his commission from Amherst does not seem to warrant the assumption. These three Governors seem to have given universal satisfaction in the difficult and arduous positions they assumed, and we have on record a very interesting and early document confirming Gage's popularity with the new subjects.[1]

[1] On the 25th October, 1760, George II suddenly died. As soon as the news reached Montreal, the following address was presented to Governor Gage and largely signed by his new subjects, who also went into mourning on the occasion. It shows how early (within sixty days) the benign influence of British rule was felt in rendering the inhabitants loyal, well satisfied and loving subjects of a

Tho.s Gage

Nations as well as individuals are born to woe and misery, with occasional sunbeams of happiness and joy. France has had her full share of both, likewise her cherished colony, New France. While woe and anguish may be felt at the trials and troubles of the Mother Country, by which the Colonial loving subjects of France were subjected to a foreign yoke and nationality; joy and contentment should rest on their brow at the improved position this change effected in their welfare. Father Charlevoix, the

dynasty they had hitherto been taught to hate, despise and wage unceasing warfare upon, accompanied by all the cruelties and barbarisms their savage allies could teach them:—

"To General Gage, Governor of Montreal.

"Cruel destiny, then, has cut short the glorious days of so great "and magnanimous a Monarch. We are come to pour out our "grief into the paternal bosom of your Excellency; the sole tribute "of gratitude of a people who will never cease to exult in the mild- "ness and moderation of their new masters. The General who "conquered us has treated us more like victors than vanquished; "and has left us a precious Pledge (the meaning of Gage in "French) by name and deed of his goodness to us. What acknow- "ledgments are we not bound to make for so many favours! They "shall be forever engraved on our hearts in indelible characters. "We entreat your Excellency to continue to us the honour of your "protection. We will endeavour to deserve it by our zeal, and the "earnest prayers we shall offer up to the Almighty Being for your "health and preservation."—*Annual Register*, 1761, p. 91; *Hochelaga Depicta*, p. 65.

eminent historian, in his History of New France, Vol. III., p. 80, says: "There exists in New England "(in 1721) an opulence which it would appear we do "not know how to emulate; while in New France, "there is a poverty attempted to be hidden by an air "of ease." When the portals of New France were opened by the invasion of the Britons—as were those of their own country (England), in A.D. 1066, by the ancestors of the very race they here came to relieve—a flood of light and civilization, enhanced by the power of the printing press, was thrown in among the inhabitants to which they had been utter strangers; the reflex of which is seen to-day in the happiness, contentment, enlightenment, intellectuality, power and opulence of over two millions of the very people Father Charlevoix regretted, in 1721, were so far behind their English neighbors, an amelioration which could not have taken place had they remained under the same rules and restrictions France imposed upon them. They have only to contrast their happy position with that of their kindred and nationality in Louisiana, whose very language, customs, religion, laws; aye! nationality, have been crushed out and suppressed, to acknowledge the debt of gratitude

they owe England, and the love and respect they should entertain everlastingly for the people who permitted them such privileges and benefits, and whose descendants have so faithfully observed and carried them out to this day. But few nations in the world would be sufficiently magnanimous or liberal minded to tolerate a "Nation within a Nation," and as nothing in the articles of capitulation or the cession at the Treaty of Peace alters the terms conceded to them by their valorous conquerors, it was never contemplated the concessions they made would be permitted to become an abuse to the detriment of the Anglo-Saxon race.

General Amherst returned to New York almost immediately; received the thanks of the British Parliament, was created a Knight of the Bath, granted a pension of £15,000 a year to himself and descendants in perpetuity; while the two nations, England and America, outvied each other in demonstrations of joy at the termination of French rule on the Continent of America, by the Fall of New France.

DESCRIPTION OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

DESCRIPTION OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. MAJOR-GENERAL WOLFE'S LETTER. *Frontispiece.*

On the 17th August, 1759, Knox (Vol. 11, p. 23) records the following General Order:—"Mr. Cameron, a volunteer in the Light Infantry of General "Lascelles' Regiment, having distinguished himself in a remarkable manner "in the defence of a house, with only a sergeant, corporal and sixteen men "of Lascelles Light Infantry, against a body of Savages and Canadians "greatly superior in number, the General has ordered that the first vacant "commission be given to Mr. Cameron in acknowledgment of his good con- "duct and very gallant behaviour. A flanking party of the 28th Regi- "ment, commanded by a sergeant, distinguished themselves upon the same "occasion, and hastened to the assistance of his friends with very great "spirit."

This important letter confirms the foregoing engagement, and was written from the camp at Montmorenci (L'Ange Guardien), either to Lieut.-Col. Guy Carleton, under whom the Light Infantry were commanded, or to Lieut.-Col. Hale, in command of the 47th Lascelles Regiment. It is a valuable specimen of Wolfe's ordinary style of writing and signature, and is reproduced in *fac simile* size and color of paper, as well as script. His autograph letters are exceedingly rare and command very high prices when offered at auction in England In 1856 a sale is recorded at £6.17.6 of an uninteresting family letter (Wolfe's Life, by Wright, p. 500).

2. THE HON. VICE-ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN. p. 39.

Son Viscount Falmouth. Born 19th Aug., 1711. Married, 1742, Frances, daughter of W. Evelyn Glanville, Esq., of St. Clair, Kent. Age 30, Captain of the "Shoreham." Distinguished himself at the taking of Porto Bello and the Seige of Carthagena. Age 33, promoted to the "Dreadnought"—60 guns. Captured the "Medea," the first French ship of war captured after the declaration of war, in 1744, Captain Hocquart in command. Distinguished himself under Anson in 1747, for which he was made (age 36) Rear Admiral of the Blue. Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty at age 38. In 1755 he again captured the first French vessels at the beginning of the Seven Years War, the "Alcyde" and the "Lys" (age 44), when Hocquart became his prisoner the third time. Was one of the council at Halifax which decided upon the expulsion of the Acadians. In 1758 (age 47) he was in command of the expedition against Cape Breton and Louisbourg, which he successfully reduced. In 1759 he captured and defeated Admiral Clue in the Mediterranean. Four times thanked by the House of Commons, made a Privy Councillor, granted a pension of £3,000 a year, made General of the Marines in 1760, with £3,000 a year attached. This brave, intelligent and efficient officer, known affectionately by his sailors as Wry Necked Dick, or Old Dreadnought," died the 10th January, 1761, aged 49 years, leaving three sons and two daughters, at Hatchlands Park, a seat finished, he said, "at the expense of the French, the enemies of his country." Buried in parish church of St. Michael, Penkivel, in Cornwall His two eldest boys dying young, his third son became Viscount Falmouth. From a wound in the shoulder his head became bent, like that of Alexander the Great, and it was of him Pitt said "that when he proposed expeditions "to other commanders he heard nothing but difficulties, but when he "applied to him these were either set aside or expedients suggested to "remove them. It is easier to bend the head like Alexander or Boscawen "than to imitate their courage or intrepidity."

(Portrait engraved by Ravenet from original painting.)

3. LIEUT.-COL. JOHN WINSLOW. p. 44.

Native of New England, son of Isaac Winslow, of Marshfield, Mass., great-grandson of Edward Winslow, one of the first Plymouth settlers.

Captain of the Provincials in the important expedition to Cuba in 1740. Afterwards an officer in the English Army and a Major-General of the Militia. Commander of Provincial troops in the expeditions to the Kennebec and Crown Point, and was selected by Governor Shirley to command the troops raised in Massachusetts for service in Nova Scotia in 1755. Col. Winslow served under General (then Colonel) Monckton at the capture of the Forts Beauséjour and Baie-Verte, or Gaspereaux, and was in command of the most important and populous station at Grand Pré for the expulsion of the Acadians (age 52), Monckton being the Commander in Chief of the forces engaged in the deportation. Was a councillor of Massachusetts, and so great was his popularity, says Minot, that he raised for the expedition under Monckton 2,000 men in the short space of two months. He served in several other engagements of the war, and died in 1774, aged 71. He left two sons, Pelham and Isaac, both attached to the Royal cause in the American Revolt. He was remarkable for his urbanity of manner, kind heartiness and genial qualities; characteristics inconsonant with the accusations of inhumanity and cruelty some writers of the present day endeavor to load him with.

(From the original portrait in Massachusetts Historical Society.)

4. Expulsion Medal. p. 49.

5. Fac-simile from Médailles Louis le Grand. p. 50.

The medal is from an original issued to commemorate the expulsion of the English from St. Kitts in 1666. The page is from the large volume entitled "Médailles sur les principaux evenements du Regne de Louis le Grand avec "des explications historiques par l'Academie Royale des Medailles et des "Inscriptions. A Paris de l'Imprimerie Royal, 1702."

The translation of the text is: *The English Expelled from the Island of St. Christopher.* The Island of St. Christopher, abundant in sugar, tobacco and other merchandise, is one of the Antilles group, situated in the Ocean of South America. The French and English, both together, took possession in 1626, and to avoid conflict they divided the island equally between them. Each one enjoyed peaceably their half, when the war of England and France in Europe spread to America and caused the colonies to arise. The English Governor, who was the first to learn of the rupture between the two Crowns, wished to avail himself of it, and prepared to surprise the French. But

these, warned of his designs by his preparations and movements, dared, though inferior in number, to prevent him, and immediately attacked several of the English posts and expelled the people. They were not discouraged even by the death of their commander, who was killed in the second attack. They pursued their enterprise just as happily as they began, forcing their enemies to surrender their forts, their cannon and their arms by capitulation, until they became alone possessors of an island so important to the commerce of the West Indies. This is the subject of the above medal. We see an American squaw, having at her feet a shield with the arms of England, and holding up a shield with the arms of France. Legend, *Colonia Francorum Stabilita*, The French Colony Made Firm. In exergue *Anglis ex Insula Sancti Christophore exturbatis*, 1666. The English Expelled from the Island of Saint Christopher, 1666.

(This French version of the expulsion differs materially from the English.)

6. La Marquise de Pompadour. p. 65.

Jeanne Antoinette Poisson, daughter of a butcher of the Invalides, or, according to others a farmer of Ferté sous Jouare, who was condemned of malversations and ran away. Born in 1722, she received a liberal education from her mother; she was married to Mr. Lenormand L'Etioles, nephew of the Farmer General Normand Tourneham. While hunting in the forest of Senart, on the borders of which Tourneham held an estate, the King had an opportunity purposely afforded him of seeing Madame d'Etioles, with whose charms he was immediately enamored. Removing her to his Palace, she was created Marchioness of Pompadour in 1745, and retained a complete ascendancy over the heart of the King, being placed at the head of his Court, (to the sacrifice of the Queen, with one short interval) until her death, in 1764. She amassed enormous wealth, but spent it also lavishly in entertainments for the King's amusements. Politically her power was of the greatest, and for many years all important appointments, especially during the Seven Years War, were obtained only through her hands. She was clever, bright in conversation, handsome, and one of the greatest bibliophilists France has had, her collection of books being carefully bound and of the best editions, command great prices when offered for sale. Wolfe in his letter to his father from Paris, of 10th January, 1753, states: "I was introduced yesterday to the "King and the Royal family, and lastly to Madame Pompadour and M. de

" St. Contest, the minister. They were all very gracious as far as courtesies, " bows and smiles go, for the Bourbons seldom speak to anybody. Madame " la Marquise entertained us at her toilette. We found her curling her " hair. She is extremely handsome, and, by her conversation with the Am- " bassador and others that were present, I judge she must have a good deal " of wit and understanding." (It was the custom of Pompadour to receive visitors in her dressing-room, in which there was no seat except her own. It was only when the King entered that she ordered a chair for His Majesty.) On the 26th October, 1752, Wolfe dined with her, and remarks, in a letter to his mother, that " Madame Pompadour is a very agreeable woman. I " had the good fortune to be placed near her for a considerable time." In January, 1753, la Marquise was raised to the *tabouret*, with the rank and prerogatives of *Duchesse*, became qualified to be seated in the Queen's presence, to be called " Cousin " and receive the *Royal kiss*.

(The portrait is from that of " La Société des Bibliophiles de France.")

7. Lieut.-General Marquis of Montcalm. p. 67.

Louis Joseph de Saint Véran, born in 1712 at Candiac Languedoc, of a family of Rouergue, one of whose ancestors married into the Gozon family, of whom tradition says vanquished the Dragon which desolated the Island of Rhodes. Montcalm early entered the army and served 17 years as ensign, lieutenant and captain in the regiment of Hainault, and was made Colonel of Auxerrois Regiment in 1743. He received three wounds at the battle under Plaisance, the 3rd June, 1746, and two others at Assiette. Made Brigadier of the King's Armies in 1747, and *Mestre du Camp* (Cavalry Captain) of the new Regiment of Cavalry called after him, in 1749. In 1756 he was created Field Marshal and Commander in Chief of the French troops in America. For the victory at Carillon, 8th July, 1758, he was created Lieut.-General. His titles were: Marquis de Montcalm, Seigneur de Gozon et de Gabriac, Commander of the Order of St. Louis. His arms are quartered with those of Gozon and Gabriac. He was short in stature, but with a handsome face and figure and very animated piercing eyes. An Indian chief on first seeing him could not believe that so small a man could be the hero of so many victories, but observed that "he saw the vivacity of the eagle in his eye and the greatness of the oak." Like Wolfe, he was an able general, a zealous patriot, a staunch friend, and a father to all. He was beloved and respected by all his soldiers

and officers, and most upright in all his dealings. Mortally wounded while on horseback endeavoring to prevent the flight of his army at the Plains of Abraham, he was removed to the General Hospital and died the next morning, 14th September, 1759, at 4 o'clock, aged 47 years, and was buried in the Ursuline Convent in Quebec. He left a wife, five children (two boys and three girls) and his mother to deplore his loss, to whom the King continued a pension of 4,000 livres, and to each of his children 900. The eldest son was given the regiment of his father, and the other son a company in the same regiment.

(The portrait given is from a private photograph taken directly from the original painting in the possession of the present Marquis of Montcalm, who presented it personally to L. A. Hébert, Esq., the eminent Canadian sculptor of this city, and to whom he inscribed it; "Offert à Monsieur Hébert en "temoignage d'amitié et de sympathie.—Mis. de Montcalm." Reproduced by kind permission of Mr. Hébert, and it is the first time that this faithful and excellent likeness has been presented to the public in *fac-simile* of the original painting.)

8. Colonel Bougainville, A.D.C. p. 96.

Louis Antoine de Bougainville was born 11th November, 1729, at Paris. Studied and was admitted to the law, but left it to enter the army. He entered the Black Musqueteer Regiment. Studying languages and mathematics, he published in 1752 a work on mathematics. He was made Brevet-Major in the battalion of Picardie, Aide-de-Camp to the famous Chevert at Sarre Louis in 1754, and was sent to London as secretary to the Embassy in 1755, where he joined the Royal Society of that city. The same year he was made Aide-de-Camp to the Marquis of Montcalm and Captain of Dragoons, and left for Canada on the 27th September, 1756. Promoted to Colonel in 1759 and created Knight of St. Louis, his recognized talents and ability brought him to the fore of de Bourlemaque, the second in command of the French Army in America. After the surrender of the colony he returned to France and served at the Battle of the Rhine in 1761 with distinction. After the peace he entered the marine service, and founded the Faulkland Islands, subsequently making a tour of the world, he discovered and placed under French sovereignty several important islands in the Pacific. He returned to France on the 14th March, 1769, and published an

account of his voyages. Took part in the American Revolution, where he commanded with distinction several vessels of the line. He was created an admiral and a field marshal. After forty years of service, Bougainville retired and devoted himself to science. In 1796 he was made a member of the French Institute, Count of the Empire, a Senator of France and Grand officer of the Legion of Honour. He died, aged 82, on the 31st August, 1811.

(The portrait is from an engraving from a painting of about the period he was in Canada.)

9. QUEBEC IN 1759. p. 97.

View of the City taken from the Island of Orleans, and the man-of-war Vanguard, by Captain Hervey Smith, Aide-de-camp to Gen. Wolfe, from the original engraving of the 5th Nov., 1760.

10. MAJOR GENERAL JAMES WOLFE. p. 99.

Originally a Welsh family, the Woulfes settled in Ireland in the 16th century, and became in time more "Irish than the Irish." On the capitulation of Limerick in October, 1651, to Ireton, the Parliamentarian chief, twenty of the most distinguished of its defenders were excepted from pardon and reserved for execution. Among these were two brothers, George and Francis Woulfe—the former a military officer, the latter a friar. The friar was hanged, but the captain made his escape. He fled to England (Yorkshire) where he settled and adopted the reformed faith and dropped the "u" from the name. In 1685 a son was born and named Edward, the father of our hero; he married Henrietta, daughter of Edward Thompson, Esq., of Marsden, in Yorkshire, who was descended on her mother's side from the ancient family of Tindal at Brotherton, in Yorkshire. The father adopted the army as his profession, and at the age of 32 reached the grade of Lieutenant-Colonel, without family influence or political interest; solely the result of merit. On the 2nd January, 1727 (n.s.), or the 22nd December, 1726 (o.s.), our hero, James, was born at the vicarage in Westerham, Kent, the father being 42 years of age and the mother 24. Soon afterwards they quitted the vicarage, which had been leased temporarily, and removed to the building named in the early part of the present century "Quebec House," situated in a hollow picturesquely at the foot of a hill down which winds the eastern outlet of Westerham, leading to

Brastead and Sevenoaks. Here under the watchful eye and careful training of their mother, passed the childhood of James and his younger brother Edward, born in the following year. They were both delicate, sensitive children, whose precarious health caused their mother many an anxious hour. About 1738, the family removed to Greenwich, which, in addition to his fathers's exploits as a soldier under Marlborough, only increased his desire to enter army life at the earliest opportunity. To the neglect of his schooling, he joined the forces at the tender age of 13 years and 6 months, as volunteer in his father's regiment. Already a martyr to illness, just as the fleet was sailing with his regiment he had to be put ashore, seriously ill, and returned to his mother. On the 3rd November, 1741 (age 14), he was appointed Second Lieutenant in his father's regiment of marines, the 12th Regiment (Duroure's), and in April, 1742, embarked with his regiment for Flanders. His first fire was received at the celebrated battle of Dettingen, where King George the Second and the Duke of Cumberland commanded personally an army of 40,000 men, defeating the Duke de Noailles with 60,000 French soldiers. In 1743 (aged 16), he was made Lieutenant and an adjutant; 1744, Captain in the Fourth (Barrel's) or King's Regiment of Foot. In October, his brother Edward, who had joined the army to be in company with James, whom he idolized, died after a few days' illness from consumption.

1745, he was made Major of B.igade, and took part in the battle of Fontenoy, 11th May, 1745.

1746. Was present with his regiment at the battle of Falkirk in Scotland, on the 17th January, and three months after was aide-de-camp to General Hawley at the battle of Culloden. Wolfe was here requested by his commander-in-chief, the Duke of Cumberland, to shoot "that Highland "scoundrel who dares to look upon us with so insolent a stare," alluding to the Colonel of the Fraser Regiment, to which Wolfe indignantly replied "that his commission was at His Royal Highness's disposal, but that he never "would consent to become an executioner." Was it this incident which caused the Fraser Regiment to cling so affectionately to Wolfe in after years and were the first to volunteer to scale the dizzy heights of Quebec both at Montmorenci and Wolfe's Cove!

1747. On the 2nd July, Barrel's regiment having returned to the Continent, and with it Wolfe was present at the battle of Val or Laffeldt, at

which the forces were commanded by King Louis XV. personally and the Marshall Saxe on the French side ; the Duke of Cumberland and Sir John Ligonier (who was captured) on the English side. Wolfe here distinguished himself, the *Official Gazette* stating that he was wounded, and was publicly thanked by the commander-in-chief for his distinguished services.

1748, after the Peace, he returned to Scotland with his regiment.

1749. Was made a Major of the 20th Regiment on the 5th January, and returned home from service in seven active campaigns at age 22. Recalled to join his regiment, which was stationed at Stirling, he assumed command, the Lieutenant-Colonel, the Hon. Edward Cornwallis having been appointed Captain-General and Governor of the new settlement of Halifax in Nova Scotia. On the 20th March, 1750, he was officially appointed Lieut.-Colonel of the regiment. He served in Scotland and England until 1758. On furlough, he visited Paris to learn the French language, in which he became quite proficient.

1755, he published his "Instructions for the guidance of the 20th Foot "should the French effect a landing," the best drilled regiment in the British army, so pronounced by the commander-in-chief. It is an admirable paper, clear, pithy and comprehensive. Published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1759, pp. 529-530.

1757. Distinguished himself at Rochfort, which brought him prominently to the notice of Pitt. and which was the direct cause of his selection for American service.

1758. Wolfe, while at Louisbourg siege, received instruction through the *Gazette*, that he had been promoted to the Colonelcy of the second battalion of the 20th, now named the 67th Regiment (South Hampshire Foot) on the 21st April. Prior to this, on the 23rd January, 1758, he was commissioned as Brigadier-General for service in America only.

1759. His Father, who had become Colonel of the 8th Regiment and Lieut.-General, died on the 26th March, 1759, aged 74, and the Son fell at Quebec, 13th Sept., aged 32 years, 8 months. His Mother died, aged 60, on the 26th Sept.. 1764.

Of a very feeble constitution, in fact consumptive, Wolfe never enjoyed health such as a man in his position required. Had nature ordained other-

wise, his character was such that only Alexander the Great would have been his counterpart in history. In temperament he was sanguine, in disposition docile and magnanimous, in figure manly, bronzed and rugged by innumerable campaigns, prematurely old, tall and slim (lanky, he states). Wright, in his Life of Wolfe, summarises his character as follows: "He was impulsive, but not rash; persistent but not obstinate; self-confident yet modest; aspiring but not vain-glorious; generous, hospitable and charitable, but not extravagant; stern yet gentle; ingenuous but not egotistic; free spoken yet courteous. If ever high honour, strict integrity and all the qualities which constitute a dutiful and affectionate son (his letters to his parents, written alternately almost weekly throughout his life, are models of affection), a true and constant lover, a sincere friend, a loyal subject, and a pure patriot, were combined with fearless valour, untiring industry and great mental capacity, they were combined in JAMES WOLFE."

The portrait presented of Wolfe is the very rare mezzotint by C. Spooner, after the sketch by Capt. Hervey Smith, his aide-de-camp, and to whom we are also indebted for a series of views (two of which I reproduce), done by him during the campaign of 1759. Both portrait and views were engraved in 1760, the former from a direct sketch made of Wolfe while at Quebec, and therefore the latest portrait of him and the most interesting to us. Acknowledging his views to be accurate and carefully drawn, we must accept this portrait of Wolfe as an equally truthful and correct likeness, however much it may differ from the innumerable variety of face and form in engravings we are presented of him. Wolfe's biographers and family connections acknowledge but two authentic oil paintings and Smith's sketch; the one by Highmore in the National Portrait Gallery, done at age 22, the other by an unknown artist, taken at age 13, in the possession of Admiral Warde; Smith's sketch being in the United Service Museum. There is another less known portrait of him, from a sketch by Engineer John Montresor, taken at Quebec on the 1st Sept., 1759, and which has been mezzotinted and published July 30, 1783, by B. Killingbeck, London. It is a profile, and said to be an excellent likeness. It is excessively rare, and the original sketch has disappeared. The well-known full length mezzo of Wolfe, at the landing of his troops at Quebec, by Houston, done in 1760, while presenting the characteristics in face and form, is not an authentic production and is too fanciful or sentimental to be accepted as a portrait, while the dress, accoutrements and attitude condemn it.

His appearance, as described by Wright, or in his letters printed by Wright, corresponds closely with the portrait I have selected. "Although the most "partial admirer could not have considered him by any means a handsome "youth, yet his countenance was so expressive of an ingenuous, hopeful spirit "as to make it remarkably attractive. The most striking lineament, how-"ever ,was the singular form of his profile, which might be nearly represented "by two lines of an obtuse angle, meeting at the tip of the nose. (Wolfe's "profile bears a remarkable resemblance to that of the younger Pitt, as may be "perceived by comparing his portrait by Highmore with the bust of this "statesman in the National Portrait Gallery.) When in repose, his face had "little colour, but when excited, it blushed all over; and the somewhat high "and prominent cheek-bones betrayed the share of Celtic blood he inherited. "The mouth denoted great decision and firmness, while the leading expres-"sion of the sparkling azure eyes might be most truly qualified as enquir-"ing. His complexion was sanguine, hair red, over which he wore the pow-"dered wig." In form, Wolfe says to his Mother. "It is not easy to "describe myself in my present state. If I say I'm thinner, you'll imagine "me a shadow or a skeleton in motion. In short, I'm everything but what "the surgeons call a subject for anatomy; as far as muscles, bones, and "the larger vessels can serve their purpose, they have a clear view of them "in me, distinct from fat or fleshy impediment"....."upon which I may "extend my long limbs "....."with the advantage of long legs and "thighs" ....."very tall and thin." In a letter to his Mother, from Bristol, of the 19th January, 1755, he says: "Folks are surprised to see the "meagre, consumptive, decaying figure of the son, when the father and "mother preserve such good looks; and people are not easily persuaded "that I am one of the family."—(Strange to say, both his parents were handsome, especially the Mother, who was considered a beauty.)—"The campaigns of 1743-4-5-6 and 7, stripped me of my "bloom, and the winters of Scotland and at Dover have brought me "almost to old age and infirmity, and this without any remarkable intemper-"ance. A few years more or less, are of very little consequence to the common "run of men, and therefore I need not lament that I am, perhaps, some-"what nearer my end than others of my time. I think and write upon these "points without being at all moved."

In manners fascinating, in dress plain, hating coxcombery or foppish-ness; in habits steady, temperate almost abstemious, with a passionate

love for outdoor sports, such as hunting, shooting, riding and fishing; he neither gambled, swore, nor scoffed at religion and morality as was then the vogue in the best society. In short, he was a man without enemies, except those envious of his good qualities, intelligence and habits, and such a one as is born to command, for "all were swift to follow whom all loved."

11. VICE-ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES SAUNDERS. p. 99.

Was one of the most distinguished officers of his time and arrived at the highest rank in his profession. Lieutenant of the Centurion in 1740. Commander of the Ingall in Anson's expedition in 1741. In command of the Yarmouth, of 64 guns, he captured the Neptune and Monarque, two 74-gun vessels, in an engagement under Rear-Admiral Hawke, in October. 1747. In 1750 he was elected M.P. for Plymouth, and married the only child of James Buck, a banker in London, but left no issue. In 1750 he was appointed Commodore and Commander-in-chief at Newfoundland. In December, 1755, he was named Comptroller of the Navy, and one of the elder brethren of the Trinity House. In 1756 he was created Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and in 1758 he was made R. A. of the White, and then Vice-Admiral of the Blue. He was appointed Commander-in-chief of the American fleet in February, 1759, as Vice-Admiral of the Blue. In 1761 he received the insignia of the Bath, and died Admiral of the Blue in 1775. His remains were privately interred in Westminster Abbey, near Wolfe's monument. Admiral Saunders, before ascending the St. Lawrence, the navigation of which was unknown to English vessels, selected, on the advice of Capt. Hugh Palliser, the celebrated Navigator James Cook, then occupying a very humble position in the fleet, to survey the channel. Had the public services of Admiral Saunders been confined solely to the opportunity which he here afforded this great man of displaying his wonderful talents, he had conferred a benefit on his country and race that would have merited their everlasting gratitude. On his arrival home from Quebec, before landing, he turned his fleet back to sea, without orders, to assist Admiral Hawke to capture a French fleet under Conflars. He was, however, too late. On his return, he happened accidentally to drop in at the theatre in Dublin, where he was received, much to his surprise, with the highest demonstrations of applause for his victory at Quebec. His reception in London by the King and people was in the highest degree flattering to him. He

Trouvaille.

The London (England) *Times*, Saturday, 4th February, 1888, prints the following communication :—

To the Editor of the Times.

SIR,—A letter in the *Times* of yesterday, signed W. Starke, on the subject of the death of General Wolfe, quotes an account stated to have been given by Lieutenant the Hon. Henry Browne (my great grand-uncle), who was present on the occasion, to a Capt. Knox.

I now send you an extract from a letter written on November 17, 1759, by the said Lieut. Browne to his father, giving a somewhat more detailed account, which, possibly, you may consider sufficiently interesting to publish.

Yours obediently,

ROBT. J. BROWNE.

COOLARNE, GLENAGEARY, KINGSTOWN, COUNTY DUBLIN,
DUBLIN, January 26.

Extract from a letter from Henry Browne, fifth son of John Browne, M.P. for Castlebar, who subsequently became Earl of Altamont ;

LOUISBOURG, Nov. 17, 1759.

. . . . . I writ you a letter the 19th of Sept., and another to my Bro. Peter the 1st of Oct., both, which letters I hope have arrived safe.

I gave you, Dr. Father, as distinct an account in yours as I could of our action of the 13th Sept., and of the taking of the Town of Quebeck. I must add a little to it by informing you that I was the person who carried General Wolf off the field, and that he was wounded as he stood within a foot of me. I thanked God I escaped, tho' we had (out of our company, which consisted but of 62 men at the beginning of the engagement) an officer and four men killed and 25 wounded.

The General did our company the honour to head us in person, as he said he knew he could depend upon our behaviour, and I think we fully answered his expectations, as did, indeed, the whole front line, consisting at most but of 2500 men, by beating according to their own account 8000 men, 2500 of which were regulars. Our second line, consisting of 1500 men, did not engage or fire a shot. The poor General, after I had his wounds dressed, died in my arms. Before he died he thanked me for my care of him, and asked me whether we had totally defeated the enemy. Upon my assuring him we had killed numbers, taken a number of officers and men prisoners, he thanked God and then begged I would then let him die in peace. He expired in a minute afterwards, without the least struggle or groan. You can't imagine, dear father, the sorrow of every individual in the army for so great a loss. Even the

soldiers dropped tears, who were but the minute before driving their bayonets through the French. I can't compare it to anything better than to a family in tears and sorrow which had just lost their father, their friend, and their whole dependance.

Your truly and most dutiful and affectionate son,

HEN. BROWNE.

John Browne, Esq., at Westport, near Castlebar, Ireland.

Knox's Historical Journal, 1769, Vol. II, p. 79, states: 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? "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 to Charles's 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.

After writing the above, Knox adds in a foot-note to page 79: "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 honour of being his supporters after he was wounded, but the foregoing circumstances were ascertained to me by Lieut. Browne, of the Grenadiers of Louisbourg, 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.*

(The General received three wounds before he succumbed—one in the wrist, the second in the head, and the third in the abdomen. The above letter has appeared since this work was in type. I deem it sufficiently important to add it as a "trouvaille," inasmuch as it confirms in a remarkable manner the conclusion given by me in the narrative as to the number engaged in the battle, as well as further showing the reliance to be placed on Knox's valuable Historical Journal of the Siege. G. E. H.)

was rewarded for his victory by being named, unsolicited, Lieut.-General of the Marines and being tendered in person the thanks of the House of Commons. Sir Charles was in 1765 made First Lord of the Admiralty over the heads of many officers his superior in rank—a further testimony of his great worth and the high opinion held of him. In the funeral procession of the Duke of York, the King's brother, in 1767, he was one of the admirals who supported the canopy. Of an unassuming, retiring character, greatness unsolicited was his by transcendent merit. He was, moreover, a Privy Councillor and Treasurer of the Greenwich Hospital. Wolfe bequeathed his plate to Saunders.

(From a proof engraving by Shipster of the painting in Greenwich Hospital.)

12. BATTLE OF MONTMORENCI, 1759. p. 103.

Another of the views taken by Captain Hervey Smith, aide-de-camp to Wolfe, at the time of the engagement. From an original engraving made in London, 1760.

13. THE HON. BRIGADIER-GENERAL ROBERT MONCKTON. p. 104.

Second son of Viscount Galway. Was at the battle of Dettingen and others of the Flanders engagements. In 1753 was at Halifax and was sent to suppress the riots which took place that year among the Germans at Lunenburg. In 1754 was appointed Governor of the fort at Annapolis Royal. In June, 1755, he commanded at the reduction of Fort Beausejour and the expulsion of the Acadians. In 1756 he was named Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia under Charles Lawrence as Governor. In 1757 he obtained the appointment of Lt.-Col. of the 4th Batt., 60th Regt., called Royal Americans, and was attached to the army of Lord Loudoun. In 1758 he commanded a battalion at the siege of Louisbourg, under Gen. Amherst, and in 1759 he served as 1st Brigadier-General under Wolfe at Quebec, where he received a ball through the lungs. He was promoted to the Colonelcy of the 17th Regiment of Foot. In 1761 he was brevetted a Major General and appointed Governor of New York. In 1761 he was appointed to the command of the troops against Martinico, which he captured. He returned to his Government and thence to England. Soon after his return home, he was tried by court martial on charges of oppression preferred against him by a Major Campbell, but of which he was honorably acquitted. He received the military appointment of

Governor of Berwick in 1766, and was made Lieut.-General in 1770. In 1778 he was Governor of Portsmouth, and represented that borough in Parliament until his death on the 3rd May, 1782. Wolfe bequeathed his camp equipage to Monckton, for whom he had the greatest esteem and regard.

(Portrait from an original mezzotint of 1761.)

14. QUEBEC AFTER THE BOMBARDMENT, 1759. p. 113.

From a view taken by Richard Short, aide-de-camp to Admiral Saunders, and published in 1760.

15. THE HON. BRIGADIER GENERAL GEORGE TOWNSHEND. p. 114.

Eldest son of the third Viscount Townshend, and afterwards first Marquess of the name. Born 1724, and was godson to King George I. He entered the army at an early age and served throughout the Flanders campaign with Wolfe and Monckton. He was Second Brigadier General in Wolfe's expedition to Quebec. He afterwards attained the rank of Field Marshal and Colonel of the second regiment of Dragoon Guards; was also a Privy Councillor, High Steward of Tamworth, Yarmouth and Norwich, Governor of Jersey, and Master-General of the Ordnance. He also administered the government of Ireland as Lord Lieutenant in 1767. He married twice, firstly in 1751, Lady Charlotte Compton, only daughter of the Earl of Northampton and Baroness Ferrers, by whom his escutcheon was emblazoned by over *two hundred and fifty* quarterings, including that of the royal Plantagenets and two very ancient Baronies; secondly, in 1773, Anne, co-heir of Sir William Montgomery, Bart. He died on the 14th September, 1807. He was brave, talented, but impatient of authority, and excelled in caricaturing. Wolfe tolerated, but had no personal friendship for him. He found him a *malcontent* at Quebec. Townshend owed his preferment to his great family influence, his brother Charles being a Minister of State.

(Portrait is from a mezzotint made in 1758, immediately after he introduced his famous Militia Bill in the House of Commons, a copy of which he is holding in his hands.)

16. CAPTAIN HUGH PALLISER, R.N. p. 115.

Post Captain in 1746. Was in command of the Shrewsbury 74 guns at Quebec; age, 38. Comptroller of the Navy, Admiral, and a Baronet in 1773.

March 31, 1764, Governor of Newfoundland. Serving as second in command under Admiral Keppel at Ushant in 1778; a misunderstanding arose between them, and Sir Hugh preferred a charge against Admiral Keppel, who was acquitted. Sir Hugh was then tried in his turn and reprimanded. He was, however, a brave and experienced officer, and became Governor of Greenwich Hospital. Born 1721, died 1796.

(Portrait from an engraving made in 1796.)

17. WOLFE'S MONUMENT, WESTMINSTER ABBEY. p. 137.

On the 21st November, 1759, the House of Commons resolved to address the King that His Majesty would order a monument to be erected in Westminster Abbey to the memory of Wolfe. The King named the Duke of Devonshire as chairman of the committee to take the matter in hand. Wilton's design was chosen. The sculpture was not finished until 1772, and on the 4th October, 1772, the national monument was uncovered. It stands near the north transept of the Abbey Church, and occupies a large space in St. John the Evangelist's Chapel, facing the ambulatory. It is chiefly composed of white marble, and consists of an elevated base and sarcophagus, which is inscribed:—

To the Memory of

JAMES WOLFE,

Major-General and Commander-in-Chief

Of the British Land Forces

On an expedition against Quebec,

Who, after surmounting by ability and valour

All obstacles of art and nature,

Was slain, in the moment of victory,

On the XIII. of September, MDCCLIX.,

The King and Parliament of Great Britain

Dedicate this Monument.

(From an engraving of the period.)

18. THE HON. BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES MURRAY. p. 138.

Fifth son of the fourth Baron Elibank (a Scotch peer). His great-grandfather was one of the six Peers who opposed the delivering up of Charles I. to the Parliament of England. Was throughout the Flanders engagements. Was present at the siege of Louisbourg, in which he attracted the attention of Wolfe, who selected him as his third Brigadier at Quebec. He was left in command of the city after its capitulation, and was appointed first Governor thereof, and after the treaty of Peace was named Governor-General and military commander of Canada. In 1760, he was defeated in an engagement with Levis, and subsequently joined Amherst at Montreal when the Province surrendered to the British arms. In 1767 he returned to England on leave of absence, but receiving a better appointment, he did not return to Canada. In 1781 he was in command of the Island of Minorca, besieged by an army of 12,000 Spanish and French troops under the Duke de Crillon, which he successfully resisted for seven months, with an army of under 2,000 men. They becoming decimated by disease, he surrendered under most honorable terms, largely obtained by his becoming conduct in indignantly refusing an offer made to him by De Crillon of a surrender on payment to him of a million francs and a French peerage. General Murray's career in Canada was distinguished by a sterling sense of honor and justice to the conquered natives, and enjoining to them their full immunities and privileges by the terms of the conquest, a right which some of the incoming British immigrants desired to deprive them of. General Murray was much regretted by the whole population, and notably the clergy. He became a Lieut.-General. Born 1704; married twice, having no issue by his first wife, but by his second wife (at age of 78) a son, who became a Major General; died 1794, aged 90 years.

(The portrait is from a stipple engraving of 1782, the year in which his son was born.)

19. CHEVALIER DE LEVIS. p. 140.

François Gaston de Levis, Seigneur de Mirepoix, de Leran, de Charlus, de Châteaumorand; was born at Ajac, in Languedoc, on the 20th August, 1719. He was a member of the great historic family of which the Dukes d'Uzez were the lineal descendants, and de Ventadour and Marquis Mirépoix the collateral branches. They were the first family elevated to the Peerage of France and honored with the title of Duke. The Mirépoix branch, of which

the Chevalier was direct inheritor, had the honorary and distinguished title of "Marshall of the Faith," for having fought successfully the heretical Albigenses. The name, until 1689, was spelt "de Levy." His ancestor, Henry de Levy, Duke de Ventadour, in 1625, was Viceroy of Canada, under whose administration Champlain was sent as Governor to the colony. He entered the French army in 1735, his first commission being a lieutenant in a marine regiment; 1737, was made Captain; 1756, Colonel and Brigadier; 1758, Maréchal de Camp; 1761, Lieutenant-General; 1783, Field Marshal. He was popularly known in his military career as the Chevalier de Levis, and always was addressed as such. He was appointed second in command to Montcalm, whose friendship for him from infancy was no doubt occasioned by their coming from the same province. His campaigns in Canada, 1756-1760, are fully mentioned herein. Abroad he saw service in Bohemia in 1741-42, and was at the battle of Dettingen in 1743, opposed to Wolfe, Amherst, Monckton, Townshend and Murray, as he was afterwards in Canada. He was throughout all the campaigns of 1743 to 1746 in Flanders, and afterwards saw service in Italy, Provence and Nice, and distinguished himself at Montalban. After his return from Canada, he was one of the very few officers on the French side for whom England and France both had the greatest respect. A striking mark of England's favor was shown by his surrender as a prisoner being limited to service in America, it being specially granted that he could participate on his nation's side in Europe. Hence we see him taking part in the battles of Villinghausen and Johannisberg. He was liberally rewarded by France for his services, and in 1784 we find his titles to be: François de Lévis, Duc et Maréchal de France, Chevalier des Ordres du Roy et des Ordres Royaume Militaires et Hospitaliers de Notre Dame du Mont Carmel et de St. Lazare de Jerusalem, Grand Bailli d'Épée de Villers la Montagne, Capitaine des Gardes du corps de Monsieur Frère du Roy, Gouverneur-Général de la Province d'Artois, et Gouverneur Particulier des villes, cité et citadelle d'Arras, with emoluments of 97,470 livres a year. He died in 1787.

20. Major General Jeffery Amherst. p. 143.

Was born at Sevenoaks, 1717, of an ancient Kentish family. He began life as Page to the Duke of Dorset, aad entered the army in 1731, and in 1741 was Aide-de-camp to General Ligonier, under whom he served at the battles

of Dettingen, Fontenoy and Rocoux, and on the staff of the Duke of Cumberland at the Battles of Laffeldt and Hastenbeck. In 1756 he was appointed Colonel of the 15th Regiment of foot, and in 1758 was made Major-General and sent to America, his career being fully mentioned herein. Having received the capitulation of all Canada at the surrender of Montreal, he returned to New York, where he was invested with the insignia of the Bath as a special reward and honor, also receiving the thanks of the House of Commons in England. He was further created a Privy Councillor, and a Lieut.-General. In 1763 he returned to England, was appointed Governor of Virginia, a sinecure position, subsequently of Guernsey. In 1776 was created Baron Amherst of Holmsdale, and in 1788 Baron Amherst of Montreal, adopting as supporters to his arms, two Indians in full battle array, the sinister holding a tomahawk suspended to which is a human scalp! Recognizing that he owed this high honor to a nation's gratitude for his services in Canada, he named his seat "Montreal House." In 1778 he was made commander-in-chief of the army in England. In 1795 he was created a Field Marshal, and died in 1797.

He died without issue, though twice married, and was succeeded by his nephew, William Pitt Amherst, son of Colonel William Amherst his brother, and aide-de-camp at Louisbourg. He was a man of indomitable perseverance and courage, but slow and methodical in his movements. Provident, conciliating and cool, Amherst disposed his plans, adopted his measures, reconciled jarring interests, and pursued his operations with steadiness, neither precipitating nor delaying beyond the due point, and comprehending the whole under a due authority which he knew how to assume. (*Walpole's Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 439.)

(The portrait given is a mezzotint by the celebrated James Watson, after a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and was made *circa* 1763.)

21. MONTREAL IN 1760. p. 147.

Is from a very rare engraving, drawn on the spot immediately after the Conquest, by Thomas Patten.

The large building to the far left, on the point, is the General Hospital, about the site of the present building of the Examining Warehouse; coming to the right, the first steeple is that of the Recollet Church, the vessel dividing these two. The next steeple is that of the St. Sulpice Church,

just in front of the present Notre Dame Church. The old Congregational Convent is shown by the blank wall, pointed roof and small steeple in about the centre of the town. The large building with steeple, to the further right, is the Jesuits' Church, about the site of the present Court House and fronting on Notre Dame Street, the Fort being on the elevation at the extreme right or eastern end of the city, known at present as Dalhousie Square. The city was comprised within the fortifications—a stone wall 12 ft. x 4 ft., finished in 1728, having a ditch on all sides. It appeared to run along Commissioners Street and Foundling on the front; St. James Street on the rear; McGill Street on the west, and Campeau Street on the east.

22. Brigadier General Thomas Gage. p. 151.

Was second son of the first and father of the third Viscount Gage of Ireland. Was in Braddock's defeat, as Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the advance guard, at Carillon with Abercromby; was subsequently appointed Brigadier General, Light Infantry. Was sent by Amherst to succeed Prideaux after his death at the siege of Niagara, but before reaching there, the Fort surrendered to Sir Wm. Johnson. He was with Amherst, second in command, on his descent to Montreal. Upon the surrender of the town he was left in charge as Governor, and in 1763 was appointed Commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, in succession to Amherst. In 1774, he was appointed Governor (the last) of Massachusetts, in which office his loyalist tendencies made him very obnoxious to the people, and the following year the Provincial Congress disqualified him from serving as Governor. In October, 1775, he returned to England. In 1782 he was made Colonel of the 17th Light Dragoons, and November he was created a General. He married, in 1758, Margaret, daughter of Peter Kemble, President of the Council of New Jersey, who survived him until 9th February, 1824, aged 90 years. They had three sons, one of whom, the third Viscount and inheritor of the titles of this very ancient and great family, was born in Montreal on the 4th of March, 1761. He possessed a naturally amiable disposition (which made him much respected and beloved in Montreal as Governor), and his benevolence often outweighed his justice in the scale of duty. As commander of the forces he was a failure, and a good deal of the rise of the American Revolution is attributable to his actions. He died in England, April, 1787.