



LOUIS JOSEPH, MARQUIS DE MONTCALM:

Born, at Candiac, 28th February 1712; mortally wounded at Quebec, 13th September 1757.

THE
PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.

NOTES,
ORIGINAL AND SELECTED,
BY
LT. COLONEL BEATSON,
ROYAL ENGINEERS.

GIBRALTAR :
PRINTED AT THE GARRISON LIBRARY PRESS.
1858.

INTRODUCTION.

When stationed at Quebec from 1849 till 1854, I gladly availed myself of so favorable an opportunity of obtaining such information as the locality and tradition might afford, besides what History has recorded, relative to the memorable event with which the PLAINS OF ABRAHAM are associated : and the accomplishment of that agreeable task was much facilitated by my having had the happiness of becoming intimately acquainted with the venerable Monseigneur Turgeon, Archbishop of Quebec, and with several of his principal Clergy ; more particularly in regard to my enquiries concerning the origin of the name of those famous PLAINS—a subject hitherto involved in obscurity.

And as it seemed to me that the reasons which finally impelled MONTCALM to stake on

the issue of a single battle the fate of the vast territory with the defence of which he was entrusted, have either been imperfectly understood or not duly appreciated, I felt that to endeavour to render justice to that noble-hearted Soldier would be a pleasing duty, not less in keeping with the sentiments which have, of late years, prompted the erection of public monuments to his memory on the scene of his last heroic efforts, than with the spirit of the auspicious alliance which, towards the close (1853-54) of the period above alluded to, began to exist between France and England.

In addition to the grateful acknowledgements made in the following NOTES for information derived from Mr. G. B. Faribault, and other kind friends at Quebec, I beg to express my thanks to that gentleman for one of the accompanying portraits of MONTCALM ; which is copied from an old and rare engraving—dedicated “*to his son, Major in the Royal Regiment of Normandy,*” and correctly taken from an original miniature now in possession of the Marquis de St. Maur—a nephew of the present Marquis de Montcalm.

For the other likeness—representing the

hero when more advanced in years—I am indebted to the Ladies of the Ursuline Convent at Quebec; one of whom, by permission of the Archbishop, kindly copied for me a portrait belonging to them: the original of which is said to have been painted while MONTCALM was in Canada; and, consequently, within four years of his death.

R. S. BEATSON,
Lt. Colonel, Royal Engineers.

Gibraltar, May, 1858.

PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.

Among modern battle-fields, none surpass in romantic interest the PLAINS OR HEIGHTS OF ABRAHAM.

The youth, the genius, the heroism of WOLFE; his studious habits, cultivated mind, and refined taste; his delicate frame—animated and sustained by the loftiest courage, the purest patriotism, and the most ardent love of glory; the consummate sagacity with which—after months of indefatigable but unsuccessful effort—he at length baffled his experienced and vigilant antagonist; the skill and order with which, during the obscurity of night, his troops on the southern bank of the *St. Lawrence* were re-embarked and transported without loss across that broad and rapid river; his daring ascent of the nearly precipitous heights which rise to an elevation of more than 200 feet above its northern shore; and on the summit of which, as he well knew, no alternative but victory or irretrievable defeat awaited him; the calm resolution with which, while severely galled by the enemy's fire, he patiently reserved his own until the hostile lines were within 40 paces of each other; his noble fortitude in continuing to charge at the head of his favourite Grenadiers after

having received two severe wounds; the glorious death which—in the moment of victory and conquest—terminated, at the early age of thirty-three, a life of so much distinction and promise; these, and the not less glorious fall of his renowned rival, MONTCALM, are circumstances which, independently of the important results of that victory, must impart throughout all time a peculiar interest to the field of their fame.

Yet, notwithstanding the world-wide celebrity of these PLAINS, it was not until very recently that the derivation of their name was discovered; and, as it is still comparatively unknown, even in Canada, the following explanation of its origin will, doubtless, possess attractions for such as are fond of tracing to their sources the names of celebrated localities; and who may be surprised to learn that, upwards of a century previous to the final conquest of Canada by British arms, the scene of the decisive struggle for national supremacy in the northern division of the New World had derived its name from one who, if not a *Scotchman* by birth, would seem to have been at least of Scottish lineage.

This apparently improbable fact will, however, appear less extraordinary when it is known that he was a seafaring man; and when it is considered how close was the alliance and how frequent the intercourse which, for centuries before that period, had subsisted between France and Scotland.

This individual, whose name was ABRAHAM MARTIN, is described in a small legal document, dated 15th August, 1646, and preserved among the

archives of the Archbishop's Palace at Quebec—with a perusal of which I have, through his lordship's kindness, been favored—as (the King's) *Pilot of the St. Lawrence*: an appointment which probably conferred on its possessor considerable official rank; for we find that Jacques Quartier, or Cartier, the enterprising discoverer and explorer of the St. Lawrence, when about to proceed, in 1540, on his third voyage to Canada, was appointed by Francis I. *Captain-General and Master-Pilot* of the expedition, which consisted of five vessels.

That MARTIN was a person of considerable importance in the then infant colony of New France may also be inferred from the fact that, in the journal of the Jesuits and in the parish registers of Quebec, he is usually designated by his Christian name only, —*Maistre* ABRAHAM; as well as from the circumstance of Champlain, the distinguished founder of Quebec and the Father of New France, having been godfather to one of ABRAHAM'S daughters (Helène), and of Charles de St. Etienne, Sieur de la Tour—of Acadian celebrity—having stood in the same relation to MARTIN'S youngest son, Charles Amador.

The earliest mention of MARTIN'S name occurs in the very first entry in the parish register of Quebec; viz., on the 24th of October, 1621: when his son Eustache, who died shortly afterwards, was baptized by Father Denis, a Franciscan (Récollet) Friar. The second baptism therein recorded is that of his daughter Marguerite, which took place in 1624: and it is stated in the register that these children were born of the legitimate marriage of ABRAHAM

MARTIN—surnamed, or usually known as, *the Scot* (“dict l’*Escossais*”)—and Marie Langlois.

Their family was numerous: besides Anne and other children born previously to the opening of the register in 1621, the baptisms of the following are therein recorded; viz. :—

Eustache,	} born in }	1621
Marguerite,		1624
Helène,		1627
Marie,		1635
Adrien,		1638
Madeleine,		1640
Barbe (Barbara), and Charles Amador,		1643 1648

who was the second Canadian raised to the priesthood; and became a Canon at the erection of the Chapter of Quebec.

To the kindness of my friend, the Rev. J. B. A. Ferland, one of the chaplains to his lordship the Archbishop of Quebec, I am indebted for the following extract from very interesting “*Notes*” (since published in one of the French journals of that city) “*Sur les Régîtres de Notre-Dame de Québec* :”—

“ Il est à remarquer qu’au moment où l’on com-
 “ mençait à tenir les régîtres de Québec, le premier
 “ établissement Européen venait d’être fondé dans
 “ la Nouvelle-Angleterre : le 31 Décembre, 1620,
 “ ceux que nos voisins nomment ‘*the pilgrim*
 “ *fathers*’ (pères pélerins) célébrèrent la prise de
 “ possession du pays, dans la première maison qui
 “ ait été élevée à Plymouth.

“ Depuis le 24 Octobre, 1621—date de l’ouverture

“ des régîtres de Québec—jusqu'en 1629, il n'y eut
 “ dans la colonie Française que six baptêmes et deux
 “ mariages, parmi les Européens. Le premier
 “ mariage, fait le 1er. Août, 1621, fut celui de
 “ Guillaume Couillard et de Guillemette Hébert :
 “ dont la nombreuse famille s'est étendue dans tout
 “ le district de Québec ; et plus particulièrement
 “ dans la côte du Sud, au-dessous de la Pointe-Lévi.

“ Deux mois et demi auparavant—savoir le 12 Mai
 “ —avait eu lieu le premier mariage célébré dans la
 “ Nouvelle-Angleterre : celui d'Edward Winslow et
 “ de Susannah White.

“ Le 24 Octobre, 1621, le Père Denis, Récollet,
 “ baptisa Eustache Martin ; qui vécut peu de temps :
 “ le second baptême qui eut lieu en 1624—est celui
 “ de Marguerite Martin : elle vécut de longues an-
 “ nées. A l'âge de 14 ans, elle épousa Etienne
 “ Racine ; qui fut un des premiers habitants de la
 “ côte Beaupré.

“ Eustache et Marguerite étaient nés du légitime
 “ mariage d'ABRAHAM MARTIN (dict *L'Escossois*) et
 “ de Marie Langlois.

“ Un pilote nommé MARTIN fut employé, par MM.
 “ de Poutrincourt et de Monts, sur les côtes de
 “ l'Acadie : ce ne saurait être celui dont il est ici
 “ question, qui n'aurait eu alors qu'environ vingt
 “ ans.

“ ABRAHAM devint *Pilote-du-Roi* pour le fleuve
 “ Saint-Laurent : il fut père d'une famille très-
 “ nombreuse. Un de ses fils—Charles Amador
 “ Martin—reçut le premier de ses noms de son
 “ parrain, Charles de St. Etienne, Sieur de la Tour,

“ qui se rendit célèbre par sa bravoure et sa fidélité
 “ à la France dans les guerres de l'Acadie.*

“ Amador Martin fut le second Canadien qui eut
 “ l'honneur d'être élevé au sacerdoce : il fut nommé
 “ Chanoine à l'érection du Chapitre de Québec.

“ Des filles d'ABRAHAM sont descendues quelques-
 “ unes des plus anciennes familles du pays.

“ Anne Martin épousa Jean Coté : dont la postérité
 “ s'est repandue de l'île d'Orléans dans toutes les
 “ parties du Canada.

“ Une arrière-petite-fille d'Anne fut mariée au
 “ célèbre botaniste Sarrasin ; qui a donné son nom
 “ à une plante remarquable de l'Amérique—la *Sar-*
 “ *racenia*.

“ Hélène Martin devint femme de Médard Chouart
 “ des Groiseliers † ; excellent pilote qui, en 1663,
 “ conduisit les Anglais dans la Baie d'Hudson,
 “ (Vide *Charlevoix*).

“ La Révérende *Mère de l'Incarnation*, Supérieure
 “ des Ursulines de Québec, parle de lui dans les
 “ termes suivants :

“ “ *Il y a quelque temps qu'un François de notre*
 “ *Touraine, nommé des Groiseliers, se maria en ce*
 “ *pays ; et n'y faisant pas une grande fortune, il lui*
 “ *prit fantaisie d'aller en la Nouvelle-Angleterre,*
 “ *pour tâcher d'y en faire une meilleure. Il y faisait*

* “ Charles de Saint-Etienne, Sieur de la Tour, forcé par Charnisé
 “ de quitter l'Acadie, vint se réfugier à Québec ; où il passa plusieurs
 “ années. Il y arriva au mois d'Août de cette année (1646) dans son
 “ *phlibot*—dit le journal des Jésuites.”

† “ En Octobre 1640, eut lieu le mariage de Claude Etienne, de
 “ Gelicourt en Lorraine, avec Hélène Martin. Il mourut au bout de
 “ peu d'années ; et sa veuve, comme il a déjà été dit, se remaria au
 “ Sieur Chouart des Groiseliers.”—Mr. FERLAND'S “*Notes*.”

“ l’homme d’esprit, comme en effet il en a beaucoup.
 “ Il fit espérer aux Anglois qu’il trouveroit le passage
 “ de la Mer-du-Nord. Dans cette espérance on l’équipa
 “ pour l’envoyer en Angleterre ; où on lui donna un
 “ vaisseau avec des gens, et tout ce qui étoit nécessaire
 “ à la navigation. Avec ces avantages, il se met en
 “ mer ; où—au lieu de prendre la route que les autres
 “ avoient coutûme de prendre, et où ils avoient travaillé
 “ en vain—il alla à contrevent ; et a si bien cherché
 “ qu’il a trouvé la Grande Baie du Nord.

“ Il y a trouvé un grand peuple, et a chargé son
 “ navire, ou ses navires, de pelleterie pour des sommes
 “ immenses.

“ Il a pris possession de ce grand pays pour le Roi
 “ d’Angleterre ; et pour son particulier, le voilà riche
 “ en peu de temps ! L’on a fait une Gazette en An-
 “ gleterre pour louer cet aventurier François. Il étoit
 “ tout jeune quand il vint ici et fit grande connoissance
 “ avec moi. Sa femme et ses enfants sont encore ici.—
 “ (*Lettres hist.*, 27 Aoust, 1670.)

“ Etant rentré au service de la France, il decouvrit
 “ le Port Nelson, et la rivière du même nom. Dans
 “ cette expédition, à la tête d’une petite bande de
 “ traiteurs, partis avec lui de Québec, il fit prison-
 “ niers plus de 80 Anglais.

“ Qui connaît aujour d’hui le nom d’ABRAHAM
 “ MARTIN, même parmi ses descendants ? Et
 “ cependant ce nom est devenu fameux dans
 “ l’histoire ; et a été célébré, en vers et en prose,
 “ par les poètes et par les orateurs de l’Angleterre.

“ L’on a souvent demandé d’où venait le nom
 “ donné aux PLAINES sur lesquelles s’est décidé le

“ sort de la Nouvelle-France. Il a été suggéré par
 “ le Vénérable Monsieur Maguire qu’une partie des
 “ PLAINES, ayant appartenu à un individu portant
 “ le nom d’Abraham, avait été nommée la TERRE
 “ d’ABRAHAM, ou la PLAINE d’ABRAHAM ; et tout
 “ doute à ce sujet doit disparaître si l’on fait atten-
 “ tion aux remarques suivantes.

“ Le nom de PLAINES d’ABRAHAM était autrefois
 “ appliqué à ce terrain, comparativement uni, qui
 “ s’étend du pied du *Côteau Saint-Louis* jusqu’ à la
 “ cime du *Côteau Sainte-Genève* : le reste des
 “ hauteurs à l’Ouest de Québec était désigné sous
 “ les différents noms de *Buttes-à-Nepveu*, *Grande-*
 “ *Allée*, *Côte Saint-Michel*. Le chemin conduisant
 “ de la vallée de la rivière *Saint-Charles* à la PLAINE
 “ d’ABRAHAM était appelé CÔTE d’ABRAHAM.

“ Si l’on examine les régîtres de la paroisse de
 “ Québec, entre les années 1621 et 1700, l’on n’y
 “ trouvera qu’un seul homme qui ait porté le nom
 “ d’Abraham ; et cet homme est ABRAHAM MARTIN.
 “ Le Journal des Jésuites et les régîtres de Québec
 “ le désignent à plusieurs reprises sous son premier
 “ nom seulement—*Maître ABRAHAM*. Mais, a-t-il
 “ possédé quelque partie des PLAINES ? Dans une
 “ collection de vieux documents, réunis par les soins
 “ de notre estimable concitoyen, M. Faribault—à
 “ qui sont dues des découvertes bien précieuses pour
 “ l’histoire du pays—on rencontre une pièce propre
 “ à jeter du jour sur l’objet de nos recherches.
 “ C’est un certificat donné par quelques-uns des
 “ premiers habitants du Canada. Le voici :—

“ “ *Nous soussignez certifions à qui il appartiendra*

“ que l’an dernier, mil-six-cent quarante cinq, que le
 “ *Sieur ADRIEN DUCHESNE, chirurgien dans le navire*
 “ *de M. de Repentigny, estant à Québec, nous a dict*
 “ *qu’il avoit donné la terre qui luy a esté donné* en la*
 “ *Ville de Québec, à ABRAHAM MARTIN, pilote de la*
 “ *Rivière Saint-Laurent, et qu’il y pouvoit faire tra-*
 “ *vailer en tout assurance. Si le temps luy eust permis*
 “ *d’en passer contract-de-donation, il l’auroit faict.*
 “ *Ce que nous attestons estre véritable, faict ce quin-*
 “ *ziesme jour d’Aoust mil-six-cent-quarante-six.—*
 “ (Signé) GIFFAR — TRONQUET — LE TARDIF — DE
 “ LAUNAY — BISSOT — GUETET.’

“ Voilà bien une terre appartenante à ABRAHAM
 “ MARTIN ! mais il est impossible de déterminer sa
 “ position avec des désignations aussi vagues. Une
 “ note placée dans les regîtres de l’Archevêché fait
 “ connaître que les Dames Ursulines achetèrent,
 “ d’ABRAHAM MARTIN, une terre située vers le *Côteau*
 “ *Sainte-Genève*, et attenante à celle qu’elles
 “ possédaient déjà sur le *Côteau Saint-Louis*.
 “ L’obligeance de M. le Grand-Vicaire Maguire m’a
 “ fourni le moyen d’arriver heureusement au but de
 “ ces recherches. Parmi les titres des Dames
 “ Ursulines se trouvent les contrats suivants :
 “ *Donation*, du 10 Octobre, 1648, et du 1er. Février,
 “ 1652, par Adrien Duchesne à ABRAHAM MARTIN,
 “ de 20 arpents de terre. *Concession*, du 16 Mai,
 “ 1650, par la Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France, de
 “ 12 arpents de terre, à ABRAHAM MARTIN. *Vente*,

* The Deed of Concession by the Company of New France, in favor
 of Adrian Duchesne, for the 20 arpents, is dated 5th April, 1639.

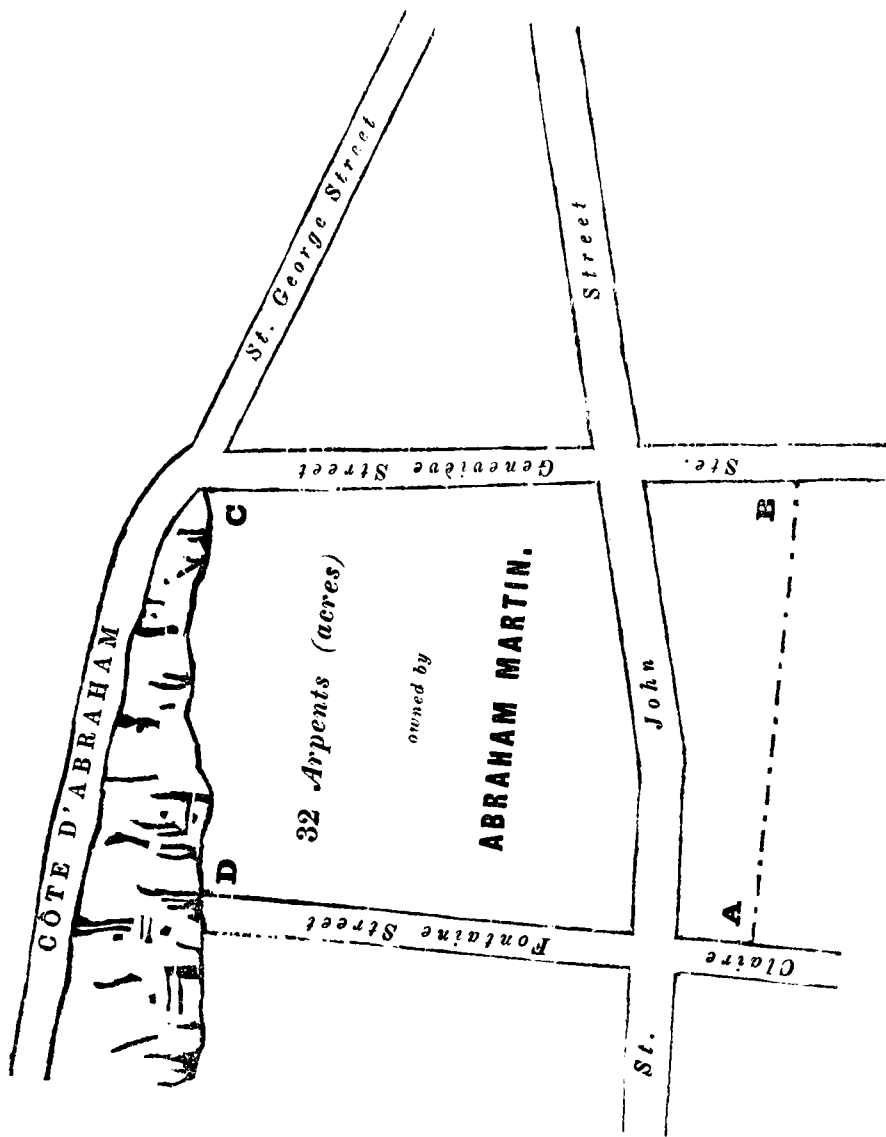
R. S. B.

“ du 1er. Juin, 1667, aux Dames Ursulines de
 “ Québec, par les héritiers d'ABRAHAM MARTIN, d'un
 “ terrain contenant 32 arpents en superficie.

“ Le plan qui accompagne ces titres montre que
 “ la terre d'ABRAHAM était renfermée entre la rue
 “ *Sainte-Genève*, qui descend vis-à-vis du cime-
 “ tière protestant ; la rue *Claire-Fontaine*, qui
 “ passe devant l'église Saint-Jean—desservie aujour-
 “ d'hui par un descendant de l'ancien propriétaire ;
 “ la grande rue *Saint-Jean* ; et une ligne suivant
 “ la crête du *Côteau Sainte-Genève*, et se ter-
 “ minant à la descente nommée CÔTE D'ABRAHAM.

“ La terre d'ABRAHAM occupait donc précisément
 “ le terrain qui porta longtemps le nom ' L'LAINE
 “ d'ABRAHAM ' avant que cette désignation eut été
 “ étendue au plateau voisin : et l'on ne saurait
 “ contester au vieux pilote l'honneur d'avoir légué
 “ son nom au Champ-de-bataille où se rencontrèrent
 “ les armées de WOLFE et de MONTCALM.”

My truly estimable and much-lamented friend,
 the late Very Reverend Abbé Maguire, Grand-Vicar
 of the diocese of Quebec, and Chaplain of the Ursu-
 line Convent in that city—but for whose indefat-
 igable industry these interesting facts might never
 have been rescued from oblivion, and whose active
 frame and penetrating mind retained, at the age
 of eighty-four, much of their former vigor—having
 kindly furnished me with a manuscript copy of the



plan alluded to, together with the following explanatory memorandum; I gladly insert these addenda to the foregoing extract from M. Ferland's "*Notes*."

R. S. B.

"Of these 32 arpents, Abraham Martin had obtained 12 from the Company of New France, by deed of concession, of 16th May, 1650, and the 20 others from Adrien Duchesne, by deed of donation (gift), of 10th October, 1648, and 1st February, 1652.

"It appears that the 32 arpents with the adjoining lands and the road down the hill on their northern side derive their names—'PLAINES d'ABRAHAM' and CÔTE d'ABRAHAM'—from the above Abraham Martin. All the deeds are in possession of the Ursuline ladies.

(Signed)

"THOS. MAGUIRE.

"4th March, 1854."

MONTCALM.

On the morrow of that memorable day—the 13th of September 1759—on which the brief but brilliant career of the heroic and accomplished WOLFE closed so gloriously on the PLAINS OF ABRAHAM, his illustrious opponent, the chivalrous MONTCALM, died of his wounds; and was buried, that evening, within the Chapel of the Ursuline Convent, in the presence of the Commandant and other Officers of the Garrison, as well as in that of several Canons of the Cathedral: whose signatures attest the fact, as thus recorded in the parish register of Quebec.

*“ L’an 1759, le 14e. du mois de Septembre, a été
inhumé, dans l’Eglise des Religieuses Ursulines de
Québec,*

*“ Haut et puissant Seigneur, LOUIS JOS. MARQUIS
DE MONTCALM; Lieutenant-Général des Armées du
Roi, Commandeur de l’Ordre Royal et Militaire de
St. Louis, Commandant-en-Chef des Troupes-de-
Terre en l’Amérique Septentrionale: décédé le même
jour de ses blessures au combat de la veille, muni*

*“ des sacrements qu'il a reçu avec beaucoup de piété et
 “ de religion.*

*“ Etaient présens à son inhumation Mrs. Resche,
 “ Cugnet, et Collet—Chanoines de la Cathédrale ;
 “ M. de Ramezay—Commandant de la place, et
 “ tout le Corps des Officiers.*

(Signé)

“ RECHE, Ptre. Chne.

“ COLLET, Chne.

There happened, at that time, to be living in the neighborhood of the Convent, a little girl about nine years of age, who, prompted by curiosity, followed the funeral procession into the Chapel ; and, standing close to the grave, witnessed the interment.

She afterwards became a Nun in the Convent ; and in May 1833, when upwards of eighty years old, was enabled, by her perfect recollection of the position of the grave, to point it out so exactly that no difficulty was experienced in finding the hero's remains.

These consisted—besides the skull—of only a few fragments of bones, so completely decayed as to crumble into dust on being touched ; and the spade used in making the excavation, having unfortunately come in contact with the upper jaw, broke it in pieces. This injury has, however, been neatly repaired with wax ; and the skull, since its exhumation, has been carefully preserved, under a glass case, in the apartments of my venerable friend the Abbé MAGUIRE : to whose kindness and to the courtesy of the Lady-Superior I am indebted for

the privilege of being allowed to have this interesting relic accurately delineated, and casts of it taken ; as well as for a copy of the official record of the illustrious Soldier's obsequies, and for the following

“EXTRAITS D'UN RÉSUMÉ DES ÉVÈNEMENS LES PLUS
REMARQUABLES DES ANNALES DU MONASTÈRE
DES DAMES URSULINES DE QUÉBEC.

“ *Les deux Généraux—WOLFE et MONTCALM—*
“ *perdirent la vie : le premier mourut sur le champ de*
“ *bataille ; le second expira le lendemain, 14 Sep-*
“ *tembre 1759, au château de St. Louis, dans les*
“ *plus grands sentimens de religion, et muni de tous les*
“ *sacremens de l'Eglise.*

“ *Il fut enterré le soir du même jour aux flambeaux*
“ *dans l'Eglise des Dames Ursulines : non pas dans*
“ *un trou-de-bombe—comme le disent quelques auteurs*
“ *mal-informés ; mais dans une fosse, creusée le long*
“ *du mur, entre la porte du petit confessionnal et la*
“ *grande grille du chœur.*

“ *Combien de fois une de nos anciennes Sœurs Reli-*
“ *gieuses, encore vivante—St. Ignace, née Dubé, âgée*
“ *aujourd'hui (1833) de 82 ans—a-t-elle raconté les*
“ *détails de cette cérémonie lugubre, à laquelle elle*
“ *avait assisté : s'étant trouvée par hasard avec une*
“ *compagne, jeune comme elle, sur le passage du convoi,*
“ *qu'elle suivit, jusque dans l'Eglise.*

“ *Du reste, le témoignage de cette Sœur ne fait que*
“ *corroborer la tradition du Couvent, qui n'a jamais*
“ *varié sur ce fait.*

“ *En cette occasion eu lieu un incident assez singu-*
“ *lier, et digne d'être raconté ; surtout parcequ'il donne*

“ la mesure de l'immense confusion qui régnait dans la
 “ ville, toute bouleversée : c'est que l'on ne trouvait
 “ personne pour confectionner une bière pour le Géné-
 “ ral ; et qu'en conséquence, le contre-maître de notre
 “ Couvent ramassa à la hâte quelques vieux ais, dont
 “ il construisit une sorte de longue boîte informe ; qui,
 “ dans la cérémonie funèbre, contrasta singulièrement
 “ avec le précieux trésor qu'il renfermait.

“ Il sera, sans doute, intéressant pour les admira-
 “ teurs de MONTCALM d'être informés qu' au mois de
 “ Mai de la présente année (1833)—en creusant la
 “ terre dans l'Eglise, pour l'enterrement du Sieur
 “ Charles Jalbert, contre-maître du Monastère—l'on
 “ se rappela tout de suite que l'endroit que l'on fouillait,
 “ était la tombe même où le Marquis avait été déposé
 “ 74 ans auparavant.

“ M. l'Abbé Maguire, Aumônier du Monastère,
 “ présidait au creusement ; dont le résultat fut la dé-
 “ couverte de quelques rares restes de la bière, et de
 “ plusieurs ossemens humains—tellement décomposés
 “ qu'au simple toucher ils tombaient en poussière. Une
 “ heureuse exception, cependant, s'offrit pour le crâne ;
 “ qui fut trouvé dans un état de parfaite conservation.

“ Il est facile de comprendre avec quel pieux em-
 “ pressement ce débris de la dépouille mortelle d'un
 “ héros, dont le nom était cher au Canada, fut recueilli
 “ par les Religieuses Ursulines, pour être conservé
 “ comme une relique précieuse pour la postérité.”

“ Nous sousignées—Supérieure, Assistante, et Dé-
 “ positaire du monastère des Religieuses Ursulines

*" de Québec—attestons que les Extraits ci-dessus sont
" véritables.*

" SR. ST. GABRIEL, Supérieure.

" SR. ST. URSULE, Assistante.

" SR. ISABELLE M'DONELL DE ST. ANDRÉ.

*" Ursulines de Québec, }
" 7 Janvier 1854." }*

On the skull the marks of two wounds are distinctly visible : one, an inch and three quarters in length, on the left side of the occiput ; the other, two inches long, on the right side of the frontal bone, and close to the suture which separates that bone from the right parietal bone.

Both of these marks have the appearance of having been inflicted with a sword or other edged weapon : a portion of the bone having, in each case, been cut out by the blow.

There is also this remarkable peculiarity in the skull, *viz.*, that the longitudinal or *coronal* suture, instead of having ceased to exist in the frontal bone during childhood, extends, in a strongly marked line, along the top of that bone and down the forehead, even to the nose ; while between the parietal bones it is scarcely perceptible.

During his earlier campaigns, MONTCALM had seen much service in Italy, Germany, and Bohemia ; and had, when Colonel, received three wounds in the battle of Plaisance (13th June 1746), and two in the desperate combat of Assiette, or Exilles

(8th July 1746) *: in which actions, as well as in Marshal DE BELLEISLE's memorable retreat from Prague, in December 1742, he had highly distinguished himself.

He is described as having been, "like most of the Generals of his time, at once full of energy and of *nonchalance*; cautious in his tactics, but daring, even to temerity, in battle. As for his personal courage, *that* was equal to any proof." †

Phrenologically considered, the form of the skull denotes a resolute, prudent, moral, and religiously disposed mind, rather than extraordinary intellectual capacity; and is, therefore, in accordance with the more prominent characteristics of MONTCALM: who appears to have been constitutionally brave, energetic, cautious, and discreet; an experienced and skilful Soldier, rather than a great Captain.

* In the year 1746, the Chevalier DE BELLEISLE, in order to penetrate into Piedmont, put himself at the head of 34,000 French and Spaniards. On the 6th day of July he arrived at the pass of Exilles: the defence of this important post the King of Sardinia had committed to the care of the Count de Brigueras, who formed an encampment behind the lines, with 14 battalions of Piedmontese and Austrians, while divers detachments were posted along the passes of the Alps. On the 8th day of the month, the Piedmontese intrenchments were attacked by the Chevalier DE BELLEISLE with incredible intrepidity; but the columns were repulsed with great loss in three successive attacks: impatient of this obstinate opposition, and determined not to survive a miscarriage, this impetuous General seized a pair of colours, and advancing at the head of his troops through a prodigious fire, pitched them with his own hand on the enemy's intrenchments: at that instant he fell dead, having received two musquet-balls and the thrust of a bayonet in his body. The assailants were so much dispirited by the death of their commander, that they forthwith gave way, and retreated with precipitation towards Sestrieres, having lost near 5000 men in the attack.

Field of Mars, London, 1780—Art. *Battle* at Exilles.

[The Count DE BELLEISLE was brother of the Marshal above alluded to.]

† GARNEAU, "*Histoire du Canada*."

His mind, more active than powerful, had been refined by a liberal education ; he was of a gay, lively temperament ; fond of literature, and ambitious of becoming a member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres of Paris : a distinction of which, it is said,* his acquirements rendered him worthy, but which he did not live to obtain.

He was scarcely less popular among the civilians of the colony than beloved by his soldiers and respected by their Indian auxiliaries ; of unblemished private character ; and habitually attentive to his religious duties, under the influence of pious feeling ; the fervor of which was evinced in his reply to the Commandant of Quebec, when solicited by that officer for instructions relative to the defence of the city, after the Marquis had learned that his wounds must speedily prove mortal.

He was born on the 28th of February 1712, at the Château of *Candiac*, near Nîmes (now the chief town of the Department of Gard, and formerly within the ancient Province of Languedoc) ; and was, consequently, in his 48th year at the time of his death.

His ancestors had, for centuries, been highly distinguished amongst the nobility of France ; he was of middling stature, rather robust, and in his general appearance there was nothing very remarkable. He possessed a retentive memory, spoke with such vol-

* "*Biographie Universelle*" and "*Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique*, 1789"—Art. MONTCALM.

ubility as scarcely to admit of interruption, and his conversation abounded in wit and sprightly sallies. His vivacity, together with the enthusiasm inspired by his courage, had gained for him great influence with both the French and the Canadians; who, believing that *he* only could win a battle, deplored his death as a national calamity.*

It has been alleged that MONTCALM, in hastening to meet the British on an open plain—and thereby to decide, in a single battle, the fate of a fertile Province nearly equal in extent to one half of Europe—was not only forgetful of his usual caution, but acted with culpable temerity.

Such action, however, proceeded from no sudden impulse; but from a noble resolve deliberately formed after the most mature consideration, and recorded some time previously.

Painfully convinced how little security the weak defences of the city could afford against the determined assault of well disciplined and ably led troops, he believed that however great the risk of meeting his daring adversary in the open field, this course was the only one that seemed to promise him any chance of success. Besides, having immediately available a force numerically superior to that of the

* "*Memoires sur les Affaires du Canada, depuis 1749, jusqu'à 1760*" (published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec), and GARNEAU'S "*Histoire du Canada.*"

English General,* and within little more than an hour's march of the PLAINS, he could not honorably have remained inactive while believing that only a part of the enemy's force was in possession of such vantage ground; and neither the dictates of prudence,† nor his own chivalrous spirit and loyal regard for the national honor, would permit him to betray a consciousness of weakness by declining the combat, on finding himself unexpectedly confronted by the whole of WOLFE's army.

Relying, doubtless, on the *prestige* of his victories during the campaign of the preceding year (1758)—in which he had been uniformly successful, and in which, at Ticonderoga, with four thousand men,

* MONTCALM's line was composed as follows, *vizt.* :—

		Regulars.	Militia.
Left wing	{ The Royal Rousillon Regiment, a battalion of the Marine or colony troops, and Canadian militia,	1300	2300
Centre	{ The regiments of Bearue and Guienne, and militia,	720	1200
Right wing	{ The regiments of La Sarre and Languedoc, a battalion of the Marine, and militia,	1600	400
		3620	3900

The total force, therefore, actually engaged, amounted (exclusive of Indians) to 7520 men: of these, however, scarcely one half were regular troops; on whom the brunt of the battle fell, and almost the whole loss.

WOLFE's *field-state* on the morning of the 13th of September, shewed only 4828 men of all ranks, from the General downwards: but of these every man was a trained soldier.

WARRBURTON's "*Conquest of Canada.*"

† "MONTCALM, when he heard that the English had ascended the hill, and were formed on the high ground at the back of the town, scarcely credited the intelligence; * * * * * but he was soon undeceived. He saw clearly that the English fleet and army were in such a situation that the upper and lower towns might be attacked in concert, and that nothing but a battle could save it. Accordingly he determined to give them battle."

The Annual Register for the year 1759.

he had defeated General Abercromby at the head of nearly four times that number—he endeavoured, by a confident bearing and encouraging expressions,* to animate his troops with hopes which he himself could scarcely entertain; and, though almost despairing of success, boldly resolved to attempt, by a sudden and vigorous onset, to dislodge his rival before the latter could entrench himself in his commanding position. And it is surely no blot on his fame that the superior discipline and unflinching steadiness of his opponents, the close and destructive† volley by which the spirited but disorderly advance of his own battalions was checked, and the irresistible‡ charge which completed their confusion, rendered unavailing his last gallant effort to save the colony: for (to borrow the words of the eloquent historian of the *Peninsular War*), “the vicissitudes of war are so many, that disappoint-

* Local tradition relates that, on receiving, about 6 o'clock in the morning of the 13th of September, the startling intelligence that the English were in possession of the *Plains*, MONTCALM (hitching up his breeches with both hands, as was his custom) briskly exclaimed, “*If that be the case, it is time we were hastening thither; for we must drive them into the River before noon!*” R. S. B.

† “The English troops were exhorted to reserve their fire; and they bore that of the enemy's light troops in front (which was galling, though irregular) with the utmost patience and good order, waiting for the main body of the enemy, which advanced fast upon them. At forty yards distance our troops gave their fire, which took place in its full extent, and made a terrible havoc among the French.”

The Annual Register for 1759.

“General WOLFE ordered the men to load with an additional bullet, which did great execution. * * * * *

“As soon as the French came within musket-shot, they began to fire: but the British troops reserved their fire until the enemy were within thirty yards.”—BEATSON'S *Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain, from 1727 to 1790*: London, 1790.

‡ The Canadian militia (of which more than half of MONTCALM'S force consisted) were without bayonets.

MONTCALM'S *Letter of 24th August 1759.*

“ment will sometimes attend even the wisest combinations ; and a ruinous defeat, the work of chance, close the career of the boldest and most sagacious of Generals : so that to judge of a Commander’s conduct by the event alone is equally unjust and unphilosophical.”

In the remarkable letter * addressed to his cousin, M. DE MOLÉ, *Premier Président au Parlement de Paris*, and dated “*from the Camp before Quebec, 24th August 1759*”—a fortnight before the battle—MONTCALM thus pathetically described how hopeless would be his situation in the event of WOLFE effecting a landing near the city ; and, with a firm heart, foretold his own fate.

“Here I am, my dear Cousin, after the lapse of more than three months, still contending with M. WOLFE ! who has incessantly bombarded Quebec with a fury almost unexampled in the attack of any place which the besieger has wished to retain after its capture.

“Nearly the whole of the Lower-Town has been destroyed by his batteries, and of the Upper-Town a great part is likewise in ruins. But even if he leave not one stone upon another, he will never obtain possession of the capital of the colony whilst his operations continue to be confined to the opposite side of the river.

“Notwithstanding all his efforts during these three months, he has hitherto made no progress towards the accomplishment of his object. He is ruining

* See Appendix.

“us, but without advantage to himself. The campaign can scarcely last another month, in consequence of the near approach of the autumnal gales, which are here so severe and so disastrous to shipping.

“It may seem that, after so favorable a prelude, the safety of the colony can scarcely be doubtful. Such, however, is not the case; as the capture of Quebec depends on a *coup-de-main*. The English have entire command of the river; and have only to effect a landing on this side, where the city, without defences, is situated. Imagine them in a position to offer me battle! *which I could no longer decline, and which I ought not to gain.*

“Indeed, if M. WOLFE understand his business, he has only to receive my first fire, give a volley in return, and then charge; when my Canadians—undisciplined, deaf to the sound of the drum, and thrown into confusion by his onset—would be incapable of resuming their ranks. Moreover, as they have no bayonets with which to oppose those of the enemy, nothing would remain for them but flight: and then—behold me beaten without resource!

“Conceive my situation! a most painful one for a General-in-Chief, and which causes me many distressing moments.

“Hitherto, I have been enabled to act successfully on the defensive; but will a continuance in that course prove ultimately successful? That is a question which events must decide! Of this, however, you may rest assured—that I shall prob-

“ably not survive the loss of the Colony. There
 “are circumstances which leave to a General no
 “choice but that of dying with honor : such may
 “soon be my fate : and I trust that in this re-
 “spect posterity will have no cause to reproach
 “my memory.”

MONTCALM, conspicuous in front of the left wing of his line—and WOLFE, at the head of the 28th Regiment and the Louisbourg Grenadiers, towards the right of the British line, must have been nearly opposite to each other at the commencement of the battle, which was most severe in that part of the field : * and, by a singular coincidence, each of these heroic leaders had been twice wounded during the brief conflict before he received his last and fatal wound.

But the valiant Frenchman, regardless of pain, relaxed not his efforts to rally his broken battalions in their hurried retreat towards the city until he was shot through the loins, when within a few hundred yards of St. Louis Gate.† And so invincible was his

* *Life of Washington*, by Chief-Justice MARSHALL: London, 1804.

† M. GARNEAU, in his *Histoire du Canada*, says:—

“The two Brigadier-Generals, M. de Senezergues and the Baron de St. Ours, fell mortally wounded; and MONTCALM (who had already received two wounds), while exerting himself to the utmost to rally his troops and preserve order in the retreat, was also mortally wounded in the loins by a musket-ball. He was at that moment between *Les Buttes-à-Néveu* and St. Louis' Gate.”

From the city, on the one side, and from the battle-field, on the other, the ground rises until the two slopes meet and form a ridge; the summit of which was formerly occupied by a windmill belonging to a man named *Néveu* or *Nepveu*. About midway between this ridge and St. Louis Gate, and to the southward of the St. Louis Road, are some slight eminences, still known by the older French residents as *Les Buttes-à-Nepveu*, or *Nepveu's hillocks*, and about three-quarters of a mile distant from the spot where the British line charged. R. S. B.

fortitude that not even the severity of this mortal stroke could abate his gallant spirit or alter his intrepid bearing. Supported by two grenadiers—one at each side of his horse—he re-entered the city : and in reply to some women who, on seeing blood flow from his wounds as he rode down St. Louis' street, on his way to the Château, exclaimed *Oh, mon Dieu ! mon Dieu ! le Marquis est tué !* courteously assured them that he was not seriously hurt, and begged of them not to distress themselves on his account.—*Ce n'est rien ! ce n'est rien ! Ne vous affligez pas pour moi, mes bonnes amies.**

The last words of WOLFE—imperishably enshrined in the pages of History—still excite, after the lapse of a century, the liveliest admiration and sympathy : and similar interest may, perhaps, be awakened by the following brief narrative of the closing scene in the eventful career of his great opponent.

MONTCALM, when his wounds had been examined, enquired whether they were mortal ; and being answered in the affirmative, said, *I am glad of it : how long can I survive ?—Ten or twelve hours, perhaps less,* was the reply. *So much the better,* rejoined he ; *for then I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec.†*

* For these particulars I am indebted to my friend Mr. G. B. Fari bault—a gentleman well known in Canada for his researches into the history of the Colony ; whose information on this subject was derived from his much respected fellow-citizen the Hon. John Malcolm Frazer—grandson of one of WOLFE's officers, and now one of the oldest inhabitants of Quebec : where, in his childhood and youth, he had the facts, as above narrated, often described to him by an elderly woman who, when about eighteen years of age, was an eye-witness of the scene.

R. S. B.

† BEATSON'S *Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain* : 1790.

“Being afterwards visited by M. de Ramezay—
 “who, with the title of *Lieutenant-du-Roi*, com-
 “manded the garrison—and the Commandant de
 “Rousillon, he said to them, *Gentlemen, to your*
 “*keeping I commend the honor of France. Endeav-*
 “*our to secure the retreat of my army to-night*
 “*beyond Cape Rouge: as for myself, I shall pass the*
 “*night with God, and prepare for death.*”

“On M. de Ramezay pressing to receive his
 “commands for the defence of Quebec, the Marquis
 “replied, with emotion, *I shall neither give orders*
 “*nor interfere any further: I have much business,*
 “*that must be attended to, of greater moment than*
 “*your ruined garrison and this wretched country.*
 “*My time is very short; therefore pray leave me! I*
 “*wish you all comfort, and that you may be happily*
 “*extricated from your present perplexities.*”

“He then addressed himself to his religious du-
 “ties, and passed the night with the Bishop and his
 “own confessor.

“Shortly before he expired, he paid the victo-
 “rious army this magnanimous compliment: *Since*
 “*it has been my misfortune to be discomfited and*
 “*mortally wounded, it is a great satisfaction to me*
 “*to have been vanquished by so brave and generous*
 “*an enemy.* And almost his last act was to write
 “a letter commending the French prisoners to the
 “humanity of the victors.

“He died at five o'clock in the morning of the
 “14th of September, and was buried within the pre-
 “cincts of the Ursuline Convent.”

“ Besides the similarity of their fate, there was a
 “ remarkable coincidence in the characters of WOLFE
 “ and MONTCALM. As competitors for victory and
 “ fame they had equal merit ; and both eminently
 “ possessed those military qualities which are ne-
 “ cessary for the attainment of success. Equally
 “ gallant, zealous, and devoted to their country, and
 “ animated with the same love of glory, they were
 “ in other respects similarly situated. Each had
 “ received literary culture before he entered the
 “ military service ; WOLFE left a widowed mother
 “ —his father having died in the same year ;
 “ MONTCALM, in addition to a mother, left be-
 “ hind him a widow and children. These, with an
 “ attachment to his unstained memory which cannot
 “ be too highly esteemed, defended the fame of
 “ MONTCALM from the insinuations contained in the
 “ calumnious defence of the Intendant, BIGOT ; who
 “ was arraigned for the mal-practices of his finan-
 “ cial administration. They succeeded in fully vin-
 “ dicating the memory of their son and husband ;
 “ and their triumphant refutation was made by
 “ the French Government as public as were the
 “ calumnies.” *

The French troops which served in Canada being
 anxious to honor the memory of their lamented
 General by the erection of a monument over his
 grave, permission to give effect to that laudable
 desire was requested, on their behalf, in 1761, by

* SMITH'S *History of Canada*, and HAWKINS' *New Picture of
 Quebec. with Historical Recollections.*

M. de Bougainville *; whose letter to Mr. Pitt, and that great statesman's cordial reply, were in the following terms :

" Sir,

" The honours paid, under your ministry, to Mr. Wolfe, assure me that you will not disapprove of the grateful endeavours of the French troops to perpetuate the memory of the Marquis de Montcalm. The body of their General, who was honoured by the regret of your nation, is interred in

* JEAN PIERRE DE BOUGAINVILLE, Secretary to the Academy of Belles-Lettres and Inscriptions at Paris. He died in 1763, of asthma, brought on by intense application.

It is a curious fact that his renowned brother, LOUIS ANTOINE—who, as a *naval* officer, rendered himself famous, by his voyage round the world (1766-69), within a few years after he had held high command in the French army—and our own celebrated circumnavigator COOK, whose precursor he was in the Pacific, should both have served at the siege of Quebec.

COOK, then a Master in the Royal Navy, was employed in sounding the river, and in placing buoys opposite the French entrenched camp at Beauport. DE BOUGAINVILLE—who had formerly been Aide-de-Camp to MONTCALM, and in whose ability and judgment the Marquis placed great confidence—having been detached to Cape Rouge with a corps of nearly two thousand men, to observe the movements of the English squadron and oppose the landing which it was thought WOLFE would attempt there, was not present in the battle; although he hastened to the assistance of his Chief on learning that the English were on the PLAINS, where he arrived just as the struggle had terminated: when—finding that there remained not in the field a single battalion with which to co-operate, and the 35th and 48th Regiments, with two field-pieces, having been dispatched to check his advance—he withdrew to Cape Rouge.

During the American war he commanded, with distinction, several ships of the line; in 1779 was Commodore; and, on the 12th of April 1782, commanded one of the three divisions of the French fleet in Count de Grasse's memorable action with Sir George Rodney.

In 1791 he became Vice-Admiral; was conspicuous for fidelity to his Sovereign during the stormy period of the Revolution, and narrowly escaped destruction in the massacres of August 1792: after which he retired to his estate in Normandy (the only part of his fortune that the Revolution had spared); where he continued to reside until chosen a

“ Quebec. I have the honour to send you an epitaph
 “ made for him by the Academy of Inscriptions : I
 “ beg the favour of you, sir, that you will be pleased
 “ to examine it ; and, if not improper, obtain leave
 “ for me to send it to Quebec, engraved on marble,
 “ that it may be placed on the Marquis de Mont-
 “ calm's tomb.

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

“ You will be pleased, sir, to pardon me for this
 “ intrusion on your important occupations ; but

member of the National Institute, at its first formation, when he returned to Paris. He succeeded Borda, the celebrated mathematician, as Member of the Board of Longitude ; and in his old age, under the government of Napoleon, enjoyed the dignity of Senator, was created a Count of the Empire, and Member of the Legion of Honour. He was also a Fellow of the Royal Society of London.

He commenced his career as a Lawyer ; was admitted as Advocate in the Parliament of Paris ; but being averse to the profession, soon relinquished it for that of arms. At the age of twenty-five he published his treatise on the *Integral Calculus*, which was intended as a supplement to L'Hôpital's treatise *Des Infiniments Petits*. He was always eager to promote science ; and was desirous of making a voyage of discovery towards the north pole, but failed to obtain the support of the French Government for that enterprise. The account of his voyage round the world is written with simplicity, and in a temper which inclined him to view objects on the humorous side. His courage, the good-humour with which he maintained subordination, and his attention to the health and comforts of his crew, are conspicuous throughout the narrative. He was a man of the most engaging manners, obliging, liberal, and in every respect worthy of esteem : he retained his liveliness and mental faculties to the last ; and died at Paris, in 1811, at the age of eighty-two.

For particulars of the eventful life of this remarkable man, see “ *Biographie Universelle des Contemporains*,” Paris, 1830 ; and the “ *Encyclopædia Britannica*,” Edinburgh, 1824.

“endeavouring to immortalize illustrious men and
 “eminent patriots is doing honour to yourself.

“I am, with respect, &c.,

“DE BOUGAINVILLE.

“Paris, 24th March, 1761.”

“Sir,

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

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

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

“London, April 10th, 1761.

W. PITT.”

EPITAPH.

Hic jacet,
 Utroque in orbe æternum victurus,
LUDOVICUS JOSEPHUS DE MONTCALM GOZON,
 Marchio Sancti Verani, Baro Gabriaci,
 Ordinis Sancti Ludovici Commendator,
 Legatus-Generalis Exercituum Gallicorum;
 Egregius et Civis et Miles,
 Nullius rei appetens præterquam veræ laudis,
 Ingenio felici, et literis exculto;
 Omnes Militiæ gradus per continua decora emensus,
 Omnium Belli Artium, temporum, discriminum gnarus,
 In Italia, in Bohemia, in Germania
 Dux industrius.
 Maudata sibi ita semper gerens ut majoribus par haberetur.
 Jam clarus periculis
 Ad tutandam Canadensem Provinciam missus,
 Parva militum manu Hostium copias non semel repulit,
 Propugnacula cepit viris armisque instructissima.
 Algoris, inediæ, vigiliarum, laboris patiens,
 Suis unice prospiciens, immemor sui,
 Hostis acer, victor mansuetus.
 Fortunam virtute, virium inopiam peritia et celeritate compensavit;
 Imminens Coloniæ fatum et consilio et manu per quadriennium sustinuit,
 Tandem ingentem Exercitum Duce strenuo et audaci,
 Classemque omni bellorum mole gravem,
 Multiplici prudentiâ diu ludificatus,
 Vi pertractus ad dimicandum,
 In prima acie, in primo conflictu vulneratus,
 Religioni quam semper coluerat innitens,
 Magno suorum desiderio, nec sine hostium mœrore,
 Extinctus est
 Die XIV. Sept., A.D. MDCCCLIX. ætat. XLVIII.
 Mortales optimi ducis exuvias in excavatâ humo,
 Quam globus bellicus decidens dissiliensque defoderat,
 Galli lugentes deposuerunt,
 Et generosæ hostium fidei commendârunt.
The Annual Register for 1762.

TRANSLATION.

Here lies,
 In each hemisphere to live for ever,
LOUIS JOSEPH DE MONTCALM GOZON,
 Marquis of St. Veran, Baron of Gabriac,

Commander of the Order of St. Louis,
 Lieutenant-General in the French army;
 Illustrious both as Citizen and Soldier,
 And desirous of nought but true glory.
 Gifted with superior abilities, improved by literature;
 Having passed through the various grades of military rank
 With uninterrupted honor,
 Skilful in all the arts of war and in the exigencies of the times,
 In Italy, in Bohemia, in Germany,
 An indefatigable General;
 He so discharged his important commands
 As always to be deemed worthy of still greater.
 Now, rendered famous by the dangers he had surmounted,
 Sent, with a small army,
 To defend the Province of Canada,
 He more than once repulsed the enemy's forces,
 And captured their forts replete with men and arms.
 Enduring cold, hunger, watching, and labor,
 Unmindful of himself
 He cared only for his soldiers:
 As an enemy, determined; as a conqueror, mild;
 Adverse fortune he compensated with valor;
 The want of strength, with skill and activity;
 And by his counsel and energy
 For four years averted the impending fate of the Colony.
 At length, after having, by great foresight,
 Long baffled a powerful army
 Under an enterprising and intrepid leader,
 And a fleet laden with all warlike stores,
 He was compelled to give battle.
 Wounded, in the foremost rank, at the first onset,
 Depending on the religion he had always revered,
 Greatly longed for by his own army,
 And not unregretted by his opponents,
 He died,
 On the 14th day of September 1759,
 In the 48th year of his age.

 His weeping countrymen
 Deposited the mortal remains of their most excellent General
 In an excavation formed by the bursting of a fallen bomb;
 And commended them to the generous care of the enemy.

From some cause or other these intentions were
 not carried into effect; but within the Chapel whi

contains the hero's dust, a graceful tribute of admiration—not less honorable to the taste than to the chivalrous feeling of Lord Aylmer—has been paid, by the erection, in 1831, of a simple mural tablet of white marble, bearing the following concise and beautiful epitaph from His Excellency's own pen :

HONNEUR
λ
MONTCALM!

LE DESTIN EN LUI DÉROBANT LA VICTOIRE
L'A RECOMPENSÉ PAR UNE MORT GLORIEUSE.

In the course of the following year there was also erected, by His Lordship, a small monument on the battle-field, to indicate the spot where WOLFE expired : which structure, having become injured, has since given place to a pedestal and column, about thirty-five feet high—either of the Tuscan or of the Doric order—surmounted by a Roman helmet, wreathed with laurel, and sword ; both in bronze.

On two sides of the pedestal are inserted bronze panels, with inscriptions cast in bold relief ; one of which thus briefly records the place, circumstances, and date of the conquering hero's death :

HERE DIED
W O L F E
VICTORIOUS,
SEPTEMBER 13TH 1759.*

* This epitaph is the same as that on the monument erected by Lord Aylmer.—*Vide* last page of WARBURTON'S *Conquest of Canada*, 1849.
E

the other is as follows :

This Pillar was erected
By the British Army in Canada, A.D. 1849 ;
His Excellency Lieut.-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban,
G.C.B., K.C.H., K.C.T.S., &c.,
Commander of the Forces :
To replace that erected by Governor-General Lord Aylmer, G.C.B.,
In 1832 ;
Which was broken and defaced, and is deposited underneath.

And in 1827 there was erected, in the public garden of the city, under the auspices of another distinguished Soldier—the late Earl of Dalhousie (Lord Aylmer's predecessor as Governor-General of Canada)—a stately cenotaph, sixty-five feet in height, “in honor of the two illustrious men whose deeds and whose fall have immortalized their own names, and placed Quebec in the rank of cities famous in the history of the world.” *

This handsome memorial—placed on a commanding site—consists of a well proportioned shaft, in the form of an obelisk, resting on a massive square sarcophagus, upon a plain bold pedestal with double plinth and steps.

On a white marble tablet, inserted into the front of the sarcophagus, is this much admired inscription by the late Doctor Fisher, of Quebec :

MORTEM. VIRTUS. COMMUNEM.
FAMAM. HISTORIA.
MONUMENTUM. POSTERITAS.
DEDIT.

while on its right or southern face, in large bronze

* Address of His Excellency Lord DALHOUSIE, at the laying of the first stone of the monument.

letters, is merely the word WOLFE; and on the opposite side, in similar characters, the name MONTCALM.

Beneath, upon the pedestal :

Hujusce
 Monumenti in memoriam virorum illustrium
 WOLFE et MONTCALM,
 Fundamentum p. c. Georgius Comes de Dalhousie,
 In Septentrionalibus Americæ partibus
 Ad Britannos pertinentibus
 Summam rerum administrans
 (Quid duci egregio convenientius ?) ;
 Auctoritate promovens, exemplo stimulans,
 Munificentiam fovens,
 Die Novembris XV. MDCCCXXVII.
 Georgi IV. Britanniarum Rege.

TRANSLATION.

TO
 WOLFE AND MONTCALM,
 VALOUR GAVE A COMMON DEATH ;
 HISTORY, FAME ;
 POSTERITY, A MONUMENT.

On the 15th of November 1827,
 In the reign of
 GEORGE THE FOURTH,
 King of Great Britain,
 The first stone of this Monument,
 In memory of
 The illustrious heroes
 WOLFE AND MONTCALM,
 Was laid by
 GEORGE, EARL OF DALHOUSIE,
 Governor-General of the British Possession
 In North America
 (What act more becoming an eminent Soldier ?) ;
 Who by his influence promoted,
 By his example encouraged,
 And by his munificence contributed to
 Its erection.

APPENDIX.



No. I.

“ Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm de St. Véran, lieutenant-général, naquit au château de Candiac, près de Nîmes, en 1712. Sa famille, originaire du Rouerque, joint ordinairement à son nom celui de Gozon.* L'éducation du Marquis de St. Véran fut confiée, ainsi que celle de son frère aîné, enfant célèbre,† aux soins de Dumas, l'inventeur du bureau typo-

* “ La famille de Montcalm joint ordinairement à son nom celui de Gozon, sous lequel elle s'illustra au quatorzième siècle ; le grand-maître de l'ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem, qui obtint cette dignité pour avoir délivré l'île de Rhodes d'un dragon qui la ravageoit. Les grands bois de la terre de Gozon, vendu domainalement, portent encore le nom de Dragonnières, d'après la tradition que c'est là que le chevalier Dieu-Donné exerçoit ses chiens à la poursuite d'un dragon artificiel avant d'attaquer celui que désoloit l'île de Gozon. La même tradition de la famille Montcalm a conservé le nom du fidèle domestique qui accompagna ce héros ; il se nomma Roustan. On grava sur son tombeau cette courte inscription, ‘ *Draconis Extinctor.* ’ Plusieurs critiques ont cherché à jeter des doutes sur le combat de Gozon. On peut voir dans le Dictionnaire de Chauffepié les raisons qu'on leur oppose, tirées de l'existence de serpents monstrueux, prouvée par l'accord des historiens anciens, et par les récits des voyageurs, comme par le témoignage des monumens contemporains, des Chroniques de l'ordre de Malte, et enfin d'une tapisserie sur laquelle est représenté le mémorable combat de Gozon.” *Biographie Universelle*, art. Gozon.

† “ Le frère aîné de Montalm, Jean Louis Pierre Elisabeth de Montcalm de Candiac, étoit un enfant célèbre, qui attira l'attention et les hommages des savants à Nîmes, à Montpellier, à Grenoble, à Lyons, à Paris. Sa vie n'eut que sept ans de durée, et cependant outre sa langue maternelle qu'il connoissoit par principes, il avoit des notions assez avancées de Latin, de Grec, et d'Hébreu, il possédoit toute l'arithmétique, savoit la fable, le blason, la géographie et plusieurs parties importantes de l'histoire sacrée et profane, ancienne et moderne. Il étoit l'élève de Dumas aussi bien que son frère ; sa mort fut causée par une hydropisie de cerveau.” *Biographie Universelle*, art. Candiac.

graphique. Quoiqu'il fut sorti à l'âge de quatorze ans des mains de cet habile instituteur, pour entrer dans la carrière militaire, il avoit si bien profité de ses leçons qu'il conserva le goût de l'étude jusque dans le tumulte des camps ; et l'étendue de ses connaissances justifia son ambition et son espérance d'être admis à l'Académie Royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres de Paris. Il ne vécut pas assez pour jouir de cette honneur.

“ Sa vie militaire a jeté un grand éclat. Il se distingua dès les premiers pas dans la carrière, reçut trois blessures à la bataille de Plaisance, et deux au funeste combat d'Exilles (ou de l'Assiette). Il étoit alors colonel d'infanterie. Devenu brigadier il passa dans la cavalerie et fut fait mestre-de-camp d'un régiment de son nom. Maréchal-de-camp en 1756 il alla commander en chef les troupes chargées de la défense des colonies Françaises dans l'Amérique Septentrionale.”

Biographie Universelle, art. Montcalm.

No. II.

Extract from “ *Lettres de M. le Marquis de Montcalm à MM. de Berryer et de la Molé*, 1757—1759, Londres, 1777.”

“ MONSIEUR ET CHER COUSIN,

“ Me voici, depuis plus de trois mois, aux prises avec M. Wolfe : il ne cesse jour et nuit de bombarder Quebec, avec une furie qui n'a guères d'exemple dans le siège d'une place qu'on veut prendre et conserver. Il a déjà consumé par le feu presque toute la basse ville ; une grande partie de la haute est écrasée par les bombes. Mais ne laissa-t-il pierre sur pierre, il ne viendra jamais à bout de s'emparer de cette capitale de la colonie, tandis qu'il se contentera de l'attaquer de la rive opposée, dont nous lui avons abandonné la posses-

sion. Aussi après trois mois de tentative, n'est il pas plus avancé dans son dessein qu'au premier jour. Il nous ruine, mais il ne s'enrichit pas. La campagne n'a guères plus d'un mois à durer, à raison du voisinage de l'automne—terrible dans ces parages pour une flotte, par les coups de vent qui règnent constamment et périodiquement.

“ Il semble qu'après un si heureux prélude, la conservation de la colonie est presque assurée. Il n'en est cependant rien : la prise de Quebec dépend d'un coup de main. Les Anglois sont maîtres de la rivière : ils n'ont qu'à effectuer une descente sur la rive, où cette ville, sans fortifications et sans défense, est située. Les voilà en état de me présenter la bataille ! *que je ne pourrai plus refuser, et que je ne devrai pas gagner.* M. Wolfe, en effet, s'il entend son métier, n'a qu'à essuyer le premier feu, venir en suite à grand pas sur mon armée, faire à bout partant sa décharge, mes Canadiens, sans discipline, sourds à la voix du tambour, et des instrumens militaires, dérangés par cet escarre, n'sauront plus reprendre leurs rangs. Ils sont ailleurs sans bayonnettes pour répondre à celles de l'ennemi : il ne leur reste qu'à fuir, et me voilà, batu sans ressource. Voilà ma position ! . . . Position bien facheuse pour un général, et qui me fait passer de bien terribles momens. La connaissance que j'en aye m'a fait tenir jusqu'ici sur la défensive, qui m'a réussi : mais réussira-t-elle jusqu'à la fin ? Les événemens en décideront ! Mais une assurance que je puis vous donner ; c'est, que je ne survivrois pas probablement la perte de la colonie. Il est des situations où il ne reste plus à un général, que de périr avec honneur : je crois y être : et sur ce point je crois que jamais la postérité n'aura rien à reprocher à ma mémoire. Mais si la Fortune décide de ma vie, elle ne décidera pas de mes sentimens—they sont François, et ils le seront, jusque dans le tombeau, si dans le tombeau on est encore quelque chose ! Je me consolerais du moins de ma défaite, et de la perte de la

colonie, par l'intime persuasion où je suis, que cette défaite vaudrait un jour à ma patrie plus qu'une victoire, et que le vainqueur en s'aggrandissant, trouveroit un tombeau dans son aggrandissement même.

“ Ce que j'avance ici, mon cher cousin, vous paroîtra un paradoxe ; mais un moment de réflexion politique, un coup d'œil sur la situation des choses en Amérique, et la vérité de mon opinion, brillera dans tout son jour. Non, mon cher cousin, les hommes n'obéissent qu'à la force et à la nécessité ; c'est à dire, que quand ils voyent armé devant leurs yeux, un pouvoir toujours prêt, et toujours suffisant pour les y contraindre, ou quand la chaîne de leurs besoins leur en dicte la loi. Hors de là point de joug pour eux, point d'obéissance de leur part ; ils sont à eux ; ils vivent libres, parce qu'ils n'ont rien au dedans, rien au dehors, qui les oblige à se dépouiller de cette liberté, qui est le plus bel appanage, la plus précieuse prérogative de l'humanité. Voilà les hommes !—et sur ce point les Anglois, soit par l'éducation, soit par sentiment, sont plus hommes que les autres : La gêne de la contrainte leur déplaît plus qu'à tout autre : il leur faut respirer un air libre et dégagé ; sans cela ils sont hors de leur élément. Mais si ce sont là les Anglois de l'Europe, c'est encore plus les Anglois d'Amérique. Une grande partie de ces colons sont les enfans de ces hommes qui s'expatrièrent dans ces temps de trouble, où l'ancienne Angleterre, en proie aux divisions, étoit attaquée dans ses privilèges et droits, et allèrent chercher en Amérique une terre, où ils pussent vivre et mourir libres, et presque indépendans ; et ces enfans n'ont pas dégénérés des sentimens republicains de leurs pères. D'autres sont des hommes, ennemis de tout frein, de tout assujettissement, que le gouvernement y a transporté pour leurs crimes. D'autres, enfin, sont un ramas de différentes nations de l'Europe, qui tiennent très peu à l'ancienne Angleterre par le cœur et le sentiment, tous en général ne se soucient guères du roi ni du parlement d'Angleterre.

“ Je les connois bien, non sur des rapports étrangers, mais sur des correspondances, et des informations secrètes, que j’ai moi-même ménagés, et dont un jour, si Dieu me prête vie, je pourrais faire usage à l’avantage de ma patrie. Pour surcroit de bonheur pour eux, tous ces colons sont parvenus dans un état très florissant ; ils sont nombreux et riches ; ils recueillent dans le sein de leur patrie, toutes les nécessités de la vie. L’ancienne Angleterre a été assez sotte, et assez dupe, pour leur laisser établir chez eux les arts, les métiers, les manufactures ; c’est à dire, qu’elle leur a laissé briser la chaîne de besoins, qui les lioit, qui les attachoit à elle, et qui les fait dépendants. Aussi toutes ces colonies Angloises auroient depuis long temps secoué le joug, chaque province auroient formé une petite république indépendante, si la crainte de voir les François à leur porte n’avoit été un frein, qui les avoit retenu. Maîtres pour maîtres ils ont préféré leur compatriotes aux étrangers, prenant cependant pour maxime, de n’obéir que le moins qu’ils pourroient ; mais que le Canada vint à être conquis, et que les Canadiens et ces colons ne fussent plus qu’un seul peuple, et la première occasion, où l’ancienne Angleterre sembleroit toucher à leurs intérêts, croiez-vous, mon cher cousin, que colons obéiroient ? Et qu’auroient-ils à craindre, en se revoltant ?

* * * * *

“ Je ne puis cependant pas dissimuler que l’ancienne Angleterre avec un peu de bonne politique pourroit toujours se réserver dans les mains une ressource toujours prête pour mettre à la raison ses anciennes colonies. Le Canada considéré dans lui-même, dans ses richesses, dans ses forces, dans le nombre de ses habitans, n’est rien en comparaison du conglobat des colonies Angloises ; mais la valeur, l’industrie, la fidélité de ses habitans, y supplie si bien, que depuis plus d’un siècle ils se battent avec avantage contre toutes ces colonies : dix Canadiens sont suffisants contre cent colons Anglois.

L'expérience journalière prouve ce fait. Si l'ancienne Angleterre, après avoir conquis le Canada sçavoit se l'attacher par la politique des bienfaits, et se le conserver à elle seule, si elle le laissoit à sa religion, à ses loix, à son langage, à ses coûtumes, à son ancienne gouvernement, le Canada, divisé dans tous ces points, d'avec les autres colonies, formerait toujours un pays isolé, qui n'entreroit jamais dans leurs intérêts ; . . . mais ce n'est pas là la politique Brittanique. Les Anglois font-ils une conquête, il faut qu'ils changent la constitution du pays, ils y portent leur loix, leur coûtumes, &c. &c. . . Voilà les Canadiens transformés en politiques, en négocians, en hommes infatués d'une prétendue liberté, qui chez la populace tient souvent en Angleterre de la licence, et de la nardin . . . Je suis si sûr de ce que j'écris, que je ne donnerais pas dix ans après la conquête de Canada pour en voir l'accomplissement.

“Voilà ce que, comme François, me console aujourd'hui du danger éminent que court ma patrie, de voir cette colonie perdue pour elle.

“Du camp devant Quebec, Jan.

“24 d'Août, 1759.

“MONTCALM.”

No. III.

“The plan of the enemy's operations, was to act entirely upon the defensive. M. de Vaudreuil was the Governor-General of the Province ; and M. de Montcalm was Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces. The former being a Captain in the navy, knew very little of military matters ; between whom and M. de Montcalm there was not a thorough good understanding ; consequently they were seldom of the

same opinion in council. The French General readily judged from whence our operations were likely to begin against the city of Quebec; and proposed, in a Council of war, that a detachment of four thousand men, with a proper train of artillery, should be strongly intrenched at Point Levi; and that other works should be constructed, higher up the country, at certain distances, for the troops to retire to, in case their works at the Point should be forced. But M. de Vaudreuil overruled this most excellent plan, and insisted, that, though we might demolish some houses in the city of Quebec with our shells, we could not bring our cannon to bear upon the city, across the river, so as to injure the defences of the place: it was therefore his firm opinion, that it was their duty to stand upon the defensive with their whole force on the north side of the bason, and not to divide it on any account whatever. To this plan, M. de Montcalm was obliged to conform; and he made no detachments from his army, but such as were absolutely necessary from the different movements made by General Wolfe.”—*Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain, from 1727 to 1790, by* ROBT. BEATSON, Esq. (formerly an Officer of the Royal Engineers), London, 1790.

No. IV.

“At the period of which we are now speaking, the marquis de Montcalm, over whose energies old age threw no damp,* occupied Quebec and the districts immediately contiguous, with an army of 10,000 or 12,000 men: of these, 5,000 were regular troops; the remainder, militia and Indians,—not perhaps equal, for some services, to their more seasoned

* He was only in his 48th year.

comrades, but still far from despicable, more especially in desultory warfare. Anticipating the enterprise which now began to develop itself, he had formed his plan of campaign with singular judgment and skill. While he contented himself with observing general Amherst, and throwing as many impediments in the way of his advance as 3,000 or 4,000 men could create, he drew together the mass of his army in the capital, and distributed it so as to render any attempt at an investment, either from the one side or the other, in the highest degree perilous, not to say impracticable. Not satisfied with putting the city itself in the best state of defence, he threw up a series of entrenchments on the west; which, extending over a space of eight miles, formed a long yet defensible line between the outworks attached to the place and the Montmorency River. By this means he obviated all danger of a landing below the town, except at a point beset with difficulties the most gigantic, where the invaders would find themselves opposed, on the edges of the two deep and rapid streams, ere they could succeed in drawing a parallel against the city itself. Nor, though the anticipation of risk on the other side was by many degrees less vivid than here, did he show himself careless in providing against the attempts of an enterprising adversary: Montreal was occupied in force; while a corps of 2,000 men, encamped about twenty miles above Quebec, between the Jaques Cartier River and Point aux Trembles, stood ready to take in reverse any force which might effect a debarkation in that direction. Such were the dispositions of Montcalm; liable to some objections, doubtless, inasmuch as they imposed upon him the necessity of acting on a stage too extensive for his means; yet exhibiting, on the whole, marks of great judgment, and presenting a very formidable front to the chief who was now called upon to derange them.

“The arrival of the British fleet in the mouth of the St.

Lawrence was no sooner communicated to Montcalm, than, leaving a sufficient garrison in Quebec, he marched with all his disposable force, and took up a position at Beauport, between the St. Charles and the Montmorency. The latter he was content, for a while, to observe with his outposts merely, covering them, however, with a redoubt and breastworks ; but the debarkation of the English on Ile Orleans produced an anticipation of attack from below, and he moved onwards, so as to present a strong front even there.

* * * * *

“ While Wolfe was thus maturing and carrying into effect one of the hardest enterprises in military history, Montcalm, his able and vigilant adversary, was, by the skilful dispositions of the fleet, kept anxious and uneasy at Beauport. The splash of oars was heard in various directions, but particularly about the mouth of the Montmorency and above it ; the lighter vessels shifted their stations so as to approach the shore ; and an incessant cannonade ploughed up the beach, apparently with the view of clearing a space for the debarkation of troops. This went on throughout the whole of the night, the general every moment expecting that some desperate effort would be made to storm his lines ; when, just as the sky began to redden, his delusion was at once and painfully dispelled. A horseman from the town came in at full speed, with intelligence that the English were landed. He was followed soon afterwards by certain fugitives from the spot where the debarkation actually took place ; and the French camp became, ere long, a scene of indescribable commotion, not unmixed with dread. In the latter feeling, Montcalm himself never for an instant partook. He gave his orders coolly and deliberately ; and within the space of half an hour the whole army was in full march across the St. Charles River, towards the Heights of Abraham.

“ It is not our province to speak either in praise or other-

wise of the many and brilliant services performed by the marquis of Montcalm. Every reader of history must be aware, that, among all the able persons appointed by the French government to preside over the destinies of their transatlantic possessions, Montcalm stands preëminent for his talent and zeal ; that he supported the honour of the mother-country during a period of unexampled difficulties ; while, at the same time, he advanced the interests of the colonies, and conciliated their affections, without in any degree lowering the dignity of the office which he held : even the arduous and dispiriting campaign in which he was now engaged had hitherto been admirably conducted ; for, if we except the solitary error into which he fell by detaching a corps too far to his rear, and, perhaps, the mistake, for it deserves no harsher term, of seeking to defend the Montmorency, all his dispositions would seem to have been made with equal skill and foresight. He was now about to commit a grievous and fatal error ; forgetful of the policy which had hitherto guided him, that of defensive warfare, he put his columns in motion for the avowed purpose of bringing the English to battle ; thus playing the game which his adversary wished him to play, and had long and ardently striven to bring about.

* * * * *

“Such was the order in which Wolfe stood to receive the attack, which was not slow in developing itself, and which, in point of arrangement and vigour, proved not unworthy of the reputation which the marquis de Montcalm had previously earned.

* * * * *

“His dispositions for a battle, in which he ought never to have engaged, were as judicious and able as could be : throwing a mass of tirailleurs before him, he engaged the light troops of the English, whom he drove back with precipitation upon the line ; and then, pushing forward a heavy

column towards his own right, compelled Wolfe to wheel back three battalions, as it is called, *en potence*. This done, he silently withdrew his people by the rear, under cover of the skirmishers, whom he largely reinforced : and, forming line to the left, came down with great impetuosity upon the irregulars of Wolfe's army which occupied his right. But Montcalm, if he calculated on the inefficacy of this force, mistook the people with whom he had to deal : they nobly did their duty ; nor could all the efforts of the enemy, though made with a courage truly chivalrous, produce the slightest effect upon their order or firmness.

"It has been stated that the French masked all their formations, and concealed their grand advance under the galling fire of a numerous body of skirmishers. Before these the light infantry of the British army soon gave way, and came in upon their supporters with such haste, as to create something like a feeling of dismay among the troops stationed in the rear. Wolfe saw this, and hastened to obviate the evil consequences likely to accrue from it : he rode along the line ; encouraged them to stand firm ; assured them that the light infantry only obeyed their instructions ; and exhorted them not to return a shot till the enemy should have arrived within forty yards of the muzzles of their pieces. The effect of this proceeding was electrical : raising a shout, the men held their ground with muskets shouldered, as if on parade, while the French continued to press onwards, throwing in an incessant but irregular fire, which occasioned a severe loss to the troops opposed to it. But they had no sooner come within forty yards of the British line, than the state of affairs underwent a striking and instantaneous change : a volley passed from right to left, of which the effects were for a moment unnoticed, by reason of the dense smoke which followed the discharge, but which, so soon as the breeze had dispersed this covering, was seen to have taken effect in a degree hardly

paralleled in modern warfare. Huge gaps appeared in the enemy's line : the ground in the rear was crowded with persons withdrawing from the combat ; and even such as had neither themselves received a wound, nor were employed in conveying their wounded comrades to a place of safety, wavered and stood still, like men irresolute. Wolfe saw how matters were going, and hastened to improve the effect produced ; he was in the act of cheering his men to a charge, when a musket ball struck him in the wrist and hurt him severely ; he tied his handkerchief about the wound, and again pressed forward, when a second ball took effect in his belly. Even now he exhibited no symptoms of pain, but continued with the utmost coolness to issue his orders ; when a third shot pierced his breast, and he fell to the ground."—*Lives of the Most Eminent British Military Commanders*, by the Rev. G. R. GLEIG, vol. ii., London, 1832.