



A N    A D D R E S S

BEFORE THE

New England

Historic-Genealogical Society,

IN THE

Hall of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts,

TUESDAY, SEPT. 13TH, 1859.

THE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

DEATH OF MAJOR GENERAL JAMES WOLFE,

WITH PASSAGES OMITTED IN THE DELIVERY, AND ILLUSTRATIVE  
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS:

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BY LORENZO SABINE.

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BOSTON:

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FOR THE SOCIETY.

1859.

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At a meeting of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, held at their Rooms in Boston, on Wednesday afternoon, January 19, 1859, on motion of Mr. Dean, it was

*Resolved*, That a Committee of five be appointed to consider whether it be advisable or not, for this Society to celebrate the One Hundredth Anniversary of the capture of Quebec—an event which determined the institutions, history and character of the whole future of America; and that they be requested to report at an early day.

After some discussion the resolution was adopted, and Rev. Henry A. Miles, D. D., Frederic Kidder, Rev. Martin Moore, Joseph Palmer, M. D., and John W. Dean, were chosen the Committee.

Rev. Dr. Miles, chairman of the committee, at the next meeting February 2, reported in favor of a private celebration in the Rooms of the Society. The plan recommended was adopted, and the committee unanimously invited Hon. Lorenzo Sabine to deliver an Address on the occasion, which invitation he finally accepted. It was afterwards suggested that a more public celebration of the event was desirable; and, on submitting the subject to the Society on the 3d of August, a vote was passed giving the committee full power, and they issued the following circular:—

The One Hundredth Anniversary of the capture of Quebec naturally invites the students of American History to survey the consequences of an event which did so much to give ascendancy to English civilization, and the Protestant religion, in this country.

One of the youngest of the New England Historical Societies, we proposed, at first, only a private commemoration in its Rooms, and for this purpose, invited Hon. LORENZO SABINE to deliver an Address. Since his acceptance, a desire has been expressed for a more public occasion, and, to this the Society has yielded. Tuesday, the 13th of September next, completing a century since the death of GENERAL WOLFE, is the day selected, and public notice will be given, in the Boston papers of the 12th of that month, of the place and hour of meeting.

The attendance of friends of historical research, and especially of members of Historical Societies, will be an encouragement and an honor to us; and, respectfully inviting your presence, we take leave to subscribe ourselves,

With high considerations of regard,

Your friends, very truly,

HENRY A. MILES.  
FREDERIC KIDDER.  
MARTIN MOORE.  
JOSEPH PALMER.  
JOHN W. DEAN.

*Committee of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society.*

Boston, August 23, 1859.

In reply to this circular, letters were received from the President of the American Antiquarian Society, Hon. Stephen Salisbury, of Worcester, from the Presidents of the Rhode Island, Vermont, and Chicago Historical Societies, namely, Albert G. Greene, Esq., of Providence, R. I., Henry Stevens, Esq., of Barnet, Vt., and William H. Brown, Esq., of Chicago, Ill.; from the Corresponding Secretaries of the New Hampshire and Maryland Historical Societies, namely, Rev. Nathaniel Bouton, D. D., of Concord, N. H., and Rev. E. A. Dalrymple, D. D., of Baltimore, Md.; from the Librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society, Frederick B. Perkins, Esq., of Hartford; from the Secretary of the Essex Institute, Henry Wheatland, M. D., of Salem, in behalf of their several Societies; and from other gentlemen to whom personal invitations had been sent. The Recording Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Rev. Chandler Robbins, D. D., transmitted a copy of the following vote, passed by that Society September 8:—

*“Voted,* That the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, accept the invitation of the Committee of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, to be present on the occasion of celebrating by a public discourse the One Hundredth Anniversary of the capture of Quebec, and take pleasure in manifesting thereby, through the courtesy of a kindred Society, their interest in the great historic event which it is intended to commemorate.”

The Librarian of the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, Edward Holden, Esq., transmitted a copy of the vote passed September 9, by that society, as follows:—

*“Voted,* Unanimously, that this Society most cordially accept the invitation of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society; and that said Society be assured of our grateful recognition of the fraternal courtesy with which the invitation was communicated, as well as of our high appreciation of the purpose of that body in commemorating the centennial of an event which had so important a bearing upon the civil, social and religious liberties of our common country.”

Mr. Greene, in his letter mentioned above, wrote:—

*“The interest which I have always felt in the important historical event which your Society is to commemorate, has not been lessened by the fact that having very recently returned from a visit to Canada, the existing local memorials of the capture of Québec, are almost as vividly before me as they were a few days ago when I stood among them; and I much regret that I cannot meet the members of your Society, and listen to the distinguished gentleman who will address you on the occasion.”*

Mr. Stevens wrote:—

*“I do hope that your Society will prosper, and your members multiply from year to year: at least, until the morning of the 10th of May, A. D., 1875, when said Society will meet in the vicinity of Ticonderoga, and celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the capture of the first fortress taken from the British, by a few Green Mountain boys, aided by John Brown, from Boston, and Capt. Mott, from Connecticut, and five others from Massachusetts and Connecticut. Again when your Society celebrates the one hundredth anniversary of the British evacuating Boston, your orator on that occasion will not forget to make honorable mention of the forty ox-sled loads of cannon and other munitions of war that were taken from St. Johns, Crown Point, and Ticonderoga, by the Green Mountain boys and others, to the south end of Lake George, and there being landed and delivered to the order of General Washington, were taken in part to forts on the Hudson River, to Springfield, New London and Groton. Several cannon were taken to the vicinity of Boston. I claim that it was by the use of these cannon that the British were driven out of Boston. I have for a witness the ball now in the wall of Brattle St. Church.”*

Benson J. Lossing, Esq., of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., wrote :—

“ It seems to be a most appropriate occasion for rejoicing on the part of the New England people, for when the British flag was unfurled upon the walls of Quebec, the long day of peace and quiet for which generations had prayed, dawned upon New England.”

It would be interesting to continue these extracts, but sufficient have been given to show the feeling with which the proposed celebration was received.

The Legislature of Massachusetts having commenced an extra session on the seventh of September, the committee of arrangements made application to the House of Representatives for the use, on the 13th of that month, of their Hall, in which it seemed appropriate that the Address should be delivered. This request was readily acceded to; and both branches of the Legislature being invited to hear the Address, accepted the invitation.

The weather was propitious on the day of the celebration, and, at an early hour, the Hall was well filled with a respectable audience, among whom were many ladies. Besides the members of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, there were present members of the Massachusetts General Court, and of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and numerous other friends of historical research, while the following gentlemen attended as delegates from other Societies, namely: from the Maine Historical Society, the President, Hon. William Willis, of Portland; from the New Hampshire Historical Society, the Recording Secretary, William F. Goodwin, Esq., of Concord; and from the Rhode Island Historical Society, Usher Parsons, M. D., and the Librarian, Rev. Edwin M. Stone, of Providence.

At half-past three o'clock the meeting was called to order by Rev. Dr. Miles, the chairman of the committee of arrangements, and the president of the Society, Almon D. Hodges, Esq., took the chair. The venerable Rev. William Jenks, D. D., offered an appropriate and impressive prayer, after which the President briefly addressed the assembly, stating the considerations which led the Society to celebrate the event, and then introduced the orator for the occasion, Hon. Lorenzo Sabine, who proceeded to deliver the Address.

At a meeting of the Society, held Wednesday afternoon, September 21, on motion of Mr. Trask, the thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Sabine for his able and eloquent Address, and he was requested to furnish a copy for the press. Mr. Sabine has complied with this request, and his Address is now printed under the superintendence of the committee.



# A D D R E S S .

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*Mr. President and Gentlemen:—*

THERE is so much to say on this occasion, that, like Wolfe himself, I have but a “choice of difficulties:” and should I fail to interest you, I have simply to ask that you remember the reasons which induced me, after a positive declination, to appear before you, as well as the circumstances under which this Address has been prepared. And you will bear with the offensive pronoun, since its use will save words, and allow me to speak directly and without restraint. With this brief introduction, I pass at once to discuss the topics which the day suggests to us.

The first charters and grants of France and England in America, were made in perfect ignorance of the country, and, it happened that the same territory was sometime conveyed by each: while generally the bounderies were so uncertainly described as to produce long and bitter controversies. The earliest difficulties occurred in that half fabulous, never defined region, called—“*Acadie.*” The treaty of St. Germain, by which the former power acquired Canada, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, terminated the disputes for a time. But, the English people condemned the cession, and new contentions arose, which, as we shall see, ceased only with the extinction of the French power in this hemisphere. In fact, a historian of acknowledged authority inclines to the opinion, that the differences to which that treaty gave rise were among the causes of the American Revolution.

Twenty four years elapsed, when Cromwell, insisting that Nova Scotia rightfully belonged to England, took possession of it, and founded a colony. After the restoration of the Stuarts, however, and by the treaty of Breda, it passed a second time to France, to the great displeasure of the North, and especially of Massachusetts. Neither lines nor limits were mentioned: and collisions, reprisals, and fierce quarrels were renewed. The convention of London, in 1686, confirmed the two powers in the possession of the American colonies held at the beginning of hostilities, but with boundaries as unsettled as ever before. Sagacious men in New England had now become convinced, that the entire expulsion of the French was the only measure to ensure peace: and they endeavored to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of the mother country. The war between France and England, which followed the accession of William and Mary, was barely proclaimed in Boston, when the General Court prepared to conquer Nova Scotia and Canada. The expedition against the first was successful: but the enterprise in the St. Lawrence was disastrous. At the peace of Ryswick, mutual restitution was stipulated: and New England was deeply wronged. In the first year of the reign of Queen Anne, the two nations were again involved in war. The people of the Northern Colonies needed no solicitations to engage heartily in the contest. They attempted to recover Nova Scotia: equipped a fleet at Boston: but failed to accomplish their object. With the promise of ships from England, they renewed their efforts, three years later; but were again unsuccessful. At last, in 1710, Nova Scotia became an English colony. Its reduction was a duty assumed by the ministry, but, in truth, it was accomplished principally by colonists and colonial resources. Of the force assembled at Boston, six ships and a corps of marines were, indeed, sent from England; but the remainder, thirty vessels and four regiments, were furnished by the four Northern colonies.

Whoever has examined the transactions thus rapidly noticed, has ceased to wonder that the Stuarts were so odious in New England. I know of nothing more disgraceful to them, either as sovereigns or as private gentlemen, than their dealings with

their own original grantees, and the claimants under them ; and with their subjects in America, who bled, reign after reign, to put an end to the calamities entailed upon them by the treaty of St. Germain, and who, in the adjustments of European questions were defrauded of the fruits of their exertions and sacrifices by the stipulations in the subsequent treaties of Breda, of London, and of Ryswick.

The conquest of one French possession achieved, the ministry yielding to importunities from America, projected an enterprise for the acquisition of Canada, also. "The whole design," wrote the celebrated Bolingbroke, "was formed by me." After inexcusable delays on the part of those entrusted with the management of the affair in England, a fleet and land force finally departed from Boston for the St. Lawrence. A more miserable termination to a military operation of moment, can hardly be found in history. Peace was concluded in 1713 ; and its terms were assailed in words of bitter denunciation by the party in opposition. Lord Oxford was impeached, and tried for his life ; but such has been the progress of civilization that his concessions to France on the sea,—his principal offense—have become honorable to his memory.

In 1744, England and France were still again involved in war ; and the year following, the capture of Cape Breton was undertaken. The subjugation of that Island is the most remarkable martial event in our colonial annals. Several colonies south of New England were invited to join in the expedition, but not one would consent to waste life in a project so utterly mad : and Franklin, forgetting that he was "Boston born," ridiculed it in one of the wittiest letters he ever wrote. In Massachusetts, and elsewhere at the North, men enlisted as in a crusade. Boston was the place of embarkation, and for weeks troops filled the streets, and ships and transports the harbor. Louisbourg, the capital, was the point of attack. Nearly twenty-five years, and thirty millions of livres, had been required to complete it. More than two hundred pieces of cannon were mounted to defend it. It had nunneries and palaces, terraces and gardens. That such a city rose upon a lone, desolate isle, in the infancy of American colonization, is wonderful. A more

undisciplined and disorderly body of men never attempted the reduction of a walled city. The French commander submitted on the forty-ninth day of the investment, and the victors entered the "Dunkirk of the Western world" amazed at their own achievement. At the close of hostilities Cape Breton was restored: and the people of New England saw *their* victories and *their* interests sacrificed as "equivalents" for defeats and disasters in Europe, as in the time of the Stuarts.

But the contest for supremacy was soon renewed. The peace of 1748, was, indeed, only a truce. France aimed by means of the St. Lawrence and the intervening lakes and other waters, to connect Canada and Louisiana; and, in the execution of this plan, built about twenty forts, besides block-houses or stockade trading posts, on territory claimed by England. The alleged aggressions were in the region of Acadie, and in the domains of Virginia. Hostile deeds occurred in both before the formal declaration of war. The Board of Trade sent orders to the Governors of the English Colonies, in 1754, "to repel force by force." The events which followed these instructions introduced upon the theatre of affairs, the youth—George Washington—to perform an important and hazardous mission for his native colony, and to prepare himself to serve his whole country. The establishment of a French post on the Ohio, and the defeat of Washington, were the reasons for the sending of Braddock to blunder; to treat wise counsels with contempt; and to perish. The reasons, too, of an attempt on Fort Niagara, by Shirley, (governor of Massachusetts, and commander-in-chief of the British forces,) and of an expedition against Crown Point.

In 1756, England proclaimed hostilities; the Earl of Loudoun superseded Shirley: and, as in the previous year, Niagara, Crown Point, and Fort du Quesne, were to be assailed by different armies, with a movement up the Kennebec in Maine, and thence down the Chaudiere, to keep Canada in alarm. The force employed was quite ample, probably, for success everywhere; but the campaign was an utter failure.

And yet another year, the resources of England and her colonies were wasted by incompetent, inactive, lavender-scented

Generals; but there was some improvement in the operations devised, since in January, 1757, it was determined at a council in Boston, to strongly garrison the English posts on the lakes, and to direct the whole disposable force against Louisbourg. The result may be stated in a word. Lord Loudoun went to Halifax with his fleet and army: pondered on the reports of the strength of the city he was to invest: and deferred the enterprise. On the inland waters, the French obtained the mastery. They reduced Fort William Henry, which gave them possession of the lakes Champlain and George: they destroyed the post at Oswego, which gave them dominion from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi; and still undisturbed at Fort du Quesne, they maintained their ascendancy over the Indians, and command of the region west of the mountains.

Such was the state of affairs here. Elsewhere,—in India alone excepted—British arms had been disgraced; and the nation was roused to indignation. For eleven weeks—in the ferocity of political parties, England was without a ministry. “Whoever is in, or whoever is out,” wrote Chesterfield, “I am sure we are undone at home and abroad.”

“I am sure,” said Pitt to the Duke of Devonshire,—“I am sure that I can save the country, and nobody else can.”

The country took the Great Commoner at his word. As relates to the subject before us, the successes of 1758, were an earnest of final triumph. The force entrusted to Abercrombie, who succeeded Loudoun, was the largest ever assembled in America. The plan of several distinct expeditions was renewed. The Commander-in-Chief, was to operate against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; Amherst, against Louisbourg; while Forbes, was to reduce du Quesne. Abercrombie failed in an assault upon the first-named fortress, and deferred the intended movement against the second; but duQuesne, and the capital of Cape Breton fell. It is at the investment of the latter, that the name of James Wolfe first occurs in our annals.

The campaign of 1759, was conducted by Amherst. To enter Canada with three armies, by different routes, and to attack all the strongholds at nearly the same time, was the plan adopted. The reduction of Quebec was projected by Pitt himself, and as-

signed by him to Wolfe. Amherst was to move against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and, on becoming master of both, was to proceed over Lake Champlain to the aid of Wolfe. Prideaux, after having captured Fort Niagara, was ordered to embark on Lake Ontario, thence conduct his army down the St. Lawrence, and subjugate Montreal.

Never, probably, in an unknown wilderness country, was a military scheme so bold, so vast, so complex, more nearly executed. Had Prideaux reduced Montreal, and had Amherst arrived before Quebec, every thing arranged on paper would have been accomplished. The next year, Montreal and the remaining French posts submitted. Between the breaking up of a Jesuit mission in Maine, and the treaty of Paris, was a century and a half.

We have seen how large a part of the period was devoted to war. The contest was at an end; and the Gaul resigned the New World to the Briton.

We now celebrate the decisive day. The victory we commemorate gave half a continent to Anglo Saxon rule and civilization, and hastened the freedom of the Anglo Saxon colonies. And this is the next theme that claims our attention.

First, we are to bear in mind that British America, a century ago, was valuable to the Statesmen of England as a market for merchandise, and to "quarter" in office poor noblemen, the younger and dissipated sons of rich ones, and men of broken fortune or character among the aristocracy, generally. When the French dominions were added to the empire, and the system of colonial government was to be revised — as we shall presently notice — the inquirer into the every-day life of the period has found that the expectants of place were as excited, as we ourselves have seen the "operators" in one of our land speculations, and pressed their claims just as some of us have been solicited to buy townships of trees, or corner lots, or water lots, or commanding sites for private homes or public institutions. The cases were alike, too, in the ignorance of the parties concerned of the regions to be disposed of; for the king, as a mark of distinguished favor, offered Pitt the governorship of lone, distant, wilderness—Canada; and the seekers

of office, as uninformed as a majority of their countrymen, really believed that nearly all the American people were negroes.\* In this general condition of things, we are to seek the solution of the political events that followed on this side of the ocean, and on the other.

To me, the lives of the instruments of human progress run into one another, and become so interwoven as to appear but the continuation of a single life. It is so in the history of a community; and I am weary of reading that the stamp duty and the tea duty were the "causes" of the American Revolution.

Colonies become nations as certainly as boys become men, and by a similar law. The "Declaration" of the sixty-six, at Philadelphia, was but the "Contract," signed by the forty-one sad and stricken ones in the waters of Provincetown, with the growth of one hundred and fifty-six years. The intermediate occurrences, were simply of discipline, of developement, and of preparation. At most, taxation and the kindred questions did but accelerate the dismemberment of the British empire,—just as a man whose lungs are half consumed, hastens the crisis by suicide. Why does not the case of an individual colonist—of Franklin—illustrate the emancipation of the thirteen colonies? He was an apprentice during minority; but at the age of seventeen, ill used, obnoxious to the governing party, and fearful of still further difficulty with it, and unpopular in consequence of his religious views, he broke his indentures, and fled from Boston—his friend, Collins, undertaking to manage his flight. So, at seventy, for the same general reasons, he broke

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\* "How is it," asked Dr. Johnson, at the Revolutionary era, "how is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among drivers of negroes?"

Col. Barré, as we shall see, was one of Wolfe's officers at Quebec: he said to Josiah Quincy, of Boston, who was in England, January, 1775, "About fifteen years ago, I was through a considerable part of your country. \* \* \* \* \* For you must know, sir, America was always a favorite with me: but will you believe it, sir, yet I assure you it is true, more than two-thirds of this island at that time, thought the Americans were negroes."

The Duke of Newcastle, was for years the minister who, with the Board of Trade, had charge of the affairs of the American Colonies; but he could not tell whether Annapolis was in Massachusetts or in Pennsylvania, though until the treaty of Utrecht, when Nova Scotia passed finally to the British crown, no place was oftener mentioned in military and political circles, than Annapolis Royal, or Port Royal. Nor did the Duke know that Cape Breton was an island, though its capital, Louisbourg, in his time, was the most renowned city in all French America.

his faith with his royal master — George III. — *a little* before his natural freedom day, and found an ally in Louis XVI. of France; and the loss of the last named monarch's possessions in America, was the cause, above all others, that *hastened* his transformation from a British colonist into an American citizen. We do honor to an event, then, in which we have a personal interest.

After the fall of Quebec and of the remaining posts, and while the terms of peace were undetermined, there arose an excited discussion between some of the statesmen of England on the question of restoration.\* The prevalent fear was that, if Canada should be retained, the colonies, no longer apprehensive of the French, would increase so rapidly as soon to assert their freedom. To a pamphlet in support of this view, of the surrender, and of the acceptance of Guadaloupe as an equivalent, written, as supposed, with the countenance of Burke, and by a kinsman, Franklin, replied in his ablest manner; and, as believed, with effect upon the ministry. Pitt would have kept both, but the "sugar island" was restored. Discussions which opened the whole question of the colonial system of government — of a system which was destitute of a single element of human brotherhood — followed instantly and generally; and, "made many of us at the time," remarks John Adams, "regret that Canada had ever been conquered."† The first offence

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\*So again at the close of the Revolution. Lord Brougham, in his historical sketches, relates that, "when Lord Shelburne's peace (1783) was signed, and before the terms were made public, he sent for the Earl St. Vincent, and, showing them, asked his opinion." "I like them very well," said he, "but their is a great omission." "In what?" "In leaving Canada as a British province." "How could we possibly give it up?" inquired Lord Shelburne. "How can you hope to keep it?" replied the veteran warrior: "with an English republic just established in the sight of Canada, and with a population of a handful of English settled among a body of hereditary Frenchmen, it is impossible; and, rely on it, you only retain a running sore, the source of disquiet and expense." "Would the country bear it? Have you forgotten Wolfe and Quebec?" asked his lordship. "No; it is because I remember both. I served with Wolfe at Quebec. Having lived so long, I have had full time for reflection on this matter; and my clear opinion is, that if this fair occasion for giving up Canada is neglected, nothing but difficulty, in either keeping or resigning it, will ever after be known."

†John Adams, in his preface to "*Novanglus*," thus relates a conversation with Jonathan Sewell, who, in the course of events, attached himself to the royal cause, and died in banishment:—

"After the surrender of Montreal," says Mr. Adams, "rumors were everywhere spread that the English would now new-model the colonies, demolish the charters, and reduce all to royal governments. These rumors I had heard as often as he had.

was the establishment of a military government in that Province, which, with the alteration of its boundaries, forms one of the stirring array of grievances set out in the Declaration of Independence. The French war had increased the public debt of England three hundred and fifty millions of dollars; and the civil and military charge of America had risen in a few years from less than four hundred thousand dollars to nearly a million and three quarters, annually; and the reasoning of English ministers was, that a part of the public burdens should be borne by the colonies, for whose benefit expenditures so large had been incurred, and were to be continued.

Had the plan of the ministry been limited to pointing out this condition of things to the colonial assemblies, and to suggestions of yearly, voluntary, contributions, the mother and her children might have lived in harmony another generation.

But the course adopted was offensive in every way, and to the last degree.

First, the consolidation of British America was projected; the charters of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, were to be annulled; and the Thirteen, under a common system, with new boundaries to some of them, were all to be "royal governments," with a peerage. This offended the class called "the people," every where, for, at the North, the control of public affairs were to pass to the "old" — the genteel families; and in New York and at the South, to the great landholders. Second, a permanent revenue was to be derived from duties on imported merchandise. In Cromwell's time colonial commerce was free. The Stuarts, who followed him, attempted restraints without success; and so generally, finally, were the laws of navigation and trade disobeyed, that nine-tenths of all the tea, wine, fruit, sugar, and molasses, consumed in America,

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One morning I met him accidentally on the floor of the old town-house, [Boston.] "John," said he, "I want to speak to you." "He always called me John, I him Jonathan; and I often said to him I wish my name were David. He took me to a window seat, and said: "These Englishmen are going to play the d——l with us. They will overturn everything. We must resist them, and that by force. I wish you would write in the newspapers, and urge a general attention to the militia, to their exercises and discipline, for we must resist in arms." I answered, "all this, I fear, is true: but why do you not write yourself, &c., &c.?"

Thus early, and before the close of the war, were apprehensions entertained of a complete change in the colonial system of government in America.

were smuggled. To put an end to this illicit traffic was the determined purpose. The commanders of the ships of war on the American station were commissioned as officers of the customs; and, to quicken their zeal, they were to share in the proceeds of confiscations; the courts to decide upon the lawfulness of seizures, were to be composed of a single judge without a jury, whose emoluments were to be derived from his own condemnations; the governors of colonies and the military officers, were to be rewarded for their activity by sharing, also, either in the property condemned, or in the penalties annexed to the interdicted trade. Boston was the great offender; and soon twelve ships of war, mounting no less than two hundred and sixty guns, were assembled in the harbor, for revenue service on the Atlantic coast. The merchants of the seaports were roused to preserve their business, and when the controversy came to blows, lawyers who had espoused their cause in the course of professional duty, simply, were among the most efficient advocates of liberty. One quarter part of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, were bred to trade, or to the command of ships, and more than one was branded with the epithet of "smuggler;"\* and it was fit that Hancock,† who, at the shedding of blood at Lexington, was respondent in the Admiralty court in suits of the crown to recover nearly half a million of dollars of penalties alleged to have been incurred for violations of the statute book;—it was fit that *he* should be the first to affix his name to an instrument which, if made good,

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\* In 1770, the newspaper press taunted Gov. Hutchinson himself with having been a notorious smuggler, when he was a Boston merchant.

† In works of John Adams, vol. 2d, pg. 215.

In 1768: "Mr. Hancock was prosecuted upon a great number of libels, for penalties upon acts of Parliament, amounting to ninety or an hundred thousand pounds sterling. He thought fit to engage me as his counsel and advocate, and a painful drudgery I had of his cause. There were few days through the whole winter when I was not summoned to attend the Court of Admiralty. It seemed as if the officers of the crown were determined to examine the whole town as witnesses. \* \* \* \* I was thoroughly weary and disgusted with the court, the officers of the crown, the cause, and even with the tyrannical bell that dangled me out of my house every morning: and this odious cause was suspended at last only by the battle of Lexington, which put an end, forever, to all such prosecutions."

The curious inquirer will find on the same page, one of the points of the defence of Mr. Adams, for his client. The ground taken, is, that Hancock never consented to, or voted for, the statute which imposed the penalties, and that, "he never voted for any man to make such a law for him," &c., &c.

would save him from ruin, and give his countrymen free commerce with all the world.

Third, the military pride of the colonies had been shocked during the war, quite as much as gentlemen who possessed any sense of self-respect could well bear. "The treatment of the provincial officers and soldiers by the British officers," says John Adams, "made the blood boil in my veins." Our time is too limited to allow more than a moment's attention to the question of rank. Two illustrations will serve our purpose. In Massachusetts, Winslow was a major-general, and in that capacity served the country in command of an army. He held, also, the commission of captain of British regulars, and was ranked by an officer of that grade whose appointment was a single day earlier than his own. In Virginia, Washington was a colonel, and chief of the forces of the colony. The claim of a captain to rank him was one of the principal causes of the capitulation at Fort Mifflin; the renewal of the pretension, when Braddock came, drove him, disgusted, from the service; and, again revived, occasioned his first visit to Boston. To add, now, that the colonies furnished nearly one thousand officers of all grades, is to show that the wrong was generally felt and discussed. If, under particular circumstances, there were modifications of the rule, the principle of precedence to officers of the regular army was not changed. The Board of Trade had advised a permanent military force in America, for sixty years prior to hostilities; and Lord Loudoun's commission created him a sort of dictator independent of, and superior to, the colonial governments; and his successors exercised the same power down to the Revolution. Had the army been withdrawn at the time of the peace, or if garrisons on the frontiers, and in some of the ports on the coast, were necessary, had the colonial officers of merit been participants in the royal favor, the injuries of the past might have been forgotten. But it was a part of the system to maintain twenty battalions of regulars; to divide the colonies into military districts, under the command of brigadier generals, and to place these departments entirely above the civil power.\* The result was constant irritation, and the

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\*Hence the charge in the manifesto of wrongs, July 4, 1776: "He has kept among us in time of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures."

opening of old wounds; the constant recollection of former personal insults, and of disability as colonists to gratify martial ambition.

In the zeal of our writers to show that "taxation without representation" caused the rupture, I have sometimes thought that far too little attention has been paid to this element of disaffection. The age was decidedly military; office in the militia was even a qualification for civil employments. The number of colonels, majors, and captains that appear as members of the colonial assemblies, and, subsequently, of provincial congresses, startles one. The quarrels about rank in the Congress of the Continent, disgusts one. Later still, John Adams offended the men who had borne arms, by entertaining the "indirect" overture from France, and thus added an element of opposition to himself, that helped to prematurely ruin his party.

And what of the newspaper essays and letters of Samuel Adams, and of others? the eloquent appeals in Fanueil Hall, and in the House of Burgesses of Virginia? What of the revolutionary movement everywhere, but for the military skill and experience acquired in the *seven years war* with France? The colonies furnished quite twenty-eight thousand troops in more than one of the campaigns; and every year to the extent of their ability. The burthen fell principally on the middle colonies, and on New England.

At one period of the contest, one-fifth of the able-bodied men of Massachusetts were in the service; and of these no less than twenty-five hundred served in garrison at Louisbourg, and in Nova Scotia, in place of regulars taken thence by Wolfe, to complete his force for the investment of Quebec. In fine, it is literally true, that for years together, more men in proportion, were raised for the field, in America, than in England; while on the ocean, full twelve thousand seamen were enlisted in the royal navy and in the colonial privateers. Without the aid of the survivors of these, resistance, or the thought of it, would have been downright madness. And the unanimity and alacrity with which those who had fought at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Louisbourg, du Quesne, Niagara and Quebec, espoused the popular cause at first, and rallied under the popular banner

in the last resort, was one of the most hopeful incidents of the revolutionary era.

And now, who devised, advised, and promoted, the measures which gave so deep, so universal offense to the colonies? Without a doubt, the principal officers of the British army, who served in America during the French war, were among the most efficient instruments of alienation and strife. I propose to speak of the course pursued by all the commanders-in-chief, as well as that of some of inferior grade, not only because the topic is pertinent, but because it is worth our while, occasionally to descend to details, and to deal with individuals.

Of Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, who succeeded Braddock in the command of the army, we will pause only to say, that he was one of the earliest to suggest to the Lords of Trade the plan of a revenue; but that, divested finally of place and power, he died poor and in retirement at Roxbury, on the eve of the Revolution. The Earl of Loudoun, who followed, was, probably, the most incompetent general officer sent here. Incidents which show his character abound in the works of Franklin, in our books of history, and elsewhere. His conduct caused general aversion. But, supposed to be versed in questions which related to the colonies, his influence on the side of the crown, was of moment. Abercrombie, his successor, was a man of very questionable courage; but, returned to England, and in Parliament, he was among the bravest of the voters for revenue, and for subjugation by force.

The fourth and last military chief was Amherst. By a severe pen he is called "log of wood." Be this as it may, his personal exertions to secure the conquest of Canada, were moderate at the most. By the plan of the campaign of 1759, as already remarked, he was to assist in the reduction of Quebec; but Wolfe was left to struggle alone with his embarrassments. That Amherst profited at home, by the successes of his generals is certain. He was even anxious for reward, and suggested an American Peerage, of which he was to be the first, and to take precedence of all others, with the grant of Canadian coal mines, supposed, in the ignorance of the day, to be worth several thousand pounds sterling annually. Though

he failed in this, he was created a British baron subsequently, and a field marshal.

George Townshend, the second brigadier under Wolfe, was, however, far more potent than either of the preceding officers of higher rank. In the previous war he had served with credit on the continent of Europe; but on complaint of hard usage from his superiors, had resigned.\* In Parliament, he was the author of the famous "militia act," which caused great disturbance in England, and indeed, open rebellion in parts of it. In 1758, we find that he wrote to Pitt, asking to be appointed a colonel of the line, and to be employed on the coast of France. We hear of him next on the 9th of the following February, when, relates Walpole, "The expedition called to Quebec departs on Tuesday next, under Wolfe and George Townshend, who has thrust himself again into the service, and as far as wrong-headedness will go, very proper for a hero." That he stipulated to return at the close of the campaign, appears from Smollett, who writes more favorably of him than any one else. The general quality of courage may be accorded to him with distinct emphasis, and so we may allow that he was a man of ability, though we shall find that both were disputed; but he is to be execrated as a soldier, and as a peer.

The last remark introduces a question that, possibly, may excite surprise. It is the common and the just sentiment of the world, that the victory of the Thirteenth of September was won by Wolfe, and that as a direct consequence, French America passed to the British crown. The brigadiers on that day were three: Monckton, Townshend, and Murray: all young, all members of noble families. The first was disabled on the field. Townshend took command as the next in rank, called in the parties that were in pursuit of the flying French, and restored his disordered lines. This, after the fall of the Chief, was all that was done; all, in truth, that remained to be done; but yet, George Townshend, five days afterwards, received the capitulation of Quebec, as the real conqueror. His official despatch

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\* One writer has it: "In the last war, Col. Townshend, being ordered by the Duke to his regiment in Minorca, he was detained by some family affairs for a month, and broke on that account."

occupies five quarto pages. It is seldom that the eye meets a more heartless paper. Wolfe is mentioned but once by *name*, and simply in connexion with forming the line of battle ; while, instead of a tribute to his memory, there is a cold, bare annunciation, in 'just fifteen words, that he fell at the head of the grenadiers. So, again, in an order of the day to the troops, he spoke of "the *person* who lately commanded them ;" and in another, of the "late General ;" and he neglected or refused to request the officers to pay the usual mourning honors to a departed Chief.

The author of the touching ode, the "Burial of Sir John Moore," was of Wolfe's lineage ; and did he think of the conduct of his kinsman's second brigadier, as he wrote :

"Lightly they'll talk of the spirit that's gone,  
And o'er his cold ashes upbraid him."

From one of Townshend's own letters, we ascertain that he departed Quebec on the 18th of October. The correspondence of several persons of the time, contains evidence that after his arrival in England he took to himself the principal honor of the reduction of that city ; and that Lady Townshend, "the conqueror's mother, covered herself with more laurel leaves than were heaped on the children in the wood."

I propose to notice at some length an elaborate review of his course, as found in a "Letter,"\* which was addressed to himself by a person who, whether in the army or in civil life, was well skilled in military affairs. In this production he is distinctly accused of having appropriated the great achievement of the war to himself, in a peculiar manner ; of having been pressed into the expedition without his knowledge, and of hav-

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\* "Letter to an Honorable Brigadier General, Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in Canada :"

LONDON, 1760. Charles Lee, who was then an officer in the British army, was supposed to be the author : republished in 1841, and then ascribed to *Junius*, by the editor, N. W. Simons, of the British Museum. This letter excited considerable notice when it first appeared, and led to a hostile meeting between Townshend and the Earl of Albemarle, who, it was thought, countenanced the publication. The parties were, however, arrested on the ground, before a duel was fought. A "Refutation" was published soon after the "Letter." The text contains the more material parts of both, as relates immediately to General Wolfe. For the use of these important pages, I am indebted to my friend, Hon. Thomas Aspinwall.

ing objected to the manner of attacking Quebec; and yet, of endeavoring to filch the laurels of others, and to enjoy "alone the honors of its being taken." The principal specific charges, and the substance of the answers to them, follow :

"You signed," avers the writer of the "Letter," "you signed the articles of capitulation without" Monckton's "knowledge, and anxious for the preservation of your conquest, you appointed the staff of the garrison without even asking his consent." \* \* \* \* "He might have ordered you into arrest for such an outrage to his authority. He was not insensible of the indignity; but you asked his pardon, and, languishing under his wounds, he accepted your submission."

The material point of the reply of Townshend, (or of the author of the "Refutation,") is, that :

"General Monckton was so dangerously wounded as not to be able to act; that, moreover, the time was too precious, and the exigence of affairs too urging to admit of any delay."

But this defense will not avail, for in Townshend's orders to the army, *the very day after the battle*, he says he "has the satisfaction to acquaint the troops that General Monckton's wound is not dangerous;" and this was true, for on the 23d of September, he was able to assume command. His first order was issued on that day, and began with a request which his officious inferior had neglected: "*General Monckton desires that all the officers of the army will please to wear mourning for General Wolfe, their late Commander-in-chief, such as is usual in the field.*"

Again, in stinging sarcasm, the "Letter" accuses :

"And so, the better part of valor is discretion, according to Falstaff's wisdom, you discreetly left your regiment, whose paltry emoluments you had dearly purchased by your one campaign, and prudently quitted a scene where danger would probably be too busy." \* \* \* \* "Your understanding was not to be dazzled by Mr. Wolfe's foolish passion for glory. He had precipitately ventured beyond all possibility of retreating; he had no other choice but that of death or victory, especially after you had solemnly entered your protest against his plan for attacking the enemy." \* \* \* "But they must have known very little of the expedition to Quebec, who expected that you would bear testimony to the conduct of a General whose plan of operations you had the honor,

both in public and private, to oppose, and against whose last desperate attempt you protested in form."

The points of the answer in the "Refutation," are :

"That General Townshend did protest against an attack planned by General Wolfe, is not denied ; but what was the object thereof, and where was it to be made ? Why, not immediately against Quebec, but to attack the French in their entrenchments. However gallant such a design, and however gloriously Wolfe's martial spirit was displayed by the proposal, yet it appeared to General Townshend and other officers, who had never flinched in the hour of duty, so fraught with ruin, and so big with dangerous consequences, as rather to be declined than carried into execution. The dissenters on that occasion, were those who proposed attacking Quebec in the unexpected and surprising manner by which it was taken, and which will be admired to latest posterity. General Wolfe, who had been a little piqued at his scheme being dissented from, came in at last to that proposed." \* \* \* "General Townshend did not protest against the scheme that reduced Quebec, but quite the reverse."

To this. I rejoin that three plans to force Montcalm in his works were objected to by the brigadiers, instead of one, as here indicated ; and that, so far from Wolfe's denying any obligations to these officers, he expressly stated, in his dispatch of September 2d, that the general proposal of acting above the town was made by them, and that he had "acquiesced" in their suggestion ; but it does not thence follow that, in arranging the details of their proposition, or in the execution of the scheme itself, after it was matured, he, the Chief, and responsible for everything, should yield to his inferiors, in the point of merit. That Wolfe is really entitled to the praise which Townshend would appropriate to himself and the other "dissenters," is a conclusion which rests on ample evidence. The testimony of Knox is alone sufficient for our purpose. He disposes of Townshend's pretensions in these emphatic terms : "The French army, under the Marquis de Montcalm, being amused by Mr. Wolfe, and lulled into a state of security, were, by *the sole discerning judgment of that eminent young General*, allured from their strong entrenched camp, and defeated." And what credit is due to this statement ? Knox was the chronicler of four

campaigns in the French war ; his record is received as authority by writers of history ; he was personally present at the reduction of Quebec ; was acquainted with the incidents of the siege, and saw and published every military order that was issued there ; and he wrote the passage just cited, a year after Wolfe's fall, when he could but have known of the wicked attempts to rob that officer of his glory. Or, if ignorant of those attempts, in 1760, or, if the account he then gave was inaccurate in any particular, he had nine years for correction and revision, since the publication of his book was delayed until 1769, when he certainly did know every circumstance that had occurred in Parliament, in military circles, and elsewhere, and must have read the "Letter" and the "Refutation," time and again. Evidence to the same point is, however, abundant.

The Gentleman's Magazine says, "*singly and alone in opinion*, Wolfe formed the plan," &c. Also, in italics, denominates him "*The conqueror of Canada.*" Lord Mahon relates:—

"It does not seem certain at what period or by what accident he first conceived the daring thought to land his troops beneath the heights of Abraham, on some point less guarded than the rest. *Yet the honor of the first thought belongs to Wolfe alone, and once conceived, it was no less ably and boldly pursued.*" But Yonge covers the whole ground. He states that, "as Wolfe was gazing from his camp at the apparently unassailable position of the French army, the idea suddenly occurred to him to scale the heights. \* \* \* Trusting that the seeming impossibility of such an enterprise might facilitate it by preventing Montcalm's attention being turned to that direction."

Still further the accuser of Townshend, in the same bitter tone :

"Some malignant spirits, indeed, were offended at your not having paid one simple compliment to the memory of General Wolfe, or used one kind expression of esteem or affection with regard to his person. Surely, some people are not to be satisfied. Permit me, sir, in your name, to ask them whether your warmest encomiums could have added to that universal good opinion which the public had conceived of Mr. Wolfe's abilities and courage?"

The accusation is repelled thus :

"If General Townshend, in his letter to the Secretary of State, did

not pay civil compliments to the memory of General Wolfe, it was not for want of esteem, but because of the impropriety to write a panegyric to a minister, when nothing but the situation and exigence of affairs were to be mentioned."

Then, this quotation is made from a letter of General Townshend to a friend in London :

"I am not ashamed to own to you, that my heart does not exult in the midst of this success. I have lost but a friend in General Wolfe. Our country has lost a sure support and a perpetual honor. If the world were sensible at how dear a price we have purchased Quebec, in his death, it would damp the general joy. Our best consolation is, that Providence seemed not to promise that he should remain long among us. He was himself sensible of the weakness of his constitution, and determined to crowd, into a few years, actions that would have adorned length of life."

This is plausible enough on the face of things, but will not bear examination. In the first place, Admiral Saunders wrote Pitt on the same day of Townshend's despatch, and saw no "impropriety" in the expression of sorrow that Wolfe was slain ; nor did it occur to Townshend himself, that there was "impropriety" in the following "panegyric" on the officers of the fleet, for *they* were living :

"I should not do justice to the admirals and the naval service, if I neglected this occasion of acknowledging how much we are indebted, for our success, to the constant assistance and support received from them.

\* \* \* It is my duty, short as my command has been, to acknowledge, for that time, how great a share the navy has had in this successful campaign.

As relates to the origin of the letter "to a friend in London," cited above, Walpole avers that it was manufactured for the occasion, and to cover the pretender's retreat. His account is that :

"Wolfe dead, and Monckton disabled, General Townshend signed the articles. *He, and his friends for him, even attempted to ravish the honor of the conquest from Wolfe.* Townshend's first letter said nothing in praise of him. *In one to the Speaker of the House of Commons, he went so far as indirectly to assume the glory of the last effort.* \* \* \* Lord Buckingham moved the address in the Lords, and flung in much panegyric on George Townshend, *whose friends were now reduced to*

*compose and publish in his name, a letter in praise of Wolfe.*" \* \* \* Townshend went to Canada, adds Walpole, unwillingly, and 'was sent, even, it was believed, by Pitt, who wished to get rid of so troublesome a man.'

The merciless author of the "Letter" tells the "conqueror" to "either go to Quebec, or resign your commission;" and, referring to the battle on the Thirteenth of September: "You were at a safe and honorable distance from the scene of action, when you were told that you commanded." And he asks:

"Are not you, sir, at this moment, abusing your interest with that minister, by leaving and being so many months absent from your command at Quebec? \* \* \* Are you not paid for your command of a regiment in America, and is not some officer now doing, at the risk of his life, the duty for which you are paid? Is not yours the single instance of this kind of desertion in the service? \* \* \* Why are you not at your post? or why do you receive the pay of two regiments for nothing?"

The answer to these queries, is that of a shameless boaster:

1st. "How is he [General Townshend] abusing his interest with the minister?"

2d. He [Gen. T.] has gloriously completed his military mission to Quebec.

3d. His friends, his family, his country, the British constitution, sighed, wished for, nay, demanded his return, in order to set him at the head of the national militia, of which he was the great promoter. What a glorious example is it, to see the *reducer* of Quebec march at the head of a regiment of militia."

Here, then, we have at last the gist of the whole matter in controversy. Wolfe, and everybody else, set aside, and "the reducer" of Quebec proclaimed to be no other than George Townshend. The writer of the "Refutation" was shielded by the grave, and boldly enough did he dare truth and heaven. Fortunately, the pretender to the honors which belonged to the fallen Chief, whatever his ulterior designs, had not fully concluded to thrust himself before the world as "the conqueror," on the 20th of September, when he composed his despatch; and thus he can be proved an impostor by his own words: "Our troops reserved their fire," he wrote, "till within forty

yards, which was so well continued, *that the enemy every where gave way.* It was *then our General fell,* at the head of Bragg's and the Louisbourg grenadiers, advancing with their bayonets." He then proceeds to narrate that about the same time Monckton was wounded, that "part of the enemy made a second faint attack," and a part "seemed to make a stand;" in a word, that several British corps pressed on with bayonets; that Murray completed the rout on one side, that the Highlanders, supported by Anstruther's command, took to their broad-swords, and drove some of the flying French into Quebec, and some to their works at the bridge on the river St. Charles, with several other particulars, not material here to mention; and having stated all these, he adds: "*This was the situation of things, when I was told in the action that I commanded.*" Was not the day won *before* he was informed that he was the senior officer on the field, by his own account? I have once affirmed, and now repeat, that, all that was done, all that remained to be done, when Townshend repaired to the center, was simply to recall the troops in pursuit, and to restore his disordered and broken lines.

Every student of history understands that, at times, allowance is to be made in the portraits of public men by Walpole and by Junius; but, with all the evidence from other sources, few, I apprehend, will be disposed to entirely deny the accuracy of their delineation in the present case. The first, it is to be observed, was by no means partial to Wolfe. Of Townshend, he says:

"A very particular young man, who, with much address, some honor, no knowledge, great fickleness, greater want of judgment, and with still more disposition to ridicule, had promised once or twice to make a good speaker. He was governed by his mother, the famous Lady Townshend." \* \* \* \* \*

"To Wolfe was associated George Townshend, whose proud and sullen and contemptuous temper, never suffered him to wait for thwarting his superiors till risen to a level with them. He saw everything in an ill-natured and ridiculous light. \* \* \* The haughtiness of the Duke of Cumberland, the talents or blemishes of Fox, the ardor of Wolfe, the virtue of Conway, all were alike the objects of Townshend's

spleen and contradiction ; but Wolfe was not a man to waive pre-eminence from fear of caricatures."

Junius, who never spares a foe :

" I find you and your brother printers have got greatly into a sort of knack of stuffing your papers with flummery upon two certain brothers [Lord Townshend and his brother Charles] who all labor in vain, endeavoring to force themselves out of the world's contempt. \* \* \* The peer, a boaster without spirit, and a pretender to wit, without a grain of sense ; in a word, a vain-glorious idler, without one single good quality of head or heart. \* \* \* \* \*"

" Why is that wretched creature, Lord Townshend, maintained in Ireland? Is it not universally known that the ignorance, presumption, and incapacity of that man, have ruined the king's affairs in Ireland?"

We conclude our notice of the " Letter," with a single extract more, merely to show the kind of Generals who possessed the esteem of Townshend, and on whom he *could* lavish praise :

" The enemy were routed before General Wolfe fell, or Monckton was wounded. You had only to temper the ardor of the soldiers in pursuit ; and I dare swear you led them on as regularly, and as methodically, according to the rules of war, as your friend and favorite, Lord George, slow marched the cavalry at the battle of Minden. You have been his Lordship's warmest advocate, and he has been to you an example of military glory."

So far from denying friendship for Lord George Sackville, the reply to the accusation is a labored defense of his Lordship's conduct at Minden, which occupies several pages. Of a case so familiar to readers of English history, it is hardly necessary to remark, that Sackville, who commanded the British forces, neglected to advance with the cavalry in support of the infantry, as ordered to do by his superior officer, Prince Ferdinand ; and that he was dismissed from the army, and pronounced unfit to serve in any military capacity whatever, only three days before Wolfe's death.

On the decease of his father, in 1767, George Townshend became a viscount. In Parliament, he was among the most earnest advocates of enforcing the measures of the ministry against the colonies. It is said of him, that, angry at not obtaining the dignity of marquis, (in reward for his services in Canada, as I suppose,) he " pushed his brother Charles upon

knavery ;” that he was “ designing ” and “ revengeful ;” that Charles was “ afraid ” of him, and when offered a place in the administration, dared not to decide without consulting him, and providing for his interest. So when, by his brother’s influence, he was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, it was written, that “ he would impose on the Irish at first, as he had done on all the world ; would please them by joviality, and then grow sullen and quarrel with them.” And subsequently, that his government was “ ridiculous ;” that the people of his rule “ despised it ” and him ; and in a letter to Pitt : “ A general officer of ability is to be sent to Ireland, if such an one can be found, who will serve under Lord Townshend.” In a word, there is good authority for saying, that having rendered himself obnoxious to all classes, and having quarrelled with several of the great Irish lords, the ministry determined that his recall was a necessary measure, and that the resolution was not executed simply because, in the divisions which preceded Pitt’s retirement from office, the cabinet could not agree upon a successor.\* We find men like Lord George Townshend in every generation ; men who, in the opinion of others, lack every essential qualification for official station, but who still possess a ridiculous estimate of self, and of ability to fill the most difficult and responsible posts. Such persons exist in England and among us, at this very moment ; and those who administer public affairs meet them at every turn, and worn out by impatience and annoyance, finally confer upon them the desired distinction, much as the maiden accepted her lover, simply to get rid of them.

Charles Townshend, the minister, was a wonderful man every way, and as wonderful in his eccentricities, follies and vices, as in his intellect, eloquence, boldness, and command of the House of Commons.† In American affairs, he was supposed to be the

\* Anecdotes and Speeches of the Earl of Chatham, 2d, p. 83.

† From Burke, in his speech on *American Taxation*, in 1774 :

“ There are many young\* members in the House (such of late has been the rapid succession of public men) who never saw that prodigy, Charles Townshend, nor, of course, know what a ferment he was able to excite in everything, by the violent ebullition of his mixed virtues and failings ; for failings he had, undoubtedly ; many of us remember them ; we are this day considering the effect of them. \* \* \*

\* \* \* He was truly the child of the House. He never thought, did, or said

best informed man in Parliament. Trained to public life, he held office in the admiralty, in the privy council, in the board of trade, and in the war department; was paymaster-general, chancellor of the exchequer, and a lord of the treasury; and yet he died at the age of forty-two. To the Townshends\* we owe as much as to any other two men in England, the scheme to consolidate the colonies; to raise a revenue by duties on imports; to maintain a standing army, and to enforce the obsolete

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anything, but with a view to you. He every day adapted himself to your disposition, and adjusted himself before it as at a looking-glass."

The unsparing pen of Junius :

"Charles Townshend took some care of his education at that ambiguous age, which lies between the follies of political childhood and the vices of puberty. The empire of the passions soon succeeded. His earliest principles and connexions were of course forgotten or despised. The company he has lately kept has been of no service to his morals, and, in the conduct of public affairs, we see the character of his time of life strongly distinguished. An obstinate, ungovernable self-sufficiency plainly points out to us that state of imperfect maturity at which the graceful levity of youth is lost, and the solidity of experience not yet acquired. It is possible the young man may, in time, grow wiser, and reform; but if I understand his disposition, it is not of such corrigible stuff that we should hope for any amendment in him, before he has accomplished the destruction of his country. Like other rakes, he may, perhaps, live to see his error, but not until he has ruined his estate."

\* Charles Townshend aspired to the administration of American affairs, as early as 1762, but had then a rival in Lord Halifax. The next year he was made First Lord of the Board of Trade, with ample powers to carry out his plans, which embraced an entire change in the colonial constitutions and governments, as stated in the text. He declared in debate: "Sooner than make our colonies our allies, I should wish to see them returned to their primitive deserts." Here was the most emphatical denial of *equality*. Again, speaking as a minister of the crown: "It has long been my opinion that America should be regulated, and deprived of its militating and contradictory charters, and its royal governors, judges and attorneys be rendered independent of the people." Still later, and early in the year of his death: "England is undone, if this taxation of America is given up." Four months afterwards, in reply to a suggestion to remove the troops from America: "The moment a resolution shall be taken to withdraw the army, I will resign my office, and have no more to do with public affairs." Some idea of the magnificence of his scheme of patronage, may be formed from the fact that, the colonial governors were each to have a salary of two thousand pounds sterling, which, the expenses of living compared, was equal to twenty thousand dollars at the present time; and the terror inspired in America by his manner of disposing of the revenue, may be indicated by stating that the king was to dispose of the whole of it at his pleasure, or, to reward favorites of himself and of his ministers. Little is heard of Townshend in Parliament, after May, 1767. He was sick the whole summer of 1767; partially recovered, relapsed, was neglected, and died of a putrid fever, on the 4th of Sept.

The sentiments of Lord George Townshend sufficiently appear from a single remark in the debate on his brother's American revenue and army bill: "Let us deliberate no longer; let us act with vigor, now, while we can call the colonies ours. If you do not, they will very soon be lost forever." On Lord Chatham's motion to recall the troops from America, he said: "The question is not now barely a question of revenue, but whether that great commercial system \* \* \* shall be destroyed in order to gratify the foolishly ambitious temper of a turbulent, ungrateful people."

In 1787, the coveted dignity of marquis was conferred upon him, and twice he held the office of Master-general of Ordnance. He died in 1807, in his 84th year.

laws of navigation and trade. The imagination may linger to dream that, had Pitt sent George Townshend in the expedition against France, *some* chapters in our history would, possibly, have been different.

As intimately connected with Lord George Townshend, and his brother Charles, the minister, I now introduce Charles Paxton, of Boston, and marshal of the court of admiralty. The former, before he succeeded to the peerage, according to Smollett, "possessed a very affluent fortune;" still, when in America, he "borrowed" of Paxton "five hundred pounds sterling at least," which probably was never restored at all, and which, certainly, remained unpaid after the lapse of ten years. Meantime George had come to enjoy the family estates, and had often met Paxton in England; and Charles,\* disinherited by his father, and living beyond his means, had become a mark of scorn for stock-gambling, while chancellor of the exchequer, and in a position to influence the market at pleasure. In Boston, and elsewhere in the colonies, the officers of the customs allowed the merchants to smuggle at will, in consideration of hush-money; and were, in turn, required to pay for services rendered in England to themselves. The whole system of colonial patronage was corrupt; and this was the established and well-known practice. Did George Townshend, on his way home from Quebec, "*quarter*" on Paxton? If not, why, rich in his own right, and as a peer, was he so long a debtor for borrowed money? As the disputes of the Revolutionary war increased, the visits of Paxton to London became frequent. He went there as the authorized organ of the crown officers, to complain of the merchants for resisting the obnoxious acts of Parliament, and to care for the interests of himself and of his employers. He possessed "as much of the friendship of Charles Townshend as a selfish client may obtain from an intriguing patron;"† and it is known that he was in England, and

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\* Charles Townshend's father did not so much as mention him in his will, but he gave all he could to a house-maid by whom he had three children. Lady Townshend, his mother, was a famous wit, and her sayings were repeated by everybody.

† Cited from Mr. Bancroft, to whom I am much indebted. Besides the facts derived from his pages, the bare mention of a name has sometimes afforded me a clue to investigations elsewhere, that otherwise I could not have made.

was in the counsels of that minister when his plans relative to the colonies were devised and presented to the House of Commons. The Board of Commissioners of the Customs was established at Boston while Paxton was abroad, and he was appointed a member of it. Did the office conferred by Charles, cancel George Townshend's debt? \* The documents of the time show that Paxton was efficient and active, beyond his associates. John Adams says, that he was "the essence of customs, taxation, and revenue;" and that he appeared at one time "to have been governor, lieutenant governor, secretary, and chief justice." It was Paxton, when Charles Townshend was at the Board of Trade, who applied for the celebrated "writs of assistance," by which search was to be made in every place suspected of containing smuggled goods.

From the founding of the Board of Customs, how rapid were the events that terminated in Revolution! Paxton, and his fellow-commissioners, personally offended with Hancock, seized one of his vessels for smuggling wine, which caused a fearful mob, and the flight of officials of the revenue to Castle William. Then, came the hanging of Paxton in effigy, on the *Liberty Tree*. Then, at the instance of the Board, the first troops came to Boston. Then, the card of Otis, denouncing the commissioners by name; the assault upon him with bludgeons, in answer to it, and the increased irritation of the public mind. Then, the affray near the custom-house, in King street, on the Fifth of March. Then, the receipt of the letters sent from England by Franklin, of which, Paxton was one of the writers.

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\* From vol. 2d, page 220, works of John Adams :

1769. "October 19. Thursday. Last night I spent the evening at the house of John Williams, Esq., the revenue officer, in company with Mr. Otis, Jonathan Williams, Esq., and Mr. McDaniel, a Scotch gentleman, who has some connection with the commissioners, as clerk, or something. Williams is as sly, secret, and cunning a fellow as need be. \* \* \* In the course of the evening he said, that he knew that Lord Townshend borrowed money of Paxton, when in America, to the amount of five hundred pounds sterling, at least, that is not paid yet. He also said, in the course of the evening, that if he had drank a glass of wine that came out of a seizure, he would take a puke to throw it up, he had such a contempt for the thirds of seizures. He affects to speak slightly of the commissioners, and of their conduct, though guardedly, and to insinuate that his connections and interest, and influence at home with the Boards, &c., are greater than theirs."

The commissioners had power to appoint officers of the customs at pleasure. The Declaration of Independence expresses the result :

"He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance."

Then, the committee of correspondence, that laid the foundation of colonial union. Then, the destruction of the three cargoes of tea. Then, the shutting of the port of Boston. Then, the first Continental Congress. Then, war; war, which cost England five hundred millions of dollars, and the Anglo-Saxon race one hundred thousand lives, in battle, in storm, and in prison, with all the attendant miseries to survivors; war, to enforce a wicked discrimination between British subjects, in civil, military, commercial, and political rights.

In the *theory* of a peerage, in being *born* to the fortune and to the name, which, under our institutions, we strive to *achieve*, there is something to arrest the attention; for, the thought is, that peers may and should, devote themselves to the good of the toiling millions below them. The house of Townshend is Norman. By union with the house of Northampton, it received two hundred and fifty quarterings, including the royal one of Plantaganet. The two representatives of whom I have spoken, were false to their personal honors, to their country, and to their age. They denied the relations of human brotherhood. By their very birth, they were bound to promote civilization; but they resisted its progress even to blood and to devastation. The policy which they labored to establish with unwavering constancy, would have enslaved millions of their fellow men, and the vassalage of our fathers, would have descended to us.

The humbler born, the ill-bred Arnold, stands accursed; and yet, *he* did but contract to deliver a single military post, in the civil war for which, the Townshends will ever stand in history as among the most responsible authors.

Such were some of the consequences of the "Old French War;" such, the course of some of its prominent actors, and of the persons under their direct influence.

But, our notice of military officers is far from being complete. Thomas Gage,\* the second son of a poor nobleman, was "quartered" upon the army. We hear of him first, in the

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\* He married in America, and his wife was daughter of Peter Kemble, president of the council of New Jersey, whose wife was daughter of the Hon. Stephen Van Cortlandt. The son of Gen. Gage, who succeeded to the peerage, was nephew of the 2d viscount, and a major general in the army.

colonies, as a lieutenant colonel on *Braddock's Field*, where, as is said, his indecision lost the day, and from which he led off the shattered army. A year or two later we find a letter to the ministry, recommending colonial taxation, and a common military fund. In the stamp act difficulties, after he had become commander-in-chief of the army, we read an official communication to his government, in which he says that the people of the American colonies were "threatening to plunder and murder" such among them as purchased stamped paper; and, during the troubles which grew out of the law for quartering troops in private houses, a measure much his own, we meet with a similar letter, in which he declares that, "every man here studies law, and interprets the law to suit his purposes;" and, that "an officer of rank and long experience, may be cashiered by the management of two justices of the peace, the best of them the keeper of a paltry tavern." As we follow him further, we see the record of his presence in Boston, of his collision with the civil authorities, of his indictment by the grand jury, and of his assurance to Bernard, that, upon requisition, he would send him troops. Again, as if inviting an appeal to arms, we trace him to England, and in consultation with the king; and offering to return "at a day's notice, if coercive measures were to be used." And, finally, taken at his word; and as the last royal and first military, governor, of Massachusetts, we find him sending troops to Lexington and Concord; and soon after, recalled in disgrace, after retaining the confidence of successive administrations, from Braddock's defeat down to the beginning of hostilities. Who shall measure his influence, during his twenty years connexion with America, in producing the rupture?

His successor, (in command of the army,) was Sir William Howe,\* who, too, of noble family, became a peer. At the head of the corps of light infantry, he was ordered by Wolfe on the

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\* Sir William, (then colonel,) Howe, was sick at Castle William, (now Fort Independence,) after the reduction of Louisbourg, in 1758, and "he always gratefully and publicly acknowledged that his recovery was to be attributed to the skill and unceasing attention of" Dr. James Lloyd, of Boston. When Sir William came again, in 1775, "he immediately sought out and renewed his acquaintance with his former physician." In the Revolution, Dr. Lloyd was a Loyalist. His son James, was a Senator in Congress, from Massachusetts.

morning of the Thirteenth of September, to lead. In landing, his troops missed the path that led up the precipice, and gained the summit by catching at roots, stumps, and boughs of trees. He dislodged the French guard; he cleared the way for the ascent of the whole division; and in the battle, acted on the enemy's flanks. When next he came to America, he met as foes, many of the colonists who shared with him in the honors of that day; and their conduct on the memorable Seventeenth of June, 1775, could but have taught him the utter hopelessness of his mission of subjugation.

Sir Henry Clinton, who followed, as chief of the forces, is not connected with our subject; and we pass to Sir Guy Carleton. In the expedition to Quebec, he was quarter-master general; in the battle, he commanded the "grenadiers of the army," and was wounded. Rewarded, in a few years, by the governorship of the country which he had helped to win; he resisted the invasion of Montgomery; took possession of Crown Point; and, as the superior, controlled the movements of Burgoyne and Cornwallis. The last military chieftain appointed to subdue the Thirteen States, he communicated overtures of reconciliation to Congress; and arranged with Washington, for the evacuation of New York, and of the British post at the mouth of the Penobscot.\* And, when he was elevated to the peerage, as Baron Dorchester, in reward for his eminent services, principally in America, he saw the survivors of his colonial companions in arms, on the eve of forming a Federal Union, and so taking a place among the nations.

How difficult, in civil war, to ascertain the truth as relates to the character of persons. At the very period when Lord George Germain, as minister, wrote to Carleton that it had pleased the king to place him over Burgoyne and Cornwallis, and the Duke of Richmond and others in the Lords, were saying that there was not a more valuable officer in the service, and, that his private life was estimable: several distinguished men of the Revolution, held him in utter contempt. Thus, Montgomery wrote that he supposed Carleton was ashamed to

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\* Sparks' Washington contains quite a correspondence on the subject. The two Chiefs had, also, an interview.

show himself in England ; Gerry, that his general orders discovered him to be a brute ; and Schuyler, that his conduct had put it out of the power of the Whigs to have any intercourse with him.

A word more of three others. Robert Monckton, the senior brigadier under Wolfe, was the second son of viscount Galway. In 1754, he was a lieutenant colonel, and in Boston with proposals to Shirley to raise two thousand men for service in Nova Scotia. A question of rank arose between him and General Winslow, which the Governor adroitly disposed of by giving each a separate command. Monckton assisted in removing the Acadians, in 1755 ; and after the conquest of Quebec, was governor of New York, and chief of the successful expedition against Martinico. He attained the rank of lieutenant general. He is said to have been "brave, open-hearted, and liberal."\* James Murray, the junior general at Quebec, was a brother of the duke of Atholl ; and, the first military governor of Canada after the conquest, he advised the continuance of the system of martial rule, and of addition to its territory westerly, "in order to over-awe the older colonies, and keep them in fear and submission."† Brave, but imprudent and inconsiderate, and of a character to keep the public sentiment divided as to his merits ; he was tried by a court martial, finally, for professional incompetence. He represented the county of Perth in five Parliaments, and became a major general.

For a while, there was one officer of rank who was true to America. Isaac Barré, was Wolfe's adjutant general, and of his own selection. They crossed the ocean in the same ship. He was near his Chief when he fell, and received a wound himself which "ultimately made him blind."‡ "I had lingered a subaltern officer eleven years," he wrote Pitt, in 1760, when the

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\* An autograph letter before me, written in Nova Scotia in 1755, shows a practiced pen and a clear mind.

† Declaration of Independence, referring to what was then called the Province of Quebec : "For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to make it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies."

‡ Barré, in a letter to Pitt, Dated New York, April 28, 1760 : "My left eye rendered useless, and the ball still in my head." He lost his sight twenty years previous to his death.

General's "opinion of me rescued me from obscurity;" and, he added, "by the neglect I have met with" since his loss, "I am apprehensive that my pretensions are to be buried with my only protector and friend."

West, in his celebrated picture, *The Death of Wolfe*, to the displeasure of the artists of the time, represented the different figures in living costume, in boots and buttons, in laced coats and cocked hats.\* Barré is seen as one of a group of officers collected to witness the closing scene. Barré's career in Parliament is too familiar to need notice here. For his votes against the ministry, he was dismissed from the army. Every school-boy has by heart, his admirable speech in reply to Charles Townshend, who had said in eloquent and labored terms, that America was planted by the "care," and "nourished" by the "indulgence," of England. Boston, grateful for his opposition to the stamp act, asked for his picture to grace Fanueil Hall, and it was placed there; but it disappeared early in the Revolution, and while the British troops were in possession. The town of Barré, however, perpetuates his name in Massachusetts. He declared in the House of Commons, that the idea of reducing the colonies by force, was "wild, incoherent, and impracticable;" but yet, he finally fell off, and voted for the Boston Port Bill. In after life, he held several offices.

Thus intimately connected were the two wars; the second, politically considered, the result of the first; with the same actors in both. Fighting side by side to annex the possessions of France to their common country, were Loudoun, and Abercrombie, Amherst and Townshend, Gage and Howe, Carleton, and Murray, and Barré: Washington, the "frontier Colonel," who came first to Boston to supplicate the Chief of the *British* forces, that he might not be compelled to obey the orders of a captain of the regulars, and who came next, himself, the

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\* In biography of West: "Lord Grosvenor, disregarding the frowns of the amateurs, and the cold approbation of the Academy, purchased the work." \* \* \* "The king questioned West concerning the picture, and put him on his defense of this new heresy in art." \* \* \* Sir Joshua Reynolds, owned, finally, that the subject was treated as it ought to have been, and retracted his objections. "I foresee," he said, "that this picture will not only become one of the most popular, but will occasion a revolution in art." "I wish," remarked the king, "that I had known all this before, for the objection has been the means of Lord Grosvenor's getting it; but you shall make a copy for me."

chief of the *American* armies; and Mercer, and Gates, and Morgan; the two Putnams, and the two Clintons; and Nixon, and Thomas; Irvine, Gibson, Atlee, Bradford, Prescott, and Butler, and Stark, and Bull, and Spencer: and a long roll of officers of inferior rank. While in the army of Wolfe, were Preble\*, the first elected commander of the forces of Massachusetts; the able, graceful Montgomery;† and Gridley, who laid out the works on Bunker Hill; and the worthy, but unfortunate, St. Clair.

The English born, as we have seen, were honored and advanced; the American born were allowed to return to the pursuits of private life, unnoticed, even wronged. In the lapse of years, both appeared again on the scene of affairs; the first, as leaders to preserve, the second, as leaders to dismember, the British empire. As now, I conclude the topic, I venture to suggest, that, as students of history, we are bound to connect the victory on the highlands of Quebec with the capitulation at Yorktown, as, with our limited knowledge of the beginning and the end of political events, we pronounce upon cause and effect.

Thus naturally, by my own course of thought, certainly, do we come to another head of our discourse, and to speak of the

\* Jedediah Preble, of Falmouth, now Portland, and the first of the name who settled there. Two commissions of captain, one signed by Shirley, of Massachusetts, 1746, and the other the year following, by him and by Knowles, Governor of Cape Breton, have been preserved. He was engaged in the unpleasant duty of removing the Acadians, in 1755, under Winslow. In the battle of Sept. 13, 1759, he was near Wolfe, and was himself wounded in the thigh. The bullet struck his broad-flapped waistcoat, and drew a piece of that garment into the wound, which was long preserved in the family. The tradition is, that he was the first white man who went to the summit of Mount Washington; its very words, that the "Brigadier had gone up and washed his hands in the clouds." He declined the command of the Massachusetts forces, on account of ill health and advanced years. His son, Com. Edward Preble, U. S. Navy, was very distinguished. It hardly need be added, that all the officers named in the text, Preble and Gridley alone excepted, commanded divisions, brigades, or regiments, in the war of the Revolution. In service in the French war, also, were four of the signers of the Declaration of Independence: Paine of Massachusetts, Lewis of New York, Wolcott of Conn., and Franklin of Penn.

In the field at the South, engaged against the Indians, were, Moultrie, of South Carolina, whose defense of Sullivan's Island in the Revolution, conferred great honor; Pickens, and Marion, the two partisan officers. Elsewhere, we find, Randolph, first President of the Continental Congress; Gadsen, called the "John Adams of the South," and Calhoun, father of the great statesman.

† Wolfe, at Louisbourg, found Montgomery "a humble officer," in his own brigade, and gave him the commission of lieutenant.

Victor, on the day we celebrate. At my time of life, hero-worship does not become me. Edward Braddock, shared the infamous wages of an infamous woman, and was a drunken gambler; insensible as a brute, ever, he did but utter a heartless jest, when his sister, a maiden of beautiful person and of cultivated mind, and the victim to gambling and to misplaced, yet innocent love, committed suicide. Was the British major general, of whom I am to address you, like *him*? Or, if not positively bad, was James Wolfe, still distinguished principally, for mere bravery? I do not care to dwell upon and to praise, so common a quality in the human race as personal courage, or disregard of danger and of death. Fools and pretenders are alike renowned in history, as winners of great battles; and both have worn stolen laurels, and suborned or cheated chroniclers in every age and country. Have *we* assembled here to honor a man void of understanding, or one whose fame belongs to another? The death of Wolfe, is considered by persons of his own profession, I suppose, as one of the most satisfactory and glorious, in the annals of war; but, can we discuss his *character* in our homes, without reserve?

Sketches of his life, of a page or two, abound; but, original materials on which to found an opinion, with reasons for every conclusion, are few, scattered, and fragmentary.\* The principal sources of information accessible to me, are his military orders, upwards of fifty in number, and his dispatches to the ministry; the journal of one of his officers;† an occasional letter of his own; the correspondence of some of the public men of his time; and the incidental mention of him, in the lives of naval officers who served with him in the *St. Lawrence*. But for the pretensions of George Townshend: the equivocal notice of him in the brief note of Monckton to Pitt: and the text of Hutchinson, who, a principal actor in the affairs of Massachusetts, was personally concerned in measures to prosecute the

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\* It is stated in several works, that his *Life*, embracing his *Correspondence*, was published in London, in 1827; but such is not the fact. It was then announced. Southey undertook the task of biographer and editor, but abandoned it; and so did Gleig.

† *Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America, 1757, 1758, 1759, 1760, &c., &c.* By Capt. John Knox, dedicated by permission to Lt. Gen. Sir Jeffrey Amherst. London, 1769.

war with vigor, and who, at his request, in the absence of the governor, sent him a reinforcement during the siege; but for these, I should say, that the name of General Wolfe is always pronounced with emphatic praise.

When a young lieutenant, he won reputation for skill and genius, in Germany. When quartermaster-general in an expedition to the coast of France,\* while his superiors were disputing about the possibility of a descent, he landed, penetrated the country, and earnestly urged invasion; and was applauded and promoted by Pitt, who censured them.† The youngest of the brigadiers at Louisbourg, he still conducted the principal operations of the siege; and his services were duly and officially acknowledged by the commander-in-chief. When he communicated to Amherst the design of quitting the army, he was told in reply: "I can by no means agree to it. \* \* \* I know nothing that can tend more to the good of His Majesty's service than your assisting in it." At the early age of thirty-three,§ he was selected from the long roll of generals, by England's great minister, to lead *the* hazardous expedition, of a campaign which was meant to be decisive; and he modestly answered: "I have no objection to serving in America, and particularly in the river St. Lawrence;"|| with the simple condition that he might remain a while with his mother, to repair his shattered health. Arrived at the scene of operations, we are to see that he wore out his very life in thought, in solving the "difficulties"

\* Walpole, referring to this affair, says: "Wolfe, who was no friend of Mr. Conway last year, and for whom I consequently have no affection, has great merit, spirit, and alacrity, and shone extremely at Louisbourg."

† Rigid in discipline, he trained the very six battalions that saved the army from the consequences of Sackville's delinquency at Minden.

One of his eulogists, in 1760, states his claims in these strong words: "I say again, it was the instinct of thy capacity, that conquered in the plains of Minden; thy spirit, thy devotion, presence of mind, and judgment, were present at the battle; they guided the work thy hands had fashioned; and this work overthrew the enemy with great slaughter. All Europe heard of it, and was amazed. Britain knew then her son to be the author of it, and therefore she now records the glory of it in her annals, to thy immortal honor."

§ He was born at Westerham, in the county of Kent, November 6, 1726, and was baptized there on the following 11th of January. At the time of his birth, his father rented the vicarage house. "Quebec house became the seat of the family," says Glieg, "at a later period."

|| This letter is dated St. James Street, London, Nov. 22, 1758. A few days after, Wolfe was commissioned as major general, and appointed to the chief command.

of the enterprise. Dearly enough did he earn the statue which Massachusetts voted; and the cenotaph which England voted and erected!

In private life there seems little reason to doubt that Wolfe was a gentleman of pure morals and of religious affections.\* That he was generally loved, is certain; and, to believe those who knew him intimately, he possessed almost every virtue. Conscious of ability, he was still deferential, and modest; high toned, he was neither malignant nor irritable; benevolent, he sought out the needy, and gave to profusion; manly in sentiment, he was yet as gentle and tender as a woman; conscious of his own frailties, he bore patiently the faults of others; cautious to form, he was careful to preserve, friendships; frank and sincere, implicit faith was placed in his word; and at times he was lively, even to boyish sportiveness.

The common account is, that he was "daring" and "presumptuous," by intuition. Such, I confess, is not my own impression. In a familiar rule in mathematics, by means of three numbers given, we find a fourth, which solves the question; and the principle will ordinarily serve to determine character, individuality. Wolfe, by nature, was adapted to the pulpit, rather than the camp; and, I imagine that his life in the army, was one continued sacrifice of self. He bore a commission when a boy of fourteen. His father,† attained the

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\* The point of Wolfe's private character has been carefully examined. Great allowance is always to be made in the statements which appear soon after a man's decease, and while the public mind is excited by his loss, and by rejoicings on his achievements; but, unless we *reject* the sentiments expressed in letters of his personal friends, and of some of the most distinguished men of his time, as well as the positive declarations of the ministers in America and in England, who pronounced funeral sermons or eulogies, we must conclude that he was a gentleman in the highest sense of the word as commonly used, and was "inspired with a deep sense of religion," also.

† Edward Wolfe, "a veteran from the wars of Marlborough;" he died 27th March, 1759. There are seeming disagreements as to his rank. The inscription on one of the cenotaphs to his son, gives him the title of "colonel," and the same appears in an English Eulogy; but he is called a "lieutenant general," in the Correspondence of Chatham, and "general," by his widow, and by Gleig. The Gentleman's Magazine for 1759, without a word of comment, records his decease thus: "Lt. Gen. Edw. Wolfe, col. of the 8th Reg. of foot." The difficulty may be solved, perhaps, by suggesting that *Generals* were still *Colonels* of regiments. In the proclamation of Gen. James Wolfe to the Canadians the day after landing on the Isle of Orleans, he styles himself "*Colonel* of a regiment of Infantry, *Major General*, and Commander-in-chief of His Britannic Majesty's Forces in the River St. Lawrence, &c., &c."

rank of lieutenant general. The profession of arms was the most honorable of the age ; and nobles and persons of fortune, clamored in every avenue of influence, to enter it. What more probable than that, under these circumstances, the gentle, yielding lad, did but obey his parent ; and, that once in service, and his country incessantly in war, his sense of honor did not allow him to retire.

In many things, he and Nelson were alike. Both were delicate in body, and frequent sufferers by disease ; both secured in an eminent degree the love and confidence of companions in arms ; both were as natural and single-hearted as in childhood ; both tasked the mind beyond the physical ability to bear ; and both were sensitive to a fault. Nelson, as is well known, had periods of gloom and sadness ; mental moods when there was nothing in life but vexation and trouble ; when he felt that his heart was breaking, and when he would have quitted the world with a smile. Wolfe, so similar, in other respects, was, I conjecture, much of the same temperament. The sky-colored imps, in reflecting upon a movement for which he was responsible, had the first possession of his brain. It is for the *want* of thinking that most men are undone ; but, and as all persons of acute sensibilities do, *he* thought too much for his happiness. The hopeful, act promptly, upon impulse, with a bare glance at the bright ; to others, there is a dark side to muse upon, long, and in pain ; the chances of failure, of disgrace, to be reasoned over and to be reasoned out. The first, yield to the slightest discouragement, and are the wrecked ones in life ; the last, the final resolve once taken, do or die, or, die in doing. As men really do differ in individuality as widely as the oak and the aspen, the world will have it that the strong and the sturdy are by nature the warriors, and the weak and the fragile are the civilians, of society. Taught by poets and orators, we invest our modern victors with the qualities of the heroes of antiquity, and even with those of the gods of heathen mythology, including, sometimes, infernal Pluto himself. With all deference, I venture to say, that this is entirely wrong. Tell the boy of gentle and affectionate disposition, and of frail body, that the brave resemble Hercules, or Neptune, or Jove, or Mars, and

he is discouraged ; but teach him that he can be trained, educated to deeds of heroism, and that, if he will but overcome, day by day, the "difficulties" with his fellows, he will be sure to bear his trials in manhood like a hero, be these tests in business or in battle : and he is inspired with ambition. The instance before us is not without a lesson. Wolfe, though not compared with either of the deities, is still called the "British Achilles." Never was there a more unfortunate appellation, if truth be thought worthy of regard in illustrations of character by comparison. The wise, the thoughtful, the mild, the poetic Briton ; how different from the rash, the impetuous, the furious Greek ? Wolfe, "heard the lute of Hope in sleep," and "the voice of Love in dreams ;" and lingered over books "where sweet Wisdom smiles ;" and his soul dwelt in the temple "roofed with Sculpture and Poesy." His memory was full of former years, and of the sports of his boyhood. He had heavenly visions of wedded love, and as the shadows of evening fell on his camp\* in the St. Lawrence, he yearned for a mate and a home, even as the absent dove sighs for its nest ; and yet, he perished of choice at the post of duty ! But though unlike Achilles, he does, indeed, remind us of the truly great Hector : if not in "manly beauty and superior size," yet in endurance, in love of mercy, and in all the nobler and finer qualities of human nature. Of the Briton, as of the Trojan, how true to say that he was never guilty of

"A deed ungentle, or a word unkind ;"

and that

\* \* \* "The gods had joined  
The mildest manners and the bravest mind."

The two in death, how like ; both went into the last contest, weary, faint, exhausted. Let the young who listen to me, take courage ; and forgetting even Hector, divest the imagination of every false idea of heroism, and think only of the real and the true.

Our books of history are too limited to allow a full narra-

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\* His quarters on shore. in "a tolerable house," says Knox, on a visit when he found the General sick, and unable to leave his chamber.

tive of Wolfe's campaign ; and though we find many facts and conclusions stated with much skill and power, a proper knowledge of it can be obtained only by an examination of the documents which relate to it. The opinion of men of his own profession, that in military affairs, "he was by no means inferior to a Frederick, a Henry, or a Ferdinand," we will leave undisturbed ; but, we may presume to judge of his intellect for ourselves, and by the simple rules of evidence.

The pertinent inquiry is, then, whether, in the use of the means placed at his disposal by his government, he evinced ability ; and in determining the question, it is to be observed, that success, or the want of it, is not an element. We are concerned to know barely this : What was the plan of operations in the St. Lawrence, and what did he do to execute it ?

The conquest of Quebec was one of the "visions" of Pitt, at which men sneered. An Admiral, who appeared before it in Queen Anne's time, hurried out of the river, because "the ice, freezing to the bottom, would bilge his vessels," and because, to preserve them, he "must place them on dry ground, in forms and cradles, till the thaw ;" and, though naval officers were somewhat better informed, half a century later, none desired to command there ; and some, in the brief manner of the quarter-deck, disposed of the suggestion of acting there efficiently, with a shrug, and the word "Impracticable." But the omnipotent will of the Minister equipped a fleet which mounted just eighteen hundred and eighty-six cannon ; and an Officer was expressly ordered from the Mediterranean, to take charge of it.‡ Could this immense armament have performed the expected service, once in chosen position of attack, Quebec would hardly have escaped demolition for a single day. Unfortunately enough, however, the ships of war drew too much water to assail, with any effect whatever, the French entrenchments on the bank of the river ; and, more than all, their guns

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‡ Sir Charles Saunders, vice-admiral of the blue. Subsequently, he was vice-admiral of the white, a lord of the admiralty, comptroller of the navy, and admiral of the blue ; and member of Parliament from the borough of Heyden. He died in 1775, and was privately buried in Westminster Abbey, near the monument of his friend Wolfe. Sir Charles was called the most silent man in England. He was good-natured and extremely modest, of simple manners and generous disposition.

Holmes, a junior admiral at Quebec, was appointed Commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station, in 1760, and died there the following year.

could not be elevated to bear upon and batter the fortifications of the city. Thus, for the purpose designed, the naval force was useless ; and this ascertained, Wolfe attempted to overcome his first "difficulty," by the erection of several land-batteries. With these, he injured the upper town, and nearly reduced the lower one to ruins. As careful an estimate as I can make from the daily accounts, shows two hundred and four hours of cannonading and bombarding. Ninety-six shells and carcasses were thrown into the city on one day ; and one hundred and fifty on another, besides a perfect storm of cannon balls. Late in August, the discharge of both ordnance and cannon was limited by order ; but, at the rate fixed, the number in twenty-four hours, was equal to the firing of one piece, five hundred and seventy times.

It was summer ; but the record of disasters by rains, and hails, and winds, appears almost incredible. Transports and boats were driven on shore, and broken, and lost. In one tempest, the fixed ammunition was so badly damaged, that one hundred thousand new cartridges were to be prepared with all haste ; and in a second, an encampment was so entirely flooded as to be laid under water. Wolfe, in his impatience to fight Montcalm, as well as to destroy his works, attacked him at Montmorenci ; and he was repulsed with serious loss, during a commotion of the elements, which made the precipices he designed to scale too slippery to be ascended, and which was so violent and dreadful, that the journalist declares his inability to describe it. These are the more noticeable incidents ; but these, and the general effects of the weather, form the second unexpected "difficulty."

Nearly two months passed in this kind of warfare, and evidently the young general was sorely distressed. His restless mind was ever on the stretch. He devised three distinct and separate plans of assault upon Montcalm in his intrenchments, which his brigadiers unanimously rejected. He suggested the storming of the city, and was overruled by his chief engineer. He entertained the design of wintering in the St. Lawrence, and of constructing a large fortress, but abandoned it, after repeated discussion, because there were neither materials nor time.

He personally explored every point where it was supposed he could land troops, and force a fight; he personally took part in skirmishes; he personally directed in the batteries; he personally enforced the police of his camp to preserve its health, its morals, and thus, its efficiency.

Meantime, at midnight, while thousands shouted defiance, and cannon balls rattled among the rocks and trees on the shores, the river was lighted up by the French fire-rafts, which, of terrific appearance, and constructed of vessels, shallops, and stages, chained together, and several hundred feet long, and covered with combustibles, and bombs, and various kinds of small arms, loaded to the muzzle, were sent down to destroy the fleet; and, meantime, too, at night, the town often seemed a mass of flame, as the hot shot and shells of the besiegers, burned whole streets in one section, many of the most magnificent private houses, churches, and public edifices in a second, and the great cathedral with all its paintings and other decorations in still another.

What was there more for Wolfe to do? By the plan of the campaign, his own soldiers were to perform a secondary part only, for, as we have said, they were to be assisted by the formidable armament; and Amherst, was to have joined him with his army. Without aid from either; his eight thousand troops reduced to seven, by the losses at Montmorenci and elsewhere; the naval officers continually anxious for the safety of the ships and transports; why did he not abandon the expedition, and depart? In America, he could have plead the example of Loudoun, when sent against Louisbourg, and of Abercrombie before Ticonderoga; in Europe, he could have cited the course of Cumberland in Hanover, and of Conway off Rochfort; and in India, the conduct of the military governor of Calcutta.

“From fame to infamy, is a beaten road;” and the sentiment of that maxim, though the bane of his mental peace, was the incentive of his professional life. Those who enjoyed his confidence, often heard him sigh, and, in his despondency, declare, that if he failed, he would never go back to England, to be exposed to the reproaches, in insults, of a capricious people, equally extravagant to praise and to blame. He was the Chief

of Pitt's own choice,\* and with the minister's awful eye upon him, did he say, also :

\* \* \* "There is none but he,  
Whose being I do fear ; and under him,  
My genius is rebuked, as it is said  
Mark Anthony's was, by Cæsar."

In his thirty-fourth year, entrusted with an army for the first time, what was there for Wolfe to muse upon, as an officer and as a man ?

A little while before, Admiral Byng† had been sentenced to death, not for cowardice, but because, in the judgment of a court-martial, he had failed to do "his utmost to engage the enemy;" and his execution had sent terror into every arm of the service. Did Wolfe reflect that, as the news had reached the St. Lawrence that Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point, had finally all fallen, that as soon as the welcome tidings should be known in England, all eyes would be turned to him ; and, that unless Quebec fell also, Pitt would leave him in silence, to such doom as the indignation of a disappointed country might demand ? Or, if not this, did his sensitive nature shrink from the agony of so much as appearing before a military tribunal § to *prove* that he had resorted to every expedient to overcome Montcalm's inflexible resolution to act ever on the defensive ; and, that he had exhausted his skill to provoke him to combat ?

I am led to suppose that, content with his laurels at Louisbourg, he intended, on his return home in 1758, to marry, and to quit the army. There is evidence that the maiden of ||for-

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\* The king wished to appoint Gen. Hopson, who, sent to the West Indies, died there a year or two after.

† Admiral Byng was executed in March, 1757. In three minutes after walking out of the cabin, (pierced with five bullets,) he was laid in his coffin. The court that tried him, acquitted of cowardice, but found that "he did not do his utmost to engage the enemy;" and, without a dissenting voice, recommended him to mercy. Pitt, in the House of Commons, moved that mercy be extended, and personally solicited the king, "but was cut very short."

§ One writer states that he actually "declared he would rather die than be brought to a court-martial for miscarrying."

|| In an eulogium pronounced upon Wolfe, and printed in London in 1760, Miss Lowther is called an "illustrious maid," and the "mirror of her sex." It is said, also, that "she could not delight in the man on whose honor her discerning eye perceived the least stain;" and, that with "her approbation he flew to the field of glory." So again, that "he fancied himself sufficiently happy, if he could at his return lay at her feet his harvest of laurels."

tune who possessed his affections, sympathised with him in his sense of personal honor, and, that he accepted the command with her approbation. Did he tell her at parting, that he would win for her the title of countess ; and was she to wed him in disgrace ; in disgrace, because unsuccessful ?

Whatever the truth, beyond what we know, it appears that his delicate frame, which had been diseased for years, yielded to mental weariness and suffering, and that he became ill of a fever which seemed to threaten his life. His public dispatches show clearly enough how little he himself ventured to hope from the very beginning, as well as indicate, that with all his persistency and constancy, after he had undertaken a thing, he was of a distrustful nature, and pondered often and long on the dark side.

He began to doubt before he had met with any disappointments, even before he had arrived in the St. Lawrence. Thus, he wrote Pitt, on board the *Neptune*, at Halifax, on the first of May, that his troops were good, and, that if valor could make amends for the want of numbers, he should "probably succeed ;" but yet, that any accidents, or sickness among his men, might put him "to some *difficulties*." On the second of September, he gave the Minister a long narrative of his proceedings from the disembarkation on the twenty-seventh of June, on the Isle of Orleans, to that day. The obstacles were such, that he could not flatter himself he "should be able to reduce the place," he said ; that he had been sick, and was still so weak as to desire his generals to consult for the public weal ; that he had acquiesced in the proposal to convey a corps of four or five thousand men above the town, in order to compel the French to an action ; and that he was then preparing to execute the design. But, he continued, while he had almost the whole force of Canada to oppose, the nature of the river deprived him of the aid of the most formidable ships of war ; that his situation presented "such a *choice of difficulties*"\* as to cause him to

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\* The newspapers criticised this term at the moment ; but it seems to have been adopted by some men of thought, as a sort of proverb. Among those who used it in a significant sense, were Dr. Samuel Johnson, and Samuel Adams. "Like Wolfe, we had a choice of difficulties." *Junius* employs the three words in the ordinary way of discourse, and without quotation marks.

own that he was "at a loss how to determine;" that the affairs of the country required at his hands "the most vigorous measures;" but then, he adds, "the courage of a handful of troops should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favorable event."

This letter filled England with alarm, even "with dismay." Another, and a more despairing account, soon followed. His last dispatch was addressed to the Earl of Holderness, and was written on board the *Sutherland*, at Cape Rogue, four days previous to his death. No one can read it without emotion, or, possibly, without the impression that Wolfe designed it, in his utter discouragement, as a manifesto for the eye of historians. "If," he plead for his reputation, "if Montcalm had shut himself up in the town of Quebec, it would have been long since in our possession, because the defenses are inconsiderable, and our artillery very formidable; but he has a numerous body of armed men, (I cannot call it an army,) and the strongest country, perhaps, in the world, to rest the defense of the town and colony upon." In the enumeration of "difficulties," he stated that the enemy, by means of floating batteries and innumerable battoes, disputed the water with the boats of his fleet; that the heavy French batteries towards the sea were so situated that they could not be injured; that the twenty French ships which had arrived before him, with succors of all kinds, had been lightened and taken above Quebec beyond the reach of his own vessels of war, where they served to store provisions, and to cut off all communication with Amherst; and that the seamen who came out in them, helped to work Montcalm's artillery, and to manage his floating defenses on the river. As related particularly to his own armament, he remarked that the tide ebbed seven, and sometimes eight hours, as violently as could be imagined, and was the cause of losing "an infinite deal of time in every operation on the water;" that owing to the strength of the current, merely, the ships often drifted; that the bottom was a bed of rock, and unless an anchor caught in a ragged one, it held a vessel by its own weight only; and that doubtless, if the equinoctial gale, (soon to be expected,) came with "any force, a number of ships must necessarily run ashore

and be lost." In commenting on the effects of a storm which "had nigh ruined the expedition," in June, and immediately after landing his army, he asserted, that for so "extraordinary and very important" duty, his supply of one kind of boats had never been half large enough; and that the French were able to contend with him for supremacy on the water, whenever he was not covered by the cannon of the fleet. And, he concluded in these sad words: "I am so far recovered as to do business, but my constitution is utterly ruined, without the consolation of having done any considerable service to the State, or without any prospect of it." Thus did he despond on the ninth of September, after his final resolve was made, when his troops were crowded on board of transports, and when he impatiently waited the end of an excessive rain, to scale a precipice, and compel his wary foe to a decisive conflict in the open field. In thirty-five days, his account of the condition of things in the St. Lawrence was read in London, and despair, as the tidings spread, was universal. "Pitt feared that he had been mistaken in his favorite General, and that the next news would be that he had been destroyed or had capitulated."

We trace his doubting nature down to the latest hours of his existence. The "order of troops in the line of boats," for landing on the night of Wednesday, the twelfth, is before me, as I write. The camp protected, there remained only thirty-six hundred men of all corps, to be formed in columns of attack and reserve on the following day. These were to be conveyed on shore in thirty boats, and in two divisions; the boats to return to the ships for the second, under Townshend, after landing the first, under the Chief. Wolfe, should have been in bed; and, Hinde, his body physician, (who remained in America, was a Whig in the Revolution, and accompanied Patrick Henry against Lord Dunmore,)\* should not have left him for a single

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\* Hinde settled in Virginia, near Patrick Henry, but removed to Kentucky, and died in Newport in the latter State, in 1829, aged 92; he had an extensive practice as surgeon and physician. "Educated an Episcopalian, he became a deist. \* \* \* When his wife and daughter attached themselves to the Methodists, in his rage he banished his daughter from his house, and to cure his wife of her insanity, he applied a blister to her spine." But he embraced the views of the same sect, and "for nearly half a century he was a devout adherent."

We may remark here that several others who served as surgeons in the French

hour. But, in a remarkable military order to his regiment, four years previously, he had said: "*While a man is able to do his duty, and can stand, and hold his arms, it is infamous to retire;*" and, with him, precept and practise were ever identical. Weak as he was, he *could* "stand;" and placing himself in the boat that led the division, he was among the first to leap upon the spot his own eye had discovered, as affording a reasonable chance of successful invasion. As, however, he surveyed the fearful mount, his heart, for a moment, misgave him; and, addressing the officer † who had command of the advanced guard, he said: "I don't believe there is any possibility of getting up, but you must do your endeavor." He had contended with rains from the beginning of the campaign, and he selected the spot on which to form his line of battle, and on which he was then to close his life, mid falling showers.

war, were either employed in the medical department in the Revolution, or became distinguished in private practise. Thus, Dr. Ammi R. Cutter, who was born in North Yarmouth, Maine, who served in the Revolution as physician-general of the eastern department, and who, for many years was president of the New Hampshire Medical Society, was surgeon of the New Hampshire troops, in the expedition against Louisbourg, in 1758. "He delighted to speak of General Wolfe, \* \* \* whom he personally knew, and whose easy and engaging manners and chivalrous character, rendered him no less the idol of the army, than his subsequent services justly made him the favorite of his country. Dr. Cutler used to say that the death of Wolfe was a fortunate event for the Americans."

Dr. Elihu Tudor, of Connecticut, entered the medical staff of the British army, in 1755, and was with General Wolfe, in 1759, and died as late as 1826.

Dr. Samuel Stringer, of Albany, who was appointed by the Provincial Congress of New York, director-general of the hospitals in the northern department; was under Abercrombie, in 1758, when he advanced against Ticonderoga, and was present at the fall of Lord Howe.

Dr. Philip Turner, of New York, who died in 1815, was under Amherst, as assistant surgeon, in 1759, and in the Revolution, surgeon-general of the eastern department. He was a very celebrated operator. "His handsome person and pleasing address soon attracted the attention of English surgeons," in the French war, who treated him with much courtesy, and invited him to witness many of their capital operations.

Besides Hinde, two other surgeons of note in the British army, settled in Virginia, namely: Dr. Andrew Robertson, who came over with Braddock, and Dr. James Craik, who assisted to dress the unfortunate General's wounds. Craik had high medical employment in the army of the Revolution, enjoyed the intimate friendship of Washington, and attended him in his last sickness.

Dr. John Jones, a native of New York, who was a volunteer surgeon in 1755, in the expedition to Lake George, had care of Baron Dieskau, the French general, for a considerable time after he was wounded, and the head of his profession as a surgeon, subsequently; was the friend and physician of Franklin, and his medical adviser in his final illness, and, at the time of the philosopher's decease, wrote an account of the closing scene. Dr. Jones was also family physician of Washington for a short period, when the seat of government was at Philadelphia.

† Capt. Donald McDonald, of Fraser's Highlanders.

The boats were to drop away from the *Sutherland* for the shore, on the display of two lights on her main-topmast shrouds; and, the civilian who hesitates to form an opinion upon Wolfe's martial arrangements, on an occasion of so vast moment to himself, to his country, and to the world; may still venture to admire and commend the wisdom which seemingly provided against every contingency. Yet, the stream was rapid, the landing-place small, and easily missed in the dark; the pathway admitted but two men abreast,\* and was guarded at the top. But the invasion made, with sixteen hundred troops he led in person; what then? A spy, or a deserter, breathing into Montcalm's ear that his antagonist had formed a plan to foil him, and to do battle for Quebec under its walls, would have brought the whole French army to the point of descent; and, the invaders cut off, almost to a man, when again would England have attempted the expulsion of her Catholic foe from America? What, as we reason upon cause and effect, what our annals for the remainder of the last century? And, what, too, the fame of the man, with the many, whose *fool-hardiness*, (for that would have been the word,) produced the catastrophe?

The details of the fight, I do not propose to relate.† That it was one of the shortest on record, is probable. The interval between the advance of the French in column, and their flight, does not appear in any work to which I have access; and it may be well to supply the deficiency. Knox introduces an account that found its way to him after the surrender, as follows: "Our troops gave the first fire, the British the second, and the affair was over; our right took to their heels, our center ran after them, which drew along the left wing; and thus the battle was lost in less time than I am recounting it." In agreement with this, as relates to the brevity of the combat, is a statement in the *Belknap Papers*, by Robert Weir, the owner and master of a transport, who told that he was in the river, two miles above, and that "he took out his watch when the firing began, and held

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\* Admiral Saunders, in his dispatch of Sept. 20, to Pitt, remarks: "When Gen. Wolfe, and the troops with him, had landed, the difficulty of gaining the top of the hill is scarce credible. It was very steep in its ascent, and high, and had no path where two could go abreast."

† Knox's account is given entire in the Appendix.

it in his hand till it ceased, which was but ten minutes." The truth is, that Wolfe was almost sure of triumph as soon as he was joined by his second division, and had formed his line on his own ground, and in his own way. The devious, dangerous path-way he had espied, and which his army ascended, had been examined, obstructed, and pronounced "impassable," by Montcalm; and, the leader deceived and amazed, it followed that panic-stricken common soldiers would not stand before the man who, in their imagination, had performed a sort of miracle in order to encounter them, or, to use his own expressive term, "to get at them." Our admiration of the young General, should not be measured by the result, but by the fact that he persisted in the attempt to accomplish *alone*, and when dying, almost, of disease and of wounded sensibilities, what was assigned to him to do conjointly with another army, and with one of the most powerful fleets that had then ever appeared in the American seas. His merit, in a word, was faithfulness to duty. But, had he and his first division perished in the cove which bears his name, how many would care to honor him? The great world judges men by success; the calm thinkers know that success often depends on mere accident,\* and defeat upon circumstances which the wisest cannot foresee.

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\* According to Smollett, accident determined success in this very case. The substance of a long note is: That two French deserters who were carried on board one of the ships of war in the twilight of the 12th, stated that on that night Montcalm expected a supply of provisions in boats from above Quebec; that these deserters, when they saw Wolfe's boats floating down the river, supposing them, in the dark, to be those of the French, commenced shouting; that the captain of the ship, ignorant of the design on foot, and believing the deserters, actually ordered cannon to be pointed at the British troops; that Wolfe, observing the commotion, went alongside in person, "and prevented the discharge, which would have alarmed the town, and entirely frustrated the attempt."

Nor is this all. French sentinels were posted on the shore to challenge the craft that passed them on the river; and the leading boat that contained Wolfe's first division, was questioned accordingly. Fortunately, one of Frazier's captains understood the French language and customs perfectly, and answered in a manner not only to allay suspicion, but to cause the centries, one after another, to believe that the boats were the expected ones, with supplies for the French garrison. The officer, whose knowledge and ready wit served so effectually to deceive the questioners, at so critical a moment, was, I suppose, Capt. McDonald, who is mentioned elsewhere in this Address, as in command of the advanced guard.

And Knox relates, that "the morning being dark, and the tide of ebb very rapid, we were imperceptibly carried a little lower down, [than was intended,] which proved a favorable circumstance, for there was a strong intrenchment that covered the road, [where Wolfe designed to land,] lined by a detachment of one hundred and fifty men."

Still again: "It was much more fortunate that the General had not deferred the

I have once observed that Wolfe entered the service when a lad of fourteen. His education was then imperfect. After the war in Germany, he was stationed in Glasgow. Ashamed that he could take no part in conversation with the literary men he met, he earnestly entreated a professor of the university to give him directions for a proper course of study. The consequences were, devotion to books, and a proficiency which could have been made only by a man of talents. That he was capable of composing the papers which bear his signature, cannot be questioned. His private letters, and such of his public despatches, as, from their nature he must have written, are terse, sententious, and directly to the point. His military orders are models in the qualities of brevity and clearness, which are among the tests of ability.\* I have attempted to penetrate the citadel of his mind, so to speak, and as I part with him forever, I linger long in the cabin of the *Sutherland*, where, on the twelfth, he wrote his final address to his troops, which contains an outline of the movements intended on the morrow; and the very thought, as an incentive to good conduct, of Nelson's memorable signal, forty-six years afterwards. What more comprehensive than these sixteen words: "*A vigorous blow struck by the army at this juncture, may determine the fate of Canada!*" What more inspiring than this: "*The officers and men will remember what their country expects!*"

The accounts of his last moments differ. That when disabled, the troops he personally led were very near the opposing French column, and were advancing with charged bayonets, may be considered certain. That he was in front of his line, and a special object for the fire of the enemy's marksmen, is probable. The essential disagreements relate to the number of his wounds, and to his dying words. Monckton, in his letter to Pitt, barely says, that, "exerting himself on the right of our line," he "re-

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execution of his project to another day, for two French regiments, with a corps of savages, were actually under orders to march at 6 o'clock, on the morning of the 13th, and intrench themselves immediately along the heights; but happily, our troops were in possession of the ground, before the enemy had any thought of stirring."

\* He wrote his name "*Jam: Wolfe*," though some of his published letters are without the *m*. The *J* is well formed, but the *W* resembles *V* somewhat, so that his surname appears as if *Voolfe*, the right hand limb or part of the *V*, running in to the left side of the first *o*. Between his names he inserts a colon. His handwriting is what we call "round," and is easily read.

ceived *a wound* pretty early, of which he died soon after." Others speak of *two*; one in the wrist,\* and another in the body. Again, the wounded parts, were the head and wrist; the groin and wrist. Still again, it is stated that he was struck by *three* bullets, and that the fatal wound was in the breast. That he really was thrice hit; that he silently concealed the first and second injuries; and that he unwillingly allowed himself to be borne to the rear, after the mortal harm, can hardly be doubted. That, at his earnest request, he was removed from the place to which he was carried, to a spot where he could have a view of the field, is questionable.

Of what followed, there are several versions; and my purpose requires me to notice them all. First, then, it is related, that when his own eyes failed, he asked the fortune of the day of an officer who stood near; that he was told that the French lines seemed to be broken; that soon the cry was heard: "They run! they run!" that with trembling eagerness, he inquired: "*Who run?*" and on being answered that Montcalm was utterly routed, he said in a faint, but composed tone: "*Thank God! I die contented.*"

Another writer states, that under all the agonies of approaching dissolution, when informed that the French fled on all sides, his countenance expressed joy, and that the words: "*Then I am satisfied!*" were uttered in exultation.

A third records that when the shout: "They run," met his ear, he was leaning on the shoulder of a lieutenant who kneeled to support him; and, that simply asking: "*Who?*" he exclaimed: "*Then I die happy!*" Still a fourth relates that the officer was seated, and that the exclamation was: "*What! do the cowards run already? Then I die happy!*" Yet again, that on receiving the last wound, he cried: "*Support me; let not my brave fellows see me drop;*" that water was brought to quench his thirst; that when assured the French were giving

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\* The ball shattered the bone, and Wolfe bound round his wrist a handkerchief, which tradition adds, was the gift of the lady to whom he was engaged. Tradition has it, too, that a sash which is now in the possession of a gentleman in Maine, who is well known to me, is the very one worn by Wolfe, when killed. The first incident here mentioned, may be true; the story of the sash, however, rests on no evidence which, as far as I am informed, entitles it to belief.

way everywhere, his expiring sentiment was: "*What! do they run already? Now God be praised, I die happy.*"

And, differing from all these, is the account, that, informed of the total rout of his foe, he earnestly demanded, as if to ascertain positively: "*Who fly?*" and when assured, he did but say: "*I am satisfied.*" So, too, we are informed that he himself first discerned the wavering and the breaking of the opposing lines; that, addressing the officer who sustained him, as he gazed on the battle, he said: "*Tell me, sir, do the enemy give way there? tell me, for I cannot see;*" that, after his sight became dimmer, and more confused, and was about to be extinguished forever, and while he reclined his head on the officer's arm, fainting, barely breathing, he was roused by the cry: "They run!" and inquiring: "*Who?*" the answer was: "The French; they are beat, sir; they are flying before you;" and his reply: "*I am satisfied, my boys.*"

Again, it is narrated that he lay upon the ground, and lifted his head to gaze on the conflict from time to time, until his eyesight failed, when, for some moments he was motionless, with no other signs of life than heavy breathing or a stifled groan, that suddenly an officer who stood by exclaimed: "See how they run;" that Wolfe, eagerly raising himself on his elbow, cried: "*Who?*" that, answered: "The enemy; they give way in all directions;" he paused a little, and then said: "*I shall die happy:*" and that, falling back, and turning upon his side, as if by a sharp convulsion, he expired. And still again, is the version that, supported by a grenadier and a particular friend, his servant who had long attended him, announced the flight of the French; and that, when thus informed, he barely opened his eyes, and in trembling accent uttered: "*Then I die contented.*"

Knox, who was in the battle, agrees with neither. The points of his narrative are, that Wolfe was "carried off wounded, to the rear of the front line;" that he requested "those who were about him to lay him down;" that he was "asked if he would have a surgeon." "*A surgeon?*" and added: "*it is needless; it is all over with me.*" That then, one in attendance upon him cried: "They run; see how they run;" that, hearing this, Wolfe, "like a person roused from sleep," questioned, with

great earnestness : “ *Who run?* ” that he was told : “ The enemy, sir ; egad, they give way everywhere ; ” that thereupon, he rejoined : “ *Go, one of you, my lads, to Colonel Burton ; tell him to march Webb’s regiment with all speed down to Charles’ River, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge ;* ” that, on pronouncing this order, he turned on his side, and breathed out : “ *Now God be praised, I will die in peace.* ”

Knox, it is to be remembered, wrote this after various relations of the closing scene had appeared, and after many persons had claimed the honor of ministering to the departing Chief’s last necessities. We may adopt his text, therefore, without hesitation, since no one would have invented, at such a moment, the command to pursue the fugitives with a particular corps ; and since, too, (intending to correct the errors of others,) his statement was made on the authority of a lieutenant of the grenadiers who averred that he, a volunteer in his company, and a private soldier, bore the General from the line ; and, that joined by an officer of artillery, the four, were the only persons that attended him until he expired.

So many things are controverted by curious inquirers, that one is often reminded of the remark attributed to Napoleon : “ History is but fable agreed upon ; ” and I have thought the time devoted to the examination of these various versions, well employed. Differ as they do in some particulars, they all agree in the important circumstance that the victory was won before Wolfe’s fall ; that, conscious and self-possessed till the latest instant, he himself, as a military officer, affirmed the result. Can it be doubted that, in his judgment, the capitulation of the city was to follow ? To reduce that, and so to end the war, was the sole object of the battle.

The field-marshal, Marquis de Montcalm,\* was a man of em-

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\* We owe a tribute to this able officer and accomplished man. The death of Montcalm and of Wolfe, how alike ; each in the performance of duty ; but the emotions of each how different ! The former departing in the distress of personal, national defeat ; the latter in the consciousness of personal, national success. A deserter to the English lines, relates Knox, reported, weeks before the battle, that Montcalm was heard to tell the Governor-General : “ You have sold your country, but, while I live, I will not deliver it up. ” Whether this be so or not, his known declaration after he received his mortal wound was, when told by his surgeon that he could survive only a few hours : “ So much the better ; I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec. ” Later, to officers who asked for counsel : “ I’ll neither give

inent genius in war, and was entirely competent to judge of the consequences of his own defeat, and of his antagonist's success;

orders nor interfere any farther; I have much business that must be attended to, of greater moment than your ruined garrison and this wretched country; my time is very short, therefore pray leave me; I wish you all comfort, and to be happily extricated from your present perplexities." He then called for his chaplain, and the bishop of Canada, who remained with him until he died. This is one version. Another is, that he said to the officers; "To your keeping, I commend the honor of France. As for me, I shall pass the night with God, and prepare myself for death."

Montcalm was born at Nismes, in 1712, and is universally spoken of as a man of eminent military talents, and as of a refined and cultivated mind. In an English work called "*Political Anecdotes*," &c., it is said: "Assurances were made to Mr. Grenville that America had entertained thoughts of independency so early as 1757; and to confirm these assurances, some letters, written, as was asserted, by the Marquis de Montcalm, Governor of Canada, in the years 1757, 1758, and 1759, stating these opinions, were put into his hands. Mr. Grenville gave full credit to these papers. After his death they were published. All the Americans reprobated them as forgeries; they insisted that Montcalm never wrote them; that they were fabricated to deceive and provoke the English government against America. This opinion prevailed with the public, and the letters were in general discredited."

Two days after the delivery of this Address, the *Boston Courier* published an account of a "Religious Celebration at Quebec, on the death of Montcalm," with some remarks of the editor, which may well find a place in our commemoration of the death of his distinguished foe. The *Courier*:

"Yesterday, September 14th, was the centennial anniversary of the death of Count Montcalm, commander of the French forces, who was mortally wounded on the 13th, and died the next day. Out of respect to the feelings of the French Canadians, the people of Canada, of British origin, did not celebrate the anniversary of Wolfe's victory. But yesterday the anniversary of the death of Montcalm was commemorated at Quebec with religious ceremony in the Ursuline Convent, the place of his interment, and by the inauguration of a new monument which has recently been erected to his memory. Upon their return to France from Canada, the officers who had served under Montcalm took some steps towards having a monument erected, and at their request, an elegant inscription in Latin was composed by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres in 1761. The following is an improved translation:

"Here lies one, whose memory will live forever in both hemispheres, Louis Joseph de Montcalm Gozon, Marquis de St. Veran, Baron de Gabriac, Commander of the Order of St. Louis, Lieutenant General of the armies of France, distinguished as a citizen and a soldier, ambitious of nothing but true glory, and of a happy genius trained by study; he gained all his steps of military promotion through successive glories; skillful in all the arts of war, in taking advantage of opportunities, and in facing dangers; an energetic general in Italy, in Bohemia, in Germany, always performing the labors committed to him in such a manner as to prove himself equal to greater. When already illustrious by his daring deeds, he was sent to defend the province of Canada; he often, with small bands of soldiers, defeated the forces of the enemy, and took their forts, well supplied with men and arms; capable of enduring cold, want, watching, toil; careful only for his men, regardless for himself, a strenuous foe, a merciful conqueror. He counterbalanced adverse fortune by his bravery, the want of men by skill and energy; and during a space of four years sustained the impending fate of the colony by his prudence and his vigor. At length, after having with consummate ability long kept at bay a numerous army under an active and bold general, and a fleet provided with all the munitions of war, being forced to an engagement, wounded in the foremost rank at the commencement of the conflict, relying on the efficacy of that religion which he had always revered, he expired, to the great regret of his countrymen, and not without the sympathy of the enemy, on the 14th of September, A. D. 1759, in the 48th year of his age. The mortal remains of this distinguished commander, his sorrowing countrymen deposited in a cavity of the ground formed by the bursting of a shell, and entrusted the same with confidence to the generous care of his enemies."

and his declaration, when informed that he could survive only a few hours: "So much the better; I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec," completes the evidence that Wolfe is entitled to the honors paid to his memory, and disposes of the pretensions of George Townshend, at once and forever.

The death of James Wolfe, as we recall the exertion, the toil, the self-sacrifice, and the mental anguish which preceded it, how grand, how sublime; not of a soldier, merely, and on the bed where soldiers expect, nay, often, ask to die; but of a man whose intellect could measure the full consequences of failure to his country and to civilization, and who, conscious of his accountability, had performed his duty, his whole duty, under the most appalling combination of adverse events. His preparations to lay down mortality were finished.

"Such has been the marked and unmerited notice taken of me by the leading military characters of the day," he had once written, "that I feel myself called upon to justify such notice, which, when occasion occurs, will probably be by such exertions and exposures of myself as will lead to my fall."

In camp, while he pondered how to become master of Quebec, he expressed his willingness to lose a leg or an arm; to go back to the maiden of his love, maimed and mutilated; but, the final resolve taken for a decisive engagement with his favorite weapon, the bayonet, the conviction that he should not outlive the conflict, was distinct and controlling. On the last night of his life, as he moved in a barge from ship to ship, to inspect, to direct, and to cheer: he spoke of Gray, and his *Elegy*, and said he "would prefer being the author of that poem, to the glory of beating the French" on the morrow; and he recited:

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,  
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,  
Await alike th' inevitable hour.  
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."\*

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\* This incident is related by several, and in various ways. One version is, that the General *read* from a book which was sent to him by the Poet himself, and that the *Elegy* was just then published; but a part of the story is certainly inaccurate, for it was dark, and the poem appeared several years previously. Mr. Bancroft adopts it as stated in the text, on the authority of Mr. Fisher, of Quebec. It is traced, however, to Professor Robison, of Edinburgh, who, a midshipman in early life, was at the siege, and in the boat with Wolfe. Lord Mahon in his account says: "Not a

And later, on the same solemn night, after his orders for the assault were all given, and he was at liberty to commune with his own spirit, and to think of the loved ones in England: in a private interview with an officer of the navy, who had been his school-fellow, and to whom he was much attached, he disclosed the presentiment of his own fate, but of the success of British arms; took from his bosom the miniature of his affianced bride, and entreated his friend, that "if the foreboding came to pass, he would himself return it to her on his arrival in England."†

When musing upon the doctrine of a future life, I am soothed with the imagining that in it, the great benefactors of the race, who perish prematurely on the field, or who waste slowly away in neglect and sorrow, find a portion of their bliss in witnessing the blessed results of their labors and sufferings here; soothed with the thought of a time and a place, to solve the dark mystery of the inequalities in human condition; soothed with the fancy that the distinguished being to

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word was spoken, not a sound was heard beyond the rippling of the stream. Wolfe alone, thus tradition has told us, repeated in a low voice to the officers in his boat, those beautiful stanzas with which a Country Church-yard inspired the muse of Gray." At the close of the recital, the General added: "Now, gentlemen, I would rather be the author of that poem than take Quebec."

† The officer referred to in the text was John Jervis, who, subsequently the Earl of St. Vincent, was a naval officer of the most distinguished merit. In the passage from England to America, Wolfe was a guest on board the ship in which he served, and the acquaintance of youth was renewed. Jervis performed the painful duty of delivering the picture.

The lady to whom Wolfe was to have been married, had he survived, was Catharine Lowther, the youngest sister of the Earl of Lonsdale, and daughter of Robert Lowther, Governor of Barbadoes. About six years after her lover's death, she married Lord Harry Poulett, a post captain in the navy, and, subsequently the sixth and last Duke of Bolton, and Admiral of the White. He was at the siege of Carthage, where Smollett "has consigned his name to posterity in not very flattering terms. He is the Captain Whiffle of *Roderic Random*." The exploits of the Duke of Bolton, while in the service, did not entitle him to rank among the naval heroes of England. He died in 1794, when the dukedom became extinct. The children of the duke and duchess, were two daughters; Amelia, of whom I have no information, and Catherine Margaret Poulett, who married the Earl of Darlington, afterwards Duke of Cleveland. The Duchess of Bolton died at Grosvenor Square, London, in 1809, and left the greater part of her fortune, which was considerable, to the Honorable Frederic Vane, her grandson, and the second son of the first Duke of Cleveland. Thus she survived Wolfe half a century. Her age, by one account, was 75; by another, a year younger. "Her Grace was in a lingering state for some time, but, from her great flow of spirits, did not take to her bed till within a few days of her dissolution." The present Duke of Cleveland is a grandson. Several other of her grand-children are connected by marriage with noble families. The authorities for this note are, *Life of Earl St. Vincent*, Gleig, Smollett, the *Annual Register*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and *Burke's Peerage*.

whose memory we give the hour, is smiling now upon the immense possession which he annexed to the British crown, for high purposes of dominion; and yet, in common industry, for mere fish, and furs, and trees; but which, in the wonderful development of the unthought-of resources, already produces every real want of man, and is rich and populous enough for an empire!

“And Hector’s ashes in his country rest.”

His body was embalmed. Placed on board the line-of-battle ship *Royal William*, on the 18th of September, it was conveyed to Portsmouth. Transferred to Greenwich, it was privately placed in the family vault, on the 20th of November. The day following, Pitt moved in the House of Commons for an address to the king, to direct a monument in Westminster Abbey.\* “In a low and plaintive voice,” wrote a listener, “he pronounced a kind of funeral oration,” but not happily; “the parallels which he drew from Greek and Roman story, did but flatten the pathetic of the topic.” Of the occasion, Walpole himself feelingly said:

“The horror of the night, the precipice scaled by Wolfe, the empire he, with a handful of men, added to England, and the glorious catastrophe of contentedly terminating life where his fame began; ancient story may be ransacked, and ostentatious philosophy thrown into the account, before an episode can be found to rank with Wolfe’s.”

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\* The national monument is in Westminster Abbey. Drawings were furnished by Adam, Chambers, Wilton, and others. Those of Wilton were adopted, and he executed the work, the first “public one of his emancipated hours.” In his *Life*, it is said: “The monument is crowded with figures and emblems, and like the inventions of the architects in everything save the wild disorder which reigns over the whole, Wolfe, falling amidst the tumult of battle, lays his hand gently on the mortal wound, a grenadier supports him, a Highland serjeant looks sorrowfully on, two lions watch at his feet, and over his head hovers an angel with a wreath of glory. \* \* \* \* Further, of one of the accompaniments, there is a representation, “in bass-relief, of the march of the British troops from the river bank, to the summit of the heights of Abraham. It is full of truth, and gives a living image of one of the most daring exploits that any warriors ever performed. Veterans, who had fought on the memorable day, have been observed lingering for hours, following with the end of their staves, the march of their comrades up the shaggy precipice, and discussing the merits of the different leaders.”

Gentlemen of Westerham, Wolfe’s native place, have erected a cenotaph there. A small column has been raised on the plains of Abraham to mark the very spot where he fell. In the government gardens at Quebec, there is an obelisk, sixty feet in height, with the inscription of WOLFE, on one side, and MONTCALM on the other. The first stone was laid by the Earl of Dalhousie, himself a gallant soldier.

To Burke we owe the preservation of the touching incident, that the people of the village in which the mother of Wolfe lived, unanimously agreed to admit no illumination or other expression of joy, near her dwelling, on the day set apart by royal proclamation throughout the kingdom, lest they should seem, by an ill-timed triumph, to insult her grief. James was her only child, and one of the most dutiful and affectionate of sons. His father died soon after his departure for the St. Lawrence ; and thus, widowed and childless, she was the marked object of public pity, by great and particular affliction.

Before his remains reached England, and on the 6th of November, she addressed Pitt, in these terms :

“ I make no doubt but you will be surprised to receive a letter from the most distressed and afflicted of mortals ; but as you did my dear son the honor to entrust him with so great and important an affair as the taking of Quebec, which you, sir, planned and he executed, I hope to his Majesty’s, your, and his country’s satisfaction, though God knows to my irreparable loss ; yet it occurs to me, that there may be some papers or orders of yours, relating to the government service, which will come to me. If you will honor me with your commands, I shall send them by a faithful and trusty gentleman who carries this, Lieutenant Scott, and no eye shall see them before your own. The present situation of my tortured mind will, I hope, plead my excuse for all mistakes.”

The Minister replied at Hayes, on the 8th :

“ The attention which you are so good as to give,” are his feeling words, “ in the circumstances in which you write, to such papers as may come to your hands relative to the king’s service, is worthy of the mother of such a son. Your affliction is too just to receive any degree of consolation from one who feels, Madam, the cause of your sorrow too sincerely and sensibly, to be able to offer any topics of relief to you. May heaven, who assists the virtuous, grant you every possible comfort, under a loss which nothing can repair to you or to England.”

On the 27th, she sent the papers. In the note that accompanied them, she said that she had had them a fortnight, but the sight of them had agitated her so much that she was incapable of writing ; and she asked protection to the bearer, (the officer she had mentioned,) who, “ in losing her son, had lost his only friend and interest.”

Three days afterwards, she communicated with Pitt again, on the subject of a pension. From this letter, it appears that her husband had settled the whole of his fortune on her, during her life; and that her son, ignorant of the fact, and presuming that a share was to come directly to him, had, in his own will, bequeathed more than a third part of it to his friends. Her desire to comply with her son's wishes, (without reference to her husband's intentions for herself,) were expressed with earnestness; and, meaning to be understood that if the royal aid was refused, she "could not do it without distressing herself to the highest degree;" hence, and for means to live as became the widow of one General Wolfe, and as the mother of another, her solicitations.

She did not long survive. At her decease, in 1764, the families of officers who served with her son at Quebec, were found to be legatees in her will.

The tribute of Cowper may well conclude our discourse :

\* \* \* " They have fallen,  
 Each in his field of glory ; one in arms,  
 And one in council ; Wolfe upon the lap  
 Of smiling Victory that moment won,  
 And Chatham, heart-sick of his country's shame !  
 They made us many soldiers. Chatham, still  
 Consulting England's happiness at home,  
 Secured it by an unforgiving frown,  
 If any wronged her. Wolfe, where'er he fought,  
 Put so much of heart into his act,  
 That his example had a magnet's force,  
 And all were swift to follow, whom all loved.  
 These suns are set. Oh, rise some other such,  
 Or all that we have left is empty talk  
 Of old achievements, and despair of new."

Brethren : With a single suggestion more, I relieve your patience. In the legislative halls of Massachusetts, in the days of her colonial vassalage, and one hundred years ago, your fathers voted men and supplies for the extinction of French power on this continent; in the Capitol of her sovereignty, we com-

memorate the result. Her history, during the interval, who shall tell it, as it deserves to be, as, one day, it must be told, for man's best good?

We commemorate, too, a principal Actor in the conflict; and we have rapidly noticed the use he made of the means placed at his disposal, in war, and, incidentally, the use he made of life itself. And now, at parting, may I not ask whether we are to go away with no lesson for ourselves; with nothing for our own daily life? Is there not something in the career of James Wolfe, that we can recollect with profit? He sacrificed self to duty. He was simply one of us, and in this, we can, if we will, imitate him. And have *we* no "difficulties" to encounter, no "choice of difficulties" to make? Do the sky-colored imps ever possess *us*? and at times, are *we* without one cheerful thought, one ray of hope? In youth, did poverty, or chance, or parental preference, doom us to irksome employments? Have we sorrows which are pent up in aching, almost in breaking, hearts? We can master all. If we will but have it so, there's

"Joy to be found in every state,  
Something still to do or bear."

Ours, the lowly part to subdue self and destiny; and is the foe of our peace, or of our virtue, wary and skillful, and has he eluded us until we are in despair? At the precise moment when we feel to resist no longer, let the cross and the crown of James Wolfe occur to us, and save us from the long roll of the wretched and the wrecked. The narrow, "impassable" pathway which led him to victory on the plains of Abraham, is typical of that which leads to rest, to rest in Abraham's bosom!

# A P P E N D I X .

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## EXTRACTS FROM WOLFE'S LETTERS TO HIS PARENTS.

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FROM GLASGOW, IN 1749, TO HIS MOTHER, IN REPLY TO HER SUGGESTION RELATIVE TO ATTENDING TO PUBLIC WORSHIP.

“I have observed your instructions so religiously, that, rather than want the Word, I got the reputation of a very good Presbyterian, by frequenting the kirk of Scotland, till our chaplain appeared.” \* \* \*

IN THE SAME LETTER.

“To-morrow, Lord George Sackville goes away, and I take upon me the difficult and troublesome office of a commander. You cannot conceive how hard a thing it is to keep the passions within bounds, when authority and immaturity go together, to endeavor at a character that has every opposition from within, and that the very condition of the blood is a sufficient obstacle to. Fancy you see me, that must do justice to both good and bad, reward and punish with an equal unbiassed hand; one that is to reconcile the severity of discipline to the dictates of humanity, and that must study the temper and disposition of many men, in order to make their situation easy and agreeable to them, and should endeavor to oblige all, without partiality; and a man set up for everybody to observe and judge of; and, last of all, suppose me employed in discouraging vice, and recommending the reverse, at the turbulent age of twenty-three, when it is possible I may have as great a propensity that way as any of the men I converse with.”

FROM IVERNÈSS, NOVEMBER 6, 1751, TO HIS MOTHER.

“This day I am five and twenty years of age. \* \* \* There are times when men fret at trifles, and quarrel with their tooth-picks. In

one of these evil habits I exclaim against the present condition, and think it the worst of all; but coolly and temperately, it is plainly the best. Where there is most employment and least vice, there one should wish to be." \* \* \* In the same, he declares that he has "a turn of mind that favors matrimony prodigiously; I love children, and think them necessary to people in their latter days." \* \* \* Lord Bury (the colonel of the regiment,) professes fairly and means nothing; in this he resembles his father. He desires never to see the regiment, and wishes that no officer would ever leave it. This is selfish and unjust."

FROM EXETER, FEB. 18, 1755, TO HIS FATHER.

"By my mother's letter, I find that your bounty and liberality keep pace, as they usually do, with my necessities. I shall not abuse your kindness, nor receive it unthankfully; and what use I make of it shall be for your honor and the king's service; an employment worthy the hand that gives it."

FROM SOUTHAMPTON, 28TH SEPT. 1755, TO HIS MOTHER.

"My nature requires some extraordinary events to produce itself. I want that attention and those assiduous cares that commonly go along with good nature and humanity. In the common occurrences of life, I own I am not seen to advantage."

FROM CANTERBURY, 8TH NOV., 1755, TO HIS MOTHER.

"I write by the Duke's (of Cumberland) order, to inquire after an officer's widow in Ireland, who, he was told, had a son fit to serve; and his royal highness, who is forever doing noble and generous actions, wanted to provide for that child. The father was killed at Fonteroy. \* \* \* If I don't keep a good watch over myself I must be a little vain, for the Duke has of late given me such particular marks of his esteem and confidence that I am ashamed not to deserve it better."

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#### MILITARY ORDERS DURING THE SEIGE OF QUEBEC.

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Gen. Wolfe landed his army on the Isle of Orleans, on the 27th of June; the extracts that follow will serve to show his

style, the police of his camp, and the nature of his operations. The most important orders relate to the final battle ; and these, with the "Signals" for the embarkation of the troops in boats, on the night of Sept. 12th, are given in full.

JUNE 29, 1759. No centries are ever to be placed within point-blank musket shot of any wood, unless behind stones or trees, so as not to be seen. \* \* \* \* \*

*Next to valour, the best qualities in a military man, are vigilance and caution.* \* \* \* \* \*

And a soldier who is found with plunder in his tent, or returning to the army with plunder of any kind, not taken by order, shall be sent directly to the Provost in irons, in order to be tried for his life.

JUNE 30, 1759. The King of Great Britain wages no war with the industrious peasant, the sacred orders of religion, or the defenceless women and children ; to these, in their distressful circumstances, his royal clemency offers protection. The people may remain unmolested on their lands, inhabit their houses, and enjoy their religion in security ; for these inestimable blessings, I expect the Canadians will take no part in the great contest between the two crowns.

JULY 5. The object of the campaign is to complete the conquest of Canada, and to finish the war in America. The army under the Commander-in-chief will enter the colony on the side of Montreal, while the fleet and army here attack the Governor-General and his forces.

\* \* \* \* \*

The General means to carry the business through, with as little loss as possible, and with the highest regard to the preservation of the troops ; to that end, he expects, that the men work cheerfully, and without the least unsoldierlike manner or complaint ; and that these few, but necessary orders, be strictly obeyed. The General proposes to fortify his camp in such a manner, as to put it out of the power of the enemy to attempt anything by surprise, and that the troops may rest in security after their fatigues. \* \* \* \* \*

The light infantry of the army are to have their bayonets, as the want of ammunition may sometimes be supplied with that weapon, and, because no man should leave his post, under pretense that all his cartridges are fired ; *in most attacks by night, it must be remembered, that bayonets are preferable to fire.* \* \* \* \* \*

No churches, houses, or buildings of any kind, are to be burned or des-

troyed without orders; *the persons that remain in their habitations, their women and children, are to be treated with humanity; if any violence is offered to a woman, the offender shall be punished with death.*

\* \* \* \* \*

When the soldiers are fatigued with work, or wet upon duty, the General will order such refreshment as he knows will be of service to them, but is determined to allow no drunkenness, nor licentiousness, in the army. If any sutler has the presumption to bring rum on shore, in contempt of the General's regulations, such sutler shall be sent to the Provost's in irons, and his goods confiscated.

JULY 6. No women are to be allowed to suttle in camp without proper authority, on pain of being struck off the provision roll; all orders relating to the women are to be read to them by the sergeants of their respective companies, that they may not plead ignorance.

JULY 8. As the ships that were to cover the landing cannot fall down to their proper stations this day, the troops are not to embark, but are to hold themselves in readiness.

JULY 19. Soldiers are not to be permitted to swim in the heat of the day, but only in the mornings and evenings.

SEPT. 2. The tents of all the corps are to be struck this evening when dark, and carried down at eight o'clock to the boats on the beach, under Anstruther's regiment; there will be a boat assigned to each corps to carry them off; these boats must be unloaded at Point Levi, before high water, that they may return with the ebb. A proper officer will attend.

SEPT. 2. The troops are to march to-morrow morning, and embark for Point Levi; the signal for their moving will be the burning of a barn before brigadier Townshend's house; those detachment's which occupy houses, are, when they evacuate them, to leave a small party, who are to set them on fire, and then join the main body.

#### AFTER ORDERS IN THE EVENING.

SEPT. 2. Bragg's regiment to march first, and will be directed by brigadier Townshend; Lascelles' next; then Anstruther's; and lastly, Otway's. These regiments are to take the road behind Anstruther's camp; the two howitzers are to be carried down by Lascelles'; Col. Howe's light infantry will form the rear guard of the whole, according to the particular instructions given herein. When the troops are drawn

up on the beach, they are to leave an interval between Anstruther's and Lascelles' for the light infantry.

SECOND AFTER ORDERS.

SEPT. 2. The regiments are to repair to their alarm-posts this night at twelve o'clock; they are to conceal themselves entirely after day-light, so as to try to induce the enemy to attack them; they will observe this direction to the very moment in which the signal will be made. As Otway's regiment have the large redoubt, and the grenadiers' redoubt in their alarm posts, they are to send a piquet to the former, and the grenadiers to the latter, immediately after dark. Lascelles' regiment is to send as soon as it is dark, a subaltern and twenty men to take the lower battery. This officer is to conceal his people after day-light, and to join his regiment when he perceives they are on the march to the beach; no fires to be made by the men in their alarm-posts.

SEPT. 4. The light infantry, twenty-eighth, thirty-fifth, forty-seventh, fifty-eighth, and the grenadiers of Louisbourg, with those of Monckton's regiment, are to march to-morrow at two in the afternoon; they are to receive their orders from brigadier Murray; the parts of these corps which are to remain, are to encamp on the ground now occupied by the Louisbourg grenadiers. The whole are to be drawn up two deep, the Louisbourg grenadiers on the right, Bragg's on the left, and so on by the seniority to the center; the brigadier proposes marching from the center; Colonel Howe's own division of light infantry will form the van-guard, and cover the head of the column; that of major Dalling the rear-guard. Two files will be detached from each platoon in order to cover their own flanks; when the woods are out of musket-shot, they are to keep near to the battalion; when they are within musket shot, they are to march within the skirts of the woods.

SEPT. 7. When the coast has been examined, and the best landing-place pitched upon, the troops will be ordered to disembark, perhaps this night's tide. The five following battallions are to hold themselves in readiness to go into the flat-bottomed boats, fifty in each boat, besides officers, viz: Amherst's, Otway's, Kennedy's, Anstruther's, and Colonel Murray's corps of grenadiers.

SEPT. 8. Seeing that the weather sets in bad, a signal will be made at one o'clock to lie fast, in case it does not clear up.

SEPT. 9. As the weather is so bad that no military operations can take place, and as the men are so excessively crowded in the transports,

and in the men of war, so as to endanger their health, it is ordered that the under-mentioned troops be landed at the mill upon the south shore, and that they may be cantoned in the village and church of St. Nicholas, in readiness to embark at the first signal. The signal to march and embark by day, will be two guns fired fast, and two slow, from the Sutherland; the signal by night, will be three lights at the main-top-gallant mast-head of the same ship, and two guns.

From the Squirrel, Louisbourg Grenadiers, officers in proportion,	200
From the Adventure transport, Otway's,	250
From the George transport, Anstruther's,	200
From ditto, Highlanders,	100
From the Ann and Elizabeth, Bragg's,	160
From ditto, Highlanders,	100
From the Sutherland, American Grenadiers,	50
From the Loestaff, Amherst's,	200
From the Ward, Lascelles',	160
From ditto, highlanders,	100
	1520

Brigadier Monckton takes command of this corps, and Brigadier Murray for this duty; the men to carry their blankets and kettles, with two days' provisions; they are to leave their baggage on board their ships. The troops afloat report to report to Brigadier Townshend.

SEPT. 11. The troops on shore, except the light infantry and Americans, are to be upon the beach to-morrow morning, at five o'clock, in readiness to embark; the light infantry and Americans will re-embark at, or about eight o'clock; the detachment of artillery to be put on board the armed sloop this day. The army to hold themselves in readiness to land and attack the enemy. As the Loestaff and Squirrel frigates are ordered to follow the flat-bottomed boats, the troops belonging to those ships are to remain in them and the boats intended for these corps are to take in the others.

#### ORDER OF TROOPS IN THE LINE OF BOATS.

Number of boats

8. 1st. Light Infantry leads.
6. 2d. Bragg's Regiment.
4. 3d. Kennedy's Regiment.
5. 4th. Lascelles' ditto.
6. 5th. Anstruther's ditto.
1. 6th. Detachment of Highlanders and American Grenadiers.

The troops must go into the boats about nine, to-morrow night, or when it is pretty near high water; but the naval officers, commanding the different divisions of boats, will apprize them of the fittest time; and as there will be a necessity for remaining some part of the night in the boats, the officers will provide accordingly; and the soldiers will have a *jill* of rum extraordinary to mix with their water; arms and ammunition, two days' provisions, with rum and water, are all that the soldiers are to take into their boats; their ships, with their blankets, tents, &c., will soon be brought up.

#### SIGNALS.

First. For the flat-bottomed boats, with the troops on board, to rendezvous abreast of the Sutherland, between her and the south shore, keeping near her; one light in the Sutherland's main-top shrouds.

Secondly. When they are to drop away from the Sutherland, she will show two lights in the main-top mast shrouds, one over the other.

The men to be quite silent, and when they are about to land, must not, upon any account, fire out of the boats; the officers of the navy are not to be interrupted in their part of the duty; they will receive their orders from the officer appointed to superintend the whole, to whom they are answerable. Officers of artillery and detachments of grenadiers are put on board the armed sloops to regulate their fire, that, in the hurry, our troops may not be hurt by our own artillery. Captain York and the officers, will be particularly careful to distinguish the enemy, and to point their fire against them; the frigates are not to fire until broad day-light, so no mistake can be made; the officers commanding floating batteries, will receive particular orders from the General. The troops to be supplied to-morrow with provisions to the 14th. The troops ordered for the first embarkation to be under arms at the headquarters to-morrow morning at four o'clock.

#### ON BOARD THE SUTHERLAND.

SEPT. 12. The enemy's force is now divided, great scarcity of provisions now in their camp, and universal discontent among the Canadians; the second officer in command is gone to Montreal or St. Johns, which gives reason to think that General Amherst is advancing into the colony; a vigorous blow struck by the army at this juncture may determine the fate of Canada. Our troops below are in readiness to join us, all the light artillery and tools are embarked at the Point of Levi, and the troops will land where the French seem least to expect it. The

first body that gets on shore, is to march directly to the enemy, and drive them from any little post they may occupy; the officers must be careful that the succeeding bodies do not, by any mistake, fire upon those who go on before them. The battalions must form on the upper ground, with expedition, and be ready to charge whatever presents itself. When the artillery and troops are landed, a corps will be left to secure the landing-place, while the rest march on, and endeavor to bring the French and Canadians to a battle. The officers and men will remember what their country expects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers, inured to war, is capable of doing, against five weak French battalions, mingled with a disorderly peasantry. The soldiers must be attentive, and obedient to their officers, and resolute in the execution of their duty."

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#### EXTRACTS FROM KNOX'S JOURNAL OF THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC.

As stated in the Address, Knox was an officer under the command of Wolfe, and a chronicler of several of the campaigns of the French war. His Journal, in two volumes Quarto, was published in London, in 1769, and is cited by our most careful writers. The passages here quoted will give the reader *some* idea of the course of affairs from the landing of the army, until the arrangements were completed for the final and brilliant exploit, on the memorable THIRTEENTH OF SEPTEMBER.

JUNE 27, 1759. General Wolfe took an escort of light troops, accompanied by Major M'Keller, our chief Engineer, to the west end of Orleans, in order to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy, the garrison, the bason, and the circumjacent country; he discovered the French army encamped on the north side of the river, their right extending close to Quebec, and their left, towards the cataract of Montmorency; the ground which the French General has made choice of is high and strong by nature, with the village of Beauport in the centre of their camp, and that of the Charlebourg in the rear of their right: to this post they are all employed in adding every kind of work that art can invent, to render it impenetrable.

\* \* \* \* \*

In the afternoon we had a dreadful storm of wind and rain,

which lasted for some hours; the troops were very fortunate in finding great quantities of wheaten and pease straw that had been lately threshed, with some excellent hay to lie upon. \* \*

\* \* Great damage has been sustained in the fleet this afternoon by the storm; it fell mostly on the boats and small crafts; some transports were driven on shore, and others ran foul of each other: many of the flat-bottomed boats suffered much by this hurricane, and several of them are rendered unfit for further service; the weather is now more moderate towards night.

JUNE 30. After the skirmish was over this morning between our light troops and the enemy, the former, in the pursuit, apprehending that the peasants and colony troops might possibly return with a reinforcement, possessed themselves of a large farmhouse, where they found a quantity of provisions and movables, with a fire in the kitchen chimney: from hence they intend to waylay the enemy, in case they should return; but hearing the voices of people talking, they searched the house, without however making any discovery; whereupon they resolved to set fire to it, and return to the church. After the flames began to spread with rapidity, they were alarmed with bitter shrieks and cries of women and children, who had foolishly concealed themselves among some lumber in a cellar. Our people very humanely exerted themselves for the relief of these miserable wretches, but their best endeavors were ineffectual; the house was burnt to the ground, and these unhappy people perished in the flames. *Such alas! are the direful effects of war.*

JULY 1. At three o'clock this afternoon we were alarmed by smart firing of musketry in the woods, and the troops stood to their arms; this was occasioned by a party of Indians coming down to annoy our camp, for whom Captain Goreham and his rangers laid in ambush, and scalped nine of them. Two twenty-four pounders and two twelves are mounted on our barbet battery. Major Scott, with a large corps of rangers, have arrived this evening from Orleans, by whom we learn that thirty of the enemy have been killed and taken on that island, and that two grenadiers of the Louisbourg division were found scalped on the skirts of the woods. It is expected the enemy will attempt to surprise us this night; nevertheless we are landing heavy artillery and stores with great diligence.

JULY 2. The 48th Regiment, with the grenadiers and light

troops of this brigade, under the command of Colonel Burton marched up the country, as an escort to General Wolfe, who went to reconnoitre the town from the heights to the southward of it; the light infantry, who preceded their march were fired upon by some straggling peasants, at a distance. The General made choice of a piece of ground, about one mile and a half from our camp, whereon to erect batteries against Quebec.

\* \* \* \* \*

Some ships have arrived from Boston with large boats and provisions for the army. I can perceive in the enemy's camp at least five colored coats for one French uniform, whence, it is manifest, their army consists chiefly of the militia of the country and other peasants. We have now got three redoubts in our encampment; the brigadier's tent is in the centre of the largest, where there are four brass six pounders mounted. Our camp forms an half moon round the point, and has now assumed a respectable appearance; we are ordered to entrench the eastern flank of it, which is in the rear of the 43d regiment. \* \* \* \* \*

The officers were all served this day with fresh provisions for the first time. The weather is gloomy and cold, and inclined to rain.

JULY 3. Working parties went out this morning to make fascines; they were obliged to quit about eight o'clock by a violent storm of rain which continued without intermission until night.

JULY 4. At noon we had a dreadful thunder storm, succeeded by violent rain and hail, which lasted near six hours; the lightning exceeded anything I ever saw. \* \* \* \*

The enemy appear to be indefatigable at their entrenchments, particularly at the left of their camp, above the Point de Hest;\* whence I conjecture that part to be the most accessible, and am confirmed in this opinion by an observation, viz., when the tide is about half ebb there are banks and shoals that run out at a great length into the bason along the front of their camp, from the center upwards, which are then visible; but there do not appear any obstructions immediately off the Point.

JULY 5. The forty-eighth regiment, and all the grenadiers, rangers, and light infantry, with working parties from the other corps, marched up to the place where our batteries are to be

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\*Boats usually took in ballast from thence, therefore called Point de Hest.

erected, and broke ground ; the forty-eighth are intrenching themselves on a convenient spot, at half the distance, in order to preserve the communication between our camp and the batteries. The rangers took post on all the adjoining hills, which commanded the road to the batteries, and the circumjacent country, for a great extent, dividing themselves into small parties with breast-works about them of stone, timber, &c., the workmen and grenadiers returned to camp in the evening.

JULY 6. The forty-eighth regiment have secured themselves at their new post, within an excellent redoubt ; and working parties are diligently employed in erecting batteries against the town ; the eminence, made choice of for this purpose, projects into the river, from sixteen to eighteen hundred yards distance, which, with Cape Diamond, form the straits\* of Quebec. Mortars, guns, shells, shot, and all manner of artillery stores, are landing at every tide. \* \* \* \* \*

A brisk cannonading, at six o'clock this evening between our frigates and the enemy's floating batteries ; this continued for an hour and a-half, but no damage was done on either side.

JULY 7. We have now got a park of artillery and stores adjoining to our camp, and the detachments of that corps are all encamped here ; the heaviest guns on shore are thirty-two pounders, and the largest mortars are thirteen inches.

JULY 8. At twelve o'clock, a smart cannonading between our frigates and the enemy's floating batteries, under the left of their encampment ; our bomb-ketches fired several shells, at the same time, into our camp, some of which, by bursting in the air over their heads, threw them into confusion, and make them run different ways for shelter. \* \* \* \* \*

At two o'clock, the garrison (as if by way of reprisal) vigorously bombarded Burton's Redoubt, and cannonaded our workmen at the batteries very briskly, but without any success ; General Wolfe was there at the same time, and showed great attention to the preservation of the men, by ordering them to lie down, or get under cover, as soon as a flash was first perceived\* ; the enemy continued their fire until late in the evening. \* \* \* \* \*

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\* We are informed by French writers, that in the old Indian or Algonquin language *Kebèis* or *Québèis* implies a strait, whence the capital derives its name.

\* It is easy to distinguish between the flash of a mortar, and that of a gun; the former being much larger than the other; on occasion of either, the usual signals are *shell* or *shot*, and are generally given by the engineer on that service, or by a sentinel appointed to watch the enemy's batteries.

The works are now completed on the west of Orleans; store houses are erected, and hospitals for the use of the fleet and army; that post is rendered very defensible.

\* \* \* \* \*

Two thirteen-inch mortars and some cannons were drawn up this day to Burton's Redoubt; it blew fresh towards night, with a dropping rain; the marines have hitherto lain on board their ships; the first detachment of their corps landed this evening on Point Levi.

JULY 9. In order to facilitate the landing of the forces, under General Wolfe on the north side of the river, to the eastward of the water-fall, our brigade struck their camp between one and two o'clock this morning, with the greatest quietness, marched a little way up the country, and concealed ourselves in the woods; a few detachments only remained in the houses and redoubts, and the working-parties being out of view of the enemy, were not called in.

Between six and seven of our frigates and bomb-ketches began to play upon the enemy's camp, which obliged them to strike their tents, and retire more to the rear; that ground is not only out of reach of our ship's guns, but, by its elevated situation, bids defiance to any annoyance from the river.

\* \* \* \* \*

Captain Starks, of the rangers, sent his Lieutenant, and twenty men, on a scout to the southward, yesterday; they returned to day, and brought in two prisoners; one of them was a lad of fifteen years of age, the other a man of forty, who was very sullen, and would not answer any questions; this officer also took two male children, and as he and his party were returning, they saw themselves closely pursued by a much superior body, some of whom were Indians; he wished to be freed from the children, as, by their innocent cries and screeches, they directed the pursuers where to follow. The Lieutenant made many signs to them to go away and leave him, but they, not understanding him, still redoubled their lamentations; and finding himself hard pressed, he gave orders that the infants should be taken aside and killed; which was done, though the officer declared to me that it was with the greatest reluctance that can be conceived.

\* \* \* \* \*

About one o'clock in the afternoon, the troops under General

Wolfe landed on the north side of the river to the eastward of the cataract, and encamped without opposition. They had six brass six-pounders with them and some howitzers. The rangers were soon after detached into the woods to cover some fascine-makers, and being fired upon by a body of Indians, a smart skirmish ensued; but the rangers were reinforced by the piquets and two field pieces, which raked the rascals, and drove them back to their own camp:—there were many killed and wounded on both sides, which fell mostly on Captain Danks and his company of rangers.

JULY 10. Our batteries are in great forwardness; the two first are to mount six guns and five mortars, and will, in a few days, be in readiness to open.

\* \* \* \* \*

Before we reached our camp, we had a violent thunder-storm attended with hail and rain, which laid our incampment under water:—the hail stones were uncommonly large.

JULY 11. The enemy, apprehending that we would endeavor to make up last night in work, what we were prevented doing yesterday by the storm, expended a great quantity of shot and shells at our batteries, but with no better success than in the morning.

\* \* \* \* \*

Our carpenters are employed here in making several floating stages, in order, as it is pretended, to ferry over this brigade to attack the enemy at Beauport, whilst General Wolfe, with the other two brigades, are to cross the river of Montmorency, and fall upon the rear; in this case it is added, that the marines are to defend our redoubts and batteries here, and detachments will remain in the north camp, to maintain that post. Such schemes and reports, however, seem only calculated to amuse the enemy, and confirm him in a belief, that nothing will be attempted this campaign by our army, except in that quarter; M. Montcalm has a distinct view of these stages from his camp, and the uses they are said to be intended for, may possibly be conveyed to him by prisoners or deserters. Our works in this camp are almost com-

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\* When the enemy saw our army thus subdivide (and occupying three distinct camps, the chief gentlemen of the country made application to Monsieur Vaudreuil, to detach a strong body of Canadians, under experienced officers, over the river, and rout our troops from Point Levi; but the Governor-General, from the contemptible opinion he had of their prowess, refused, telling them it was his and their duty to act on the defensive.

Monsieur Montcalm (say the officers of the regulars) was strongly prepossessed with the same sentiments of his Canadian forces.

pleted, our redoubts are very strong, having a ditch, with a stout picket-work in the centre, and an Abbatis de Bois all round them.

On the inside of the church, or General Hospital, is also an excellent palisade-work, with loop-holes for musketry; and the west end of it is covered by a half-moon, where an officer's guard mounts every day.

JULY 12. Two pieces of cannon, with ammunition of all kinds, and a quantity of shells were sent up to the batteries.

General Wolfe has put his camp in an excellent posture of defence; some batteries are erected against the enemy's left flank, and others are marked out, being proposed to be thrown up, if occasion should require; boats are constantly employed in carrying artillery, ammunition, and provisions to that side.

At nine o'clock this night a rocket was thrown up as a signal for our batteries and bomb-ketches to play upon the town; our first and second shells fell rather short, which afforded great sport to the enemy, who put forth many triumphant shouts on the occasion; however, we immediately got to the proper distance and changed their mirth. A fierce bombardment and cannonading was continued the whole night on both sides, of which, I had a full view from the Rock-guard, where I was upon duty. At midnight came on a heavy rain, that lasted until it was clear day-light.

JULY 13. Our batteries and the town are still warmly engaged; our bomb-ships ceased firing late in the night, but renewed it this morning, and performed exceedingly well. At eleven o'clock, all was quiet on both sides. Between twelve and one there was a smart cannonading from the left of General Wolfe's camp, across the fall at a battery the enemy were erecting to enfilade their ground.

JULY 13. The summers in this country are very hot, and subject to violent rains; we have had a great fall this day.

JULY 14. General Wolfe has been these two nights past at our batteries, with the grenadiers, light infantry of this brigade, and some companies of marines, being in expectation of a visit from the enemy, who by accounts brought by deserters have crossed the river for that purpose, with near two thousand men, and were this day seen to return; the General was greatly disappointed at

their not putting their menaces in execution, being well prepared to receive them.     \*     \*     \*     \*     \*     \*

A fleet of transports are arrived from New York and Boston with stores and provisions of all kinds; three hundred provincials are also arrived to recruit the ranging companies and corps of artificers.     \*     \*     \*     \*     \*     \*

At ten o'clock this morning there was a brisk cannonading between a small battery, on the side of the hill in the north camp and the enemy's floats, in which some of our ships bore a-part.

Some detachments of marines were landed to-day, as were likewise our ship-mortars; these are to be employed at a new battery we are now erecting, on the right of the others. Our artillery are well served, and with seeming success, the lower town being already considerably damaged; the enemy are wasting their ammunition to little purpose.

JULY 15. We are throwing up a traverse on the upper road behind the great water-mill, whence there is a parapet work extended on the top of the rocky hill commanding the Point, as far as the Parsonage-house to the south-west of the church; the face of this hill is also cleared of all trees and under-wood; so that the defences of our camp are now almost completed. There was a warm cannonading late last night across the fall, which was briskly renewed this morning on both sides.

JULY 16. Ninety-six shells and seven carcasses have been thrown into the town the last twenty-four hours. The bearer of the last flag of truce from the enemy told General Wolfe:—"We do not doubt but you will demolish the town; but we are determined your army shall never get footing within its walls!" to which, the General replied:—"I will be master of Quebec, if I stay here until the latter end of November next." At eleven o'clock a fire broke out in a large building\* in the upper town, and burned with great fury, by the wind's blowing fresh at north-west; the enemy seemed thereby much incensed, and cannonaded our batteries very vigorously for the space of two hours; our batteries on the north camp played briskly into the enemy's camp at the same time, without any return.

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\* The great Cathedral Church of Quebec, with all its paintings, images, and ornaments, were entirely destroyed by this conflagration, occasioned by our shells, &c.

JULY 17. The savages are very troublesome in the neighborhood of the north camp, which obliges the troops to be very alert. The General frequently sends out large detachments to scour the environs of his camp, and to endeavor to draw part of the French army out of their trenches, by often countermarching in the skirts of the woods in their view, as if intending to cross the river of Montmorency and attack them.

\* \* \* \* \*

Two of their floating stages were sent over to-day to Orleans for trial; they will each contain near three hundred men, and are supported on the water by a parcel of iron-bound pipes, or casks, fastened together with small cables; they are exactly square, with a hand-rail to three faces, and the fourth face is covered by a kind of mantlet, or wooden fence, musket-proof, which, upon the floats being towed towards the shore, lets down, and forms a stage for the troops to disembark on. \* \* \* \* \*

Slack firing between the town and our batteries to-day; another mortar and some cannon were brought up there this afternoon, Weather showery though warm.

JULY 18. *Many new projects are talked of; but, I believe, from no other motive than to amuse the enemy, in order that false intelligence may be circulated throughout their camps should any of our soldiers desert, a practice common in all armies.*

\* \* \* \* \*

The garrison has not fired at our batteries since three o'clock in the afternoon, yesterday; they began this day at noon, and continued cannonading and bombarding incessantly until sun-set, without any loss or accident whatever. General Wolfe was there for some time; no man can display greater activity than he does between the different camps of his army.

\* \* \* \* \*

Between ten and eleven o'clock this night, sailed with a fair wind, and with tide of flood, the Sutherland, Captain Rouse, with the squirrel, three cats, and two trading sloops with provisions, and passed the town; the Diana frigate was to have accompanied them, but she ran aground under the Little Rock-Guard, and stuck so fast that she could not be got off. The enemy did not fire above twenty-eight guns all last night, which makes us conjecture that the sailing of these ships into the upper river was a great surprise to them. General Wolfe, who was then at our batteries,

gave the town a most incessant fire while this small fleet were passing.

JULY 19th. The enemy erected a gibbet on the grand battery above the lower town, and hanged two sentinels, we suppose for not being more alert on their posts, and neglecting to apprise them of the first appearance of our ships advancing to pass the garrison into the upper river. \* \* \* \* \*

There was a smart cannonading this afternoon, between a battery on the side of the hill in the north camp, the battery on the Point of Orleans, and some of the enemy's floats.

Our new batteries are in great forwardness and will soon be ready to open. The command at Orleans have been reinforced by some of the provincials, who lately arrived from New England.

JULY 20th. Orders are given out to the troops on this side to be ready to march this evening.

The conjectures on this head are various ; some are of opinion, we have intended to storm the town to-night ; others, that we are intending to cut off the corps of seventeen hundred men, which the enemy are said to have detached to our side of the river ; while others look upon these sudden orders and reports as the effects of policy. \* \* \* \* \*

Slack firing at our batteries to-day, the enemy silent.

JULY 21. Our batteries played briskly on the town last night. This morning the General engaged the enemy very warmly for some hours, with his cannon and howitzers across the fall. The weather exceedingly wet and uncomfortable.

General Wolfe was at our batteries to-day, and while he continued there the town fired nearly fifty shot, (after being long quiet) with their usual ill success. The General took an escort from thence to Gorham's Post, where he had a barge to attend him, and proceeded immediately into the upper river to reconnoitre, after which he went on board the Sutherland.

The enemy having erected a battery at Sillery, opposite to the river Ethemine, where they have mounted a mortar and two pieces of cannon, the squadron under Captain Rouse has been thereby

obliged to move higher up in the river. The mast of the General's barge was carried away by a shot from that battery while his Excellency was abreast of it.

JULY 22. Our batteries eastward of the fall, kept a warm fire last night for several hours, on the enemy's camp.

The weather cleared up this evening after a very rainy forenoon. At nightfall, our new batteries were opened against the town, which produced a furious cannonading on both sides, with some shells and carcasses from us.

JULY 23. Between ten and eleven o'clock last night, part of the lower town took fire and burnt with great rapidity until nine this morning.

JULY 24. We have maintained an almost incessant fire of shot and shell against the town these last fourteen hours, which set part of it in flames.

Our weather is extremely wet and uncomfortable.

JULY 25. We played so warmly on the town last night that a fire broke out in two different parts of it at eleven o'clock, which burnt with great rapidity until near three this morning; the enemy remained perfectly quiet during that time, and still continue so. We are erecting a new six-gun battery to the right of the others, to keep the lower town in ruin, which appears to be almost destroyed.

This day two hundred marines were detached to the north camp to do duty with the troops there.

JULY 26. We threw one hundred and fifty shells and carcasses into the town these last eighteen hours, besides discharging a great number of shot,

The enemy are erecting some works on the left of their camp; but our batteries eastward of the fall played so briskly on them to-day, that they were obliged to desist. General Wolfe was at the same time reconnoitering to the northward of his camp, and his escort was attacked, whereupon a smart skirmish ensued, in which we had about fifty killed and wounded, and, by the numbers of the enemy carried off, (who were mostly Indians,) it is conjectured their loss may be almost doubled.

Our batteries have fired almost incessantly this day on the town, which the enemy briskly returned for some hours.

\* \* \* \* \*

JULY 27. Colonel Fraser's detachment returned this morning, and presented us with more scenes of distress, and the dismal consequences of war, by a great number of wretched families, whom they brought in prisoners, with some of their effects, and near three hundred black cattle, sheep, hogs, and horses.

\* \* \* \* \*

We have bombarded the town very briskly these last twenty-four hours.

JULY 28. We opened a new six-gun battery last night, which, with the others to the left of it, kept a most tremendous fire on the town, and is still continued.

JULY 29. Our batteries fire almost incessantly on the town both day and night; the wind is still favorable for ships to pass into the upper river, though little of it. An expedition of great consequence is talked of, for which the chosen detachments from the several regiments are said to be reserved.

JULY 30. Very hot work at our batteries to day, and at about two o'clock, the enemy gave them a round from every gun they could bring to bear upon them, after being silent for a long time before; we bombarded the town last night from sunset until sunrise this morning.

JULY 31. Our batteries on the eminence to the eastward briskly enfiladed the enemy's works at the left extremity of their camp, and also their detached battery and redoubt on the beach below.

A heavy connonading from every quarter.

\* \* \* \* \*

The General, seeing the situation of affairs, night drawing on a-pace and the ammunition of the army damaged with the dreadful thunder storm and fall of rain that can be conceived, sent to stop Brigadier Townshend. The enemy did not attempt to pursue; their ammunition must undoubtedly have shared the same fate with our own, for the violence of the storm exceeded any description I can attempt to give of it.

\* \* \* \* \*

The storm of uncommon heavy rain, that not only damaged our

powder, but rendered the precipices to the enemy's work so slippery, as to become impossible for men to ascend them.

AUG. 2. We bombarded the town with great spirit last night.

AUG. 3. Part of the town was in flames early this morning, but was soon extinguished; we continue to bombard and cannonade it vigorously, though we have seldom any return from the enemy.

AUG. 4. Our fire against the town has been very heavy these last twenty-four hours.      \*      \*      \*      \*      \*

At night General Wolfe amused the enemy by making a feint to cross the ford by the fall, whereupon they beat to arms, and lined their entrenchments; which as soon as he perceived, he gave them a formidable fire from all his cannon and howitzers on the hill.

AUG. 6. Smart firing on the town this night, which is faintly returned.

AUG. 7. At times butcher's meat is scarce, but that is supplied by young horse-flesh; a loin of a colt eats well roasted, and there are many other parts of the carcase, which if disguised in the same manner that one meets with other victuals at table, may deceive the nicest palate.

AUG. 8. Two of our twenty-four pounders are disabled at the batteries, whence we still maintain a brisk fire against the town, which appears to be in a most ruinous condition. In the evening, Mr. Wolfe cannonaded and bombarded the left of the enemy's camp for above an hour.

AUG. 9. About one o'clock this morning, a fire broke out in the lower town, and, by the winds freshening, the flames spread with great rapidity, and continued burning until ten, by which the greater part of that quarter was destroyed; it communicated to one of their batteries, blew up a small magazine or powder-chest, burned their platforms and carriages, and discharged some of their guns. Another fire was perceived to burst forth in the upper town, which was extinguished in less than an hour. Our artillery officers observe that they can now reach the north suburbs, where the Intendant's superb palace is situated; and this quarter they hope they shall soon put on the same romantic footing with the rest.

Aug. 9. When the lower town was in flames early this morning, Mr. Wolfe ordered the piquets and grenadiers to march down to the beach, and make a feint to cross the ford leading to the Point de Left ; which the enemy perceiving, beat instantly to arms and lined their works ; whereupon the General gave them a spirited discharge from all his cannon and howitzers and did great execution among them.

Aug. 10. General Wolfe, with Colonel Carleton, &c., are gone a few miles down the river, escorted by two companies of grenadiers, on a reconnoitering party. A brisk discharging of small arms was heard to-day, for near two hours, above the town, which resembled platoon firing. Smart cannonading and bombarding between the town and our batteries.

Aug. 11. Our batteries fire briskly on the town to-day without any return.

\* \* \* \* \*

This night at nine o'clock the Leostaff, Hunter, and some transports worked upwards and attempted to pass the town, but the tide of flood being almost at the height, and the wind failing them, they were obliged to put back ; while they were within reach the enemy bombarded and cannonaded them vigorously, which was most spiritedly returned by our batteries.

12. This morning, at day break, our weather changed to uncommon heavy rain, which continued several hours without intermission.

13th. The General bombarded the enemy's camp warmly this morning, by which one of their houses took fire, and while they were endeavoring to extinguish it, he gave them a vigorous discharge from all his artillery, and maintained it above an hour.

\* \* \* \* \*

Upwards of a thousand cannon shot, and twenty thirteen inch shells, which came from the enemy at different times, have been collected in the precincts of our batteries and were sent on board an ordnance ship to be transmitted, as it is said, to Louisbourg ; the soldiers are allowed two pence for a shot, two shillings and six pence for a ten inch, and five shillings for thirteen inch shells

\* \* \* \* \* By the deluge of rain we have had of late, the air is rendered cool, and our camp uncomfortable.

14. A strong fortress to contain a garrison of three thousand

men this winter, on the island of Coudre, is again reported to be determined upon, and the plan to be very soon put in execution.

○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

General Wolfe attacked some of the enemy's floating batteries that were edging down to the Point de Left, and obliged them to retire precipitately.

15. General Wolfe engaged one of the floats this afternoon, and she soon after blew up. The town is warmly bombarded this evening.

16. A fire broke out in the town last night, and the flames spread with great rapidity; the enemy then, as in such cases, fired vigorously on our batteries, though without execution.

○ ○ ○ ○ ○ \* \* \*

The waters were so much out, occasioned by the late heavy rains, that the rivulet was not passable.

\* \* \* \* \*

The weather changed this evening, which brought the wind about, but it did not continue long fair. Our new batteries are in great forwardness.

17. Part of the town took fire again last night, but there being no wind and a heavy rain, it was soon got under.

\* \* \* \* \*

The town and our batteries were silent all last night and to-day, until two o'clock in the afternoon, when they broke out and a smart cannonading and bombardment ensued on both sides. The new batteries we are erecting are to mount nineteen twenty-four pounders. A storm is strongly talked of, in which the Admiral, it is said, will assist with a few ships and some thousands of seamen.

18. We have supported a brisk fire upon the town all last night and to-day. \* \* \* \* \*

The Chief Engineer disapproves of storming Quebec, as an enterprise extremely dangerous and without any prospects of succeeding, particularly as the fleet cannot assist us, their guns not having sufficient elevation to effect the upper town.

19th. A heavy storm of rain in the evening with great thunder and lightning.

21. We fire a little on the town to-day without any return. The weather is so extremely wet and disagreeable that very little advantage can now be reaped any where. At noon General Wolfe

discharged some howitzers into the enemy's camp. The project of erecting a fortress on the island of Coudre, for a garrison of three thousand men, is laid aside for want of proper materials, and the season being too far advanced for such an undertaking. The enterprise of storming Quebec is also given up, as too desperate to hope for success. \* \* \* \*

It is with the greatest concern to the whole army that we are now informed of our amiable General's being very ill of a slow fever; the soldiers lament him exceedingly, and seemed apprehensive of this event before we were ascertained of it, by his not visiting this camp for several days past. \* \* \* \*

Our batteries are now limited to twenty-five rounds in twenty-four hours per gun, and the mortars to forty-five.

24. I crossed the river this morning to wait on the General, and receive his orders for this brigade; this is the first and only opportunity I had of being in that camp, where no pains have been spared to render it impregnable; a tolerable house stood convenient here for Mr. Wolfe's quarters, but he was so ill above stairs as not to be able to come to dinner. \* \* \* \*

The town threw five shells at our batteries to-day, but there was no mischief done. We continue to keep the place in ruin.

25. His Excellency, General Wolfe, is on the recovery, to the inconceivable joy of the whole army.

26. Our batteries and the town exchanged many shot and shells to-day.

29. Our troops eastward of Montmorency are preparing to evacuate that ground; the enemy's batteries westward of the cataract cannonaded the boats that were passing to General Wolfe's camp, in order to bring off the sick, women, and heavy baggage; but his Excellency, by a superior fire from all his cannon and howitzers, soon silenced them.

31. General Wolfe appeared in his camp to-day for the first time since his late illness. \* \* \* \*

We are drawing off our cannon from General Wolfe's camp.

SEPT. 1. The Seahorse frigate, two cats, and two sloops, passed into the upper river last night between eleven and twelve o'clock, which occasioned a furious firing between the town and our batteries. \* \* \* \*

Several pieces of brass cannon, twelves and twenty-four pounders, were drawn up to our batteries, and we are throwing up another redoubt there.

It is privately rumored with some confidence, that the main body of the army is shortly to be conveyed above the town, to endeavor to force a landing on the north side of the river, between Cape Rouge and Cape Diamond.

2. General Wolfe is preparing to withdraw his troops from the ground eastward of the cataract; for this purpose he has sent over all his artillery, stores, baggage, tent, &c.

\* \* \* \* \*

General Wolfe is endeavoring to draw the flower of the French army from their strong entrenched camp, to an engagement on his own ground before he abandons it.

4. An expedition is on foot to the upper river, in which the greatest part of the army, with our three Brigadiers, are to assist; the General will command in person, if his health will permit. The grenadiers of Louisbourg are under orders to join us this eve, from Orleans. The boats are to pass the town this night, with the light baggage of the troops, fine weather and wind favorable.

5. General Wolfe was much indisposed last night, he is better to-day; but the army are, nevertheless, very apprehensive lest his ill state of health should not permit him to command this grand enterprise in person.

6. We had an uncommon storm of rain last night; to-day showery weather and wind variable. We fired warmly on the town these last eighteen hours, without a single gun or shell in return. \* \* \* \* \*

The General joined the army and upper fleet this night.

7. Fine warm weather: Admiral Holmes' squadron weighed early this morning; at six o'clock we doubled the mouth of the Chaudiere, which is near a half a mile over; and at eight we came to an anchor off Cape Rouge. \* \* \* \* \*

This afternoon at two o'clock the Seahorse, Leostaff, and two oating batteries that were lately taken, were ordered to edge into the cove and attack the enemy's armed floats, at the same time the troops put into their boats and rowed up and down, as if intending to land at different places, to amuse the enemy; the Brigadiers, no doubt, knew this was intended only as a *finesse*,

but the corps thought they were, in reality, going ashore, and such was their zeal, that they were much disappointed, when, after parading some time in this manner, they were ordered back to their ships ; this seems calculated to fix the attention of the enemy on that particular part, while a descent is meditated elsewhere, perhaps lower down.

8. Wet weather, wind up the river : this morning, at day-break, a transport cat, two sloops, and a schooner, passed the town with provisions, &c., and were followed soon after by two other small vessels, they were all warmly cannonaded in their passage, and sustained some damage. Orders are issued out this evening for the troops to land, and make a diversion to-morrow morning at day light.

9. The extreme wetness of the weather prevented the operations intended for this morning.

10. General Wolfe sent for an officer and thirty men of the forty-third regiment, to escort him on a reconnoitre, with Brigadier Townshend, the chief Engineer, Colonel Carleton, &c. For this purpose six of our grenadiers coats were also sent by his Excellency's orders.

11. Great preparations are making throughout the fleet and army to surprise the enemy and compel them to decide the fate of Quebec by a battle ; all the long boats below the town are to be filled with seamen, marines, and such detachments as can be spared from Points Levi and Orleans, in order to make a feint off Beauport and the Point de Left, and endeavor to engross the attention of the *Suire de Montcalm*, while the army are to force a descent on this side of the town.

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#### KNOX'S ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF THURSDAY, THE THIRTEENTH OF SEPTEMBER, 1759.

[He landed with the first division under the personal command of Wolfe, and remarks, that " in the boat where he was, one man was killed, one seaman, with four soldiers were slightly, and two mortally wounded ;" this from the fire of the " chain of centries" which Montcalm had posted along the summit of the heights.]

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

The General then detached the light troops to our left, to route the enemy from their battery, and to disable their guns, except they could be rendered serviceable to the party who were to remain there ; and this service was soon performed. We then faced to the right, and marched towards the town by files, till we came to the plains of Abraham, an even piece of ground which Mr. Wolfe had made choice of, while we stood forming upon the hill. Weather showery. About six o'clock, the enemy first made their appearance upon the heights, between us and the town, whereupon we halted and wheeled to the right, thereby forming the line of battle. The first disposition then was : “ Grenadiers of Louisbourg on the right, and the forty-seventh regiment on the left, twenty-eighth on the right, third on the left ; part of the light infantry took posts in the houses at Sillery, and the remainder occupied a chain of houses which were opportunely situated for that purpose ; and covered our left flank, inclining towards our rear ; the General then advanced some platoons from the Gren-

diers and twenty-eighth regiment below the height on our right, to annoy the enemy, and prevent their getting round the declivity between us and the main river, which they had attempted. By this time the fifteenth and thirty-fifth regiments joined us, who formed a second line, and were soon after followed by the forty-eighth and fifty-eighth, two battalions of the sixty-eighth and seventy-eighth regiments, (Highlanders,) by which a new disposition was made of the whole ; viz. ; “ first line, thirty-fifth to the right, in a circular form on the slope of the hill, fifty-eighth left, Grenadiers right, seventy-eighth left, twenty-eighth right, forty-seventh left, forty-third in the center,” General Wolfe, Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, to our front line ; and the second was composed of the fifteenth, and two battalions of the sixtieth regiment under Brigadier Townshend, with a reserve of the forty-eighth regiment, under Colonel Burton, drawn up in four grand divisions with large intervals. The enemy had now likewise formed the line of battle, and got some cannon to play on us, with round and canister shot ; but what galled us most was a body of Indians and other marksmen they had concealed in the corn opposite to the front of our right wing, and a coppice that stood opposite to our center, inclining towards our left ; but Colonel Hale, by Brigadier Monckton’s orders, advanced some platoons, alternately, from the forty-seventh regiment, which, after a few rounds, obliged these sculkers to retire : we were now ordered to lie down and remained some time in this position. About eight o’clock we had two pieces of short brass six-pounders playing on the enemy, which threw them into some confusion, and obliged them to alter their disposition, and Montcalm formed them into three large columns ; about nine, the two armies moved a little nearer each other. The light cavalry made a faint attempt upon our parties at the battery of Sillery, but were soon beat off, and Monsieur de Bougainville, with his troops from Cape Rouge, came down to attack the flank of our second line, hoping to penetrate there ; but by a masterly disposition of Brigadier Townshend, they were forced to desist, and the third battalion of Royal Americans was then detached to the first ground we had formed on after we gained the heights, to preserve the communication with the beach and our boats.

About ten o’clock, the enemy began to advance briskly in three columns, with loud shouts and recovered arms, two of them in-

clining 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 one hundred and thirty, until they came within forty yards; which our troops withstood with the greatest intrepidity and firmness, still reserving their fire, and paying the strictest obedience to their officers; this uncommon steadiness, together with the havoc which the grape-shot from our field-pieces made among them, threw them into some disorder, and was most critically maintained by a well-timed, regular, and heavy discharge of our small arms, such as they could no longer oppose; \* hereupon they gave way and fled with precipitation, so that, by the time the cloud of smoke was vanished, our men were again loaded, and, profiting by the advantage we had over them, pursued them almost to the gates of the town, and the bridge over the little river, redoubling our fire with great eagerness, making many officers and men prisoners. The weather cleared up, with a comfortably warm sun-shine; the Highlanders chased them vigorously towards Charles's river, and the fifty-eighth to the suburb, close to John's gate, until they were checked by the cannon from the two hulks, at the same time a gun, which the town had brought to bear upon us with grape-shot, galled the progress of the regiments to the right, who were likewise pursuing with equal ardor, while Colonel Hunt Walsh, by a very judicious movement, wheeled the battalions of Bragg and Kennedy to the left, and flanked the coppice where a body of the enemy made a stand, as if willing to renew the action, but a few platoons from these corps completed our victory. Then it was that Brigadier Townshend came up, called off the pursuers, ordered the whole line to dress, and recover their former ground.

Our joy at this success is inexpressibly damped by the loss we sustained of one of the greatest heroes which this or any other age can boast of. General James Wolfe, who received his mortal wound, as he was exerting himself at the head of the grenadiers of Louisbourg; and Brigadier Monckton was unfortunately

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\* When General Wolfe "formed the line of battle, he ordered the regiments to load with an additional ball. The 43d and 47th regiments, in the centre, being little affected by the oblique fire of the enemy, gave them, with great calmness, as remarkable a close and heavy discharge, as I ever saw performed at a private field of exercise, insomuch that better troops than we encountered could not possibly withstand it; and, indeed, well might the French officers say, that they never opposed such a shock as they received from the centre of our line, for that they believed every ball took place, and such regularity and discipline they had not experienced before."

wounded upon the left of the forty-third, and right of the forty-seventh regiment, at much the same time ; whereby the command devolved on Brigadier Townshend, who, with Brigadier Murray, went to the head of every regiment, and returned thanks for their extraordinary good behavior, congratulating the officers on our success.

\* \* \* \* \*

The officers, who are prisoners, say, that Quebec will surrender in a few days ; some deserters who came out to us in the evening, agree in that opinion, and inform us, that the *Sieur de Montcalm* is dying, in great agony, of a wound he received to-day in their retreat. Thus has our late renowned Commander, by his superior eminence in the art of war, and a most judicious coup d'etat, made a conquest of this fertile, healthy, and hitherto formidable country, with a handful of troops only, in spite of political schemes and most vigorous efforts of the famous *Montcalm*, and many other officers of rank and experience, at the head of an army considerably more numerous.

My pen is too feeble to draw the character of this British Achilles ; but the same may, with justice, be said of him as was said of *Henry IV.* of France. He was possessed of courage, humanity, clemency, generosity, affability, and politeness. And though the former of these happy ingredients, how essential soever it may be in the composition of a soldier, is not alone sufficient to distinguish an expert officer ; yet I may, with strict truth, advance, that *Major General James Wolfe*, by his great talents, and martial disposition, which he discovered early in life, was greatly superior to his experience in generalship, and was by no means inferior to a *Frederic*, a *Henry*, or a *Ferdinand*."



LIST OF THE SHIPS OF WAR SENT TO THE ST. LAWRENCE, IN 1759, TO ASSIST WOLFE IN THE REDUCTION OF QUEBEC :

In addition, the store-ships, victuallers, traders, and transports, were, probably, one hundred and fifty or two hundred : *Knox* speaks of these kinds of vessels as forming " an immense fleet."

Ships' Names.	Guns	Commanders.
Neptune,	90	Admiral Saunders, Commander-in-chief, Captain Hartwell.
Princes Amelia,	80	Admiral Durell.
Dublin,	74	Admiral Holmes.
Royal William,	84	Captain Piggot.
Vanguard,	74	" Swanton.
Terrible,	74	" Collins.
Captain,	70	" Amherst.
Shrewsbury,	74	" Palliser.
Devonshire,	74	" Gordon.
Bedford,	68	" Fowkes.
Alcide,	64	" Douglas.
Somerset,	68	" Hughes.
Prince Frederic,	64	" Booth.
Pembroke,	60	" Wheelock.
Medway,	60	" Proby.
Prince of Orange,	60	" Wallace.
Northumberland,	64	" Lord Colville.
Oxford,	64	" Spry.
Stirling Castle,	64	" Everett.
Centurion,	60	" Mantle.
Trident,	54	" Legge.
Sutherland,	50	" Rouse.
Frigates, Diana,	36	" Schomberg.
" Leostoffe,	28	" Deane.
" Richmond,	32	" Handkerson.
Frigates, Trent,	28	" Lindsay.
" Echo,	24	" Le Forey.
Sloops, Seahorse,	20	" Smith.
" Eurus,	22	" Elphinstone,
" Nightingale,	20	" Campbell.
" Hind,	20	" Bond.
" Squirrel,	20	" Hamilton.
" Scarborough,	20	" Scott.
" Lizard,	28	" Doak.
" Scorpion,	14	" Cleland.
" Zephir,	12	" Greenwood.
" Hunter,	10	" Adams.
" Porcupine,	14	" Jarvis.

Ships' Names.		Guns.	Commanders.
Sloops,	Baltimore,	10	Captain Carpenter.
"	Cormorant,	8	" M——
"	Pelican,	8	" Montford.
"	Race-horse,	8	" Rickards.
"	Bonetta,	8	" ———
"	Vesuvius,	—	" Chads.
"	Strombolo,	—	" Smith.
"	Rodney Cutter,	2	" Douglas.

The Bonetta and Rodney, as also the Charming Molly, Europa-Lawrence, Peggy and Sarah, Good Intent, and Prosperity, transport cutters, were appointed sounding vessels.

### STATE OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN THE ST. LAWRENCE.

*Officers present: Rank and File, &c., September, 1759.*

COMMISSIONED.			STAFF.		N. COM.										
No. of Corps.	Regiments.	Colonels.	Lieut. Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Adjutants.	Quarter Masters.	Surgeons.	Mates.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Total of all Ranks, including General Officers, &c.
		15th.	Amlherst's.	1	0	1	4	15	5	0	0	1	0	21	
28th.	Bragg's.	1	0	1	5	9	8	0	0	1	0	23	11	362	421
35th.	Otway's.	0	1	1	5	11	8	1	1	1	0	23	11	456	519
43d.	Kennedy's.	0	0	1	6	6	4	1	1	0	0	17	11	280	327
47th.	Lascelles's.	0	1	0	5	8	8	0	0	0	0	31	2	305	360
48th.	Webb's.	0	1	0	4	16	7	1	0	1	1	33	14	605	683
58th.	Anstruther's.	0	1	1	4	7	6	0	0	0	0	20	0	296	335
60th	} Monckton's.	1	0	0	2	6	6	0	0	0	0	26	15	266	322
		0	1	0	4	11	8	0	0	0	0	28	14	474	540
78th.	Fraser's.	0	0	0	7	12	7	1	0	0	0	28	14	603	662
22d.	} Louisbourg Companies of Grenadiers	0	1	0	2	8	0	1	0	0	0	9	4	216	241
40th															
45th															
Total,		3	6	5	48	109	67	5	2	4	1	259	102	4215	4816

One Major-General, three Brigadier-Generals, one Quarter-Master General, one Aid Quarter-Master General, one Adjutant-General, four Majors of Brigade, two Aids-de-Camp.

## STATE OF THE FRENCH ARMY, SEPT., 1859:

RIGHT COLUMN.		CENTRE COLUMN.		LEFT COLUMN.	
Troupes de Colonie,	550	Regiment de Barne,	360	Royale Roufflon,	650
Regiment de la Sarre,	550	Regiment de Guienne,	360	La Colonie,	650
Reg. de Languedoc,	550	Des Milices,	1200	Des Milices,	2300
Des Milices, and one Six Pounder,	400				
	2000		1920		3600

*A List of the British, Killed, Wounded, and Missing, on the  
13th of September:*

Killed,	-	-	-	-	-	61
Wounded,	-	-	-	-	-	598
Missing,	-	-	-	-	-	5
						664

All ranks, killed, wounded, and missing, six hundred and sixty-four.

## ANECDOTES OF WOLFE.

While at Louisbourg, and on the 25th of May, 1759, Wolfe reviewed the Grenadier Companies of the garrison there:

“Some commanding officers of corps, who expected to be also reviewed in their turn, told the General, by way of apology, that, by their regiments having been long cantoned, they had it not in their power to learn or practise this new exercise: to which he answered—“*Poh! poh! New exercise—new fiddlestick: if they are otherwise well disciplined, and will fight, that's all I shall require of them!*”

On the passage from Louisbourg to Quebec, says Knox, under date of June 19th:

“At seven o'clock P. M., the Richmond Frigate passed us, on board of which was General Wolfe, who politely saluted us, hoping we were all well on board.”

With Wolfe, and killed, at Quebec, was a young Fairfax, (of the noble family in Virginia, and the friends of Washington in early life,) who, of much promise, had been educated in England. It is related, says Sparks, that Wolfe saw him as the army landed, seated near the bank of the river, and, that touching him on the shoulder, he said: “ *Young man, when we come to action, remember your name!*”

From KNOX, JULY 16th :

“ The bearer of the last flag of truce from the enemy, told General Wolfe: ‘ We do not doubt but you will demolish the town, but we are determined your army shall never get footing within our walls.’ To which the General replied: ‘ *I will be master of Quebec, if I stay here until the latter end of November next.*’”

The point of the last anecdote will readily occur to those who have read such parts of the foregoing Address, as relate to the real or supposed danger to the fleet, in remaining in the St. Lawrence as late as the beginning of a Canadian winter. The two which follow, are also from Knox: it will be seen that both immediately preceded the fall of the young Chief.

SEPT. 10. General Wolfe, being informed of the indisposition of two officers on board a ship, of the 43d Regiment, expressed the greatest tenderness and good nature towards them, and desired they would not continue on board, to endanger their constitutions; for that he would lend them his barge with pleasure, to conduct them to Graham’s post, whence they should have an escort to Point Levi camp. The gentlemen politely declined the offer, assuring the General that no consideration could induce them to leave the army, until they should see the event of this expedition.”

SEPT. 11. “ The officer of our regiment, who commanded the escort yesterday, on the reconnoitering party, being asked, in the General’s hearing, after the health of one of the gentlemen who was reported to be ill, replied: ‘ he was in a very low, indifferent state;’ which the other lamented, saying, ‘ he has but a puny, delicate constitution.’ This struck his Excellency, it being his own case, who interrupted: ‘ *Don’t tell me of constitution; that officer has good spirits, and good spirits will carry a man through everything!*’”

All these exhibit the character of Wolfe in a manner to com-

mand our respect. But Lord Mahon tells a story, on the authority of Lord Temple, which shows that, once certainly in his life, he behaved like a fool. It is as follows :

After his appointment, and on the day preceding his embarkation for America, Pitt, desirous of giving his last verbal instructions, invited him to dinner, Lord Temple being the only other guest. As the evening advanced, Wolfe—heated, perhaps, by his own aspiring thoughts, and the unwonted society of statesmen, broke forth into a strain of gasconade and bravado. He drew his sword—he wrapped the table with it—he flourished it round the room—he talked of the mighty things which that sword was to achieve. The two ministers sat aghast at an exhibition so unusual from any man of real sense and real spirit. And when at last Wolfe had taken his leave, and his carriage was heard to roll from the door, Pitt seemed for the moment shaken in the high opinion which his deliberate judgment had formed of Wolfe: he lifted up his eyes and arms, and exclaimed to Lord Temple, “*Good God! that I should have entrusted the fate of the country and of the administration to such hands!*”

Common soldiers and seamen are almost unerring in their estimate of their Chiefs; and their *by-names* are significant of character. The “*Little Corporal*”—“*Old Nel*.”—the “*Iron Duke*”—“*Old Hickory*”—and “*Rough-and-Ready*,” are sufficient illustrations for our purpose. The appellation bestowed upon Wolfe was: “*The Officer’s Friend; the Soldier’s Father*.”

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#### FUNERAL HONORS: FAMILY TOMB AT GREENWICH, &c.

“On Sunday, November 17th, 1759, at seven o’clock in the morning, his Majesty’s ship, Royal William, (in which his corpse was brought from Quebec to Portsmouth,) fired two signal guns for the removal of his remains. At eight o’clock, the body was lowered out of the ship into a twelve-oared barge, towed by two other twelve-oared barges, and attended by twelve others, to the bottom of the point, in a train of

gloomy, silent pomp, suitable to the melancholly occasion. Minute-guns were fired from the ships at Spithead, from the time of the body leaving the ship to its being landed at Portsmouth, which was one hour. The regiment of invalids was ordered under arms before eight, and being joined by a company of the train at Portsmouth, marched from the parade there, to the bottom of the point, to receive the remains. At nine, the body was landed, and put into a hearse, attended by a mourning coach, (both sent from London,) and proceeded through the garrison. The colors on the fort were struck half flag-staff; the bells were muffled, and rung in solemn concert with the march; minute-guns were fired on the platform, from the entrance of the corpse to the close of the procession: the company of the train led the van, with their arms reversed; the corpse followed: and the invalid regiment followed the hearse, their arms reversed. They conducted the body to the land-port gates, where the train opened to the right and left, and the hearse proceeded through them on the way to London. Although there were many thousands of people assembled on this occasion, not the least disturbance happened: nothing was to be heard but murmuring, broken accents, in praise of the dead hero. On the 20th, at night, his remains were deposited in the burial place belonging to his family at Greenwich.”

—*Russell's England.*

“His mother, by this time the sole surviving member of the family, claimed the melancholy satisfaction of committing his remains to the dust, and they were laid beside those of his father, in a vault in the parish church of Greenwich.”

—*Gleig, in the Cabinet Cyclopædia.*

The following article was cut from a newspaper in Canada, by a member of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society:—

“WOLFE'S TOMB.—The following interesting item we have been permitted to extract from a private letter, received at Montreal, by the last English mail:

GREENWICH, AUGUST, 1859.

‘An order in Council, from the Queen, has been issued, calling upon the Churchwardens to cause the whole of the vaults under our Parish Church to be filled with earth and charcoal, and all the entrances to be bricked up, never more to be opened. Among the said vaults is that of General Wolfe, the Conqueror of Quebec: on opening the vault, was found a Quebec Mercury of the 21st November, 1839, deposited there by Mr. Hawkins, of Quebec, together with his card, and a wreath of

laurel, on the 23rd May, 1841. The Churchwardens have lent me the paper to copy a Prospectus it contains, and among the subscribers are four persons of the name of Macdonald,—namely: A. Macdonald, Three Rivers; Angus Macdonald, Cornwall, U. C.; W. Macdonald, Gaspe; and Town-Major Macdonald, Montreal.

If, when you are writing to Mr. Lloyd, you would like to mention the above circumstance regarding the gallant Wolfe, perhaps he may know Mr. Hawkins, and would feel a satisfaction in informing him of the fact of his *Mercury*, *Card*, and *Wreath*, being found on the coffin as he left them, after a lapse of eighteen years. They are now in the custody of the Churchwardens, one of whom, Mr. T. Huntley, has promised me that they shall still be preserved as interesting relics of the departed hero. With the exception of the upper fold of the *Mercury*, the paper and type is as perfect as when placed on the coffin by Mr. Hawkins.”

