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EXTRACT FROM A MANUSCRIPT JOURNAL,  
RELATING TO THE  
OPERATIONS BEFORE QUEBEC IN 1759,

KEPT BY

COLONEL MALCOLM FRASER,

Then Lieutenant of the 78th (Fraser's Highlanders,) and  
serving in that Campaign.

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[Col. M. Fraser died in 1815, at the age of 82. The original of this manuscript is in the possession of the family of the late Hon. J. M. Fraser, who kindly allowed this copy to be made from it for the use of the Literary and Historical Society.]

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Tuesday, 8th. May, 1759. Set sail from Sandy Hook for Louisburg with a fair wind, under convoy of the Nightingale, Captain Campbell, the fleet consisting of about twenty eight Sail; the greatest part of which is to take in the Troops from Nova Scotia, and the rest having Colonel Fraser's Regiment on board.

Thursday, 17th. May. We came into the harbour of Louisbourg, having had a very agreeable and quick passage. We are ordered ashore every day while here, to exercise along with the rest of the Army.

On the 29th. May, and some days before and after, the Harbour of Louisbourg was so full of shoals of Ice that no boats could go from the Ships to Shore. There is still some snow in the hollows, on shore. I suppose the Ice comes from the Gulf and river of St. Lawrence.

I hear a Lieutenant, on board one of the Men of War, has shot himself, for fear I suppose, the French should do it. If he was wearied of life, he might soon get quit of it in a more honourable way.

1st. June, The Regiments are all arrived, and I hear we shall soon sail.

Monday, 4th. June, the Fleet set sail. I take it to consist of about 150 sail, including ten of the line of battle, besides frigates, bomb ketches and fire ships; the rest are Transports and Store Ships—On the 8th. we got sight of the Island of Newfoundland; very high land, a great part whereof covered with snow—The 9th. we entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence—The 11th came in sight of land nigh the Bay of Gaspé. This night it blew a pretty hard gale at N. W.

Regiments on the Expedition :

15th. Amherst's.....	500 Men.
28th. Bragg's.....	550 "
35th. Otway's.....	800 "
43rd. Kennedy's.....	650 "
47th. Lascelle's.....	500 "
48th. Webb's.....	800 "
58th. Anstruthers.....	500 "
60th. { 2nd. Battallion } Royal Americans.	1000 "
{ 3rd. Battallion }	
63rd. Frazer's.....	1100 "
Grenadiers of the 22nd, 40th. and } 45th. Regiments from Louisbourg. }	300 "
Artillery,.....	300 "
Rangers,.....	400 "
Light Infantry,.....	200 "
Marines,.....	1000 "
	—
In gross supposed at most,.....	8600

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On the 13th. June, we entered the River St. Lawrence at night 18th, came to anchor at the Isle of Bie; 19th. anchored at Isle Verte 20th. at Isle Rouge; here we had a contrary wind and strong tide running about six knots an hour, which retards us very much as we are obliged to anchor when the tide begins to ebb. I observe the banks of the river here, and for some leagues below, are inhabited, mostly on the South Side.

Saturday, 23rd. June.—The whole of our Division anchored nigh the Isle aux Coudres. Two Boats having gone from our fleet to sound near the shore, were fired on by the Indians, as they say, with two pound swivels; they came pretty nigh them, but nobody was hurt. We found Admiral Durell with most part of his Squadron at Coudres. We are told there are three large ships of his Squadron at Orleans Isle.

Sunday, 24th. June.—A New England Schooner run on the rocks at high water; and it is .....

(four pages wanting here)

and The 15th. 43rd. our Regiment were ordered to strike our Tents and cross to the south side of the River, The 15th. crossed, but as it came on night, the 43rd. and ours remained, lying on our arms all night.

Saturday, 30th. June.—The 43rd. and our Regiment crossed and joined the 15th. and some Rangers we are told, had a skirmish with some Canadians and Indians they killed three and took three prisoners of the Enemy. We marched through the wood along a good road, towards Point Levy, for about three or four miles, when the Rangers in front were fired on from the woods they skirmished for some time, and the troops were ordered to halt. Some of our Rangers were wounded, but the Enemy were obliged to retire. We then marched on till we came to the church of St. Joseph at Point Levy, when we were again attacked in front. Brigadier Monckton ordered the troops to march in the open field by the River side, and the Rangers, Light Infantry and advanced parties continued

popping with the enemy most part of the evening, till Captain Campbell of Colonel Fraser's Regiment, who was posted with his Company in the church, ordered a part of his Company to fire a volley at them, when the firing almost ceased, and I suppose most part of the enemy retired as we hear but few shots thereafter—but I hear we lost a few men.

We lay on our arms all this night.

Sunday, 1st. July.—The French sent some floating batteries from the other side of the river to play upon us; the Regiments were ordered to stand to their arms. I was ordered with Ensign Mc. Kenzie to the colours, and they cannonaded us for about half an hour. There were four of our Regiment killed and eight wounded; and one Sergeant of the 15th. Regiment and eight of the Colour's Company were knocked down with one ball, behind the Colours, and all wounded, two I believe, mortally. This day, we pitched our tents at Point Levy.

Monday, 2nd. July.—A detachment ordered out with General Wolfe to reconnoitre the high ground, on the South Side of the river, opposite to Quebec. They fired some cannon shot on us from the Town, and there was some popping shots on our Rangers from the wood, but no execution—we returned before night. I found our Company in the Church, having been ordered to relieve Captain Campbell's. While we were out, I observed several dead bodies on the road, not far from our Camp; they were all scalped and mangled in a shocking manner. I dare say no human creature but an Indian or Canadian\*

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\* It is doubtless praiseworthy in the brave Colonel to try and palliate the atrocities committed by one of the armies during this campaign. That the Indians fighting for the cause of France, scalped freely, we find admitted on all hands: that the soldiers in the British army occasionally did the same, it would be useless to deny, in face of history and of the many entries to that effect in the principal English account of the campaign, Capt. John Knox's Journal. The scalping service according to Knox, seems to have

could be guilty of such inhumanity as to insult a dead body. We are busy fortifying our Camp with redoubts &c.

Thursday, 5th. July. Colonel Burton with the 48th. Regiment marched and took post along with some Rangers and Light Infantry on the hill, where the General was reconnoitering on the 2nd. I hear they are busy fortifying their Camp.

Friday, 6th. July.—I hear we have begun to erect two Batteries, one of six guns and another of five mortars, near Colonel Burton's post.

Saturday, 7th. July.—Very busy at the works at Colonel Burton's post.

Sunday, 8th.—The three Regiments, (15th, 43rd. and 63rd.) encamped at Point Levy received orders to strike their tents by one o'clock to-morrow morning. Admiral Holmes in the Dublin, with some frigates and bomb vessels came to anchor opposite to the French Camp, on the west side of the Fall of Montmorency, and began to cannonade and bombard their camp.

Monday, 9th. Before day light, we struck our tents at Point

devolved chiefly on the Rangers commanded by a Captain Goreham: Vol. I Page 309, we read of Capt Goreham and his rangers lying in ambush and "scalping nine Indians." Page 348, Knox says "we took eleven scalps" "at Ange Gardien" Page 345, we find that scalping was getting so common that the General strictly forbids the inhuman practice of scalping, except when the enemy are Indians, or Canadians dressed like Indians. In view of this order a wounded regular of Montcalm's corps falling in the hands of Capt Goreham must frequently have had reason to exclaim in the words of the French play "Oh! mon habit que je vous remercie! Page 302, we read of "seven of the troops of the colony being scalped" by Wolfe's rangers. Vol. II, Page 17, the ubiquitous Goreham and his rangers are at work again; the Captain "sends an express to the General to acquaint him; that he has burnt a large settlement, and made some prisoners; that his rangers met some Canadians dressed like Indians, had routed them and took a few scalps." Query? were they obliged to dress at all, to be like Indians? The punctiliousness of the Captain on the score of dress appears great!! These out of many other instances are adduced, to show what was the nature of the warfare in use in those days, and that the barbarous system of scalping, was practised by the white man as well as the red man of the woods. (M. I.)

Levy, and marched behind a little hill nigh the Camp, and out of sight of the Town, where we lay on our arms till towards evening. The French have likewise struck their tents in the Camp which was cannonaded by our ships last night, and we observed some tents pitched on the East Side of Montmorency this morning, which we are told is the Brigade of our Army under the command of Brigadier Townshend, who crossed over to that place last night from the Isle of Orleans. In the evening, we returned to our camp at Point Levy, and pitched our tents as formerly.

Tuesday, 10th. July—The Town has begun to bombard and cannonade our works on the south side of the river, at Colonel Burton's post, very briskly, but have hitherto done us no hurt. I hear one of the 48th. Regiment (Webb's) has deserted this day to the Enemy (An Irishman.) Last night the French began to throw shells at our Fleet, and this morning the Ships who lay nearest them thought proper to remove further off. I hear there were twelve of Capt. Goreham's Company of Rangers, killed by the Indians close to Brigadier Townshend's camp, in an ambuscade. The Indians were at last beat off having left three dead. A party of our Rangers having been sent out on this side of the river, (the south) on the 9th they took one man prisoner and two boys (his children) having followed him a little way, making a great noise, were in a most inhuman manner murdered by those worse than savage Rangers, for fear, as they pretend, they should be discovered by the noise of the children. I wish this story was not fact, but I'm afraid there is little reason to doubt it:—the wretches having boasted of it on their return, tho' they now pretend to vindicate themselves by the necessity they were under; but, I believe, this barbarous action proceeded from that cowardice and barbarity which seems so natural to a native of America, whether of Indian or European extrac-

tion. In other instances, these Rangers have hitherto been of some use, and shewed in general a better spirit than usual. They are for most part raised in New England. The French have again pitched their camp near the Fall of Montmorency, they have other camps all the way between that, and the River St. Charles, which we hear they have fortified with redoubts and breastworks, with Batteries at different places on the river side, besides the floating batteries which move from place to place.

Wednesday, 11th July.—The batteries at Col. Burton's post not yet finished: a furious fire of great guns from the town at 12 o'clock; the General went up that way a little ago, three men of our Regiment wounded at the battery.

Thursday, 12th July.—The six great guns and five mortars on the battery, near Burton's post, began to play on the Town about nine o'clock at night, and at the same time, two of the Bomb ketches began throwing their shells into the town.

Friday, 13th July.—I was sent orderly officer to the Camp, at Montmorency, where I had an opportunity of seeing our own, and the French posts nigh the Fall. The river is fordable below the Fall at low water.

Monday, 16th July.—The Sutherland a 50 gun ship, with two frigates, and two transports, mounted with guns, were ordered to pass the Town this night, about ten o'clock at high water, but it seems, they were not ready before the return of the tide, and by that means the thing was dropt for this night. It was thought they might have passed as the wind and tide was for them.

Wednesday, 18th July.—The Sutherland with the Squirrel Frigate, two cutts and two armed sloops passed the Town without receiving any hurt. There was a few shot fired from the Town. The Diana Frigate unluckily run ashore, but it is thought will be got off. I hear there is a Battalion of the Royal Americans, with three Companies of Grenadiers (Au-

herst's, Webbs, and Fraser's) on board the ships which passed. Kennedy's Grenadiers were on board the Diana, but obliged to be landed when she ran aground.

Thursday, 19th July.—The Diana has got off, having been obliged to land her guns. It is said she is not much damaged.

Friday, 20th July.—A man of Capt. Simon Fraser's Company of Light Infantry (of 63rd Regiment) was killed by a Canadian whom, with his son, they made prisoners.

Saturday, 21st July.—The three companies of Grenadiers, 15th, 48th and 63rd, with the Battalion of Royal Americans who passed the Town, landed about twelve miles above it, when they were opposed by some Indians and Canadians whom they soon obliged to retire, and having taken about sixty prisoners, mostly women, and killed some of the Indians, they again embarked, without having any killed on our side; but, I hear Major Prevost, of the Royal Americans, is dangerously wounded, in the head, and Lieut. Charles Macdonell, of our Grenadiers, wounded in the thigh, not dangerously. It is said, there were about fourteen privates wounded, (all Highlanders) by a fire from the Americans, who, mistook them for the Enemy in the wood; it being in the evening, and dark.

Sunday, 22nd July.—The Leostoff frigate and Hunter sloop of war attempted to sail past the Town of Quebec, but the wind having come ahead when they had just got abreast of the batteries, and the French having begun a smart canonade, they were forced to return, but without receiving any damage, which was more than we expected.

Monday, 23rd July.—Things remain as yesterday.

Tuesday, 24 July.—Col. Fraser, with a detachment of about 350 men of his Regiment, marched this night down the River in order as we hear, to take up what prisoners and cattle they can find. Major Dalling with the Light Infantry, marched at the same time up the river on the same errand.



Wednesday, 25 July.—Major Dalling's party returned with about two hundred prisoners, mostly women and children, and about thirty Canadian men, with about three hundred head of cattle, horses cows, sheep, &c. A new battery of six 24 pounders and three, sea mortars ready to play on the Town.

Thursday, 26th July.—Lieut. Alexander Fraser, Junior returned to camp from the detachment which marched with the Col. of the 24th. He brings news of the Colonel's having been wounded in the thigh, by an unlucky shot from a small party of Canadians who lay in ambush, and fired on the detachment out of a bush, and then retired. In the evening, the Col. came to camp with Capt. McPherson, who was wounded by the same shot, and the ball lodged in his thigh; but it is thought neither of their wounds are dangerous. There was not another man of the detachment touched. We did not hear of Capt. McPherson's being wounded till he came to camp. I hear the General went out this day with Otway's Regiment and was attacked by the Indians; they killed two Officers and thirty of his men, but at last took to their heels, and when they were crossing the river Montmorency our people fired three rounds at them, by which, I am told they killed sixty-two Indians, which they reckon a very great loss.

Friday, 27th July.—The detachment returned with three women and one man prisoners, and above two hundred head of cattle.

Saturday, 28th July.—This night the French sent down a large fire raft which they did not set fire to till they were fired on by some of the boats who are every night, on the watch for them above the shipping. Our boats immediately grappled it, and tho' it burnt with great violence, they towed it past all the shipping without any damage.

Sunday, 29th July.—Nothing remarkable; I had a lucky escape at Montmorency.

Monday, 30th July.—We are ordered to be ready to march at a moment's warning.

Tuesday, 31st July.—The 15th (Amherst's) and Col. Fraser's Regiments embarked in boats about 11 o'clock, at Point Levy, and rowed, as if we were intended to land on the opposite shore under the French intrenchments; when we had got more than half across, Brigadier Monckton, who commanded us ordered us to row up the river, but the tide being against us we made little way. In this way we continued going sometimes up, sometimes down the River, the enemy throwing a shell at our boats almost every ten minutes, which luckily did no execution, till about five o'clock, in the evening when the Grenadiers of the Army under the command of Col. Burton having landed, under the cannon of two large catts, which had been run ashore at high water in the morning and had play'd briskly on the French works all day, we were immediately ordered to land, which we did, and drew up on the shore. The Grenadiers attacked and took a french battery of four guns, and a redoubt, but having fallen into a little disorder, and the enemy keeping an incessant fire at them from the trenches, the Grenadiers were obliged to retire with some loss, behind the 15th;—our Regiment and the French did not think proper to pursue them. In the meantime, Brigadier Townshend with the part of our army posted at Montmorency, crossed the river below the falls, and stood on the beach at the confluence of the Montmorency and St. Lawrence Rivers, about a quarter of a mile to the right of our Regiment. In this situation we continued till the Grenadiers and Amherst's regiment had reembarked, when General Wolfe having put himself at the head of our Regiment ordered them to face to the right and we marched in the rear of the army under Brigadier Townshend, who had by this time begun to recross the river Montmorency. Thus

our Regiment had the honour to cover the retreat\* of the whole army, without receiving any hurt, tho' they were exposed, as well during the retreat, as while they stood on the shore, to a battery of two cannons, with which they kept a very brisk fire on us all the time; but I believe they were a little disturbed by our batteries at Montmorency, as well as the guns of the two ships which were run aground in the morning; and I dare say, they must have lost a considerable number, as the works were very strongly manned (I mean our great guns). This, I believe, likewise, was the reason why they did not attempt to attack our rear as I believe they were greatly superior to us in numbers tho' our whole army was there: whereas Kenneçy's and Webb's with the Marines, and Dalling's Light Infantry and the Rangers were left at their former posts. I have not yet got any certain account of the killed and wounded. I observed some men coming down from the trenches where some of our people lay killed; we imagined they were Indians who were sent to scalp them, after the whole had retreated, our people in the two Catts set them on fire and left them.

Wednesday, 1st August.—Our Regt. which was ordered to the Island of Orleans after the affair last night, were this day ordered back to their former Camp at Point Levy—This day Genl. Wolfe in his orders, had the following paragraph:—

“The check which the Grenadiers met with yesterday will, it is hoped, be a lesson to them for the time to come. Such impetuous, irregular and unsoldier like proceeding destroys all order, makes it impossible for their Commanders to form any disposition for an attack, and puts it out of the Generals power to execute his plan. The Grenadiers could not suppose that they alone could beat the French army, and therefore it was necessary that the Corps under General

\* Commonly known as the fight of the Beauport Flats in which Wolfe lost about 700 men killed and wounded.

“ Monckton and Brigadier Townshend could have time to join,  
 “ that the attack might be general. The first fire of the  
 “ Enemy was sufficient to repulse men who had lost all sense  
 “ of order and military discipline, Amherst’s and the High-  
 “ land Regiments alone, by the soldier like cool manner they  
 “ were formed in, would have undoubtedly beat back the  
 “ whole Canadian army if they had ventured to attack them.  
 “ The loss however is inconsiderable and may be easily repair-  
 “ ed when a favourable opportunity offers, if the men will show  
 “ proper attention to their officers.”

Thursday, 2nd August. Nothing extraordinary.

Friday, 3rd do. Things remain as formerly.

Saturday 4th do. Nothing remarkable.

Sunday, 5th do. Amherst’s Regiment marched from  
 their camp at Point Levy this night, and I hear they are to  
 embark on board our ships above the town, along with Major  
 Dalling’s Light Infantry, and a Battalion of Royal Americans,  
 with a Lieutenant and twenty Rangers, and two hundred  
 marines, in all about one thousand three hundred men,  
 under the command of Brigadier Murray, to proceed on  
 some expedition, up the river, where the French have three  
 Frigates and several other vessels.

Monday, 6th August.—

Tuesday, 7th August.—I hear the General has gone out  
 on the other side (north) with the 47th Regiment and Light  
 Infantry, in quest of some parties of the enemy.

Wednesday, 15th August.—Captain John McDonell, seven  
 subalterns (of whom I was one) eight Sergeants, eight Corporals  
 and one hundred and forty four men of our Regt. crossed over  
 from Point Levy to the Island of Orleans, and lodged that  
 night at the Church of St. Peters. (St. Pierre)

Thursday, 16th August.—The Detachment marched to the  
 east end of the island of Orleans, opposite to the Church of  
 St. Joachim.

Friday, 17th August.—Crossed from the Isle of Orleans to St. Joachim. Before we landed we observed some men walking along the fences, as if they intended to oppose us; and on our march up to the Church of St. Joachim, we were fired on by some party's of the Enemy from behind the houses and fences, but upon our advancing they betook themselves to the woods, from whence they continued popping at us, till towards evening, when they thought proper to retire, and we kept possession of the Priest's house, which we set about fortifying in the best manner we could.

Saturday, 18th August.—Remain at St. Joachim.

Sunday, 19th " do.

Monday, 20th " do.

Tuesday, 21st " do.

Wednesday, 22nd " do.

Thursday, 23rd.—We were reinforced by a party of about one hundred and forty Light Infantry,† and a Company of Rangers, under the command of Captain Montgomery of Kennedy's or forty-third Regiment, who likewise took the command of our detachment, and we all marched to attack the village to the west of St. Joachim, which was occupied by a party of the enemy to the number of about two hundred, as we supposed, Canadians and Indians, when we came pretty near the village, they fired on us from the houses pretty smartly; we were ordered to lie behind the fences till the Rangers, who were detached to attack the Enemy from the woods, began firing on their left flank, when we advanced briskly without great order; and the French abandoned the houses and endeavoured to get into the woods, our men pursuing close at their heels. There were several of the enemy killed, and wounded, and a few prisoners taken, all of whom the barbarous Captain Montgomery, who command us,

† The leader of the forlorn hope who fell at Pres Du Villo 31st. December 1775.

ordered to be butchered in a most inhuman and cruel manner ; particularly two, who I sent prisoners by a sergeant, after giving them quarter, and engaging that they should not be killed, were one shot, and the other knocked down with a Tomahawk (a little hatchet) and both scalped in my absence, by the rascally sergeant neglecting to acquaint Montgomery that I wanted them saved, as he, Montgomery, pretended when I questioned him about it; but even, that was no excuse for such an unparalleled piece of barbarity. However, as the affair could not be remedied, I was obliged to let it drop. After this skirmish we set about burning the houses with great success, setting all in flames till we came to the church of St. Anne's, where we put up for this night, and were joined by Captain Ross, with about one hundred and twenty men of his company.

Friday, 24th August. Began to march and burn as yesterday, till we came to Ange Gardien where our detachment and Captain Ross, who had been posted for some days at Chateau Richer, joined Colonel Murray with the three companies of Grenadiers of the 22nd, 40th and 45th Regiments, where we are posted in four houses which we have fortified so as to be able, we hope, to stand any attack which we can expect with small arms.

Saturday, 25th. Busy felling the fruit trees, and cutting the wheat to clear round us.

Sunday, 26th. The same.

Monday, 27th August.—I hear Brigadier Murray has returned with his detachment, having had all the success expected of the detachment. We received orders to march to-morrow to Chateau Richer. Some men were observed skulking in the corn, round the houses we possessed ; upon which, some of our people fired from one of the houses, when the whole took the alarm and continued firing from the windows and loopholes for about ten minutes. For my own part I can't say,

would observe any of the Enemy, but as we had one man killed, and most of the men affirmed they saw men in the Corn. I can't doubt but there were a few of the Enemy near us.

Tuesday, 28th August.—Captain Mc. Donell with Captain Ross, and the rest of the Detachment marched, and took post at Chateau Richer.

Wednesday, 29th August.—Captain Ross, with the Subalterns and about one hundred men went out reconnoitring, returned about eleven o'clock with a Canadian, whom they took prisoner. He says he came from Quebec three days ago, but knows nothing.

Thursday, 30th August.—Remain at Chateau Richer fortifying ourselves in the house and Church in the best manner we can.

Friday, 31st August.—Received orders to burn the houses at Chateau Richer, but not the Church, and return to Montmorency to-morrow morning.

Saturday, 1st September.—Our Detachment marched from Chateau Richer to Montmorency, where we, were cantoned in some houses and barns, having been joined on our march by Colonel Murray, with the three Companies of grenadiers from Louisburg at Ange Gardier. We burnt all the houses &c. between that and the Camp.

Sunday, 2nd September.—The Louisburg Grenadiers and our Detachment, with a Battalion of the Royal Americans were ordered to cross to the Island of Orleans from whence our detachment was carried in boats this night to our Camp at Point Levy.

Monday, 3rd September.—The Army at Montmorency decamped this day, and crossed to the Island of Orleans, and from thence to Point Levy, without molestation from the French, tho' they must have known some time ago that we intended to abandon that post.

This day died, my worthy Captain, Alexander Cameron,

of Dungallon, universally regreted by all those who knew him as a fine gentleman and a good soldier.

Tuesday, 4th September.—Arrived Captain Alexander Fraser of Culduthell with a 14th. Company to our Regiment; Capt. Cameron was intered in front of our Colours, with the usual solemnities.

Wednesday, 5th September.—I hear the 23th, 47th, 35th. and 58th. Regiments, with the whole of the Light Infantry; have marched on the south shore, above the town, and embarked on board the ships above the town; the 15th. 43rd. and a detachment of six hundred of our regiment are ordered to follow them to-morrow.

Thursday, 6th September.—The 15th, 43rd. and a Detachment of six hundred of our Regiment marched about five or six miles above Point Levy, when we crossed the river. Tres-Chemins, (Etchemin) and embarked on board the ships above the town. We are much crowded: the ship I am in, has about six hundred on board, being only about two hundred and fifty tons.

Friday, 7th September.—The army above the town being about four thousand strong, continue on board the ships, most of the men above deck, tho' it is very rainy weather.

Saturday, 8th September.—Remain as formerly on ship board; very bad weather.

Sunday, 9th September.—About fifteen hundred men were ordered on shore, on the south side of the river. We hear we are to land soon on the north side. We see a number of the French intrenched there, on a beach, where they have got some floating batteries.

Monday, 10th September.—As above.

Tuesday, 11th September.—The troops landed on the south shore, ordered to reembark to morrow morning. "Ordered also:—That the Troops do hold themselves in readiness to land and attack the Enemy:—As the Leostaff 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 others  
 "according to the following distribution:—

"Distribution of the Flat bottomed Boats.

"Stirling Castle,.....2	} To take 50 into each of Bragg's Regt. out of the Ann & Elizabeth instead of the Amherst.
"Dublin,.....3	
"Alcide,.....1	

"One hundred and fifty Highlanders to be removed from the  
 "George transport, into the Seahorse frigate. One hundred  
 "Highlanders to be removed from the Ann and Elizabeth  
 "Transport, to the Seahorse to morrow morning, after the re-  
 "embarkation of the first body of the Troops from Brigadier  
 "General Monckton's Corps.

"Order of the Troops in the line of Boats:—

"1st. Light Infantry lead in 8	} Boats.
"2nd. Bragg's Regiment..... in 6	
"3rd Kennedy's Regiment..... in 4	
"4th Lascelle's Regiment..... in 5	
"5th Anstruther's Regiment. in 6	

"6th Detachment of Highlanders.. } 1 flat and the men of  
 "and Royal American Grenadiers.. } war boats,

"Captain Shade has received the Generals' directions in  
 "respect to the order in which the troops move, and are to  
 "land, and no Officer must attempt to make the least altera-  
 "tion or interfere with Captain Shade's particular province,  
 "least (as the boats move in the night) there may be con-  
 "fusion and disorder amongst them."

"The troops will go into the Boats about nine o'clock to-  
 "morrow, night, or when it is pretty near high water, but  
 "the Naval Officers commanding the different divisions of  
 "boats will apprise them of the fittest time, and as there will  
 "be a necessity of remaining some part of the night in the  
 "boats, the officers will provide accordingly, and the soldiers  
 "will have a gill of rum extraordinary to mix with their water.

“ Arms, ammunition and two day’s provisions, with their  
 “ rum and water is all the Soldiers are to take into the boats,  
 “ The Ships with the blankets, tents, necessaries, &c. will  
 “ soon be up.

SIGNALS.—“ 1st. For the flat bottomed boats with the troops  
 “ on board to rendez-vous abreast of the Sutherland, between  
 “ her and the South Shore, keeping near her, one Light in  
 “ the Sutherland, main top mast shrouds.

“ 2nd. 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 have received their orders,  
 “ from the officer appointed to superintend the whole, to whom  
 “ they are answerable.

“ Officers of Artillery and Detachments of Gunners are put  
 “ aboard the armed sloops to regulate their fire, that in the  
 “ hurry our Troops may not be hurt by our own artillery.

“ Captain Yorke and the Officers will be particularly care-  
 “ ful to distinguish the Enemy, and to point their fire against  
 “ them.

“ The Frigates will not fire till broad day light, so that no  
 “ mistake can be made.

“ The Officers Commanding Floating Batteries will receive  
 “ particular orders from the General.

“ The Troops to be supplied with provisions to morrow, till  
 “ the 14th.”

Wednesday, 12th September.—We were busied in cleaning  
 our arms and distributing ammunition to our men. This day  
 our brave General gave his last written orders in the following  
 words :

## " ON BOARD THE SUTHERLAND,

" 12th September, 1759.

" The Enemy's force is now divided ; great scarcity of provisions in their Camp, and universal discontent among the Canadians. The second Officer in command (Levi) is gone to Montreal or St. John's, which gives reason to think that General Amherst is advancing into the Colony. A vigorous blow struck by the Army at this juncture may determine the fall of Canada. Our troops below are in readiness to join us. All the Light Artillery and tools are, embarked at the Point of Levy, and the Troops wait and where the French seem least to expect them.

" 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 that go on before them.

" The Battalions must form upon 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 endeavour 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 are 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."

About 9 o'clock, the night of the 12th. we went into the Boats as ordered. Rendezvoused abreast of the Sutherland ; fell down with the tide about 12 o'clock, and a little before four in the morning, were fired on by a French four Gun Battery, about two miles above the Town. Pushed towards the shore at day break on.

Thursday, 13th Septeur 17 59. The Light Infantry under the command of Colonel Howe, immediately landed and mounted the hill. We were fired on in the Boats by the Enemy who killed and wounded a few. In a short time, the whole Army was landed at a place called "Le Foulon," (now Wolfe's Cove) about a mile and a half above the Town of Quebec, and immediately followed the Light Infantry up the hill. There was a few tents and a Picket of the French on the top of the hill whom the Light Infantry engaged, and took some of their Officers and men prisoners. The main body of our Army soon got to the upper ground after climbing a hill or rather a precipice, of about three hundred yards, very steep and covered with wood and brush. We had several skirmishes with the Canadians and Savages, till about ten o'clock, when the army was formed in line of battle, having the great River, St. Lawrence on the right with the precipice which we mounted in the morning; on the left, a few houses, and at some distance the low ground and wood above the General Hospital with the River St. Charles; in front, the Town of Quebec, about a mile distant; in the rear, a wood occupied by the Light Infantry, (who had by this time taken possession of the French four gun Battery) and the third Battalion of the Royal Americans. In the space between which last and the main body, the 48th. Regiment was drawn up as a body of reserve. The Army was ordered to march on slowly in line of battle, and halt several times, till about half an hour after ten, when the French began to appear in great numbers on the rising ground between us and the Town, and having advanced several parties to skirmish with us; we did the like. They then got two Iron field pieces to play against our line. Before eleven o'clock, we got one brass field piece up the Hill, which being placed in the proper interval began to play very smartly on the Enemy while forming on the little eminence. Their advanced parties continued to annoy us and wounded a great many men. About this time, we ob-

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served the Enemy formed, having a bush of short brush wood on their right, which straitened them in room, and obliged them to form in columns. About eleven o'clock, the French Army advanced in columns till they had got past the bush of wood into the plain, when they endeavoured to form in line of Battle, but being much galled by our Artillery, which consisted of only one field piece, very well served, we observed them in some confusion. However they advanced at a brisk pace till within about thirty or forty yards of our front, when they gave us their first fire, which did little execution. We returned it, and continued firing very hot for about six, or (as some say) eight minutes, when the fire slackening, and the smoke of the powder vanishing, we observed the main body of the Enemy retreating in great confusion towards the Town, and the rest towards the River St. Charles. Our Regiment were then ordered by Brigadier General Murray to draw their swords and pursue them; which I dare say increased their panic but saved many of their lives, whereas if the artillery had been allowed to play, and the army advanced regularly there would have been many more of the Enemy killed and wounded, as we never came up with the main body. In advancing, we passed over a great many dead and wounded, (French regulars mostly) lying in the front of our Regiment, who,—I mean the Highlanders,—to do them justice, behaved extremely well all day, as did the whole of the army. After pursuing the French to the very gates\* of the Town, our Regiment was ordered to form fronting the Town, on the ground whereon the French formed first. At this time, the rest of the Army came up in good order. General Murray having then put himself at the head of our Regiment, ordered them to face to the left and march thro' the bush of wood, towards the General Hospital, when they got a great gun or two to play upon us

\* Few of them entered the town the great bulk making towards the bridge of boats, near the General Hospital and regained the camp at Beauport.

from the Town which however did no damage, but we had a few men killed and Officers wounded by some skulking fellows, with small arms, from the bushes and behind the houses in the suburbs of St. Louis and St. John's. After marching a short way through the brush, Brigadier Murray thought proper to order us to return again to the high road leading from Porte St. Louis, to the heights of Abraham, where the battle was fought, and after marching till we got clear of the bushes, we were ordered to turn to the right, and go along the edge of them towards the bank, at the descent between us and the General Hospital, under which we understood there was a body of the Enemy who, no sooner saw us, than they began firing on us from the bushes and from the bank; we soon dispossessed them from the bushes, and from thence kept firing for about a quarter of an hour on those under cover of the bank; but as they exceeded us greatly in numbers, they killed and wounded a great many of our men, and killed two Officers, which obliged us to retire a little, and form again, when the 58th. Regiment with the 2nd. Battalion of Royal Americans having come up to our assistance, all three making about five hundred men, advanced against the Enemy and drove them first down to the great meadow between the Hospital and town and afterwards over the River St. Charles. It was at this time and while in the bushes that our Regiment suffered most: Lieutenant Roderick, Mr. Neill of Bana, and Alexander McDonell, and John McDonell, and John McPherson, volunteer, with many of our men, were killed before we were reinforced; and Captain Thomas Ross having gone down with about one hundred men of the 3rd. Regiment to the meadow, after the Enemy, when they were out of reach, ordered me up to the top of the height would wait till he would come up and join them, which I did, but before Mr. Ross could get up, he unfortunately was mortally wounded in the body, by a cannon ball from the hulks, in the

mouth of the River St. Charles, of which he died in great torment, but with great resolution, in about two hours thereafter.

In the afternoon, Mons. Bougainville with the French Grenadiers and some Canadians, to the number of two thousand who had been detached to oppose our landing at Capo Rouge, appeared between our rear and the village St. Foy, formed in a line as if he intended to attack us; but the 48th Regiment with the Light Infantry and 3rd Battalion Royal Americans being ordered against him, with some field pieces, they fired a few cannon shot at him when he thought proper to retire.

Thus ended the battle of Quebec, the first regular engagement that we was fought in North America, which has made the king of Great Britain master of the capital of Canada, and it is hoped ere long will be the means of subjecting the whole country to the British Dominion; and if so, this has been a greater acquisition to the British Empire than all that England has acquired by Conquest since it was a nation, if I may except the conquest of Ireland, in the reign of Henry the 2nd.

The Enemy's numbers I have never been able to get an exact account of. We imagined them seven or eight thousand; this has been disputed since. However, I am certain they were greatly superior to us in numbers, as their line was equal to ours in length, tho' they were in some places nine deep, whereas, ours was no more than three deep. Add to this, their advanced parties and those in the bushes, on all hands, I think they must exceed five thousand.

Our strength at the utmost did not exceed two thousand men in the line, exclusive of the 15th. Regiment and 2nd. Battalion Royal Americans, who were drawn up on our left, fronting the River St. Charles with the 3rd. Battalion Royal Americans and Light Infantry in the rear, and the 48th. Regiment who were drawn up between our main body and the Light Infantry as a Corps of Reserve. So, that I am pretty

certain our numbers did not exceed four thousand men, the Regiments being very weak, most of them under three hundred men each.

We had only about five hundred men of our Army killed and wounded, but we suffered an irreparable loss in the death of our commander the brave Major General James Wolfe, who was killed in the beginning of the general action ; we had the good fortune not to hear of it till all was over.

The French were supposed to have about one thousand men killed and wounded, of whom five hundred killed during the whole day, and amongst these Monsieur le Lieutenant Général Montcalm, the commander in chief of the French Army in Canada, one Brigadier General, one Colonel and several other Officers. I imagined there had been many more killed and wounded on both sides, as there was a heavy fire for some minutes, especially from us.

We had of our Regiment three officers killed and ten wounded, one of whom Captain Simon Fraser, afterwards died. Lieutenant Archibald Campbell was thought to have been mortally wounded, but to the surprise of most people recovered, Captain John McDonell thro' both thighs ; Lieut. Ronald McDonell thro' the knee ; Lieutenant Alexander Campbell thro' the leg ; Lieutenant Douglas thro' the arm, who died of this wound soon afterwards ; Ensign Gregorson, Ensign McKenzie and Lieutenant Alexander Fraser, all slightly, I received a contusion in the right shoulder or rather breast, before the action become general, which pained me a good deal, but it did not disable me from my duty then, or afterwards.

The detachment of our Regiment consisted, at our marching from Point Levi, of six hundred men, besides commissioned and non commissioned Officers ; but of these, two Officers and about sixty men were left on board for want of boats, and an Officer and about thirty men left at the lauding place : besides



a few left sick on board, so that we had about five hundred men in the action. We suffered in men and Officers more than any three Regiments in the field. We were commanded by Captain John Campbell; the Colonel and Captain McPherson having been unfortunately wounded on the 25th. July, of which they were not yet fully recovered.

We lay on our Arms all the night of the 13th. September.

Friday, 14th September.—We got ashore our tents and encamped our Regiment on the ground where they fought the battle yesterday. Here we are within reach of the guns of the town.

Saturday, 15th September.—We were ordered to move our Camp nigh the wood, at a greater distance from the Town. We are making advanced redoubts within five hundred yards of the town.

Sunday, 16th September.—Nothing extraordinary.

Monday, 17th September.—Monsieur de Ramsay Governor of Quebec, sent out a flag of Truce with articles of capitulation for the Town, which were agreed to, and signed on the 18th in the morning, by Admiral Saunders and General Townhend, after some alteration. That night, the town was taken possession of by the Louisbourg Grenadiers, and a party of the Light Infantry. We remained encamped till the.....October, when the army marched into Town, which is to be our Quarters for the winter, most of the houses are destroyed, and we have but a very dismal prospect for seven or eight months, as fresh provisions are very scarce, and every other thing exorbitantly dear.

October the.....Admiral Saunders sailed for England with the men of war and transports; and on the..... General Monkton with the last ships sailed, having appointed Brigadier Murray, Governor of Quebec.

About the begining of November, a detachment of about seven hundred men went from the garrison, and marched to

Cap Rouge, about nine miles from Town. In a day or two Colonel Welsh was sent to take the command of that Detachment and to make an attack upon the enemy's post at Pointeaux-Trembles, but this attempt not answering as the enemy were alarmed, they returned and took post at Lorette and St. Foy, the first about three, and the last place about one and a half leagues from Town. The design of that post is, I imagine, as well to protect the party to be employed in cutting wood at St. Foy, as to hinder the enemy from insulting the garrison by their Indians or other parties.

22nd. November.—The French ships and frigates which lay all summer in the river Richelieu near Three Rivers, came down in sight of the Town.

On the 24th. four of those ships were drove ashore, and entirely lost. Captain Miller of the Race Horse Frigate, (which with the Porcupine Sloop were left by Admiral Saunders to winter here) and his Lieutenant with about fifty men went in a Schooner to reconnoitre the Ships, drove ashore. The Captain, Lieutenant and between thirty and forty men, boarded the nearest, which was aground on the East Side of the River Etchemin, after staying some minutes on board, the Vessel blew up, and it is thought all the people on board perished. Our Schooner was soon thereafter boarded by Boats from the French Frigates, and taken, after a stout resistance, Captain Miller and the Lieutenant were next day carried to Town, but died in a few days of their wounds.

28th November.—At night eight of the French ships passed the Town being smartly fired on from our Batteries, but as the night was dark, it is thought we did them no great damage.

December, 1st.—The Governor ordered two weeks wood to be issued to the Garrison. It is thought we shall have a great deal of difficulty in supplying ourselves with fuel this winter. The winter is now very severe.

December 20th.—The winter is become almost insupportably cold. The men are notwithstanding obliged to drag all the wood used in the Garrison on sledges from St. Roy, about four miles distance. This is a very severe duty; the poor fellows do it however with great spirit, tho' several of them have already lost the use of their fingers and toes by the incredible severity of the frost, and the country people tell us it is not yet at the worst. Some men on sentry have been deprived of speech and sensation in a few minutes, but hitherto, no person has lost his life, as care is taken to relieve them every half hour or oftener when the weather is very severe. The Garrison in general are but indifferently clothed, but our regiment in particular is in a pitiful situation having no breeches, and the Philibeg is not all calculated for this terrible climate. Colonel Fraser is doing all in his power to provide trowsers for them, and we hope soon to be on a footing with other Regiments in that respect.

January, 1760.—Nothing remarkable during this month. The duty is very severe on the poor men; we mount every day a guard of about one hundred men, and the whole off duty with a subaltern officer from each Regiment are employed in dragging fire wood; tho' the weather is such that they are obliged to have all covered but their eyes, and nothing but the last necessity obliged any men to go out of doors.

January 16th. I went on command to Lorette, one of the out-posts established in November. The French have a post at St. Augustin, about three miles distant, I returned 30th January, nothing extraordinary while at Lorette, a few deserters came into us from the French posts.

About the 5th or 6th February the River St. Lawrence was quite frozen over at Quebec. We are told there is an officer's and french party of about two hundred men at Point Levy.

On the 13th February, 1760. The Light Infantry and two hundred men from the Battalions were sent over to drive the French from Point Levy. They opposed the landing at

one place, but the Light Infantry in the mean time landing at another place, they retreated in great haste. We took an officer and some men prisoners, with the loss of one sergeant killed, Lieutenant McNeil of our Regiment and some men wounded. We have established a post at the Church of St. Joseph at Point Levy.

24th February 1760. Monsieur St. Martin who commanded the former French detachment at Point Levy having returned with eight hundred men to attack our post at the church, the General went to attack him with the 15th, 28th and Colonel Fraser's Regiment, together with the Light Infantry, and two pieces of cannon. The Light Infantry having landed, the French retreated, and the General ordered the 28th and Colonel Fraser's Regiment to march upon the ice as quick as possible, and intercept them; we marched about five miles, and we were within five minutes of cutting off their retreat. We returned in the evening with about fifteen prisoners, and without any loss on our side, tho' I hear some of the Enemy were wounded by our company of Light Infantry, which was very nigh them and exchanged a great many shots with their main body.

2nd. March, 1760, Captain Cameron of our Regiment was pitched on by the General as a proper person to command at Lorette, as he spoke French, and by that means may the more readily procure intelligence of the enemy's motions. They have threatened to attack us all winter, and the General seems now to think them in earnest.

On the 17th March, 1760, Captain Donald McDonald of Colonel Fraser's Regiment with the Light Infantry and other detachments, making in all about five hundred men, went out to the advanced posts of Lorette and St. Foy, and next morning, 18th March, attacked the French post at St. Augustin, where they took about eighty prisoners, without any loss on our side, and returned that night to Town, having suffered very much by the excessive cold of the preceding

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night : several having lost the use of their fingers and toes.

The Scurvy, occasioned by salt provisions and cold, has begun to make fierce havock in the garrison, and it becomes every day more general. In short, I believe there is scarce a man of the Army entirely free from it.

April, 1760.—About the 23rd or 24th of this month, the Ice on the River St. Lawrence broke, and began to come down the river in great sheets, extending from one side to the other of the river. A few days ago, the General despatched a small schooner down the river to meet the Fleet and hurry them up, as he expects to be attacked as soon as the river is clear of Ice above the Town. The Ice below, has been broken some time ago.

24th April 1760.—Great havock amongst the Garrison occasioned by the Scurvy &c ; this is the more alarming, as the General seems certain that the French are preparing to come and attack the place, and will he says, be here in a very few days.

The following is a state of the Garrison of Quebec :

Colonels' Names.	Regiments.	Fit for duty.	Sick.	Total.	Dead since 18th September 1759.
Amherst's.....	15 regt	323	169	432	26
Bragg's .....	28th	394	200	504	29
Otway's .....	35th	355	285	640	96
Kennedy's.....	43rd	272	194	466	130
Lascelle's.....	47th	305	170	475	64
Webb's.....	48th	483	214	697	85
Anstruther's.....	58th	324	158	482	10
Monkton's 60th Regiment.	2d Bat	237	163	400	61
Laurance's 60th.....	3d Bat	253	215	468	58
Fraser's.....	63rd	314	589	894	106
Royal Artillery.....	.....	171	24	194	17
<b>Total.</b> .....	.....	<b>3341</b>	<b>2312</b>	<b>5653</b>	<b>682</b>

On the night of the 26th April, a man of the French army who, with some others had been cast away in a boat that night, came down the river on a piece of ice, and being taken up next morning at the Town, gave the General information that the chevalier de Levi, was within twenty miles of us, with an army of about twelve thousand men, made up of regulars, Canadians and savages.

27th April, 1760. The Governor marched out, with the Grenadiers and Piquets of the garrison, to support the Light Infantry which had taken post some days before near Cap Rouge. By the time he got out, the vanguard of the French army appeared; upon which, he thought it advisable to withdraw the Light Infantry, and all the other outposts, and retire to Town; and for that purpose he sent orders to the 28th, 47th and 58th and Colonel Fraser's Regiment to march out to St. Foy and cover his retreat; the 35th Regiment, 2d Battalion Royal Americans having been detached in the morning to prevent the enemy, in case they attempted to land at Sillery or any other place near the Town. The retreat was accordingly effected without any loss, tho' the enemy were so nigh as to skirmish with our rear till we got within half a league of the Ramparts.

On the 28th April, 1760, about eight o'clock in the morning, the whole Garrison, exclusive of the Guards, was drawn up on the parade, and about nine o'clock we marched out of Town with twenty pieces of Field Artillery, that is, two to each Regiment. The men were likewise ordered to carry a pick axe or spade each. When we had marched a little way out of Town, we saw the advanced parties of the Enemy nigh the woods, about half a league distant from us. When we were about three quarters of a mile out of Town, the General ordered the whole to draw up in line of Battle, two deep, and take up as much room as possible. Soon thereafter, he ordered the men to throw down the intrenching tools, and the

whole Army to advance slowly, dressing by the right, having drawn up the 35th Regiment and 3rd battalion Royal Americans in our rear as a corps of reserve, with one hundred men (in a redoubt which was begun by us a few days preceding) to cover our retreat in case of necessity. In this order, we advanced, about one hundred paces, when the canonading begun on our side, and we observed the French advanced parties retiring, and their main body forming in order of Battle at the edge of the wood, about three hundred paces distant, we continued canonading and advancing for some minutes. The enemy, on their side, played against the left of our army, where our Regiment happened to be, with two pieces of cannon and killed and wounded us some men. The affair begun now to turn serious, when the General ordered the Light Infantry, who were posted on the right of our army, to attack five companies of French Grenadiers who they obliged to retire, but they being supported by a large column of the enemy, the Light Infantry were in their turn obliged to give way, which they doing along the front of our line on the right (as I am told) hindered our men on the right from firing for some minutes, which gave the enemy full time to form. On the left, matters were in a worse situation. The company of Volunteers of the garrison, commanded by Captain Donald Mc Donald of our Regiment, and Captain Hazen's company of Rangers, who covered the left flank of our army having been almost entirely destroyed, were obliged to give way; by this means the left of the 28th Regiment was exposed, and this obliged them to give ground after an obstinate resistance; Colonel Fraser's Regiment was next them to the right, and being in danger of being surrounded, and at the same time extremely galled by a fire from the Bushes in front and flank, were under a necessity of falling back instantly, when Colonel Fraser who commanded the Left Brigade consisting of the 28th, 47th and his own

Regiment, sent orders to the 47th to retire ; they were drawn up with a small rising ground in their front, which till then covered them pretty much from the enemy's fire, but as most of the Regiment to the right, as well as the two Regiments to the left of them, had by this time retired, it was absolutely necessary for the 47th to quit that ground, otherwise they must inevitably have been surrounded in a few minutes. Most of the Regiments attempted to carry off their artillery, but the ground was so bad with wreaths of snow in the hollows, that they were obliged to abandon them, after nailing them up, as well as the intrenching tools. Every Regiment made the best of their way to Town, but retired however in such a manner that the enemy did not think proper to pursue very briskly, otherwise they must have killed or made prisoners many more than they did. Our loss was about three hundred killed, and about seven hundred wounded, and a few Officers and men made prisoners. We had about three thousand in the field, one third of whom had that very day, come voluntarily out of the Hospitals; of these, about five, hundred were employed in dragging the cannon, and five hundred more in reserve, so that we could had no more than two thousand in the line of battle, whereas the enemy must have had at least four times as many, beside a large body in reserve, and notwithstanding their great superiority we suffered very little in the retreat, some Regiments attempted to rally, but it was impossible to form in any sort of order with the whole, till we got within the walls.

Our Regiment had about four hundred men in the field near one half of whom had that day, come out of the Hospital, out of their own accord. We had about sixty killed and forty wounded, and of thirty nine officers, Captain Donald McDonald who commanded the volunteer company of the army, and Lieutenant Cosmo Gordon who commanded the Light Infantry company of our Regiment, were both killed in



the field ; Lieutenant Hector McDonald and Ensign Malcolm Fraser died of their wounds, all very much regretted by every one who knew them. We had twenty-three more Officers wounded, of this number was Colonel Fraser, who commanded the left wing of the army, and it was with great pleasure we observed his behaviour during the action, when he gave his orders with great coolness and deliberation. He was touched at two different times ; the first took him in the right breast but having his cartouche box slung, it luckily struck against the star of it and did not penetrate thro', otherways, must infallibly have done his business. The second, he got in the retreat, but striking against the cue of his hair, he received no other damage than a stiffness in his neck for some days. Here I cannot help observing that if any unlucky accident had befallen our Colonel, not only his Regiment must have suffered an irreparable loss, but I think I can, without any partiality say, it would be a loss to his Country. His behaviour this winter in particular to his Regiment has been such, as to make him not only esteemed by them, but by the Garrison in general. Captain Alexander Fraser of our Regiment, was wounded in the right temple, and thought very dangerous, the rest are mostly flesh wounds. I received a musket ball in the right groin, which was thought dangerous for three or four days, as the ball was supposed to be lodged, but whether it has wrought out in walking into Town, or did not penetrate far enough at first to lodge, or is still in, I cannot say, but in twenty days I was entirely cured, and the wound which was at first but small was entirely closed up.

When we marched out, we thought the General did not intend to give the French battle ; and as he ordered the Army to carry out intrenching tools, we thought he meant to throw up works on the rising ground, before the Town, if the Enemy should not choose to attack him that day ; but, it seems he changed his mind on seeing their situation, which gave him

all the advantage he could desire with such an inferior Army and where, if the Enemy ventured to attack him he could use his Artillery, on which was his chief dependance, to the best purpose : having a rising ground, whereon he might form his Army and plant his Cannon, so as to play on the Enemy as they advanced for about four hundred or five hundred yards, with round shot, and when they came within a proper distance the grape shot must have cut them to pieces. However, it seems he observed the enemy, some formed at the edge of the wood, some forming, and the rest marching from St. Foy. The bait was too tempting, and his passion for glory getting the better of his reason he ordered the Army to march and attack the enemy, as he thought, before they could form, in a situation the most desired by them and ought to be avoided by us, as the Canadians and Savages could be used against us to the greatest advantage in their beloved (if I may say element) woods. It would give me great pleasure to relate something more to the advantage, of this gentleman who is, in many respects, possessed of several virtues, and particularly all the military ones, except prudence and entirely free of all mercenary principles ; but, as his conduct on this occasion is universally condemned by all those who are not immediately dependent on him, truth obliges me to state matters as I believe, they really stood ; more especially as it is not said he advised with any of those who had a right to be consulted before such a step should be taken. Nay, it is said : that the preceding night, at a meeting with the different Commandants of the Corps, he declared his intention of fortifying himself on the heights and not to attack the Enemy, unless he should be forced to it, which we were persuaded of by his orders to carry out intrenching tools. We had very little chance of beating an Army\* to four times our number ; in a situation where we

\* The other accounts make the French army any thing but "four times" the number of the English army. It appears certain

could scarce act ; and if the Enemy had made a proper use of their advantage, the consequences must have proved fatal to us, as they might have got betwixt us and the Town, cut off our retreat, and by that means ruined us to all intents.

Our situation became now extremely critical : we were beat in the field, by an army greatly superior in numbers, and obliged to rely on what defence we could make within the walls of Quebec, which were hitherto reckoned of very little consequence against a superior Army.

The French that very night after the Battle, opened trenches, within six hundred yards of the walls, and went on next, 29th April, with their works pretty briskly. For the first two days after the battle there was very little done by us ; and on the 1st. of May, the largest of our block houses (small square redoubts of Logs, musquet proof) was blown up by accident, and Captain Cameron of our Regiment and a subaltern of the 48th with several men, dangerously burnt and bruised. On the 3rd. day after the battle, the General set about to strengthen or (I may say) fortify the Town, and the men worked with the greatest alacrity. In a few days there were about one hundred additional guns mounted, with which our people kept an incessant fire on the enemy, and retarded their works very much.

On the 9th May, the Leostaff Frigate, Captain Dean, arrived from England, and brought us—news from thence, and informed us that there was a squadron in the River, which might be expected every tide to our assistance. This added greatly to the spirits of the Garrison, and our works were

however that Levi had the advantage of number, and Murray the advantage of position and of a splendid park of artillery, some twenty odd field pieces on a rising ground, whilst Levi had but two guns and his troops were fatigued by their laborious trudge through the Bijou marsh and Suede road, at a time of the year (the 23 April) when the winter snow and rain had made the roads nearly impassable.

carried on briskly. The General seemed resolved from the first to defend the place to the last. This, nobody doubted, and every one seemed to forget their late misfortune, and to place entire confidence in the General's conduct, which all must acknowledge very resolute, when reduced almost to an extremity.

On the 11th May, the French opened two Batteries mounting thirteen guns, and one of two mortars. Their heavy metal consisted of one twenty-four and two eighteen pounders, the rest were all light. They did not seem to confine their fire entirely to any particular part of the Walls, otherwise I believe they might in time have made a breach, and their fire was not very smart. We were masters of a much superior fire, and annoyed the besiegers at their batteries very much. Their fire became every day more and more faint, and it was generally believed they intended to raise the siege.

On the 16th May, in the evening, the Vanguard, Commodore Swanton, and Diana Frigate, Captain Schomberg, arrived from England, and next morning 17th May, 1760, they and the Leostaff attacked the two French Frigates that lay at anchor in the Bay, above Cape Diamond; which when they first observed, they made as if they intended to engage, but on our ships approaching nearer, they set sail up the river; but one of them ran ashore immediately, and our Frigates soon got up with theirs, and obliged, them also to run aground and thereafter destroyed them. One ship however escaped out of their reach, and unluckily the Leostaff, after all was over, ran on a rock, sunk and was entirely lost.

That very night several deserters came into Town, and informed that most part of the French army had marched, the Trenches being guarded by their Grenadiers only. About twelve o'clock at night, the General sent out a party who found the Trenches entirely abandoned and next morning,

18th May. 1760, we found ourselves entirely frosd of very disagreeable neighbours, having left behind all their artillery, with a great part of their ammunition, Camp equipage and baggage. What made them retreat with such precipitation we could not guess ; but. it seems they were seized with a panic. It appears they allowed the savages to scalp all the killed and most part of the wounded, as we found a great many scalps on the bushes.

I have been since informed by Lieutenant McGregor, of our Regiment, who was left on the field wounded, and narrowly escaped being killed, having received two stabs of a bayonet from two French Regulars, that he saw the savages murdering the wounded and scalping them on all sides, and expected every moment to share the same fate, but was saved by a French Officers, who luckily spoke a little English.