THE JOURNAL

(1775)

(Oct.) 6 ARRY'D our boats and provisions across and proceeded

On our way about 7 miles—here is seven islands Fairly encompassed by the water; the most of them Lies on the east side of the river—now we began To see the mountains that lay ahead, these appeared Dismal in our sight, thinking we had them to Pass—here I shall observe that we had no pilot.

- 7 This day we proceeded on our way to the great Carryingplace—the land here is low and very fine Grass, but on the edge of the river it appears to Be overflowed in the spring—now it begins to be Mountain[ou]s and appears to be less fertile here.— I travelled by land till I came to the above Carrying place, traveling through swamps, over Hills and mountains, crossing several small Rivers; at length I came to the carry (ing place) And much fatigued—
- Accounts of the first carrying place being (three)

 Miles \(\frac{1}{4} \), then a pond. I shall give an (account of)

 Them as I pass by them—encamp'd (and)

 Were employed in clearing the road (for)

 Carrying our boats—it rain'd all (day and)

 Occasioned our work not going on (as it)

 Would have done if fair; we have been (favored)

 Hitherto (with) extraordinary good weather (for)

 The season of the year. At 3 O'Clock all our boats

 And most of our men came up—here we

 Remained, here was all the rifle Men helping to

 Clear the roads—they'd killed a moose, I saw the

- Skin and it appeared to be as big as that of an Ox that would weigh 600^{wt} —they're very Plenty and we can scarcely go 50 yards Without meeting with their tracks.
- 9 Detach'd 2 Subbarltons* and 36 men to clear the Roads to the first pond, which was perfected at 12 O'Clock and the rest of our men were employ'd In getting our pork on sticks and carrying our Baggage and boats across to the first pond. This carrying place is four miles—here is very Fine trout of which we caught a great number.
- (10) (This day) we were employed in getting our (men acr)oss the pond—this carrying place is (Half a m)ile, then proceed'd to the second pond.
- (11) (Crossed) the 3rd carrying place, which is about (4 mile)s & came to the rivulet that leads (Into Dead) river so call'd.
- (12) (Had a) very fine prospect of a high mountain which (bears) S. W. being 15 miles; round this pond (It) is boggy and wet—here is a bogg (About) 1 mile across which we was oblig'd To carry our boats across, and at every step we Sunk half leg high into mud and water, Which made it very difficult, and to make it Much worse the [re] was ice on the top which Broke through.
 - 13 Proceed'd on our march about 3 miles and Encamp'd—
- 14 Proceeded on our way, not going above 10
 Miles because of the current runs so swift
 And the shore so Bold that our setting poles
 Will not reach the bottom in many places, so
 That we are oblig'd to hall our boats along

^{*}Subalterns.

- By the bushes that hang over the river.
- 15 We despached two Indians and one white man To quebec with a letter to a gentleman in that City, and they are expected to meet us in 10 or 12 days. Here we waited some time For a company that was in our rear to come Up—employ'd in cleaning our guns.
- 16 Being very short of provisions and brought To one half pint of flower for each man now, Waiting untill 9 O'Clock for the Rifle Companies² in order to get some supplys & (They) not coming up, we proceeded on our Way—came to an Indian hut where one Satanniss lived, as big a rogue as ever liv'd—Still proceed'd on our march about 4 miles And encamp'd, and Col Arnold came up in The evening at 8 O'Clock and hearing of our wants Of bread, order'd 4 Battoes with 32 men Of each companies to return to the rear for a Supply of provision in the morning—here We had not more than 5 or 6 lb of flower P' man.
- 17 We despach'd 12 boats with 96 men, officers Included, who went on this occasion—
- 18 Employ'd in making and filling cartridges—
 Took another observation of the mountain,
 And found it bore S. E. by E., the river runs more
 To the north here—we staid until the
 Second Division came up.
- 1. "These letters never reached the persons to whom they were addressed, and being intercepted fell into the hands of Cramahé, the Lieutenant Governor of Canada in command at Quebec.
 Through him they gave the people of Quebec their first intimation of the approach of the provincial detachment."—Arnold's Expedition to Quebec, Codman.
- 2. These had been detained at the great carrying-place and Greene's division was here in the lead.

- 19 It rain'd very steady until 3 O'Clock When major migs* with his division Proceeded on their march towards the Shoddier† river.
- 20 It rain'd very hard—our boats not having
 Come up we packed up our cartridges
 In casks in order to be ready for an
 Immediate embarkation—here we staid this
 Night, it being [the] 3rd day that we have [been] obliged
 To lay by for provision.
- 21 It rain'd very hard and was almost as heavy A storm as I ever saw—here Col enos came To us at 11 O'Clock, & thought to found Col Arnold, but not finding him return'd back [and] drove up his rear in the afternoon— There came up to us one of Cap^t Williams' Serit with that company—major Bigelow who had been down with the boats return'd with Only 2 Barrels of flower—we are very short of provision & there is no probility of getting Any more. We have no other view than Either to proceed to canada or to retreat. Here we concluded to send back those who Was not able to do actual duty—the River since last night has rose 2 feet And half, which occasions the current to run Very swift—our encampment grew very Uncomfortable especially for those that have No tents.
- This day the storm abated—the river rose
 To six feet and runs very swift—the sun
 Arose with little rain, but the weather
 Grew fair; we began to embark and to

^{*}Meigs. †Chaudière

Proceed toward shoddier*—after going 6 miles Augainst the stream, which ran at least 5 Miles an hour, came to a carrying place Which was overflowed so that our boats Went over through the woods where it Was cut out in order for to carry our boats Across—went about 50 rods and encamp'd—At 5 O'Clock proceeded against the freshet

- 23 At 5 O'Clock proceeded against the freshet Which is as full as ever and very difficult. This is paying for delay of time—went 3 Miles farther and crossed another carrying place, and a half a mile farther Crossed Another, and went 7 miles and crossed Another, expecting to be within 8 miles Of the great carryingplace, and encamp'd.
- Received accounts of its being 25 miles to [the]
 Height of land, and we almost distitute
 Of provision, being brought to 1 half pint
 Of flower p. man and having no (more)
 To deliver out it being the last we have; it snow'd
 This evening & continued part of the night.
- To hear what we must do for provisions—we are in An absolute danger of starving: however I hope for The best but if we do not receive no supply from The french we shall be poorly off. This day there Was a sub. & 48 men of the sick and unfit for duty Went back with 3 boats of each of 3 companies. The river is narrow and exceeding swift, the Going by land is very difficult, which much Disheartn'd our men and are desirous to return. However if their bellies were full I believe They'd rather go forward—we are out and must Go on; Col Arnold has sent Cap. Hanchett with

^{*}Chaudière

A party v^e number I do not know, to purchase Provision of the french if possible and to clear The roads. Proceed'd on our way about 3 miles And encamp'd for our boats to come up, which Could not be done very quick on account of y⁶ Rapidity of the river. Col Green, Capt Topham And thayre* stay by desire of Col Enos³ in

*Thayer.

- 3. "Col. Enos and officers * * came up before noon when a council of war was ordered. Here sat a number of grimacers—melancholy aspects who had been preaching to their men the doctrine of impenetrability and non-perseverance, Col. Enos in the chair. The matter was debated upon the expediency of proceeding on for Quebec. The party against going urging the impossibility, averring the whole provisions when averaged would not support the army five days.
- These hints being promised I now proceed to the determination of the council of war. After debating upon the state of the army with respect to provisions there was found very little in the division then encamped at the falls. * * The other companies not being come up, either through fear that they should be obliged to come to a divider, or to show their disapprobation of proceeding any further. The question being put whether all to return or only part, the majority were for part only returning. Part only of the officers of those detachments were in this council. The number and opinions of those present were as follows:

McCobb Scott

For proceeding For returning Lieut. Col. Greene Capt. Williams Major Bigelow Capt. Topham Thayer Adjutant Hide Ward Lieut. Peters Lieut. Col. Enos

According to Col. Arnold's recommendation the invalids were allowed to return as also the timorous. One batteau only for each company to proceed, in order to carry the military The officers who were for going forward, requested a division of stores, medicines, etc. * the provisions. * * To this the returning party (being predetermined) would not consent alledging that they would either go back with what provisions they had, or if they must go forward they'd not impart any. Col. Enos though (he) had voted for proceeding, yet had undoubtedly pre-engaged to the contrary as every action demonstrated.

* Col. Enos, who more immediately commanded the division of returners was called upon to give positive orders for a small quantity if no more. He replied that his men were out of his power, and that they had determined to keep their possessed quantity whether they went back or forward. They finally concluded to spare (us) two and one-half barrels of flour, if determined to pursue our destination, adding that we never should be able to bring (in) any inhabitants. Thus circumstanced, we were left the alternative of accepting their small pittance and proceed, or return. The former was adopted with a determined resolution to go through or die. Received it, put it on board of our boats, quit the few tents we were in possession of, with all other camp equipage, took each man to his duds on his back, bid them adieu, and away—passed the river; passed over falls and encamped."—Senter's Journal.

Order to hold a council of war.
[It was] resolv'd that Col Enos should not go back,
But afterwards (he) return'd with the whole
Of his division', viz Cap. Williams, scott & Mc(Cobb)—

- (26) We proceed'd over 3 carryingplaces 2 small ones & One half a mile over after coming up the river and A pond—encamp'd 20 rods from the pond—
 - After a cold and frosty night proceed'd through
 Another pond up the river which is now so
 Narrow that 2 battoes will reach across—this evening a
 Better way was found up the river—went over
 Another carryingplace into a small pond from
 Whence we carried about 34 of a mile into
 Another pond through which the river runs and
 Encamp'd—
 - Proceed'd over another carryingplace through A pond and over another carryingplace into A pond and across another carryingplace into A pond and then came to hight of land Another carryingplace which is 4 miles ¼ to The rivulet that leads into the (dead river?)*

 Lake called the great ammiguntick or the Shoddier pond—this lake is 12 miles in Length & 6 in Breadth—here was given
- 4. "Our men made a general prayer that Col. Enos and all his men might die by the way, or meet with some disaster, equal to the cowardly, dastardly and unfriendly spirit they discover'd in returning back without orders, in such a manner as they had done. And then we proceeded forward."—Dearborn's Journal.

"Arnold wrote to Greene and Enos who were in the rear to select as many of their best men as they could supply with fifteen days provisions and come on with them, leaving the others to return to Norridgewock. Enos, either through a false construction of the order or willful disobedience returned to Cambridge with his whole division. His appearance excited the greatest indignation in the Continental camp, and Enos was looked upon as a traitor for thus deserting his companions and endangering the whole expedition. He was tried by a court-martial and it being proved that he was short of provisions and that none could be procured in the wilderness, he was acquitted. He never was restored in public estimation, however, and soon afterward left the army."—Lossing.

^{*}Almost erased in original. Apparently intentionally.

Out all the provision and then proceed'd Close to the rivulet in a large meadow in Which there was very fine grass—left All our boats but one-at 4 O'Clock an Express arrived from Col arnold who Brought accounts of the french's being Glad of our coming & that they (would) Supply us with necessaries glad tidings (to) People that are brought to 1 pint of flower & No meat—to day we received the last pork left in v^e detachment about 2 oz pr man—Col Arnold order'd that those who had more than Five days provision should leave it for the rear But we had no more than 5 days & brought Up the rear; an express for his excellency the Gen! commander in chief of nothamerican Army past us and a pilot was sent us to lead us The right way through the woods—went 1 mile Back the carrying place then turn'd into the Woods and encamp'd—

- 29 Proceed'd in the front on our way to sertagan
 The travelling very bad but we have encouragment
 Of its being better farther ahead—lost one man
 Viz. Samuel Nichols who must inivitably
 Perish with hunger—we traveled through very
 Bad travelling all day and found that the
 Pilot sent us knew nothing of the way but led us
 By gesswork and encamp'd after going about 5 miles—
- 30 Proceed'd through a swamp 6 miles and more in Frozen water all the way—got into an Alder swamp⁵—

^{5.} The region southeast of Lake Megantic is swampy, as are also the shores of Spider Lake which is east of the former and discharges into it. Spider Lake was not shown on Montresor's map, the only one in Arnold's possession and in trying to follow down the east shore of Lake Megantic all the divisions got into this swamp. Morgan and Meigs pushed across it, but Captain Topham and probably the rest of Greene's division, seem to have followed the shores of Spider Lake, skirting along its southern and eastern sides.

Stearing all the way E & southerly—came to a river where We was Obliged to strip and wade through the river It being waist high and very cold but this river is Not above 3 Rods wide from whence we proceed'd (to) A hill where we shaped our course N 1/2 W and Came to another hill* river and went across (it on a) Log—here is no mark of inhabitants but a swampy Thicket of wood made only for an Assylum for wild Beasts—at 4 O'Clock after going about 13 miles Through very bad traveling came into a fine Grove of young birch and beach—going 2 miles ½ Found to our great satisfaction a path of Some humane being which greatly rejoyced y^e Men who are almost brought to dispair and look Pale upon their hard march and fare—encamp'd About 6 miles from the river at the end of the Grove in a delightful level spot.

- 31 Proceeded 6 miles and saw the racks of some Boats—here was one of the rifle Battalion Drown'd—here was a Lieu! of the sd Battalion Sick viz. McClannin—march 6 miles further And encamp'd
- (Nov!) Proceeded again—our people grow very much
 - 1 Fatieug'd and begin to fall in the rear being
 Much reduced with hunger and cold—I saw
 With astonishment a dog killed and even his
 Paunch guts and skin eat—went about 12 miles
 And encamp'd—
 - 2 Proceeded—went through much fatieuge—went About 16 miles—it is an astonishing thing to See almost every man without any sustenance

^{*}An attempt was apparently made to rub out this word in the original.

^{6.} Senter, who was with Greene's division at this time says, that this was the "small footpath made by the rest of the army."

- But cold water which is much more weakening Than strengthening—I have now been 48 hours Without victuals⁷
- 3 Proceed'd and met a party with beef and oatmeal Which was never sifted—this I thought was as good Bread as I ever eat—proceed'd by three pair of Falls went 6 miles and came the 1st house and
- 7. November first and second were the days on which the army suffered most for lack of food. The following extracts are expressive:
- Nov. 2—"This morning when we arose to resume our march many of us were so weak as to be unable to stand without support of our guns. I, myself, whom Providence had endowed with an uncommon degree of strength staggered about like a drunken man. We had eaten no food for several days. However, we got on our packs and set out through the woods hoping to see some inhabitants. But we stumbled on over hill and swamp, mile after mile, without any visible prospect of relief. This day I roasted my shot-pouch and eat it. It was now four days since I had eaten anything save the skin of a squirrel I had picked up in a tent some time before and had accidentally put into my pocket."—Morison's Journal.
- Nov. 1—"Continued unwell; this day I eat the last of my provisions; I kept with the company and we went twenty miles.
- Nov. 2—Traveled four miles; I shot a small bird casted a sedee and a squirrel which I lived upon this day."—Melvin's Journal.
- Nov. 1—"Here I saw some of the foot-men who were almost starved. This day Capt. Goodrich's company killed my dog and another dog and eat them. I remain very unwell."—Dearborn's Journal.
- Nov. 1—"This day I passed a number of soldiers who had no provisions and some that were sick and not in my power to help or relieve them except to encourage them. One or two dogs were killed which the distressed soldiers eat with good appetite, even the feet and skins. —Meigs' Journal.
- Nov. 1—"Travelled all day very briskly and at night encamped in a miserable situation. Here we killed a dog and we made a very great feast without either bread or salt, we having been 4 or 5 days without any provisions."—Ware's Journal.

Wednesday, Nov. 1st.—"Our greatest luxuries now consisted of a little water stiffened with flour, in imitation of shoemakers' paste which was christened with the name of Lillipu. Instead of the diarrhoea which tried our men most shockingly in the former part of our march, the reverse was now the complaint, which continued for many days. We had now arrived as we thought to almost the zenith of distress. Several had been entirely destitute of either meat or bread for many days.

* * * * This poor animal was instantly devoured without leaving any vestige of the sacrifice. Nor did the shaving soap, pomatum and even the lip salve, leather of their shoes, cartridges boxes etc. share any better fate."—Dr. Senter's Journal.

8. "After marching two days and two nights without the least nourishment, travelling on the shore side, discovered about twelve o'clock the 3rd day some men and horses and cattle making toward us. * * The driver was sent toward us by Col. Arnold in order to kill them for our support."—Thayer's Journal.

- Staid here this night-
- 4 This day nothing happen'd worth notice—
- 5 Proceed'd 5 miles to another house were provision Was made for the army—the inhabitants begins to Be considerable thick—their houses are thatched With straw—for the most part the people are very Civil but they ask a prodigious price for what They have to sell—
- 6 This Day proceeded 15 miles to a church—
- 7 This day the minister spar'd every thing that he Could—this place is well settled; and very good Land along the river but farther back it is Mountainous and poor.
- 8 This day we proceeded on our way and major Megs came up and (we) proceed'd on with 20 Birch Canoes to carry, through the woods in order to Transport us over the river S. Lawrence—this Place is called S. Marys parish—here a small Chappel with a bell in it—
- 9 Proceeded 6 miles through settlements then
 Entered the woods which (were) 9 miles across and went
 Fifteen miles and stop'd at St Areys* parish at
 A house near the chappel of the same name—
 There dined and then set out again for point
 Levy where we arrived at 4 O'Clock—here we
 Found Col. Arnold and our volunteers all well
 And in good spirits; the hunter sloop of war
 Sent her boat on shore to fetch off some
 Oars—our people spied them and fir'd upon
 Them—they put off in confusion and left
 M' McKindsy† a midshipman who belong'd

^{9. &}quot;Then Major Meigs left me * * and had to carry them thirty miles on our backs, four men under each canoe."—Thayer's Journal.

^{*}St. Henri's. †McKenzie, a brother of the Hunter's Captain.

To the s^d ship who was taken by our men And brought to head quarters,—he tried to Make his escape by swiming—he was fir'd At several times and had his cloaths cut In three or four places by the balls and Wounded in one place slightly—he is but (a) Boy being only 15 years of age, he is strickly Adher'd to the old doctrine of war viz. Never to discover their wakeness.

- 10 Remain'd here busied in getting provision & Necessaries for our men—borrow'd of some Frenchmen some wooden canoes—I receiv'd (orders) to Parade my company and to march to head Quarters—there receiv'd orders to go and guard the canoes.
- Remaining at point levy—Cap^t hanchet with Six smiths who was to make spears and Hooks for ladders, Lieu^t Savage with a Number of carpenters was detach'd to go And make a number of scailling Ladders.
- 12 This day nothing hapned extraordinary.
- 13 Cap^t Hanchet return'd,—begun to fix the ladders—Receiv'd some favourable accounts from B^r
 Gen^{II} Montgomery—at 3 O'Clock a council of
 War resolved to cross the river this night¹⁰, it
 Was calm moonlight and cold,—at 3 O'Clock in
 The morning having got most of our men over
 The hunters boat row'd down towards the
 City and we hail'd her but not bringing too
 Col. Arnold and some more fir'd upon her
 She still continued her course but the men

^{10.} Nov. 13—"On the evening of this day at nine o'clock we began to embark our men on board thirty-five canoes and at four o'clock in the morning we got over and landed about five hundred men entirely undiscovered. * * We landed at the same place that General Wolfe did, in a small Cove which is now called Wolfe's Cove."—Meigs' Journal.

[&]quot;We went to Major Caldwell's house, about two miles from the city." - Melvin's Journal.

In her made a terrible hollowing so
That we have reason to think they was
Wound'd if none killed (which we found to be a fact—)

- A boat came to wolfs cove¹¹ and in her there came Four men which was taken by Lieu^t Webb—they Were unarm'd and bound up the river for kings Store that lay in the cove—carried the Prisoners to head Quarters—one was a swiss From whom we had some very good intelligence—The others were young frenchmen—the enemy Sallied out and suppris'd one of our sentries—We immediately parad'd our men march'd Up within 80 Rods of the walls and gave Three huzzas we march'd in such a manner That they could not discover our strength—They fir'd a Number of cannon shot at us But did us no damage.
- 15 Was busied with getting our men in order Regulating guards and other duty—the french Seem for the most part in our favour but There is some fellows keep continually about Our camps whom we suspeck to be spies & We can hardly take them without affronting The people—this Evening the british troops Set fire to the subbards of S. Johns and burnt Part of it to the ground.
- 16 This morning we march'd with our men In order to take some live stock—I was Posted near to S^t Johns gate under the Cover of the hill in order to receive them
- 11. Wolfe's Cove is about two miles above Quebec. There was a road in 1775 as there is now, leading from the river to the Plains of Abraham.
- 12. The suburb of St. Johns was situated outside of St. John's gate, the northernmost of the two gates opening from Quebec to the Plains of Abraham.

If they should sallie out while the other Party was after the cattle—they found an Old cow & one yearling—we post'd a guard At the nunnery¹³ to cut off the communication Between the Country and City—

- Of the french who had been out
 In the country to see what interest they
 Could make with y° inhabitants of this country;
 An express arrived from Gen! montgomery
 With some agreeable News.
- This morning when our people were relieving Guards at the nunnery which is near the city An unlucky shot struck Serj. Dickson's*

 Leg of capt. Smiths company—after having it Cut off above where it was fractured he died—
 The doctor advis'd him to drink tea (say the Noble spirit'd serj. I would not if it would Save my life) which he did not.
- 19 Relieved Guards as usual, —sent boats across
 The river in the night and transport'd
 Some men and some flower—received intelligence
 From Quebec about their strength which by
 The best accounts I can gather is 8 or 900
 Men—we likewise receiv'd intelligence that
 They had discover'd our strength both in
 Men and amminittion which we was not
 Very strong of the latter,—major megs &
 Bigelow gave in a return of the amminution

^{18.} Nov. 16—"We sent a company of men to-day to take possession of the General Hospital which is a very large pile of buildings about three-quarters of a mile from the walls of Quebec. In this building is a nunnery of the first order in Canada, where at present there are about thirty fine† nuns."—Dearborn's Journal.

Dixon, of West Hanover, Pa.

[†]Five (?).

Which was not to exceed five rounds pr man And it was said that they were preparing To sallie out upon us with 7 field pieces And all their force to endeavour to cut us Off—at which time a frigate went up the River which made us think that the news Which we had heard was true,—then the Colonel called a council of war in which It was determin'd to retreat and there Should be given to each man 3 days Provision and the whole to hold them Selves in readiness to march at 3 O'Clock In the morning—I was order'd to go across The river to fetch over some men that Was there keeping guard and at the Above St time set out for point auxtremble*-This is a well settled country—encamp'd— Two schooners one brig past by us bound Down the river—one of the schooners Appear'd to be full of men.

- 20 An express arrived from Gen. montgomery With accounts that Gen! Carlton with His men had quitted montreal and left it To our people—we suppos'd that the top Sail schooner with a number of men on Board to have been Gen. Carlton with His men on board bound to quebec which It seems they are determin'd to maintain And hold to all events.
- 21 Sent off our express to Gen! montgomery
 And sent a man over the river to stop the
 Men that was order'd to march up on that
 Side of the river—they stop them and brought

Aux Trembles—Aspen Point.

Over the river—it freezes so hard every night
That the river has a thin crust on it every morning—
Our men are reduced to a most distressing
Condition, distitute of cloathing shoes &
Money, we are Obliged to do hard duty—
They must inevitably perish if we cannot
Get necessaries for them to screen them from
The inclemency of the weater which begins
To be very severe and it is likely to be worse
Still—we sent a number of men to make
Mixisons* and shoes but the leather being
Exceeding poor this country shoes will not
Last long on the hard frosty ground—
Our express that was sent off first (brought)
Accounts from Gen. Montgomery—(sent)

Our express that was sent off first (brought)
Accounts from Gen. Montgomery—(sent)
Two Lieut and 40 men to be (a guard)
At the ferry and (bridge over the river)
(Between us and Quebec)

[A man belonging to Capt. Topham's company who was suppos'd to be starv'd to death return'd and inform'd us that he and one Olney Hart kept together for some time both sick and wading through the]†

Rivers—after they had been 6 days from the Height of land, Hart was seized with the Cramp which continued on him 5 days when By the violence of the disorder was drawn Out of all manner of shape and died—this Breedeen‡ and 5 sick riflemen left him dead And passed by another dead man which Died with hunger & sickness—he belonged

^{*}Moccasins.

[†]The bottom of the page is torn off, and the words in brackets are from Capt. Thayer's Journal.

Burdeen, of Topham's company.

To Cap^t Hendricks company—they still Proceed'd on their way & came up with a Horse which got away from the party who Brought out provisions—they shot him With 6 Balls before they kill'd him—had They not found this horse they shold Have died,—they stayed 3 or 4 days and (7 or 8) more sick came up, they having (for 7 days had) nothing to subsist on but (Roots and) black-burch-bark boiled &

["He inform'd us of a man and wife belonging to the Battalion of Riflemen being Dead with 12 more. But the woman return'd about 6 weeks

- in this there

afterwards and left her husband in the last ago-

nies."]*

How the soldiers laying in Cambridge and Then reflect of our fatieugeing march it seems Astonishing how it was possible our men Could go through it: and indeed if one of The officers from cambridge was here at This time to review our men he would Really think one-half of them much fitter For the Gen! Hospital than the field Although they are now recruiting fast And if we can once more get cloaths for Them instead of their rags and good living It would bring them up again, but their Is some who have ruin'd their constitutions So that they will never be the men as they Were before,—this parish is called point Aux tremble but the church is call'd St. Nicholas;—to day two of our volunteers

^{*}From Capt. Thayer's Journal. This was Jemima Warner.

- Set out on their way home.
- 23 This day Col Arnold call'd a council of War to choose a committee to examine Into the conduct of Col. Enos and those Who return'd without his consent.
- We was informed by the officer of y^e ferry
 Guard that there was 4 armed vessels beating
 Up from Quebec,—we then despach'd a canoe
 With a serj^t and 6 men to carry intelligence
 To Gen¹ Montgomery who was at this
 Time comeing down from Montreal to
 Join our party
- 25 This day the hunter sloop of war with a Schooner and Brig hove in sight and Came to off point Aux tremble.
- 26 The afore mention'd vessels hove up & Stood up the river to obstruct Gen. Montgomerys comeing down—7 or 8 Masters of vessels and some others one Who brought a proclamation of Gen. Carleton's and said that the sailors Was taken and put into the barracks And treated as soldiers &c—
- Our detachment was order'd to hold
 Themselves in readiness to march at a
 Minutes warning—Lieu^t Brewen* & 18
 Men 1 serj^t and a corporal was
 Detach'd last night on a secret errand
 And in the morning return'd with 4
 Cows 4 calves 2 horses and a calash.
- 28 Capt Goodrich with 2 Lieut 4 Serjt 64 men
- 14. Other journals say these men came from Quebec.

^{*}This was probably Peter Bryan Bruin, of Va. He was wounded in the attack with Morgan. After his return home he was Major of the Seventh Virginia.

Was detach'd and order'd up to meet Gen! Montgomerys Van guard with amminution, And also to watch the motions of the sd. Vessels;—Capt morgan with a like Number to go before quebec to watch Them there;—major Coldwells house Was burnt down in order to hinder our Taking up our Quarters then as we-Had done done before.

- 29 It snow very hard—Major Coldwells Clark* was made prisoner—he affirms The intelligence that we had before.
- 30 Continu'd snowing,—the 3 arm'd vessels Afore sd. came down the river with The wind at S. W. greatly to our Satisfaction.
- (Dec.) Receiv'd intelligence from Gen!
 - With 5 vessels—there was sent to us
 Fifteen barrals of powder & 2 boxes of lead—
 Capt Ogdon† arriv'd with stores of all sorts
 For the soldiers—Gen! Montgomery hove16 in
 Sight about 9 O'Clock P. M.—came into point
 Aux tremble—we march'd our men down to
 Receive him—he received us with politeness—he
 Is a genteel polite man, tall and slender
 In his make bald on the top of his head
 Resolute mild and of a fine temper &
 An excellent gen!—
 - 3 Gen. orders were given out for distributing

^{*}Clerk, Joshua Wolfe. †Matthias Ogden, of New Jersey.

^{15.} Major Meigs says that General Montgomery arrived at Point aux Trembles at one P. M. of Dec. 1st and that he reviewed the troops that evening. It seems probable that Captain Topham's diary is in error a day here and for some little time afterwards, as it gives several dates a day later than other authorities.

- Cloaths for the soldiers—this is happy news For our men as they were almost distitute Of cloaths.
- 4 Finish'd delivering out the cloaths and Receiv'd orders for marching to visit quebec Once more.
- 5 At 10 O'Clock orders were issu'd for marching And at 12 O'Clock our men were mostly gone.
- 6 This day is fair and cold.
- 7 Two companies wer order'd to beauport¹⁶ to Watch the motions of the enemy—Cap.^t
 Dougan* and Cap.^t Smith took 6 men and A vessel load'd with provisions and some Small stock and 382 dollars belonging to Government.
- 8 We were busied in regulating guards and Quartering our men—brought two field pieces To M^r menues tavern¹⁷
- 9 Prepared for fortifying¹⁸ and drughted† men— One hundred for fatieuge one hundred men To cover the mortars and twenty for an Advance guard.
- 10 The enemy espied our battery—they fir'd upon it all This day—hove some shells¹⁰ but to no effect—
- 11 This day they fired to no effect.
- 16. The maps of the siege show that the main post of the Americans was not in the village of Beauport but on the road leading to it and about one mile from the St. Charles river.
 - *Jeremiah Duggan, of Montreal.
 - 17. This "was about a mile west of the town."—Codman.
 - 18. "This day we began to erect a battery before St. John's gate."—Meigs' Journal.
 - †Draughted-assigned.
- 19. "A party of our men are ordered into St. Rock this evening to cover the train who are ordered there this evening with five mortars and two field pieces. This evening 45 shells were thrown into the town."—Meige' Journal.

- 12 Open'd our battery and fired a few shot— But whether they did any damage we Cannot say—
- 13 Compleat'd our men with 25 rounds Pr man.
- 14 The enemy fir'd a ball through our Battery²⁰ which mortally wounded 2 men And slightly wounded five—
- 15 This day we fir'd very briskly all day
 Upon the garison and they fired at
 Our battery and our guards—Three hundred
 And fifty-seven shots from 9 O'Clock to
 The setting of the sun.
- We had one man kill'd; —Col Arnold was
 Obliged to Quit his Quarters for they
 Fir'd continually upon them and fir'd
 Two shot through the house—a council
 Of war²¹ was Call'd wherein it was
 Determin'd to storm Quebec at all
 Events.
- 17 Returns was made of what arms my
 Company wanted and of what they had—
- 18 A gen. return was made by Adjutant Phbeger* for all the arms and amminution Wanting in our Detachment.
- 20. This battery was of very poor construction, largely built of ice and snow, the earth being frozen too hard to allow of excavation. When completed it mounted five twelve pounders and a howitzer. Although the diary is not explicit to that effect it is believed that Capt. Topham was stationed there to cover the artillerists who belonged to Captain Lamb's company of New York troops.
- 21. "This evening a council was held by all the commissioned officers of Colonel Arnold's detachment; a large majority of which were for storming the garrison of Quebec as soon as the men are provided with bayonets, spears, hatchets and hand granadoes."—Meigs' Journal.

^{*}Febiger.

- 19 We were busied in dilivering the arms And amminution to our men.
- 20 Busied as at yesterday.
- 21 The enemy got intelligence of my quarters And fir'd a ball through the house.
- 22 This day nothing happen'd Extraordinary—
- 23 Adjutant Phebeger received a letter from Montreal but no intelligence—last night They fir'd a number of shell at our Quarters but did no damage.
- 24 Busied in making cartridges and Balls.
- 25 This day orders were given for every Cap^t
 Of Col. Arnolds detachment to march
 Their companies to M^f Devines* and there
 To be review'd by his excellency Gen¹¹
 Montgomery²²—
- 26 Last night they fir'd a thirteen inch Shell which broke over the house Where we Quartered, not to exceed eight Feet from the top of the house.
- Is stormy—the men were order'd to
 Hold themselves in readiness at the
 Shortest notice at 12 O'Clock at night
 Our army being divid'd according to
 The plan that the Gen! had laid—
 One part of our detachment proceeded
 To the hill the other part stay'd to
 Attack the lower town under the
 Command of Lieu! Col. Green—I was to

^{*}Morgan's Quarters.

^{22. &}quot;Colonel Arnold's detachment paraded this evening at Captain Morgan's quarters at 4 o'clock. His Honour General Montgomery attended and addressed us on the subject of an assault upon the town of Quebec in a sensible spirited manner."—Meigs' Journal.

Go to the hill; but it clearing off & The storm abating it was thought Prudent not to attack untill a more Favourable opportunity—

- 28 Party of our men took 4 that fained
 Themselves to be sick by reason of their
 Cowardice and drave them from place to
 Place with halters hound their necks
 As all such cowardly villains deserve
 Who after entering into the country
 Service should refuse to do their (duty) at
 Such a time as this—a man that inlist
 Into this service should not be afraid
 Of dying; the Gen. issued in orders the
 Great satisfaction he had received in seeing
 Our men so ready to turn out upon any
 Occasion and especially upon this
 Desperate one to the great satisfaction
 Of both officers and soldiers—
- 29 Was delivered out cloathing to the men such as Shirts stocking waistcoat breeches &c—in the Night we sent a number of shells into town And some from the town—Lieu. Webb was Sent with a file of men to M. Drummons Stillhouse to secure the stiller whom we Suspected to give intelligence to the enemy—They found him brought him off and in Doing this I had a man wounded in ye Leg viz Thomas Richardson: Cap. Dougan Took up (another) who had for some time carry'd On a correspondence with our enemy.
- 30 The enemy kept up a smart fire upon S^t Rocks; this evening at 10 O'Clock receiv'd Orders to be ready to march at a minutes

Warning, for it was the Gen! determination To storm quebec; it is dark and snowy the plan For executing is as follows—General Montgomery with the york troops to Proceed round cape diamand to the pot-Ash²³ and to attack them there— Col Livingston with a party of canadians to Make a false attack upon same diamond At St Johns (Gate)—Ensign Noles* with a few men to Proceed to place gate and to set it on fire If possible for which purpose there was A number of boxes made of tarr and pitch And other cumbustable matter made by Cap^t wobll1; an advance party of 35 men To proceed to drummons wharf—Col arnolds Detachment to attack the lower town in The Following manner-Cap! Morgans comany in the front—the Front commanded by Lieu^t Col green— Capt Lamb of the artillery with a field piece Capt Topham Cap! Thayer Capt Ward & major Bigelow in the center Capt Hendricks Cap! Smith Cap! Goodrich Cap! Hanchet Capt Hubbard—major megs command'd The rear—we were to receive a signal By 3 sky rockets when to attack but We not seeing them we were half an hour

^{23.} A potash factory was situated on the road on the shore of the St. Lawrence under Cape Diamond and inside the palisades erected for the defence of this passage.

^{*}Knowles. †Palace. 1Noble.

To late—Cap^t dearborns company on the Account of their being quarter'd on the other Side of Charles river and the tide being up They could not get across soon enough to Join us. we proceed'd without them Expecting him to drive up the rear— We quickly took possession of the First Barrier²⁴ (and) took the guard—they fir'd Upon us for full half a mile as we Marched within 80 yards of the wall— They kill'd and wound'd a great number Of our men; after we had all got into the Barrier we rallied our men and tried to Scale the second barrier and not Withstanding their utmost efforts we got Some of Ladders up and attemp'd to Scale the second barrier but we could Not—they fir'd upon us so warmly that It was almost scertain death for any man That attemp'd to amount the ladders— We then found it impossible to scale it— Then we retrated to the first Barrier— Our guns got so wet by this time that There was not one to ten that would go Off—we then concluded to retreat²⁵ but we

24. The first barrier was near the cliff known as Sault au Matelot and at the west end of the street of that name. The river came up to this barrier so that it completely commanded the approach to the lower town from the St. Roch side. Two field pieces were mounted here.

The second barrier was built across the east end of Sault au Matelot street, and blocked the only approach after the first barrier had been carried. Most of the fighting took place in the street between the two barriers.

25. A large British force had sallied from the Palace Gate in the rear of the Americans and after capturing Captain Dearborn's company which had just arrived on the scene, pushed on to the attack of the American main body, which had fallen back to the first barrier and was thus surrounded on three sides by the British and had the St. Charles river on the fourth. Captain Dearborn states that some of his men escaped by crossing the river on the ice.

Found that they had cut off our retreat
And all under the cover of the houses and
Every house a castle they being made of stone—
We could not retreat without loseing all
Our men and could do the enemy no injury—
We return'd to the barrier; when Gen!
Montgomerys party retreated we had
The whole force of the garison to
Encounter which was almost thrice our
Number and if not more; had not the
Other party retreated we should have
Inevitably taken the town.

21 At 10 O'Clock we surrendered ourselves Prisoners after they had promised us good Quarters and after an engagement of Five hours.

The names of the officers Kill'd wound'd or Taken: Kill'd

The brave Gen! Richard Montgomery

Cap^t Cheeseman

Cap! Hendricks

Aid de Camp — McPhurson (John Macpherson,—Ep.)

Lieu^t Humphrey^a Lieu^t Cooper^b

(To complete the list should be added the name of Lieut. Joseph Thomas.—Ed.)

Wound'd / Capt Hubbard who died

& Taken \ Cap! Lamb

Adjutant Steel

Lieut Tisdale^d

Prisoners Li

Lieu^t Col. Green

Major Megs

Major Bigelow

a A mistake, William Humphrey was not killed; it was John Humphries, of Morgan's.

b Samuel of Conn. c Archibald Steele, who died 1832. d Benjamin of Mass.

Cap! Morgan
Cap! Ward
Cap! Topham
Cap! Thayre
Cap! Hanchet
Cap! Goodrich
Cap! Dearborn^{26*}
Cap! Lockwood*

Lieut Hethe Volunteers
Lieut Brewen Capt Osweld
Lieut Moodief Mathew Duncan
Lieut Compston
Lieut Webbh Char Porterfield

Lieut Humphreys (Humphrey)

Lieu^t Brown^j
Lieu^t Shaw^k
Lieu^t Savage^l
Lieu^t Slocum†
Lieu^t Andrews^m

Lieu^t Clark Adjutant Phibiger

Lieut Thomas (Killed, see above—ED.)

Lieut Hutchins‡

Lieu^t Nichols^o

Quartermaster Chatlin

26. An asterisk is placed against the name of Captain Dearborn, but there is no explanation of its meaning.

*Captain Lockwood came from New York with General Montgomery, apparently a staff officer.

†Edward, of R. I. †Nathaniel, of N. H-

e William Heth of Virginia. f Andrew Moodie, of N. Y. g John of Mass. h James, of R. I. i William, of R. I. j Samuel, of Mass. k Sylvanus. l Abijah of Conn. m Ammi of N. H. (supposed to have died in prison). n Of Dearborn's Company. o Francis, of Penn. p Eleazer Oswald. q Of Penn,—volunteer. r Of Virginia,—a volunteer. s Charles, of Va.

We was first carried to the recollecs²⁷ then To the siminary where they provid'd For us straw bed Mattresses Blankets &c Which made our situation very comfor-

1776 table here I spent a sorrowful night—

- (Jan.)1 Here we spent a solentary new year as
 Every thinking man mus have done in
 Our situation as confinement must be
 Disagreeable to every true son of liberty—
 - 2 The third of my imprisonment—major megs Was allow'd by Gen. Carleton to go out And get in our Baggage and to return on Friday—here we was visited by some of The inhabitants and officers of the Garison.
 - 3 By the consent of the Gen. Doctor bullen Came and enoculated 16 of our officers—we Were visited by the officers as before—
 - 4 Major Megs return'd today with our baggage by which I received a billet from Lieu Church which inform'd us that our Long nosed cousin with his thick neck Black dog was a comeing to our Assistance which gave us some hopes Of being retaken.
 - This day we being separate we had liberty
 To visit those who was enoculated²³ which
 Made our situation more agreeable—
 We had our pens and ink taken from us
 It being done by the gen!! order from
 A suspicion of our giving intelligence
 - 27. Recollets-a church and convent on the site of the present English cathedral.
- 28. "We that have been innoculated are removed to-day into another room and have the liberty of walking into another room adjoining to that we lodge in."—Dearborn.

To our friends on the out side of the Garison and this means I am now Uncapable of keeping an exact Journal, we are at this time in two Different rooms which makes our Situation more agreeable but in the Midst of our joy we are inform'd that We must all go into one room again— We endeavour'd to keep apart which we Did for some time but one of our Gentlemen saving that there was a Great number of our men on the out Side in hearing of the century * we Was order'd into one room for at this Time we were order'd not to speak to The centrys, and this makes our Situation very disagreeable some of us Not entirely well of the small pox And in a room not to exceed 30 feet Square and we in number 32—thus We remain'd having every day -Less of the officers to visit us—we are -Debar'd from speaking with any of Our friends if any we have—a field Officer order'd to visit us every day to Know what we want,—Cap! Lamb came ·From the hospital and the others that Were there made our numbers 37— To day²⁹ the barrier was removed back & We were allow'd two small rooms for Twelve to sleep in—which was some help

*Sentry?

^{29.} April 1st.—Dearborn.

To us,—Cap. Thayre was found cutting A door by the officer of the guard and He abus'd Cap. Thayre very much as Also all that was in the room—he Saith he has been in the service 15 Years and if he has he's the most Unpolish'd officer I ever saw whom had Been in service for so long a time—Cap. Thayre was sent on board of an Arm'd schooner—

——Col Coldwell, Col M'Clain* Major McKindsy† Brigade major Lemenstre & Aid de camp Londier‡ came and took Cap¹ Lockwood and Hanchet who was Sent on board the s¹ schooner and Then put in irons,—thus continued untill Towards Night we heard different guns Fir'd down the river—

(May)6 We saw a frigate comeing up to point
Levy—she kept up a constant fire &
The garison fir'd shot into the river to
Let them know that they were still in
Possession of the garison—she then came
Up and saluted the Garison—about 10 O'Clock
There came up the Isis 50 gun ship Cap.
Douglas command'd and saluted; & with
Her came a sloops of 14 guns—in these there
Came some officers and soldiers: these
Men with what was in the garison
Sallied out and the provincials retreat'd
With so much precipitation that they

^{30.} April 25th.—Dearborn.

^{*}Allan MacLean. †MacKenzie. İLenaudiére. §The Martin.

Left their cannon, stores amminution
Yea even the gen^{lls} coat and diner with
A vast number of papers—a small sloop (went)
Down the river with pilots for the fleet—
A Frigate and a sloop of war was order'd
Up to take some vessels that the
Provincials had at carougsh³¹—Cap^t Thayre
Lockwood and Hanchet was brought &
Released from their irons—

7 Schooner being bound up the river—major Lamater* came from the Gen! with the News that our men had retreat'd and That Gen! Carlton intend'd hereafter to Use us with as much humanity as laid In his power and hop'd that we would Not make a bad use of any liberty that Might be granted us—we had again the Liberty of walking in the passage of Which we had been Debard from a While—we were this afternoon we were Visited by Lord Petersham and major Carlton—he is a genteel and polite & Truly humane—Col Coldwell was Expressing himself in his usual sneer That he had suffered much by our People and Major Carleton reprov'd him Thus you should not say any thing Disagreeable to them in their situation For we are all brethren,—he said that There was a great number of hessians And hanoverians we expected over to America

31. Cap Rouge.

^{*}Lemaitre?

- 8 With the remainder of the 29th regiment. And some of the Artillery officers visited Us and inquired after the officers that Was taken at Ticondiroga Crownpoint Shambelee* S^t Johns &c.
- We were visited by some officers of The 29th regiment very polite gentlemen Especially a Lieut of the granadiers— A small schooner came up the river—the Garison is daily searching for the sick Of the provincials,—they have take a Great number of papers and an orderly Book—this evening was taken Lieut Randolph Stephen McDougall on Board the schooner Mary—he brings Intelligence that there was 3000 (of) The continetials sevice before quebec That there was but 800 fit for duty, (his) Schooner was arm'd and had 13 Barals Of powder 3 C. † each and 24 men—they left The schooner at the appearance of the Frigates.—he did not get on shore and by That means was taken and never fir'd A gun when if he had only given Them one shot they'd kept their Distance, they only having Barges & Ship lay at least 3 miles Distance—
- 10 Two transports one frigate and a brig Came up with provisions from hallifax In whom came part of the 47th regiment—
- 11 We were visited by Col M'Clain and Some others and were allow'd two walk In the garden,—Major Carleton came &

^{*}Chambly. †Three cwt.

Enter'd into a discourse of the terrible
Sene that great briton and America had
Enter'd into, he says that there was
Fifty-five Thousand men destin'd for
America this summer and to be in
—to be in three divisions,—we desir'd
Him to obtain liberty from the Gen!
For our Boys to cook which he promis'd
To do.

- 12 The answer was brought by major Carlton
 That we might walk in the Garden—this
 Is the first time I have set my feet on the
 Ground for the space of four months and
 Twelve days—two transports arriv'd with
 Part of the 47th regiment—
- 13 We were visited by Major M'Kindsy Cap^t of The Lizard frigate and an old officer who Has been wounded different times—his Name is Lizet and by behaviour a Polite man—we have this day been Indulged more than common—we can Walk up and down stairs as often as we Please,—a brig hove in sight and came Too off beauport on account of the tides Being against her.
- 14 About 9 O'Clock the Isis 50 gun ship
 Hoisted on her main to gallant mast
 Head a broad pendent—she was saluted
 From every ship in the harbour—(each sent a)
 Boat on Board of her—the garison (fired 15)
 Guns,—A frigate went down the river (Major)
 Megs went out with Doc^t Mayben —
 About getting M^r Munro to supply (us)
 And return'd again—he has obtain'd the

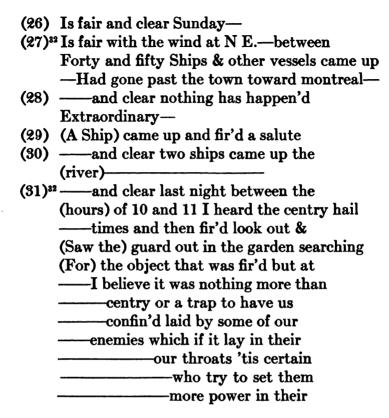
Gen¹⁵ Consent of going home upon his Parole,—The tide raises from 19 to 22 feet With an easterly wind and from 16 to 19 With a Westerly wind—it ebbs 7 hours and Flows 5—the wind in the spring blows Chiefly from North to East with (showers) Of Rain, the West and southerly (winds) Are in gen¹¹ fair and warm—it (is) Common for it to rain here one (hour) And clear the next—

- 15 We were once more allow'd to use (pen)
 And ink—Major Megs call'd upon (the)
 Gen. and was promis'd in a few days
 He should go home on his parole—2 or 3
 Vessels came up among them was a 50
 Gun Ship—
- (At) 10 O'Clock the hunter sloop of war (Set) sail for England with dispatches in (Wh) om went passengers Cap^t hamblington Col. Coldwell and family—we had Liberty to write letters home by major Megs provid'd that we wrote nothing Conserning the state of the garison—
- 17 Lieu^t Borne carried our letters to Col M'Clain—Major Megs had liberty to Walk the town untill 4 O'Clock— Mr. Levius came and inform'd Cap Dearborn that he had obtain'd Liberty for him to go home upon (His) parole and that he must get Ready to go on board immediately— (This) evening they took their leave (Of) us and went on board the schooner—
- 18 About 10 O'Clock Major Megs and

Cap^t Dearborn set sail for New England—

- 19 A sloop of war came Down under
 ——commodores stern—at 12 O'Clock the
 Supprise frigate came down and (fired a)
 Salute & came too under the com (modores)
 Stern,— the drummers of the 29^h regiment
 Are Negroes the band wears red (feathers)
 In their hats and look very neat—
- 20 Thick weather with rain a small bra———
 Wind N N E—we are allow'd 2 more
 Rooms to lodge in—
- 21 Cloudy and windy blowing N ----
- 22 There went for montreal 3 frigates (&)
 Soldiers; Gen! Carlton went on (board)—
 Fir'd a Salute from the ships & (the)
 Garison—we hear that the 8th regiment
 That lay at Detroit fort Stannics* (and)
 Swagocha with 500 Indians (came to)
 Lawsheen† where they engaged (some)
 Of the provincials and kill'd (& wounded)
 One hundred and fifty—
- We hear that the news (of yesterday)
 Is uncartain—we like (wise hear the)
 Inhabitants of Carolina (laid down)
 Their arms and that (they are in)
 Behalf of govern (ment)——
 —orna
- (24) Fair and clear with little or no wind we Hear that montreal is not taken as yet—
- (25) Cloudy with some rain with the wind at N. E.—

^{*}Fort Stanwix, N. Y. †Lachine.



The journal ends here abruptly at the foot of the page. There are no indications that leaves have been torn out, and it seems probable that it was continued in another book.

During the summer of 1776 the prisoners in Quebec were paroled by Gen. Carleton and found their way home in different vessels. By September most of the officers seem to have reached their homes, and being exchanged within the next few months, many re-entered the army.

32. These dates are filled in from the journal of Captain Thayer.