

A JOURNAL
OF THE
EXPEDITION TO QUEBEC,

IN THE YEAR 1775.

UNDER THE COMMAND OF COLONEL BENEDICT ARNOLD.

By

JAMES MELVIN,

A PRIVATE IN CAPTAIN DEARBORN'S COMPANY.



^c
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INTRODUCTION.

IN the month of September, 1775, about the same time that Canada was invaded by the usual route from New York, under General Montgomery, a body of troops, amounting to about 1,100 men, was detached from the American army before Boston, and designed to invade the province of Canada by a new and unexpected route.

The command was given to Colonel Benedict Arnold, an officer already well known, and remarkable for his bold enterprise, daring courage, and impetuous and determined character. The officers accompanying the expedition were also well known for their soldierlike qualities. Many of them had seen service, and were selected for these reasons, and the subsequent distinction to which many of them rose, proves the wisdom and sagacity of the choice.

After some delay, the troops embarked in boats at

Gardiner, in Maine, and proceeded to ascend the Kennebec River. Their route lay across the coast to the mouth of the Kennebec, thence up that river to its source, and thence to the River St. Lawrence. In this enterprise the troops encountered great difficulties, being obliged to contend against impetuous currents and deep swamps, and were frequently compelled to haul their canoes up rapid streams and over falls of water. They had, moreover, craggy precipices and difficult mountains to ascend; and, in some places, were compelled to cut their way, for miles, through woods so dense that their progress was sometimes only four or five miles a day. In addition to this, their provisions at length became so scarce that some of the men were obliged to eat not only their dogs, but even their cartridge boxes, breeches, and shoes. The constant exposure and fatigue, as well as the want of food, caused many to fall sick, or drop from exhaustion, and one-third of the original number were eventually forced to return to their homes.

Notwithstanding all this, the remainder bore all their distresses with the greatest fortitude and constancy. They were encouraged by their brave commander, and cheered with the hope of ultimate success and the honor that would forever attach to them as participators in an

enterprise that would rival the exploit of Xenophon, or any of the other famous expeditions of antiquity.

After a long and toilsome journey, encountering difficulties and hardships almost impossible to conceive, in a dense wilderness, wild and uninhabited, at a season of continued cold and rain, the troops finally arrived in the inhabited parts of Canada, to the no small surprise, awe and admiration of the people of that province.

This expedition has taken a conspicuous place in the records of the past. The historian has dilated at length upon it, and the enterprise has been considered one of the grandest in conception, and one of the most brilliant in execution, of any that has ever been attempted in the world.

The participators have been lauded and admired, and the commander has been frequently spoken of as the American Hannibal.

The following Journal, which was kept by one of the actors of that famous expedition, cannot, therefore, fail to be of interest. In it will be found the results of the enterprise, the daring and gallantry evinced in the assault of Quebec, and the final repulse of the brave assailants, together with the subsequent capture and incarceration of a portion of them as prisoners of war.

Of James Melvin, the author of the Journal, we have,

unfortunately, no knowledge, further than that he was attached to the company commanded by Captain Dearborn. An effort has been made to ascertain some facts in regard to his history, but without success. From the character of the Journal, the style in which it is written, and the beauty and distinctness, we can form no other conclusion than that he was a man of education, and that he belonged to a family of position and respectability.

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CAMBRIDGE, September 13, 1775.

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- Sept. 13. This day being Wednesday, marched from Cambridge, in Captain DEARBORN'S⁽¹⁾ company, destined for Quebec, and were to embark at Newburyport for Kennebec river. We lodged in Medford.
- “ 14. Received one month's pay, and marched to Lynn ; lodged at Porter's tavern.
- “ 15. Marched to Ipswich.
- “ 16. Marched to Newburyport ; the company were quartered in a rope-walk.
- “ 17. *Sunday*—the detachments went to meeting.
- “ 18. P. M.—Embarked on board a schooner of seventy-five tons ; the whole were embarked in eleven vessels.
- “ 19. About 10 o'clock sailed out of the harbor, and stood on and off, waiting for one of the vessels which got aground, and not getting off the men were put on board the other vessels, and we sailed in the afternoon with a fair wind and pleasant weather ; at night it grew thick and foggy, with rain, thunder, and lightning, and blowed fresh.
- “ 20. In the morning, foggy and wet ; lay too part of the night, at daybreak two of our fleet

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were in sight, and we made sail and stood in for the shore. Blowed fresh—we made Seguin.

Sept. 21. Saw two of our vessels coming out of Sheeps-gut river into Kennebec. We proceeded up the river as far as the tide would permit, and came to anchor within six miles of Fort Western.

“ 23. Arrived at Fort Western.⁽²⁾ One JAMES McCORMICK⁽³⁾ shot Sergeant BISHOP.

“ 25. McCORMICK was found guilty.

“ 26. He was brought to the gallows, and reprieved.

“ 27. Got our provisions into batteaux, and went about four miles.

“ 28. Proceeded up the river and found the water shoal, which caused a rapid current, and we were obliged often to get out and wade, pulling the boat after us.

“ 30. Arrived at Fort Halifax, where was the first carrying-place; the land here is better than that near the sea. We carried over our batteau and provisions; the carrying-place is opposite the fort.

Oct. 1. Proceeded up the river; encamped in the

“ 2. woods; went about ten miles. Cold and rainy.

“ 3. Came to Scowhegan Falls;⁽⁴⁾ the carrying-place is about forty rods over a little island

“ 4. Went up to Bumazees Ripples, and came to Norridgewalk. The carriage-place is about a mile in length. We had oxen to haul over our provisions. Our batteaux were

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caulked. We were now to take our leave of houses and settlements, of which we saw no more, except one Indian wigwam, until we came among the French, in Canada.

- Oct. 6. Left Norridgewalk ; went about five miles.
- “ 7. Went about twelvemiles, and encamped. The land here is level and good ; the river rapid.
- “ 8. Proceeded up the river, and encamped about five miles below the falls.
- “ 9. Arrived at the great carrying-place, where was a log house built for the sick.
- “ 10. MR. SPRING,^(s) our chaplain, went to prayers ; we went to the first pond, four miles from the river ; it blowed hard, and one of the men was killed by the falling of a tree.
- “ 11. Crossed the first pond about three-quarters of a mile over ; here is plenty of fine trout.
- “ 12. There was a log house built on the first carrying-place, between the first and second ponds.
- “ 13. Crossed the carrying-place from this pond to another ; the carrying-place is about one mile over.
- “ 14. Crossed the pond about half a mile over, and got over the carrying-place about one and a half miles in length ; the woods are cedar and hemlock.
- “ 16. Crossed the third pond about one and a half miles over. We got over the fourth carrying-place, four and a half miles in length ; part of the way over a boggy swamp, overgrown with white moss and bushes, which

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seemed half-withered ; found it difficult getting over our batteaux and barrels, sinking knee deep in moss and mud. We launched our batteaux into a small creek which enters the Dead river.

- Oct. 17. Went eighteen miles up the Dead river.
- “ 18. Overtook Colonel GREEN^(*) and his party about twenty-five miles up the Dead river ; had orders to put ourselves in a defensive condition.
- “ 19. Had orders to march, and went about five miles.
- “ 20. Rained all last night, and this day.
- “ 21. Marched through hideous woods and mountains for the most part, but sometimes on the banks of the river, which is very rapid.
- “ 23. Captain HANDSHILL,^{*(7)} and sixty men, went forward, with ten days' provisions ; about forty sick and weak men went back with only two or three days' provision. The river here is narrow and excessive rapid.
- “ 24. Continued our march, though slowly.
- “ 25. Hear that Colonel INNIS'† division are gone back.
- “ 26. Crossed the fifth carrying-place, which brought us to the first pond, leading to Chadeur‡ river.
- “ 27. Crossed the second carrying-place, three-quarters of a mile ; then crossed second pond, then third carrying-place and third pond,

* Hanchel.

† Enos.

‡ Chaudiere.

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then fourth carrying-place and fourth pond, and encamped.

Oct. 28. Came down Chadeur river in a birch canoe, and went to fetch back a batteau to carry the men across a river, but could not overtake them. The company were ten miles ; waded knee-deep among alders, &c., the greatest part of the way, and came to a river which had overflown the land. We stopped some time, not knowing what to do, and at last were obliged to wade through it, the ground giving way under us at every step. We got on a little knoll of land, and went ten miles, where we were obliged to stay, night coming on, and we were all cold and wet ; one man fainted in the water with fatigue and cold, but was helped along. We had to wade into the water, and chop down trees, fetch the wood out of the water after dark to make a fire to dry ourselves ; however, at last we got a fire, and, after eating a mouthful of pork, laid ourselves down to sleep round the fire, the water surrounding us close to our heads ; if it had rained hard it would have overflown the place we were in. Captain GOODRICH's company had only three-quarters of a pound of pork, each man, and a barrel of flour among the whole. They ordered the batteau to proceed down the river with the flour, and when they came to the place above mentioned, waded through.

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They came to the knoll of land before mentioned, and made a fire to dry themselves, being almost perished. After some time they marched, and found the difficulty increasing, being informed they must return the way they came; being night, they camped on the dryest spot they could find.

Oct. 29. Being Sunday; crossed a river after much fatigue and loss of time, in a birch canoe, and then waded to another river, about forty rods from the first, which we crossed last night. I lay at a bark house, and this morning went in the canoe to ferry the people over the two rivers above mentioned, leaving my provisions behind, as did Captain DEARBORN and the three other officers. After we got over these rivers, Captain DEARBORN, steering by a bad compass, went wrong about two miles, the company following, and we went back again, then went two or three miles to a little bark house, where I left my provision, and on coming there found that our provision was stolen by Captain MORGAN'S (*) company. GOODRICH'S company came to the lower end of Chadeur pond, expecting to find their batteau with the flour, but were disappointed.

“ 30. I set out in a birch-bark canoe with Captain DEARBORN and Captain AYRES. We proceeded to the lower end of the pond, where Captain DEARBORN left the canoe, and Captain AYRES and I proceeded down Chadeur

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river, about three miles, and came to a ripply place, which was very dangerous, the rocks standing up all over the river. Here a batteau was stove, with four men, and one man drowned, named GEORGE INNIS. I got safe down this place, and from bad or worse, proceeded till night, and encamped with the company. GOODRICH'S company set out early, though on empty stomachs, and marched about ten miles, in hopes to overtake their batteau with the flour, but, coming to a small creek, they found an advertisement set up, informing them that their batteau was stove, and the flour lost, and the men with difficulty having saved their lives. This was melancholy news to them, having eaten scarcely anything for several days, and having waded through ice and water, and were a great way from any inhabitants, and knew not how far it was. They agreed to part, and the heartiest to push forward as fast as they could.

Oct. 31. This day I took my pack, and went by land, all the way, to inhabitants. I was not well, having the flux. We went twenty-one miles. GOODRICH'S company marched three miles, and were overtaken by Captain SMITH,⁽⁹⁾ who informed them that Captain GOODRICH had left two quarters of a dog for them. They stopped and sent for the meat, but the men returned without finding it; however, some of them killed another dog

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which belonged to us, which probably saved some of their lives. ⁽¹⁰⁾ Captain WARD's company killed another dog.

- Nov. 1. Continued unwell ; this day I eat the last of my provision ; I kept with the company, and we went twenty miles.
- “ 2. Traveled four miles ; I shot a small bird called a Sedee, and a squirrel, which I lived upon this day. About noon we met some Frenchmen, with cattle for our army, and some meal in a canoe. I had a small piece of meat and bread given me ; yesterday my messmates gave away victuals to strangers, but refused me, though they knew I had mine stolen from me. This evening, to our great joy, we arrived at the first French house where was provision ready for us. The first victuals I got was some boiled rice, which I bought of the Indians, giving one shilling and four pence for about a pint and a half. Here we were joined by about seventy or eighty Indians, all finely orna-
mented in their way with brooches, bracelets, and other trinkets, and their faces painted. I had gone barefoot these two or three days, and wore my feet sore.
- “ 3. Snowed all day ; marched about nine miles, when we drewed provisions.
- “ 4. Marched about thirteen miles.
- “ 5. *Sunday*—Marched about twelve miles. Our Colonel went forward and got beef killed for us every ten or twelve miles, and served us

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potatoes instead of bread. I stood sentry over one FLOOD, who was whipped for stealing Captain DEARBORN's pocket-book. This was at St. Mary's.

- Nov. 6. Marched twenty miles ; very bad traveling, as it was all the way to Quebec. Twelve miles was through woods, in the night, mid-leg in mud and snow. I traveled the whole day without eating, and could not get any house to lay in, but lodged in a barn all night.
- “ 7. Marched fifteen miles ; snowed all day. My money being gone I could get nothing to eat until night, when there was an ox killed.
- “ 8. Marched six miles and came to point Levi, on the River St. Lawrence, opposite Quebec.
- “ 9. Our people took a prisoner, who was a mid shipman.⁽¹⁹⁾ Continued at Point Levi ; kept guard along the river-side, making scaling-ladders, and collecting canoes to cross the river ; the enemy having broken all the boats they could find.
- “ 13. In the evening crossed St. Lawrence at the mill above Point Levi, and landed at Wolfe's cove. I went back twice, to fetch over the people, and stayed till day. The town was alarmed by our Colonel firing at a boat on the river. We went to Major CALDWELL's house,⁽¹⁹⁾ about two miles from the city, where we were quartered ; a whole company having only one small room.

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- Nov. 14. One of our sentries⁽¹⁴⁾ was taken by the enemy, which alarmed us ; we expected they were come to give us battle, and the whole detachment marched within musket-shot of the wall, but saw none to oppose us, but when we were turned to go back they fired several cannon shots at us, without doing any damage.
- “ 15. The detachment went out on a scout ; I went on guard at Wolfe’s cove.
- “ 17. Went on guard at Wolfe’s cove.
- “ 19. I was employed all the fore-part of last night in butchering for the army, and about four in the morning got on our march, and went to Point aux Trembles, about twenty-six miles above Quebec. We kept guard at the River Caroché.
- “ 27. *Monday*—Lieutenant HUTCHINS and sixty men, went up to meet and convoy a quantity of gunpowder, clothes, &c.
- “ 28. I went on guard at a bridge, six miles from Quebec ; stood sentry two hours, and off one, every night where I continued, until the army came down to Quebec.
- Dec. 3. The cannon were sent down the river in batteaux, and landed in the night.
- “ 5. The detachment marched on their way to Quebec. We were quartered in a nunnery, near the town, but it was wanted for a hospital, and we went over the River St. Charles, where we continued.
- “ 10. *Sunday*—Busy making scaling-ladders, &c.

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Nov. 25. Had orders to give our opinion whether to scale or not.

“ 26. Turned out to storm the town, but it was too light.

“ 31. *Sunday*—About four in the morning, were mustered, in order to storm the town ; it snowed and stormed, and was very dark. Our company had not timely notice of the attack, which occasioned us to be too late, for when the firing began we had a mile and a half to march. We made all possible haste and met Colonel ARNOLD⁽¹⁶⁾ going back wounded. I was on guard in St. Roque that night, and went forward with the main body, and was not with the company. The company went beyond Palace Gate, the enemy firing briskly at them from the walls, and killed two or three. The enemy sallied out, and they surrendered, as did all the detachment, except some few who made their escape.⁽¹⁶⁾ We were put into a monastery, among the friars ; at night we had some biscuit distributed among us.⁽¹⁷⁾

January, 1776—Prisoner in Quebec.

Jan. 1. We had a straw bed between two, and a blanket, each man, served to us. We had some porter given us. Snowed in the morning.

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- Jan. 3. We were ordered to give a list of our names age, where born, and what regiment we belonged to. Snowed in the morning.
- “ 4. All the old countrymen were called into another room and examined. Snowed in the morning.
- “ 5. They were called for again, and made to take arms for the King until the 31st May.
- “ 6. Fair weather ; they were taken out.
- “ 7. Some of our people taken with the small-pox. Fair weather.
- “ 8. Snowed in the morning.
- “ 9. Very dark weather, and snowed. Some more taken with the small-pox, and we expect it will be a general disorder, for we are very thick, nasty, and lousy. Our living is salt pork, biscuit, rice, and butter, and a sufficiency allowed, if we were not checked in our weight by one DEWEY, who is appointed our quartermaster sergeant, to deal out our provisions ; and instead of being our friend, proves our greatest enemy, defrauding us of great part of our provision. We have not above three ounces of pork a day, and not a half-pint of rice and two biscuits a day.
- “ 10. Fair, but excessive cold. I went to the hospital, having the small-pox.
- “ 11. A snow storm ; lasted two days and nights.
- “ 12. Snowed all day ; cleared at night.
- “ 13. Snowed all day.
- “ 14. *Sunday*—Fair, but very cold.
- “ 15. An excessive cold snow storm.

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- Jan. 16. Fair weather ; snowed all next night.
- “ 17. Snowed all day.
- “ 18. Cloudy and cold. Several taken with the small-pox; went to the hospital; some of our men's clothes brought into town from our army, but none for our company. I am now got almost well, having had the small-pox lightly. A Frenchman being at the point of death the nuns came and read over him, afterwards the priest came in ; then they fetched in a table covered with a white cloth, and lighted two wax candles, about three feet long, and set them on the table. The priest put on a white robe over his other garments, and the nuns kneeled down, and the priest stood and read a sentence, and then the nuns a sentence, and so they went on some time ; then the priest prayed by himself ; then the nuns, and then the priest again ; then they read all together a spell, and finally the priest alone ; then the priest stroked the man's face, and then they took away their candles, and tables, &c., and the man died.
- “ 19. Cloudy and cold.
- “ 20. Dewey complained of fifteen of our men who had agreed to fight their way out ; two of them were put in irons.
- “ 21. Cloudy and cold ; cleared in the afternoon. We were ordered to make a return of all the tradesmen among us. About this time two of our company, who were 'listed into

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the King's service, made their escape out of town. This day I came out of the hospital.

- Jan. 22. Last night our army burnt four of the enemy's vessels. Cloudy and cold; cleared in the afternoon.
- " 23. Cloudy.
- " 24. Cloudy; snowed in the morning.
- " 25. Fair weather.
- " 26. Cloudy and cold.
- " 27. Fair weather.
- " 28. *Sunday*—Clear and excessive cold.
- " 29. Clear and excessive cold.
- " 31. The time seems very long; no employment. Nothing heard or seen but playing at cards, swearing, and some playing away all their allowance of victuals: some employ themselves in making wooden spoons, little boxes, &c.; cloudy.

February, 1776.

- Feb'y 1. Clear weather.
- " 2. A pleasant day.
- " 3. Clear weather.
- " 4. *Sunday*—Clear and cold.
- " 5. Cold and windy; snowed at night.
- " 6. Clear weather.
- " 7. Thick weather.
- " 8. Clear and cold.

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Feb'y 9. Cold and snowed.

" 10. An excessive bad snow storm ; some sentries
froze dead.

" 11. *Sunday*—Cleared up in the night, and was a
fair day.

" 12. Pleasant weather. Our men take the small-
pox fast.

" 13. Fair and cold.

" 14. Fair weather.

" 15. Clear weather. One of our men named PARROT,
put in irons for calling one of the emigrants
a tory. Our army opened a battery.

" 16. All the old countrymen brought into prison
again, because six of them deserted last
night.

" 18. *Sunday*—Clear weather.

" 19. do do

" 20. do do

" 21. Thick weather.

" 22. Clear weather.

" 23. Cloudy and windy.

" 24. Various reports concerning us ; some say we
shall be sent to England and sold as slaves
to some island ; others say that we shall be
sent to Boston and exchanged ; others say
that we shall certainly be hanged ; but we
are in hopes that our people will release us
by taking the town.

" 25. *Sunday*—Fair weather.

" 26. Thick weather.

" 27. Snowed in the morning and thawed at night.

" 28. Snowed in the morning and thawed all day.

" 29. Fair and cold.

March, 1776.

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- March 1. Clear and cold ; one BROWN put in irons for answering one of the sentries who abused him.
- “ 2. Snowed in the morning ; clear and cold all day.
- “ 3. *Sunday*—Clear and cold.
- “ 4. Clear.
- “ 5. Cloudy, windy, and cold ; snowed at night.
- “ 6. Cold weather ; hail and rain.
- “ 7. Clear weather.
- “ 8. Clear and cold.
- “ 9. The town was alarmed.
- “ 10. *Sunday*.
- “ 13. We were removed to the gaol, near St. John's gate, which is bomb-proof. Here we have the liberty of a yard of about a quarter of an acre.
- “ 16. Rained all day.
- “ 17. *Sunday*.—Pleasant weather. The guard set over us are old Frenchmen and boys, who are very saucy, telling us we shall be hanged ; pointing their bayonets at us ; threatening to shoot us for opening a window, or any such trifle.
- “ 18. Pleasant weather.
- “ 19. Snowed.
- “ 20. Snowed in the morning ; clear at night
- “ 21. Clear and cold. The French guard of boys and old men are very saucy—threatening us daily.

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- March 22. Cloudy and cold.
- “ 24. *Sunday*—Cold and squally.
- “ 25. Clear and cold.
- “ 26. Last night one of our men escaped out of gaol, and got clear. About this time a plan was laid for our enlargement, and we prepared to break out, and make our escape by seizing the guard. Clear and cold.
- “ 27. Clear and cold.
- “ 28. Clear and cold.
- “ 29. Clear ; a warm sun.
- “ 30. Clear ; a warm sun.
- “ 31. *Sunday*—Snowed ; our scheme found out ; the sentry hearing some noise in the cellar, search was made, and some suspicion raised which might have passed off, had not one of our own men, JOHN HALL, discovered the whole affair, and all the sergeants and corporals were put in irons.⁽¹⁸⁾

April, 1776.

- April 1. Fair weather. This morning the guard turned out and fired some time before the gaol ; then the alarm-bell rang ; and the cannon on the walls were fired in order to draw our army near the walls that they might cut them off with grape-shot. This day we were almost all in irons.
- “ 2. Pleasant weather.

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- April 3. Cannonading on both sides. Our army are erecting a battery at Point Levi. Cloudy, and rained in the afternoon.
- “ 4. Squally.
- “ 5. Fair weather.
- “ 6. Cloudy and cold.
- “ 7. *Sunday*.
- “ 8. Cloudy.
- “ 9. Warm weather.
- “ 10. Fair weather.
- “ 11. Very windy last night ; rained in the afternoon.
- “ 12. Cloudy and snowed.
- “ 13. A raw air.
- “ 14. *Sunday*—Major MCKENZIE came in and took Captain MORGAN'S company out of irons. Clear in the morning ; cloudy almost all day.
- “ 15. This day the Yorkers' time was out, and they wanted to go home, but were compelled to stay.
- “ 16. Clear morning ; clouded up soon.
- “ 17. Had a week's allowance of fresh beef, which had been killed three or four months, of which they boasted much, telling us it was more than our army could get. Windy and cold.
- “ 18. Cloudy morning ; clear afternoon ; cannonading on both sides.
- “ 19. Cloudy and cold.
- “ 20. Cloudy.
- “ 21. *Sunday*—Pleasant. They fired heavy cannon in the city.

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- April 22. The time seems long ; all in irons, though most of us pull them off at night. I never lay but two nights with them on.
- “ 23. Cold and squally.
- “ 24. Fair and windy.
- “ 25. Our army began to cross the river to and from Point Levi. Fair weather.
- “ 26. Cloudy and some rain ; the ground one-half bare of snow.
- “ 27. Cloudy.
- “ 28. Some of our officers tried to make their escape, but were discovered, and put in irons. Fair weather.
- “ 29. Pleasant weather.
- “ 30. Foggy and rainy.

May, 1776.

- May 1. Cloudy ; snowed in the morning.
- “ 2. Fair and cold. Fired brisk on both sides.
- “ 3. Heard cannon fired at some distance.
- “ 4. At nine or ten o'clock at night, the town was alarmed by a fire-ship from our people, which did no damage.
- “ 5. *Sunday*—Rained in the morning ; cleared towards night.
- “ 6. Pleasant. About sunrise the town was alarmed, and three ships came up, landed some troops, and sailed up the river. The troops marched out at noon, and our army retreated, leaving a few sick men behind them, who were brought into the town.⁽¹⁹⁾

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- May 7 GENERAL CARLETON (**) came in and ordered our irons to be taken off. Pleasant day.
- " 8. Cloudy. Hear many improbable stories about Boston, New York, &c.
- " 9. Rainy day. Six prisoners were brought into gaol.
- " 10. Two riflemen were taken out of gaol ; we don't know on what terms—same day, two Jersey dumpling-eaters were brought in ; they were found among the bushes, not having tried to make their escape, being too heavy laden with dumplings and pork, having forty pounds of pork, a knapsack full of dumplings, and a quantity of flour. Fair in the morning ; rained at night.
- " 11. Fair weather. A party of King's troops marched.
- " 12. *Sunday*—Clear weather.
- " 13. Fair ; a raw wind.
- " 14. Fair ; a ship sailed for England.
- " 15. Fair ; a raw wind.
- " 16. Fair and clear.
- " 17. Fair.
- " 18. Pleasant weather ; hear that Major MEIGS⁽²¹⁾ and Captain DEARBORN are gone home.
- " 19. *Sunday*—Fair weather.
- " 20. Cloudy and showery. Light infantry and grenadiers marched.
- " 21. Cloudy, and a raw wind.
- " 22. Pleasant weather.
- " 23. Pleasant weather.

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- May 24. Pleasant weather.
- “ 25. Rained in the afternoon. Sergeant Boyd ⁽²²⁾ brought back to prison.
- “ 26. *Sunday*.
- “ 27. Pleasant. Ten ships arrived with troops.
- “ 28. Clear and windy.
- “ 29. Fair.
- “ 30. Fair ; cloudy at night.
- “ 31. Fair ; some troops marched.

June, 1776.

- June 1. The Brunswickers arrived ; said to be six thousand. ⁽²³⁾
- “ 2. *Sunday*—Fair weather.
- “ 3. Warm ; cloudy at night.
- “ 4. A royal salute fired, being the King's birthday. Cloudy.
- “ 5. Pleasant weather. Gov. CARLETON came in to us, and offered to send us home on condition not to bear arms again.
- “ 6. Cloudy ; rained at night. Sent the Governor an answer to his proposal.
- “ 7. Cloudy and windy.
- “ 8. Fair weather. Hear that there are three thousand of our men at Sartigan.
- “ 9. *Sunday*—Fair weather. Hear that they landed three thousand men, and our army defeated them.
- “ 10. Fair weather. Hear that two thousand of our men were surrounded and taken.

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June 11. Very pleasant.

“ 12. Fair weather.

“ 13. Fair weather. Hear they have taken two hundred of our men, who are to be sent to Halifax. Heard that our men had sunk the Commodore.

“ 14. Raw, cold wind.

“ 15. Rained at night.

“ 16. Fair weather.

“ 17. Fair weather. Hear that our army have killed and taken four thousand Dutchmen.

“ 18. Clear morning ; cloudy afternoon.

“ 19. A thunder-storm, with hail-stones as big as 2-oz. balls ; a young woman was killed by lightning.

“ 20. A fair morn ; a shower in the afternoon.

“ 21. Fair weather.

“ 22. A fair morn ; rained in the evening.

“ 23. *Sunday*—Fair weather. Hear that our men drove the King's troops.

“ 24. Fair. Hear that our army have retreated out of Canada.

“ 25. Fair weather. Hear that they have brought three hundred Jersey blues, prisoners, to town.

“ 26. Fair weather.

“ 27. Fair. Two ships came up in the morning.

“ 28. Fair and warm.

“ 29. Fair weather. Hear that peace is proclaimed ; also, that they have killed four thousand of our men and taken ten thousand, and that General WASHINGTON is killed.

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June 30. *Sunday*—We hear there is a French fleet come in at Philadelphia, of seventy sail. Two ships came up to Quebec.

July, 1776.

- July 1. Fair weather ; a thunder-shower at night. Hear of the Indians scalping our people at Three Rivers.
- “ 2. Lowery weather.
- “ 3. Showery weather ; cleared in the afternoon.
- “ 4. Fair weather. We hear that they are waiting for some officers, that they have taken, to come here, and then we shall be exchanged. Two prisoners brought in. Thunder at night.
- “ 5. Rainy morn ; clear afternoon. One of our men was so indiscreet as to pull out one of the iron bars, in sight of the sentry. When he was relieved he fetched the officer of the guard, and showed him what had been done, and search being made, some more were found out, which caused much suspicion of us all. The prisoners brought in last night, inform us that the Indians scalped many of our soldiers, some of them alive ; but General CARLETON, to his great honor, has refused to pay those murdering fiends for any more scalps, but will pay them the same reward for every prisoner.
- “ 6. Fair weather. Saw three ships working in. The man who pulled out the grate was

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informed of, so that we hope it will have no ill-effect.

- July 7. *Sunday*—Some showers in the morning. The man who pulled out the grate beat the man who informed of him, and he complained to the Provost. We hear that they have sent an express to the Governor, informing him we have made another attempt to break out; we have also, a report that our officers had attempted to set the place they were confined in, on fire. This, as well as many more reports, are not worth belief.
- “ 8. Pleasant weather. Hear that Colonel McLANE is taken.
- “ 9. Hear that we are to go home soon. Pleasant weather.
- “ 10. Very fine weather.
- “ 11. Fine morning; rained in the afternoon and night. Hear that Colonel McLANE is taken, and two thousand of their men, crossing the lake, and that there is a French fleet coming here. We also hear that the German troops are to return home.
- “ 12. Rained almost all day. Hear that we are to sail for New York in less than ten days.
- “ 13. Fair and warm.
- “ 14. *Sunday*—Fair weather. We hear we are to embark to-morrow.
- “ 15. Fair and moderate. Hear the Governor is expected in town soon, and then it will be known what will be done with us.
- “ 16. Showery.

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- July 17. Showery ; cold. We have bread served to us instead of our allowance of butter.
- “ 18. Fair and temperate. Hear that Colonel McLANE is come to town, and that the Governor is expected every minute.
- “ 19. Cloudy and cold ; the weather is so cold that the Canadians do not expect a good crop of corn. It is so cold as to wear a great coat. We hear that Colonel McLANE says we shall not be sent home.
- “ 20. Fair weather. CONNOR, one of the prisoners who came into gaol last, was taken and put into some other place of confinement, and, as we suppose, put in irons for talking impertinently to the Captain of the Provost Guard.
- “ 21. Rainy weather, with thunder. Hear that we are to go home very soon ; heard from our officers, who gave us encouragement. We have also a report that the French, Spaniards, and Prussians, are at war with Great Britain, and that there is a large fleet in the Bay of St. Lawrence.
- “ 22. Fair weather. Saw a ship sail out. This afternoon the Governor arrived from the army, and was saluted with fifteen guns. This gives us hopes that we shall be sent home.
- “ 23. Cloudy morning ; fair all day. One of our company is out of his right mind.
- “ 24. Rainy weather fore part of the day. We hear we are to be sent to Montreal and exchanged.

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July 25. Fair. Hear we are not to go home.

“ 26. Some rain. We hear that the Governor has sent to let our officers know that within three days he will appoint a day when to send us home. Saw a brig and a ship come in.

“ 27. Fair weather. We hear that the Governor has let our officers know that he will send us home on the 4th or 5th of August. This day we saw the French priest going to visit a sick person. He was attended by about twenty people, as follows : First, a man goes ringing a little hand-bell ; then two men, or boys, carrying two lanthorns, with lighted candles, on poles about ten feet long ; then comes the priest, under a canopy, supported by two men ; it is like the teaster of a bed. The priest is dressed in white linen robes over his black clothes, and things as heavy as boards are tied to his knees, and hang dangling and knocking against his shins. They have crosses on these two things. After the priest, follow the friends and children of the sick person, and any others that happen to be going that way, who think they are doing good to join in with the rest. Every one that hears the bell is obliged to kneel down while they pass by. The priest has a great cross upon his breast, and a thing of wooden beads hanging by his side. The people all have these beads when they go to church, to help them remember their prayers. They also

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use the same ceremony when they go to a burying, and have choristers singing before the corpse.

- July 28. Fair weather. This day, Mr. MURRAY, barrack-master, came in and told us we were to sail in a week. We now begin to believe there is something in it, though we have had so many different reports that we can scarce believe anything we hear. We are all to have a shirt apiece given us.
- “ 29. Rainy weather. SIAS, the man who is out of his senses, grows worse, talking of killing some of the people, &c.
- “ 30. Fair weather, except a shower or two.
- “ 31. Fair weather. We hear a report that our army have re-entered Canada, and retaken Fort St. John's. We have been seven months in prison to-day.

August, 1776.

- Aug. 1. Rainy weather.
- “ 2. Fair weather. The news to-day is, that our people have wounded the German General, mortally, and taken five hundred prisoners at Lake Champlain. We have it confirmed that we are to go on board the vessel on Sunday next.
3. Fair weather. Hear that our sick men, at the hospital, are to go on board this evening. We expect to go to-morrow morning.

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Aug. 4. *Sunday*—Fair weather.

“ 5. Fair weather. This afternoon we have each of us a shirt given to us, and thirty-five of our men were sent on board, after signing the paper.

END OF JOURNAL.

NOTES.

- (1.) **HENRY DEARBORN** was born in Hampton, N. H., in the month of March, 1751.

He was engaged in the battle of Breed's Hill, and held, at that time, a captain's commission. In September following, he accompanied Arnold in the expedition to Quebec. In the assault on the city, he was taken prisoner and kept in close confinement until May, 1776, when he was released on parole. He was afterwards promoted to Major, and subsequently Lieut.-Colonel, and on the death of Colonel Scammel, he succeeded to the command of the regiment. He was engaged in the battles of Saratoga and Monmouth, and was at Yorktown at the surrender of Cornwallis. At the peace, having emigrated to Maine, he was appointed by Washington, in 1789, Marshal of that district. He was twice member of Congress. On the accession of Jefferson to the Presidency, in 1801, he was appointed Secretary of War, which office he held for eight years, discharging its duties faithfully. In 1809, he was made Collector of Boston, and on January 27, 1812, became Senior Major-General in the United States Army. In the spring of 1813, he captured York, in Upper Canada, and Fort George, at the mouth of the Niagara River; but was recalled, and soon afterwards placed in command of the military district of New York. He resigned his commission in the army in 1815, and on May 7, 1822, was appointed Minister to Portugal, where he remained two years, and was recalled at his own request. He died in Roxbury, Mass., on the 6th day of June, 1829, aged 78.

- (2.) **FORT WESTERN** is opposite the present town of Augusta, Maine. The fort was formed by two block-houses and a large house 100 feet long, and the whole inclosed with pickets. The fort was erected in the year 1754.

- (3.) **JAMES McCORMICK** was a resident of North Yarmouth, and belonged to Colonel Scammel's regiment. He was an ignorant man, but had previously borne a good character.

- (4.) **SCOWHEGAN FALLS** is about five miles east of the village of Norridgewock, at a point where the river separates the present town of Bloomfield on the south from Milburne on the north. These falls are about seventeen miles from Fort Halifax.

- (5.) **REV. SAMUEL SPRING**, was a native of Northbridge, Mass., and was born on the 27th day of February, 1746. He accompanied Arnold in the expedition to Quebec as chaplain. On his return home he was ordained as a minister. He was engaged in his vocation in Newburyport, Mass., for many years. He died on the 4th day of March, 1819, at the age of 73. The Rev. Gardner Spring, of the Brick Church, in New York, is his son.

- (6.) CHRISTOPHER GREENE was born in Warwick, R. I., in the year 1737. He received a good education. He was a member of the Colonial Legislature of his State, and was a lieutenant and afterwards major of the Kentish Guards. In the assault on Quebec he was made prisoner, and on his release was promoted to lieutenant-colonel. He gained great applause for his gallant repulse of the enemy at Red Bank, and was voted a sword by Congress. He was killed near the Croton River, Westchester Co., New York, by a party of Tories and refugees, on the 13th day of May, 1781, in the 44th year of his age.
- (7.) HANCHEL. "Headquarters before Quebec, December 26." "I have discovered that three companies of Colonel Arnold's detachment are very averse to a *coup-de-main*. Captain Hanchel, who has incurred Colonel Arnold's displeasure, is at the bottom of it. A field officer is concerned in it. This dangerous party threatens the ruin of our affairs."—*Extract from General Montgomery's letter. Dunlop's History of New York, vol. 2. p. 24.*
- (8.) DANIEL MORGAN was a native of New Jersey, but removed in early life to Virginia. In 1755, he joined the expedition of Braddock, as a teamster; returning to Frederick, he pursued the rough life of a backwoods farmer, until the outbreak of the Revolution, when, in command of a company of riflemen, he started for Boston, reaching the American camp, after a march of 600 miles, in three weeks. In the latter part of 1775, he accompanied the expedition of Arnold to Quebec, and was engaged in the attack on that place, and taken prisoner. During his captivity he declined the offer of a colonelcy in the British army, and soon after his release, towards the close of 1776, was appointed colonel of the regiment. He rendered valuable service during the retreat of Washington through New Jersey, in 1776, and also in the campaign in the same State, in 1777. In the summer of the latter year, he joined Gates, then in command of the Northern army, and his riflemen took a distinguished part in the battle on Bemus' Heights. Morgan was also present at the battle of Saratoga, and one of his riflemen, named Murphy, killed General Fraser, and decided the day. In 1780, he was made Brigadier General, and joined the Southern army, under Greene, and gained a decisive victory over Tarleton, at the Cowpens, January 17, 1781, for which he received a gold medal from Congress. Before the close of the campaign he was compelled, by repeated attacks of rheumatism, to return to his home in Virginia. In 1794, he aided in suppressing the whisky insurrection in Pennsylvania, and was member of Congress from 1795 to 1799. He died in Winchester, Virginia, July 6, 1802, aged 69.
- (9.) CAPTAIN MATTHEW SMITH commanded a company from the county of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He was a good-looking man, had the air of a soldier, but was illiterate, and outrageously talkative.
- (10.) THIS dog belonged to Captain Dearborn, and was a great favorite. "My dog was very large, and a great favorite. I gave him up to several of Captain Goodrich's company. They carried him to their company, and killed and divided him among those who were suffering most severely with hunger. They ate every part of him, not excepting the entrails."—*Letter of General Dearborn to the Rev. Wm. Allen.*

- (11.) SAMUEL WARD was the son of Governor Ward, of Rhode Island. He was at Cambridge in 1775, where he held a captaincy. He was afterward at Quebec, under Arnold, and subsequently at the battle of Red Bank, under Colonel Greene. After the war he became a merchant. He died in New York, in the year 1832, at the age of 75.
- (12.) "THE boat soon struck the bank, and a midshipman, a lad named McKenzie, brother to the captain of the frigate, sprang ashore. The tide ebbing at the time, the boat's crew were ordered to shove off, and to go higher up to a deeper landing-place. While obeying this order they discovered the Americans on the bank above, and immediately pulled off shore, leaving their officer to his fate. Morgan, frustrated in the design he had formed to surprise and capture the boat's crew, now opened a fire upon them. The midshipman, comprehending at once his situation, plunged into the river, in the hope to regain his boat; but being deserted by the boat's crew, who pulled out still further from the reach of danger, and noticing the balls, which now struck the water around him in fearful proximity to his head, he turned towards the shore, and otherwise signified his willingness to surrender."—*Life of General Morgan*, p. 79.
- (13.) "THIS was a great pile of wooden buildings, with numerous out-houses, which testified the agricultural spirit and taste of the owner. He, good soul, was then snug in Quebec. Those who came first fared well, and, as luck would have it, we were of the number: all within and without the house became a prey. Adversity had destroyed in our minds every decorous or delicate sensation."—*Henry's Journal*, p. 85.
- (14.) The name of this person was George Merchant. He belonged to Captain Morgan's company, and was a native of Virginia. He was taken by surprise, and was the first prisoner which was taken by the British at Quebec. He was sent to England, but released the following year.
- (15.) BENEDICT ARNOLD, was a native of Norwich, Connecticut, and was born on the 3d day of January, 1741. On account of his bold and fearless character, he was selected to make an attack upon Canada. In the assault upon Quebec, he was wounded and taken prisoner. Upon his release he was engaged in the service on Lake Champlain, where he greatly distinguished himself, and he also did subsequently in the battle of Saratoga. He afterwards held command at West Point, and there concocted the treason which has made his name infamous to every friend of America. After the war, Arnold went to England, and after leading, for some years, a roving life, he returned to London, where he died in 1801, at the age of sixty.
- (16.) In the action, Captain Dearborn, who had been quartered on the north side of the River St. Charles, marched to join the main body, but, in the attempt, was captured, with his company, by Captain Law, who issued from Palace Gate, with two hundred men and some cannon.*

* Allen's Biographical Dict.

- (17.) The following is a list of the officers taken by the British at the attack upon Quebec, on the 31st day of December, 1775: Capt. D. Morgan, Lieut. William Heath, Lieut. Peter Bruin (slightly wounded), J. M. Guin, Charles Potterfield, Lieut. Archibald Steele (wounded), John Henry, Lieut. Francis Nicholls, Matthew Duncan, Major John Lamb, Lieut. Andrew Moody, Capt. Oliver Hanchet, Capt. Samuel Lockwood, Abijah Savage, Quartermaster Benjamin Catlin, Capt. Eleazer Oswald, Col. C. Green, Captain I. Tappan (wounded), Capt. Samuel Ward, Capt. Simon Mayer, Lieut. James Webb, Lieut. William Humphreys, Lieut. E. Stocum, S. Shaw, Major Timothy Bigelow, Capt. William Goodrich, Lieut. Samuel Brown, Lieut. John Compton, Lieut. John Clark, Lieut. James Tisdale (wounded), Capt. H. Dearborn, Lieut. Nathaniel Hutchins, Lieut. Ammi Andrews, Lieut. Joseph Thomas, Adjutant C. Foberger (a Danish officer), and about three hundred privates, —[Connecticut Courant.]
- (18.) The officers were confined in the Seminary, and the soldiers in the Jesuit's College or Recolets, and were treated by Carleton with a humanity very honorable to his character. In one of his letters he says, that March 31, 1776, he discovered a plot of the prisoners to escape, after seizing the guard at St. John's Gate, and let in Arnold. Of this plot, Mr. Henry, who was engaged in it, gives a minute account. The prisoners had been removed to the Dauphin jail, an old French building, about three hundred yards from St. John's Gate. Their ingenuity soon supplied them with arms; for peeping through the key-hole of the door of a small room at the stair-head, they perceived large iron hoops. Of these, by forcing the door, a large number was obtained, as well as a quantity of iron of different shapes. Rough, stout swords, with wooden handles, were made, and spear-heads were fashioned and affixed to splits of fir plank, about ten feet in length, which had formed the bottoms of the lowest berths. The proposed method of escape was by removing the bars of their windows and by the cellar door, which opened inward, and the rings and padlock of which were inside, and within their reach. Joseph Aston, of Lamb's company, afterwards a major, was chosen commander-in-chief of the prisoners; McKay and others were colonels; Boyd, Henry and others were majors, captains, &c. Getting into the street, one party was to attack the guard-house, near the jail, and another party, of one hundred and fifty men, were to attack the guard of thirty or forty men at St. John's Gate; the jail and buildings near were to be set on fire the same time, by way of signal to Arnold, who had been made acquainted with the project by Martin, a prisoner, who, in a storm of snow, had clambered over the wall of the prison, and escaped the sentries, and threw himself from the wall of the city, southerly of St. John's Gate. If the guard should be overcome at St. John's Gate, the cannon were to be turned upon the city. As some matches might be necessary in that event, and there would be occasion for powder, it was procured in the following ingenious way. Some small-gun carriages were made, mounted with *paper* cannon, a few inches in length. Embrasures were cut with a knife in the front boards of the berths on opposite sides of the room; and two parties were formed for the pigmy contest. The blaze and report, as loud as small pistols, created much merriment. For this sport many cartridges were obtained,

most of which were carefully laid aside for other purposes. Some money was also obtained from charitable nuns, who visited the prison; but obtained in a method remarkable rather for ingenuity than fairness or propriety, for it was thought that all artifices were allowable, especially, as life was to be hazarded for liberty. Once a nun was seen approaching; when Doctor Gibson, who had studied physic at Cornish, and who afterwards died at Valley Forge, in the winter of 1778, a young man of ruddy cheeks and with a beautiful head of hair, was hurried into bed, to play the part of a man sick with a high fever. The nun being introduced, crossed herself and whispered an Ave Maria or Pater Noster, poured the contents of her purse, twenty-four coppers, into the hand of the patient. The money procured powder, and the manner of obtaining it occasioned some merriment to cheer the gloom of a prison.

Everything being prepared and arranged by the council of war, the moment of executing the long-meditated plan was fixed. A spring of water in the cellar, which furnished the supply of water to the prisoners, had accumulated a considerable quantity of ice at the foot of the door, which was to be the sally-port. Immediately after the locking up, sixteen men, with long knives, were to descend into the cellar, and pare away the ice in a silent manner. But it was not the will of Providence that the perilous attempt should be made. The scheme was exploded, as greater schemes have been, by thoughtlessness and imprudence. Two young men, without authority from the council, descended into the cellar and began to pick the ice, not with knives, but with hatchets. They were overheard by the sentry; the guard was immediately doubled; and the well-digested plan was defeated in a moment. This happened, as appears by Carleton's letter, March 31.

The next morning an inquiry was made into the affair, and nothing would have been discovered but the attempt in the cellar. When Major Murray was leaving the room, a prisoner, an Englishman, who had deserted from the British at Boston, and joined Arnold, rushed by him to escape the vengeance of his companions, saying to him that he had something to disclose. The traitor revealed the whole plan, in consequence of which there soon arrived several cart-loads of irons, such as bilboes, foot-hobbles, and handcuffs, and instead of finding themselves in the enjoyment of the sweets of liberty, the poor wretches found themselves in chains. The bilboes were long bars of iron, to which ten men were fastened by the feet. In a few days many were able to extricate themselves from their irons, by saws made from knives, and in other ways. They suffered miserably from the scurvy, and from a diarrhoea occasioned by the water. It was not before the month of May, after the arrival of reinforcements to the British, and the retreat of the American army, that the irons were struck off.

- (19.) GENERAL THOMAS, who was appointed to succeed Montgomery, arrived early in May; but Carleton having received reinforcements under Burgoyne, the Americans were obliged to make a hasty retreat, leaving their stores and sick behind. The latter were kindly treated, and finally sent home.—*Lossing's Field-Book of the Revolution*, Vol. 1, p. 202.

- (20.) SIR GUY CARLETON was a native of Ireland, and was born in 1722. He entered the army at an early age, and was, in 1748, a Lieutenant-colonel in the Guards. He was with Amherst, in America, and was afterwards at the taking of Havana. In 1772 he was made Major-General, and appointed Governor of Quebec, which he successfully defended against the assault of the Americans. By his energy and judgment, he saved the whole of Canada from falling into their hands. In 1781 he was appointed Commander-in-chief of the forces in America, and in 1786 became again Governor of Quebec; and, as a reward for his long services, was raised to the peerage, as Lord Dorchester. He died in 1808, at the age of 86.
- (21.) RETURN J. MEIGS was a native of Middletown, Connecticut, and was born in December, 1740. He was at the siege of Quebec, and was made prisoner in the assault. On his release he was promoted to Colonel. His expedition to Long Island, in May, 1777, was one of the most brilliant enterprises of the war, for which he received, August 3, the thanks of Congress and a sword. He was afterwards at the storming of Stony Point, under Wayne, where he distinguished himself, and was honorably noticed for his conduct on that occasion. After the peace he moved to the West, and died at the Cherokee Agency, January 28, 1823, aged 82 years.
- (22.) SERGEANT THOMAS BOYD was a member of Smith's company, from Pennsylvania. He was afterwards in the expedition against the Indians, under General Sullivan. He was taken prisoner while on a reconnoitering expedition, and was barbarously murdered by the Indians on the 13th day of September, 1779. His head was taken off and totally skinned, his right eye taken out, and also his tongue. His right foot, from the ball of the heel to the toes, was laid open, as if with a knife. He was cut open across the bottom of his belly and his bowels were taken out, and a very long knife stuck in between his shoulders, descending to the vital parts. His corpse was afterwards discovered by his friends, and decently interred near Genesee Castle, together with the remains of Michael Parker, one of his companions in the expedition.—*Henry's Journal*, p. 203.
- (23.) "We are now, after much suffering, two leagues distant from Quebec, where we shall arrive this evening, but where we shall not make any stay—General Carleton having, before our arrival, driven the rebels from the environs of Quebec, and being at present engaged in their pursuit."—*Madame de Ridesel's Journal*, p. 25.