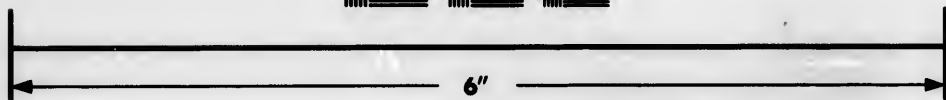
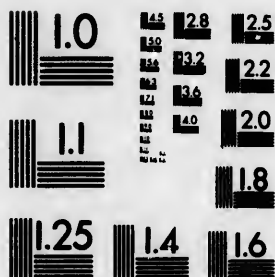


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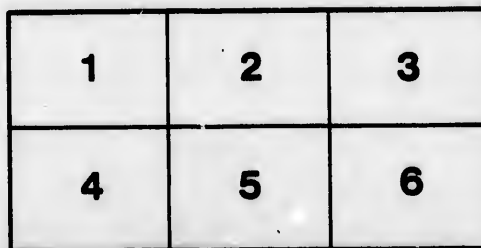
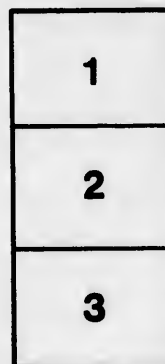
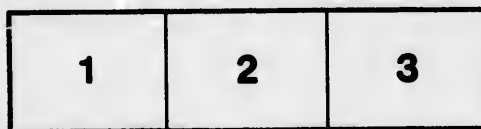
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The Authorship of a Journal of the Siege of Quebec, in the year 1759.

I. A Journal or narrative, headed "A short account of the Expedition against Quebec, commanded by Major General James Wolfe, in the year 1759, by an Engineer upon that Expedition," was recently printed in the Canadian Illustrated News. It was derived from an authenticated copy of the original, kept on record in the R. E. Department, bearing the date and signature "Quebec, Sept. 30th 1759, P. M."

A denial of its authentic character was immediately published by the present President of the Literary and Historical Society, in the words;

".....It is simply a copy of the journal of the well-known James Thompson, sen., of Quebec, who died in 1830

".....I have for some time past been its custodian, and have it now before me.....

"I had an opportunity of comparing Mr. Thompson's journal with the manuscript initialled P. M., in the Royal Engineer Office, Quebec; they are as nearly as possible *verbatim et literatim*.

"I remain, very faithfully,

"WM. JAS. ANDERSON,

"President Literary and Historical Society.

"Quebec, Grande Allée, }
16th Jan., 1872." }

A somewhat acrimonious newspaper controversy ensued on the subject of the authorship, and, eventually, the question was referred for inquiry and report to a Committee of the Historical Society, consisting of five members, including the principal party to the dispute.

The object of this paper * is, chiefly, to vindicate the genuine nature of the R. E. Narrative, to shew cause why the pretensions to the original authorship raised in behalf of Mr. Thompson cannot be accepted, and to bring under the notice of the Associate-Members of the Society some particulars of evidence which, it is hoped, may assist in preventing the premature declaration of a verdict in the Society's name.

(1.) The so-called Thompson Journal being subjected to inspection it is seen that the date and signature of the R. E. Official copy, "Quebec, Sept. 30th 1759, P. M.," are omitted. In place of these appear two endorsements, upon which, principally, the claim to original authorship rests—namely, "Transcribed from rough memoranda by James Thompson, Junr, 1821," and "The foregoing is not in my Father's usual mode of recitation but is none the less authentic." The claim is, therefore, substantially, that Mr. Thompson, Junior, in the year 1821, transcribed, from materials furnished by his Father, the document in question, though, as suggested by the terms of the 2nd endorsement, he did not adhere strictly to the usual diction of his Father. We are told, in fact, that Mr. Thompson, Senior, who served at the siege, furnished his Son with rough notes of the occurrences which took place in the Campaign

* Prepared by an Associate-Member of the Society who was invited to hear testimony concerning the authorship before the Committee.

of 1759, and that, with the aid of these notes, the Son, in 1821, composed, not altogether in the style of his Father's Literary composition, a complete narrative, which, on careful perusal, turns out to be a most particular relation of facts, events, and intentions, such as could not have been known to the members of the army and navy generally, at the time, and quite equal, as a literary production, if not superior, to the well known journals and published reports of Generals Amherst, Wolfe, Townshend, Murray and other educated military officers who figured about a century ago in the British Military and Naval Service.

Knox, who wrote ten years after the Siege, and who honestly informs us respecting the sources (which were good and reliable), whence he derived his information, does not furnish nearly so clear and minute an account of some of the most interesting and important transactions in 1759 as is given in this Journal, which we are called upon to receive as the original production of the late Messrs. Thompson. The title, therefore, to the authorship of such a work should be made indisputably clear and certified by the best possible evidence; nor can it be fairly regarded as a reflection upon the memory of the deceased Messrs. Thompson, or as an affront to the feelings of their surviving relations, if the matter be inquired into, and all particulars having a bearing upon it and, calculated to throw light upon the question be subjected to examination, such as is customary in like cases of disputed authorship. The credit, also, of the Literary and Historical Society is more or less concerned, and would certainly be impaired, if, after the Newspaper controversy which has occurred, a decision in its name should be prematurely announced and turn out, eventually, to be erroneous.

(2.) After these few preliminary observations—not uncalled for by what has already transpired in this case—we invite attention to certain particulars connected with the above mentioned two endorsements on this alleged original document, and with the heading of it, which particulars, we think, ought to have been announced, but were not stated, when the pretensions to originality were first published. We contend that neither the two endorsements, nor the heading, of the Thompson manuscript can be accepted as genuine, unless indeed, through an arbitrary partiality constraining us to make extraordinary exceptions in this particular case, we should choose to proceed on principles which would not be tolerated in any ordinary literary discussion concerning authenticity. On examining the Thompson manuscript, we see that those two endorsements are both crossed out by numerous lines in red ink, as if to cancel them and to forbid their use for any purpose whatever. The crossing out is done precisely in the way that one cancels a passage in a letter or other not strictly legal document by drawing a line or lines across it. Although the words are legible underneath the crossing lines, yet it is not unreasonable to conjecture that Mr. Thompson, junr., subsequently to writing those endorsements, became acquainted with reasons for repudiating the information they might (and have since) been construed to make.

These crossed out endorsements are followed (on the alleged original document) by several memoranda, added in 1867, and obviously not forming parts of the preceding narrative or Journal.

The heading, also, of this alleged original, differs in one important particular from that of the R. E. copy, for it now reads "by a Volunteer upon that expedition" in place of "by an Engineer, &c." This circumstance presents a very great, if not fatal, objection to the claim of originality, for, even if we were disposed to overlook the crossing out of the endorsements at the end, we discover, on a close inspection of the heading that this has been tampered with since 1821, the alleged date of the transcribing from rough memoranda. The word *volunteer* is not written in the line where it ought to appear, but slightly above it, over the place whence the word *Engineer* has been imperfectly erased with a knife, the relics of this word being sufficiently visible. Another very awkward feature of the heading remains to be mentioned; the substituted word *volunteer* has been written as it stands with a steel pen, which scarcely accords with the date, 1821, claimed to belong to this alleged original composition.

(3.) This alleged original journal has no accompanying map or plan although one is expressly mentioned in the description it gives of what transpired on Sept. 10th. It ought, if genuine, to have been accompanied with both a plan and a full table of references to this, as is the case with the authentic copies of the R. E. Journal. In fact the Journal itself, and the map with its table of references, are mutually necessary accompaniments of each other, as will be proved further on.

(4.) Numerous other objections to the acceptance of the Thompson Manuscript as the Original Document become manifest from an examination of the character and contents of the narrative, from the nature of its deviations from the text of R. E. Journal, from a consideration of Mr. Thompson, senior's, position and opportunities in the Campaign of 1759, from a comparison of this particular Journal with those of Knox, Fraser, Panot, N. Y. Mercury, Gibson and some others which have come down to us, and, lastly, from a fair application of the light and information derivable from contemporaneous history. Into all these considerations we cannot enter within the limits to which this paper must necessarily be confined, but sufficient indications will be presented so that any one really seeking the truth in this case can follow up the investigation for his own satisfaction.

(5.) Mr. Thompson Senior's, lengthened connection with the R. E. Department as one of the overseers of the staff of civilians employed—artificers workmen and laborers—afforded facilities for access to the Official Record of this Journal, from which, it can scarcely be doubted, the materials, styled "rough memoranda" by Mr. Thompson, junior, might have been procured along with the successive dates and other particulars; and positive proof will presently be adduced that such access could be made use of by outside attachés to the R. E. Department.

II. We now advert to the other side of the question—the genuineness of the R. E. Journal, and the evidence of prior existence showing that the "Thompson Manuscript,"

is nothing more than a comparatively recent copy, of the official document:

(1.) There is the certified copy of the R. E. Copy of the Journal itself, with its accompanying map, in size upwards of 5 ft. by 2 ft., having all the necessary references inscribed on it, and the names of the well known and eminent Engineers, (Capt. Debbelg, Capt. Holland, Lieut. Debarre,) who performed the surveys of the grounds.

(2.) There is an old copy of the Journal in full, taken about the year 1816, by one Michael McKittrich, a Royal Sapper and Miner—with the references complete (to the Map,) written on the first 5 pages—proving that outside employees had access to the Office papers so far as to enable them to procure copy of this Journal.

(3.) There is a very old copy of the Map, identical, as to size, scale and details, with the modern copies of the same, but not having the references inscribed upon it. Competent judges pronounce this to be a very early copy, and probably taken not less than 100 years ago.

(4.) There are three old detached copies of the references to the map, one dated 1794, the others of unknown date though manifestly of very early origin. The numerous details given in these tables of references are identical in order, wording, &c. In them occur (6 times) the words "vide Journal," while reciprocally, in the Journal, we have the words "vide map." The matters indicated in the references accord with and illustrate the movements and descriptions given in the Journal.

A fair inference from the association of the Journal, map and references, is, that all these written copies (including the so-called Thompson Journal) were derived from the same common original whose true date was Sept. 30th, 1759, and not 1821.

(5.) There are letters, recently received, which have been exhibited to various persons interested in this question, from officials of the R. E. Department, who, it is reasonable to assume, are the best judges of the authenticity and the origin of their own Departmental papers. The fact that these proofs came unsolicited and unexpected imparts to them all the force of undesigned testimony. They are as follows:

1st, copy of a letter from the Chief Draftsman in charge of the records and library at the House Guards, London.

"HOUSE GUARDS,
8th Foby., 1872.

"C. WALKER, Esq.,

"Dear Sir,

"I have to thank you for 2 copies of the Canada Illustrated News containing account of the Siege of Quebec. It turns out to be that written by one P. Mackellar, and has already been published in the R. E. Corps Papers I have given one copy of the paper to Lt. Col. Murray, R. E. and D. W. (B.), whose Grandfather commanded the Louisbourg Grenadiers at the Siege.

"(Signed,) WALTER TREGELLAS."

2nd, extract from a letter of Col. Gallwey, formerly Commanding Royal Engineer at Quebec.

"Dear Mr. WALKER,

"Many thanks for the account of Wolfe's Expedition. The same account and Plan are to be found in the R. E. Professional Papers.

"(Signed,) T. GALLWEY.

"Chatham, March 8th 1872."

Major Patrick Mackellar, whose initials P. M. are attached to the R. E. certified copy of the Journal, was Sub-Director and Chief Engineer of the Expedition. His staff of Engineer Officers consisted of Captains Debeig, Williamson, Deravio and Holland, Lieutenant DeBarre, Montresor, Tongue, Bontein, and Goddard. Mackellar himself, as the head of the department, was the responsible signer of the Journal, while the accompanying plan was authenticated by Debeig, Holland and DeBarre, whose names are registered on the plan itself and in the copies of the detached references belonging to it. The above letters of the chief draftsman at the Horse Guards, and of Colonel Gallway, commanding Royal Engineer, not only explain who the signer (P. M.) of the Journal was, but also show that the R. E. Department considers both Journal and Plan as perfectly authentic, as the work of their own officers in 1759, and as belonging to their own Professional Corps Papers, in the 1st set or volume of which they have been printed and published in London.

In opposition to all this decisive evidence, of what avail are the hastily published assertions claiming the authorship of the Journal (and, as a matter of course, of the accompanying Plan with its table of references) for the late Messrs. Thompson who died in 1830 and 1869, respectively? On the one side we have testimony of the most positive and satisfactory nature; on the other, two vaguely expressed (but, subsequently crossed out and cancelled) memoranda annexed to a comparatively recent copy of the same Journal, of which the heading has manifestly been tampered with since it was first written, and of which the true date and signature "Quebec, September 30th, 1759, P. M." have been suppressed and replaced by "James Thompson, junr., 1821."

(6) The Library of the House of Assembly at Quebec contained, among other plans of the city and environs, a manuscript copy, full size, of the map which accompanied P. M.'s Journal, bearing the date "February, 1799," and taken by a well-known draftsman whose name was inscribed on it—LOUIS CHARLAND.

For particulars (of this old copy) see the late G. B. Faribault's catalogue of books, charts, &c., appertaining to American and Canadian History, printed in 1837—pages 198, 199. In this instance, the references, (of which, in this paper, four detached copies belonging to as many very old copies of the Journal have been already enumerated) were written upon the plan itself, as was subsequently done in 1857, when the late Mr Pilkington, R. E., draftsman, took the latest R. E. Office copy. Mr. Faribault's interesting description of the old Charland copy is too long to be transcribed here in full; it closes thus "The plan is on a scale of 800 feet to an English inch. The surveys were the work of Captain Debeig and Captains Holland and Desbarres, all of Wolfe's Army. The references on the Map are a description of the field works, &c., and a short account of the battle on the Plains, given with perfect exactness; even the hour of the

different movements and the character of the different firings are recorded. No description of Wolfe's campaign at Quebec could give so accurate an idea of it as is derived from this plan, and without it the best description would be very imperfect."

NOTE.—It may not be amiss to repeat here, that, in the old detached tables of references to the plan, the words *vide Journal*, occur six times, in the handwriting of different persons and at different dates. One of the old reference tables is dated 1794, five years earlier than Charland's copy of the plan.

With these particulars in view, and bearing in mind that the Journal, Plan and References constitute, substantially, a single, complete document, who can credit the originality of the Thompson manuscript alleged to have been composed, transcribed, compiled, in the year 1821?

(7) In addition to the other documentary evidence already cited in this case, the intimation conveyed in Mr. Tregollas' letter has been substantiated by *ocular proof* of the existence of the P. M. Journal, in print, bound up with a reduced copy of its accompanying map—printed and lithographed in London about 25 years ago. This is in fact, one of the volumes of the R. E. Professional Corps Papers, and it comprises besides "P. M.'s" Journal and the map, fourteen papers upon various engineering subjects, illustrated by ten plans, and composed by Major Portlock, General Fanshawe, General Sir J. Burgoyne, Inspector General of Fortifications, and other distinguished officers of the R. E. Corps. It belongs to a public library in this country, and it is thought that there must be other copies on this side of the Atlantic. On the reduced map, attached to the printed Journal, the heading and lettering of the old full sized copies of the plan and of the old reference tables, are retained, along with the inscription "The letters refer to the Account of the Siege by an Engineer Officer." The text of the printed Journal agrees throughout with that of the certified R. E. manuscript copy of the original, and McKittrick's, of 1816, although, in the latter, there are obvious defects arising from the bad spelling, poor handwriting, and want of literary ability displayed by the worthy Sapper and Miner; at the same time there are, in the printed copy, none of the many small and apparently studied deviations (from the diction of the official copy) which appear in the Thompson manuscript.

NOTE.—Although what has been already advanced is thought to embrace all that is necessary to be said in proof of the authenticity of the R. E. documents, and in refutation of the pretensions concerning the Thompson manuscript, yet, peculiar circumstances connected with this case of disputed authorship appear to call for the following additional observations.

III. In the course of this controversy a certain memorandum has been referred to, dated and signed, "January, 1867, James Thompson, D. C. Genl." It is annexed, as a final endorsement, to the alleged original Thompson Journal of the siege of 1759. We now quote from it, rendering in italics several passages to which we invite particular attention. "My Father held no rank in the army.....but volunteered his services in order to accompany a particular friend Captain Baillie who obtained a company in the Fraser Highlanders which regiment was raised in

the town of Tain Rosshiro in four days Capt. Baillie introduced my Father to the Colonel (Col. Fraser,) who promised to use his interest in procuring for him a Commission, but no vacancy having occurred.....At length, in 1761, he was offered the situation of Barrack Master of Quebec or Town Major of Montreal, but being by profession an Engineer* he chose the appointment of Superintendent of Military Works which was conferred upon him by General Murray, and which he held until his decease in 1830....." Upon the above the following remarks are suggested for consideration.

1st. Persons familiar with the late Mr. Thompson and his handwriting have represented that he did not pen this memorandum, he being at the date in poor health and very old, and the writing a decided improvement upon his own of the previous 30 or 40 years.

2nd. Admitting that the statements in the memorandum came through Mr. Thompson Junr., and were signed by him, their general inaccuracy is too considerable to justify the

* How can this particular declaration "being an Engineer" be reconciled with the erasure in the heading and the substitution of *volunteer*, already adverted to? The change of heading was manifestly unnecessary if the terms of this final memorandum be correct. Did Mr. Thompson himself make the erasure and substitute *volunteer*? If not, who did? We are, in fact, required to concede that the *crossing out* of an endorsement, dated and signed in 1821, does not cancel words still legible underneath the numerous lines drawn across them, and then to accept, as part of the evidence of original authorship, the subsequent erasure and insertion of *volunteer* in the heading with a *steel pen*.

As to Mr. Thompson, Senior, "by profession an Engineer" we have his own written declaration to the contrary, substantially conveyed in the way he answered certain questions (concerning encroachments on the public property since 1773) put to him on April 7th, 1814. We append the first and last questions and answers precisely as they occur in the original document.

Quebec, 7th April, 1814.

"Queries to Mr. Thompson, overseer of works, respecting buildings erected on the property of the Crown, &c., in front of St. John's Gate.

Question—Do you recollect nearly the period when these buildings were erected?

Answer—In 1773 I observed I observed a Foundation was Laying for a house not far distant from the counterscarp wall which I reported to the Late Col. J. Fones of the 52d. Regt. then commanding who, ordered a stop me to put to the work this I have done.

Question—Was any promise or agreement made at the time by the Individuals to remove these buildings whenever required for public purposes?

Answer—I do not recollect any—there was no engineer here at the time the house was erected and it was then said that Major Holland Surveyor Genl gave his permission for the building of the house which some considerable time after I stopped the foundation."

If Mr. Thompson himself had been "by profession an engineer" would he have stated that there was no Engineer then at Quebec?

belief that he could have been the author or compiler of the Journal in question, which takes up nearly 20 pages of small print in a full sized Octavo volume and contains a multitude of details set forth with singular precision, as respects language, and with accuracy throughout. This last named quality of the Journal is found to be its principal characteristic as a record and admits of verification by recourse to numerous other authentic sources of information relating to the incidents of the Siege. We state, in order, the passages of the memorandum objected to as inaccurate.

3rd. While not only Mr. Thompson, but all the non-commissioned officers and men of the 78th Highlanders were *volunteers*, Mr. David Baillie was the 22nd in rank of the 31 Lieutenants of the Battalion, having above him 19 Lieutenants, 1 Capt-Lieutenant, 2 Majors, and Colonel the Hon. Simon Fraser. He was killed at Louisbourg, June 18th 1758.

The regiment was not raised in the Town of Tain in four days. It was raised, during several weeks, by Col. Fraser and his immediate kinsmen and friends. It consisted of 13 companies of 105 men each, inclusive of 51 Commissioned Officers, 65 Sergeants, 30 Pipers and Drummers, a Chaplain, Adjutant, Quarter-Master and Surgeon—in all, 1521. About 8 companies enlisted through Col. Fraser's personal influence among the clans, previously supporters of the Pretender, and the remaining 5 companies came in from various parts of the Highlands. At the very same time the 77th Regiment (Montgomery's Highland Regt.) was raised, and we are informed (See Browne's Hist. of the Highlands, Vol. 4, Gentleman's Magazine, and other reliable sources) that throughout the Highlands of Scotland men were eager to join these two corps not only from personal regard for the officers commissioned to raise and command them, but also on account of distress then prevailing in consequence of want of employment and scarcity of food. The town of Tain may have contributed to the number of the recruits, but it is manifestly inaccurate to say that the whole Corps of Fraser Highlanders "were raised in the Town of Tain in four days."

4th. We cannot accept the statement about Col. Fraser's promise and no vacancies—It is incredible that the Colonel should not have had influence enabling him to promote Mr. Thompson, had he made the promise and felt disposed to fulfil it. Moreover, there were many vacancies notwithstanding Mr. Thompson's intimation to the contrary in the words "no vacancy having occurred." Four of the officers of Col. Fraser's own regiment (Lieuts. Alexander Fraser, David Baillie, John Outhbert and James Murray,) were killed at Louisbourg in 1758; two Captains (Simon Fraser, Thos. Ross), and three Lieutenants (Roderick McNeil, Hector McDonald, Alex. McDonald,) fell in the campaign of 1759, two in 1760 (Capt. D. McDonald, Lieut. Cosmo Gordon), in addition to one other officer at St. Johns N. F. L., and three Ensigns in the course of the short period of active service of the Fraser Highlanders—so that, instead of "no vacancies," there were not less than fourteen, in that Highland Corps, arising from deaths, besides several additional in consequence of forty-six having been wounded, some of whom were so severely injured as to be obliged to retire from the service. The statement in the memo.

memorandum is, therefore, manifestly inaccurate, and the reason assigned for being left without employment in 1761, must be rejected. Again, (see gen. orders, Sept. 26th 1759, Knox Vol. II. p. 96.) after the city capitulated, the commanding officers of Corps were ordered to give in a return of the vacant Commissions in their respective regiments, also of the officers next in seniority to succeed them together with a list of their volunteers and the time they had served. Col. Fraser was then noting Brigadier-General having been promoted, as such, to the command of 4 Battalions including his own (78th Highlanders) on Sept. 14th, the day following the battle. (See After-Orders, 6 o'clock, Sept. 14th 1759.) In Gen. Murray's absence in 1760, on the expedition to Montreal, Col. Fraser was left in the Chief Command at Quebec. Had the Colonel been disposed (in fulfillment of the alleged promise) to appoint Mr. Thompson, to a position higher than that of Sergeant, or to recommend him to the Commander-in-Chief, for a commission we cannot doubt but that the promotion would have taken place. But, in truth, there seems to have been nothing very peculiar in Mr. Thompson's position or services entitling him to a commission, for nowhere in the official announcements, do we find his name, which we should have done if he had rendered himself more conspicuous than the other gallant volunteers.

In May, 1760, at least a dozen vacancies in the Quebec regiments were filled up, a large proportion of them by the promotion of non-commissioned officers. It is well known that in those days the recruiting agents used to amuse the men and volunteers whom they enlisted by holding out the prospect of Commissions, and, so far as we can judge by the results in the case of Mr. Thompson, Senior, the Colonel perhaps thought he had done enough for him in promoting him to a Sergeantcy while serving on the banks of the Mohawk river, or in the expedition against Quebec in 1759. We also know, from the records of those times, that the positions of *Barrack Master*, and *Town Major*, were usually conferred on, and gladly accepted by, meritorious officers already commissioned as Captains and Lieutenant-Captains, and such were the appointees to the offices said (in the memorandum) to have been offered to Mr. Thompson. His choosing the appointment of "*Superintendent of Military Works*" by General Murray in 1761, and holding such post until the year 1830, is hardly consistent with established facts. General Haldimand's letter of 1784 mentions 1772 as the year in which Mr. Thompson became an "*overseer of works*," and the Duke of Kent's letter of 1799, specifies his *re-appointment* (in 1799) with the nature of his duties, the oversight of artificers and laborers employed to work in the Garrison, &c. An official paper already cited (questions concerning *encroachments*), and the pay-lists* since the begin-

ning of the century, confirm our knowledge of what Mr. Thompson's true position was. Knox (Vol. I, page 69) explains what the Civil-Staff was "*in all his Majesty's Forts and Garrisons*." The chief of it was a Military Officer, being an Engineer or Assistant-Engineer, who received pay on the list of this Civil-Staff, in addition to his other pay.

In presenting the foregoing observations on the memorandum ascribed to Mr. Thompson, Junior, as written in 1867 at the end of the manuscript, we disclaim any intention to impute the wilful misrepresentation of facts. What is desired to be shown is that its accuracy in several important respects is more than questionable—a thing quite inconsistent with the Journal itself, of which a principal feature is the correct statement* of all details.

IV. While our attention is more particularly directed to the matter of accuracy in the statement of historical facts, we take the opportunity of noticing one or two instances (for they have a bearing on this question concerning the authors!) of an admirable narrative alleged to be the original and joint production of the Messrs. Thompson, in which Mr. Thompson, Senior, is now known to have furnished incorrect relations.

1st. In a published statement (see Mr. Lamoine's "*Sword of Montgomery*," page 22), Mr. Thompson, Senior, related, concerning General *Richard Montgomery*, who fell at Quebec, on December 31st. 1776, "*I knew Montgomery at the taking of Quebec in 1759*; he was then a captain and commanded a fencible corps, &c." The statement then goes on with a description of atrocities committed by this officer upon the Canadians, and by which General Wolfe "*was very much vexed*."

But, according to Malcolin Fraser's Journal (page 13), this cruel Montgomery, whose Christian name was *Alexander*, belonged to the 43rd Regiment, whereas *Richard Montgomery*, of the 17th Foot, was not then in Wolfe's Army, but at Lake Champlain, serving under General Amherst. *Richard Montgomery*, moreover, according to the abundant testimony we have of his disposition and character, was incapable of such inhuman conduct. For nearly a century, however, the odium of it rested on his memory, and, without doubt, Mr. Thompson's misapprehensions and statements on the subject contributed support to the calumny, until, finally, a year or two since, the English War-Office authorities were referred to on the subject, and the truth made to appear.

This case is not cited for the purpose of blaming Mr. Thompson, Senior, but merely to show that, though he had (afterwards, in 1776 and 1818) a great deal to do with matters appertaining to *Richard Montgomery*, his information and his record concerning that officer proved to be incorrect.

2nd. In page 335, "*Hawkin's Picture of Quebec*." Mr. Thompson's relation of another transaction is given:

Wm. Morrison,	— Overseer of Works,—	11/6.
(Master Carpenter,		
R. Goldsworthy,	— Assit. overs. of W.,—	4/6.
John Ledley,	— Store keeper, —	7/6.
Joseph Here,	— Master Mason, —	7/6.
John Jenkins,	— Master Smith, —	7/.
&c.	&c.	&c.

* In the Journal, as copied in the *Thompson manuscript*, several remarkable misstatements of facts have been detected, which suffice to betray, it is thought, the non-professional character of the copyist.

* From one of many Official Copies of pay-lists the following extract is taken.

Names	Rank.	Daily pay.
Hy. Weatherstone,	— Assistant Engineer, —	—
Geo. Morrison,	— Clerk of Works, —	7/6.
G. Felnet,	— Do Do —	5/.
M. McNamara,	— Assit. Clk. of Wks.,—	5/.
Thos. Burn,	— Do Do —	5/.
Phillip Durnford,	— Do Do —	5/.
James Thompson,	— Overseer of Works,—	7/6.

"General Murray being in want of funds to carry on his Government during the winter summoned all the officers and enquired if they had any money, and if the soldiers had any money, they could lend to the Governor, etc.....the Adjutant went along the ranks and entered in a book, the name and sum opposite to every man; and, by the Lord Harry! when they came to count it up they found that our regiment alone, Fraser's Highlanders, had mustered six thousand guineas! It was not long after we had lent our money, that one morning a frigate was seen coasting round Point Levi with supplies. We were soon afterwards mustered, and every man received back his money with twelve months interest besides the general's thanks."

We might readily enough accept the above relation, without question as to the entire accuracy of the details, on the understanding that it is based upon what could be recollected, long afterwards, by a Sergeant of the Corps, having, perhaps, not absolutely perfect opportunities of knowing all the facts of the case, and inclined at least not to underrate the fame of his own regiment. But now, in connection with the question of authorship which is before us for investigation, we are ~~entitled~~ and required to look more closely into the above, as well as other accessible specimens of Mr. Thompson's mode of narrating historical facts; for the Journal of which he and his Son have been alleged to be the original composers is very particular and accurate in recording apparently minor details, such as an Engineering officer at the Siege would naturally refer to, besides admitting neither *vulgarisms* nor superfluous expletives of any kind. We therefore object to Mr. Thompson's account of that money transaction as being incorrect in some particulars—in the way General Murray made his wants known to the army, in the sum contributed by the 78th Regt., and in the suggestion which the last sentence conveys us to the lapse of time between the borrowing and the repayment of the money. Nor is the style in which the anecdote is related (even after passing through the hands of the accomplished writer of Hawkins's Picture of Quebec,) such as might reasonably be expected from the author of the Journal. What the true facts were we learn from the more reliable account of the General, Murray himself. The transaction occurred early in the winter of 1759-60, and is thus given in Murray's own diary.

"1759—Nov. 25th.—Having intelligence that the merchants, ever greedy of gain, to purchase furs had transmitted a good deal of cash to Montreal, where they were much in want of that commodity, the paper-money by reason of the ticklish situation of the colony, being in utter disrepute; and there being by no means in the military chest a sufficiency to defray the contingent expenses of the garrison to procure what was wanted, and effectually to prevent a commerce so destructive to us, I this day published a kind of "proclamation," to encourage the friends and well-wishers of His Majesty to lend what they could afford, for which Colonel Burton (the next officer in command to me) and I gave our bills, to be repaid in six months with interest at five per cent. This, in a short time, produced us so considerable a sum as £8,000, which, without having recourse to further expedients, will enable us to wait the arrival of the ships, and be it remembered, to the honour of the Highland or 63rd Regiment, commanded by Colonel Fraser, that the non-commissioned officers and private men of that single regiment contributed of that sum £2,000.

Some other citations might be added, if it were necessary, illustrative of reasons, *a priori*, for rejecting the pretensions now under examination—pretensions, which, we firmly believe, those two honorable gentlemen, the Messrs. Thompson themselves, did not intend others to advance in their behalf.

V. We have next to notice some discrepan-

cies between the R. E. Copy of the Journal and that of the Messrs. Thompson, which throw a good deal of light upon the questions of *authorship*, and *priority*.

On carefully comparing the Thomson Manuscript with the printed Journal (and with the R. E. certified Manuscript copy which agrees throughout with the printed), lessened along with R. E. Professional Corps Papers, we meet with numerous verbal deviations and changes, which have been made in the taking of the Thompson copy. These are generally of the most trivial character—the use, here and there, of synonymous words, slight alterations in the order, using the participles for the past tenses of verbs, and *vice versa*; for example, we find:

In the R. E. Copy, made said.	Hendered in the Thompson. sailed.
our chief loss.	we suffered chiefly.
plying their oars.	laying upon their oars.
somewhat broke.	somewhat broken.
Lower Town.	Lower Town.
near a couple of hours.	nearly two hours.
decamped from Montmorency.	broke up camp from Montmorency.
favourable.	favourable.
Governour.	Governor.
Cape-Rouge.	Cape-Rouge.
The General carried Admiral Holmes and some other officers to reconnoitre the place.	The General took with him Admiral Holmes, &c.
went.	proceeded.
familiarizing the troops with the Canadians.	familiarizing the troops with the mode of warfare peculiar to the Canadians.
set out.	proceeded.
difference of our arms.	superiority of our fire arms.
to hurt us.	to do us any injury.
The number our boats lent-ed at one trip.	the whole number our boats were enabled to land at one trip.
began to get up the bank and form above.	began to climb up the bank and form on the summit.
The General.....got up the bank about clear day-light.	The general gained the summit of the bank about day-break.
he by some lucky incident deferred it.	he fortunately for us deferred the measure.
as if they meant.	as if they intended.
The officer who carried the order followed them to the battery with a platoon of Grenadiers and falling upon a short cut got there before them.	The officer who was the bearer of the order proceeded with a platoon of Grenadiers as far as the battery and discovering that Col. Howe had anticipated the movement he by a short cut through the woods, &c.
beat back.	beaten back.
sailors and wounded.	wounded and sailors.
we had more killed and wounded in the skirmishing than &c.	we had more casualties, &c.
Our general was mortally wounded when the affair had almost come to a crisis and lived only long enough to know that he should die victorious.	Our General was mortally wounded when the affair had nearly arrived at a crisis and survived only long enough to become acquainted with the glorious tidings to a true soldier that the cause entrusted to him by his sovereign and his country had terminated in victory.

The foregoing list furnishes a fair sample of the kind of verbal changes made in the copying out of the Thompson manuscript. The deviations, in general, impart no additional vigour to the narrative as given in the R. E. manuscript, but rather weaken this. After studying their character, we feel morally certain that the changes, slight as they are in most instances, were made *designedly*, whether for the purpose of giving to the vi-

gorous and sometimes antiquated style of P. M., a more modern cast, or with any other object in view, now impossible to be ascertained. Sometimes we find P. M.'s language changed into that which is of decidedly inferior stamp, as if the determination of the copyist to make an alteration, at any rate, surpassed his desire to improve it or to give it the air of a composition more acceptable to modern classical taste. Of this we cite an instance from the entry for Sept. 3rd, when Wolfe was decamping from Montmorency. "It was expected that the enemy who must have seen our preparations for leaving it would have attacked our retreat. The General hoped they would and laid a trap for that purpose, which did not take," is thus rendered in the Thompson manuscript. "It was expected that the enemy, who must have observed our preparations for leaving camp, would have attacked our retreat. The General wanted they should and laid a temptation for that purpose, but which did not take."

Occasionally downright mistakes have been made in the copying, and of such a nature as to betray the non-professional character of the copyist; for example, *Louisbourg Volunteers* is written when it should be *Louisbourg Grenadiers*, *Coast* side when it should be *East* side, the *three* companies when it should be the *two* companies, *Eastmost* when it should be *Westmost*, *battery*, when it should be *batteries*. The last named three mistakes are of sufficient importance to justify some explanation, as their nature cannot be appreciated from the mere statement of them.

For July 26th, the entry in the Journal is a minute description of a reconnoitring expedition by the General in person with a large force. The language used and the nature of the particulars described, are such as to assure us that the author of the Journal was an eye-witness and participator in the transactions, and that he was also experienced in military affairs. An ambuscade was arranged which occasioned *two* companies to be stationed on one eminence out of sight of the enemy and *one* company on another at some distance. The copyist, probably not clearly comprehending the circumstances, writes down *three* companies instead of *two*, thus giving quite another turn to the passage. Again, in the entry for July 31st, the particulars of the attack upon the French entrenchments are recorded, and it formed a capital feature of the General's plan of battle that the *Westmost* of two French redoubts nearest to the mouth of the Montmorency should be first assailed, the other, or *Eastmost*, being left untouched, as it would be sure to fall into the hands of the British without resistance on the capture of the former. To put *Eastmost* for *Westmost*, in this instance, was plainly the act of a copyist, making a mistake in transcribing, and not of one composing the record of an incident of essential consequence in connection with the plan laid down for conducting the operations that day. In a subsequent part of the entry for July 31st, the correct term *Eastmost* is copied. The use of the word *battery* for *batteries* is also significant, but we shall not enlarge upon this, referring the reader, instead, to the passage where it occurs in the Journal, namely, the entry for August 13th.

A fair inference, as to *priority*, may be drawn from what is the fact with respect to the *deviations* and the *mistakes* some of which

we have cited. All of them, to the number of many hundreds, are found to be in the Thompson manuscript as compared with the R. E. manuscript copy—but *not one of them is in the printed copy issued by the Royal Engineers*, which agrees, as already stated, with the R. E. manuscript copy throughout. Most assuredly the R. E. printed copy of this admirable narrative was not taken from the Thompson manuscript, since, if it had been there would be about 1200 minor verbal deviations and a number of downright mistakes to be accounted for—which, we repeat, occur only in the Thompson copy and not in the R. E. official manuscript.

VI. Having touched upon a few of the literary features of this Journal, we shall offer no apology for extending our remarks so that they may embrace particulars having reference to what is *personal* and *historical*, in its record. Evidence of the kind we are now seeking often proves satisfactory, and in most cases of inquiry into the authorship of documents recourse is had to their contents, for aid in deducing and verifying conclusions. This is a process which is found to be useful in illustrating the truth and exposing falsehood. When a story or claim is well grounded we expect to find all its parts coherent, but when a claimant's case is seen to rest upon inconsistencies which are not susceptible of reasonable explanation, and especially when impossible conditions are required to be taken for granted, we naturally reject it as untenable.

In the present case we are called upon to believe that a document, first written out (transcribed), in the year 1821, by Mr. James Thompson, Junr., was produced from particulars noted down and dated in the year 1759, by his father, Mr. James Thompson, Senr., then a Serjeant of the Fraser Highlanders. But on looking into the particulars, or *memoranda*, which constitute, as alleged, the complete Journal, we become morally certain that a man serving with the Fraser Highlanders in 1758 (at Louisbourg), and in 1759 (at Quebec), was not in a position even to be cognizant of, much less to furnish in detail, a large number of those particulars. These, in the earliest part of the Journal, during April and May, 1759, refer exclusively to *Halifax*, and to what occurred on a voyage from that place to Louisbourg, and they are of such a nature (with respect to *intentions*, *preparations*, &c.,) that no one, not concerned in the counsels of the highest officers, could have taken account of them or placed them on record. At this time (April and May, 1759), Mr. Thompson's Corps, the Fraser Highlanders, were far distant* from the scene of those particulars. They had passed, with General Amherst and three other Battalions, in October, 1758, from Louisbourg to Boston (see Mante, p. 143, 144), and thence (see Knox, p. 104, and Amherst's letter of March 16th 1759), overland to reinforce Gen. Abercromby's army at Lake George and the forts on the Mohawk river. If Mr. Thompson had kept a record of incidents which happened in April and May, 1759, as P. M. at Halifax did, surely his *memoranda* would have been about what took place at Fort Stanwix, on the river Mohawk, the route thence to New York in obedience to Amherst's orders of March 16th, the preparations at New

* The *alibi* here noticed was cited by Mr. Walkom, Junr., in the course of the Newspaper controversy about this Journal.

York and the embarkation there on May 8th, and the voyage thence to Louisbourg which was reached on May 17th, and whence his regiment sailed for the St. Lawrence on June 4th. Why should Mr. Thompson, Senr., differ in this respect, from the other Journalists* whose writings we have of this Expedition against Quebec, and who concerned themselves with what transpired at their respective starting places and affairs connected chiefly with their respective corps? Even if Halifax had been his station, we are convinced that any memoranda of his would have been quite different from what we find in the record kept by P. M.

Four times, in the earliest entries in the Journal, certain preparations for the service of the siege, and their approval by Governor Lawrence as well as Generals Wolfe, Moulton and Murray, are expressly mentioned, and it is most improbable that this repeated recurrence to the same, at first sight, minor particulars, would have been made by any soldier or inferior officer, or even by a higher official unless he felt personally interested in them. But if Mr. Thompson, Senior, was not then at Halifax, the chief Engineer was—one undoubtedly very much concerned in pushing forward the preparation of the necessaries referred to, and in having the steps taken by himself in that behalf, approved. This we infer from General Amherst's reply to Governor Lawrence, at Halifax, an extract from which we give;

"Albany, May 29th, 1759.

"Dear Sir—Since my arrival here I have been favoured with three letters from you of the 15th, 23rd and 27th of April, which came to hand on the same day by Express from Boston..... The Expenses attending the preparations that Major McKellar has made will of course be paid by Mr. Wolfe's order....."

From a previous letter of Gen. Amherst to Governor Lawrence, we learn the source whence P. M. derived the information specified in the very first entry in his Journal, in the words "The first account of the intended expedition came to Halifax in the beginning of April," and from it also, we see that Mr. Thompson's corps was not at Halifax;—

"New York, March ye 16th, 1759.

"Dear Sir,

"I have received his Majesty's orders for sending a number of his forces in North America (as you will see by the enclosed list) to rendezvous at Cap Breton, as near as may be about the 20th of April, which forces are intended for an expedition against Quebec under the direction of Brigadier General Wolfe whom the King has appointed for that service..... The packet boat* arrived the 14th instant at night. I immediately ordered Fraser's regiment to march, for that regiment is the most unluckily situated of any on the continent, being at Fort Stanwix and the Mohawk River, and it will take some time to get it down to this place....."

Malcolm Fraser's Journal begins with date May 8th, 1759, "set sail from Sandy Hook

* Journal of Knox (43rd Regt.), Malcolm Fraser, of the Fraser Highlanders, Anonymous (Diary published in N. Y. Mercury, in 1759), Panel (Notary in Quebec), Mr. Gibson (who sailed with Durell's squadron in advance of the fleets from Halifax and Louisbourg), &c.

* Bringing the King's orders to Amherst from England.

for Louisbourg with a fair wind, under convoy of the Nightingale, Capt. Campbell, the Fleet consisting of 28 sail; the greatest part of which is to take troops from Nova Scotia, and the rest having Col. Fraser's Regiment on board." His next entry, for May 17th, is, "we came into the harbour of Louisbourg, having had a very agreeable and quick passage. We are ordered ashore every day while here to exercise along with the rest of the army," and this, as far as it goes, agrees with the record of P. M., (who had arrived at Louisbourg the day before, from Halifax,) who has it, thus "May 17th, the Nightingale and convoy with Fraser's Battalion arrived from New York. The General ordered, &c....."

In the foregoing extracts from the two Journals, and the letters of General Amherst we have a concurrence of testimony from several different sources, that at least the first part of the narrative signed "P. M.," was not transcribed from rough memoranda noted by Mr. Thompson, Senr., in 1759.

On examining, in the same way, the earliest part of the other Journals of the expedition we should be able to discern with equal clearness particulars concerning the writers themselves—where they were at the different dates specified, and generally, what corps they belonged to, and whether in a subordinate or high position in the army.

For much of what we know of the important events that transpired in America, in the years 1758, 1759 and 1760, we are indebted to diaries and Journals. Such records, affording descriptions of incidents as they occurred, and as they were apprehended by eye-witnesses and participators in the events themselves, are usually read with more interest than formal and continuous narratives composed by other persons; and, as to various details, our confidence in the accuracy of the Journalists' statements depends not merely upon their veracity but also upon the position they occupied with respect to the events recorded and their opportunities of obtaining correct information. A Journalist, whose narrative embraces important and numerous military transactions, must himself depend, more or less, upon others for the truth of his account of matters which did not occur under his own observation; and, in such cases, our confidence in his relation must be greatly influenced by our knowledge of his qualifications for appreciating the worth of the information he derives from other persons, and upon his ability to compose a proper written record. At the same time, it should be observed, the intelligent reader can almost always discover a marked distinction between the parts of a Journal based upon the writer's own personal knowledge and those founded upon information procured from other sources.*

* Reporting military operations by letters containing diaries was much approved, both by the Government authorities and the public generally, in the time of General Amherst, whose dispatch of the siege of Louisbourg, transmitted in the form of a Journal, was received with much favour and immediately published. We read in Mante's History of the N. America war, issued in 1772 (page 116,) "That (the Journal) of the General was so much approved that it produced commands to him to transmit the operations of any army he might again command in the same kind of detail as being the best method of conveying a true and explicit idea of military operations." Gen. Wolfe's dispatch of Sept. 2nd, 1759, partook of the character of a Journal, and was also regarded with much favour

Capt. John Knox, author of "An historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the years 1757, 1758, 1759, 1760," impresses his readers with confidence in a high degree, because the qualifications referred to above—veracity, opportunities of information from personal observation and from reliable informants, ability to estimate the value of reports and literary acquirements—all concurred in fitting him to be a journalist. He tells us in his work, that in addition to what he knew from personal experience while serving at the military posts in the Bay of Fundy, and in Canada in the years 1759 and 1760, he was indebted, for the information enabling him to prepare his Journal, to the chief military commanders then employed in America, and to brother officers of "approved worth and virtue." His book, in two large quarto volumes, is therefore very highly prized, and is justly acknowledged as a standard for reference. But every where we can clearly distinguish between what he relates of his own knowledge and that which he procured from other sources. Without the least doubt we can trace his own route, along with his regiment, the 43rd Foot, from Cork, in April 1757, to America, and from the several posts he occupied or visited in Nova Scotia to Point Levi, where he was quartered during the siege of Quebec; for, wherever he was situated at the different dates, he always recorded in more ample detail, and more minutely, the incidents that occurred near himself and in connection with his own corps, generally contenting himself with a brief mention of occurrences elsewhere. We can readily gather from his language, and the incidents in which he manifests most interest, that he was not an officer of the Engineers or Artillery—that he was not in a position that gave him frequent access to the Chief Commanders so as to learn their project, intentions and ideas, before these were developed, and made generally known to the army by the operations that ensued. He leaves almost unnoticed several transactions of moment which took place at Montmorency Falls (where were Wolfe's head quarters), his regiment not being one of the division stationed there, and he expressly informs us, (Vol. 2, p. 30, Aug. 24th,) that he visited the Commander-in-Chief's encamp-

in England. Amherst, in 1760, reported his advance upon Montreal in the same manner and the Journal was at once published. For some reason, not explained, Gen. Murray's Journal concerning affairs at Quebec during the winter of 1759-60 was withheld by the British Ministry, while the letter or dispatch (dated May 25th, 1760,) was at once published in the English Magazines (see Gentleman's Magazine for 1760). Afterwards the Journals of high commanding officers were published on many occasions, usually soon after their reception by the Government, as in the case of Gen. Prevost's Journal of the second siege of Savannah. Owing to the taste of the public for compositions of this kind, journals written by different persons and especially those of military and naval officers were often printed in the periodicals of the last century.

There are also, in existence, in a separate form, not a few journals relating to Canada, which were printed in England and the United States, but not much known in this country, though it is probable some of them may be met with in public libraries. Amongst them we may mention the following—*Journal of the siege of Quebec by a gentleman in an eminent station on the spot.* London, 8vo. 1759.

Journal of the siege of Quebec in 1775, by W. T. P. Skott, London, 8vo. 1834.

Burgoyne's Expedition for Canada—London, 1780.

Journal of Arnold's march through the wilderness in 1775—Lancaster, 1812.

ment only once during the Campaign, when he was sent to the General for Orders, and when he ran the risk of losing his life through indulging his curiosity. If we exclude from Knox's diary of the Siege, all the General Orders, and his interesting references to the weather, scenery, &c., we shall find that the remaining particulars described by him are either such as the officers generally, wherever stationed, had opportunity of acquainting themselves with, or related chiefly to what transpired with respect to the forces belonging to the General Monckton's division quartered at Point Levi, and of which Knox's own regiment (the 43rd) formed a part. When he does mention occurrences at the other encampments, or what happened when detachments were sent up or down the river, he usually does so very briefly and with an intimation that he gives the facts from the reports of others.

Malcolm Fraser's Journal, and those others which we have named, though much shorter than Knox's, possess, in common with his, the peculiarity we have attempted to describe—each Journalist makes his records from his own point of view, in his own manner, and conformably to his opportunities of information. We feel assured that Mr. Thompson, Senior, would have done the same if he had written a Journal of the celebrated Siege or furnished materials for transcribing one. His limited opportunities of information, his quarters with his Corps at Point Levi, the routine of his service at the batteries and in connection with the Hospital, would have given a colour to his statements, and a character to the whole production, such as the corresponding circumstances of each of the other Journalists have to his.

As we cannot go into all the details, we shall merely indicate briefly certain passages in P. M.'s Journal, which prove conclusively that the writer was what the heading indicates, an *Engineer* on the expedition—that his quarters were at the General's Camp—that he took part in the councils, reconnoitring, &c., of the General himself—and that he possessed opportunities of access to information which none but an officer on the General's Staff could have had.

We cite, 1st, the entry for June 27th, when the General, before the Fraser Highlanders and the troops generally had been suffered to land on the Island of Orleans, went with an escort to the west end of the Island to reconnoitre for the first time. The language in which the particulars are related by P. M. is precisely that of an eye-witness and of one taking part in the observations and surmises of General Wolfe.

On turning to Knox's entry for the same date, it is expressly stated that the General was accompanied by the *Chief Engineer*.

2nd. From 9th to 11th July, a division of the army was moved over from the Island to the high land of the Montmorency Falls.—P. M.'s description of the particulars is again that of an eye-witness and of one personally and deeply concerned in them. Here again, on referring to Knox, we find, that, in order to cover and facilitate what was going on at the end of the Island and Montmorency, the troops of Monckton's division at Point Levi, including the Fraser Highlanders, were ordered to march off and conceal themselves in the forest, beginning their movement in the night time, and leaving behind under

cover, only the guards and working parties that were not visible to the enemy from Quebec and Beauport Flats.

3rd. P. M.'s description of the reconnoitring expedition up the Montmorency on July 26th, is most minute and circumstantial, and only such as a high officer, present with the General, and experienced in military affairs, could have given. According to Knox and Malcolm Fraser, the Fraser Highlanders were, at that very time, engaged in movements of some importance on the Point Levi side, and it was the 35th Regt. that Wolfe and Murray took upon their reconnoitring expedition. There were fighting, attended with loss of life, and various marches and countermarches, which are fully described by P. M. on that occasion. A very few days before, the General Orders make mention of Major McKellar at the Montmorency Camp, with directions for a body of troops to attend upon him—probably in view of preparations for this reconnoitring movement on the 26th.

Knox and Malcolm Fraser are both very brief concerning it, giving only the results in a few lines, without any of the details, and specifying that they do so from what they heard. The N. Y. Mercury Journal, the same.

We cannot read P. M.'s account of what happened at Montmorency on that day without perceiving clearly that it tallies with the designation given to the writer in the heading "an Engineer upon that expedition." Both Malcolm Fraser and the other Journalists, however, give somewhat particular descriptions of the expeditions in which they, respectively, were engaged, the one on the south Shore of the St. Lawrence, the other on the Island.

4th. On the occasion of the most eventful reconnoitring expedition of the whole campaign, on September 10th, the General, accompanied by Monckton and the *Chief Engineer*, (see Knox Sept. 10th,) went with a small escort taken from the 43rd Regiment, to an elevated spot on the south side of the St. Lawrence. The object was to reconnoitre the intended landing place at Wolfe's Cove. P. M.'s description of what passed, is, in this case also, very minute and precisely that of a spectator and one consulted about the details of the crowning event of the campaign.

5th. The *articles* of the capitulation of Quebec being given in full in P. M.'s journal is significant of the rank and opportunities of the writer. Knox informs us (at an earlier date, when referring to the capitulation of Louisbourg) that such matters were not usually communicated to the officers and men of the army. Mr. Thompson's *rough memoranda*, if he ever noted any in 1759, would assuredly not have contained those articles and the subsequent lists of captured war-materials. But P. M. was a person whose position, and the part he doubtless took in these negotiations, enabled him to record them in full in his Journal.

6th. *The date of P. M.'s Journal, Sept. 30th 1759*—Knox records, on Sept. 29th, that the gates were to be shut "this night." All outside work, for the season, had been brought to an end and the ships were beginning to drop down the river on the way to their respective destinations—Halifax, New York, England, &c. In Knox's entry for Sept. 23rd we read of a body of armed men and *camp-colour-men* being ordered (see general orders of that date) to attend upon Major McKellar,

with 3 days provisions. The *camp-colour-men* were men distinct from the others and appointed to attend Engineers on their surveys. We can easily understand that on the date mentioned, only 5 days after the capitulation, the surveys of Cpts. Delbeig, Holland and Desbarres, which have been mentioned in the first part of this paper, were not completed, and that the Chief Engineer needed the attendance of an armed guard and of *camp-colour men* when directing or inspecting the survey of the French entrenchments at Beauport.

We consider these circumstances quite in accordance with the fact that the original Journal, dated Sept. 30th, 1759, refers twice to an *accompanying plan constructed* from those Surveys, as well as with another fact which has been stated already, namely, that the *references to the Plan* have inscribed on them "Vide Journal." *

It would be superfluous to cite from the Journal itself any further particulars with a view to identification of "P. M." the initials of the Engineer officer who thus made himself responsible for the authorship of the document. Even if we had not the abundant direct evidence to assure us of its authentic character, we think that the internal evidence alone is such as to show that the original heading on the R. E. Official Manuscript and printed copy is correct, and that the Messrs. Thompson could not have been its composers. Nor can we imagine that any disinterested person who carefully reads this Journal, and has access to the other historical sources of information relative to the celebrated Siege of Quebec in 1759, could have it in his possession twenty-four hours without becoming assured that the pretensions in behalf of those deceased gentlemen are untenable.

VII. We shall close this paper with some observations which have been suggested by a somewhat plausible argument—the only statement really deserving the name of argument—which has been adduced in support of the originality of the Thompson Manuscript Copy of the Journal. It was alleged, in the course of the Newspaper controversy, that the Thompson Manuscript had been circulated from hand to hand, *during 50 years*, without question being raised as to its authenticity.

In reply we might represent that the odious calumny concerning General Richard Montgomery passed current as historical truth for nearly a whole century before it was disproved. As respects that Manuscript, the General esteem in which the Messrs. Thompson were held in the community, and the knowledge that Mr. Thompson, Senior, had served in the Campaign of 1759, that he had been in the habit, at least since 1775, of writing down

* We might cite as additional internal evidence in this case the intimate knowledge of the interior of the besieged city exhibited by P. M. in several passages of his Journal. It is highly improbable that one in the position of Mr. Thompson at Point Levi, could have possessed that sort of knowledge before the Capitulation. An Engineer or Artillery officer would naturally have been better informed of such particulars than others. On consulting Mante and Knox we do find mention made of that with respect to the *Chief Engineer*. Wolfe's celebrated dispatch of September 2nd 1759, expressly notices McKellar's qualification on the point, saying, "The admiral and I had already reconnoitred the town with a view to a General assault, but after consulting the *Chief Engineer* who was well acquainted with the interior parts of it, and after viewing it with the utmost attention, &c."

memoranda and reminiscences of his own career, as well as other circumstances not requiring to be specified, all concurred in suggesting and favouring the idea that the work itself was not a copy but an original document. No one appears to have denied or questioned its originality, until it turned out that the same narrative, and the accompanying Plan, were preserved officially on record among the papers of the R. E. Department. But no statement on the subject of this particular manuscript has been ascribed to Mr. Thompson, Senior, nor are we informed that his son ever expressly made the claim which has been raised since his decease.

But, under any circumstances, the absence of previous contradiction in such a case is no proof of authenticity from the moment the question or objection is put forward. The *onus probandi* rests with those who advance the claim to the authorship, while those who question the title possess a right to have their objection met by fair, and fairly stated, reasons. Mere appeals to social respectability, positive assertions unaccompanied by proofs, and even denunciations with reference to doubts on the subject and to contrary opinions entertained, go for very little towards establishing any man's title to be honoured, whether as author or custodian of a valuable literary production. We could cite many instances of manuscript works, as well as other productions, being attributed to one person and subsequently proved to be another's, after passing from hand to hand in the way referred to, and we shall presently furnish illustrations of the fact.

The ascribing of the work of one man's brains or hands to another, not entitled to the credit, is no new thing, for the history of literature, science, the arts and manufactures, abounds in examples of that species of injustice. About the beginning of this century an eminent and very skillful draftsman, named *Duberger*, some time an employe in the R. E. Office, constructed maps which others took to England and published in their own names, gaining much credit on account of their accuracy and beautiful finish. The same ingenious person devised and executed an extensive model of Quebec and environs. *Lambert*, who travelled through Canada and the United States in 1806, 1807 and 1808, thus speaks of *Duberger* and his works (*Lambert's travels &c.*, vol. I, p. 330, 3rd edition.) "..... I must not omit to mention with the approbation he deservedly merits a gentleman of the name of *Duberger*, a native, &c.,..... in the corps of Engineers and military draughtsmen..... He excels in the mechanical arts and the drawing of military surveys. *He had the politeness to show me several of his large draughts of the country and many other drawings, some of which were beautifully done, and are deposited in the Engineers Office.* The only correct chart of Lower Canada, and which was published in London by Faden..... was taken by Mr. *Duberger* and another gentleman whose names had a much greater right to appear on the chart than the one which is at present there. But the most important of his labours is a beautiful Model of Quebec, upon which he is at present (A. D. 1806) employed..... It is upwards of 35 feet in length and comprises a considerable portion of the Plains of Abraham as far as the spot where Wolfe died. That which is done is finished with exquisite neatness, cut

entirely out of wood, and modelled to a certain scale, so that every part will be completed with singular correctness even to the very shape and projection of the rock, the elevations and descents in the city, &c..... It is to be sent to England when finished and will no doubt be received by the British Government with the approbation it merits."

This remarkable work, the major part of which had been executed by *Duberger* at his own residence (still to be seen facing the Esplanade at Quebec), was taken to England about the year 1811 or 1812, and in 1813 was deposited in Woolwich. But, Alas! neither its ingenious author nor its family were recognized in connection with it on the other side of the Atlantic, its transportation having been deputed to another person, who received the reward for it, and with whose name alone the credit has ever since been associated! We must mention another circumstance in connection with Mr. *Lambert's* visit to Quebec and to the R. E. Office in 1806. We learn from the extract given above that he was shown *Duberger's* "large draughts of the country and many other drawings," deposited in that office. Is it unreasonable to take for granted that *Lambert* then saw and examined the R. E. Copy of the Plan accompanying the very Journal "by an Engineer upon that Expedition?" On the contrary, nothing can be more probable, for *Lambert* copied an extract from its marginal references—words which appear both in the References to the Plan and in the Journal itself under the date Sept. 13th, where also occur the words "Vide Plan"—and he had them printed in his book. (Vol. 1, p. 42.) The Words are "the French line began to charge about nine, advancing briskly, and for some little time in good order: a part of the line began to fire too soon, which immediately enugh through the whole. They then began to waver, but kept advancing with a scattered fire. When they had got within about a hundred yards of the British line, the latter moved up regularly with a steady fire and when within 20 or 30 yards of closing, gave a general volley; upon which a total rout of the enemy ensued." Here we find John *Lambert* in 1806, quoting the very language of the Royal Engineer documents—*Plan and Journal*, for the two are necessary accompaniments of each other—which was afterwards, about 1816, given by Michael McKittrick in his Copies of the Journal and References to the Plan, and which a dozen years before *Lambert's* visit, viz: in 1794, was copied in full in another Copy of the References already adverted to. Mr. *Lambert*, who so particularly mentions *Duberger* and his works and what he saw at the R. E. Office in 1806, and who made use of the language of the then existing Map and Journal now in question, does not speak of Mr. Thompson. This gentleman, although he was always highly respected for his virtues, appears not to have attracted much public notice until his great age, and being the only survivor of all Wolfe's Army, rendered him conspicuous, in addition to the attentions which were paid to him and his family by the kind-hearted Earl and Countess Dalhousie, and which we can only regard as a just tribute to his worth.

We shall now conclude with an instance of the rescuing of a remarkable literary production from the fate of Mr. *Duberger's* maps and model, and possibly from oblivion which might have been the result if the work had

come out under an obscure name and title. It occurred in England long before Duberger's time. Lord Bacon, concerning wrong interpretations, says: "If the sow with her snout should happen to imprint the letter A upon the ground, would'st thou, therefore, imagine that she could write out a whole play (tragedy) as one letter?" In his day, the art of printing had not quite superseded the circulation of manuscript copies (just as we may suppose the expense and trouble connected with having the so called original Thompson manuscript printed favoured its being circulated in Quebec), and it was then a common thing for various writings to be passed from hand to hand in manuscript. In this way Bacon's essays were passing from hand to hand, until, says the author of Bacon's Life published in London in 1862, "a rogue of a printer being about to publish these scraps, their author, in fear of imperfect copies, put them with his own hands to the press." Thus "Bacon's Essays came to be printed by their proper author in the beginning of the 17th century, since, as he significantly remarked, "they would not stay with their master, but would needs travel abroad." This world escaped from the danger of losing one of the most highly valued literary treasures, or at least of having its authority and influence much weakened by its being made to come out as the production of some obscure plagiarist instead of its author the immortal Bacon. In the case now under consideration may the expressed recognition by the R. E. Department, of a valuable production of one of its own officers operate in a similar way! May the previous publication of this valuable historical record among the "R. E. Professional

Corps Papers" be respected by the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, and not ignored by the reprinting of it under the Society's auspices with a false heading, title, date, and signature!

It might indeed be desirable that a printed copy of a Journal should be made accessible to the members of the Literary and Historical Society, since it is a valuable historical record. But for the Society to have it printed under a title that is wrong, or even susceptible of doubt, would appear to be inconsistent with its true functions. To reprint it as a Journal composed by the late Messrs. Thompson, or to have it issued with any statement that might give a colour to the claims which we believe have been now refuted, would be to deal with it in a way that few of its associate members would approve or be willing to tolerate.

The associate member who prepared the foregoing statement wishes to intimate that he has been much indebted for assistance and facts, bearing upon the case, to the kindness of C. Walkem, esquire, who has occupied an official position in the R. E. Department nearly half a century, and who for many years has had charge of the plans and other documents. This gentleman bears the strongest testimony to the regular and careful manner in which the records of the Department have always been certified as to their authenticity.

The foregoing evidence and observations are respectfully submitted by

AN ASSOCIATE MEMBER OF THE QUEBEC
LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Quebec, April, 1872.



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