

TWO DISCOURSES

DELIVERED

OCTOBER 25th. 1759.

BEING the Day appointed by Authority to be observed

AS

A Day of public THANKSGIVING,

FOR THE

Success of His Majesty's Arms,

More particularly in the

Reduction of QUEBEC,

THE

Capital of CANADA.

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

Containing a brief Account of two former Expeditions against that City and Country, which proved unsuccessful.

BY

JONATHAN MAYHEW, D.D.

Pastor of the West Church in Boston.

BOSTON; NEW-ENGLAND:

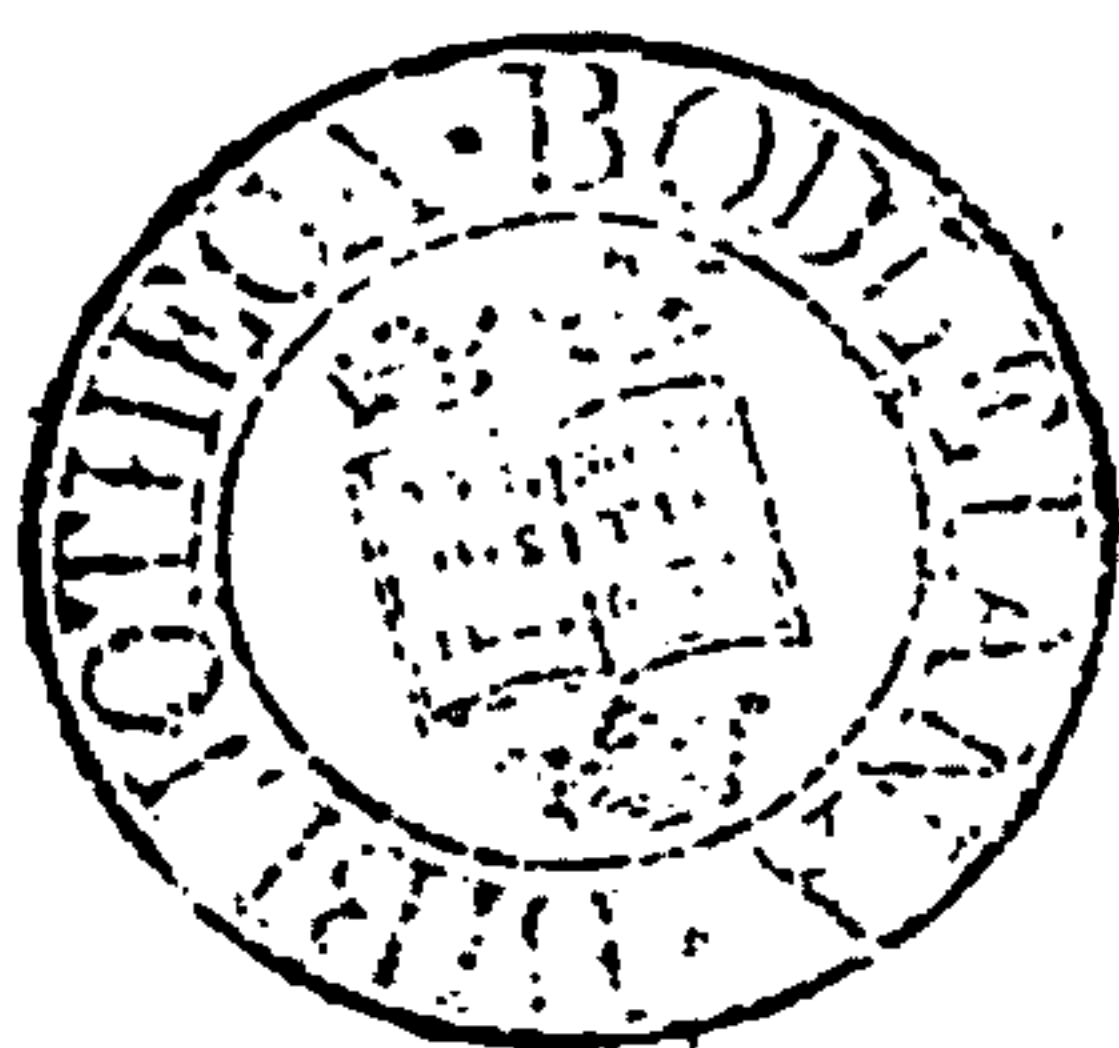
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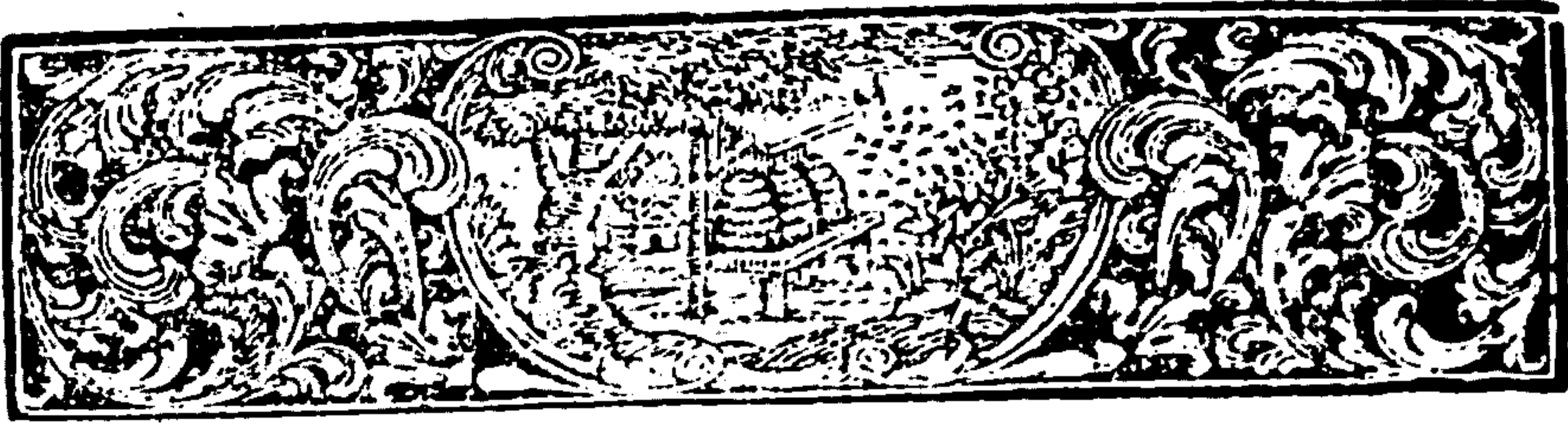
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ADVERTISEMENT.

SOME things omitted in delivering the following discourses, on account of their length, are inserted in this publication. Some considerable alterations, besides, have since been made in the second of them, composed, both in haste, and while the author was under bodily indisposition. For which alterations, if they should happen to be amendments, as they were designed, he concludes, he shall fall under no blame from any of those that heard them, and have signified their desire to see them published.





DISCOURSE I.



OF the great Things

which GOD hath done for us.



PSALM CXXVI. Verse 3d.

*THE LORD hath done great Things for us,
whereof we are glad.*



NO comment is necessary for the explanation of these words, which are very plain of themselves : Neither is there need of any preface, or introduction, in order to accommodate them to the present joyful occasion ; since, it is supposed, they must appear, even at first view, sufficiently adapted to it. We may therefore immediately adopt them ourselves, and apply them to the business of this day. For the Lord hath, indeed, done great things for us, whereof we are doubtless glad ; having abundant reason to be so. And, in the language of the context, well may “ our mouth be now filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing. ”

It is proposed, by divine assistance, in the first place, to represent to you those great things which God hath lately done for us, for our land and nation ; and which are the occasion of our being assembled together in his house of praise at this time.

In the next place will be shown, the propriety of being glad and rejoicing on such occasions, and what great reason we have for it at present ; more especially on account of that important event, which is the more particular and immediate occasion of this solemnity.

SOME needful regulations of our joy on this occasion, will then be subjoined ; that it may be taught to flow in a proper channel, and be agreeable to our character as christians, instead of degenerating into the mirth of fools.

AND the whole will be closed with such reflections and exhortations, as the occasion itself naturally suggests ; and which may, therefore, be particularly reasonable at this time.

To return then, it will be proper, in the first place,

I. To represent to you those great things which God hath lately done for us, for our land and nation ; and which are the occasion of our being now assembled together in his house of praise. And altho' many of you may, perhaps, have a more accurate knowledge, a juster conception, and a deeper sense, of these favors of heaven, than I have myself ; yet it will be good for us to talk of them, to revolve them in our minds, and speak of the great goodness of our God to us, with reference to them. If I do not inform you of any thing,

thing, which you knew not before ; yet I may possibly revive the remembrance of certain mercies, which had slipped the memories of some ; and contribute towards fixing both them, and others, in your minds ; which, it is conceived, will be answering a valuable end. For the more thorough, or deeper sense, we have of these mercies, the more permanent it will be ; and the more permanent it is, the more lasting will be our gratitude to God for them ; and the more lasting our gratitude, the more suitable returns shall we make to him ; which will be, in effect, best to answer the true ends of this solemnity.

It is proposed, as was intimated before, to enlarge chiefly on that great and happy event, which is the principal, and more immediate occasion, of our public rejoicing and thanksgivings at this time. My discourse in the afternoon, will be in a manner confined to this event ; which will also employ more of our time this morning, than any other particular one. However, it is humbly conceived, there will be no impropriety in taking a little larger compass, and extending our views, on this occasion, even beyond America. Accordingly, if you please, we will introduce this interesting affair, the reduction or surrender of the capital city of Canada, by taking a transient view of some other of our late military successes, which preceded it ; looking back to the principal of those, which have come to our knowledge since the time of our last general and public thanksgiving ; and connecting these later with former ones, which were taken notice of on that occasion.

As you may remember, we then saw the war in general going on prosperously on the side of Great-Britain and her allies. We then saw the enemy driven, with great loss and slaughter, out of his Majesty's

German dominions. We then also saw some successful descents made on the coasts of France, from whence we had been threatned, but just before, with an invasion, as at present. We then saw several of the enemy's fortresses, and one of her valuable settlements, on the coast of Africa, reduced ; and subjected to the obedience of his Britannic Majesty. We then saw his Majesty's illustrious Prussian Ally, not only standing his ground against his numerous enemies, but victorious in divers instances ; and, in particular, triumphant over the formidable Russian army. We then saw, here in America, the French fortress, usually called Frontinac, surrendered to his Majesty's arms ; and our troops returning from thence laden with the spoils of our enemies. We then saw the enemy driven from the river St. John ; and the adjacent country secured to his Majesty ; the whole Peninsula of Nova-Scotia having been before reduced, and well garrisoned by our troops. We then saw the British colours on the walls of Louisbourg ; and the islands of Cape-Breton and St. John, in our possession. We then saw the trade of the enemy greatly distressed ; and her maritime power much lessened : We saw the ports of Great-Britain and her colonies, filled with the merchantmen of France, and her private ships of war ; while the ports of the enemy were mostly blocked up. We then saw the armed vessels of France on lake Ontario, burnt ; and no inconsiderable part of her royal navy, taken, sunk, or otherwise destroyed. In fine, we then saw the commerce of the enemy, to appearance, almost ruined ; her councils disconcerted, and her coffers low : the councils of Great-Britain firm and steady ; her trade in a flourishing condition ; and her fleets triumphant on every sea, where the British flag made its appearance.

which GOD hath done for us.

It was judged not amiss just to hint at these former successes, with which heaven had favoured the British arms, before we came to those later ones, which fall within the period mentioned above ; and which are now to be spoken of. Only it is to be observed, that as this discourse is not designed for an history, much less for a journal, of sieges, voyages, and campaigns ; so it must not be expected, that I should be minutely circumstantial ; but only speak of the great things which God has done for us, in a summary, general way ; which, it is conceived, is the only one that is proper for this place and occasion.

As things looked with a favourable and promising aspect, where we left off above ; so it must be acknowledged with all gratitude, that God has not disappointed the hopes, which those smiles of his providence had raised in us. The war has gone on with great and remarkable success, on the part of Great Britain, ever since, as well as for some time before, our last general thanksgiving ; * which is now almost a year. God has done many considerable, and some great things for us, in this time ; while our losses and disadvantages have, comparatively speaking, been few and small.

SINCE the period last referred to, we have had authentic advices from the East-Indies, of an advantage gained there over the enemy's fleet in an engagement, the consequence of which was the utter loss of several of their capital ships. And altho', about the same time, the enemy obtained an advantage by land, in those parts ; yet there is great reason to hope, that by means of the succours soon after received there, whatever loss we sustained is at least retrieved, if not more than retrieved ; whereas that of the enemy could not be so.

BUT

* November 23. 1758.

BUT leaving those distant parts, the situation of our affairs in which, we have less certainty of, let us come to Europe; and take a cursory view of it there.

AT the opening of the present season for the destructive business of war, the French King thought proper to send a prodigious army into Germany. This, in conjunction with other troops in those parts, was destin'd to ravage his Majesty's Hanoverian dominions; and, in short, to conquer, and take possession thereof, for his Most Christian Majesty: Who, if he resemble his immediate Predecessor, of such famous memory for disturbing and plundering his neighbours, can no more be satisfied, either with conquered, or stolen provinces and countries, than "he that loveth silver can be satisfied with silver, or he that loveth abundance, with increase." Whole *Greatness*, in its nature and rise, was not very different from that of the *great* Chaldean Monarch, thus characterized in sacred writ: "He is a proud man, neither keepeth at home, who enlargeth his desire as hell, and is as death, and cannot be satisfied; but gathereth unto him all nations, and heaping unto him all people. — Wo to him that increaseth that which is not his! How long? — Because thou hast spoiled many nations, all the remnant of the people shall spoil thee; because of men's blood, and for the violence of the land —" ||

BUT not to digress: This design of his Most Christian Majesty upon Hanover, had almost succeeded, and taken effect; so that all the friends to the liberties of Europe, who are of course enemies to the ambitious views of France, stood aghast, as it were; and trembled for the consequence of a general battle, which was now unavoidable; the army on which, under God, the

the salvation of that country depended, being inferior in number, at least by one half, to the united forces of that, which stood ready to devour her to the very heart, having before scarce half gorged itself with her exterior, and less essential parts. In this critical and memorable juncture, it pleased God to inspire Prince Ferdinand with such wisdom and magnanimity, and his comparatively small army of British and Hanoverian troops, with such invincible bravery and ardor, as not only to maintain their ground, but to gain a compleat victory. This prodigious army they entirely routed, not without great slaughter; took their artillery, magazines, &c. pursued them to the Weser, and into it; where thousands of them perished in the waters, as the proud Pharaoh and his host perished in the Red Sea. And altho' there were nothing preternatural in this case, as in the other; yet it seems, upon the whole, to have been a remarkable interposition of providence: So that Prince Ferdinand, who is as much renowned for his piety, as for his great military virtues, might on this occasion have adopted, with great propriety, the song of Moses, on that alluded to above,—“I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.—Pharaoh's chariots and his host—his chosen captains also, are drowned in the Red Sea. The depths have covered them; they sank into the bottom as a stone. Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power; thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy.” There is another sacred song, which all his Majesty's Hanoverian subjects might, with peculiar propriety adopt, on occasion of this memorable deliverance from impending ruin.—“If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, now may *Hanover* say; if it had not been the Lord who was on our side, when men rose up against us; then

then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us. Then the waters had overwhelmed us—the proud waters had gone over our soul. Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth. Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers; the snare is broken, and we are escaped. Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth.”

BUT to proceed to some other matters, which more immediately concern Great Britain and her dependencies, though not our gracious Sovereign; whose hereditary German dominions may naturally and justly claim a great share in his royal care and affections: The French have been meditating, or at least pretending to meditate, a descent upon the island of Britain, with a formidable army; and again to bring the Pretender on the stage. Yea, their presumption has talk'd, and vaunted itself of a conquest of those kingdoms; so that they seem, in their own vain imagination, to have anticipated so great a triumph. And if they have not been in earnest, at least their preparations for an invasion, have been so vast and expensive, as might naturally make one believe, they were: For it is hardly to be supposed, they would be at such a prodigious expence of labour and money, without any design to put their threats in execution; and so, in the event, to make themselves the jest of Europe, which they have sometimes done at a much cheaper rate; and might doubtless have done so again. But whatever their real intentions might have been by these formidable preparations, Great-Britain, on her part, has been attentive to guard against the worst. Proper dispositions have been made on her own coasts for the reception of the enemy; and at the same time, the ports of France near the British

tish channel, have been so well watch'd and guarded by our superior fleets, that the enemy, altho' they had had a sufficient force, and all things in readiness to make a descent, have not yet had it in their power to leave their own coasts, without almost the certain loss of their whole army and armament, with a great part of their navy. Yea, divine providence has so favour'd us, that one of the British admirals has had it in his power to enter one of the enemy's ports, where these grand preparations were making; and to destroy a part thereof, with some of their stores and magazines, some of their shipping, and even a considerable part of the city itself, near which they were. †

ANOTHER of our admirals, or at least part of his squadron, not long after, approached so near their principal port, * where their chief maritime strength was collected, as to bring off some of the ships carrying supplies to them, even from under the fruitless fire of their castles and batteries.

BUT we have very lately had authentic advices of still greater importance, respecting the good success of a third British admiral, the same who commanded the fleet the last Year at the siege of Louisbourg, still fresh in all our memories. For when one of the enemy's squadrons was about joining their principal fleet, and in a fair way of effecting it, which might have proved of bad consequence to us, this brave and successful admiral, you know, opportunely discovered, attacked, and beat it; taking and destroying five or six capital ships; the remainder, or at least the most of them, being obliged to betake themselves to a neutral port; and there reduced, in their extremity, to implore convoy of a neutral power, to see them safe back again into their own, || from whence their evil genius had tempted them to depart. But
in

† Havre de Grace.

* Brest.

|| Toulon.

in vain ; being still blocked up by a superior force ; so that we need not wholly despair of having further accounts of them, which may be agreeable to us.

I MUST not omit, now I am hinting at some very interesting occurrences in Europe, relative to the war, to mention the last advices, which we hope may be depended on, respecting the victory of his Majesty's great Prussian ally over the Russian army, then within a few leagues of his own capital, which seemed in imminent danger of falling into the hands of those Barbarians. If this advice be not premature, as we all hope it is not, this is a very important event, not only to his Prussian Majesty, who has now stood as it were on the brink of a mighty precipice, for several years together ; but also to our King, and to Great-Britain, whose interests are at present so closely connected with those of that truly great and illustrious Monarch. May angels still guard him ! or rather He, who "maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire : " who giveth salvation unto kings ; and has hitherto delivered FREDERIC his servant from the hurtful sword !

BUT if you please, we will now come from Europe to America ; which is coming still nearer to ourselves. But before I say any thing of the military operations on the continent, we will cast an eye towards the American islands. For it is there we are to look for, and there that we may find, one of the great things which God has lately done for us. The reduction of Guadaloupe, with some of the adjacent islands, is truly such ; and, in some sense the greater, because effected by so small a force, and under such seemingly disadvantageous circumstances. This is almost, and perhaps may prove quite, an irretrievable and irreparable loss,

loss, to that haughty, and all-grasping power which has incurred it ; a loss which she will much longer feel and mourn, than we did that of the island of Minorca, at the beginning of the present war, during a less watchful ministry than the present. And to Great-Britain, this acquisition alone, if maintained, will probably much more than make good all the damage she sustained in the former respect ; which, if I mistake not, time and experience make still less and less considerable.

BUT while our thoughts are in that part of the world, where so valuable and noble an acquisition has been made, by the blessing of God on the British arms ; while our thoughts are engaged in that part of the world, I say, and on so worthy and joyful an occasion ; what is it that still gives a kind of damp to my spirits ; or rather, raises my indignation ? While a British fleet rides safely and quietly in port, do I see an inferior French one sailing, in a kind of triumph, from port to port, from island to island, from one month to another ? Do I see our merchantmen, by scores, or hundreds, taken within hearing of the British cannon, if they were but discharged ? Do I see them carried into port, in vast numbers, even by the enemy's privateers, from within a few leagues of our fleet, which looks patiently on ? Do I hear our enemies saying, with scorn and insult, " Where is the boasted " courage of these Britons, who vainly pretend to be " lords of the ocean ? " And do I hear even some of our friends whispering, " that all British commanders have not the spirit which becomes their character ? " — But perhaps all this is but a reverie : If so, I will trouble you no longer with my dreams : But even dreams are not always false ; and if there should happen to be any thing of reality in this, such things will
will

will doubtless be taken proper notice of by those, who want neither the authority, nor the public spirit to do it.

AND having thus taken a short trip, if I may so express it, to the American islands; and seen there, an important acquisition lately made by his Majesty's troops, under the favour of divine providence; let us now cross over to the continent, in the affairs of which we ourselves are most immediately concerned. And being arrived here, we will not now needlessly ramble about, backwards and forwards. But setting out from the southermost scene of action, (I mean, where any thing of great importance has lately been done) which is indeed nearest the parts from whence we last came, and proceeding thence to the northward, tho' the distance is great, thro' a wilderness, and tho' there are several noble prospects in the way to detain and delight us, even in a wilderness; yet it will not be long before we arrive at the capital city of Canada. There our chief business lies: There it will, therefore, be at least proper, if not necessary, to make a longer stay. And tho' it be a cold climate, I flatter myself, we shall find something to warm and enliven us; or at least to keep our blood from chilling.

To begin at the southward then: It was not long after our last general thanksgiving, when we had the little expected, and therefore the more joyful tydings, that the British troops, even without the trouble of a siege, were in possession of the French fortrefs on the forks of the Ohio, usually called fort du Quesne; but now Pittsburgh, in honor to that great patriot, that wise, honest, and magnanimous British minister, during whose ministry, not only this, but all our other successes, worth mentioning, since the present war commenced, have been obtained. This fortrefs, it seems,

seems, was evacuated by the enemy on the near approach of our army. The acquisition whereof is of great importance to our southern colonies; not only with reference to the savages in those parts, who are since, from enemies become friends; but also in respect of that most valuable and very extensive country about it; which, in due time, may probably be peopled with British subjects.

AND there are one or two circumstances besides, which may just be mentioned with relation hereto; and which may, perhaps, heighten the joy of some on account of this acquisition. One is, that the present war with France, had its rise more immediately from some differences respecting this country on the Ohio; here hostilities began; here it was, that the French had the assurance to seize, captivate, and murder, our traders and others, in a time of peace; as also to fortify on this river. But we have now the satisfaction to reflect, that the law of arms at least, has decided in our favour one considerable point controverted between the two crowns; and which was indeed a principal ground of the present war, tho' by no means the only one.

ANOTHER circumstance alluded to above, is, that we had received several repulses and defeats from the enemy, in endeavouring to regain the possession of the country we are speaking of; from whence the enemy had, in a time of peace, driven the subjects of Great-Britain. The expence of one of the former expeditions against Du Queſne had been very great, through almost impracticable woods and mountains: And at last, when the British army had in a manner surmounted these difficulties, and thought themselves almost sure of success, it was in a sort surpris'd, and

put to the rout, by a lurking enemy which it hardly saw; as even the noble and generous Lion, in passing thro' a thicket, may be stung and poison'd to death by a vile insidious serpent undiscovered, which one of his paws, or only the flapping of his tail, might have destroyed in an instant. Thus it was, that a brave English general † here received his mortal wound from a foe, contemptible every where but in his own native woods and swamps; a general, whose valor, zeal, and indefatigable industry in the service of his king and country, cannot be too much commended; and whose untimely fall can hardly be too much lamented.

I must confess, tho' to some it may perhaps seem a weakness, that these circumstances preceeding this acquisition, give an heightening to my own joy on account of it; tho' it be in itself so important in many respects, that it could not, even without these, fail to rejoice every well-wisher to his Majesty's American colonies.

BUT having stopped long enough here, considering the time allowed us for our journey; let us now hasten to the northward, as was proposed. A very material acquisition has been made this present campaign, of the fortress of Niagara. This was in itself a strong fort, and defended by a numerous garrison: Which is not to be wondered at, considering the importance of it, to the enemy. For being situated between the two Lakes, Erie and Ontario, it commanded the communication between Canada and Louisiana, the Mississippi, &c. And besides, it was so situated as to draw the commerce, and with it the affections, of numerous tribes of savages about those lakes; as
also

† General Braddock.

also to awe the six nations, our old friends and allies; and even to stagger their friendship; which, as might naturally be supposed, usually follows their interest, wherever it leads. This important fortress is now in our hands; the very considerable army that had been destin'd to its relief, and to raise the siege, being repulsed with great slaughter, and the garrison made prisoners of war. By which acquisition, the wavering nations of the Mohawks, as they are commonly called, are secured in their fidelity and friendship; many other tribes of the savages have become our useful allies, instead of perfidious enemies; the French forts and settlements at Presque Isle and Venango are abandoned; and, in short, the whole extent of country between Lake Ontario and Pittsburgh, is left without a person who dares to own himself our enemy, unless we look far to the westward. It may be added, that by this acquisition, if maintained, even tho' Canada had remained intire in the possession of the enemy, would have been effectually cut off, all intercourse of any consequence between Canada, Detroit, and all the French forts and settlements to the southward of Lake Erie. So that the enemy on that side, could have maintained their ground only on the Missisipi, and some of its remote branches; where, by reason of the distance from us, and the difficulty of the navigation, they could neither give us much disturbance, nor gain much advantage to themselves. And this acquisition, so important in its nature, it is to be remembered, was made with the loss of a very small number of our troops; tho' not without the loss of a brave and excellent general; * not indeed, killed by the enemy; but in vulgar phrase, by an accident; yet such an accident as is directed by the providence of God. For if a sparrow does not fall to

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the

* Brigadier-General Prideaux.

the ground without our Father, much less such a worthy commander; of more value, not only than many sparrows, but than many general officers of an higher rank.

FROM the last mentioned fortrefs to the capital whither we are bound, the nearest and directest course is across Ontario to Frontinac, and so down the river Cataragui to La Galette, &c. However, as we have not heard of any thing lately done there, to invite us that way, we will take another route; which tho' longer, will be much more agreeable to us.

LET us therefore proceed from Niagara to Lake George; a considerable distance, and mostly through a wilderness; but where we may now travel with safety, tho' unarmed; there being no enemy here to do us any harm. We see the country all our own, to the latter of these lakes: At the southern part of which, a year or two since, the enemy under general Montcalm, made themselves masters of one of our forts; and, after the capitulation, and surrender thereof, inhumanly stripped, butchered and scalped the troops, to whom they had solemnly plighted their faith. At which time the city of Albany itself trembled for fear; and some there were, who hardly thought themselves secure, even in this metropolis. How different, how much more pleasing a scene, is now presented to our view, if we cast our eyes on that quarter? especially if we extend our view to the northern part of the last mentioned lake?

WE there see the main body of the enemy who, it seems, the last year were so powerful at Ticonderoga, as to repulse and rout a large army of 15 or 16,000 men, not without considerable slaughter,

ter ; I say we there see the main body of the enemy, now retiring precipitately before the conqueror of Louisbourg ; even without daring to wait the near approach of his army. Doubtless the name of Amherst, tho' with a less numerous army than that which the enemy had so lately defeated at the same place, taught them a sudden fear, and seasonably suggested to them, that their only safety was in flight. This almost impregnable fortress is now in our hands, and all the country round Lake George ; so that between that and us, no enemy presumes to set his foot. The value of this acquisition, so important in itself, is in some measure enhanced by reflecting on the expensive, tho' fruitless attempts, heretofore made to obtain it ; by reflecting on the loss of so many brave men at that place ; and above all, by reflecting on the untimely fall of one of our general officers there, the last year. The memory of Lord Howe will long be respected and honoured by every British subject, who has any esteem for valor, military skill, publick spirit, activity, and unwearied application. His untimely fall, as it were in the first bloom of manly age, would even now demand a tear, were not this a day of rejoicing.

BUT let us follow our wise and excellent general at the westward, from Lake George to Lake Champlain. We there also see the enemy flying before him ; and leaving him to take a quiet, and uninterrupted possession of fort Frederic, usually called Crown Point. A fortress which, tho' not very strong in itself, has long been a grievous eye-sore to these northern British colonies, and to our allies of the six nations, and that very justly ; since, by its situation, it enabled the enemy at any time suddenly to annoy our frontier settlements, and afforded them a place of

B 3

quick

quick and safe retreat; and where they could always supply their good brethren, our savage enemies, with provisions, cloathing, and warlike stores. This fortress we now see in our hands; or rather, a far better and stronger one, lately built there under the direction of general Amherst. In short, we see the whole country thereabouts in our possession, and secured to us; a communication opened between this lake and our western frontiers; and settlers invited to come, and take up their habitation where, till very lately, it was not safe for us to set our feet. This we owe to general Amherst, under providence: Who, according to our latest advices, was proceeded still farther northward; where we cannot at present follow him; but may safely rely on his prudence and magnanimity, under that divine direction which has thus far attended him; and humbly hope, he will take no step but what wisdom shall dictate, and providence succeed.

SOME may possibly think it strange, that the last mentioned general has made no quicker advances after a flying enemy; but given them time to fortify themselves towards the northern end of the lake. But it may be taken for granted, that he is a thorough master of his profession; that he wants not zeal in his Majesty's service; and that he has sufficient reasons for this part of his conduct. Can any of us presume to say, it was even practicable for him to make more haste, without being in hazard of making the worse speed? Or do we know that this delay was not chosen and preferred, upon the soundest maxims of wisdom and good policy? I am very far from presuming to be a judge of these matters; and much farther from pretending to penetrate the particular views and designs of so secret and consummate a commander. But might not this delay, supposing
it

it not unavoidable, possibly have been chosen on the following account,— That had the general pressed the enemy in their retreat before him, he would, in a fort, have compelled them to go to the capital city, to add great numbers and strength to the great army already there; and hereby, perhaps, have given an opportunity, and enabled them, to defeat and overthrow the little British army besieging it; before it would have been possible for him to join it, which would have frustrated the grand design. For it would, on account of the narrows, or land-carriage in the way, have been seemingly impossible for this western army to get to the capital, till some weeks after the flying enemy. But all this is only conjecture.

AND I am now, almost before I was aware of it, tho' perhaps after too long a delay, got to the chief scene of action; where our most signal success has been; and where you will allow me to tarry a little longer than at either of the former places. I am even still almost "as one that dreameth," when I think of the surrender of the capital of Canada, which is in effect the reduction of the whole country. For it is morally, if not naturally impossible, that the enemy, having lost this city, which is now in our possession, should hold out half another campaign, against a force much inferior to that, which his Majesty has already in North-America. Yea, it is almost certain, that after taking the capital, laying waste the country, burning so many of the houses, taking or destroying so great a part of the stock, stores and magazines; it is almost certain, I say, after this, that a great part of the enemy, who pretend still to stand out, must either come in, and submit to the generous terms offered them, or else, before another spring, perish by hunger and cold, with their unhappy wives and children;

children ; which God forbid ! But not to anticipate those observations and reflections, for which we shall find a fitter place hereafter ; let us now take a nearer, and more attentive view of this truly great and memorable thing, which God has so lately done for us, in delivering the capital city of Canada into our hands ; with some of the most material circumstances relative thereto.

God has remarkably smil'd upon this great enterprise from the very first, till we see it brought to this happy conclusion : From the very first, I say ; unless we should make an exception as to the enemy's getting up the river with a considerable fleet of provision and store ships, under convoy, while a Squadron of British men of war, destin'd to prevent any such relief and succours getting in, lay in port ; some say, from necessity. But however that might be, it is not improbable, that if this fleet had actually been intercepted, the reduction of Quebec might have been effected much easier and sooner than it was ; and the whole country, before this time, brought to a submission. But not to dwell upon any circumstance which was less in our favour than we could have wished ; let us proceed to some others, which were more so than we could have reasonably expected.

THE navigation of St. Lawrence's river has always, ever since Sir Hovenden Walker's fruitless attempt, wherein several ships were lost, been represented to us by friends and enemies, as being extreamly difficult and hazardous. However, thro' the favout of Him, whom winds and seas obey, our very great fleet of men of war, of provision, transport and store-ships, arrived safe at Orleans, a little below Quebec, meeting with little or no disaster in the whole voyage. This

is very remarkable ; a thing almost unexampled in so long a voyage, and with so large a fleet, even where the navigation is, on all hands, allowed to be far less difficult and dangerous, than that of this river.

IT was another favourable circumstance, that in the very heart of the enemy's country, our little army should land, with all their provisions, artillery and stores, and take possession of the ground, almost without the loss of a man ; especially considering the lurking, insidious and guileful genius of the enemies they had to deal with, and who were perfectly acquainted with all the country, so that it might have been expected they would have made some considerable advantages hereof.

A THIRD circumstance not unworthy of notice here, is, that after our fleet then at anchor, had been put into some disorder by a storm, and, if my memory does not fail me, before the storm was quite over, the enemy attentive to every incident in their favour, chose this opportunity to send down with a rapid tide, and full gale, a number of large fireships, and rafts on fire ; hoping, not without some probability, by this means to destroy a considerable part of the British fleet. But under the favour of providence, by the wise precaution of the British admiral, and the address, the singular alertness and dexterity of the British seamen, this threatening mischief was intirely warded off ; and soon became only the subject of their merriment.

IT is further to be thankfully acknowledged, that our great fleet, and little army, have all along been favour'd with remarkable health ; but a very small proportion of them having died by sickness, or even been sick at all. Whereas had sickness prevailed among our troops, even in a degree not uncommon in camps,

camps, it would have reduced that small army to such an handful of men, as must in all probability have occasioned the breaking up of the siege.

AND here I cannot but mention another thing, which, tho' it may seem at first view quite remote from the point in hand, has yet a close connection with it. There was probably never known among us so fruitful a season as that last past. God has caused the earth to yield her increase in very great abundance; whereby our fleet and army have had a constant supply of fresh provisions, vegetables, &c. To which it is in part doubtless owing, thro' the blessing of God, that our fleet and army have enjoyed so much health.

BUT to proceed to some other things. Our parties that were sent out from time to time to harrass the enemy, and lay waste the country, after the terms offered by the general were rejected, had so much success therein; and the city itself had been so far ruined by a long, constant and severe bombardment, that neither of them could, in many years, have retrieved these damages and losses, even tho' the siege had been raised before the actual reduction of the city.

I HAVE more than once called this a siege; tho' by the way, what was done hardly amounted to so much as is usually understood by a blockade. But call it what you please, it is a wonder that it was not broken up, without effecting the main point: The enemy having encamped, and strongly entrenched themselves, in thrice the number of our small army; and in so advantageous a place, that it would probably have required even thrice their own great numbers to force their lines. And after one unsuccessful attempt

attempt to this end; when so much of the season was gone; the seeming impracticability of approaching the enemy where they were, and the improbability that they would ever give up this advantage, or be brought to hazard a general battle on equal ground, notwithstanding their superior numbers; after all this, I say, 'tis probable there are but few generals, who would not have utterly despair'd of succeeding, given up the point, and left the enemy to retrieve, as well as they could, the great damages they had already sustained.

BUT it seems the British general was one of those rare military geniuses, which, like the Phoenix, appear but once an age, except perhaps in Great-Britain. He was one of those, whose courage nothing could abate; whose ardor, regulated by prudence, nothing could damp; whose resolution no difficulties, however great, could shake or alter, so long as a possibility remained of carrying his design into execution; and in fine, one of those, whose wisdom and address at a critical juncture, were not inferior to his other great military accomplishments. These great qualities, with which heaven had endow'd him, and to which heaven seldom fails of giving success, were now all called forth, and displayed at once, in drawing the numerous enemy from their inaccessible entrenchments, to a general battle, which he had long desired.

BEHOLD him there, with his little body of British troops, himself the head to direct, and the soul to animate the whole, if such troops needed animation; the force of Canada moving towards him with slow and solemn steps, under a try'd, experienced and approv'd commander!—Unhappy *Montcalm*! courageous at least, if not prudent at this time! What is it
that

that, in an unpropitious hour, tempts thee thus to forego those advantages, which could not, perhaps, have been forced from thee? What is it that induces thee to put the capital of Canada, and, with it, the whole country, upon so desperate a risque as the event of the ensuing battle? Perhaps thou reliest on thy superior numbers. But dost thou not know both British troops and French ones better, than to think the latter can stand before the former on even ground, tho' the disproportion of numbers be so great? Is there not something else of more consequence than numbers, when things are brought to such a crisis as the present? Dost thou not know, that God has given men different nerves, sinews, arms and hearts? Dost thou not know, that those who fight for a Tyrant, will not fight like free-born Britons? Perhaps thou thinketh thyself again at Ticonderoga—But dost thou not see, who it is at the head of that little veteran army, by his presence infusing courage enough into each breast, to make every man a hero? Or, perhaps, thou thinkest thy relicks, thy crosses, and thy saints, either St. Peter, or thy great *Lady*, whom thou profanely stilest “The mother God,” will now befriend, and make thee victorious. But remember, *that* little host now in array against thee, worship the God that made the heavens, earth, and seas, with all that they contain; the Lord of hosts is his name! His is the glory and the victory; and know, that the event of this battle shall be accordingly! Cross thyself speedily, if thou thinkest it will be of any advantage to thee! Mercy to thy soul, notwithstanding *violated faith* at Lake George, once *St. Sacrament*! But alas! be assured; that yonder gloomy wood on thy right, affords not laurels, but cypress for thy brows!

BUT

BUT remonstrances prevail nothing. Behold! now the charge begins! Behold, now the enemy fall, they fly! Behold the horrid rout, the pursuit, the field covered with the slain! Behold, now the enemy regain their untimely-forsaken trenches! See, now they are stormed, and turned into canals running with a purple tide, till choaked with the dead and dying, fallen promiscuously on one another! Behold, there falls their valiant *Leader*! Behold now, the gates or ports of the capital open to receive the vanquished and flying; but hastily shut again, lest the victorious should enter with them, or before them!—In fine! behold this place, renowned for its strength, the power and pride of the enemy, against which so many fruitless attempts had been made, now surrender'd to his Britannic Majesty, whose colours, yonder, wave over the devoted city!

This, my brethren, is the Lord's doing; a great thing which he has performed for us, for our country and nation, whereof we are glad; and it may justly be wonderful in our eyes! That so small a force should obtain so great, compleat, and important a conquest, as it were in a moment, with so little loss of numbers on its own side, and so great a one on that of the enemy! Since the surrender of Quebec, we may, without much presumption, look on Canada as a conquered country. For, as was observed above, according to the ordinary course of things, if we keep possession of this capital, to prevent which we know of nothing at present, the inhabitants must soon be obliged to submit to terms, or else do what will be far worse for themselves, tho' not for us perhaps, the matter being considered only in a political light. Scarce any thing short of a miracle, can prevent the alternative from taking place. But we shall have occasion to say something

thing more particularly upon this point in the afternoon, when we come to consider the importance of this acquisition; and how much reason we have to be glad and rejoice, on account of the great things which God has done for us, especially in the signal victory we have been speaking of, and the surrender of Quebec in consequence of it.

It may be added here, that as things have turned out, through the good providence of God, almost the only unfavourable circumstance, worthy of a particular mention here, relative to this great and prosperous enterprize, and which was taken notice of above, is productive of another, different one, which in a great measure, if not entirely, counterbalances it. For that fleet, with her convoy, which arrived at Quebec so opportunely for the enemy, is indisputably and wholly lost to France; and, not improbably, before this time in our own possession. Which is a thing of no trivial consideration in itself, tho' it may seem such in comparison of the reduction of this capital.

AND thus I have, as fully and particularly as was convenient, or at least, as the time would allow, reminded you of the great things, which the Lord hath lately done for us. The other parts of my design, as expressed in the beginning of this discourse, will, by divine permission and assistance, be prosecuted in the afternoon.

IN the mean time, let us be glad in the Lord, and rejoice greatly in the God of our salvation. Tho' he seemed, more than once, to have "cast us off, and did not go out with our armies," when the reduction of this same capital and country was meditated and attempted; he

he has now returned to us in mercy. He has at length led us successfully into this American *Edom*, and “brought us into the strong city.” He has at length, in a great measure, “given us help from trouble, when the help of man was vain: Thro’ him we have now done valiantly; for he it is that hath tread down our enemies.” † Some of you may possibly remember, it was on this passage of scripture that I discoursed the last day of general prayer and fasting amongst us, || which was to implore the guidance of heaven in, and a blessing upon, our military designs and undertakings this present year, particularly against our Canadian enemies. And I now most heartily congratulate you, my brethren, and bless the great, the everlasting God, who “doeth his will in the armies of heaven, and amongst the inhabitants of the earth,” before whom “all nations are as the small dust of the ballance,” that he has not rejected the common, united prayer of his people, nor frustrated the strong hopes which were expressed at that time, that we should “see our desire on our enemies;” on these our ancient, cruel and perfidious enemies, who have so long dealt most treacherously and unrighteously with us, and who meditated still greater mischief against us; even our utter extirpation and ruin! By which conduct in times past, they must doubtless have highly provoked righteous heaven against them. “Many a time have they afflicted us from our youth: Many a time have they afflicted us from our youth; yet they have not prevailed against us. For the Lord is righteous.” — “The Lord is in his holy temple; the Lord’s throne is in heaven: his eyes behold, his eyelids try the children of men.” He who, from heaven his dwelling place has seen our afflictions, and many sufferings, has from thence also heard our prayers,

† Psalm LX. 9, — 12.

|| June 1759.

prayers, and sent deliverance to his servants that hoped in his mercy. Our cries, and the cry of so much blood, unrighteously and inhumanly shed; the blood of helpless women, tender children, and infants at the breast;—these cries have doubtless been loud enough to be heard from the depths of earth to the highest heaven, where they have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabbath; and have, through “the blood of the covenant,” had their effect: For “the Lord trieth the righteous: BUT THE WICKED, AND HIM THAT LOVETH VIOLENCE HIS SOUL HATETH!”

The End of the first Discourse.



THE apostrophe beginning page 27, where Gen. *Montcalm* is brought upon the stage, was form'd upon the conception which the author then had, of the situation of the two armies, and what happen'd on that memorable day: But whether that conception were strictly just or not, he cannot say, reports having been so various. If any apology is needed on account of what relates to General *Montcalm* at the close of this apostrophe, he observes, That tho' the dead are not to be inhumanly insulted; yet as it is hardly supposeable that the perfidious and horrid massacre of our troops at Fort William Henry, could have happened without the connivance of the French General, or that he could not have prevented it, (which is not the first instance of their cruel perfidy) it was thought such an hint at that tragical affair, was no ways improper: At least, that it could not be justly looked upon as proceeding from inhumanity, as it is guarded; especially since that unhappy General is there considered, not as being dead, but still living, and on the point of joining battle with the British troops.



Discourse II.

What great Cause we have for
Gladness and Rejoicing.



PSALM CXXVI. Verse 3d.

*THE LORD hath done great Things for us,
whereof we are glad.*

IN the morning you were reminded of the great things which God hath lately done for us, for our land and nation ; particularly in the reduction, or surrender, of the Capital of Canada ; which is the principal occasion of this day's solemnity. However, it was thought not improper to come to a consideration of this, by an induction of some other of our late military successes which preceded it. Accordingly we extended our views, on this great and joyful occasion, to the principal successes with which God has favoured us on this continent, since the time of our last public and general thanksgiving ; to those at the lakes George and Champlain ; at Niagara and Du Quesne, now Pittsburgh. We also cast an eye towards the West-India islands ; the coasts of Portugal and France ; towards Hanover and the Prussian dominions ; nor did even the East Indies altogether escape our notice. In all these parts, it has pleased God to give some
C success.

success to the arms of our King, or those of his allies; and in several of them, very great and remarkable success. But that, in the reduction of Quebec, considered in itself, in its probable consequences, and its vast importance to ourselves, is so great that it may, with respect to us, naturally be supposed to diminish from the greatness, and eclipse the lustre of the rest. And besides as this was the chief and more particular occasion of our assembling together this day in the house of praise, it was, on that account, proper to dwell longer upon it, than upon any of the others.

SOME remarks were of course dropped in the preceding discourse, on the importance of these several successes, and the grounds we have for gladness and rejoicing on account of them. But these were only transient hints; and as a fuller representation of the importance of these successes may be useful to us, and a means of increasing our gratitude to almighty God, who has done such great things for us; I now proceed, as was proposed,

II. MORE particularly to show the propriety of our being glad and rejoicing at this time, and what great reason we have for it; particularly in respect of that important event, which is the more immediate occasion of this solemnity. And indeed my discourse this afternoon, will be in a manner confined hereto, and to such reflections as naturally arise from it; for I shall hardly, if at all, mention any of our other late military successes, however considerable in themselves. This, it is conceived, is an event, not only great in itself, but big with many happy consequences; in short, an event of the most interesting nature to us; to Great Britain, and all her dependencies; as will presently be attempted to be shown.

THE reasonableness and propriety in general, of rejoicing on such-like occasions as the present; for victories over, or success against our enemies, when God is pleased to grant it, are so obvious in themselves, so plainly supposed in the holy scriptures, and, it may be added, this is so frequently enjoined therein as a duty; yea, this is what we are so naturally disposed to do, that there will not be the least need of labouring this point. However, it may just be observed here, that it was on occasion of the Israelites being delivered out of the Hands of their oppressors and enemies, that the Psalm of which the text is a part, was composed. For it begins thus: "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dreamed: *then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing.*" This, and some of the happy circumstances attending, or happy consequences flowing from it, were plainly the "great things" to which the text refers; and on account of which, the church of God that was of old is introduced, expressing her gratitude and joy, saying, "The Lord hath done great things for us, *whereof we are glad.*" Nor, indeed, can we ever have any cause for gratitude, on these, or other occasions, any further than we have cause for joy and gladness. For gratitude or thanksgiving is due to almighty God, only for the favours and mercies which he vouchsafes to bestow upon us; all which are, in their own nature, a proper Ground of gladness and rejoicing to us. And our gratitude ought always to arise in proportion to the greatness of these mercies and favours; or to the real occasion which we have to rejoice and be glad.

To represent to you, what great cause we have to rejoice on the present occasion, is therefore in other words, or in effect, only to represent to you what great

reason we have to be thankful to almighty God, which is what I have in view. It is further to be observed here, that as the favours we are considering, are primarily and chiefly of a national, secular and political nature, relating more immediately to our common temporal prosperity, tho' remotely to our religious liberties, and spiritual good; so it will be proper, and even necessary, if I speak particularly of them at all, to consider them, at least primarily, in a national, secular and political light: For, how things of this nature can possibly be considered with propriety in any other, I must confess myself not able to see. And this must be my apology, it is hoped a sufficient one, if on the present occasion I should verge a little nearer to what is commonly called politics, than is ordinarily convenient or suitable for the pulpit. Tho' in reality, I shall not discourse on politics, unless all kind of discourse relating to secular affairs, and the temporal prosperity of nations, may properly be called politics also. And altho' I do not think it my province, were I capable of it, to enter deep into matters of this nature, which is far from my design; yet it is humbly conceived, I shall not transgress by offering some considerations in order to show, what great reason we have for rejoicing at this time; especially on account of that acquisition, which is the principal occasion of our rejoicing. In order whereto, it will be necessary to illustrate the importance of that acquisition itself, to us, to these British colonies and provinces in general, and to Great Britain. This is therefore what will now be attempted, without any further apology.

AND to this end, the following things may be observed; *viz.*

THAT

THAT the enemy, having lost the capital of Canada, have it not in their power to recover the possession of it:

THAT if it remains in our possession, all Canada must of course be subjected in time, even tho' we should act only upon the defensive:

THAT as things are now circumstanced, we have it in our power to act offensively in such a manner, that the whole country may and must, be reduced in a very little while:

THAT the Reduction of this country, will be the bringing all our savage enemies into a friendly alliance with us:

AND then, since it may possibly be demanded by some, What benefits will from hence result to us, taking these things for granted, this demand will be answered by a particular, tho' brief induction of some great advantages accruing from hence, both to Great Britain and her American colonies, whose interests are indeed inseparably connected, as both she and they are, of late, more than ever convinced.

THESE are the things which are proposed under this head. Only it is here premised once for all, to prevent frequent and needless repetitions, that when it is said, such or such a thing may, will or must be done, or come to pass; and that another will not, or cannot, both must be understood, as they are intended, with all due submission to the over-ruling providence of God, and with proper allowances for extraordinary occurrents. There is doubtless a certain established order of things, or succession of events, which tho' it may be, and sometimes is, broken in upon, is yet a good foundation for

us to proceed upon in our reasoning as to things of this nature. And otherwise, indeed, all reasoning about them would be mere childish impertinence. But still there is no absolute certainty in any of our conclusions respecting them, since they have some contingencies for their bases; contingencies with respect to us, but which are yet both foreknown and ordered by the supreme Governor of the universe, to whom therefore we should always look, in an humble sense of both their, and our, absolute dependence upon him. Having premised these things once for all, and still keeping them in mind; I now return to the first of the propositions laid down above; *viz.*

THAT having lost the capital of Canada, the enemy have it not in their power to regain the possession of it. To be sure, they have no Force now in America capable of doing this. Their principal and grand army has been beaten, routed, and cut to pieces: their chief military officers killed and made prisoners; and the poor remains of their regular troops, which were in that memorable battle, sent to Great Britain. If their principal force united under so experienced and capable a commander, with other good officers, was not able to defend their capital, what can be expected, or what need be apprehended from them now, broken and disconcerted, without a sufficient number of good officers, without spirit, and perhaps without a sufficiency of provisions and military stores?

IF this capital is regained, it must therefore be by means of large succours from old France; or rather by an army well supplied and appointed, sent from thence into Canada, to join the forces already there. But this is, humanly speaking, impossible. The mississippi is at too great a distance, and the navigation of it
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such, that no considerable succours can come that way. Besides, we are in possession of Niagara, the only way of communication; which fortrels might, were there occasion, be reinforced almost with what numbers we please. Neither is it to be supposed that an army, or any considerable succours, can come to Canada by the river St. Lawrence, of which we have now the command. The British navy is so superior that the ports of France, where any preparations should be made for this purpose, might be blocked up. Or if a fleet should happen to steal out in the spring, a superior one might be immediately dispatched after it, so as to prevent its effecting any thing; and probably take or destroy it. Or a strong British Squadron, were that judged needful, or adviseable, might be kept constantly in the river, during the season for navigating it. All which things being considered, we need be under no apprehensions, but that we shall be able to maintain that acquisition, which has been lately made with so much honor to the British arms. And we will now venture to advance one step farther. For, as was observed above,

If this Capital remains in our possession, all Canada must of course be subjected in time, even tho' we should here act only a defensive part. Some may, perhaps, think this a pretty extraordinary and sanguine position. It admits, however, of a very short and easy proof. For many European commodities are, from use and habit, become necessary to the Canadians; so that they neither will, nor can, live long without them. With these they cannot be supplied from old France, as affairs are now circumstanced, either by the Missisipi, or St. Lawrence, or any other way. Their communication with France is now effectually cut off, unless perhaps it be for *letters of condolence*, which can nei-
ther

ther do us any harm, nor themselves much good. So that if the war should continue, they will be obliged to come to us for these necessaries; and to take them of us, if at all, on our own terms: Which would, in effect, be subjecting themselves and their country to the British government. At least, this is what they might be compelled to do, should those above us think it proper. And these remarks, tho' made with particular reference to the Canadians properly so called, are equally applicable to all the French inhabitants on this continent about the lakes, and to the southward of them, till you come near the Missisipi, or some of its branches that are very remote from us; Quebec, and the river St. Lawrence, now in our possession, being the way in which they use, chiefly at least, to be supplied with those necessaries; for which, if they continue in the country, they will be forced in time to come to us; even tho' we should act only on the defensive with respect to them. However, there is no need of going on this latter supposition: For, in the next place, as was observed above,

As things are now circumstanced, we have it in our power to act offensively against them in such a manner, that the whole country may, and must be reduced in a very little time. They can receive no considerable succours or supplies from Old France, for the reasons mentioned above. They have no cities, forts or places of defence, capable of making resistance, or holding out a siege, even a short one. The country lies open to us; or rather, we have one army at least already in the heart of it. His Majesty has a large number of brave and try'd troops now in America; so many, that all the forces the enemy can collect, probably would not dare to meet one half of them in the field: That method they have already try'd to their cost! And tho' the country should not submit, or be intirely subjected
this

this fall, which is not indeed to be expected, considering how far the season is already elapsed ; yet what should prevent a total conquest, even very early another season ; when the enemy must be still in all probability, more weakened, distressed and dispirited, than they are at present ? Excepting such things as are quite out of the ordinary course, nothing can prevent this. Which being considered, the reduction of Quebec is, in effect, the reduction of all Canada, from Hudson's Bay southward and westward to the great lakes : and not only so, but of all the territory which the French possess to the southward still of those lakes till, as was said before, you come near the Missisipi, or some of those branches of it, which are at a very great distance from us.

OUR next position was, that the reduction of this country, will be the bringing all our Indian enemies into a friendly alliance with us. For Quebec & Canada being in our possession, they cannot be supplied from thence as heretofore, with arms, ammunition and other things, which long use has been made necessary to them. They must therefore come to us for them ; and be obliged to court our friendship. And this reasoning will hold good with respect to all the numerous savage nations, quite from the territories of Hudsons Bay, where the Indians have long been our friends, down to the great lakes, and to the southward of them, as far as Georgia ; and Westward, till we approach near the Missisipi. Whereever they can be supplied easiest, and upon the best terms, especially if it be by those who are the most powerful on the continent, and can give them the greatest protection & assistance in case of need ; there they will, sooner or later, come to be supplied. And this, probably, in a short time, provided those prudent measures continue to be prosecuted with reference
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to them, which have lately been used. For we see them now daily forsaking the French interest, coming over to us, and seeking an alliance with us. So that this reasoning is not grounded merely on hypothesis, but partly on certain fact. And it may be added here, that on the foregoing principles, the friendship of all these savages may be relied on as hearty & sincere, having not only convenience, but even necessity for its basis. For they cannot live, but by being and keeping on good terms with us. And so, in short, they will be a barrier, if one is needed, between our southern colonies and the French on the Missisipi; or, perhaps, with a little of our assistance, should the war continue, make them glad to confine themselves wholly to the westward of that river.

SAVING the right of the natives, all the territory about Hudson's bay, northward, westward and southward as far as the bounds of Canada, already belongs to Great-Britain, where we have long had several forts and settlements, of which we are still in possession. And upon the foregoing principles, Great-Britain must of course, in a little time, be possessed of a territory here in North-America, extending and continued from that Bay, and indeed from some way to the Northward of it, as far as Florida to the southward, about two thousand miles; and extending as far back to the westward, almost, as we should desire; reserving always, as was intimated above, to the savage nations, their just claims, or proper rights. This is what we may, without much presumption, promise ourselves, making proper allowance for contingencies, or things out of the ordinary course; on which, being unknown, we can ground none of our reasonings in this, or any other case. But to say the least, this may probably be the consequence of reducing
Quebec:

Quebec : For all that has been said above, has a close and manifest connection with that important event.

BUT allowing the above conclusions to be justly drawn; yet some may perhaps demand still, "Cui bono?" Tho' things should turn out thus; yet what real and considerable benefit would from hence result to Great-Britain and her colonies? (For we have all learnt, at length, to consider their interests, not as being separate, but closely united.) This is the demand, to which some answer was promised above; tho' it is hardly to be supposed, indeed, that such a question could be seriously asked by any intelligent person, the advantages accruing from hence, being so many, great and manifest. To hint at some of the principal, and most obvious of them then :

IN the first place, one great advantage we should gain hereby is this, that all the British colonies and provinces would henceforward enjoy peace on their extensive frontiers, or inland borders. We shall be delivered from the ravages and barbarities of faithless savages, and more faithless Frenchmen; of all which ravages and barbarities, the French being in possession of Quebec and St. Lawrence river, has, from first to last, been the principal cause. For the Indians would all have long since been our friends, had it not been for them in our neighbourhood, to set them upon us both in war and peace. How much blood has been heretofore shed on the frontiers of the British colonies? What a vast treasure has been annually expended in defending ourselves, tho' very ineffectually, from our American enemies, different in complexion, yet much the same in heart †? How have our infant settlements

† Even Mons. Vaudreuil, the Governor General of Canada, and himself a Canadian by birth, it is confidently and credibly

lements, otherwise very flourishing, been distressed, kept back, and, many of them quite broken up, by the enemy ? Whereas we may now rationally expect to have peace in all our borders ; and that there will be no more breaking in, or carrying out to a wretched captivity. The public expences, and consequently the public taxes, will be vastly lessened ; and become very small in comparison of what they have hitherto been in time of war. And we shall save, not only much money, but, what is far more precious in the sight of God and wise men, much blood. Our colonies will of course increase and people fast ; and, under the common blessing of providence, flourish more than ever, quickly filling up, and extending themselves far back into the country. Of which, the mother-country will reap the benefit in common with us. These are such great and obvious advantages, that all must needs see them.

In the next place, an extensive trade will of course be opened with all the savage nations back of us ; particularly the fur trade, of late years almost engrossed by the French, who have had those savages in their interest. They must now hunt for us in our turn, in order to pay us for the necessaries which they must come to us for. Which is also in some measure applicable to the Canadians themselves, that country being reduced, if any of them shall remain therein. They must all be supplied by us, and pay us for it some way or other. So that in short, all the commerce of this part of the world, from the northward of Hudson's Bay to Florida,

affirmed, had the inhumanity, or may I not rather say ? the brutality, to ornament a room with English scalps hung round it ; which he used to show to his unhappy prisoners ; to insult them ; pointing out to them, which were the scalps of their near relations friends and neighbours !

da, and back to the Missisipi, or near it, will of course be in the hands of British subjects : A commerce, which will greatly increase the demand for British manufactures, and both well employ and maintain many thousand more people in Great-Britain, than do or can get a livelihood there at present in any honest way. It will also much increase her navigation, and that of her colonies.

MOREOVER : The reduction of Quebec, and supposed reduction of Canada in consequence thereof, will be a benefit to us, as it will be, in some measure at least, a cramping of the French sugar-islands, which have of late much more than rivalled our own. The French West India islands, if I am not misinformed, have heretofore had great dependence upon Canada for bread-corn, and other provisions, for some kinds of naval stores, and divers other articles, both necessary for them, and which they cannot, elsewhere, be so commodiously supplied with. The depriving them of which, especially if an effectual stop should be put to the illicit trade carried on thither from some British parts of the continent, must greatly distress and reduce them, and be a proportionable advantage to ours ; lessen their commerce and navigation, and increase our own.

Again : One would think that France would now, almost of course, be wholly cut out of the American cod-fishery, of which she has heretofore made such vast advantages. Her Louisbourg fishery was gone before. That up the gulph and river St. Lawrence is now gone. All treaties, by virtue of which she claimed a right to make fish on the coast of Newfoundland, have been violated by her ; they are broken thro', and become mere nullities, as tho' they had never been.

been. And if we should hold the possession of Louisbourg, Canada and Newfoundland, with the coast of Labrador, one would think it easy to prevent her making fish in any of those parts, especially considering the great superiority of the British navy. Nor does it seem improbable that this whole fishery may fall into the hands of British subjects; unless we should perhaps hereafter have a ministry as complaisant to his Most Christian Majesty, and the court of Versailles, as that in the latter end of Queen Ann's reign, which complimented France with the best places for carrying on the cod-fishery, in all North-America; i. e. in the world. But at present, to be sure, there is no reason for any apprehensions of this sort. Now the destruction of the French fishery would be the destruction of one most material and extensive branch of her commerce, in which she was before our too successful rival: And this whole fishery, falling into the hands of Britain, would prodigiously increase her trade and wealth; giving her the advantage of supplying all those markets, which France supplied before? This wou'd also be the lessening of the latter's maritime power in general, and the increasing, proportionably, that of Great-Britain. For France, being deprived of this fishery, could not employ and maintain so many seamen as heretofore, by many thousands; whereas we might then employ and maintain many thousands more than ever. This is a consideration of the last importance to the welfare and safety of Great-Britain, and of her colonies, if not of all Europe; her chief dependence and security, under divine providence, being placed in the superiority of her naval power, and keeping under that of France. For should France, whose ambition is so exorbitant and boundless, and whose power is so great on the continent, once become superior by sea, the liberties of Great-Britain, and perhaps of Europe, are no more.

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THESE are not all, but only some of the chief of those secular and national advantages which occur to my thoughts, as naturally resulting from, or having an apparent connection with, the great things which God hath lately done for us ; more especially in the reduction of Quebec, which, you will remember, I now consider as being in effect the reduction of Canada, and bringing all the Indian savages into a friendly alliance with us. Whether that chain of reasoning, by which I came to view it in this light, will hold together, and be strong enough to support so weighty and important a conclusion ; or whether it be only like a rope of sand, which cannot be even lightly touched without being broken to pieces, must be submitted to the judgment of others : As also, whether, allowing it to be good, and duly connected, the advantages above-mentioned, may naturally be supposed, to flow from such a conquest of the French in America, and such an alliance with the Indians.

IF these inferences are not unjustly deduced, as it is humbly conceived they are not, what great cause have we to be glad and rejoice at this day ; and to praise God for the great things which he hath done for us ? Our religious, as well as civil privileges seemed, a few years since, to be in some danger from the growing power and encroachments of the enemy here, supported by France. For had they at length got the upper hand, we should doubtless have been deprived of the free enjoyments of the protestant religion ; harrassed, persecuted and butchered, by such blind and furious zealots for the religion of Rome, under the direction of a priesthood and hierarchy, whose *Wisdom*, to be sure, is not from above, if the characteristic of that which is so, is to be either *pure*, or *peaceable*, *gentle*, or *easy to be entreated*, full of *mercy*, or of *good fruits*, without *partiality*,

ality, or without bypocrisy †! We have therefore reason to bless God for the successes he hath given us, not merely on temporal and worldly, but on religious and spiritual accounts also.

WE have often heard with our ears, and our fathers have told us, what great things God did for them in their days; how he preserved, and provided for them in the wilderness, when this was such, which now rejoiceth and blossometh as the rose; and how he, in part, drove out the heathen from before them, who were their enemies without a cause. But we now see, in our own days, greater things than those! Our fathers, as they had abundant reason to do, earnestly desired to see this day, but did not see it: if they had, how glad? how joyful would they have been? And if those who are fallen asleep in the faith of Jesus Christ, instead of being perished, have, perhaps, some knowledge of the affairs of this lower world, I doubt not but that our pious forefathers, who suffered so much from their enemies here, would receive some accession of joy even in heaven, by looking down from thence, and beholding what God hath done for us their beloved posterity; how he hath avenged us of our, and their enemies; and by seeing the prospect which we now have, by the blessing of God, of living peaceably and happily in this good land; so that tho' themselves never could, yet we their descendants, being delivered out of the hand of our enemies, and them that hated us, "may serve God without fear, in holiness and righteousness," the remainder of our lives.

THINK it not strange that you hear such a supposition made, as that above. For altho' both tongues and prophecies shall cease, yet "charity never faileth";

† James III. 17.

in heaven it is perfected in those souls, which were endowed with a measure of it on earth. And charity, you know, “rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth;” it delighteth in observing the felicity of others, and God’s righteous acts, whereby his people and church are secured against their adversaries, and put in a prosperous condition. Nor will it be amiss just to observe here, that in the Revelation of St. John, the blessed above are introduced as praising God, I had almost said, keeping a *Thanksgiving*, for his righteous judgments on earth, in delivering his servants from oppression and persecution; particularly, from the persecutions and oppressions of the “mother of harlots, and abominations;” that idolatrous and apostate church, which hath so long “made herself drunk with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus”—“I heard, says he, a great voice of much people in heaven, saying, Alleluia! Salvation, and glory, and honor, and power, unto the Lord our God. For true and righteous are his judgments; for he hath judged the great whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication” [or idolatrous practices]; “and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand. And again, they said, Alleluia ||!”

God hath revealed his purpose, his unalterable purpose, in due time, tho’ gradually, to consume and destroy the beast and the false prophet, with their adherents; till in the end they “shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture, into the cup of his indignation”; when there is to be a most signal revolution in the civil and religious state of things in this world; and all the kingdoms thereof are to “become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ.” And one might, perhaps, without any great degree of superstition or enthusiasm,

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from some late occurrences in Europe and elsewhere, not to say any thing of the order of these predictions themselves, be inclined to think that this time of ruin to some, and reformation and joy to others, from the presence of the Lord, when the “gospel of the kingdom shall be preached for a witness among all nations,” is at no very great distance from the present.

BUT however that matter may be, from speaking positively of which, one would think, every un-inspired man, endow'd with wisdom and modesty, would be very far ; yet I cannot but just observe here, as a proper ground for gladness and rejoicing to all of us, who have any serious concern for the interests of religion, and the salvation of mens souls, that, by the great things which God has lately done, and is still doing for us, he seems, in his providence, to be preparing the way for a much more general and extensive propagation of the gospel among the savage nations of America ; for enlarging the kingdom of Christ ; and reclaiming from the error of their way to the wisdom of the just, not only those who are altogether heathen, but those also who have hitherto been deluded and infatuated by the Romish missionaries, who “compass sea and land to make profelytes.—” A field is opened to make some further attempts to this end. And altho' I would be be very far, especially at this time of general and common rejoicing among us, from saying what might *justly* be offensive to any ; yet I cannot but add here, that if the honorable and reverend “Society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts”, should see cause to employ some considerable proportion of the charities entrusted to their prudent and pious care, in so noble an enterprise, so good a work, as that of gospelizing the savages in the extensive wildernesses of America, I believe
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all the world would applaud them. With all the deference that is due to so respectable a body, doubtless the great end of those charities would, in this way, be at least as much regarded and prosecuted, and, perhaps, better answered, than by supporting many missionaries at a great annual expence, in all the oldest, the principal, and richest cities and towns in these Northern colonies; where christianity has been the general, common and established religion for more than a century of years past.— But not to digress: Having thus attempted to show, what great reason we have to rejoice and be glad at this time, by representing the importance that acquisition which hath been so often mentioned, considering the great and happy consequences that may, very probably at least, flow from it; I proceed now as was proposed,

III. To subjoin some useful and necessary regulations of our joy on this great and happy occasion, that it may be restrained within due bounds, and flow in a proper channel.

And in the first place, we should take heed that our joy is not leavened with pride and vain-glory, as tho' our successes were wholly from ourselves. This is what is very common with people on similar occasions. They are glad with a kind of self-important, and self-sufficient joy, which swells them up, and is quite the reverse of that rejoicing which becometh christians. For man has nothing which he did not receive, whether strength, wisdom, courage or magnanimity: Why then should he glory in it, or in the effects and consequences of it, "as tho' he had not received it?"

THERE is another thing nearly allied to this, against which we ought also to guard. Many people who,

tho' they believe in the over-ruling providence of God, and are far from wholly attributing to themselves, the glory of their victories and successes, yet rejoice on such occasions under the notion of their having as it were merited them, by their superior goodness and righteousness. This is also a vain, proud joy, not becoming sinful creatures. It is indeed possible, that we may not be altogether so guilty in the sight of God, as our enemies whom he hath thus far subdued under us; but we are yet far from being so righteous ourselves, as to have merited thereby the successes which he has given us against them. And there is a remarkable passage in the book of Numbers, † so much to the present purpose, that I cannot forbear quoting it. The children of Israel were now about to pass over the river Jordan, where God had promised to drive out the idolatrous nations from before them. But lest they should ascribe this to their own great piety and goodness, he gives them the following caution and admonition: "Understand therefore this day, that the Lord thy God is he that goeth over before thee as a consuming fire: he shall destroy them, and shall bring them down before thy face: so shalt thou drive them out, and destroy them quickly, as the Lord hath said unto thee. Speak not thou in thine heart, after that the Lord thy God hath cast them out from before thee, saying, for my righteousness the Lord hath brought me in to possess this land: but *for the wickedness of these nations* the Lord doth drive them out from before thee. Not *for thy righteousness*, or for the uprightness of thine heart, dost thou go to possess their Land: but for the wickedness of these nations, the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee."

† Chap. IX.

WE should, moreover, be very far from indulging to any kind of excess, or riotous joy, on this happy occasion. Some there are, who seem to think they cannot be sufficiently glad and joyful on such occasions, without behaving more like the ancient Bacchianians, or madmen, than like Christians and reasonable creatures; running into many foolish excesses quite inconsistent, not only with christian sobriety, but with civil order. Let us be admonished to abstain from every kind and degree of extravagant, riotous mirth. “It is better, says Solomon, to hear the rebuke of the wise, than for a man to hear the song of fools. For as the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is the laughter of fools: this also is vanity.”

IN the next place: We should be at least equally far from taking pleasure in reflecting on the miseries which our enemies suffer. We may, indeed, reasonably rejoice that God has given us such success against them, as may probably put it out of their power to harm us for the future. But their calamities and distresses, considered in themselves, are no proper ground of gladness to us. And if any part of our joy on this occasion arises from hence, so far it is contrary to the spirit of the gospel. If we have good and benevolent hearts, we cannot but be touched with pity for those unhappy people, however malicious they have been towards us; especially for the poor women and children, who can hardly be supposed to have been “in this transgression,” with the rest. Yea, if we could relieve them in their distresses, without hazard to ourselves and the public, the great law of charity would oblige us to do it; whereby we should fulfil that evangelical command, “If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: For in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head.”

AGAIN : We should by no means please ourselves with any such thought as this on the present occasion, that being at rest from our enemies, we may hereafter have it in our power to lead a soft and luxurious, an indolent or effeminate life ; consuming the bounties of divine providence on our lusts. To please and delight ourselves with any such thought, with any such hopes as these, were to rejoice, not as Christians, but as Epicures ; and would be a certain indication of a corrupt, sensual turn of mind.

BUT having dwelt long enough on the negative here, it may be proper to propose some more direct and positive rules, to guide and assist us in pointing our joy aright on this great occasion.

AND here, in the first place, we should “rejoice in the Lord ;” in him who has done these great things for us, whereof we are glad. We are to consider God as the supreme author of our victories and successes. “All that is in the heaven, and in the earth is his ; and in his hand it is to make great, and to give strength unto all.” However brave, prudent and magnanimous the persons are, or were, to whom we immediately owe these successes, they are yet to be considered only as the instruments and servants of God, by whom he has wrought such salvation, such great things for us. Thine, O Lord ! is “the glory, and the victory, and the majesty.”

WE should also ascribe these successes to God, not merely as the supreme cause and author, but as the gracious, merciful, and bountiful bestower of them ; whom we had laid under no obligation, in point of justice, thus to espouse our cause, “when men rose up against us” ; but who might, for our sins, have given
 us

“ us a prey to their teeth, ” however wicked and unrighteous; our enemies themselves may be supposed to be, or to have been. And indeed God, in his unsearchable wisdom, sometimes permits the wicked grievously to afflict such as are more righteous than themselves ; wherein he is not unjust, since the “ whole world is become guilty before him. ”

It is moreover necessary, that our joy should be accompanied with unfeigned gratitude, or truly thankful hearts. Gladness on such an occasion without sincere thankfulness, which is very supposeable, and perhaps very common, would have no degree of piety or virtue ; it would be but a natural, human passion, the offspring of self-love. It is only a grateful joy that becomes christians, at least, that will entitle us to that honourable character. And it is in this, that a religious *Thanksgiving* most essentially consists ; I mean, in having our hearts truly touched and warmed with a sense of God’s undeserved goodness to us : Tho’ it is highly expedient that this should be outwardly expressed, by talking of his loving-kindness, by devoutly singing his praises, and ascribing to him blessing and honor, glory and power.

OUR rejoicing in the goodness of our God to us, should also be attended with unfeigned good-will and charity towards men. Indeed a proper sense of God’s mercies has a natural tendency to soften and expand the heart of man ; to fill it with the warmest wishes for the good, the eternal good of others. And if we feel no such benevolence, or charity, in our breasts, it is almost a certain sign that there is in them no religious or virtuous joy ; and that however full we may be of gladness or mirth upon this occasion, it is only the mirth or gladness of sensu-

56 *Regulations of our Joy, &c.*

ful men ; of men under the influence of natural human passions and affections only, at best ; but possibly of such as are much worse, *unnatural* ones.

MOREOVER ; Our rejoicing in the goodness of God to us on this occasion, should be accompanied with sincere resolutions to make the most proper and worthy returns to him that we possibly can ; i. e. to keep his commandments, and live to his glory. Truly grateful and religious joy is never unattended with such-like pious and virtuous resolutions. And indeed, after all that has been said in the former part of this discourse, concerning the greatness and importance of those things which God has done for us, the chief, or rather the sum-total of the advantage is, that we may, if we have hearts for it, hereafter “ lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty ; ” to do which, is the supreme good of man in this world, and the only way to obtain immortal joys in the next.

FINALLY here ; We should “ rejoice with trembling ”. We should exercise an humble dependence upon almighty God, in whose hand all future events are ; whether prosperous or adverse to us, we cannot certainly foresee ; but we shall know hereafter. We should be far from a vain confidence that God, who has done such great things for us, will not in some other respects frown upon us, and sorely chastize us. We may well tremble, or at least fear in some measure, lest he should do thus : Especially if, instead of making proper returns of love and obedience to him for these mercies, we should forget, or misimprove them. Even the prosperity of fools often destroys them, when their enemies could not do it. And when we consider our own numerous frailties,
follies

follies and corruptions, we may well tremble amidst all our joys, lest we should prove as wicked and ungrateful as many have been before us; who sung God's praises, but soon forgot his works; sinking under the blessings they enjoyed, into indolence, dissoluteness and impiety. How guilty should we be, if we should increase the number of such, after God has thus manifested his great goodness to us, and laid us under such obligations! However, what is here said is by no means designed to damp, but only to regulate our common joy, and the hopes which these late successes may naturally raise in us respecting our future prosperity; especially if we should conduct ourselves, in consequence of them, as becomes wise men and christians.

IT were, indeed, an argument both of our insensibility and our ingratitude, not to rejoice on so noble an occasion. We, I mean New-England, and all the British American plantations, had never so much cause for general joy as we have at present; while we see ourselves in so fair a way, under the blessing of providence, to be wholly delivered from our enemies in these parts. Had the French retained their power, and independency of us here in America, we might be certain from more than an hundred years sad experience of them, that they would still be, not only our enemies, but false, perfidious and barbarous ones; and not only so, but that the greater part of the savages still instigated, as they are already infatuated by them, would be our enemies also. Canada, even tho' the French should relinquish all their encroachments, and retire within their old proper bounds, is yet so near to us, that it is impossible for Frenchmen, retaining their power, and their independency on
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Great-Britain, to inhabit that country without being pernicious enemies to us, in peace as well as war. Of this we have had experience, much more than sufficient: We have sadly felt the effects of their perfidy, and of long wars with the savages, wholly owing to them.

WE have all along been more or less disquieted, often greatly distressed, by these our American enemies: And there was a time, not long since, when we had considerable reason to apprehend what the consequence might be; how far fatal to ourselves, and the British interest in America. We had some reason for this, whether we reflect how the enemy conducted, or we ourselves conducted, at that time: When they had a strong chain of forts quite round us, and boasted that they had us in a pound: When, not only all the perfidy, which is nothing new or strange, but almost all the policy, the prudence, the military spirit, and I may add, the success also, seemed to have fallen to *their* share! These things then look'd with a dark and threatening aspect on the British affairs in America, and, consequently, in Europe also. But blessed be God, that the scene is so much changed! "The snare is broken, and we are escaped." The power of the French is now broken, at least here in America; and not likely to be recovered. Our heathen enemies have no longer cause to "shoot out the lip," to deride and insult us, saying, Where is their boasted strength? "Where is their God?" Even they must now confess that the Lord hath done great things for us, whereof they also may in time probably be glad, how sorrowful soever they may be at present. And having offered up our praises to heaven for these favours, we can now make no prayer more seasonable, than that God would be pleased so deeply to impress our hearts

hearts with a sense of his goodness, that it may never be effaced ; but that we may always remain humbly and obediently thankful for it.

If we have but hearts to live answerably to these mercies, we may expect to see far “ greater things than these. ” We have given many outward demonstrations of our joy. To pass over some others, we have chim’d bells, and cannon have roar’d ; bonfires have blaz’d on every hill ; colors have been display’d ; our houses have been gaily illuminated ; and many a splendid rocket has been thrown to illuminate and adorn the skies themselves. Such have been the civil demonstrations of our joy on this great occasion. And we have now as soon indeed, as could well be, manifested our joy in a religious manner, by observing this day of public and general thanksgiving. The former I do not censure ; the latter is doubtless to be commended. What remains then, but that we now give the highest and best evidence of all, that we have a just sense of these favours, and are truly thankful for them ; I mean, by “ denying ungodliness, and worldly lusts, and living soberly, righteously and godly in the world ? ” That we may lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty, is indeed the most, if not the only, rational and worthy end we can have in view, in any of our military undertakings. And when once providence has, or shall have, put it in our power to live thus, the great end of war being answered, we are wholly inexcusable if we live otherwise ; particularly if we should “ turn aside to vain jangling ” amongst ourselves, “ doting about questions, and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil-surmisings, and perverse disputings ; ” instead of “ studying the things that make for peace, and the things whereby we may edify one another. ”

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IF we should henceforth live as becomes fellow-subjects, and fellow-christians, in the fear of God, and brotherly-love, still “abhorring that which is evil, and cleaving to that which is good,” we might then reasonable hope to see ourselves established without any rivals, much less perfidious and cruel enemies, in this good land, of such a vast extent; and that our posterity after us will also be glad of those great things which God has done, and is still doing for us. Even they will “abundantly utter the memory of his great goodness, and talk of his righteousness,” if we and they become, and continue, a willing and obedient people. Yea, we may reasonably expect that this country, which has in a short time, and under many disadvantages, become so populous and flourishing, will, by the continued blessing of heaven, in another century or two become a mighty empire (I do not mean an independent one) in numbers little inferior perhaps to the greatest in Europe, and in felicity to none.

WE ourselves shall, indeed, be all gone off the stage long before that time, and “gathered to our fathers:” But our posterity will remain. And I must own, if I may so express it, that I feel a strong affection working in me towards those that are yet unborn, even to many generations. As I think with great satisfaction and delight on the happy estate of good men long since dead; especially of our pious forefathers who first peopled this country, and underwent so many difficulties and hardships in this undertaking for the testimony of a good conscience, and during their abode here; so I delight in looking into future ages, and seeing, at least in imagination, the prosperous and happy condition of those that are to succeed us.

I CANNOT help, neither do I desire to help, such imaginations ; because they afford me at least an innocent pleasure ; perhaps one that might claim even the name of virtuous. For all those pleasures that have their foundation in benevolence, and are the result thereof, are truly such. I cannot forbear fancying that I see a great and flourishing kingdom in these parts of America, peopled by our posterity. Methinks I see mighty cities rising on every hill, and by the side of every commodious port ; mighty fleets alternately sailing out and returning, laden with the produce of this, and every other country under heaven ; happy fields and villages wherever I turn my eyes, thro' a vastly extended territory ; there the pastures cloathed with flocks, and here the vallies cover'd with corn, while the little hills rejoice on every side ! And do I not there behold the savage nations, no longer our enemies, bowing the knee to Jesus Christ, and with joy confessing him to be " Lord, to the glory of God the Father ! " Methinks I see religion professed and practised throughout this spacious kingdom, in far greater purity and perfection, than since the times of the apostles ; the Lord being still as a wall of fire round about, and the glory in the midst of her ! O happy country ! happy kingdom !

I can scarce forbear fancying, that I hear a venerable sire talking after this manner to his child, of things that came to pass in old times, the days of his forefathers : " My son, these friends and brethren of our's, " whom you see of a darker complexion than our- " selves, were once our heathen enemies, and vexed " our fathers in the wilderness ; (for this was once " such !) At the same time there was a certain restless, " ambitious people in our neighbourhood, from a " far distant country, called France *in those days*, who " with

“ with them, and without provocation, endeavoured
 “ to destroy our fathers out of the land. But several
 “ hundred years ago, when GEORGE the II. an
 “ excellent King, sat upon the British throne, and a
 “ certain wise and good man, named PITT, was
 “ his minister, a great General was sent with a
 “ little army, to take the enemy’s chief city. The
 “ name of this brave general was WOLFE; but the
 “ name of the enemy’s general is forgotten. All we
 “ know of the latter is, that some time before, the army
 “ *under his command* perfidiously murder’d a great
 “ number of our people, after they had surrender’d
 “ a certain fortrefs to him, and he had plighted them
 “ his faith!—But the strong city of the enemy I just
 “ now spoke of, was taken after a bloody battle, and
 “ their whole country was soon subdued. From that
 “ time God, who loved our fathers, gave them rest
 “ on every side. They then grew and flourished
 “ mightily, and filled the whole land. Such great
 “ things, my dear child! did God perform for our
 “ fathers in the days of old; for which we have
 “ cause to be glad and rejoice to this time, and
 “ praise his glorious name”—But whither will ima-
 gination transport me! into what times and regions,
 if I do not check it!—

EVEN these days, my brethren, wherein we live,
 I mean, since God hath done so great a thing for us,
 are far more joyful than any which our fathers saw;
 tho’ far less happy than those times which busy fancy,
 the love of my dear country, and charity to unborn
 posterity, would paint out to me, and almost compel
 me to believe are actually to follow.

WE can never be thankful enough to God for that
 interesting event, which has been the main subject of
 my

my discourse, being the principal occasion of our present rejoicing. But alas! there is never any great good “in this present evil world,” without some mixture of evil, at least of what seems to us to be so. This is the case, even with respect to that event, which is both so great in itself, and so happy in its probable consequences.—O untimely, tho’ gloriously fallen! Mortal in thy body, but immortal all beside! immortal in thy deeds, immortal in thy memory, immortal in thy fame!—I can no longer forbear to mention his fall, which I have hitherto forborne with difficulty, even tho’ it should cause a general gloom, and occasion the closing of this solemnity with less joy than it began. Immortal WOLFE! untimely, but gloriously fallen! Untimely in respect of thy youth! without an heir to hear of thy great actions, to enjoy thy renown, or to inherit thy name! Fallen far from thy native, beloved country, and every near relative! Untimely for thy country, which needs such as thou wast to conduct and inspire her armies, and lead them on to victory! But still fallen gloriously for thy self, and for that country which gave birth to such a commander! Fallen in the service of thy king, and of that country, so dear to thee, and for which thou wouldst readily have laid down more lives than one! Fallen, tho’ in youthful ardor, yet not without the prudence and wisdom of age! Tho’ without an heir; yet such as thou wast need not children to bear up, and immortalize their name! And thou hast here left at least one whole grateful country, where all, old as well as young, will honor thee as a father, and enjoy thy fame, as well as the fruit of thy toils! Tho’ far from the country which gave thee birth, yet near one which would glory might it be said, that “this man was born here!” Tho’ distant from every near relative, yet near to those, whose childrens children will “rise up
and

and call thee blessed!" Fallen, tho' untimely for thy country still engaged in war; yet not till thou hadst sav'd one country by conquering another! For tho' others use to conquer only while they lived, thou wast a conqueror even in death! Whose fall, no less than whose presence while living, inspir'd the troops with a courage not to be resisted; and even turn'd what was before only fortitude, into fury, tho' not into madness!

WHEN I reflect upon these circumstances of his fall, I am obliged to retract what I said before: He that fell so gloriously, did not fall untimely. No! He falls not untimely, who falls in the service of his King and country with such magnanimity, with the vigor of youth and the wisdom of age united; especially if he falls a conqueror, as this brave general did. Whoever falls thus in the discharge of his duty; thus greatly, thus victoriously, and with such glorious circumstances attending his fall, being supposed to be an upright good man, falls not immaturally, but "in a good old age." Whether he had lived many years or few, is little to the point. Not he that draws and respire this vital air the ofteneft; not he that sleeps the most nights, or wakes the most days; not he that passes thro' the most summers and winters; in fine, not he that sees the most suns and seasons rolling over him in succession; this is not he that lives the longest, or that dies the most maturely. There is another, a far juster standard of age, of life and death: And he who lives the most usefully, the most to the proper ends and purposes of life, lives, both the most honourably, and the longest, and makes the most mature, as well as glorious exit.—"Honourable age is not that which standeth in length of time, or that is measured by number of years: But wisdom is the GREY HAIR unto men, and an unspotted life is OLD AGE!"

My Brethren, tho' my heart relented when I began to speak of this British hero's fall in the vigor of his life ; yet by means of such reflections as these, which are the suggestions, not of passion, that erroneous guide, but of reason, which will not lead us astray ; by means of such reflections, I say, I find my spirits so far returned, that I could now almost congratulate you on his noble exit, instead of condoling with you on it ! However, not to carry this matter beyond just bounds : Who would not die as this brave commander died, to be both remembered and honored in future times, rather than live a while as some others have lived, and then die to be forgotten ; or if not entirely forgotten, yet remembered only as having in their day given the most flagrant and inglorious proofs, that they were not in places adapted to their talents, when they were found at the head of armies !

BUT still you will say, that not only we, but the nation, has sustained a great loss in the fall of this excellent commander. Far be it from me to deny this ! But blessed be God, the nation has other wise, brave, and magnanimous commanders ; One * at least, perhaps several, now in America ; and many more both at home and abroad. And he, on whom the command devolved at so critical a juncture, † and under whom that great enterprize was brought to so happy a conclusion, is doubtless another, to whom the like character justly belongs. Nor will Great-Britain ever be destitute of such commanders, till either her happy government is subverted, and her liberties lost ; or till those glorious times shall come, when instead of " learning war any more," all the nations which have hitherto by their mutual enmity and violence, been as it were scourges in the hand of almighty God, to

E punish

* Gen. Amherst.

† Brig. Gen. Townshend, on the fall of Gen. Wolfe.

punish one another for their sins, shall at length “beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks;” being both too wise, and too virtuous; thus to “hurt and destroy” each other. At least such commanders will never be wanting in Great-Britain, during a reign and administration like the present, wherein superior merit is so early observed, and so gloriously distinguished!

LET US not therefore despond under this loss. We could not expect, according to the establish’d course of human affairs, even under the peculiar favour and smiles of heaven, to do great things, or obtain great advantages against our enemies, without some circumstances attending them, which cannot be thought of but with regret. It becomes us, therefore, to submit with patience to what we could all wish otherwise, and to be heartily thankful for what is so agreeable to our desires, so great in itself, and so important in its consequences. “For shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?”

IF such reflexions as some of those above, tho’ I can hardly suppose it, should seem to any not suitable to the present season, or to a day of general joy and thanksgiving, I have only this apology to make: That they were in a manner forced upon me by that great and happy event itself, which is the special occasion of our rejoicing. For, to have taken no notice of the fall of that excellent general, by means of whose almost unexampled bravery and good conduct, this important acquisition was made, would have been both ungrateful and inhuman. And if it were mentioned at all, not to have spoken of it in a grave and serious, but light and indifferent manner, would have been still more ungrateful and inhuman, with the additional bad circumstances of being grossly absurd and unnatural, not to say

say impious. For, not only the fall of such distinguished personages, but death itself, is a very grave and serious subject to be thought or spoken of. Do any of you doubt it? You will soon be of the same opinion: For, human life is short, and “after death the judgment!”

This further *serious* reflexion would not have been added to the former, had not the speaker chosen to see this assembly dissolve, each one with a grave and solemn brow, much rather than with an air and countenance of thoughtless levity, tho’ the occasion of our coming together was so truly joyful. And indeed, they must be wholly strangers to virtuous and religious joy, far the noblest and greatest of any; who think sobriety and gravity inconsistent with it, which are in reality essential to it. Let us therefore, when we depart from the house of God, depart in his love and fear, with hearts thoroughly impress’d by a sense of his goodness, and the obligations which he hath laid us under to keep his commandments. Doing thus, we shall still “walk in the light of his countenance,” and still praise him while we dwell on earth. And when we depart this world, so full of discord, strife and war, and even the most prosperous events whereof, have still some disagreeable alloy, we shall depart, having our “hope full of immortality;” and our hearts, of that “PEACE OF GOD which passeth all understanding.” AMEN!

The end of the second Discourse.

A P P E N D I X.

Containing a brief Account of two former Expeditions against QUEBEC and CANADA, which proved unsuccessful.

MANY people amongst us, both in the town and country, who have heard frequent mention of former enterprizes against Quebec and Canada, have probably, either thro' want of books, or leisure to consult such as are of any considerable length, no distinct knowledge of those unfortunate expeditions. This is a season wherein there is of course much conversation about that city and country; and many who may have a curiosity, have not the advantages before-mentioned, to acquaint themselves even with the most material facts and circumstances relating to those enterprizes. We are by no means to censure such a curiosity in our countrymen and fellow-subjects, whose situation in life will not admit of their giving much of their time to reading. It is at least innocent; the author of the foregoing discourses thinks, laudable; and such an one as ought to be encouraged rather than damped. He therefore proposes in some measure to gratify it, by this appendix. Besides; reflecting on these former unsuccessful expeditions, has a natural tendency to heighten our joy and gratitude on account of the last, which has been so prosperous. Such a contrast will probably have a good effect. So that this may answer a valuable end, beyond that of merely gratifying the curiosity of the less informed reader.

WERE the ensuing account to be prolix, it would not be adapted to the circumstances of those, for whom it is principally designed. It will therefore consist chiefly of a narration of facts, and some material circumstances. These will be mostly collected from Sir H. Walker's *Journal*, and the *Appendix* thereto; Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, and Mather's *Life of Sir W. Phips*; which I here mention once for all. But when the expressions of either of those writers are used, notice will be given by the usual sign of a quotation. However, this account, tho' short, will contain some brief hints and observations respecting the causes of our miscarriages and disasters, in the two former attempts against Canada.

BUT it will not be amiss, before we proceed to the account proposed, just to observe that Quebec was 'long ago reduced by the English; because this will furnish us with an observation or two, very pertinent by way of introduction; as tending to lay open, both the motives of the French in giving us such frequent disturbances from that quarter, and the great reason

APPENDIX,

reason we have had on our side, repeatedly to attempt the reduction of that place.

QUEBEC was reduced 130 years since, in the reign of K. Charles I. viz. A. D. 1629, by admiral Kirk or Kerik, with a fleet from England. But it was soon after delivered up to France again in pursuance of a treaty, viz. 1632. And as it did not fall directly within the design of this appendix to speak at all of this expedition, it is passed over with a bare mention of these facts; which are taken notice of chiefly with a view to the following observations.

FATHER Charlevoix, the noted French Jesuit and historian, tells us, that tho' the French court was much shocked and offended at the English for taking Quebec; yet, excepting reasons which touch'd their honor, there were many who doubted whether they had sustained any real loss thereby; and whether it were expedient to demand the restitution of it. † It seems, according to this historian, that there was a great division in the court of France upon this point. It was warmly debated; and many reasons were assigned by some, why the restitution of Quebec should not be insisted on. These reasons, or objections, were particularly answered by those on the other side of the question, who finally prevailed. By the latter it was said, amongst other things, that the climate of New France would grow milder by degrees as the country was more and more opened: That this could hardly be doubted, since it was situated under the same parallels with the most temperate countries of Europe: That the climate was healthy, the soil fertile: That with a little labour the inhabitants might procure all the conveniences of life: That France might every year send a small number of families, some soldiers, with some young women that could well be spar'd, for breeders, and dispose of them in Canada, in such a manner that they might *extend themselves in proportion as they multiplied*: That this would be an excellent nursery for seamen: That the peltry, or furr-trade, would also be of considerable advantage: That for ship-building, the forests of Canada would furnish them with an ample supply, being, as they said, without contradiction, the finest in the universe: And lastly, That only the motive of keeping the English from *making themselves too powerful* in this part of America, by joining both sides of the river St. Lawrence to so many other provinces, where they were already well established, *was more than*

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sufficien

† —“ Mais les raisons d'honneur à part, bien de gens douteroient si l'on avoit fait une véritable perte, & si l'à propos de demander la restitution de Quebec.”

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*Sufficient to induce them to make a point of recovering Quebec, whatever it cost them.**

IT is not to be wonder'd at, that these reasons prevailed in the court of France. It were needless to observe how punctually the French have regarded them ever since; particularly in *sending over a number of families and some soldiers every year, with some women*, that they might *extend themselves gradually as they encreased*; or, in other words, make encroachments upon us; and, in conjunction with the savages, *keep us from becoming too powerful in North America*. At the same time, these things, and the French acting all along upon these maxims, without any regard to justice, humanity or honor, equally show that our repeated struggles and efforts to retake Quebec, tho' not by way of *treaty*, as they did, and as they have *taken* many other places first and last, but by force of arms, were not without sufficient grounds. Whether the same reasons will, or will not, hold equally good for maintaining Quebec to the last, or *at any rate whatever* within the bounds of justice, belongs not to us to determine.— There are others who know far better, what *can*, and what is *fit* to be done, than we can pretend to; in whose wisdom, integrity and patriotism, we may safely confide, as it is our duty to do.

I FEAR I have been too long in this introductory part of the appendix: But the best apology that can be made, is to proceed directly to the proposed narrative.

THE first of the two former expeditions against Quebec and Canada, of which some account was to be given, was in the reign of K. William III. sixty-nine years ago, viz. A. D. 1690. No British troops were employed therein. But the people of New-England, having been continually molested by the Canadians, and the Indians in their interest; and having been very successful this same year in reducing Port-Royal, now Annapolis, with all Nova-Scotia, resolved on this more important and arduous enterprize

* “ Ensin, que le seul motif d'empêcher les Anglois de se rendre trop puissans dans cette partie de l'Amérique, en joignant les deux bords du Fleuve S. Laurent à tant d'autres provinces, où ils avoient déjà de bons établissemens, étoit plus que suffisant pour nous engager à recouvrer Quebec, a quelque prix que ce fût.” Hist. et Descript. de la N. France, Tome I. Liv. IV.

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terprize against Quebec. For it was then, and indeed long before, plainly seen, that we were never to expect any peace or quiet in these northern British colonies, while Quebec was in the hands of such neighbours as the French. Sir William Phips, the next Year Governor of the Massachusetts-Bay, was a lover of his native country, and of an active genius. He was accordingly a zealous promoter of this expedition, and was put at the head of it, as commander in chief.

In this expedition there sailed from the port of Boston, thirty-two frigates and transports, having on board, besides seamen, about 2000 New-England troops. The largest ship, or admiral, carried 44 guns. The season was far too much advanced before the fleet took its departure from Boston, which was not till the 9th of August. It did not arrive before Quebec till the 5th of October. A 1000 English provincial troops, with 1500 Indians, were to have marched about the same time from Albany, and to have proceeded by the way of lake Champlain, in order to attack Montreal, or at least to divide the French forces, and make a diversion that way, in favour of the fleet and army up the river St. Lawrence; and thereby facilitate the design of reducing Quebec, which was the grand point in view. But, for certain reasons which cannot here be particularly mentioned, the forces did not proceed at the westward, according to the original plan. Which, in part, occasioned the subsequent miscarriage of the expedition up the river: I say in part; for there were other causes concurring; particularly sickness amongst the troops there, and, possibly, want of sufficient experience in the officers for such an undertaking; to the success whereof, bravery was not the only thing necessary.

October 6th, Sir William summoned the French governor, count Frontenac, to surrender; from whom he received the following answer, “ That Sir William Phips, and those
 “ with him, were traitors to their King,* and had taken up
 “ with that Usurper the PRINCE of GEORGE, and had
 “ made a *revolution*, which if it had not been made, *N. Eng-*
 “ *land and the French* would have been ALL ONE; and that
 “ no other answer was to be expected from him, but what
 “ should be from the mouth of his cannon.” [Magnal.] The winds continued so high and boisterous, that it was impracticable for the army to land before the 8th, when all the effective men, being about 1400, were landed under the command of lieut. general Walley, about 5 miles below the city,

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on the north side of the river. They had that day some skirmishes with the enemy; a few being killed on both sides. They advanced some way towards the city; but the cold was now so severe, that the feet and hands of many were frozen; and others were taken sick with the Small-Pox. Besides: the enemy having seasonably learnt, a considerable time before, that they were in no danger of having any disturbance towards Montreal, our army that way having returned, drew all their strength from those parts; regular troops, Canadians and Indians; and in short made themselves much superior in the field. These were sufficient reasons for not advancing farther towards the city, in order to assault, or besiege it; and the troops were soon re-imbarked. Sir William, however, in the mean time, had brought some of the ships up to bombard the city; and had his own ship shot thro' in near 100 places. A French writer, Baron LaHonton, then at Quebec, makes himself very merry with this bombardment; telling his reader, that hereby the place suffered damage to the amount of about "5 or 6 pistoles." He is also very severe on the conduct of Sir William. He says, "he could not have done less than he did, if the French had hired him to stand still with his hands in his pockets." This is doubtless an injurious reflection on him. For considering the bad weather, the cold, the sickness, the smallness of his force, the failing of the intended diversion at the westward, and the consequent strength of the enemy at Quebec, it was hardly possible to have done more than he did; tho' that was indeed but very little to the purpose.

It was Sir William's design, notwithstanding these discouragements, afterwards to have landed the troops in the face of the city, under cover of his cannon, and to have taken it by storm; the troops, as well as himself, being still full of spirit and resolution. But soon after, "a violent storm
" arose that seperated the fleet, and the snow and the cold
" became so extreme, that they could not continue in those
" quarters any longer." And it was probably well for them, all circumstances being considered, that they did not attempt to put this latter design into execution; the enemy being at least 3 or 4,000, and perhaps 5 or 6,000 strong.

To say that the same number of veteran troops, under an experienced commander, and other regularly bred officers, could not have done more under the same circumstances, is much more than I presume to do. But yet it can hardly be
supposed

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supposed possible, even for such to have reduced the city, under all those disadvantageous circumstances.

THUS ended this expedition, with the loss of about 1000 men in the whole, and several transports in their return from Quebec: An expedition, certainly ill-timed, being undertaken so late in the year. And hereby was incurred an heavy charge to this government; which gave rise to the first emission of a paper currency among us; a most pernicious scheme, the bad effects of which we have not got over to this day; the fortunes of many, and perhaps the morals of more, having been ruined by it.

HOWEVER, we ought to speak with honor of Sir William Phips. Tho' neither his education, nor his experience afterwards, and possibly not his genius, qualified him either for the profoundest policy, or for a great military command, he was a brave, honest man, of an enterprising turn, a lover of his country, and zealous for its honor and service; qualities which certainly make his character and memory respectable. And here, at the close of this brief account of his unfortunate expedition, it will not be amiss to speak of one circumstance to his honor, told in the *Lives of the Admirals* before mentioned, tho' relating to quite another Affair. Sir William, then only captain Phips, had, by the intercession of Christopher Duke of Albermarle, obtained a ship of King Charles II. in order to fish on a rich Spanish wreck on the coast of Hispaniola. He went, and returned without making the desired discovery; a considerable proportion of the profits arising from which, was to have gone into the King's coffers, for the expence he had been at in fitting out the ship. Captain Phips being again fitted out by private adventurers on the same design, made the discovery; and returned to England with £. 300,000 Sterl. in silver. "On his arrival, there wanted not some, who would have persuaded the King to seize his ship and cargo, under the pretence that captain Phips had not given an exact information, when he applied for licence, and the royal assistance; but his Majesty generously answered, that he knew the captain to be an honest man, and a man of honour; and that if he had brought home twice as much treasure, his proprietors should divide it. His Majesty farther expressed his satisfaction by knighting him." *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. 2. p. 376.

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THE other former, and much greater expedition against Quebec and Canada, was in the reign of Queen Ann, twenty one years after the above mentioned, viz. A. D. 1711. The late Lord Viscount Bolinbroke, then only Mr. St. John, secretary of state to the Queen, appears to have had the chief hand in planning and directing this expedition. There were sent from England either 11 or 12 line of battle ships, (for accounts differ) 1 frigate, 2 bombs with their tender, and 32 transports with several regiments, making in all upwards of 5000 men; as also 8 transports and tenders belonging to the train of artillery. Sir Hovenden Walker was the admiral of the fleet, and general Hill commander in chief of the British troops. It seems they were delayed some time in the channel of England by contrary winds; at which Mr. secretary St. John, in his letters then written to the admiral, expresses the greatest concern and uneasiness. After being put back several times, from the 28th of April to the 5th of May, the fleet at length proceeded from Plymouth, and continuing its voyage, arrived at Boston June 24th, without any material disaster; when the troops were debarked, and encamped for some time on Noddle's island. To these were joined two regiments from the Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and New-Hampshire; all which were destin'd against Quebec and Canada, by the way of St. Lawrence.

GENERAL Nicholson was at the same time to take under his command a body of militia from Connecticut, New-York and the Jerseys, together with the Indians of the five, alias six nations, which we commonly, tho' not quite properly, blend all together under the general name of Mohawks. This army under the last mentioned general, was to proceed by the way of Lake Champlain, in order to attack Montreal, or at least to make a diversion in those parts; and by keeping the enemy at bay there, to forward the reduction of Quebec by the fleet and principal army. With this view they proceeded from Albany towards the lake; tho' not till the 20th of August. Of what number this army consisted, I have either never exactly learnt, or have forgotten, probably about 3000 including Indians. This army we now leave in its progress towards the lake, and return to the other army and the fleet.

It is said by some, that these were delayed at Boston a long time for want of necessary provisions, some seamen, &c.
and

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and this thro' the negligence, or rather the mercenary and wicked designs of certain persons here, whose business it was to forward them with all possible expedition. The admiral and general, to be sure, were loud in their complaints, not against particular persons only, but the government in general. For the former, in one of his letters to governor Dudley, then in the chair, expresses himself in the following terms: "I concur, says he, with the opinion of all the sea and land officers here, that the *government* of this colony have prejudiced the present expedition, instead of assisting it." And such representations were sent home, of this matter, as left, for some time, impressions on the minds of many persons there, much to the prejudice and disadvantage of this government. As to the negligence, ill designs, or ill conduct of some particular persons; thus far the accusation might possibly be just; which, however, I do not assert. But the imputation, as it respected the government, and people in general, was doubtless a very unworthy one, to say nothing worse of it. No government could well be more zealous in promoting any expedition; all the people in general had the success of it greatly at heart: and it may be added, that as much was done by the government to promote it, as could well be done, considering their circumstances, and that they had little or no previous warning to make the needful preparations. A great genius, Jer. Dummer, Esq; while agent for this province at the court of London, in his excellent defence of our charter, long since did the government and province justice; and wiped off these foul and base aspersions, by setting this matter in a true and clear light.

BUT to whatever cause or causes, the delay of the fleet and army at Boston was owing, the fact is, that they did not proceed from hence on the expedition till July the 30th; much too late for such an enterprise, at such a distance, thro' such a navigation, and in such a country as Canada. The fleet, when it took its departure from hence for the river, consisted of about 68 or 70 sail, having on board 6,463 troops, including the provincials. Being got into the gulph of St. Lawrence, and having taken a French prize, the people of which gave the most discouraging and formidable accounts possible, the admiral in his journal writes thus, August 15th; from whence it will appear, not only how much he was deceived in some respects, but how much he was disconcerted by that means: "Having informed myself

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myself by all means possible, says he, of the nature of Canada river, both from the French and English, I still perceive there were more difficulties to surmount than could have been imagined; for the master of the French prize, who had made forty voyages, as he told me, in that river, out and home, assured me no ship ever winter'd there, but hazarded every thing, rather than let the frost overtake them. That between the mouth of the river and Quebec, being about 130 leagues, there was *neither road, bay, or harbour*, where ships could be in tolerable security; that he *never found ground*, tho' he tried with a line of 400 fathom; that the shoar was steep too all along, being exceeding high and mountainous, and in most places you should have 100 fathom *within a cable's length* of the shoar; in some parts as deep water, and the ships sides touching the rocks. That it has been impossible for any person—to know the currents—; that *fogs and storms* were so frequent, as they might well be esteem'd *continual*," &c. &c. But these things I leave without pretending to determine, whether this admiral were then the more easy believer, or the Frenchman the greater L—r.

ON the 18th of August the fleet was not far from the mouth of the river; but the wind blowing hard against them, as the admiral says, he put into the bay of Gaspee, to the southward. There they were detain'd till the 20th, when they made sail for the river. The night of the 23d, being thick and dark, and the advice of the English pilots, as they declar'd, not being follow'd by the admiral, prov'd fatal to part of the fleet, and put an end to this expedition. Being enter'd the river as far as the egg-islands on the northern shoar, eight transports were there cast away, and near 1000 people perished; amongst whom, however, there were none of the New-England troops. About ten days after, the fleet put into Spanish river in the island of Cape-Breton. After consulting there some time, what was to be done, particularly whether any thing should be attempted against the army at Placentia on Newfoundland, it was at length determined in a council both of land and sea officers, that it was impracticable to do any thing; except to return directly to England, after giving general Nicholson, whom we left in his progress towards Montreal, advice of the disaster which had befallen them: For his now going forward could answer no valuable end. The fleet accordingly took its departure from Spanish river Sept. 16. In a short
passage

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passage they were in soundings near the British channel; and Oct. 16. the admiral's ship then lying at anchor at Spithead, was blown up, with most of his papers, and many people on board, the admiral himself being on shore. No discovery was ever made, by what means this happened. Some have thought it was not an accidental thing, but done with design, as being the most expeditious and safest way of settling the voyage. However this suggestion seems hardly credible.

THUS ended the second, grand expedition against Canada; that of admiral Kirk mentioned above, not being here reckoned as one. "The charge incurred by the province of the Massachusetts-Bay was something more than £.24,000 sterling, allowed by parliament." Doug. Summ.

THERE were three circumstances especially, attending this expedition, either of which might probably have proved fatal to the success of it without the other two. In the first place, it was much too late in the year before the fleet sailed from England. In the next, seasonable notice had not been given here, to make preparation for its arrival, and for that part which the colonies were to bear in the enterprize. And lastly, there was want of a number of thoroughly and sufficiently experienced pilots for the river; at least, of such as the admiral, who was doubtless a gentleman of very good sense and accomplishments, could place full confidence in, and rely upon; which seems to have entirely disconcerted him. Some have hinted at deep, dark and treacherous designs, relative to this expedition. Nor is it strange that there should have been some suspicions of this sort, considering who were then at the helm, and how some other matters were carried on about that time. But that there was really any treachery in the case, is by no means clear, or certain; and perhaps, upon laying all things together, very improbable. However, it is quite beyond the design of this appendix, to make any sort of inquiry into that matter; which, to be sure, would be of no advantage to those, whose gratification was proposed hereby.

As the account of these two expeditions is introduced with the mention of one which preceded them, when both Canada and New-England were in their infant state; it may be follow'd with the mention of another, which was planned since these; but without being carried into execution, or so much as attempted, except so far as the enlisting of troops here for that end. This was during the last war,

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war, viz. in 1746. The orders from Great Britain for making these levies, were dated in April that year. Many troops were raised in the colonies on so important an occasion; some of which were rendezvous'd at Saratoga above Albany: But at length; to our great surprize and mortification, in October of the following year, orders were received here for disbanding the troops. Why this design was not then prosecuted, there are others that know better than the author of these few pages.

BUT be thankful, my countrymen and fellow-subjects, that what all who have well understood, and heartily desired, the true interest of British America, ever esteemed the grand, essential point, is now gained. QUEBEC, after repeated struggles and efforts, is at length reduced: QUEBEC, I had almost called it that Pandora's box, from whence unnumber'd plagues have issued for more than an hundred years, to distress, to enfeeble, to lay waste, these northern colonies; and which might, perhaps, in the end have proved fatal to them! An acquisition, the consequence of which, *if maintained*, must prove, not only the utter ruin of the French power and interest in America; but in time, according to the natural course of things, the exalting of these little provinces and colonies, as it were into as many kingdoms; and consequently, the raising of the British empire in Europe, on which they will continue dependent, to an height and dignity amongst the nations; which it never knew before. However, altho' this is not a *sermon*, it may be just added here, that under the government and providence of God, all this will depend, in some measure, on our own wisdom, virtue and piety: For even our prosperity, without these qualities, may prove our ruin. A pagan said wisely, whether justly or not; as applied to ancient Rome,

“Diis te minorem quod geris, imperas:

“Hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum”!

Which being put into a more christian stile, in plain prose, may be expressed thus: You are exalted above other nations, because you are virtuous, and *walk humbly with your God*: From hence deduce the origin of your power, its increase and grandeur; and to the contrary ascribe its fall!—Or you may take the sum of it in the words of a *certain wise King*, who flourished in the days of old: “Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.”

To conclude: However unfortunate the former expeditions against Canada were, in the reigns of K. William and

Q. Ann.

2. And, especially the latter; when the fleet met
with such difficulties & disasters, then last of all
had been attended with such prosperity, as will
gloriously distinguish the reign of George II. In the
success of alike fleets & against the elements seem
now to interest themselves for bringing down the
pride of France.

"O firmium dilecte Deo, cui militat ether
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti!"

O heaven-belov'd! The skies their succors lend;
Thy arms the tides, & rolling seas, befriend,
And winds conspiring on thy fleets attend!