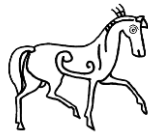


Sources in Local History
New Series Volume 17

THE FAMILY LETTERS OF
FRANCIS AUGUSTUS GRANT
1842-1854

Transcribed with an introduction by
Sue Johnson



THE EUROPEAN
ETHNOLOGICAL
RESEARCH CENTRE

The Family Letters of Francis Augustus Grant 1842-1854

Transcribed by
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Introduction by
Sue Johnson

Edited by
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First published in 2021 by
The European Ethnological Research Centre

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Sources in Local History
General editor: Kenneth Veitch

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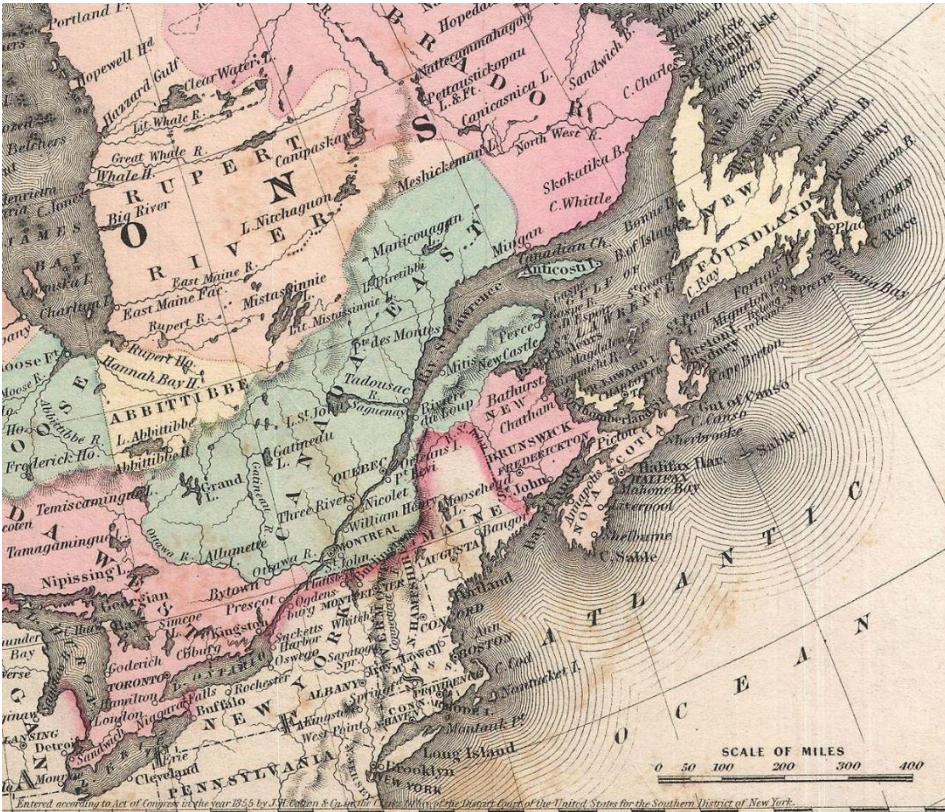
EDITING

The letters have been presented in a standardised format. Headers provide the name of the recipient, and a number by which each letter can be identified. The salutations and valedictions have been reproduced as they appear in the originals, but the dates when the letters were sent have been standardised and placed immediately after the headers.

The original spelling has been retained. Words that have been misspelled but are readily recognisable have not been annotated. Missing letters have been inserted in [] only when the meaning of the word would otherwise be unclear or hinder easy reading. Sic has been used sparingly, mainly to indicate irregular or archaic spellings that might otherwise be mistaken for transcribing or typographical errors. For misspelled words that are not immediately obvious, or that might be confused with another word, the correct form is provided in [*i.e.*]. Where necessary for sense, missing words are supplied in []. In addition, superior numbers and letters have been lowered, and abbreviated words (including ampersands) have been silently expanded.

A number of the letters Grant sent home were crossed, *i.e.* rather than take a new sheet of paper he wrote over previous pages at right-angles. This has been transcribed without annotation.

MAPS



Map 1. A detail from Joseph Colton's *Map of British North America*, 1855, showing Quebec, Montreal and other places visited by Francis Augustus Grant. (Wikimedia Commons)



Map 2. James Wyld, *Map of the Ottoman Empire, the Black Sea and the Frontiers of Russia and Persia*, c.1854. Scutari, Varna and Balaklava have been circled in red. (Royal Collections Trust)

FAMILY TREES

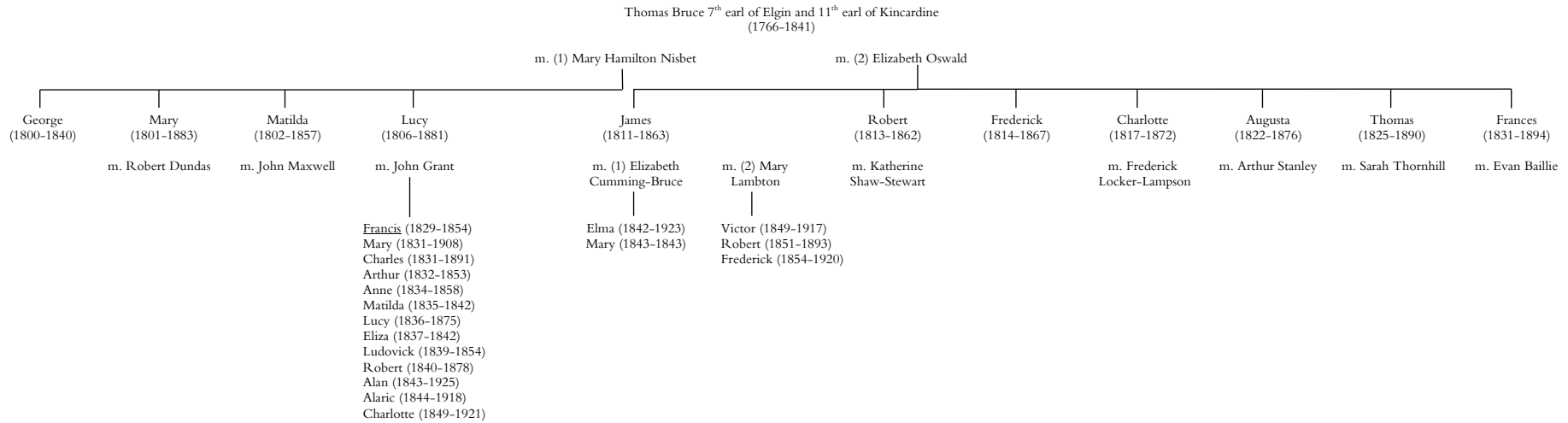


Table 1. A simplified family tree showing Francis Augustus Grant’s descent from Thomas Bruce, 7th earl of Elgin and 11th earl of Kincardine. As well as showing the family members to whom the letters are addressed, it highlights Grant’s connections with some of the people mentioned in the correspondence. In the interests of space, two of the 7th earl’s children have been omitted from the tree: William (1804–1805) and Edward (1815–1833).

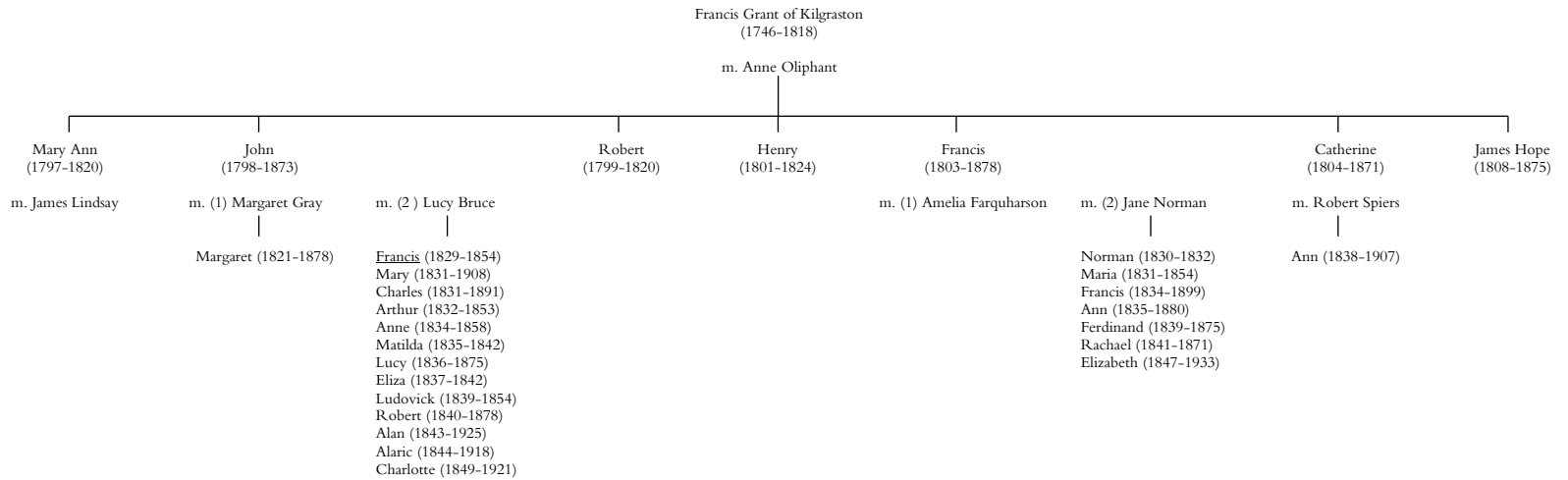


Table 2. A simplified family tree showing Francis Augustus Grant’s descent from Francis Grant of Kilgraston.

LIST OF LETTERS

<i>No.</i>	<i>From (location)</i>	<i>To*</i>	<i>Date</i>
1	Kilgraston	Miss Matilda Grant	12 February 1842
2	St Andrews	Lady Lucy Grant	21 August 1843
3	Blackheath	Miss Lucy Grant	8 October 1844
4	Blackheath	Lady Lucy Grant Marienbad	11 June 1846
5	Boyle Barracks	Arthur Grant	2 September 1847
6	Boyle Barracks	Arthur Grant	2 November 1847
7	Mullingar Barracks	Miss Lucy Grant	December 1847
8	Mullingar Barracks	Miss Lucy Grant	8 February 1848
9	Mullingar Barracks	Miss Lucy Grant	25 February 1848
10	Mullingar Barracks	Miss Lucy Grant	18 April 1848
11	New Liverpool (ship)	John Grant	20 September 1848
12	Quebec	Lady Lucy Grant Kilgraston	11 October 1848
13	Montreal	John Grant Kilgraston	6 November 1848
14	Montreal	Charles Grant	13 November 1848
15	Montreal	Miss Lucy Grant 16 Rutland Square, Edinburgh	6 December 1848
16	Montreal	John Grant 16 Rutland Square, Edinburgh	14 December 1848

17	Montreal	Arthur Grant Hopkirk's, Eltham	20 December 1848
18	Montreal	Lady Lucy Grant 16 Rutland Square, Edinburgh	1 February 1849
19	Montreal	Lady Lucy Grant 16 Rutland Square, Edinburgh	14 February 1849
20	Montreal	Arthur Grant Hopkirk's, Eltham	1 March 1849
21	Montreal	Lady Lucy Grant	11 April 1849
22	Montreal	John Grant Kilgraston	1 May 1849
23	Montreal	Lady Lucy Grant Pollok, Glasgow	19 May 1849
24	Montreal	Arthur Grant Hopkirk's, Eltham	10 June 1849
25	Montreal	John Grant	17 June 1849
26	Montreal	Arthur Grant	23 June 1849
27	Montreal	Lady Lucy Grant Kilgraston	2 July 1849
28	Montreal	Lady Lucy Grant Kilgraston	22 July 1849
29	Montreal	John Grant Kilgraston	28 July 1849
30	Monklands	John Grant Kilgraston	18 August 1849

31	Falls of Niagara	John Grant Kilgraston	9 October 1849
32	Falls of Niagara	Charles Grant c/o Sir J Brooke, via Singapore	16 October 1849
33	Falls of Niagara	Lady Lucy Grant Kilgraston	22 October 1849
34	Falls of Niagara	Mrs Margaret Murray Kinfauns	31 October 1849
35	Falls of Niagara	Lady Lucy Grant Kilgraston	17 November 1849
36	Toronto	Lady Lucy Grant Kilgraston	10 December 1849
37	Toronto	Lady Lucy Grant Kilgraston	17 December 1849
38	Toronto	Arthur Grant	22 March 1850
39	Toronto	John Grant Kilgraston	6 April 1850
40	Toronto	Miss Lucy Grant Kilgraston	19 April 1850
41	Toronto	Lady Lucy Grant 1 Southwick Crescent, Oxford Square, London	9 May 1850
42	Toronto	John Grant Kilgraston	12 June 1850
43	Toronto	John Grant and Lady Lucy Grant Kilgraston	18 July 1850
44	Toronto	Arthur Grant Kilgraston	23 July 1850

45	Toronto	John Grant Kilgraston	14 August 1850
46	Toronto	Lady Lucy Grant	13 September 1850
47	Toronto	Mrs Mary H N Ferguson Archerfield, Haddington	26 October 1850
48	Toronto	The Grant Family Kilgraston	25 December 1850
49	Toronto	Lady Lucy Grant Kilgraston	31 December 1850
50	Toronto	Lady Lucy Grant	21 January 1851
51	Toronto	Lady Lucy Grant Archerfield, Drem [near Haddington]	25 January 1851
52	Toronto	Lady Lucy Grant Kilgraston	11 February 1851
53	Toronto	John Grant	26 March 1851
54	Toronto	John Grant Kilgraston	23 May 1851
55	Toronto	Miss Lucy Grant at the Countess of Elgin's 65 Rue de Varennes, Paris	27 May 1851
56	Toronto	Lady Lucy Grant	28 June 1851
57	Paris	Miss Lucy Grant at the Countess of Elgin's 65 Rue de Varennes, Paris	23 August 1851
58	Dumphail	Lady Lucy Grant	28 October 1851
59	Castle Grant	John Grant	5 November 1851

		Kilgraston	
60	Altyre	Lady Lucy Grant	12 November 1851
61	Dunvegan	Lady Lucy Grant	30 November 1851
62	Quebec	John Grant Kilgraston	15 May 1852
63	Quebec	Miss Lucy Grant Kilgraston	31 July 1852
64	Quebec	John Grant Kilgraston	5 September 1852
65	Quebec	Charles Grant	18 September 1852
66	Quebec	Miss Lucy Grant	25 September 1852
67	Quebec	Charles Grant 16 Spring Gardens, London	4 December 1852
68	Quebec	Mrs Mary H N Ferguson	18 December 1852
69	Quebec	Miss Lucy Grant	21 January 1853
70	Quebec	Ludovick Grant Kilgraston	26 March 1853
71	Portsmouth	Mrs Mary H N Ferguson	1 April 1854
72	Portsmouth	Mrs Mary H N Ferguson	14 April 1854
73	Portsmouth	Miss Lucy Grant	[no date] 1854
74	H.M.S. Simoom	John Grant	11 May 1854
75	H.M.S. Simoom	Lady Lucy Grant	16 May 1854
76	Constantinople	John Grant Kilgraston	27 May 1854
77	Camp Scutari	John Grant	11 June 1854

78	Camp Aladeen	Miss Lucy Grant	10 July 1854
79	Gevrekler	Lady Lucy Grant	30 July 1854
80	[Gevrekler]	Lady Lucy Grant	[July-August 1854]
81	Gevrekler	John Grant	8 August 1854
82	Camp Galata	Miss Lucy Grant	27 August 1854
83	near River Alma	Lady Lucy Grant	21 September 1854

* Where the cover sheet of the letter survives, the location of the recipient has been added.

INTRODUCTION

The family letters of Francis Augustus Grant (1829–1854) are presented here as part of the ‘Scots Abroad’ strand of the *Sources in Local History* series. Written by the eldest son of a Perthshire landowner, they illustrate the part that aristocratic Scottish families played in the running of the British Empire and how it offered Scots new roles and opportunities far from home. More specifically, the letters provide an insight into the life of a British Army officer in the mid nineteenth century, and a soldier’s-eye view of two major events of the time – the unrest in Canada in 1849 and the Crimean War.

The Grant family

The Grant family lived at Kilgraston House, Perthshire. The estate of Kilgraston and Pitkeithley had been purchased at the end of the eighteenth century by John Grant, a lawyer and former chief justice of Jamaica (1783–1790). As he died without an heir, the estate passed to his brother Francis – the grandfather of Francis Augustus. It was Francis who built Kilgraston House. It was a private home until the First World War, when it became a hospital. In 1930 the premises were bought by the Society of the Sacred Heart to be used as a school for girls and it remains so today.

Francis Grant had three sons: John, Francis and James. As the eldest son, John became laird at Kilgraston on the death of his father in 1819. On 20 June 1820 he married the Hon. Margaret Gray and in the following April they had a daughter, Margaret. Exactly one year later his wife died at the age of nineteen years. In 1828 John married Lady Lucy Bruce, the third daughter of the earl of Elgin, and they had thirteen children, Francis Augustus being the eldest. (See the family trees on pages vi and vii). The present collection comprises letters Francis Augustus wrote to his mother, father, grandmother and siblings Margaret (Tish), Matilda (Tilly), Charles, Arthur, Ludovick and Lucy. He referred to other members of the household, including the ‘young ones’ and a person called ‘Nutty’, apparently a nickname for a well-loved housekeeper or nanny.

We know something of three of his siblings. Charles, who would eventually inherit Kilgraston, had joined the Royal Navy at an early age. By 1846 he was a midshipman on HMS *Agincourt* and it was here that he first met Sir James Brooke, a former army officer and adventurer who had been made the first rajah of Sarawak, in Borneo, after helping the sultan of Brunei suppress a revolt there. Brooke took a great interest in Charles and sent him letters, poems and gifts, and even had him transferred to HMS

Meander so that he would have his company on his return to Sarawak. It was at this time that Brooke persuaded John Grant to let his son leave the navy and join the Sarawak Service. Charles (known by Brooke as ‘Hoddy Doddy’) and other young men in the circle became known as ‘The Rajah’s Bower’. Charles became the rajah’s private secretary and served him for about sixteen years. During the latter part of that time the relationship with Brooke became increasingly strained, especially following the marriage of Charles and Janet Hay in October 1856. Charles and his wife eventually moved back to Scotland where they managed the Kilgraston estates and he became a justice of the peace and a deputy-lieutenant.

Arthur was the third son of John Grant. At the age of sixteen he enrolled at Addiscombe, a military seminary based in present-day Croydon where cadets were trained to become officers in the East India Company’s private army in India. Cadets entered between the ages of fifteen and eighteen for a two-year course. The seminary rules stated that the curriculum should teach

... sciences of Mathematics, Fortification, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, the Hindustani, Latin and French languages and the art of Civil, Military and Lithographic Drawing and Surveying, and in the construction of the several gun carriages and mortar beds used in the Artillery service.¹

The intake was about seventy-five students each year and the heavily subsidised fee only £50 per term. Arthur went on to serve as an ensign in the 11th Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry. He died of cholera in India on 1 September 1853.

The third sibling about whom we have additional information is Mary. She was a most important female sculptor in the nineteenth century and exhibited at the Royal Academy. As the niece of the renowned artist Sir Francis Grant, a president of the Royal Academy, she was able to utilise her artistic and aristocratic connections at a time when women were not fully supported as artists. She studied in Florence, Rome and Paris and specialised in portrait busts. Her most notable subjects were Queen Victoria, Lord Alfred Tennyson and Charles Stewart Parnell. She also completed a memorial fountain on the Victoria Embankment in London dedicated to Henry Fawcett, a women’s suffrage supporter. Her later work was of an ecclesiastical nature: a crucifixion for St Mary’s Episcopal Cathedral, Edinburgh; figures around the main door at Lichfield Cathedral; and a screen in Winchester Cathedral. Examples of her work can still be seen in

the National Portrait Gallery, London. She never married and died in Chelsea in 1908.

Francis Augustus Grant: life as a British Army officer

Francis Augustus Grant joined the 79th (Cameron Highlanders) Regiment of Foot on 11 June 1847 with the rank of ensign. Military service was the preferred option for many sons of the upper classes and for aristocratic officers like Grant it was almost like being in a private club. Life in peacetime was certainly not arduous, and it was remarked later in the century that a bachelor officer was often ‘a somewhat pleasure loving individual who is very fond of running up to town and going to balls and race meetings’.² Grant makes many references in his letters to time spent in Canada hunting, participating in winter sports and going to balls and picnics. He and a fellow officer even established a stud of six horses, and Grant competed in a number of races.

The initial requirement to become an officer was that one had to be between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, able to read and write and be recommended by an existing officer. In reality, however, one needed to be of a ‘good family’ and have money to pay for one’s commission. To join the infantry at the first officer rank – ensign – cost £450 for line regiments or £1,200 for Guards regiments, which were considered to be more socially prestigious (see Table 1).³ Once in the army an officer had the right to promotion according to seniority. This was again dependent on wealth, and if a candidate was unable to pay for the promotion he was bypassed for one who could. If the situation arose in a particular regiment that no one could afford to pay, an officer from another regiment with the funds would be transferred.⁴

Table 1. The cost of commissions in the British Army, 1837

Rank	Cavalry	Foot Guards	Infantry
Ensign/Cornet	£840	£1,200	£450
Lieutenant	£1,190	£2,050	£700
Captain	£3,225	£4,800	£1,800
Major	£4,575	£8,300	£3,200
Lieutenant-colonel	£6,175	£9,000	£4,500

Source: Bruce, A. *The Purchase System in the British Army, 1660-1871*, London, 1980.

Notes: These figures were not incremental and the actual cost was the difference in price between the existing rank and the promotion. The average wage for a farm labourer at this time was £40 p.a.

The costs shown in Table 1 were often exceeded as the process frequently resembled an auction, with the promotion going to the highest bidder. In 1832, for example, Lord Cardigan reputedly paid £35,000 for the rank of lieutenant-colonel of the 15th King's Hussars.⁵ On other occasions, if an officer found himself in debt – a not uncommon occurrence – he would sell his commission to the highest bidder. Commissions were also sold when an officer retired or left the army and he used this money as his pension. A memorandum written by the duke of Wellington and submitted to a parliamentary committee in 1833 justified the practice:

It is the promotion by purchase which brings into the service men of fortune and education; men who have some connexion with the interests and fortunes of the country, besides the commissions which they hold from His Majesty. It is this circumstance which exempts the British army from the character of being a 'mercenary army,' and has rendered its employment, for nearly a century and a half, not only not inconsistent with the constitutional privileges of the country, but safe and beneficial.⁶

A later royal commission likened the purchase system to the costs paid by trainees to solicitors, attorneys, surgeons and architects. Opponents believed that it led to incompetence, inefficiency and senility in the higher ranks. If the system were to change, there would obviously have to be a considerable increase in the pay of the soldiers.⁷

The so-called purchase system is referred to in the letters. In Letter 23 Grant stated that a senior ensign had been promoted so there was only one man ahead of him before he could make a financial offer for promotion. In November 1849 Grant became a senior ensign and writing to his father in June 1850 (Letter 42) he referred to 'purchase money' – a topic that had been raised in his father's letter to him. Perhaps the most notable point, however, is the fact that Grant was 'horrified' to hear that he might have to take an exam in mathematics before he could gain promotion. The exam, he noted, was so severe that not even his commanding officer would be able to take it. In Letter 45, from August 1850, he noted that he had been promoted to lieutenant without having to take an exam.⁸

Nepotism was another way in which officers could gain preferment, as Grant found to his benefit when his regiment was stationed in Canada. In October 1848 he was made aide-de-camp to his uncle James Bruce, 8th earl of Elgin and governor general of Canada. Even so, the letters reveal that this appointment was opposed by his commanding officer – Colonel Lauderdale Maule – as he considered it a breach of military etiquette and

unfair on the other, more senior officers. Grant noted that they did not seem to mind and even sent him congratulations.

As an aide-de-camp, Grant was separated from his regiment and no longer took part in its everyday activities. His duties were now of a more social character and would have included supervising Lord Elgin's household, arranging engagements, and writing and answering invitations. This change in role is reflected in Grant's letters home, which instead of recording an officer's usual round of drilling and parading, mention ceremonial and social occasions such as the opening of parliament and a picnic on St Helen's Island in the St Lawrence River.

Francis Grant in Canada

During his first year as a soldier, Grant was stationed at the regimental depot in Ireland, first at Boyle and then at Mullingar. The regiment itself was transferred from Gibraltar to Quebec in July 1848, and it was here that Grant joined them the following September. In the official history of the regiment their three-year posting in Quebec is passed over in half a dozen lines. It refers to a letter from the magistrates of Quebec that commended 'the excellent conduct of the men in your regiment during their sojourn in Quebec'.⁹

Letter 11 was written on board the *New Liverpool* as it approached Quebec and in it Grant gave his father a detailed account of the voyage, including the various sea creatures he had spotted during the journey, from porpoises and whales to a captured turtle that provided the passengers with soup, steaks and pies 'till we were quite tired of it'. Like many visitors before him, he was struck by his first sight of Quebec – 'the most beautiful thing I ever saw' – and described how the sun glittered on the roofs of the city, which were made of tin rather than of slate.

Grant was allocated to Major Douglas' company and billeted with the rest of the regiment in the citadel. A week or so later, he had the duty of carrying the colours in the regiment's half-yearly inspection, which he found 'precious hard work' (Letter 12). His regimental duties, however, were left behind when he became aide-de-camp to his uncle, a position that greatly increased his involvement in social activities, both on and off duty. This gave him ample opportunity to mix with the opposite sex, and in a letter to his mother he admitted that, 'it would shock all the people at home to see the larks we have with our muffins' (Letter 19).¹⁰

Grant was a keen observer of local life and he frequently commented on the customs and habits of the Canadians. Their modes of transport, especially during winter, attracted his attention:

The sleighing season has begun here and such a thing as a wheeled vehicle is scarcely to be seen in the town, some of the turnouts are very pretty and many of the sleighs are the most graceful little things you ever saw when they have handsome robes particularly. The robes as I dare say you know are made of skins of wolves, bears, foxes or any other beast the owner of the sleigh fancies, and hang over the backs and sides of the seats so as to come within a foot or two of the ground, the aprons of the sleighs are generally made of the same skin as the robes and the horses are obliged to have at least two bells on them. (Letter 16)

He found the dress of the peasants 'very picturesque in winter, so many bright colours on pyramids of fur as they are when they sit in their sleighs' (Letter 18). Grant was a talented artist and in his letters home he often accompanied his descriptions with sketches, some of which are reproduced in the present edition of his letters. He also kept a sketchbook 'full of little incidents of my life in this country' (Letter 39), which he sent home to Kilgraston in April 1850.¹¹

Grant's letters also provide further evidence of the ways in which Scots in Canada maintained and expressed their identity, and the extent to which Highland regiments, with their pipe bands and kilts, helped to create a particular view of Scottishness abroad. He recorded that on St Andrew's day 1848, 'all the Scotch people out here had a great blow out, sermons, processions and all sorts of things during the day and at night a most capital ball'. A piper was on hand to provide the music, reels were danced and Sir Hew Dalrymple wore a 'magnificent kilt' (Letter 15). Similarly, at a wedding held in the house of an emigrant from Skye, the guests 'were all in tartan and young McLeod and myself in the kilt', and they 'danced reels all night', finishing with the highland fling (Letter 38).

Political unrest meant that Grant's stay in Canada was not all 'larks', however. It had its roots in the rebellions of 1837 and 1838, when French Canadian militants in Lower Canada took up arms against the British crown. The rebels were defeated, and following an investigation by Lord Durham, Lower Canada was united with Upper Canada to form the Province of Canada. Durham's report also called for the introduction of 'responsible government',¹² although this was not achieved until 1848 under the ministry of Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine and Robert Baldwin. The stability of this new regime was threatened almost immediately by opposition to the Rebellion Losses Bill, which was intended to compensate Lower Canadians for the losses they had suffered during the rebellions of 1837 and 1838. While LaFontaine and other reformers saw it as a way to

heal the divisions between the two provinces, Tories and others argued that it simply rewarded rebels for their acts of disloyalty. The fact that it was a time of severe economic depression added to the unrest.

On 9 March 1849 the Legislative Assembly passed the bill by forty-seven votes to eighteen, and six days later the Legislative Council passed it twenty votes to fourteen. The Tories demanded that Lord Elgin refuse to give assent to the bill. He was personally against it but in what was considered an act of political bravery he gave his assent on 25 April 1849. The English-speaking population of Montreal was enraged and thousands took to the streets. Lord Elgin's coach was pelted with eggs and stones, riots broke out and the parliament building was burnt to the ground.

Grant describes in detail these events in Letter 22, including the reception he and the rest of the governor general's party received on leaving the parliament:

[the mob] gave us a tremendous shower of stones from both sides of the road, poor Bruce got a nasty cut on the head, the carriage is very much damaged and the dragoons, Ker and I all were hit more or less though fortunately not on the head, the poor horses got some very hard hits too.

In a letter describing subsequent unrest, Grant noted that the police were of 'no use' as 'directly a mob appears they disappear' and that 'we may have to shoot some of them before it is all over' (Letter 30). At the same time he recognised the significance of the step his uncle had taken in approving the bill: 'He may have disliked the bill in his own mind', but it was 'not for the payment of rebels but for the indemnification of sufferers from pillage during the rebellion' (Letter 23).

As a result of the unrest, the parliament building was eventually moved to Toronto. Grant mentioned this and referred to the growing demand among some in Montreal for the province to be annexed to the United States. The movement was led by the Annexation Association, a group of businessmen who were angered by the abolition of the Corn Laws and the passing of the Rebellion Losses Bill, and who believed that Canada's economy would be better served by being part of the U.S.A. They issued the Montreal Annexation Manifesto in September 1849, which also gained support from some French Canadian nationalists. Although the riots added fuel to an already burning fire, Grant recognised the movement's main concern:

... the Montreal people are still crying for Annexation, their trade has

been particularly good however this Autumn and they say that in Montreal loyalty ebbs and flows according to the price of goods; when prices is low down goes the loyalty, a little lower they verge on Annexation, when very low strong Annexation principles are the go, when the prices rise so does the loyalty when they rise very high the loyalty is exuberant (Letter 35).

The annexation movement continued until 1854 when the Reciprocity Treaty was signed giving the Canadians improved trading links with the U.S.A.

Due to the unrest in Montreal, the governor general and his staff moved first to the town of Niagara, where the famous falls had a considerable impression upon Grant. They then moved to Toronto, the new seat of government. Grant was unable 'to devote much time to writing' while in Toronto as he was frequently on the road with the governor general either attending events, such as the opening of a branch of the Welland Canal, or touring the province. When not on duty, he continued to enjoy a full social life – taking part in horse races, performing in a Christmas play and attending balls.

In the summer of 1851 Grant was permitted six months leave, during which he travelled to Paris to escort his sister Lucy home and toured northern Scotland with his brother Charley. On his return to Canada, he found himself once more living in 'the beautiful and picturesque town of Quebec' (Letter 62), where the seat of government (and so Lord Elgin) was now located. Grant found the city a 'jolly place' and spent the following months enjoying balls, dinners, horse races and a ten-day trip to the forests hunting moose and caribou. Indeed, as he informed Lucy in January 1853, the 'amusements' of Quebec 'are so numerous that one is kept in constant motion' (Letter 69).

The 79th Regiment had returned to Britain on 30 August 1851 to spend the next three and a half years stationed at various barracks in Scotland and England. At what point Grant re-joined them is unclear. The last of his Canadian letters to survive dates from Quebec 26 March 1853, and it makes no mention of his return to Britain. The next letter dates from 1 April 1854, when Grant and the rest of the 79th Regiment were at Portsmouth waiting to embark for Turkey and the Crimean War.

Francis Augustus Grant and the Crimean War

The Crimean War was fought from October 1853 to February 1856 between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. France and Great Britain entered the war in 1854 and Sardinia-Piedmont in 1855. The war had its roots in

the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the fear in Britain and France that the Russians would take the opportunity to expand their rule southwards, and so threaten their own territorial interests in the region and beyond. The immediate cause centred on a dispute between Catholic France and Orthodox Russia over access to religious sites in the Holy Land. France suggested the holy places should be under joint control but in practice seized control of the sites. The tsar saw this as a direct challenge to his authority and growing increasingly impatient sent his envoy Prince Menshikov to meet with the Turks. The demand was that a Russian protectorate should be established for all Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire. The Turks, encouraged by the British ambassador, rejected the demand, prompting the Russians to invade Ottoman territories in the Balkans. In November 1853 the Russians destroyed the Turkish fleet at Sinope. In March the following year, Britain and France declared war on Russia.

The 79th Regiment departed from Portsmouth on 4 May 1854 and arrived at Scutari, near Constantinople, sixteen days later. It was transferred soon after to Bulgaria, where it spent the next eleven weeks at camps in the vicinity of Varna. When the Russians withdrew from Moldavia and Wallachia, the focus of the allies' campaign shifted to the Crimea and in particular on taking and destroying the Russian naval base of Sevastopol. On 29 August, Grant and the rest of the 79th were on board the transport ship *Dunbar* bound for the Crimea, where they took part in the battles of Alma (20 September 1854) and Balaklava (25 October 1854), and in the siege of Sevastopol. As well as providing a vivid illustration of his life on campaign, Grant's letters highlight some major issues that arose during the war: the influence of the press; army mismanagement; and poor medical care.

The influence of the press

In Letters 82 and 83 Grant made mention of journalists who were with the army – William Russell of the *Times* and Nicholas Woods of the *Morning Herald*. Grant begged his family not to believe their reports, especially those of Russell. He wrote that they are 'full of lies' (Letter 82) and describe events that have not yet happened. Perhaps a touch enviously, he remarked that Russell 'gets £2000 pa.': the pay of an army officer was about a quarter of this. His view was shared by the commanders, and Lord Raglan ordered his soldiers not to speak to them.

Russell wore quasi military uniform and although he saw little first-hand fighting, he was sociable and skilful at talking to the men. These

abilities were evident to a staff officer in the Light Division, who wrote that Russell was

a vulgar low Irishman ... [who] sings a good song, drinks anyone's brandy and water, and smokes as many cigars as foolish young officers will let him, and he is looked upon by most in the Camp as a 'Jolly Good Fellow.' He is just the sort of chap to get information, particularly out of youngsters.¹³

Russell commented widely on the army's poor leadership, noting in a private letter to the editor of the *Times* that, 'I am convinced that Lord Raglan is utterly incompetent to lead an army through any arduous task'.¹⁴ He also reported on conditions in the Crimea, including poor food and clothing, lack of transport, and sickness. These reports had a great impact at home. One MP commented, 'I trust the Army will lynch the *Times* correspondent'.¹⁵ Prince Albert called him a 'miserable scribbler'¹⁶ and Queen Victoria described his articles as 'infamous attacks against the army which have disgraced our newspapers'. His accounts were hugely significant in informing the public of conditions in the Crimea and contributed to the outcry that led to the resignation of Lord Aberdeen's government. In fact, the duke of Newcastle declared, 'It was you who turned out the government, Mr Russell'.¹⁷

Army mismanagement

In Letter 72 Grant described his frustration and that of fellow officers that no ship had been made available to take the men of the 79th Regiment to Turkey. This would seem unbelievable for a country that owned the largest merchant and naval fleets in the world. He further noted that they expected to sail on the *Simoom* but that it would take four weeks to refit her engines.

A lack of ships also resulted in the 5,000 or so draught animals gathered for the campaign being delayed, which contributed greatly to the land transport problems already facing the British expeditionary force. The Royal Wagon Train, which had been established during the Napoleonic War to convey the sick and wounded, ammunition, regimental baggage and other necessities, had been disbanded in 1833, and was only replaced by the Land Transport Corps in January 1855. Consequently, pack-saddles, bridles and other equipment had to be purchased from the Turks, while draught animals and wagons had to be obtained from local villages or seized from the enemy. It was in one these requisitioned wagons, known locally as an *araba*, that Grant was conveyed when sick: 'not an uncomfortable carriage', he cheerfully observed (Letter 79).

The army was in general ill equipped for the campaign. Even before the troops left, the secretary of state for war was asked for additional supplies because of the severe winter weather in the area. He replied that the army leaders had been 'greatly misinformed' about the weather and no additional supplies would be provided. Once in the Crimea, and with winter approaching, the army requested 3,000 tents, 100 hospital marquees, 6,000 nosebags, as well as spades, shovels and axes. The need was all the more urgent after a storm in November had not only destroyed the allied camp outside Sevastopol, but also sank or damaged a number of ships bringing winter clothing, food, medicine and animal fodder to the army. When supplies did reach the Black Sea, getting them to the camps proved impossible at times. The lack of suitable transport meant that,

we can do little more than land sufficient supplies to keep pace with the daily consumption of our troops and to add to our difficulties the road from the harbour to the camp, not being a made one, is impassable after heavy rains.¹⁸

The mismanagement of supplies was not unique to the British Army, however, for as William Russell noted, 'The French, though they had *tentes d'abri* and *cacolets*, had no cavalry; the Turks had neither cavalry nor *food*; the British had cavalry, but they had neither tents nor transport, nor ambulances nor litters!'.¹⁹

Lack of food was also a problem for British troops, who were regularly on half rations. The quality of these rations was also poor, consisting chiefly of biscuits and salt meat supplemented with a monthly vegetable ration that was insufficient to prevent widespread outbreaks of scurvy. Grant observed that the officers were suffering more than the men, probably due to the 'change from good living to the poor stuff we get here' (Letter 81). He had earlier noted that only officers in the Guards regiments could afford to augment their rations with 'luxuries' such as wine and fruit, although in his opinion this only made them more susceptible to disease (Letter 79).

While Grant expressed doubts about the condition of the cavalry, noting in Letter 78 that Lord Cardigan had returned from an expedition with around eighty horses suffering from sore backs, his letters contain no direct criticism either of the government or the army staff for their logistical management of the campaign. Nor do they contain the sort of negative comments about senior officers that appeared in the press and, as the war continued, in soldiers' letters. He did voice his annoyance at Lieutenant-Colonel Edmund Elliot's decision not to hold a full dress parade before

leaving Portsmouth, even going so far as to say that he ‘was a man of no taste’ (Letter 72), and expressed a ‘wish to give up this idling and get to our work as soon as we can’ (Letter 80), but these sentiments arguably reflected, respectively, his pride in the 79th and his eagerness to engage the enemy, and not a dissatisfaction with the senior command in general. This might have changed had he lived to witness the continuing mismanagement of the campaign and such military debacles as the infamous charge of the Light Brigade; and it is interesting that in his last letter home, written after the battle of Alma, he remarked, ‘I hope and think this horrible war will be over in a few days – God knows I have seen enough of it’ (Letter 83).²⁰

Poor medical care

Malnutrition, combined with exhaustion and exposure to the elements, made soldiers of all ranks susceptible to illness, so when the insanitary conditions of the camps led to outbreaks of disease, the effect was devastating. Indeed, of the c.21,000 British troops who died during the war, over 17,000 of them died from disease. Cholera and dysentery were the main culprits.

Despite the work being done in Britain by John Snow on the possible causes of cholera, army leaders had little or no knowledge of its cause. Soldiers had to get water where they could and even if they had the knowledge of the need to boil that water, they had no means of doing so. One surgeon thought that the disease was caused by ‘tainted air from stagnant water and general filth’,²¹ and when an outbreak occurred orders were given to move camp. Another surgeon said it was caused by ‘the exposure of autumn, the rations of salt meat and green coffee, the severity of the weather and the absence of all comfort, warmth and dry clothes on returning from duty’.²² Grant blamed the disease on the French and ‘their dirty habits’ (Letter 81); and believed that his regiment was more healthy because they wore the kilt and so did not have so much ‘stuff round the loins’ (Letter 82). This, however, did not prevent the regiment’s commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Elliot, dying from cholera in August 1854 when stationed at Gevrekler, near Varna. As Grant noted in Letter 79, Elliot’s predecessor, Lieutenant-Colonel Maule, had died from the same disease just over a week earlier. Around the same time, the regiment’s second-in-command, James Ferguson, contracted a fever that proved so enervating that he was sent on convalescent leave, only to die in transit while on board the French ship SS *Caire*.

Grant himself was struck down by a debilitating infection while the regiment was stationed in Bulgaria. His hands, left arm and foot were seized ‘with violent inflammation and swelling and I have passed a miserable week

of sleepless nights and acute pain' (Letter 79). A month later the sores were still open and giving him 'great pain' (Letter 81). There were two surgeons attached to the 79th, Dr Richard J Mackenzie and Dr J Goldie Scot, and although Grant does not mention either of them, that his hands were bandaged suggests he received some medical attention.

The lack of medical care for sick and injured British troops was certainly an issue during the early months of the Crimean campaign. As William Russell reported,

... there is not the least attention paid to decency or cleanliness – the stench is appalling – the foetid air can barely struggle out to taint the atmosphere ... and, for all I can observe, these men die without the least effort being made to save them ... The sick appear to be tended by the sick, and the dying by the dying.²³

Another correspondent of the *Times*, Thomas Chenery, was equally critical, and compared Britain's efforts unfavourably with those of the French:

The worn-out pensioners who were brought out as an ambulance corps are totally useless, and not only are surgeons not to be had, but there are no dressers or nurses to carry out the surgeon's directions and to attend on the sick during intervals between his visits. Here the French are greatly our superiors. Their medical arrangements are extremely good, their surgeons more numerous, and they have also the help of the Sisters of Charity, who have accompanied the expedition in incredible numbers.²⁴

It was reports such as these that encouraged Florence Nightingale and Mary Seacole to go to Scutari and begin work on improving conditions for sick and injured soldiers. They also prompted Sir Robert Peel, the son of the former Prime Minister, to send a cheque for £200 to the *Times*, the first donation to what was to become the paper's Crimea fund. Within weeks £7,000 was raised from donations. These improvements came too late for Grant, however. He died of cholera at Balaklava on 1 October 1854, having been unwell for less than twelve hours.

The Russian defenders continued to hold Sevastopol for nearly a year after Grant's death, finally evacuating it in September 1855. Peace talks began in February 1856 and concluded with the Treaty of Paris (30 March), the main aims of which were to reduce Russian power and stabilise power relations in Europe – aims that were never really achieved.

Conclusion

In the aftermath of the war, the 79th Regiment of Foot erected a monument in the Dean Cemetery, Edinburgh, in honour of their 373 comrades who had died in the Crimean War. Francis Augustus Grant's name was inscribed on the plinth alongside those of Lauderdale Maule, Edmund Elliot, James Ferguson and other officers (Fig. 28). His family made their own tributes: his sister Lucy gathered together the letters presented here and had them bound for posterity, while his father composed the following poem:

A dream!

My Boy was with his Regiment,
My Boy, among the brave -
At the call of Britain's Sovereign
They embark'd upon the wave.

The ship was nobly laden
My Boy, among the brave -
Her freight a thousand men -
The oppress'd they went to save.

They rush'd upon the Foe,
My Boy, among the brave -
On Alma's battled heights
Their banners proudly wave.

They have march'd upon the Fortress,
My Boy, among the brave -
The Pestilence has ta'en him -
My Boy is in his grave!²⁵

Sue Johnson

NOTES

- ¹ Quoted in Bourne, J M. The East India Company's Military Seminary, Addiscombe, 1809-1858, *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 57 (1979), 206-222, at 208.
- ² Barker, C A. Married officers, *Colburn's United Service Magazine*, December 1889, 214-218, at 214.
- ³ £450 in 1837 would be the equivalent of around £27,000 in present currency.
- ⁴ For more details, see Bruce, A P C. *The Purchase System in the British Army, 1660-1871*, London, 1980.
- ⁵ £35,000 in 1832 would be the equivalent of over £2 million in present currency.
- ⁶ Duke of Wellington. Memorandum on Military Governments, addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Hill, G.C.B. etc. In *The Dispatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington during his various campaigns ...*, 12 vols, London, 1852, VIII, 369.
- ⁷ It would be another twenty years before the purchase system was finally abolished as part of Cardwell's army reforms.
- ⁸ This was officially reported in the *London Gazette*, 26 July 1850, which noted that the promotion had been 'by purchase'.
- ⁹ Mackenzie, T A and Findlay, C, ed. *Historical Records of the 79th Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders*, London, 1887, 101.
- ¹⁰ Muffin was the Canadian slang for 'a young woman, especially one who regularly partners a particular man by arrangement during a social season'. The term later fell into 'bad odour' and 'no lady will admit she ever was or ever could be a muffin'. See *Oxford English Dictionary*, s v muffin.
- ¹¹ The whereabouts of this journal has not been ascertained.
- ¹² *i.e.* an executive or cabinet that depends on the support of an elected assembly, rather than a monarch or their representatives.

- ¹³ Quoted in Wilkinson-Latham, R. *From Our Special Correspondent. Victorian War Correspondents and their Campaigns*, London, 1979, 59.
- ¹⁴ Quoted in Atkins, J B. *The Life of Sir William Howard Russell C.V.O., L.L.D. The First Special Correspondent*, 2 vols, London, 1911, I, 173.
- ¹⁵ Quoted in Atkins, 1911, I, 225.
- ¹⁶ Quoted in Atkins, 1911, I, 225.
- ¹⁷ Quoted in Atkins, 1911, I, 200.
- ¹⁸ From a letter sent from the Crimea in November 1854 by Commissary-General William Filder and read to the Select Committee on the Army before Sebastopol. See *The Sessional Papers printed by order of the House of Lords, or presented by Royal Command, in the session 1854-55, Vol. XXIV, Reports from Select Committees of the House of Commons ...*, London, 1855, 47.
- ¹⁹ Russell, W H. *The Great War with Russia. The Invasion of Crimea*, London, 1895, 17.
- ²⁰ Grant had been selected to succeed Captain Maitland as adjutant (an officer who assists the commander with unit administration). The promotion was officially announced in the *London Gazette* on 6 October 1854, five days after Grant had died.
- ²¹ Quoted in Robins, C. Cholera and dysentery in the Crimean War, *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 75:304 (1997), 240-245, at 243.
- ²² Quoted in Robins, 1997, 243.
- ²³ Russell, W. *The War: from the Landing at Gallipoli to the Death of Lord Raglan*, London, 1855, 289.
- ²⁴ Quoted in Tyrrell, H. *The History of the War with Russia*, 3 vols, London, 1855, I.ii, 265.
- ²⁵ Library Archives Canada, Francis Augustus Grant Collection, MG 24 A 53/95, Poem by John Grant, October 1854.

THE FAMILY LETTERS OF
FRANCIS AUGUSTUS GRANT
1842-1854

1. To Miss Matilda Grant

Kilgraston 12th February 1842

My dearest Tilly,

I am glad to hear that you and Bess are so much better than you were. I send you this picture to make you remember that I have not forgot you. We were out hunting to day but we never found, the ~~storm~~ hail was so great, that we were obliged to ride with our eyes shut for some time, and the wind so strong that we were very nearly blown off out ponies; and on our way home both Charles and his pony were out of sight under water in a ditch. Will you ask Mamma or Tish^[1] to guide your hand to write me.

Your affectionate brother
Frank Augustus Grant

2. To Lady Lucy Grant

St Andrews 21st August 1843

My dear Mother,

We all feel the want of you very much, and the whole house seems empty without you, and Father and Mary and Annie, but I hope you all are enjoying yourselves as much as you expected. We went to Mr Collin's concert it was really beautiful, Miss Rossini Collins played the violin beautifully, and Miss Emma the piano and sung very well, and Miss Victoria played the violincello and sung comic songs, and Mr Collins played the violin and flute, and Mr Harrington the double bass and his son a little boy of about five or six years old the drum, they all were firstrate musicians.^[2] Mr Riddle, Charles and I went with Mr Lyon to see the shark which the fishermen caught in the salmon nets the day that you left; it was a small one, it had two rows of tusks something like a cat's, but all leaning backwards so that the harder [*word scored out – illegible*] you try to get out of his mouth the tighter you stick. We are all quite well except those you know are not, namely Arthur, Harry and Ludovick. Please give my love to Mary and Annie.

I am your affectionate son
Francis A Grant



Figure 1. Francis Augustus Grant's family home, Kilgraston House, Perthshire, c.1830.
(Historic Environment Scotland)

3. To Miss Lucy Grant

New Proprietary^[3] 8th October 1844

My dearest Lucy,

I wish you many happy returns of your birthday and I am sorry I have not a better present to send you than this little glove button hook, but I dare say you sometimes find it difficult to button your new kid gloves; you should get Mary or somebody bigger than yourself to show you how to use it because if you are not careful it will bend or perhaps break. Has Father come to St Andrews yet. Tomorrow Charles will have a very gay day at sea for all the fleet that is in the channel is to be reviewed before the king of the French and he will be amongst them.^[4] I believe his ship will be stationed somewhere near the coast of France. Love to all

Your affectionate brother
Francis A Grant

4. To Lady Lucy Grant

Blackheath 11th June 1846

My dearest Mother,

I have been staying with Uncle Frank^[5] and Tish for the last few days and you really can't think how kind every body is to me. Uncle Frank lent me his horses two or three times and made me a present of a very nice cigar case well filled, and Tish and David^[6] are so kind that I really feel quite as if I was in debt to them all.

On Tuesday morning I went to see Ibrahim Pasha^[7] and his suite reviewing the troops on the Horse guard Parade, it was a fine sight. Prince Albert, the Duke of Wellington and the Duke of Cambridge were there, besides a number of other great generals. But I have something to tell you which will please you more than all, that my Grandmother^[8] has at last arrived in London and Aunt Mary and she so contrived that I should go alone on Wednesday Morning to see her. I went at 11 o'clock troubling my head very much how to address her at first, but all my fears were gone directly she came in for she came up to me and kissed me and said she was glad to see me just as if she had known me for years: so I stayed two hours and lunched with her, she introduced me to her maid who I believe knows you; nearly all her servants are Scotch and have been a long time with her, two or three of them asked me all about you and the rest of the family. I really never saw such a more respectful set of servants anywhere. I am going up to her house the Saturday after next and in about a fortnight she goes to Scotland. I hope the Marienbad Waters^[9] are doing.

When I get my money changed at Ostend how much ought I to allow the changer? for [*illegible - page damaged* ?he] must have something. My love to my Father, Mary and Annie. I am looking forward to the walking tour with great delight.

I remain
Your affectionate Dutiful Son
F A Grant

My Grandmother sends you all her love.

5. To Arthur Grant

Boyle Barracks 2nd September 1847

My dear Arthur,

You will think me very negligent and lazy in never having written to you yet, and I will not deny it. I joined the Regiment or rather the depot at Boyle about a month ago, it had then left Castlebar about a week, and ever since that time I have been at constant drill and other regimental duties beginning at 7 o'clock in the morning and going on every hour till half past four in the Afternoon. My brother officers are all good fellows and the time passes very pleasantly with them; one of them of the name of Mainwaring was at school at the Lyceum in Mannheim, he knew Dr Lovell and von Hartmann, perhaps they may remember him, though it is five or six years since he was there.^[10] The regiment is at this moment in Gibraltar but is going to Canada in Spring, we shall send out a Captain and two Ensigns to it in a month or so but I am afraid I shall not be one of them as my turn for foreign service has not come yet. I do not know whether you have heard that the Agincourt has arrived in Plymouth and if Charley is not now in



Figure 2. A sketch by Francis Augustus Grant of a private and an officer of the 79th Regiment of Foot, drawn while he was at Boyle, Ireland, 2 September 1847.
(Library Archives Canada)

Kilgraston he will be there in a day or two. I see in the Gazette that he is appointed to another ship the San Joseph, but don't know where she is bound bound; only think what fun it will be for them all at home to see him again, however you and I shall not be able to partake in it probably. About a fortnight ago we got at a capital dance in the barracks which we kept up till nearly six in the morning. ~~Re~~ Give my love to Harry and Ludovick who I hope are well. Remember me kindly to Dr and Mrs Lovell and to von Hartmann, whenever you see him, as well as to Adrien, Fetherstone, Ewen and Tritteur and Halbach or, in short, anybody else whom I knew. My address is

F A Grant Esq
79th Highlanders
Boyle
County Roscommon
Ireland

I send you a little, rough sketch of the uniform of a 79th Highlander, if I had time I would have drawn a more finished one [Fig. 2].

Believe me to remain
Your affectionate Brother
F A Grant

6. To Arthur Grant

Boyle Barracks 2nd November 1847

My dear Arthur,

You must excuse my not having written an answer before this to your kind letter, but I assure you I have had very little time to myself lately or I would have done it before, to thank you for the Alp Box which arrived here all safe and is now in my desk. We are to have our half yearly inspection in a few days, by General Sir Guy Cambell^[11] and are now having another drill and whitewashing the Barrack to make as smart a show as we possibly can with the small number of men at the Depot. I only hope old Sir Guy will be pleased as he has put us to a deal of trouble. The night before the inspection we are to give a large dinner party to which all the aristocracy of the county are invited, and a week after, we are to give a grand ball, and

are already beginning to make preparations for it, so you see we are a pretty fast set of fellows. I have not seen Charley yet, but have been making arrangements to meet him in Dublin if possible before he goes to sea again. I should have taken a larger sheet of paper if I thought I could fill it, but I have already exhausted my small store of news, so with best love to Harry and Ludovic.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate Brother
F A Grant

I intended to have drawn you a sketch with a horse in it but I have not time now to do so, however I must send you one in the next letter.

7. To Miss Lucy Grant

Mullingar December 1847

My dearest Lucy,

I don't think I have written to you yet since I became a soldier though you are my own property and always were, but you must not be dreadfully angry or I shall be afraid to come home again in case you thrash me for my ingratitude. I have already told Annie in my letter to her that I have been in Dublin for some days with Sir E. Blakeney,^[12] so I suppose there is no occasion to tell it you all over again, but as I have nothing to say I will tell you of a little situation I had yesterday. I was out shooting and killed a snipe and a sort of wild duck, but the country was so wild and covered with water that it was impossible to kill any more, and as it was all bog it was divided by very large ditches, which I was obliged to jump, but one of them being wider than usual and there being no way to cross it without jumping, I took a run with my gun in my hand, made a tremendous spring but lighted plump in the middle of it and sunk in the mud so deep that hardly any thing was visible but my hat, but fortunately a man helped me out, as I should have been there now in all probability. I send you a little sketch of it [Fig. 3].

Your affectionate Brother
F A Grant



Figure 3. A sketch by Francis Augustus Grant showing how he got stuck in a boggy ditch while out shooting snipe, December 1847.
(Library Archives Canada)

8. To Miss Lucy Grant

Mullingar Barracks 8th February 1848

My dear Lucy,

I got your most kind and useful present all safe the day before yesterday and write to tell you how much obliged I am to you for it as well as for your good wishes for me. I was sorry to hear of the bad accident that Father has had but I hope he is going on better now for sometimes a sprain lasts a long time. I dare ~~yo~~ say you can recollect when I sprained my arm at St Andrews that I could not use it for nearly two months afterwards, however I hope Father's leg will not last so long as that.

I have had a present of a young spaniel, she is so small that I could almost fold her in this letter but she is not a month old yet. I hope she will turn out well when she is older. I have named her 'Flirt'. This [*a sketch was added here*] was meant to be her position sleeping among some matting before the fire but I am afraid it is a failure. The frost and snow has all gone now and we have nothing but wet weather which is much less agreeable. With best love to all.

Believe me to remain
Your affectionate Brother
F A Grant

9. To Miss Lucy Grant

Mullingar 25th February 1848

My dearest Lucy,

I got your kind letter this morning and thank you for your good wishes to me as well as for your muffitees^[13] again which I am sure will bear close inspection at least I should never have found out any fault in the making of the stitches if you had not told it yourself. As I found this bit of paper in my desk with a picture of one of my favourite animals a fox, I thought the best thing I could do with it would be to send it to my girl Miss Lucy Grant not that she deserves it, but merely to keep her in mind that she has a brother in the world who is fond of fox hunting. Remember me kindly to Miss Held, and tell her I am much obliged for her kind wishes and hope that my career may be as brilliant as she anticipates. Give my best love to all and

Believe me to remain
Your very affectionate Brother
F A Grant

10. To Miss Lucy Grant

Mullingar Barracks 18th April 1848

My dearest Lucy,

I had a letter from you and a very long one some time ago, and I ought to have answered it before but really I am very often rather pressed for time so you must excuse my writing to such a small and good for nothing creature as Miss Lucy Grant, as I have no doubt you have the same opinion of the young lady to whom I allude as I have. But now that I have begun a letter what am I to say? for I know of nothing which would interest or amuse you, unless it is that there are to be races here on the 2nd of May and there is to be an exhibition of flowers somewhere in the neighbourhood but as neither of these important events have taken place yet I am unable to give you an account of them. You can tell Father and Mother that the 79th will not leave Gibraltar for two months yet as the Bellerophon which was to have taken them to America has been ordered home to Spithead to

take the 44th Regiment to Malta; and that the Resistance which is to take out the 79th has not yet left Cork. I find that I owe Annie a letter which I had stupidly forgotten till just now when I found her letter in my desk so must write it today and send it with this one. I suppose Mary is still in Leamington is she not? but I have not had any letters from home for a long time and am quite ignorant of your movements. By the bye you mentioned in your letter that Annie was going to Granton, if she is still there I hope you will forward my letter to her. ~~R~~ Remember me very kindly to Miss Held and thank her for her kind wishes in Annie's letter and tell her that as yet we have not come in contact with a Repeal mob, but that if we ever do the Highlanders are the boys to make them respect their Queen. Give my love to old Nutty and the youngsters and believe me to remain

Ever your affectionate Brother
F A Grant

11. To John Grant

New Liverpool, River St Lawrence 20th September 1848

My dear Father,

Though we have not arrived at Quebec yet I shall begin a letter to give you an account of our voyage that I may be ready to post it as soon as possible when we are there and besides I suppose that I shall have plenty of opportunities of describing Quebec before long. I suppose you know that we have already been nearly nine weeks at sea which is a very long passage indeed, but ever since we left Cork we have had a succession of Westerly winds and a great many calms so that we have tacked nearly the whole way and our ship is a bad sailor at best. After we had left Cork sometime we were driven very much out of our course and at one time we were within 50 miles of the Azores and even a little to the south of them. After we left Cork we had some very stiff breezes, (in one of them we lost our fore topgallant mast, but a new one was rigged out in a few hours), we were driven a good deal to the south of them and there came a succession of calms and hot weather. In one of the calms we saw two or three sharks swimming about the ship, we put out a line with a bit of pork for bait and in an hour we killed a couple of them, they were each about 7 or 8 feet long: when they got on deck they were very obstreperous and it took several men to hold them down to kill them and get the hooks out of their

mouths. The same afternoon we saw the most enormous shoal of porpoises I have ever seen they seemed to extend to the horizon in a long line and each long Atlantic swell as it rose poured them out by dozens; it was exactly like looking at a steeple chase in which there might have been a thousand horses running they came leaping and bounding along the water in the most gallant stile and as hard as they could lick; the principal part of them seemed to make a charge right at the ship and as they came up they made a leap and plunged right under the keel and leapt [*sic*] high out of the water on the other side again: in some places the sea was actually white with the foam they were kicking up; since then we have seen a great many shoals of porpoises but none to equal that in numbers; to give you an idea of the splutter they make I must tell you that they each weigh from 3 to 8 or even 10 cwt. One fine moonlight night ~~night~~ when I was on watch a large whale came and hovered around the ship for several hours; every now and then he came quite close alongside so that I could see him beautifully he was about 70 feet long, nearly half the length of the ship; the sailors say the reason whales hang about a ship at night for so long is that they take them for female whales. I saw another whale since then I think he must have been larger but he was a long way off he was spouting water very high in the air; in the course of the voyage ~~we~~ we have seen a good many grampuses a much smaller kind of whale. As we were getting near the Banks of Newfoundland and were becalmed, one day we saw a great flat shining thing on the water four or five hundred yards off; we examined it through the telescope and it turned out to be a large turtle, the boat was let down directly with one of the mates and a couple of men, they skulled up to him in order to make no noise as he was asleep; when they came up to him the mate at once turned him upon his back and hauled him into the boat and brought him on board, what do you think he weighed? 120lbs. For at least a fortnight after we lived on turtle soup, stakes [*sic*] and pies till we were quite tired of it. As we began to find ourselves short of provisions we had to put into St John's Newfoundland where we stayed 5 days. I wrote my Mother a letter from there; when we left St John's we had a fair wind as far as the Gulf; when we were well into it there came a gale of wind which blew furiously for one night and part of two days but we lost no spars, although only a few hours after it was all over our fore topmast was sprung in a sudden squall that sprang up. We are now in the mouth of the St Lawrence becalmed, we have taken a pilot on board to get us up the river. I find I made a great mistake in saying that we were so very near the Azores, we were only within several degrees of them.



Figure 4. Mary Bruce, *Quebec, from Near Pt. Levi*.
(Library Archives Canada)

September 29th Quebec – you never saw such a magnificent river as the St Lawrence, such an immense body of water and such an extent of forest on both sides; in many places there is beautiful scenery, fine high hills entirely covered with wood and snow on the tops of many of them. Our first view of Quebec was the most beautiful thing I ever saw; when we came in sight of it, it was sunset, and as all the spires and domes and the roofs of the houses are made of tin instead of slate the glittering of the sun on them had the most beautiful effect; and the citadel on its high rock overlooking the grand river St Lawrence ~~was~~ and the reflection of every thing in the water made such a splendid view that it was more like a scene in a theatre lighted up by fireworks than any thing else and one almost expected to see the curtain drop and every thing disappear. We disembarked on the 27th of September and the whole of the pipers played me and my 20 men up to the citadel where we are quartered now after having been on our journey ever since the latter end of May, 4 whole months; I wish you could see the Head Quarters of the 79th you never saw a finer body of men they are not very tall but such well made, clean limbed, wiry fellows and in such beautiful order. I am put into No 3 or Major Douglas's company, on Tuesday next I shall have to carry the colours at the half yearly inspection. Colonel Maule is a perfect gentleman.^[14] Indeed I think our fellows altogether are as nice a

set as I ever met. I am better able to form an opinion now as I have seen so many regiments on my way. I will mention a few of them to give you an idea, the 26th, 44th, 70th, 77th and 69th besides detachments of the 7th, 19th, 20th, 23rd, 38th, 71st and rifle Brigade and a great many officers here and there belonging to other regiments. And I have seen none of a stile [*i.e.* style] better than ours or any whose internal economy is so good. I found a very long interesting letter from Charley waiting for me here and from you and my Mother and the girls and thank you all for them. Give my love to them all and

Believe me to remain ever
your affectionate dutiful son
F A Grant

12. To Lady Lucy Grant

Citadel Barracks, Quebec 11th October 1848

My dear Mother,

I got your kind letter by the last mail and hope you have got mine by this time. I find my brother Officers are a most agreeable, pleasant, gentlemanlike set of fellows and am delighted with them and every thing else connected with my regiment. This is a nice place the country round is beautiful and so is the weather. Our half-yearly inspection took place the other day and the General was pleased to express his entire approbation of our appearance in the field and quarters which we however only take as a matter of course. I being one of the two only Ensigns have carried the Regimental Colours and precious hard work it is for 3 or 4 hours, particularly as ours are so tattered that every now and then they get entangled about one's head and one is obliged to rush about without being able to see an inch before you. I am afraid that the next thing I am to tell you I did will not please so much that is I have ridden a steeple chase, I won it however and without any accident. I don't know what made them ask me to do it but I suppose they knew my Father was a good horseman and thought I ought to be so too. Eight horses were to have started but three of them did not come as the steamer from Montreal ran aground with them in it, five horses started however, the two favorites [*sic*] were Sir Francis (my horse) and a chestnut horse called Gumbo, our line of country was about 4 miles from here, the length of the course was a mile and a half



Figure 5. J M Escacena y Dazam, *79th Highlanders in Gibraltar*, 1841. The two soldiers carrying the colours are ensigns, the rank that Grant held when he joined the 79th. (Highlanders Museum)

out and the same back again making in all 3 miles and in this short distance there were no less than 40 fences most of them however were not very big though one or two were pretty fair. At the word from our Colonel away we went and all cleared the first fence, but the second was a stiff one I got over it first quite clear, but just behind me down came poor Gumbo heels over head, so he was left behind, the next the other four cleared but the fourth was higher than either and down came another horse and rider, the race was now between three of us, an Officer of the Rifle Brigade riding the leading horse, I the second and Campbell of our regiment the third, we kept in this order, our horses jumping beautifully till we got to the turning point; in the first field after we turned down came the Rifleman just in front of me, his horse had made an overreach; the race was now between Campbell and me and on we went our horses flying their fences beautifully and willingly all the time, we were gradually getting nearer the winning post and it became very exciting, our horses were as much so as we were and were going beautifully, but just in the last field but one, Campbell and his nice little mare came rolling alongside me. I took my last fence and won the race. Though every man but myself got a fall I am glad to say that nobody was hurt. My dress was a white jacket with yellow sleeves and a black cap all lent me by one of our fellows, and an Artillery man of about

my own size lent me boots and the other necessary articles. My horse was a charming fencer and had a perfect mouth. I rode him in a simple snaffle, his colour was bay and he belongs to an Officer of the 23rd at Montreal. I have had two letters from Uncle Robert^[15] about the Staff and am going up to see him at Montreal some day soon. I believe I am to stay a month or two with my regiment and then go on the Staff, he has kindly promised to get it all arranged for me satisfactorily. I got Mary's long interesting letter but am afraid she must wait till next mail for an answer as the letters arrived very late this week and have hardly time to write one tonight in time for tomorrow's mail. Give my love to my Father and Mary and all of them and don't let my 'old wifey' Nutty think that I don't think of her for I do so very often.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate dutiful son
F A Grant

13. To John Grant

Notre Dame Street, Montreal 6th November 1848

My dear Father,

It is a long time since we have heard from each other but during the interval a good deal has taken place to my advantage. I am now an A.D.C.^[16] and settled in Montreal as such I got my appointment at the latter end of last month subject to the approval of the Duke but Colonel Maule made objections to my going on the Staff which I wrote to Mary; in the mean time however this makes no difference for as it was a General order I am to all intents and purposes A.D.C. till the Duke signifies his disapprobation which he has not done yet. The Colonel although he did not wish me to get on the Staff treated me very kindly and often told me that it was not that he had any personal objection to my going on the Staff but that he did not think it fair on the other Officers; they however so far from grumbling all congratulated me on my good luck and asked me to join immediately and I have heard since that the Colonel does not like Officers to go on the Staff and had determined beforehand to put a stop to it if possible. I find my Uncles and Aunts^[17] all well except Lady Elgin who is in a delicate state of health and does not come down till dinner time. I like both my Aunts



Figure 6. Notre-Dame Street (1850), where Grant stayed during his first six months in Montreal. (Library Archives Canada)

very much indeed and am sorry I cannot see more of them, for I live in lodgings with my brother A.D.C.s in town, and they are at Monklands a quiet little country place about three miles from here. Montreal is a very fine town all built of a fine hardish white stone and plenty a good shops but not near as picturesque and old fashioned as Quebec and the country round it is not to be compared to the neighbourhood of Quebec. How did the Perth races and ball come off this year and was Mary able to get to it? I have not been able to get a horse to suit me yet for a reasonable price, the horse I rode in the steeple chase is for sale but his owner wants £100 which is more than he will get in this country for any horse. I enter on my duties today at the Government House for the first time. My brother ADC's Lord Mark Ker and Egerton of the Grenadier Guards.^[18] The winter will be on in about three weeks they say. We had a heavy fall of snow yesterday but it has all disappeared now. Nothing has taken place in this country worth mentioning, every body is conjecturing the probable fate of Smith

O'Brien.^[19] I suppose he will not be hung. Give my love to my Mother and all of them.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate dutiful son
F A Grant

14. To Charles Grant

Notre Dame Street, Montreal Canada 13th November 1848

My dear Charley,

I found a long and interesting letter from you when first I arrived in this country in the end of September last and thank you for it very much but it seems to be a long time now since you wrote it as it went first to Scotland and was forwarded to Canada and arrived there before I did. So I think that it is so long since we have heard from each other I may as well give you the history of myself from the time I left Ireland. I believe you know that my last Irish quarter was Mullingar where the Dèpôt is stationed. Towards the end of May -48 an order came for a draft of an Officer and 24 men to join the Head Quarters of the Regiment in North America. The Officer who was under orders however did not wish to go and asked me to make an exchange with him so I got that managed at the Horse Guards and a fresh order arrived for me to take command of the draft instead of the other Officer; I think the 27th of May was the day on which I and my men marched from Mullingar to Dublin and from there to Kingstown where we embarked along with drafts of other regiments on board the Rhadamanthus steamer and sailed to Waterford to take in more men and from there to Cork where we disembarked and went into Barracks and were detained there no less than 7 weeks during which I and my men were attached to the 26th Cameronians a very nice regiment. I spent a very pleasant time at Cork, although there was a good deal of duty in the way of guards and picquets to be done. The people were very kind and hospitable and I went to a good many hops and parties whilst I was there but the best fun we had there was a Garrison ball which went off capitally. At the end of seven weeks a dirty looking wall sided barque arrived at Cove (called the New Liverpool) to take us to Canada and on the 21st of July we embarked. There were 5 drafts besides mine on board belonging to different regiments in North America, making in all 327 men and 19 officers. The whole of them,

poor fellows, were crammed into a beastly dirty place quite dark between decks into which neither light nor air of any kind could find its way through the hatches and the officers were not much better off in many ways for besides not having enough room we were very badly fed and the skipper was an uncivil fellow and in short every thing was as uncomfortable as possible. We got under way on the 24th of July and did not arrive at Quebec till the 27th of September nine weeks or about 3 weeks longer than ships usually make the passage in, we ran short of provisions at one time and put into St John's Newfoundland with only 3 days' provisions on board, we were there a few days it is a curious and picturesque place, but must be wretched hole to live in for any time. In crossing the Gulf of St Lawrence we had a gale of wind in which we lost our fore top gallant mast, sprung the fore topmast, and lost the flying gibboom, and to add it all more than half the watch struck work, and the whole ship was worked by the soldiers for the few sailors who did their duty were all aloft. The St Lawrence is the finest river I have ever seen, and our first view of Quebec was magnificent, it was at sunset and the glittering of the roofs and spires (being all covered with tin in stead of slates) was most beautiful as well as the Citadel in which our regiment is quartered on its high rock over looking the river. I remained with my regiment at Quebec till about a week ago and spent a very pleasant time with it, whilst we were there I rode a steeplechase three miles across country and forty fences to jump, some of them pretty big ones and I won it, five horses started for the race, my colours were a white silk jacket with yellow sleeves and a black cap. Since then I have been appointed Aide de Camp to the Governor General of Canada, alias Uncle James and I am now at Montreal on his Staff. This is a capital appointment and I get by it more than £200 a year, if I can keep it but the Colonel of my regiment raised objection to it at first which he forwarded the Horse Guards on the grounds of my not having been long enough in the service but the answer has not arrived yet, in the mean time however I am doing duty as A.D.C. and receiving pay as such. We are both of us lucky fellows are we not? to fall in with such friends. I suppose if I address my letter to Singapore it will reach you at least I hope so. This is a fine country but when the winter is well set in I believe much greater fun goes on. My last accounts from home are good. Good bye old fellow and I hope you and Sir James Brooke will continue to get on as well together as you have hither to done.^[20]

Believe me to remain
 Ever your affectionate Brother
 F A Grant

I am glad to let you know before I send away this letter that besides Lord Elgin, his Lady, Uncle Robert and his new wife are here and Lady Alice Lambton, Lady Elgin's sister all charming people. My brother Aide de Camps are Lord Mark Ker and Egerton of the Grenadier Guards.



Figure 7. A portrait photograph of the earl and countess of Elgin, her sister Lady Alice Lambton (left) and Grant's fellow aide-de-camp Lord Mark Kerr (standing), 1848. (Library Archives Canada)

15. To Miss Lucy Grant

Notre Dame Street, Montreal 6th December 1848

My dear Lucy,

I got your kind letter last week and thank you for your account of every thing at home and though your birthday is now long past I wish you many happy returns of it. We have been having a good deal of fun here too. Of course you know that the 30th of November is St Andrew's day; on that

day all the Scotch people out here had a great blow out, sermons, processions and all sorts of things during the day and at night a most capital ball at one of the principal hotels here, the Governor was there and all his staff of course, we had lots of reel dancing. Sir Hugh Dalrymple^[21] brought one of his pipers and the whole thing went off capitally. Sir Hugh was in a magnificent kilt one mass of silver and cairngorms, he and I were the only two in kilts there however except an unhappy looking man who came in at first in a seedy looking kilt and would keep his bonnet on, he left very soon. His Excellency is a first rate reel dancer as you know already, the people here think it a wonderful dance and it is not easy to get partners for one. The week before St Andrews, we had another ball on St Catherines day the patron saint of Canada, it was a very good ball too. Besides the balls we have had Garrison plays which are as well acted as very fair professional actors would do, the last one in particular really was as good as I have ever seen, the pieces were called first "Not a bad judge" and second "Lola Montes or catching a Governour". Some of the officers here really are very good actors and as it takes place in the theatre where there are no professionals just now it is as good fun as going to the play in London, besides it is great fun recognising the faces of people one knows intimately through the rouge, false beards and hair and the fancy dresses of the stage, which disguised a man so completely that it is often impossible to recognise except by his voice. The winter has not set in steadily here yet and the weather is very changeable but today the snow is coming down very heavily, they say that the regular hard frost does not set in till after Christmas and that here it is never so severe as at [*illegible – page torn*]. Give my best love to my Father, Mother and all the rest of them not forgetting Nutty of course

Believe me to remain
 Ever your affectionate Brother
 F A Grant

16. To John Grant

Notre Dame Street, Montreal 14th December 1848

My dear Father,

I got your long letter the other day about the Staff business but my Uncles do not take near such a serious view of the case as you have done and also

they do not admit that there was any breach of military etiquette in not asking the Colonel, for Uncle Jim^[22] tells me he never has done so to any Colonel in applying for an A.D.C. and every body here who I have spoken to on the subject seems to think that ~~there~~ the objections of the Colonel will make no difference whatever, particularly when they see at the Horseguards^[23] that it is a request from the Governor General of Canada; it is no use however being too sure and on that account I have got no Staff outfit etc and could return to my Regiment tomorrow if necessary, without any inconvenience. But I have no doubt you already know the result of it all. The sleighing season has begun here and such a thing as a wheeled vehicle is scarcely to be seen in the town, some of the turnouts are very pretty and many of the sleighs are the most graceful little things you ever saw when they have handsome robes particularly. The robes as I dare say you know are made of skins of wolves, bears, foxes or any other beast the owner of the sleigh fancies, and hang over the backs and sides of the seats so as to come within a foot or two of the ground, the aprons of the sleighs are generally made of the same skin as the robes and the horses are obliged to have at least two bells on them. They very often [*a sketch was added here*] drive in tandem in them. As the mail goes out this afternoon and I want to write to Annie I must come to an end. Give my love to my Mother and all the others. Believe me

To remain
 Ever your affectionate dutiful son
 F A Grant

17. To Arthur Grant

Notre Dame Street, Montreal 20th December 1848

My dear Arthur,

Christmas has not come yet but in case among the many letters I shall have to write that day I should not find time to write to you I wish you a merry Christmas now and hope you will have the good luck to get into Addiscombe^[24] soon and pass your examination without any difficulty. How long shall you have to stay there before you get your appointment to the Companies Service? If you remain there two or three years we may have an opportunity of seeing each other again but if only a short time I am afraid we may not see one another for a long time to come.

The winter in this country has not been at all severe and does not look as if it intended to be so, we have however had a good deal of sleighing which is the favorite winter amusement. Many of the sleighs are beautifully turned out with robes of the skins of bears, wolves, foxes or any other animal the owner fancies. The robes of a sleigh are made to hang on the back and sides of it almost to the ground and the aprons are in general made of the same skin as the robes, the horses are all over bells and very often have horse hair plumes on the tops or sides of their heads died [*sic*] blue or red. People very often drive tandem in sleighs and sometimes four in hand. Such a thing as a vehicle with wheels is not to be seen. All the cabs, busses and public conveyances are sleighs. When there is more snow every body outside of the town must walk in snowshoes as the snow is seldom less than six or seven feet deep after new year I am told and it requires some practice to learn to walk on them. I have got a pair but have not yet had an opportunity of using them. There is also capital curling here but the stones are all made of iron as the frost is so hard that stone would crack and they are a great deal heavier than what we use in Scotland, but as the ic[*illegible - page torn - ?ice is*] much keener than at home they are not d[*illegible - torn page ?difficult*] to play.

The last accounts of Charley seem to [*illegible - torn page*] I hear he likes his new situation very much [*illegible - torn page*] am going to write to him now I must bid you good bye and again hope you will get in Addiscombe.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate Brother
F A Grant

My two uncles and their ladies are very kind to me and are well except Lady Elgin who is very delicate. I am spending a very pleasant life as an A D Camp.

18. To Lady Lucy Grant

Government House, 1st February 1849

My dearest Mother,

I have received a letter from my Father today in which he says you are in an anxious state but I hope your strength is enough to bear you through it

without much trouble. I suppose I shall have news of it all however before very long. I am very sorry to hear from my Father that he is so hard up but I will do every thing in my power to save him any expense and I am very thankful that I am putting him to none now and hope ~~that~~ that I shall be able to continue so for some time after this. As yet I have neither horse nor staff uniform but the latter I shall not get till I am told to do so, though I should like to have a horse as he will cost nothing but the buying and I have written to Quebec to offer £25 currency for a horse that belonged to Major Elliot^[25] of my regiment (which is to be raffled for that soon) but have had no answer yet. It is wonderfully little for he is a fine horse and it is not easy to get another like him for double the money in this country.

The winter goes on very steadily and severely sometimes down to 15° below zero much to the annoyance of my nose and ears which having been once frost bitten and their skin tender from it are much more liable to be bitten again. There is no country in the world that has so splendid a climate as Canada I am sure. I wish if you only saw the beautiful and spotless blue sky that there is here on the days when the frost is hardest and the sun shining with as great brilliancy as on the warmest summer day; and on such days though this is an ugly and flat country the tints on the hills in the distance, and tin church spires glittering in the sun, and the dazzling white snow make the landscape most beautiful; the sunsets are also magnificent. But although the sun is apparently so powerful, a thermometer entirely exposed to it remains below zero and the ice and snow is so dry and hard that you would hardly think it was ever meant to melt. In the market pigs, hares, mutton, game or fish are all exposed for sale frozen you often see the pigs standing up as if alive with their throats or stomachs cut open it is a curious sight to a stranger. The dress of the Canadian peasants is also very picturesque in winter, so many bright colours on such pyramids of fur as they are when they sit in their sleighs, they appear to be a contented happy set of people but with very little energy as far as I can judge. As it is getting darker I must finish my letter. Give my love to all and hoping to hear soon of a successful issue to your illness.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate dutiful son
F A Grant

In answer to my Fathers question, we do get our letters free.

19. To Lady Lucy Grant

Notre Dame Street, Montreal 14th February 1849

My dearest Mother,

I write you only a few words to ask you how you are, and if an addition has been made to the family and to congratulate you on it. I have already given Mary an account of the fancy ball we have had here and that is the only event worth mentioning. We still continue here the usual winter amusements, sleighing, tobogging [*sic*] and dancing as hard as we can they are all of them great fun. You would be very much amused if you were to arrive in this country in the middle of winter and see all these things, it would shock all the good people at home to see all the larks we have with our muffins as we call the fair sex in Canada, when the sleigh club goes out every one who has a sleigh of his own picks up his own particular muffin and drives her out with him. I must explain what the sleigh club is however. It is composed principally of Officers, we pay a small subscription towards it as entrance money and once a week the whole of us turn out in our sleighs there are generally several fours in hand and a good many tandems and pairs and drive out to some place in the country where we all get out and eat sandwiches and drink mulled port which we bring with us in large stone jars quite hot; they are very jolly parties.

As it is getting very near post time I must bring my letter to a close, so good bye my dear Mother and “joy be wi ye”.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate dutiful son
F A Grant

20. To Arthur Grant

Government House, Montreal 1st March 1849

My dear Arthur,

It is a very long time since we have written to each other but I [am] glad to hear from home that you stand a good chance of getting into Addiscombe now. I shall be delighted when you really have got into it, because that the first step to your future life will be passed and I suppose it as difficult as any

you will have to pass afterwards, and it will be a grand thing for our poor Father to have one more son who costs him nothing; indeed that is the principal thing you ought to try for. Our gaiety in Montreal has for the present been put a stop to by Lent having come but just before it came on we had a great Garrison fancy ball it was capital for there was an immense collection of dresses in the shape of Turks, Greeks, A[ll]banians, Arabs, Indians, squaws, fraus, court ladies, kings and queens besides lots of people in what can be called only fancy dresses for it would be impossible to find the like of them worn as a dress by any people unless a stage peasant. The dancing was kept up with great spirit all night and the whole thing in fact went better than expected; they say that £2000 was spent on dresses for this ball in Montreal. Our very severe weather is now past and a thaw has come on the whole country is in consequence in a state of slush which is particularly disagreeable for the snow in this country is so deep and hard frozen that it takes a very long time to melt. I am very sorry to write to you such an uninteresting letter but really I know of nothing new to write about at this time. What an unfortunate affair all this has been in India, who would have thought that so fine and old soldier as Lord Gough could make such mistakes in conducting this campaign as he appears to have done by common report.^[26] I hear now that Sir Charles Napier is to succeed him in command of the forces but I do not know if it is true.^[27] I am sorry to hear from my Father that the cholera is increasing in Scotland, that McDouall Gray is dead of it. I hope it does not mean to travel further North, it would be a frightful thing if it was to get to our part of the world. I suppose you are still at Mr Hopkirk's in Eltham^[28] and this is not a holiday time is it? Are Harry and Ludovick at Dr Lovell's still?

Believe me to remain
 Ever your affectionate Brother
 F A Grant

Write sometimes to me like a good fellow.

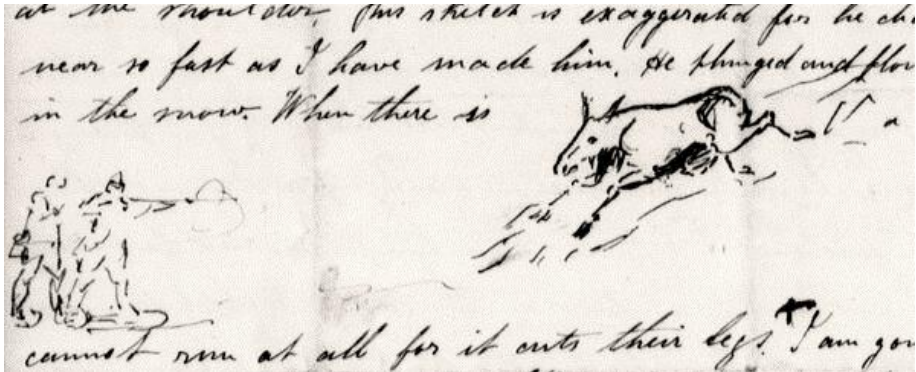
21. To Lady Lucy Grant

Notre Dame Street, Montreal 11th April 1849

My dearest Mother,

Since I last wrote to you I have been spending a fortnight in the bush and a jolly life it was. From here I had first to go to Quebec to ~~th~~ join the party which consisted of two of my Regiment besides myself. We started one morning at 8 o'clock in two sleighs driving tandem and after a drive of 48 miles arrived at a little scattered village called St Raymond, in a clearing just at the border of the bush; on the way I took the reins from the coachman, and after various narrow escapes succeeded at last in upsetting the sleigh and getting the horses up to their backs in the snow not to mention ourselves and baggage who were thrown so deep as to be almost out of sight. We got out at last however and finished our journey without any other remarkable event. When we got to St Raymond, after supper we sent out for a fiddler and got all the people in with their wives and daughters and danced reels, Irish jigs and Indian war dances till one in the morning, (for it was here that we met our Indians) it was capital fun. Next morning early we with our 3 Indians and a cook (who each drew our provisions on a toboggan) set out on our march through the bush to our hunting ground where we arrived on the 2nd day and immediately set about building our cabins in the following manner. First we took off our snowshoes and used them as spades to dig a large square hole in the snow, we then cut down some trees, cut the stems into several pieces and planted them firmly in the snow round the said hole or rather at the two sides of it having on one side an opening for the door and at the ends putting the stems in a standing position to form the roof which is open in the centre to let the smoke out, when this was done we covered the whole with birch bark and the green of the fir trees to stop up crevices we then lit our fire, began cooking our dinner in iron tins we had brought with us and laid down to smoke our pipes like Turks on a divan.

I am drawing a series of sketches of the whole thing. We were unfortunate in the weather as there was no crust so that they can run any distance we killed two moose however. The first was killed by Scott of my Regiment after a tremendous fast run of $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour over hills, glens, rocks, lakes and rivers in a magnificent country, the other moose was killed by me. I ran him for two days, the first day for 3 hours and as he ran towards the caban [*sic*] I slept at home but started next morning on his track at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock and after six hours walking all at once the trails got quite fresh my Indian ran forward and I followed him and a quarter of an hour or so I saw the Indian suddenly stop dead short and heard a kind of snort and my gun went off in the Indians hand by accident apparently, he then turned and ran towards me saying "savez vous savez vous".^[29] Just as he came up I saw this great beast of a moose charging down upon the Indian and ploughing the snow up before him. I seized my rifle and fired at him and shot him above



Figures 8 and 9. Sketches by Francis Augustus Grant depicting scenes from his hunting trip in Spring 1849. (Library Archives Canada)

the chest, he stopped but did not fall and the blood poured from his mouth and nose, he presently sunk on his knees and fell. I gave a war whoop and was rushing to him when the Indian called to me to stop he was not dead and one blow of his fore foot would be a settler; just as he said it up jumped the moose again and made a violent effort to come at me but could not so I took a steady pot shot at his head and killed him. He stood 6 feet 9 inches high at the shoulder. This sketch is exaggerated for he did not come near so fast as I have made him [Fig. 9]. He plunged and floundered more in the snow. When there is a crust they cannot run at all for it cuts their legs. I am going to send you a Daguerreotype of myself as you desire my portrait so much, there is a man here who does them uncommonly well. I hope my Father is well. Give my love to him and them all. I have paid attention to what you said in your letter about him.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate and dutiful son
F A Grant

22. To John Grant

Notre Dame Street, Montreal 1st May 1849

My dear Father,

I have no doubt that you see every day in the papers flaming and indignant accounts of Lord Elgin's misgovernment of the Canadas and prophecies that he is the last Governor General of that province etc. I will try to give you as clear an account of it all as I am able, as I have been an eye witness to all the disturbances. It is about the Rebellion Losses bill, that is that a certain sum of money from the public purse is to be devoted to the payment of private persons for property lost or destroyed during the rebellion of 1837 and 1838. In Upper Canada this has already been done and Lower Canada asks for it now. The Upper Canadians are all British and the Lower French, the latter rebelled in 37-8, the former fought and licked them and declare that ~~declare that~~ to pay the French Canadians is to reward the rebels. This bill was carried in parliament by 60 votes to 20, many of the members being French and backed by several British members who took part with the rebels, the only exceptions in the bill being that those who were tried and convicted by court martial would not be paid. One afternoon His Excellency drove in state to parliament with his ADCs on horseback a guard of honour etc to give his assent to a number of bills and he gave it to the Rebellion losses amongst the rest. As soon as he came out he was saluted with a number of cheers, groans and hisses from the different parties and several eggs were thrown at the carriage, he was not hit however. That night I went to the theatre with some ladies (and during the whole time fire engines were parading the streets, their bells ringing as it appears for the purpose of collecting a crowd though as yet there was no fire) when in the middle of the peice [*sic*], we were told that the parliament houses were on fire. We rushed out and found the sky red with the blazes. Whilst the members were sitting stones came flying through the windows, presently the door was broken in and a number of people rushed in, one sat on the speakers chair, another ran off with the mace and the remainder smashed every thing in the room and almost simultaneously fire broke out on all sides. The Queens portrait by the gallantry of Sir Alan McNab^[30] and two other members who rushed through the flames and handed it out of the window at the risk of their lives, in a quarter of an hour the whole building was in flames and not a leaf of the finest library in North America containing, I believe, £40,000 worth of books and ones that never can be replaced, remained, the troops were sent for when the mischief was all



Figure 10. An illustration of the burning of the parliament building in Montreal on 25 April 1849. From the *Illustrated London News*, 19 May 1849. (Cengage)

done, for when morning came nothing remained but the dilapidated walls. During the next day there were crowds in the streets, guards were put on the Government House, the jail etc, some of the obnoxious members were kicked or abused, some windows were broken ~~an~~ and when night came they set fire to the stables etc of Mr Lafontaine ~~the~~ Attorney General^[31] and ransacked the inside of his house, and when every thing was destroyed in it they tried to burn it but did not succeed. Fortunately Lafontaine had guessed their intentions and sent away his family during the day. Crowds continued to collect about the Government House daily but the next event of any consequence that happened was that these blockheads of ministers got in [*illegible – page damaged*] funk about themselves that they must need swear and arm about 500 French Canadians ~~with~~ as special constables with pistols and cutlasses which exasperated the British party more than ever as it was arming one party against another. The same evening some shots were fired in the streets and two people wounded, the news spread immediately and a mob of about 2000 people collected in Notre Dame St and made for the government house, the front of which was instantly barricaded and the guard drawn up across the street loaded, the Artillery were also under arms and loaded with grape I believe, one of the mob fired at the sentry behind the government house and another at the officer on the Main Guard, the mob was so furious that the guards got the word “ready” front rank

kneeling” and wanted only the word “forward” when somebody stood up and spoke to the people advising them to go home if they valued their lives. General Gore^[32] then spoke to them saying that these people were armed by mistake and should be disarmed in the morning upon which the riot broke up and went very quietly. On the 30th of April His Excellency came into town under an escort of provincial dragoons to receive an address from the houses of Parliament; on his way through the streets he was pelted with eggs and large stones one of which hit him on the chest. On leaving he took an other line, as the people were so savage that they actually had great beams ready to throw across the street to stop the carriage and the consequences might have been dreadful; even as it was they jumped into cabs and went as hard as they could to a place they knew he must pass, and gave us a tremendous shower of stones from both sides of the road, poor Bruce got a nasty cut on the head, the carriage is very much damaged and the dragoons, Ker and I all were hit more or less though fortunately not on the head, the poor horses got some very hard hits too. This is the last disgraceful act they have committed and there is no knowing where it will end; the only hope is that the blackguards are cutting their own throats by their shameful violence and the [*sic*] that the people of Upper Canada will not join them from disgust. The worst of it is that all these outrages are evidently preconcerted and that respectably dressed people are the leaders of them. Numerous petitions are being sent home to recall Lord Elgin and cancel the bill and we are in anxious expectation of the mails.

I had a letter from my Mother but she never mentions any thing about India, have you not yet got the particulars about the last victory or any news of Uncle Hope.^[33] I have sent a daguerreotype of myself to my Mother which I hope will arrive safe. I had two of them taken one standing and one sitting. I sent the latter as it is the most distinct of the two. I am glad to tell you that the town is getting quieter and I hope they are beginning to feel ashamed of their proceedings.

Believe me to remain
Your affectionate and dutiful son
F A Grant

23. To Lady Lucy Grant

Donegana’s Hotel 19th May 1849

My dearest Mother,

All is at this moment totally quiet here and the noisy party are beginning to see or fear that insulting the Queen's representative is not the way to gain the Queen's favour or to testify their loyalty which they are always talking about. In fact the tradesmen have been hard up for some time but now are more so than ever as the merchants from the States and Upper Canada will not send their goods here for fear of their being burned. My Uncle in giving his assent has acted as he should have done since $\frac{2}{3}$ rds of the country wanted it, if he had acted otherwise he would have found himself afraid of the Montreal mob or else a miserable hunter of popularity. He may have disliked the bill in his own mind but if the people had been quiet they would have been much more likely to have it annulled by the government at home. As yet by their folly they have not gained one single advantage and have lost a great deal of public and private property for the obnoxious bill itself escaped the fire and is as safe as ever. Besides which many of the Upper Canadians who would have joined in any legal way of disallowing the bill are disgusted and ashamed of their own party and have nothing more to say to it; and several most satisfactory and loyal addresses have been made to his Excellency from the upper provinces so that it is to be hoped he may yet come safely through his difficulties. The bill is not for the payment of rebels but for the indemnification of sufferers from pillage during the rebellion, but a set of bankrupt villains in Montreal who hope to get into office under a new government have raised the cry among the

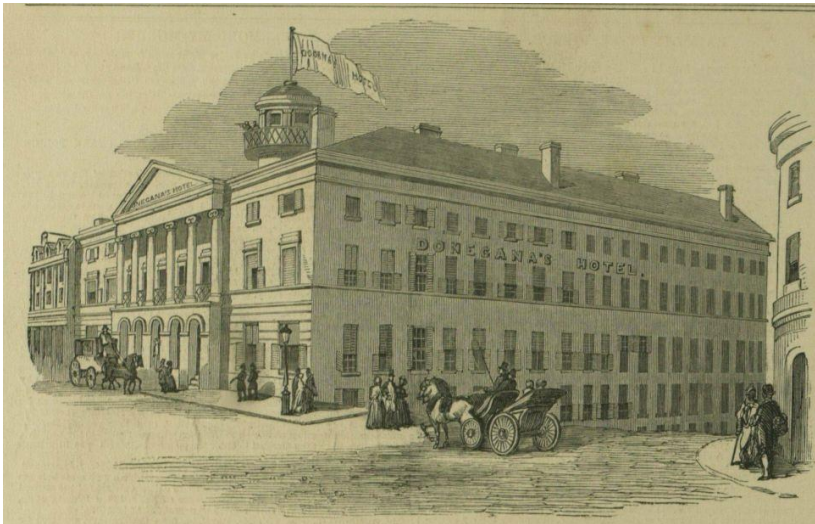


Figure 11. Donegana's Hotel, Montreal. Grant moved here from his lodgings in Notre-Dame Street during the riots. From the *Illustrated London News*, 8 September 1849. (Cengage)

mob affecting a loyalty they do not possess. To their great disappointment it was not responded to so warmly throughout the country as they expected and the peculiar way they took to prove their loyalty has estranged very many altogether, but notwithstanding they have excited the Montreal mob so much that it is much to be feared. We may have to shoot some of them before it is all over. I am glad to hear that that [*sic*] you are so strong and well, by the bye you know I suppose that a young Lord Bruce has been introduced to the world at Monklands.^[34] Lady Elgin and the child are both doing well.

I well remember our tour in Switzerland and often look back to the chamois hunting and the glorious Swiss scenery with the greatest pleasure. I think one of the greatest advantages of having travelled is the recollection of what one has seen and talking it over to other people who have seen the same or different countries. I am [*word missing*] my Father has been so well paid for his railway.^[35] I have had a kind letter from Lucy and Nutty, will you give my love to them both as well as all the family. We had changed our quarters from the lodgings to Donegana's Hotel, Notre Dame St.^[36]

The Indians news are very good are they not?^[37]

With best love to all
Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate and dutiful son
F A Grant

Our Senior Ensign has been promoted to the 30th Regiment there is only one before me now. He was not for purchase however.

24. To Arthur Grant

Government House, Montreal 10th June 1849

My dear Arthur,

I am quite ashamed at having left you so long without a letter of any kind but now the debt must be paid. I have already written so many letters home about the troubles we have had in this country that I am quite tired of the subject and besides you must have read and heard enough about them in the newspapers and letters from home, at present every thing is quieter than ever here and I do not see any prospect of a row. The thing that is most interesting to us now is the English news and what decision the Parliament

will come to about our Uncle's conduct, as yet all appears pretty favourable but we have not heard yet of the arrival of two leaders of his enemies namely Mr Cayley and Sir Alan McNab who have gone to England to do him what harm they can, but I don't think there is any fear, they are both good fellows in their way particularly old Sir Alan but as politicians they are very violent against his Lordship.^[38] Our Uncle is a most gallant and fearless man and takes it all as calmly as possible, the newspapers here abuse him shamefully as well as the people when they can get an opportunity but he does not care a bit, and acts as honestly and straight forwardly as if all was peaceful. There is a terrible turmoil all over Europe just now war seems to have broken out every where except at home and Norway and Sweden and I dare say we shall be in it too as I suppose the French or some other nation will be wanting us to help them, and we could not refuse to do it to an ally in distress. In India I see it is all over. I was very sorry to hear of your eye being so bad but I hope it will not prevent you passing your examination.

It would be a very great pity to be put back six months after all the work you have had. I really shall be so glad when I hear that you are a cadet at Addiscombe. It will be like getting over the first step of the ladder, when once you begin you have only to mount but the difficulty is to get to the foot of the ladder and the beginning of every thing is the worst part of it. I rode two flat races last week, in the first there were six horses and I came in second, in the other there were only myself and another and I lost it. I rode the same horse both times but he had not the pace to win, his name was Repeal and his colour ches[t]nut. My colours were a red jacket and blue sleeves and a black cap; very swell was it not? Have you heard any thing of Charley I hear he has had two attacks of the fever. Hoping to hear soon that your eye is quite recovered.

Believe me to remain
Every your affectionate Brother
F A Grant

25. To John Grant

Montreal 17th June 1849

My dear Father,

I got your long and interesting letter by the last mail and am delighted to hear that the people at home can appreciate his Lordship's [*i.e.* Lord Elgin's]

conduct and give it their approbation for here the opposition party and papers are as violent in their abuse as ever as well against the newspapers from home as against my Uncle as if the petty scandal and dirty abuse coming from such an ignorant and prejudiced set of ruffians could do them any harm, besides which they have long since exhausted all their arguments and they repeat the same lies and senseless jokes day after day till ~~one~~ every one except themselves are tired of them but importunately many people take every thing for gospel that they read in their newspapers, otherwise nobody would pay any attention to such obvious nonsense as they talk, one of their favourite and most common jokes is talking of the firm of Baldwin Lafontaine Elgin & co^[39] the last being the junior member for they maintain that he has entirely given himself up to this party, though he is the only Governor General who never did favour any party, they also say that he abused the prerogative that ~~the~~ being the very thing he did not choose to make use of in favour of their party or any other; they say again that it was his business to leave the bill to discretion of the government at home as it was of an extraordinary nature; but it seems to me that at least one of his reasons for not doing so was a very noble and patriotic one, for he probably believed they would have assented to it as he did, and if so the very same row would have taken place, only he would rather bear the brunt of it himself than that our Queen and Government should be abused and perhaps a cry of Annexation might be raised; sometimes however rather a good joke comes out for instance one paper said that the Bruce they understood was going home directly to sit on the field of Bannockburn and like Marius mourn over the ruins of Canadian eggs;^[40] another observed that a large ~~addition~~ addition had been made to the Elgin marbles which was to be exhibited a[t] such a place in allusion to the stones thrown at him, another observed (quite seriously however) that his first dispatch was not written by himself but that the article in Times that was so violent against Canadian Tories was his own composition and the Times newspaper was hired by him to write in his favour; these are only a few specimens of the way in which they vent their spleen ~~but~~ and when they are reduced to that sort of thing you can easily imagine that ~~that~~ they are hard up for replies to the arguments in his favor.

Lady Alice Lambton^[41] goes home today she goes to Boston and embarks in the Europa. Lady Elgin and his young Lordship are doing well.

The hot weather has set in here now but as yet we have not had the great summer heat that they say we are to have. Every thing is as stupid as it is possible to be, the late excitement appears to have brought on a reaction and put a stop to every part of fun. Give my love to my Mother and the

rest of the family. I am glad you have been so successful in the railway. Is there any other to cross the estate? for there were to be two I think.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate and dutiful Son
F A Grant

26. To Arthur Grant

Montreal 23rd June 1849

My dear Arthur,

I write to congratulate you old fellow on your examination being past and wish you good luck, in the mean time I hear from Lucy you have got long holidays so I hope it will give your eye time to recover from its inflamed condition and that you will be able to make the most of the time you spend at home to see as much of the old country and of all our relations as possible before you leave it again. If I was you I would learn to shoot and take a mount with hounds whenever I could get the offer and whilst you are resting your mind give your body lots of work and get strong and hardy. How long have you got to be at Addiscombe before you go to India? We had a great garrison picnic a day or two ago on St Helen's island in the St Lawrence. There were about 150 people there. It is a most beautiful island covered with large trees and full of little hills and valleys and though we had so many people the muffining was most delicious one could walk about in perfect solitude among the trees or stay with the crowd as one liked, a bit of ground was boarded over and when it began to be dark we danced and kept it up till midnight, the trees were hung round with lanterns and the stars shining bright, most of the ladies were dressed in white and looked unusually charming, the bands were playing among the trees and the music sounded so soft and distant over the water and through the wood that the whole thing was one of the most beautiful and romantic things I ever saw. We returned to town after 12 o'clock in a steamer we had hired for the occasion. If you are still at Pollok give my love to Aunt Matilda.^[42]

Believe me to remain
Your affectionate Brother
F A Grant



Figure 12. Mary Bruce, *St Helen's Island, opposite Montreal*, 1838. Grant enjoyed a picnic here in June 1849. (Library Archives Canada)

27. To Lady Lucy Grant

Montreal 2nd July 1849

My dearest Mother,

As my Fathers birthday must be past for I think it is in June I hope you will wish him many happy returns of it from me. The young Bruce is to be christened or rather was to have been at eight o'clock this morning by a clergyman in from the country as they wished it to be kept as quiet as possible on account of the well known characters of the people here who might have been inclined to amuse themselves again in some importunent [*sic*] manner. It is now 9 o'clock however and I hope it is all over in peace. Egerton my brother ADC the son of Lord Ellesmere has gone home to join his regiment the Grenadier Guards he is a particularly good fellow you may perhaps meet him some day. The parliament appears determined to keep us out here in suspense as long as possible. Another mail has arrived but mostly nothing about Canada in it of any importance. The debate being postponed again till the day after the mail. The news from Europe are very interesting however it looks rather like the end of the French republic and as if Louis Napoleon would follow his Uncle's example and become Emperor if his

side keeps the uppermost hand. What extraordinary people the French are the whole country seems to be thrown into complete confusion and not content with that they must try there best to make all Europe the same by making such idiots of themselves as to meddle with Rome, do you recollect when we travelled in Germany [*illegible*] used to note that whenever a fine building or house or public place was in ruins (and we saw very many in that condition on the Rhine and in Dresden particularly) we remarked it was no use asking "Who did it?" we knew that of course the answer would be "The French". They now seem intent on destroying the greatest wonder in the world, Rome. What a sad thing it will be if all these magnificent remains of the ancient world which have stood there unmoved for 2000 years should be destroyed by the meddling in things they have nothing to do [*page torn* – ?with] it would be the greatest of all their destructions as well as the most unpardonable for they have had no provocation. I have been reading McAuley's history of England it is a beautifully written book,^[43] but one can see all through that he is a violent Whig. When one reads it first it appears most fair and unprejudiced, he explains the faults and merits of both sides, but as one gets on one wonders how the whigs always eventually turn out to be in the right and how when they fail they always seem to be the ill used party, whilst the Tories in the same case always do it by their own folly or obstinacy and as one knows that neither party was all always right or wrong and as we have been taught the Tories were generally the right one naturally stops to think over what one has said and to find out if all one has been accustomed to think and believe is after all false and mistaken, then one finds out that when he is talking of the faults of the two parties he tells the faults of the Tories plainly and indeed of the Whigs too; but for the latter he tells it in such a way that one is led to believe that their faults may form a good motive carried too far but for the former no such case is to be found and the success of the Tories generally comes from luck or some particularly fortunate hit of somebody's whilst the success of the Whigs is always got by their own wisdom, so that as you have said in one of your letters it is a book which is likely to fill people's heads with revolutionary ideas if they don't think which most people certainly do not, and it is so well expressed and so beautifully written and at first sight appears so fair and candid that it is likely to make many of its readers of the same opinion as its writer. I was glad to see that Uncle Hope has got his Bt Lt Colonel, as yet he has been very unfortunate in his promotion. We have Mr Wilson the famous Scotch singer here.^[44] I was charmed with him but they say he has fallen off since some years. My best love to all

Believe me to remain

Ever your affectionate and dutiful Son
F A Grant

[written on page 4 above address]

Magpies

1 for sorrow

2 for mirth

3 for a wedding

4 for a Death

28. To Lady Lucy Grant

Government House, Montreal 22nd July 1849

My dearest Mother,

I got your kind letter by the last mail as well as one from my Aunt Matilda and Catherine the latter I have written to and addressed to Kilgraston as I was not quite sure where she was living at this moment. I would write to Aunt Matilda by this mail too if I had any thing to write about but you know what a tedious job it is trying to write a long letter about nothing but I may perhaps write yet. As I think I have already told you I am now living at Monklands contented and happy taking plenty of exercise on foot and horseback with plenty of books to read and enjoying the most agreeable society of my friends and their ladies whose kindness to me is endless, and in perfect health, and I am happy to say that all the rest of the party are as well. The heat is tremendous, in town it is frequently 98 in the shade and at Monklands up to 94 but occasionally [*sic*] the most tremendous rain pouring in streams for 8 or 10 hours comes down which sometimes in one night lowers the temperature between 30 and 40 degrees. I have been reading another book of McAulay's (his Essays)^[45] which is very interesting but in reading his opinion of Miltons character one is really horrified at the way in which he abuses the poor Stewarts what he says in his History is nothing to it, I could not help feeling so much provoked but at the same time I was rather amused at his description of the Tory party of those days. He admits that ~~that~~ in manners, accomplishments, learning and good breeding they were much superior to the Whigs and he is also very fair in allowing them all their good qualities but he talks of them in a kind of patronising way as a misguided set of men who knew no better ~~than to~~ and who would not rebel against their King from a kind of superstition of his

Divine right, he approves strongly of the rebellion against Charles 1st and says it was only the just reward of his tyranny. But it seems to me that the party who were graced by all the accomplishments he allowing especially learning were much less likely to be tied to a persons station than the more ignorant set as it is professed that ignorance and superstition go together. With my best love to my Father and all the family.

Believe me to remain
Ever you affectionate and dutiful Son
F A Grant

29. To John Grant

Montreal 28th July 1849

My dear Father,

I have written several times lately to my Mother but not to you for a good while but I am glad to hear that you are getting well over the effects of your late illness. All is well here the crops are flourishing and for the present quietness is restored though the respectable gentlemen whose interest it is to make a row will do their best to keep up the excitement but without much success. The hot weather which came sooner than usual this year was nearly drying up the corn and hay before it was full grown but thunder, rain and much cooler weather has come just in time to put all to rights. The woods within forty or fifty miles of this caught fire and continued burning incessantly for more than a fortnight, the flames must have extended over many miles of country for the atmosphere here was quite thick with smoke during the whole time and there was a strong smell of fire. As a man was travelling in his waggon along one of the roads through the bush he got amongst the burning trees, his horse took fright and nothing would persuade him to move an inch forward so he tried to go back but found his retreat cut off by the flame which had closed across the road in rear and as such for minutes they were likely to do so in front too, he was in a pretty fix; eventually however the horse thought better and moved on just in time to save himself and his master whose name is Colonel Taché.^[46] You may have seen his name in the newspapers, he commanded the specials during the riots. I saw an account of a dinner and ball given by Thomas Bruce to the Broomhall tenantry in honor of the young Lord's birth.^[47] He seems to have done the thing well, his speeches and particularly Dr Johnson's about

Canadian affairs met with great approbation at Monklands. There is an extract from the latter speech in the Montreal papers so that Dr Johnson may have done more good by his clear and distinct history of the affair than he is aware of. There is a talk of us all moving to Upper Canada [*illegible – page torn*] time soon but I won't predict when. Do the grouse promise well this year and are you going to the moors for I suppose by the time this reaches you it will be pretty near the 12th. What a terrible accident the Europa met with Lady Alice was on board at the time.^[48] Give my best love to all.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate and dutiful son
F A Grant

30. To John Grant

Monklands 18th August 1849

My dear Father,

Our troubles have begun in this blessed place again; about 3 days ago some of the original rioters were arrested and this was the signal for another row. Their first act was to attack Lafontaine's house but he was informed of their intention and prepared to defend himself; they broke into the garden, smashed the windows and pelted the house with stones and ~~the~~ and it is said they had firearms too. Lafontaine and his friends inside then fired on them and killed one man besides wounding one or two, the dead man's name was Mason the son of a farrier and one of the most notorious ruffians here, this dispersed the rest. The next night, Thursday, a party of men and boys went along Notre Dame Street and broke many lamps for a considerable distance along the street, they then assembled along with a crowd of people (not a very large one however) in front of Donegana's Hotel but were dispersed by the Picquet which was patrolling, a very few minutes afterwards the hotel was discovered to be on fire in two distinct places far from each other, and before morning nothing was left but the ruined walls. Shortly before the hotel was burnt one man named McMahon who had given evidence at the Crown's inquest on Mason's body was stripped and beaten by the ~~be~~ mob and took refuge there, some say this was why it was burnt some that it was in order to get at people living there who



Figure 13. Mary Bruce, *Monklands*, 1847. Grant stayed at the governor general's residence at Monklands in the summer of 1849. (Library Archives Canada)

sided with the Government, some that it was for plunder and some to get the insurance. Nobody doubts however that it was done on purpose. The same night a lawyer named Drulette I think also an evidence at the Inquest was so severely used by the mob that he was carried into the Government House in town helpless from loss of blood, he is still in a very doubtful way. On Friday night it was on the whole quieter but during the day a newly raised police force called by the hostile papers the Elgin guards was brought into town and in the evening was sent back to Laprairie across the river in order to come back next day mounted; as they were embarking a mob assembled and pelted them, upon which they fired and it is said wounded several people, up to after midnight all was quiet ~~and~~ but towards morning a shoemakers house and shop was burnt by incendiaries but I do not exactly know why. The police here are of no use, directly a mob appears they disappear and if by accident one happens to be seen he gets licked. This new police force it is hoped will be more useful but the newspapers and people vow they will be murdered as soon as they come to town. I strongly suspect however that their bragging will be stopped more summarily than heretofore. All order except what is kept by guards and picquets is at an end and the tradespeople have been staying up the whole of the last two or three

nights to watch. All this shows what the people are here and at first politics were only an excuse for rioting but now they have no such excuse, but I hope it may do good, for those who first excited the mob must have found out that it is too much for themselves and for their own safety will have to unite with the Government to preserve the peace. Bruce will send you a note about the church.

Sunday night 19th. It is nearly 12 o'clock and I have just been taking a stroll outside and see that there is another fire across the river. I suspect it is the barracks at Laprairie where the mounted police are quartered. We are all on the fire rota in this hour, the lower windows barricaded and sentries posted on each side. They certainly are a destructive set of ruffians. Love to all.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate and dutiful Son
F A Grant

31. To John Grant

Falls of Niagara 9th October 1849

My dear Father,

I have not been very regular in writing home of late for more than one reason. First because we are living a quiet country life and there are not many exciting events to write about and partly because I have no writing materials with me and live in an Hotel more than a mile from the village of Drummondville where His Excellency resides. The Colonel and I have had two capital days quail shooting but owing to our not having got the knack we missed a great many more than we killed for they fly so fast and not close that if you are taken by surprise you may have only a moment to shoot in; however we two and three others killed in the two days 128 brace of quail and 2½ of snipe but if we had been good shots we should have killed twice that number. Since that I have been at a ball given by the officers of the Canadian Rifles at the town of Niagara 14 miles from here we kept it up till five o'clock in the morning, lots of dancing. Cotton of that regiment was there formerly in the 68th perhaps you remember him at Perth with the Depot some years ago, he has not forgotten you and still says that ~~the~~ Perth was the best quarter he ever was in, he wishes to be made extra ADC to His Excellency – and I hope he will get it, for he is a gentlemanlike and

very good fellow. Annexation is decidedly on the go down and every cry that has been raised for it has met with the disapprobation of the people, even in Montreal those who signed it have lost their popularity, though there is still a large party for it there, but they have lost the seat of Government, and are disgusted.^[49] We shall be in Toronto as soon as His Lordships house is ready for him which I hope will be in a week or so; from this time any letters you have to send had better be addressed there [*illegible – page torn*] heard nothing [*illegible – page torn*] I am also looking for another box with uniform from London which ought to have arrived before now, but vessels always take a long passage at this time of year. Cotton asked kindly after your [*illegible – page torn*] who I hope as well as he [*illegible – page torn*] my best love when you see either of them. Lady Elgin desired me to give her love to my Mother by the last mail which I did in a letter to Tish but in case you have not seem her I send it again. All are well here. His Lordship looks particularly rosy and his popularity is on the increase. I hope this reaction has begun, he ~~just~~ worked a rather hostile audience into an enthusiasm of delight by a brilliant speech at the College of Toronto. If he gets a few more opportunities he will be more popular than ever, and at any rate I don't think there is any fear of that; for such violent and personal abuse generally I think produces a reaction as violent in the other extreme. Love to my Mother and all.

Believe me to remain
 Ever your affectionate and dutiful son
 F A Grant

32. To Charles Grant

Falls of Niagara 16th October 1849

My dear Charley,

It is now a long time since we have written to each other and by this time we ought to have scraped together something to fill a letter with. As you see by the date I am at Niagara with our uncle Lord Elgin and his family and Staff; the falls are a magnificent sight not from their height for that is only 160 feet but from the wonderful quantity of water that comes over them, you will hardly believe when I tell you that as near as can be

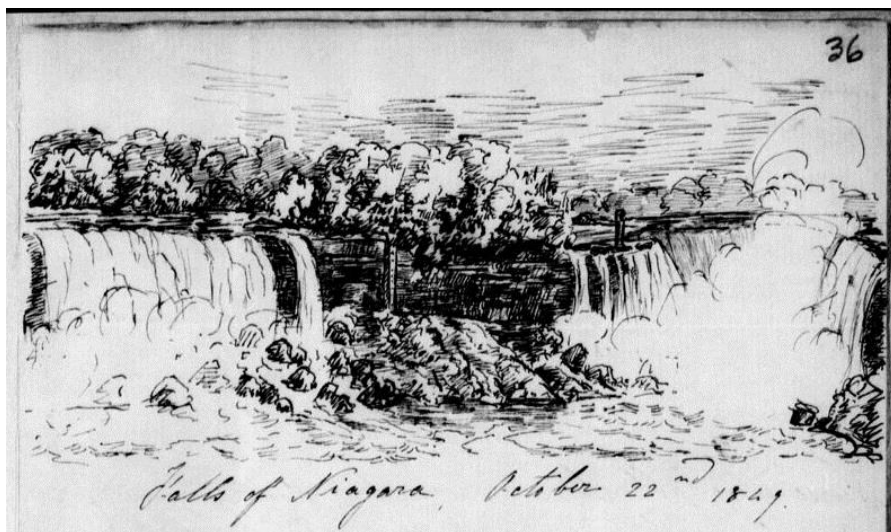


Figure 14. A sketch by Francis Augustus Grant of the falls of Niagara, 22 October 1849.
(Library Archives Canada)

calculated it is said that 80,000,000 tons of water fall over the great horseshoe fall in every minute and the body of water that comes over is so great that it is quite green in the act of falling until it is about half way down when it becomes broken and white, and the spray that rises from it goes up like clouds sometimes many hundred feet into the air [*a sketch was added here*]. They say that the water in the act of falling is 20 feet deep as a vessel drawing 18 feet went over without appearing to touch. I have tried to give you a slight idea of the form and position of the two falls, but of course not of their beauty and grandeur. On account of the behaviour of the Montreal people it seems very likely that the seat of Government will be moved to Toronto in Upper Canada but it is not decided. In the mean time His Excellency has taken up his abode here which for the present are his head quarters, and he has been making tours through all Upper Canada with Bruce to find out the feeling of the inhabitants towards him, and I am glad to say that he has been cordially received every where and in many places with enthusiasm and triumphal arches bands of music etc were got up in all the towns of any importance which he visited, and the last news is that the Montrealers are so disgusted at this contrast to their behaviour as well as at the thought of losing the seat of government that many of them have declared for Annexation with the United States. The feeling that at first was so violent against our uncle is now much diminished since he [*illegible – page torn*] to travelling amongst them and I think they are beginning to see

that their anger was directed against the wrong person; in fact it is only in Montreal that this feeling is still very strong and I am in hopes before long that he may be as popular or more so than ever. I dare say you know that he has been made a British peer by our Queen and government which enables him to sit in the House of Lords without being elected as was necessary when he was only a peer of Scotland. All are well here. Lady Elgin and Mrs Bruce are charming people. As I have a little sketch of a soldier of my Regiment I enclose it to you.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate Brother
F A Grant

33. To Lady Lucy Grant

Falls of Niagara 22nd October 1849

My dear Mother,

As I thought you might like to know the position and shape of the falls I send you this little sketch which will show you how they are placed [Fig. 14]. On the left is the American fall, the small fall on its right is the hogback and on the right is the famous horseshoe falls the greatest in the world, between the two falls is Goat island and you see a tower built on a rock on its left over the beginning of the horseshoe fall. The height of the falls is 160 feet and the length of the horseshoe all the way round is about 3 quarters of a mile, in the centre of it the water in the act of falling is said to be 20 feet deep and is of a deep green colour and hardly breaks up into white foam till it is about half way down, the foam from it rises in great clouds into the air or if there is wind goes along with it and you feel a sort of small rain to the distance of more than half a mile, if the wind is in your direction; the length of the American fall is I suppose a quarter of a mile and its height about the same as the other only instead of falling into deep water it falls upon rocks. All is going on pretty smoothly here except that in Montreal a cry has been set up for Annexation which however has not been responded to in Upper Canada or indeed any where out of Montreal, but it is perhaps a good thing as it will oblige the two parties to unite in order to resist it and help to overcome the dislike that the Conservative party have for his Excellency from believing implicitly what the Montreal papers of their own side said, but that dislike I am happy to say has already

diminished since his Lordship travelled in the country. The seat of Government is not decided yet but I suppose must be soon. Give my love to all not forgetting Tish and David Murray if you see them often and Nutty. I have written and sent a sketch of the falls to my Grandmother.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate dutiful son
F A Grant

34. To Mrs Margaret Murray

Falls of Niagara 31st October 1849

My dear Tish,

It is a very long time I am sorry to say since I have written to you or David but I hope you are both well and like your present abode. As you see by the date of this letter I am at Niagara and have a full view of both the falls from my window, they are a glorious sight and one which grows upon you the oftener you see them but with which nearly every body who sees them is disappointed at first sight, for their great breadth and rather straight and formal shape takes away from their height which after all is only 160 feet, but it is not for their height they are celebrated but for the quantity of water that comes over them. To give you some idea of this I must tell you that at half a mile above the falls the river is more than a mile broad and its depth about 40 feet, before it comes to the falls it breaks into a rapid, it then comes to Goat island which divides it into two channels, each of which form a fall, the smaller channel goes over the American fall and the great body of the river over the Horseshoe fall on the Canadian side and tumbles over in such a mass that it appears quite green in the act of falling and it has been calculated that 80,000,000 tons of water fall over it every minute; below the falls the river is much narrower and supposed to be some hundred feet deep, and runs between abrupt rocks varying from 150 to 250 feet high. I don't know if you take interest enough in Canadian affairs to read the papers about them. The last act of the Montrealers however has been to set up a cry for Annexation to the United States and in consequence of that and their previous misbehaviour the seat of Government has been removed to Toronto where we shall spend this winter. All is quiet in this country now except the Montreal people who are in a very bad humour at what they have forfeited. I have had some good quail shooting near here they are a

very nice little bird but very difficult to shoot from the pace they fly at. As there is a little room I will send you a small sketch of the Horseshoe fall [*a sketch was added here*]. I am sorry that the sketch is not very successful but my pen is a very bad one and I hope you will excuse it, you can see the shape of the fall by it but that is all. With best love to David and any of our relations you see.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate Brother
F A Grant

In case I should not write home by this mail will you tell my Mother when you see her that Lady Elgin sends her her love. I hope David is well and that some day when you or he have nothing else to do you will write a few lines to your brother in Canada. My uncle Robert Bruce desires to be kindly remembered both to you and David.

35. To Lady Lucy Grant

Falls of Niagara 17th November 1849

My dear Mother,

I write to tell my Father and you that ~~that~~ a step has gone in our Regiment and I am senior Ensign. I dare say you saw it in the Gazette some time ago but I am only reminding you in case you had not; the subaltern we have lost is a very nice fellow a son of the famous Lord Robertson's in Edinburgh and will a great loss he and I used to be great friends at the Dèpôt in Ireland. I believe he is going to be married to a widow. Lord Elgin and his establishment leave ~~Mont~~ Niagara tomorrow or next day for Toronto where the seat of Government is to be for the next two years. He is talking of going home on leave this winter to consult London Doctors about his head which has never quite recovered from a fall he had in a hurdle race at Montreal about two years ago, in consequence of which he has lost his taste and smelling and was also getting deaf. All is very quiet in this country now, but the Montreal people are still crying for Annexation their trade has been particularly good however this Autumn and they say that in Montreal loyalty ebbs and flows according to the price of goods; when flower [*i.e.* flour] is low down goes the loyalty, a little lower they verge on Annexation, when very low strong Annexation principles are the go, when the prices

rise so does the loyalty when they rise very high the loyalty is exuberant, so says the Canadian "Punch" which is not a bad attempt at an imitation of the genuine Punch. I hear that that [*sic*] there have been great festivities in Perthshire and Fife and wish I had been there, but we expect lots of dissipation in Toronto this winter. I have been spending some time with the Canadian Rifles at the [*illegible – page torn ?town*] of Niagara and met another old 68th man who was Depot Adjutant at Perth of the name of Hill he asked kindly after you and my Father, he was the man who swam the Tay on ~~the~~ horseback, I think when riding to the Duke of Atholl's hounds, my Father at the time thought it one of the most gallant things he ever saw. Give my best love to my Father and all the family. I have still heard nothing of Mary McKays sister and my box which I am very anxious to appear. I hope they will arrive before the navigation closes.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate and dutiful Son
F A Grant

36. To Lady Lucy Grant

Toronto 10th December 1849

My dearest Mother,

I am much obliged to you for your kind long letter which I got yesterday for at this time of year the communication between Montreal and Toronto is so slow that it took the letters of last mail nearly a week to come up. I am glad my little sketch of the falls was acceptable and hope the one I sent to my Grandmother was so too. I am sending you some lithograph drawings of them (the best I could find) by Ker my brother ADC who has started on his travels from here this morning he goes to New Orleans and the West Indies first, and perhaps to Mexico and expects to be at home in February. I think I saw something about the Opera "Le Prophete" in the papers but I did not take particular notice of it at the time. I dare say I shall find some of its scenes in the Illustrated News. I am sorry to say that I have heard nothing at all about Mary McKay's sister yet but I know that at [*sic*] as she started so late in the year she must expect the wind to be blowing constantly from the West and in consequence must make a very long passage, but what I am afraid of is that if the ship is not already in the St Lawrence she will be too late for this year as she may find herself blocked up in the ice in one

night for the winter. The last book I have read is by Dumas “La Dame de Monsoreau”, a historical novel of the time of Henry III of France the characters are all real.

Ever your affectionate and dutiful Son
F A Grant

37. To Lady Lucy Grant

Toronto 17th December 1849

My dearest Mother,

My principal object in writing this letter is to say that Cotton has been appointed ADC in Ker’s place whilst he is on leave and he begs me to say that he is exceedingly obliged to you for the letters you have written and will be ever most grateful to you for the trouble you have taken. It was not without some difficulty however that he got it for there were others who had better claims but who were deterred from accepting by the appointment being only a temporary one. Cotton however is determined to work hard and make himself useful and it is to be hoped that if his Lordship finds him so he may appoint him extra ADC on Ker’s return, or even, paid if he should get his majority which he expects soon. We have taken a house together and will soon be very comfortable but as we have not quite finished furnishing it yet, there [is] a smell of paint and putty which is not desirable. There has been no news from the troops at the mines but we have heard of their arrival at the Sault St Marie which is within 60 miles of them.^[50] I have still heard nothing of the famous box or its bearer. I suppose I must give up all hopes of it this winter. My best love to all.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate and dutiful Son
F A Grant

38. To Arthur Grant

Toronto 22nd March 1850

My dear Arthur,

As I hear from Mary that you are now at Addiscombe I hope you will occasionally tip me a line and let me know how you ~~you~~ get on and what sort of fellows you meet there. Mary says you don't like the idea of India but my dear fellow you should not begin at this time of day (after all the trouble and care your Father has had in getting you where you are and a promise of cadetship) to complain but do like a good fellow, work like a man and do your best to get on: I do not know ~~any~~ any thing about the Indian Army except that in it you have a much greater chance of seeing active service than in ours, as the many nations we have conquered in India are nearly all ready to take any opportunity of recovering their freedom by rebelling against us, and that for this reason it is better than ours besides the pay being much better and I should think you could leave it without difficulty if you found you did not like it after a few years. In this part of Canada the winter is very stupid there is seldom enough snow for any of the Canadian winter amusements such as sleighing, snow shoeing, tobogganing etc. and ~~the~~ besides the weather is very changeable. The other day I spent a few days in the country with a family of McLeods from Skye at a place called Drynoch,^[51] nothing could be more hospitable and kind than they were to me; one night there was a wedding in the house of one of the servant maids and in honor of it we danced reels all night. We were all in tartan and young McLeod and myself in the kilt, we finished the



Figure 15. James Duncan, *Tobogganing near Montreal*, c.1850.
(Library Archives Canada)

evening's amusement by dancing the guard dance and the Highland Fling, and I hardly ever spent a more agreeable evening, the next day we started to hunt foxes in the snow with guns and beagles, and on snow shoes, but had very little sport as there was a strong sunshine which melted the crust on the snow so that the hounds sunk so deep that they could not run, whilst the fox being lighter hardly sunk at all. This is the only event out of the common every day work that has taken place in my life of late. My horses are well, I hope to enter the mare for a hurdle race in Spring.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate Brother
F A Grant

I enclose this sketch of McLeod and myself on snow shoes the hounds are in front.

39. To John Grant

Toronto 6th April 1850

My dearest Father,

Many thanks to you all for your kind congratulations on my coming of age and for your advice and my Mother's and I hope I may profit by it. I am glad to hear you have made such useful additions to your estate as getting the whole of the Pitcaithly Hills etc. In fact I suppose the part you have got is the most valuable part of the Dumbarrie estate and will ~~make a~~ add considerably to your rents. We have had a regular Highland flood here, it only rained (and that not heavily) for about 48 hours but the weather became so suddenly warm at the same time that the snow melted unusually fast in the bush and consequently all the small rivers swelled and overflowed the bridges are carried away or undermined, mills, houses, horses, cattle and goods of all sorts, trees etc. have been carried down to the Lake and Toronto is in fact on an island as there is one if not more bridges down on every turnpike road so that they are all impassible [*sic*], and the mud on the bye roads is so deep that they can only be travelled on horseback, and till ferry boats ~~are~~ or new bridges are established we must depend only on the provisions already in town. A flood is a very unusual occurrence in this country and the people who have been long [*illegible - page torn*] here never have seen one before. There is a Naval Officer Mr Davis who commands a

steamer on Lake Ontario has just been paid off and is going home and I am going to send with him a sketch book of mine which is full of various little incidents of my life in this country; a sort of journal in fact, and I have explained the meaning of each sketch on the opposite page. Perhaps it may amuse you, but you must begin at the beginning as some of them are in series. Lady Elgin has had the brow ague but is better now.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate and dutiful son
F A Grant

40. To Miss Lucy Grant

Toronto 19th April 1850

My dear Lucy,

Many thanks for the very nice letter you wrote to me some time ago about the Queen's last visit to Scotland it was really very interesting to me and very well told by you, it must indeed have been a grand sight to see her arrival in Glasgow and received by such an immense body of people as you say there were and I hope she was as well pleased with it herself as the spectators. How I should like to have been with you when she arrived at the George Inn.^[52] I hear she is to go to Dunrobin castle the Duke of Sutherland's place before she leaves Scotland where preparations have been making for six or seven years past. I must also thank you and Annie for your very kind wishes for my birthday as well as for the last letter you wrote me, but I am so stupid as to have forgotten whether I ever answered it or not. There are no news here at present so I must beg your pardon for so stupid a letter. We are all well here and are looking forward to the spring which is much later here than with you, as yet there are almost no signs of it although the snow has gone long ago. I have written this letter so hurriedly and badly that I am afraid you will not be able to read it. Give my kindest love to all the family and to Nutty, tell Mary McKay I visited her sister a few days ago and found her well and all the family. By the bye either you or Annie or both of you are at Broomhall are you not with our Mother?

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate Brother
F A Grant

41. To Lady Lucy Grant

Toronto 9th May 1850

My dear Mother,

I have not much to say but write you a few lines to let you all know that we are well on this side of the Atlantic. A terrible accident happened here a few days ago through the carelessness of a ship captain who put no lights at his mast head; a detachment of the 23rd regiment were on board a steamer on Lake Erie when in the night they came in collision with another whose bows ran right into her side; in about a quarter of an hour she sank and 24 soldiers 4 or 5 women and children the assistant surgeon and a civilian whose life he tried to save were drowned;^[53] we have not had many particulars as yet however His Excellency has been attending a great ploughing match near here where as far as I could judge as good ploughing was shown as ever I saw at home, but I may as well say that all the best performers were emigrants from Scotland; we have since been at a great cattle [*illegible – page torn: ?show*] which went off very well too. On the 14th Parliament meets, there are some blackguards who intend to get up a row if possible but I am happy to say that a volunteer troop of dragoons has been formed who have begged leave to attend his carriage on the occasion. This looks well. I have had a very nice letter from Mary and hope she will enjoy the upcoming London season. There is a ball at Government House tomorrow. Best love to all

Believe me to remain

Ever your affectionate and dutiful son

F A Grant

42. To John Grant

Toronto 12th June 1850

My dear Father,

You must think me very remiss in writing of late and I am afraid it is true but some how ever since Parliament met there is always something to be done which puts it out of one's mind if not out of one's power to do so. I got your letter of May 16th and thank you for what you told me about my

purchase money etc., but if the Colonel leaves the Regiment Elliot will get it and not Ferguson^[54] as you supposed. Elliot now commands at Quebec and is very much liked though not a very zealous soldier. We have been on an expedition with His Excellency to open a new branch of the Welland canal in form but the whole thing was so badly arranged that we did not get as far; the steamer was so overloaded with passengers that we were constantly running aground or against the banks of the canal and were not very far from being upset once or twice. All the way however we were received most enthusiastically by the people, triumphal arches, flags, and firing of guns and all the women in their best bonnets waving handkerchiefs without end; we dined at a place called Merrittsville under the trees where His Excellency made a capital and short speech suited to the occasion but some of these blockheads of Canadian legislators must spoil the fun and tire every body body [*sic*] out by making long rigmarole speeches all about nothing which kept us there till about 8 o'clock, after which we took a carriage and went to the "Falls". But the greatest misfortune was that the people of Buffalo had expected His Excellency to pay them a visit on his tour and were prepared to give him a most splendid reception, they had brought a whole regiment from some distance, kept boxes in the theatre, apartments in the best hotels for any number he liked to bring with him and ordered the hotel keepers to put whatever expenses they might incur to the corporation of the town, immense quantities of people were collected from all parts and a special train was to take His Excellency and suite to the Falls. In short they would have given him a much better reception than ~~than~~ the President of the United States himself and far better than he ever got in his own dominions. The whole thing however was knocked on the head by the stupidity of the Canal Proprietors. I am ~~so~~ very sorry to hear of Lord Rollo's misfortune.^[55]

Mr Moncrieffe Skene has not arrived yet.^[56] I am horrified to hear that some order has arrived about making us pass an examination in all sorts of mathematics before being promoted but one consolation is that it is so severe that one's colonel certainly cannot examine one in it. I wish they would have a war with France and put an end to this book worm mania. I hope my Mother is better give her and [*word missing*] all my best love and

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate and dutiful son
F A Grant

43. To John Grant and Lady Lucy Grant

Toronto 18th July 1850

My dear Father and Mother,

Very many thanks for your most kind and handsome presents which I found here with Mr Skene's card a day or two ago on my return from a trip in the country for a few days with Cotton. The brooch is beautiful and has met with the greatest admiration from every body I have shown it to, and I am now using the gold pen and like it very much indeed. I hope you will not forget to thank old Mary too for the sketch of Kilgraston she sent me which is very good as well as for her most interesting epistle in which it was contained. I have given the parcel to Mary MacKay's sister as my Mother wished me, and she seemed much pleased with it. I have not seen Mr Skene yet as I was not in town when he arrived and I think he must have gone to the Falls as I have drawn blank at every hotel in town. I wanted to have brought him to a ball at Government House which took place the day before yesterday but he was nowhere to be found. When I see him I will do all I can to get him some sport but this is a bad country for game. I can however give put him in the way of the most splendid salmon fishing in Lower Canada and some pretty good woodcock shooting near here, and if he stays long enough very good deer hunting. I am going to write to Margaret to thank her for the present and so will bid you good bye and with many thanks.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate dutiful Son
F A Grant

44. To Arthur Grant

Toronto 23rd July 1850

My dear Arthur,

Many thanks for the few lines you wrote me in my Mother's letter and I wish there had been more of them but as you are supposed to be so occupied with hard study I must find no fault. I have no great news for you as of late nothing out of the common way has taken place in Toronto or in

any part of Canada. The last excitement here was the races which were pretty good for colonial races, at least there were many right good horses but all very badly ridden and the jockeys badly dressed. We got up on one of the days a little garrison race in which Cotton and I each had a horse and rode ourselves, Cotton won it on his chestnut mare Celeste, I was second on my gray horse A.D.C. 4 years old, he is nearly thorough bred but has a stain in his pedigree, and I think might have won if he had not been overweighted, the third horse was called Rufus and belonged to an officer of the 71st. The stud is in great order. Cotton and I have six horses, among which one is quite thorough bred and two all but so, and the other three are well bred and good looking horses; there will be races at Niagara next September which we shall most likely run some horses for. We have had a variety of balls, picnics and gaiety of that description lately but the weather is almost too hot; the woodcock shooting has begun but I have not been out yet, and those who have had poor sport. As I do not know whether your vacation is over yet I will address this to Kilgraston hoping it will find you out somehow from there. You must excuse a stupid letter as sometimes it is really difficult to compose when nothing is going on. How are you getting on and what sort of fellows do you meet at Addiscomb? and do you still like the idea of going to India?

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate Brother
F A Grant

Have you heard anything of Charley lately?

45. To John Grant

Toronto 14th August 1850

My Dear Father,

I was not quite such a greenhorn as you accuse one of being, for Graham never offered to me to go for less than £200, and I never heard of his offered to go for less till long after my letter to him; my greenness consisted in having not at once referred him to you without giving him any idea of the pain you would give him; however all is well that ends well and I am delighted to say that I have seen my name in the Gazette as Lieutenant and without an examination. We have had great festivities here last week, the

Torontonians gave the people of Buffalo a grand ball and supper which were most successful; on the next day Dalrymple had the 71st out for them and in the afternoon His Excellency gave them a dejeuner. About six hundred people sat down to feed in an immense tent got up for the occasion adorned with the flags of the two nations. After dinner His Excellency made one or two capital speeches which were replied to by the Yankees. This part of the entertainment being over and ~~it~~ as it became dark, the company went into the gardens where there were some fireworks, and the evening was concluded with a dance, the windows being left open to the ground so that people were wandering about the gardens when not dancing, and as the verandahs were illuminated in the form of Crowns, V R's etc etc the effect was very pretty. The next day parliament was prorogued which was another sight for the Yankees, and they all went away perfectly charmed with their reception I am happy to say; amongst them there were some very pretty women.

The day after tomorrow Cotton and I accompany His Excellency through all the upper Lakes namely Erie, Huron and possibly part of Lake Superior. I look forward to it with great pleasure, we shall probably be away 3 weeks or a month, so you must not be surprised if you do not hear often from me. By the bye I suspect my letters by the last mail were late, so you will get two at once from me probably. I enclose you Graham's last letter to me. With love to all

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate dutiful Son
F A Grant

46. To Lady Lucy Grant

Toronto 13th September 1850

My dearest Mother,

If this is a short letter you must excuse me as I only arrived the night before last from a town with His Excellency in the West and the mail goes almost immediately, we went through all the Upper Lakes Erie, Huron, St Clair as far as the Sault St Marie on the river which flows from Lake Superior to Lake Huron, the scenery however though grand from being on such a large scale was very monotonous, endless forests ~~from~~ as far as the eye could reach

and a very flat country, and the magnificent expanse of clear fresh water, but it was every where the same.

We went also among the Indians but they are a poor looking race, their wigwams all along the banks of the river half hidden in the bush were very pretty from a distance as they are white being made of birch bark. It is getting so near time for the post that I must stop. His Excellency and Cotton started off again for New York last night intending to preserve a strict incog if possible but he is sure to be found out I think. They went to bring Lady Elgin back. With best love to all

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate dutiful son
F A Grant

How very stupid! I forget to say that Moncrieff Skene arrived here last night and is living with us. He starts home on 25th.

47. To Mrs Mary Hamilton Nisbet Ferguson

Toronto 26th October 1850

My dearest Grandmother,

It is a very long time since I have written to you but I have been so much on the move for some months past that I have not been able to devote much time to writing, the fact is the months of August, September and October are the most beautiful part of the year in Canada, the air is more bracing than in summer, the sun as bright though not so powerful, and the trees assume a most beautiful variety of Autumnal tints of all colours from bright scarlet to yellow and dark red, indeed I do not believe there is any thing in Europe to equal them, besides which it is the most favourable season for all the sports of the country, and one considers it is a sort of duty as long as it lasts to spend as much time away from towns as possible. The principal tour we have made this Autumn was with His Excellency through the great lakes, Erie and Huron to the "Sault St Marie" at the head of the latter lake, where a detachment of the Rifle Brigade were stationed to suppress an attack of the Indians on some miners which turned out after all to be imaginary and got up by certain ill disposed people for their own purposes. The trip on the whole was perhaps a little tedious as the scenery though fine from being on so large a scale was monotonous, wood and

water from horizon to horizon with no living creature or open spot of ground to be seen for [*illegible – page damaged*?lengths] of miles together, till we came to the Northern part of Lake Huron which is studded with thousands of pretty little rocky islands, and the river ‘Sainte Marie’ along which were scattered here and there small Indian villages, their little white wigwams looking very pretty among the forest trees. Since we returned from that trip the Governor General has remained in Toronto his ADCs have been on leave shooting and otherwise amusing themselves. Sir H and Lady Bulwer from Washington are here just now.^[57]

Believe me to remain
My dear Grandmother
Ever your affectionate Grandson
F A Grant

48. To the Grant Family

Toronto Xmas Day 1850

My dear Father, Mother, Brothers and sisters,

A merry Christmas and a happy New Year to you all, and may you see many more of them and I hope you are spending this day as merrily as you have always hitherto done, at least when I used to be present. In Toronto to outward appearances this is the beau ideal of Christmas the snow is falling very thick and there is a foot or so on the ground and every body is driving about with their heads down to the wind, white all over except their faces which are of a sort crimson colour, something like this [Fig. 16]. My Christmas morning is to be spent at Government House where all our party dine tonight; after dinner we are to have a rehearsal of some tableaus which we shall have to takes parts in at a juvenile ball Lady Elgin is going to give in about a fortnight; the only one decided on is from the “Lady of the Lake”, where the King throws the chain round the necks of the Lady and Malcolm Graeme, Co[*illegible – page damaged*?Cotton] is to do King a Miss Antrobus the lady and I Malcolm Graeme. I have been spending another few days with my friends the MacLeods. Whilst I was there Mr MacLeod had a letter from Campbell of Laddle who said he had just returned from paying a very pleasant visit at Kilgraston; it was rather funny its arriving just when I was there; and one night we had a piper who Sir Hew Dalrymple sent out and danced some capital reels to his playing. There is a great deal

of gaiety and dissipation going on here and capital sleighing. So good bye to you all.

Believe me to remain

Ever your affectionate Son or Brother as the case may be

F A Grant

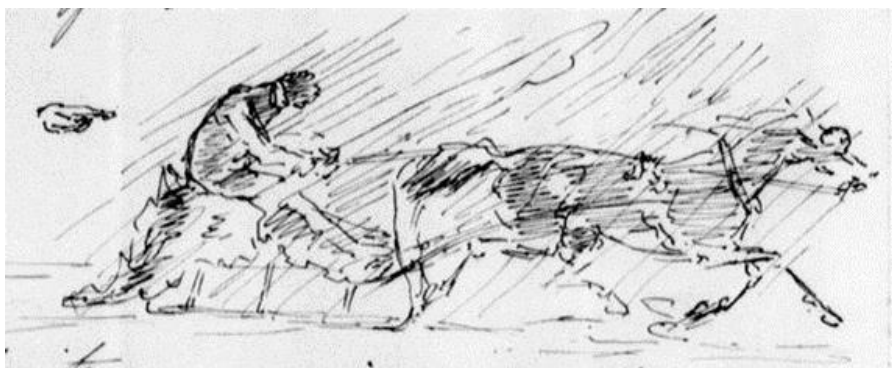


Figure 16. A sketch by Francis Augustus Grant of a sleigh, 25 December 1850.
(Library Archives Canada)

49. To Lady Lucy Grant

Toronto 31st December 1850

My dearest Mother,

We have again arrived at the end of another year and may you and all the family from its head downwards live to see many many happy returns of the year we enter upon tomorrow, and I hope that before it is over some of its scattered members may meet again in bonny Strath Earn, for I think it was Annie who told me that Uncle Hope was to come home next Spring with his wife, and I am in hopes of being able to do so too, and have a suspicion that the whole of our party are of the same minds; but I fear that Charley the only remaining absentee will not be so likely to come. I am very glad you were pleased with my picture and drawings, the former I thought rather stiff but I dare say when hung up that would not be observed, as for the drawings I am still going on with them slowly but it is rather a large undertaking to illustrate ~~so~~ a book with so many chapters, I have hitherto only done about 18 or 19 and I think there are 60 or 70

chapters in the book, but I dare say by next Spring they will be finished and I am not likely to have an opportunity of [*illegible – page damaged*?sending] them before that time. [*illegible – page damaged*?The] moose feet will give you some idea of the size of the animal he stood 6ft 9½ inches and was not considered very large. There has already been more snow in Toronto this winter than has fallen for ten years, the sleighing is perfect, I have rather a neat turn out though not a very expensive one, my pair is the unfortunate gray and the bay pony and the sleigh is double and has robes of very shaggy buffalo skin trimmed with ~~with~~ red cloth, and the rosettes for the horses heads are red and yellow ribbon. With many happy returns of the season to all.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate dutiful Son
F A Grant

50. To Lady Lucy Grant

Toronto 21st January 1851

My dearest Mother

I only write you a very few words by this mail to tell you as you always like me to do what I am reading, my present study is ‘Tytler’s General History’ and I think it one of the best books I ever read it begins from the earliest ages and comes up to the death of George III.^[58] Of course it only gives an account of the leading events of history and does not enter into minor details, but there is no dryness in it, and it is written so fairly and free from prejudice that you are left entirely to form your own opinion. In fact I think it a charming book and recommend it strongly to your notice. I hope the times will not really continue so bad as to oblige you again to leave home as my Father hints.

Believe me to remain
my dear Mother
Your affectionate dutiful Son
F A Grant



Figure 17. Elmsley Villa, Toronto, which Lord Elgin used as Government House from 1849 to 1851. (Wikimedia Commons)

51. To Lady Lucy Grant

Toronto 25th January 1851

My dearest Mother,

It is some days before mail time that I write this but as I start on Monday to the Falls I may not have another opportunity of writing before it goes. As it is only about three days since I wrote to you before, I have not much to say, the principal event since that time being a grand ball given by the 71st, the very best ball I was ever at I think, there must have been about 500 people there if not more, the room is a magnificent one just built in the new City Hall called the St Lawrence Hall very lofty and very large and beautifully lighted, their band played particularly well, and the supper was laid out according to the latest Parisian fashion in three tiers or steps [*a sketch was added here*], I dare say you know what I mean the plates etc on the lower tier, dishes and wine on the second and all sorts of ornamental castles and flags and high cakes on the top; it was altogether most successful and was kept up with great spirit till five o'clock in the morning, at which hour

I am afraid among the male guests at least, many an unsteady step and thick voice or tuneless song [*illegible – page damaged* ?gave] testimony to the power of the wine of our hosts. Lady Elgin looked particularly well and danced a quadrille with Sir Hew Dalrymple a very unusual thing for her to do, an[d] consequently a great honour to the gallant Colonel.

I have finished Tytler's book and am going to read "Antonina or the Fall of Rome" by Wilkie Collins, a historical novel.^[59] With kind love to my Father and all the family and hoping to hear from somebody soon

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate and dutiful Son
F A Grant

52. To Lady Lucy Grant

Toronto 11th February 1851

My dearest Mother,

Many thanks for your two kind letters which both reached me at the same time as unless you put on the back "for U.S. steamer" they [?assign] all the letters for the British line which during winter only sail once a fortnight, all the letters I send and receive are free so you can write on as thick paper as you like to me. Thank every body very much for all their kind wishes of the New Year and I wish them the same with all my heart.

I showed your letter to my Uncle and mentioned Mr Carpendale to him, he has already been at one of the Government House balls and I will make his acquaintance and introduce him the first opportunity I get; he is rather gentlemanlike looking and immensely tall and many people think his drawings beautiful; they are in a particular kind of chalk and certainly his skies and moonlight scenes the backgrounds in particular are very very soft but his animals and foregrounds are what are called cottony and as far as my poor judgement goes shew a great want of boldness and appear to have been worked with too much care and minuteness to have a good effect, and the animals are often out of proportion, however I have seen one or two very good ones.

The plans of the Governor General are very uncertain but from what I can gather there is not much prospect of his going home this year in fact I do not think he knows much about himself all I know for certain is that next summer the seat of Government will be transferred to Quebec, and he

does not seem to have any idea of going further for the present. As I have not the gold pen by me I must send it another time and as Balfour of the Rifle Brigade has not got leave and from what I hear is not likely to get it for some time I must watch for the first opportunity I can get which will perhaps not be before Spring as very few people travel at this time of year.

Thank Annie for her kind letter and I sincerely hope you will not be obliged to leave Kilgraston again for that would be very sad. His Excellency desired me to send you his love and to say that he leaves it to me to tell you all the news as he has so much writing to do. The Colonel and the Ladies would join in sending you their love if they were here

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate and dutiful Son
F A Grant

53. To John Grant

Toronto 26th March 1851

My dear Father,

Many thanks for your long and very interesting letter which reached me by the last mail and for the quantity of news it contained about all our family, it would indeed be very jolly if we could all meet again together at Kilgraston and I dare say it is not unlikely, as for my Uncle here he does not know any thing about when he goes home though I should think he will not stay more than a year or so more, as he is in his fifth year now and no other Governor General has stayed so long, in fact every governor as yet has been actually driven from the country by the constant anxiety and trouble its inhabitants have given them, but he says himself, "they will find it a good deal harder to kill me." Charley is indeed getting on wonderfully and I suppose there must be more than mere luck to account for his success, as surely Sir J Brooke would not take such an interest in him if he had not a good deal of confidence in his talents. It will be a great pleasure to you all to see Uncle Hope again after so long an absence as his has been. I have sent home a box of Canadian birds, most of them my own shooting together with some specimens of copper ore from the Bruce mines and some bits of Indian bark work, and a box of bark full of maple sugar, by a Mr Muter of the E I C Service. He is to ask his agent to send them up to Scotland or he will send them himself by railway. I fancy he will leave New

York about the 2nd or 3rd of April and be in London somewhere between the 15th and 20th so you will have some idea of when to look out for them and I hope they will arrive safe. Don't you think it was a great pity that the ministry should have been turned out by the protectionists when they were not able to replace them, nothing could have shown their weakness so much. By the bye my dear Father I wish you would the first opportunity you get, send me out one or two of your little oil colour pictures, I do not mind whether they are finished or not and they would make but a small parcel, a pen and ink sketch or two would also be ~~be~~ very acceptable, and I would also like to have now and then an old Perthshire newspaper when you have done with it, the latter of course can be sent by post. As to the new rule about examinations for companies it will not alter the system of paying over regulation for a step, as the man who offers the money promises to pay only if his name appears in the Gazette. I had no idea poor Lucy's illness was so bad and hope the London doctors will prove successful in their treatment of her. In my last letter from my Mother she asked if I had heard any thing of Uncle Frederick,^[60] nobody here has heard any thing of him for some time, but it would take longer for us to hear from him than it would you I believe, as there there [*sic*] is no regular time of communication with us. I had a letter from Annie from Bloxholm the other day.^[61] With love to my Mother and all the family

I remain
Ever your affectionate and dutiful Son
F A Grant

54. To John Grant

Toronto 23rd May 1851

My dear Father,

Your last letter was a most interesting one to me and I am very much obliged for your opinion on the subject of politics. I hear but little about them here and as for my Uncle making a Whig of me he never introduces the subject unless I lead him to it when we are talking together and even then he is so careful and reserved in all he says that I can hardly tell what his opinion is. He seems to think that now that the country has got free trade it will never give it up and that the landed aristocracy must submit to having their income reduced and ought not to waste time in a helpless

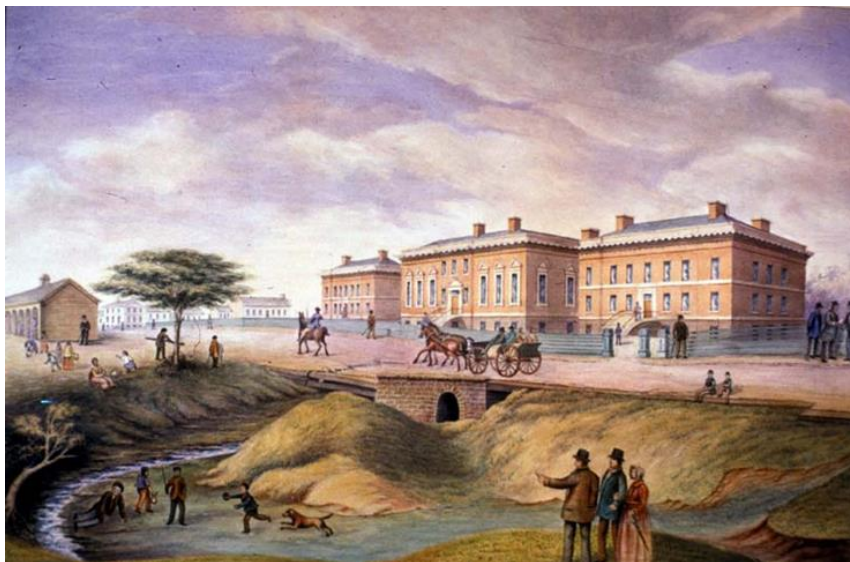


Figure 18. The parliament building, Toronto (1834). It served as the seat of government for the Province of Canada at various times between 1849 and 1859.
(Toronto Culture, Museums and Heritage Services)

struggle for protection, as by doing so they will add unpopularity to their already decreased fortunes, he has their interest at heart being one of them himself but thinks now that the harm is done they must submit to it with a good grace. I thank you very much for the Perthshire newspaper you sent me and hope you will keep on doing so now and then. I won a match with my gray horse the other day against one of the 71st one dash of a mile for the large sum of 20 dollars owners up, but I can enjoy a race just as much for a few dollars as for a large sum, which puts one in difficulties if one loses. It is the fun of riding that I like. We opened the Provisional Parliament last Tuesday in state the last that will be in Toronto till the next Parliament is dissolved, the session is expected to be short. You gave me a very sad account of poor Ludovick. I had never heard that he was so bad and I hope my poor Mother is able to bear up against this new misfortune give her my kind love and all the good wishes and hopes of an affectionate son for her welfare and poor Ludovick's, in such a trying time of anxiety and suspense. Believe me to remain

My dear Father
Ever your affectionate and dutiful Son
F A Grant

I enclose a list of the stuffed birds I sent.

55. To Miss Lucy Grant

Toronto 27th May 1851

My dearest Lucy,

I got your kind letter from London and many thanks for it but I am sorry to hear since that you have been laid up with the measles, that must have been a great disappointment happening just at the time you so particularly would wish to be well, after arriving in Paris and having so much to see that would be new to you. But you have now had plenty of time to get well and I hope you are so. Talking about Canada I have not much to say, in Toronto we have been tolerably gay in a small way, our public balls are over for the winter, but a good many private parties are going on, and the day after tomorrow Captain Cotton and I give a dance in our own house, during the day there is to be a picnic from which they come to our house, we had the same thing last year and it was very successful, I hope it may be



Figure 19. A portrait of Sir James Brooke (1847), by Francis Augustus Grant's uncle, Francis Grant. (Wikimedia Commons)

so again. About a fortnight ago I won a race with a gray horse of mine riding against an officer of the 71st, the distance was one mile. Next week Lady Elgin gives a breakfast which will probably be very numerous attended, in the evening there are to be fireworks and it is to finish by a dance. I look forward to it with great pleasure, only the ADC's are not able to amuse themselves as much as other people as they must be rushing about and making themselves useful all the time.

I hear Charley and Sir J Brooke have arrived in England, but fear I [*illegible - page damaged ?shall*] not get home at the soonest before winter, perhaps not then.

I suppose you will be in England again before the Exhibition is over you ought to see that. Remember me kindly to Lady Elgin and our relations in Paris

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate Brother
F A Grant

56. To Lady Lucy Grant

Toronto 28th June 1851

My dearest Mother,

I am coming home at last, my Uncle has given me leave for six months and I start in the first week in August and hope again to meet you all at old Kilgraston at the end of that month, what fun it will be. It is near port time and I cannot write much but will only say that I anticipate no difficulty in finding my way as to money, and that I do not think you will be put to any expense, as far as my travelling is concerned. With kind love to my Father and all

I remain
Ever your affectionate dutiful Son
F A Grant

I will send by the next mail a more detailed account of my affairs.

57. To Miss Lucy Grant

Hotel Jacob, Paris 23rd August 1851

My dearest Lucy,

Here I am, after travelling all night from London come by our Father's wish to take you home again. I arrived in Liverpool from Canada last Sunday and came to London on Tuesday and have been there ever since and my own particular girl will be the first of our family I shall see. If you are in no great hurry I would like to remain a few days in Paris to see something of it as I may not have another opportunity. Give my kind love to Lady Elgin and I hope she is well. You may expect me in about an hour or less if you are not out.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate Brother
F A Grant
Saturday morning

58. To Lady Lucy Grant

Dumphail 28th October 1851

My dearest Mother,

After Charley picked me up at the Stanly Station we went straight to Aberdeen and there to Carlogie by coach 26 miles, arrived about 8 o'clock, and slept that night there. Farquhar wished us both to stay some days, but as I thought it would never do to disarrange Mrs C Bruce's plans I started the next day, travelled all night on the top of the coach and arrived here on Sunday morning, leaving him behind to arrive today. Mrs Cumming Bruce called for me on her way to Church and we went there together and afterwards called at Altir [*i.e.* Altyre], Mr W Cumming's and then came to Dumphail.^[62] Morayshire is a flat and tame country in comparison to our own, except along the courses of the rivers (in one of which this house is situated) which are very bold and rocky and covered with a beautiful variety of natural wood. I took a beautiful walk yesterday through the wild and solitary glens of the Divie and Findhorn with Mr Cumming Bruce, they are exceedingly grand and full of historic interest, as it was in them that the

fierce contest between the clan of the Red Cumming and Randolph Earl of Moray took place. The ruined castle of Dumphail still looks down from its crag as in days of old and the tomb of the slaughtered Cummings is at its foot.

I remain
Your affectionate dutiful Son
F A Grant

59. To John Grant

Castle Grant, Grantown 5th November 1851

My dear Father,

Here we are in this fine Highland place, it is to my idea the "beau ideal" of the residence of a great chief,^[63] the view from its windows is magnificent as are the trees in its park, most of them are the natural growth of ~~Scotch fir~~ the country, the Scotch fir, and although very numerous, they in no way contract the view, for the elevated position of the castle enables one to see over them, the whole range of the Cromdale Hills and a great part of the Cairn Gorms, and the forest lying along Strath Spey between us and the mountains adds greatly to its beauty and excludes the view of Grantown which is perhaps as well. The house itself is an ugly but very large and massive building, and the dining room is an exceedingly handsome room the walls and roof all oak panelling and the fire places of the most elaborately carved old oak; in the entrance hall there are about 30 curious old pictures of the chiefs and famous characters of the Clan, interesting as such, but very bad as works of art. The morning after we arrived (yesterday) Charley and I walked to Glenloch about 11 miles from here, it is now a farm house, the old part of it has only five rooms and a garret in it, and the people about assured me it was never bigger, till a small addition that has since been built was put to it; it is in the bottom of a wild barren looking glen the hills rising on every side are covered with heather and there is hardly a tree in any direction, its tenants are Grants of course, almost the only name here and they gave us a hearty welcome and a capital feed of oat cakes, butter, chese [*sic*] and tea. Our ancestors were quite forgotten but we found an old man who remembered their successors and had often heard that there were such people but knew nothing more. When we expressed a wish to find their graves if possible, Glenloch kindly lent us a couple of ponies and

accompanied us himself to Kirkmichael about 2 miles down the glen on the Avon a small river that gives its name to that part of the country, Strath Avon. We let the horses loose in the church yard when we began our search, and although it was full of stones to the memory of Grants and Gordons and hardly any other names it was a long time before we found our own. We did at last however find one to Patrick Grant Esq of Glenlochry lately of Stocktown and “___” his wife, daughter of “___” Grant of Inverlochry erected by Francis Grant Esq of Kilgraston, and whilst Charley was copying the inscription, Mr Grant the minister came and shewed us a marble tablet in the church with nearly the same words as the one outside erected by “The Chief Justice” surmounted by our arms and crest. On our way to Kirkmichael we passed Stocktown and Inverlochry both on the banks of the Lochy, a burn that runs through the glen and falls into the Avon near the latter place. The minister was very kind and pressed us to spend a night at the manse and was anxious to know if you would wish him to get the inscriptions repainted to preserve them and promised to have the arms which surmount the marble tablet fixed, as they have become loose and likely to fall. Charley and I are both very much obliged to our Grandmother for her kind invitation to shoot at Biel,^[64] but as we cannot get up to this part of the country at any time, we have determined not to curtail our ~~visit~~ tour but to see as much as we can whilst we are both at home of this our native country. We are going to pay Mr W Cumming a visit for a day or two and then on through Inverness to the West Highlands. I dare say we shall not be home much before the end of November. With kindest love to all

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate dutiful son
F A Grant

I am going to write to my Grandmother.

60. To Lady Lucy Grant

Altyre 12th November 1851

My dearest Mother,

Many thanks for your kind letter which I got this morning. We arrived at Altyre on Saturday from Castle Grant and I gave your message to Sir W

which both he and Mr Cumming Bruce desire me to return.^[65] The Miss Cummings make the time fly like lightning they are very agreeable, but your sons are taking care of their hearts as you wish. The great African is here in all his glory he is a good and agreeable companion but a most extraordinary dresser, handsome and has a splendid figure as far as immense bone and sinew go.^[66] I have just been invited by Moncrieff Skene of Pitlour to stay with him, but as he has not dated his letter I do not know his post town and will enclose a note to him to Kilgraston which I hope somebody will forward for me. We have had a deal of rain here but it is not dull for all that. Remember me kindly to MacLagan who I hope is better. With kindest love to all our own people

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate and dutiful Son
F A Grant

61. To Lady Lucy Grant

Dunvegan 30th November 1851

My dearest Mother,

Charley and I as you see by the date of this have arrived at the remote but lovely seat of the MacLeods of Macleod the day has been perfect, the sky cloudless and the air clear and frosty, and the noble but alas deserted old castle more than a thousand years old throwing its shadow on the smooth



Figure 20. Walter Daniell, *Dunvegan Castle*, 1819. Grant visited Dunvegan in November 1851 during his tour of northern Scotland with his brother Charley. (British Museum)

surface of Loch Follart but there is never a rose without a thorn, and your

dismayed sons on looking into that ungentlemanlike place their pockets discovered therein the large amount of £3 8s between them out of which the hotel bill has to be paid to say nothing of travelling expenses, and as you like a good Mother told us to apply to you in the hour of need, we hope you will send without a moments delay a post office order for about £10 on the Dingwall post office, and we will repay you on our return home, which will be in a week or ten days or a fortnight perhaps. On Tuesday we return to Douglass of Scatwell (late of the 79th)^[67] and on the following day drive the woods of Muirton in Ross shire for red deer and roe, we then mean to pay a short visit at Glenmorrison and Dunstaffnage and then to Taymouth, Ross and Blair and so home, we have had a good deal of walking for the last two days and have passed through most glorious scenery on our way. With best love to all.

Believe us my dear Mother
Your affectionate and dutiful sons
F & C

62. To John Grant

Quebec 15th May 1852

My dear Father,

Here I am once more in the beautiful and picturesque town of Quebec; a fortnight ago the whole country was under snow, and now the buds are bursting so fast that one fancies one can see a difference in two or three hours. I left Charley in New York as he determined to go to the Southern States first and pay me a visit afterwards, this arrangement suited both our books, as in the first place he would get his travelling over before the hot weather came on, and in the next it suited me as it would give me time to get fairly settled here, and be able to put him up in my house and I hope mount him as well. Hamilton and I have taken a house together, and I though he has his peculiarities, I see no reason why we should not get on well. Here horses are twice as expensive as in the Upper Province and as yet I have not been able to pick up any thing to suit me. All the Vice Regal party are well. Elina and little Bruce have grown a good deal and Robert the third is a great big fine child. Lady E is looking well and takes exercise on horseback I believe most days. The Bruces keep house now, and give the nicest dinners possible. I was never in any place where the people

seemed so anxious to be civil to one; the first night arrived I was asked to three houses and went to two the next night I dined at Spencer Wood (His Excellency's) and both last night and the night before I went to evening parties besides a picnic yesterday to Montmorency. The Falls were in great glory. I have made the acquaintance of Butt's intended and highly approve of his taste, she is as nice a girl as he could have found in any country. The news about ~~the~~ my Colonel's marriage to a Spanish lady has created tremendous excitement in Quebec, and the day after my arrival it was known by everyone, he was a great favorite here. With best love to all and hoping to hear from some of you.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate and dutiful son
F A Grant

63. To Miss Lucy Grant

Quebec 31st July 1852

My dearest little woman,

As I have never written to you since I came to this side of the water, I must not put off so important a duty any longer, and I hope some day to hear from you in return. Charley is now in Upper Canada and I expect him here any day. I do not know what detains him but I think he must be staying with my friend old MacLeod near Toronto. Uncle Robert has been very ill with a sharp attack of Canadian cholera but is now convalescent, and in a day or [so] we hope will be going about as usual at all events all cause for alarm is over. The races are now past. I lost the race with my own mare, but she ran well and I won another the "Garrison Handicap" on a horse called "Gumbo" much to the surprise of his owner who did not expect to win, and as he was a Quebec horse I was tremendously cheered on coming in. There were very good hurdle races, one at Lorette 9 miles from here, and the other here; the former was the best I ever saw, the hurdles were low and it was 3 times round, and all the four horses were close together till near the finish when one fell, but nobody was hurt. We have since had a great ball in the country which went off admirably given by a Mr Walker and one or two agreeable picnics besides very often of an evening going out to people's houses in the country without any invitation, which is one of the nicest ways the Quebec people have of being hospitable. I think I

have already written to announce Butt's marriage at which I was best man, they left this the same afternoon and met Charley [*illegible – page damaged* ?at] Niagara, and when they have made a [*illegible – page damaged* ?tour] in the US will return home. Mrs Butt is a very nice person and I think if you happen to meet you will all like her. Give my very best love to dear old Nutty and the young 'uns under her care as well as to my Mother, Father, sisters etc etc and

Believe me my dearest Lucy
Your very affectionate and loving Brother
F A Grant

There has been some trouble between ourselves and the Americans on account of our ships having prevented the Yankee fishermen from fishing on our coast. I hope our Government will hold their own and not take to that vacillating, conciliatory policy, which is so much the fashion at present, and by which we only expose ourselves to contempt.

64. To John Grant

Quebec 5th September 1852

My dearest Father,

You must excuse a short letter this time as Charley leaves me the day after tomorrow and I want to see as much of him as I can before that time, and ~~to~~ we have in contemplation for today an expedition to Lake St Charles about 15 miles from here and a beautiful spot. Charley goes to Boston and New York on Monday and embarks for England on this day week I believe (Saturday). We have been doing all we can to shew him as much as possible of the country, its inhabitants, amusements etc. and I hope he will give you a good account of us when he arrives at home; at all events he has taken the best means of gaining ~~inval~~ ^{inval} information by not hurrying through places, but mixing with the society as much as he could in passing visits. Lady Elgin has had two fêtes one for juveniles and one for adults, at the latter was a great show of Canadian beauty – we have also had a quantity of picnics. If you meet Bob Menzies any where, I wish you would tell him that I cannot get any Wapiti horns in this part of the country but I am in hopes of getting some from St Louis. I fancied when I was at home there would have been no great difficulty in finding them but on the contrary I

can hear of none any where. I can get however any quantity of moose and caribou (or Rein deer) horns. My love to my Mother, sisters, brothers etc and

Believe me
Your affectionate dutiful Son
F A Grant

PS Charley wants somebody to send him a line the Post Office Southampton where he will arrive three days after receipt of this. FAG

65. To Charles Grant

Quebec 18th September 1852

My dear Charley,

I have taken the necessary steps about forwarding your frock coat to England and will address it to the ~~Post~~ Express Office Liverpool to which place you must write to have it forwarded to Scotland. I have also sent the newspaper with the report of His Excellency's speech at Sherbrooke which I hope will arrive in safety; Miss Ashworth has promised to have the purse finished this afternoon it shall be enclosed if it arrives in time for the mail. After we parted at St Johnsbury I returned by the stage to Barton where I succeeded in recovering my purse, and being tired with my long journey I asked the landlord if his inhospitable state could give one nothing better than a glass of water to drink, he gave a knowing look and ushered one into a back room where he produced hot water, sugar and a bottle labeled [*sic*] pineapple syrup but which contained brandy; having refreshed myself I retired to rest. Started next day at 4 am and arrived in Sherbrooke that night; on the way an amusing incident or two helped to relieve the monotony of the journey; one time when we arrived at a small village I asked a man if we breakfasted here, 'Yes Sir' he replied 'Breakfast ready for any number, four different kinds of meat always on the table ram, lamb, sheep and mutton'. Further on whilst going down a steep hill with our six horses we saw a chair lying in the middle of the road it was too steep to pull up sharp but the leaders jumped over it and so did the chain horses but when it came to the wheelers [*the next part of the letter is missing*]

[*the following was cross written on page four of the letter*] I am sorry to see Miss Ashworth has not put her name to the bit of music. She was much [*illegible*] for Sir J Pakington's autograph. F A Grant

66. To Miss Lucy Grant

Quebec 25th September 1852

My dearest Lucy,

Many thanks for your nice long letter which was full of news most interesting to me, but I forget whether I answered it or not, at all events I fear this will be but a line or two, as I am pressed for time. We have been having a great deal of gaiety and dissipation in Quebec for the last ten days or so, though I miss poor old Charley very much who paid me a visit of nearly five weeks in all, he sailed on the 15th this is the 25th he ought to be arriving in Liverpool about tomorrow if he has had a tolerable passage. Have you heard any thing of poor Arthur since his departure for India? do let me hear if you have. I am going to ride my mare Lady Alice this afternoon in a race at Lorette about nine miles from here. With love to Father, Mother, Brothers and sisters.

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate Brother
F A Grant

This little very rough sketch is meant to represent an Indian camp in Upper Canada [Fig. 21]. Frank Grant

67. To Charles Grant

Quebec 4th December 1852

My dear Charley,

If I do not write to you at once you may have sailed for the East and Father hints at the 20th being the day of Sir James' and your departure, but as I suppose you will be at Kilgraston as much as possible before that time arrives, I will address this letter there. I have no great news to tell for we



Figure 21. A sketch by Francis Augustus Grant of a First Nations encampment in Upper Canada, 25 September 1852. (Library Archives Canada)

have been very quiet for some weeks here, the weather has been so unsettled and bad that one can do nothing with comfort, one day rain, another snow, another wind and so on but we shall doubtless soon settle down to the regular winter weather. Dr Sewell who I think you knew, was married privately the other day to a Miss Beswick, contrary to her brother's wishes who has always strenuously opposed the match on the grounds of his being a widower with a number of ~~eh~~ children already, by the bye you must remember his daughter Miss Jenny Sewell, she ranked very high in your list of 20 beauties at the Government House ball. Dawson RE expects to be ordered home this winter, and to leave Miss Annie Le Mesurier in despair. Miss Ashworth is looking very well and dancing as much and as well as ever, she also never meets me at a party without wanting to know if I have heard from you, and remarking to somebody how well you used to sing nigger songs, what a good voice you had etc. The Miss Motyes were also making many most tender enquiries about you the other day, especially Miss Lizzy, so you are not forgotten you see. We had a capital St Andrews ball on the 30th ultimo. I went there in our tartan and found my name figuring in the papers the next day as a great dancer. I enclose the paragraph, one would suppose from its wording that the Governor General was in the kilt as [*illegible – page damaged*?well] as I, but such was not the case. With love to the Rajah,^[68] my Father, Mother and all the rest of them.

Believe me
My Dear Charley
Ever your affectionate Brother
F A Grant

68. To Mrs Mary Hamilton Nisbet Ferguson

Quebec 18th December 1852

My dearest Grandmother,

I am so glad to get such good accounts of your health and hope that the cold weather is not doing you any harm, for I see by the papers that a good deal of snow has fallen in Scotland this winter, as well as most unusual floods in England. This autumn in Quebec has been very mild till the last fortnight or so since which the regular Canadian winter has set in, six inches of fine dry snow, thermometer ranging from zero to 10 or 15 degrees above it and the air clear, cold and bracing. Our winter turns out are just getting into trim, and the winter amusements beginning. The merry sound of the sleigh bells is heard in all directions and every sort of equipage from the “four in hand” to the “habitans” cariole is to be seen. As I think you said it amused you to get a sketch now and then in a letter allow me to give you an idea of the above mentioned vehicles by one [Fig. 22]. You will see also on the

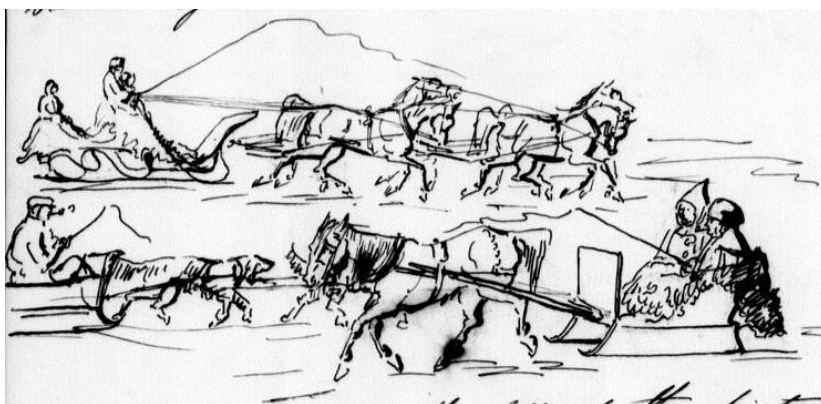


Figure 22. A sketch by Francis Augustus Grant of the three types of vehicle commonly used during winter in Quebec: (from left to right) the dog sleigh, the four in hand, and the cariole. (Library Archives Canada)

left of the picture a third description of conveyance, namely a dog sleigh of which there are a great many here though it may be called cruelty to animals. Another favorite amusement here is sliding down a hill on what is called a toboggan or Indian sleigh, a thin flat board of wood turned up at the end, it is steered by the hands like the rudder of a ship. I am afraid my dear Grandmother all this is superfluous information to you as I think I have described them to you before, but pray pardon me if it is so, for up to this time we have been very slow in Quebec and I have so little to tell you that I should find it difficult to fill my letter. What a grand sight the Duke's funeral must have been;^[69] and what a curious coincidence it is that no sooner is the destroyer of the original French Empire dead than it is reestablished. I wonder if the present Emperor would like to have a slap at us; at all events it was noble in him to send a French ambassador to Wellington's funeral. We are all well here and happy though the ladies are beginning naturally enough to feel a little homesick after five years absence. My kind regards to Betsey and Loretto Beal. I believe poor Charley sails for the East the day after tomorrow.

Believe me my dearest Grandmother
 Ever your affectionate Grandson
 F A Grant

69. To Miss Lucy Grant

Quebec 21st January 1853

My dear fat little woman,

For so Mary informs me you are becoming under Mr Beveridge's treatment; many many thanks to my three sisters for their good wishes for the New Year. I think I have already sent you mine. I hope dear old Mary's sprained "baton", as you used ~~th~~ to call the locomotive members of a lady, is regaining its original length and straightness. Poor thing she must have had terrible pain. As you supposed I have been spending this first month of the New Year in an increasing round of gaiety. You can't think what a jolly place old Quebec is. You are apt to think that because it is in the New World it is new and uninteresting, but so far is it from that that I have seldom seen any thing so picturesque in Europe, its funny irregular winding streets all up and down hill, no two houses of the same size or shape together, the high pitched roofs, full of little garret windows and the bright

tin upon them glittering like silver, all combine to make it worthy of a painter's notice, to say nothing of the beautiful peeps of the hills to Northward, covered by the grand primeval forest, and that most noble river the St Lawrence flowing below it, full at this time of year of great masses of ice moving up and down with the tide and crashing against each other with a tremendous noise; and last though by no means least in making life pass pleasantly come the numerous winter amusements which are so numerous that one is kept in constant motion if one enters into them all. I wish I could paint. The Concertina has been in bad health of late, one note got out of order some time ago, and there is not a man here who understands the instrument sufficiently to put it right, so I am in great distress. You will have heard by this time of Laud Maule having left my Regiment thus giving me a step. I think Douglass and Moore will go too. My best love to Scotty if she is still with you, the same to our parents, Mary, Annie, brothers, Nutty etc etc. Mary mentioned in her last letter something about Mr J Brooke's affairs being in a bad way. Pray let me hear something more about it. Charley was to have sailed on December 20th but I have heard from Lord M Kerr that he was still in England on the 23rd. How is this? do let me know.

Believe me
My own little woman
Ever your affectionate Brother
F A Grant

P.S. I have finished one etching on copper of the hunting at Quebec in November last. FAG.

70. To Ludovick Grant

Quebec 26th March 1853

My dear Ludovick,

Many many thanks for all your kind wishes for me on my birthday you must like a good fellow thank them all separately for me as I fear I have hardly time to write ~~you~~ to each member of the family, Mary, Annie, Charlie, Lucy, Nutty and all.

I have just returned from the "woods", where I have been spending 10 days with an Artillery Officer quartered there, in all we killed 3 moose

and a caribou or rein deer, two of the former fell to his lot and the caribou and one moose to mine. I was particularly delighted at killing the caribou, for if he is not at once mortally hit he can never be caught, for from the formation of his feet he runs as lightly over the snow as on the ground, and besides is as wild and difficult to stalk as a red deer, as it was, my first shot went through his heart. I have brought his head home, he has horns but small ones 8 tynes in all. The moose was also not so large as the one whose legs are in the saloon, but one of my companion's was seven feet high. The life in the woods is to me a most enjoyable one. We had very hard work; for two or three days running we had to walk 8 or 9 hours a day on snow shoes through a hilly country intersected with deep rocky glens and all in the eaternal [*sic*] forest, the only open places we ever came to being the numerous lakes, of which we crossed 30 or 40 on the ice, indeed I never saw a country so studded with them; and now and then when on the top of some very high hill where the trees grew less thickly one caught a glimpse of a beautiful wilderness of Lake, Forest and mountain beyond mountain as far as the eye could reach. This country belongs to the Indians, and cannot be settled without purchasing the land from them, it is called "Le beau terrain des Sauvages" and lies NW of Quebec. The first thing I did on getting home was to plunge into a tub, for as my clothes had not been off for a fortnight you may suppose I [*illegible – page damaged?was*] in want of one and my body was so astonished at so sudden an application of water that I had a bad headache the whole of the next day. My love to my Father, Mother, sisters, brothers and Nutty and

Believe me
My dear Ludovick
Ever your affectionate Brother
F A Grant

71. To Mrs Mary Hamilton Nisbet Ferguson

Portsmouth 1st April 1854

My dearest Grandmother,

It is now almost certain that we embark the week after next in the "Megira". The 23rd embark here on Tuesday in the "Trent" and are to be relieved by another regiment which will also embark this week. I am not



Figure 23. Alfred Frank de Prades, *Camp of Exercise at Chobham (79th Camp)*. Chobham was the scene of the first large-scale manoeuvres in Britain since the Napoleonic Wars. From 14 June to 25 August 1853, 8,000 men, 1,500 horses and 24 guns mustered on the heathland for drill, field operations and parades. (Highlanders Museum)

sure the Megira will hold us all in which case the two divisions of the regiment may not sail the same day. It is supposed we go to Enos^[70] direct without touching at Malta. The Colonel inspected the regiment in heavy marching order this morning, it is now I believe fully a thousand strong, but he is very anxious to leave the band at home which I hope to goodness he will not succeed in doing, the fact is he does not care for music and thinks it rather a bore than otherwise, however he is the only man in the whole regiment I will venture to say who holds that opinion. I am going to London this afternoon to complete my outfit so I must ask you to excuse a short note, and hoping to be able to give you more positive information ere long.

Believe me
To remain
Your most affectionate Grandson
Frank Grant

72. To Mrs Mary Hamilton Nisbet Ferguson

Portsmouth 14th April 1854

My dearest Grandmother,

We thought we should be at sea by this time, but alas here we still are. It is now said that we sail in the "Simoom" which arrived in Plymouth last night, as soon as she has refitted for sea, and I trust that operation will not last more than a week. It is terrible stupid fun this waiting both officers and men are grumbling at it. The Colonel paraded the whole regiment the other day to present them with new colours, but just as we all dressed in review order, he sent to order the officers to put on shell jackets and trows, and thereby spoilt the effect of the whole thing besides being strictly contrary to the rules of the service, and worst of all lots of people were looking on at this usually imposing ceremony turned into a complete farce; though a very good fellow Colonel Elliott is a man of no taste; he even wanted to leave the band behind when we go on service, but we all kicked up such an outcry that he had to give in.

Believe me

My dearest Grandmother

Your affectionate Grandson

Frank Grant

Jim Ferguson has gone to Devonshire I think for a day or two. I saw Mrs Rollo yesterday. She has taken a cottage near Kilgraston.
F.G.

73. To Miss Lucy Grant

Portsmouth Monday [1854]

My very dear little Lucy,

Please tell my Father with many thanks from me that unfortunately I have already bought a revolver in London, and therefore that he need not send his one down to me; it is an unlucky business for mine cost me 10 guineas. Also please ask him to settle the carriage of my baggage from Canada when it arrives which will be in about 6 weeks or 2 months and I will owe it to

him till my return [from] the East; and ask Nutty to copy the list of my baggage which I left with her on a card and to send the copy to me by post, but to keep the card herself: I will also send home whatever I do not take with me from here to be put in her charge, and give my love to her.

I enclose a small drawing of one of our men who I got to stand when I was last on guard, to help my Father in the dress of the figures in the background of my picture.

The "Simoom" is here she is said to be for us but I doubt it as her engines are so much out of order that it will take her three weeks or a month to refit. A part of the 19th and a number of horses and munitions for war have just sailed in a most splendid ship the "Euxine". I wish we may have such luck. "The pride of the Ocean" is also a noble ship with most admirable accommodation for 80 horses. She takes part of the 17th Lancers, and probably sails on Wednesday. Mrs Rollo told me that she really has taken Stodarts cottage.^[71] We are still in the dark as to our movements, both the 42nd and ourselves. I suppose it is only a want of ships that causes the delay. With love to my Father, Mother and all of you, Tish and Aunt Matilda too if at Kilgraston.

Believe me
Your affectionate and loving brother
Frank

P.S. I like the 2nd Calotype very much.

I hope you did not forget to bring my big drawing book from Archerfield.

74. To John Grant

H.M.S. Simoom 11th May 1854

My dear Father,

We expect to be at Gibraltar tomorrow and hope to have an opportunity of sending a letter from there so I begin writing now. The day after we left Spithead we passed a French two decker bound for the Baltic, the yards were manned, all the men called on deck to cheer, the band and pipes played in her honor; she paid us the same compliment in return (barring the pipes). The wind continued foul till the 8th, on which day the screw

was unshipped, we have since proceeded under sail at the rate of from 8 to 11 knots, we had just got through the bay of Biscay when the wind turned in our favor. On the 9th we first viewed land and passed Corunna and Cape Finisterre, yesterday we lost sight of it again, and we have just now passed Cape St Vincent with its monastery and light house about 1½ miles ~~from it~~ off. The weather since we came to the Coast of Spain has been ~~to~~ more than charming. By the bye our first view of land was the island of Ushant off the coast of France. The band plays in the afternoons if the weather permits. 11 o'clock at night, the weather and moon most beautiful; the ship sailing 8 knots. As the Captain says we are likely to be in Gibraltar early tomorrow I conclude this note with love to my Mother, sisters and brothers and remain

Your affectionate dutiful Son
Frank

75. To Lady Lucy Grant

H.M.S. Simoom 16th May 1854

My very dear Mother,

I closed my last letter home the morning we arrived at Gibraltar, it was a most lovely day and the scenery on both sides of the "Gut" most beautiful; we passed within near view of Tangier and Tarifa the latter on the Spanish side, before ~~the~~ we rounded the point which brought us in view of the famous "Rock" which rises 1400 feet from the sea; we went into the bay where we lay to and sent the letters on shore and proceeded at once on our way. It was one of the finest views I ever saw, Gibraltar itself in the foreground, beyond it the rugged coast of Spain and the grand "Sierra Nevada" in the distance, and on the other side the wild and mountainous coast of Barbary with the snowy range of Atlas in the distance, we then coasted along Andalusia and Granada the Sierra Nevada still forming the background till we passed the highest of that range its upper part entirely covered with snow, (the Sierra di Granada 13,000 feet high) as high as the "Jungfrau" in Switzerland. After this we hugged the African coast (Algeria) and lost sight of Europe. It is also wild and mountainous, the hills covered with aloe, and wild boars are found on them in great numbers, there are also lions there; we passed within sight of one or two small towns and saw the lights of Algiers itself by night. The wind failed us here and we got

under steam for a few hours when the engine went wrong as it does very often and the East wind freshened and we had to sail on it in a NE direction for 10 or 12 hours when the engine was again set going and after about 12 more hours broke down again, however the wind is with us again so it does not so much matter. We are very jolly eating, drinking and reading and laughing all day long, the sea perfectly smooth and a deep deep blue peculiar to the Mediterranean, as Byron says

“Where the purple of ocean is deepest in dye”.

There is no land in sight at this moment.

May 19th

We have had some bad weather since I wrote the last sheet or we should have been at Malta by this time, we are now about 70 miles from it and going 8 knots an hour; the only land we viewed was Cape Bon on the coast of Tunis but the weather was thick and foggy. During the last pretty stiff breeze a melancholy incident occurred, a fine chestnut mare of Captain Maitland's which he bought from Jim Balfour was so ill from sea sickness that she at last grew violent and unmanageable, after having bruised herself very much about the head and legs she continued at night to get her fore feet over the manger and her hind legs slipped under it. Owing to her new violence and the motion of the ship (it was blowing hard) it took several hours to get her out of this unnatural position, and during that time she banged ~~her head~~ her head from side to side against the edge of the posts, with such force as to knock one eye out, injure the other seriously and bring blood from her nose and mouth and eventually completely to stun herself; at last she had to be hobbled and dragged out on deck, and after lying groaning in dreadful agony all night and part of yesterday, the armourer had to shoot her and she was thrown overboard. We expect to be in Malta this evening if the wind holds.

About 5 o'clock. Here we are at Malta such a wonderful place. We sail this evening for Scutari (opposite Constantinople). We are to form part of the Highland Brigade with the 42nd and 93rd under command of Sir Colin Campbell, the Duke of Cambridge commands the division.

Love to my Father, sisters and Brothers.

Ever your affectionate dutiful son
Frank Grant

76. To John Grant

Constantinople 27th May 1854

My dear Father,

Here we are in the most extraordinary place I ever saw, the wonderful and numerous variety of costumes, the curious narrow dirty and strong smelling streets or rather lanes for two ordinary carriages could not pass in any of them, and the Eastern architecture all combine to make it picturesque beyond all description and from the harbour it is quite beautiful. We are encamped on the opposite coast at Scutari, the distance over the water is about a mile; there are 18000 British troops there, however one division of 6000 sails today to Varna and we shall most likely follow them on Thursday or Friday and the last division during next week. We do not then exactly know what our movements may be but a Turkish Boy whom I met yesterday who had just arrived from Varna said the British were to form a line on the left of Shumla and the French from Varna to Shumla. 5000 Russians were blown up the other day by the explosion of a mine, and one of our ships the Tiger has been ~~blow~~ lost in the Black Sea and all the crew taken prisoners. There is no difficulty in getting baggage horses the whole country swarms with them, little well bred looking things most of them not much ~~better~~ bigger than Annies gray pony but up to great weight and with good powers of endurance, they are all shod with a round plate of iron with a hole of the size of half a crown in the middle of it, pack saddles and saddle bags are also to be had without difficulty. I left my card at the British embassy a splendid building, the old one is no longer in existence. Hitherto nothing can be more charming than our life. One meets no end of friends in the Guards and different regiments every day. I met Dupplin yesterday but he's quartered with the cavalry 6 or 8 miles from us.^[72] I am writing this in an hotel and have not much time so with love to my Mother, sisters, brothers etc

I remain

Your affectionate dutiful son

Frank

The situation of our camp is very beautiful it is bounded on the land side by those beautiful cypress groves filled with thousands of curious fantastic tombs and to the SW by a very fine background of mountains, opposite is Constantinople.

77. To John Grant

Camp Scutari 11th June 1854

My dear Father,

I sent a letter to Mary only yesterday but since it went our division has received orders to ship our horses tomorrow and embark and sail on Tuesday for Varna. Hurray! It is rumoured here that Lord ~~Loughborough~~ Russborough and another officer on the Staff I forget his name at Varna have been taken prisoner by the Cossacks when out riding at some distance from the camp but I cannot answer for the truth of the report. We are to go in the "Cambria" one of the Cunard North American line, the voyage is about 12 hours in a steamer. I intend to leave this letter with our agent in Constantinople to be sent on by the next mail and hope it will reach you eventually. My most affectionate love to my dear Mother. I hope she is not suffering still from her headaches. Many loves also to the girls and little chaps.

Believe me

My dear Father

Ever your affectionate dutiful son

Frank



Figure 24. Francis Augustus Grant, *The Guards and Highlanders received by Omar Pasha and Marshal St Arnaud, 6 July 1854*. (National Army Museum)

78. To Miss Lucy Grant

Camp Aladeen 10th July 1854

My own dear little Lucy,

It is your turn to hear from me now although you have been such a lazy little woman as never to have written to me since I left home but never mind I forgive you with all my heart. I am going to send my sketches to the Illustrated London News and if the editor thinks them worth engraving I have told him to do 40 and send them to Kilgraston when he has done with them, if not he is to send them direct. I am in hopes of turning an honest penny by this means.

13th We heard yesterday of the death of several British officers in action. Captain Burke, Engineers, an officer of the 75th and an E I Company officer were shot in a sharp engagement at Rustchuk in which it is said 800 Turks were also killed, and that the result of the engagement is still doubtful. Captain Hyde Parker RN was also killed in an attack on a Russian fort at the mouth of the Danube, his body and that of Captain Burke have been brought to Varma and are to be buried in England. You must not in general place implicit reliance on the news I give you as for we only get our news by flying reports and have no official means of hearing but this last I believe is quite true. We expect in a few days to advance to Shumla and Rustchuk and then to winter in Bucharest, but as the fleet is ordered into Varna to take six months provisions on board some people think we shall go to Sebastopol; another story is that we are to come home this Autumn but that is extremely improbable I should say. Whether it is owing to the heat or to our not being able to entertain each other I do not know but somehow I see very little if any body out of my own regiment, the Guards are encamped alongside us but I hardly ever come across any of my acquaintances in them, now and then I meet one but not often. Lord Cardigan has returned from his expedition and brought a whole lot (80 I heard) of his horses back with sore backs which shows that our light cavalry are not in a very effective condition for hard marching, indeed it is a known fact they ride heavier than the heavy dragoons. English horses do not in general thrive very well in this country, living entirely in the open air exposed to the horrendous storms of thunder, rain and hail which we have now and then as well as the burning sun by day and heavy dews by night does a good deal towards knocking them up; and yet a heavy man can hardly get on with nothing but one of the small ponies of the country to

ride. We have as yet had no serious illness amongst us which is a great blessing. No man ought to complain who retains his health; but bad feeding, hard drilling and hot weather with little or no prospect of service is a little tiresome, however I like the life very well and only wish we did not stay so long inactive in one place. My love to my Father, Mother, Mary, Annie, all the young ones and Nutty and

Believe me to remain
Ever your affectionate & loving Brother
Frank

79. To Lady Lucy Grant

Highland Camp, Gevrekler 30th July 1854

My own dear Mother,

I have received a nice letter from you and ~~two~~ from my Father, Mary and Lucy the three latter from Joss also some newspapers for which many thanks, they are always an acceptable gift. I am writing with my hand in a bandage and have been a complete cripple ever since yesterday week, both hands, my left arm and foot were seized with violent inflammation and swelling and I have passed a miserable week of sleepless nights and acute pain, the whole thing began from some small blisters on my hands and two scratches on my foot combined with a bad state of blood and hot weather. I am getting better now however and in about a week expect to be on new legs again. This will account for my not having written for two mails. Our present encampment is on a high table land about 5 miles from Aladeen, the situation ought to be healthy and the poor Colonel who has had a severe attack of fever and ague already finds the change for the better. I was conveyed here in a country waggon or araba as it is called drawn by oxen and lying in hay, not an uncomfortable carriage. There is a rumour that we are going to the Crimea this week but I neither believe it or wish to do so, as I cannot be well by that time. I suspect we shall see no fighting this year as the rainy season will soon be set in, indeed we have already had a good many duckings for when it does rain here, it pours with a vengeance. I am glad to you send Alan to Bowes where he will have plenty of kind friends to look after him and hope that he will benefit by it in health. Our brigade keeps its health very well, there has not been one death amongst us, nine or ten of the guards died in a very short time at Aladeen but they are so

fond of good living (wine, fruit) etc that it is easily accounted for, our fellows try being [*illegible word*] they luckily cannot afford such luxuries, many officers of ours have however been ill. Love to my Father, all the girls and boys and Nutty.

Your affectionate dutiful Son
Frank

August 1st We have this day received the melancholy news of Colonel Maule's (our old Colonel) death from cholera, he was seized the day previous. August 2nd the poor Colonel is to be buried this afternoon at 5½ o'clock: all of our officers who can will attend. Rollo with some others has returned from a trip to Silistria of which I can say you will hear the account from Mr R. Tear.^[73] Jim Ferguson is very far from well.

Your affectionate dutiful Son
Frank

80. To Lady Lucy Grant

[this letter – the first page of which is missing – was sent to his mother probably from the camp at Gevrekler, where the Highland Brigade remained until mid August 1854]

beards, altogether make a perfect feast for ones eyes, and then the veiled women and sometimes not so thickly veiled ~~to~~ as to hide an indistinct view of a beautiful face and I think that their fine eyes are somewhat enhanced by the mystery [*sic*] which envelopes the rest of the features. I must admit however that their mode of walking is any thing but graceful owing to the unshapely yellow boots they wear. The Greek women are also beautiful and not veiled. By the latest news here the ~~Russians~~ the Russians have been repulsed from Silistria with great loss. There is also a rumour that Sebastopol has been bombarded but all our news here depend on rumour, indeed we know less of what goes on in the seat of war than you do in England. The Turks are beginning to like us very much because we spend so much money among them, besides which they and still more the Greeks look upon us as fair game and cheat us awfully and owing to our ignorance of their language we are very much in their hands. If the Turks were properly officered they could form a splendid army. One of their greatest merits is the extreme cleanliness of their persons, this is owing in a great degree to their religion



Figure 25. A L Mansell. *Varna from Kafirlu*, 1854. The encampments around the town of Varna and Lake Devna are visible in the middle distance and to the right of this print. (Royal Collections Trust)

which compels them to wash often. The Sultan reviewed our army the other day but I was on picquet. I did not see him: he is a poor pale sickly man, ~~ruined by dissipation~~. We drill early every morning and in the evening jump on our little pack horses and often have a sky across country after the wild dogs which roam all over the country and howl dismally through the camp at night. We sometimes kill them with our swords as we are no longer allowed to use our pistols for the purpose, owing to some officer having sent a bullet through a guard tent within a foot of a man's head. These dogs are cowardly brutes and have learnt to be so frightened of the red coats that there is no getting near them now. I saw Balgonie a day or two ago he is quite well. His is a very pleasant life but we all wish to give up this idling and get to our work as soon as we can. I think the Russians will run away from us and shew no fight. The Turks are anxious to finish it without our assistance and I begin to think they can do it. They are strong in love of home and religion and are fighting for existence, and will dispute every inch of ground. Love to my Father, sisters and brothers and dear old Nutty and

Believe me
My dearest Mother
Your most affectionate and dutiful son
Frank

81. To John Grant

Gevrekler 8th August 1854

My dear Father,

I have received 2 letters and several papers from my Mother for which many thanks, nothing is so acceptable, but I am rather astonished to see in the "Times" a very fine account of the so called Anglo French army on the Danube, of which not one word is true. The Light Division is not above 12 or 14 miles from us at this moment and only 4 miles from Varna, its previous place of encampment and none of the French have been further than their present position around and in the neighbourhood of Varna. I am glad to catch the almighty "Times" in such a gross misstatement, in order that you may not place too much confidence in a blackguard article which I hear has been written about our march from Varna to Aladeen, at which I am pretty sure the "Times" reporter was not present as he lives with the Light Division;^[74] the "Morning Herald" lives with us. I can answer for my own regiment that that [*sic*] only six or seven men fell out on the whole line of march. It certainly was badly conducted in one way namely that the heads of columns were not halted after passing defiles so that the companies or regiments in rear had to double sometimes for a mile or more to make up their distance, but this evil would soon have corrected itself if we had had to march more than one day consecutively. I have not seen the article yet however. Poor Jim Ferguson has been so ill that ~~that~~ the doctors would not answer for his life if he remained here longer so he has been obliged to go to Malta, we are all very sorry to lose him.^[75] I however have so far profited by it as to get his tent to myself which is a grand thing in stead of being doubled up with another subaltern. I am still on my back in a helpless condition the sores are less inflamed but not sufficiently to allow them to close and sometimes give me great pain. I am glad to say Elliot is rather better the last two days. Poor Maule's death was a sad blow to all this regiment. 1200 men from our division are employed daily in making fascines and gabions,^[76] but whether they are for Sebastopol or elsewhere we do not know. Rollo has been very kind to me since I have been ill, he comes to see me nearly every day, and has a long chat about Perthshire. George Grant also visits me, and my own brother officers are all most kind and attentive, so I have nothing to complain of on that score. The Grenadier Guards has been most unfortunate with regard to cholera they have lost a great many men. The disease has shown itself but slightly in the Coldstream and Fusiliers and in the Highland Brigade hardly at all;

with us the officers have suffered much more than the men, I do not know why unless it is owing to the change from good living at home to the poor stuff we get here, the heavy dews at night soaking through the tents contribute their quantum doubtless; the men feel them less being 16 in a tent. The cholera has been much more severely felt among the French than with us owing to their dirty habits, leaving offal etc unburied in the fields all around their encampments. Tell my Mother I am so much obliged for the [?]Janus] Heads she sent me. Horace Vernet the great French painter has joined or is about to join the French troops out here the same who painted the magnificent pictures in Versailles which Lucy will remember. I sent some sketches of mine to the "Illustrated News" during the latter part of June, I have heard nothing of them since and hope they arrived safe. I wish you would write to the Editor and ask him to send them by post to you when he has done with them, or at once if they are not worth engraving, for I should not like to lose them, perhaps he may do so before this reaches you however, as I begged him in my note from Aladeen. Pray congratulate Annie on her success with the salmon in the Lyon. I am very glad to hear you are going to have some shooting on the 12th and will think of you on that day and wish you success and that I was with you.

August 8th It is now supposed that we go on or about the 12th to Kostendje or somewhere on that coast by sea with a view of entering the principalities. Love to my Mother, sisters, brothers, old Nutty and all.

Your affectionate dutiful Son
Frank

82. To Miss Lucy Grant

Camp Galata 27th August 1854

My own little Lucy,

I have just had two such nice letters from my Mother and dear old Annie, the latter's was expressed so like her own self that I almost thought she was in my tent and regularly laughed with pleasure as I sat squat legged reading it; give the old girl my affectionate love. I am so much obliged to my Mother for the "Athenaeum" and should like to see one oftener there is more reading in it than in an ordinary newspaper though I like to get them too, please tell her also that I have seen Robert Davidson who is quite well,

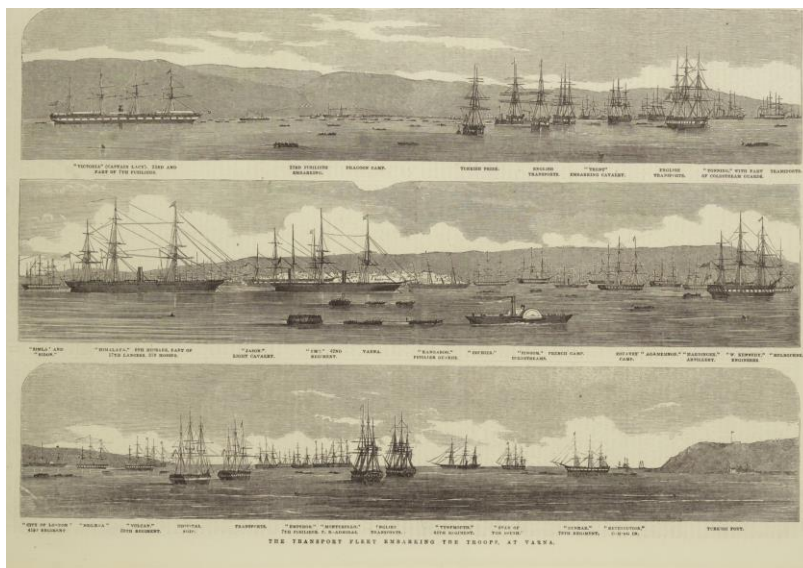


Figure 26. A depiction of the British transport fleet embarking the troops at the port of Varna. The ship that carried Grant and the rest of the 79th Regiment, *Dunbar*, can be seen in the bottom panel. From the *Illustrated London News*, 30 September 1854. (Cengage)

he is a good lad and a smart soldier and was glad to hear of his wife and says he writes to her every mail. A young Farquharson of Invercauld^[77] paid me a visit the other day he is a “Mid” on board the *Agamemnon*, a fine red faced chubby little fellow, and if the climate has been hard on many it is evident he is not one of the sufferers. I never saw a more jolly looking chap. There is no doubt we are on the eve of going somewhere, the Crimea we suppose, but know nothing but I should not wonder if the “*Times*” had already given a description of the siege of Sebastopol, a list of the killed and wounded etc as it announced that we were actually engaged there 3 weeks ago. The *Times* makes more mistakes than any body and these letters from the seat of war as they are called are full of lies, they are written by a Mr Russell who gets £2000 a year for it, the *Morning Herald* man Mr Woods is I believe just as bad,^[78] but I do not often see his paper. The account some time ago from Varna about a wild boar being killed by the Light Division, and some roe by the second, are pure inventions with no foundation, a few hares, quail and doves are the only game that have been killed.

28th Tell my Father he is quite welcome to give my chest of drawers and bed to Alan, only Nutty must look after their contents for me and like a good old woman she must write to me as she proposed. Give my love to

Alan and every wish for his success if you get this before he sails which I think you will. The cholera has quite left the Highland Brigade, indeed we have been very fortunate, the whole Brigade has not lost more than between 40 and 50 men, the Guards must have lost 3 times that number. I attribute it to the kilt in a great measure because there is so much stuff round the loins, for I doubt if any brigade in our army has suffered less, the 42nd and we have only lost about 10 men each, the 93rd about 35, but they are a slovenly regiment and though fine men, dirty and steady old drunkards, but take care not to abuse them to people who have friends or relations in them. Our force for the Crimea will amount to 22,000 men I imagine, the French are to supply 27,000, and about 20,000 Turks will complete the whole expedition, the force in and around Sebastopol is very strong and every bit of high ground is fortified, so I am inclined to think we shall pursue General Macintosh's plan and first take possession of one of the necks connecting the Crimea with the mainland, but this of course is mere conjecture as the big wigs very properly keep all secret. It is so cold today I can hardly hold my pen yesterday it was overwhelmingly hot, but this is characteristic of August in this country. It is said we may expect two months of tolerable weather in the Crimea yet, and then a rainy season and a severe winter. I am very nearly sound now and hobble about with tolerable care this, is the 6th week of it.

There are really no news so this must be a stupid letter, even rumour is at rest, but there will be plenty to talk of before long without doubt. I am so glad to hear your voice is in such flourishing condition and long to hear it again. Love to my Father, Mother, Grandmother, Mary, Annie, all the rest of them and Nutty.

Your affectionate loving brother
Frank

On looking over a letter I had from you a long time ago I see Lady Menzies sends me her love do give her some very affectionate message from me. I am quite ashamed of not having answered it before, and overcome by such a kind message I don't know how I could have forgotten it, and remember me very kindly to Bob. Our Brigadier Sir Colin Campbell has just told Captain Hunt of ours that we are to embark in a few days. A ship is taken up for us, one for the 42nd and two (small ones I suppose) for the 93rd. Rollo is well. Kind regards to Mrs Rollo from me.

F.A.G.

83. To Lady Lucy Grant

[*The following is written in the hand of Francis Grant's sister, Lucy*]

Copy of letter written from
Crimea, near the River Alma
Sep. 21 1854

“My beloved Mother,

We fought a general engagement yesterday and crossed the river in the face of the enemy, then carried his position at the point of the Bayonet. We, the 79th have escaped almost miraculously – we mounted a steep hill in the face of a redoubt which was pouring round shot, musketry and shells upon us – they almost all struck short of us and ricoche'd over our heads. We had only 2 men killed and 8 wounded. Not so the rest of our force however – the Fusilier Guards lost about 200 men and 11 officers (killed and wounded, I mean) – the 23rd 8 officers killed – Harry Anstruther among them, the 19th have lost nearly half their men. The Highland Brigade about 140 killed and wounded – Young Abercromby – 93rd – killed. I should say 2000 of the enemy are lying dead around us, the whole country is strewn with them. Balgonie and Hay Drummond are well. I hope and think this horrible war will be over in a few days – God knows I have seen enough of it – Love to my Father and all – Mary, Annie and Lucy.

Ever since we came to the Crimea we have bivouacked so I have only these pages of a little drawing book to write on. We carry our packs like the men and precious hard work it is. The advance in line of the Highland Brigade was said to be very fine – they were on the extreme left of the British line – the Guards on the right – when we got to the top of the hill we poured a most murderous fire on the retreating enemy, covering the whole country with the dead and wounded, for those who escaped were attacked on the left by the French. They say that the Russian general in command had his head blown off. The enemy's force was supposed to be between 25 and 30,000 and their position looked almost impregnable – our loss on the whole must be considerable, I fear – the whole action was fought on our side by small arms and the bayonets as the enemy were on such a height that our artillery could not be brought to bear upon them. I don't know if this will reach you but I should think they would send off despatches today.

Believe me my beloved Mother ever

Your affectionate and dutiful son
Frank

Love to my Father

(this letter was written in pencil on 2 small pages of his drawing book – the last he ever wrote.)



Figure 27. Unknown artist, *The 79th Cameron Highlanders at the Battle of the River Alma, 1854.*
(Highlanders Museum)



Figure 28. The memorial to the officers and men of the 79th (Cameron Highlanders) Regiment of Foot who died during the Crimean campaign, Dean Cemetery, Edinburgh. The inset shows the plaque bearing the names of Francis Augustus Grant and other officers. (Photographs by Fergus Veitch)

NOTES

- ¹ Tish was the name given to Margaret, the only child of John Grant's first marriage.
- ² The Collins family toured extensively in Britain at this time. Their concerts, which were reasonably priced and featured a selection of light classical music, attracted a wide audience.
- ³ *i.e.* the New Proprietary School, Blackheath.
- ⁴ Louis-Philippe, king of the French, landed at Portsmouth on 8 October on his way to visit Queen Victoria at Windsor.
- ⁵ The celebrated portrait painter, Francis Grant (1803-1878).
- ⁶ David Murray, son of the 3rd earl of Mansfield, was the husband of Francis Augustus Grant's half-sister Margaret.
- ⁷ Ibrahim Pasha was the son of the viceroy of Egypt.
- ⁸ Mary Hamilton Nisbet Ferguson (1778-1855), the first wife of the 7th earl of Elgin.
- ⁹ The spa at Marienbad, in the kingdom of Bohemia, was an increasingly popular resort for those seeking a health cure. Its mineral water was thought to be especially efficacious for rheumatism and digestive disorders.
- ¹⁰ Dr Henry Lovell was the director of The English Institution in Mannheim. According to its advert, it provided 'for the education of a limited number of youths who, steadily pursuing the classical, mathematical, and other studies preparatory to the universities, the military colleges, etc. acquire also a rapid and thorough knowledge of the French and German languages'.

- ¹¹ Major-General Sir Guy Campbell (1786-1849) was the commander of the Athlone district in Ireland.
- ¹² Sir Edward Blakeney (1778-1868) was Commander-in-Chief, Ireland.
- ¹³ Muffitees was the name given both to a kind of mitten and to a kind of muff worn on the wrist for warmth.
- ¹⁴ Lieutenant-Colonel Lauderdale Maule (1807-1854) was the commander of the 79th (Cameron Highlanders) Regiment of Foot.
- ¹⁵ Robert Bruce (1813-1862), the brother of Lord Elgin. He served as the military secretary to Lord Elgin during the latter's term as Governor General of Canada.
- ¹⁶ *i.e.* aide-de-camp, a military officer acting as a confidential assistant to a senior officer.
- ¹⁷ Lord Elgin and his wife Mary, and his brother Robert and his wife Katherine.
- ¹⁸ Mark Ker (1817-1900) of the 20th (East Devonshire) Regiment of Foot was the son of the marquess of Lothian. Arthur Egerton (1829-1866) of the Grenadier Guards was the son of the earl of Ellesmere.
- ¹⁹ William Smith O'Brien (1803-1864) was an Irish nationalist MP who was convicted for his part in the Young Irelander Rebellion of 1848. His sentence of death was commuted to deportation to Van Diemen's Land.
- ²⁰ For Sir James Brooke (1803-1868), see the Introduction.
- ²¹ Sir Hew Dalrymple (1814-1887), lieutenant-colonel of the reserve battalion 71st (Highland) Regiment of Foot.
- ²² *i.e.* Lord Elgin.
- ²³ The Secretary of State for War's administrative departments were based at Horse Guards, London.

- ²⁴ Addiscombe was the site of the East India Military Seminary, the purpose of which was to train officers for the Company's army in India.
- ²⁵ Major Edmund Elliot (1803-1854). As noted by Grant in a later letter, he succeeded to the command of the regiment in 1852.
- ²⁶ Hugh Gough (1779-1869) was Commander-in-Chief, India. He was criticised at this time for his tactics in the Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-1849).
- ²⁷ Gough was replaced as Commander-in-Chief, India, by Sir Charles Napier (1782-1853) in May 1849.
- ²⁸ Thomas Hopkirk ran a military academy for young gentlemen at Cliefden House, Eltham.
- ²⁹ 'do you know'.
- ³⁰ Sir Allan Macnab (1798-1862) was the member for Hamilton in the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada.
- ³¹ Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine (1807-1864) was the joint premier of the Province of Canada.
- ³² Major-General Sir Charles Gore (1793-1869) was general officer commanding Canada's Eastern District at Montreal.
- ³³ James Hope (1808-1875). He had recently won distinction commanding the 9th Lancers in the Second Anglo-Sikh War.
- ³⁴ Victor Bruce had been born on 16 May 1849.
- ³⁵ The Perth line of the Edinburgh and Northern Railway (renamed in April 1849 the Edinburgh, Perth and Dundee Railway) ran through the Kilgraston estate. John Grant would have received payment for allowing it to do so.
- ³⁶ Donegana's Hotel was the largest, and most luxurious, hotel in Canada. The building had been the vice-regal residence of the Governors General of Canada between 1837 and 1843 and then a school, before

being bought and enlarged by the hotelier Jean-Marie Donegana in 1845.

³⁷ Grant is probably referring to the British victory in the Second Anglo-Sikh War, which had resulted in the annexation of the Punjab.

³⁸ William Cayley (1807-1890) was a lawyer and politician who represented Huron in the Legislative Assembly. Along with Sir Allan Macnab (see note 30), he travelled to London in 1849-1850 to lobby against the policies of Lord Elgin.

³⁹ Robert Baldwin (1804-1858) and Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine (1807-1864) were leading reformers and joint premiers of the Province of Canada.

⁴⁰ The image of the Roman general and statesman Gaius Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage after fleeing his enemies in Rome was popular at this time in both art and poetry. It was seen as particularly poignant as Carthage was the site of a notable military victory for the Romans, much as Bannockburn was for an earlier Bruce. The eggs mentioned in the allusion recorded by Grant probably refers to an earlier episode in Marius' life when he found an eagle's nest with seven chicks, said to be an omen of the seven times he would be elected consul of Rome.

⁴¹ Lady Alice Lambton (1831-1907) was the sister of Lord Elgin's wife, Mary.

⁴² Pollok House, near Glasgow, was the residence of Sir John Maxwell (1791-1865), who had married Francis Augustus Grant's aunt Matilda in 1839.

⁴³ Thomas Macaulay's five-volume *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second* had been published in 1848.

⁴⁴ John Wilson, born in Edinburgh in 1800, was a noted exponent of Scottish song both at home and in north America. He died of cholera in Montreal six days after Grant wrote this letter.

⁴⁵ Thomas Macaulay's *Critical and Historical Essays: contributed to the Edinburgh Review* (1843).

- ⁴⁶ Colonel Étienne-Paschal Taché (1795–1865) was deputy adjutant-general of the militia for Canada East.
- ⁴⁷ Broomhall (Fife) is the family seat of the earls of Elgin. Thomas Bruce (1825–1890) was the youngest son of the 7th earl.
- ⁴⁸ On 27 July, the SS *Europa* collided with and sank the emigrant ship *Charles Bartlett*, with the loss of over eighty lives.
- ⁴⁹ For the annexation movement, see the Introduction.
- ⁵⁰ In November 1849, a force of Anishinaabeg and Métis warriors forced the Quebec and Lake Superior Mining Association to stop operating at Pointe aux Mines, Mica Bay, Lake Superior. Men from the Rifle Brigade arrived at Sault Ste Marie, which was 60 miles to the north west of the mines, on 2 December.
- ⁵¹ Captain Donald Martin Macleod, a retired army officer, emigrated from Scotland in the 1840s. He purchased 600 acres of land in Richmond Hill, Ontario, and named his new estate and house Drynoch after his home in Skye.
- ⁵² Queen Victoria paid an official visit to Glasgow on 14 August 1849. She arrived by steam yacht at the Broomielaw and departed the same day by train to Perth. Before travelling on to Balmoral, the royal party broke their journey at the George Inn in Perth, which had been renamed the Royal George Hotel following the queen's stay there the previous year.
- ⁵³ On 7 May 1850, the steamboats *Commerce* and *Despatch* collided near Port Maitland on the Canadian side of Lake Erie. The *Commerce*, which was carrying 150 men of the Royal Welch Fusiliers, sank with the loss of thirty-eight lives.
- ⁵⁴ Major James Ferguson of the 79th Regiment. He is the Jim Ferguson mentioned later in the correspondence.
- ⁵⁵ William Rollo (1809–1852), 9th lord of Duncrub.
- ⁵⁶ Moncrieff Skene (1827–1866), laird of Pitlour and of Hallyards.

- ⁵⁷ Sir Henry Bulwer (1801–1872) was the British ambassador to the United States of America.
- ⁵⁸ Alexander Tytler's *Elements of General History, Ancient and Modern* was first published in 1801 and went through a number of editions thereafter.
- ⁵⁹ *Antonina, or The Fall of Rome* had been published a year earlier (1850).
- ⁶⁰ Frederick Bruce (1814–1867), the brother of Lord Elgin, was a British diplomat currently serving in South America.
- ⁶¹ Bloxholm was the English residence of Francis Augustus Grant's aunt, Lady Mary Bruce, and her husband Robert Dundas Christopher.
- ⁶² Dumphail (more usually Dunphail) was the residence of Charles Lennox Cumming-Bruce (1790–1875), MP for Elginshire and Nairnshire, and his wife Mary Bruce (d. 1874).
- ⁶³ Castle Grant was the residence of John Charles Ogilvy-Grant (1815–1881), 7th earl of Seafield and 26th chief of the Clan Grant.
- ⁶⁴ Biel House, East Lothian, was the residence of Mary Hamilton Nisbet Ferguson (see note 8).
- ⁶⁵ Altyre House, Moray, was the residence of Sir William Gordon-Cumming (1787–1854).
- ⁶⁶ This was Roualeyn Gordon-Cumming (1820–1866), the laird of Altyre's second son. He had spent a number of years hunting big game in South Africa. A book recalling his adventures was immensely popular and after displaying his hunting trophies at the Great Exhibition of 1851, he went on a lecture tour under the soubriquet 'the Lion Hunter'. He was noted for his flamboyant dress and great height and physical strength. (With thanks to Robert Hay for the information).
- ⁶⁷ The estate of Meikle Scatwell had been bought in 1849 by Captain John Douglas (d. 1852).

- ⁶⁸ *i.e.* Sir James Brooke.
- ⁶⁹ The state funeral of the duke of Wellington took place in London on 18 November 1852.
- ⁷⁰ Enos, now known as Enez, is in the western (European) part of Turkey.
- ⁷¹ Harriet Rollo (1824–1910), the wife of Robert Rollo (1814–1907), son of the 8th laird of Duncrub (see endnote 73).
- ⁷² This was perhaps Captain Robert Hay-Drummond of the Coldstream Guards, son of the earl of Kinnoull. He died in 1855 of wounds received at Sevastopol.
- ⁷³ Major Robert Rollo of the 42nd (Royal Highland) Regiment of Foot.
- ⁷⁴ William Howard Russell (1820–1907) was employed by the *Times* to send reports from the Crimean War. See the Introduction for more detail.
- ⁷⁵ For the fate of James Ferguson, see the Introduction.
- ⁷⁶ Gabions were cylindrical cages, open at both ends, which were filled with earth and used to provide protection for siege artillery. They were traditionally made from wicker, although scrap metal was also used when there was a shortage of wood. Fascines were bundles of brushwood or other material used to shore up and strengthen earthen structures such as trenches and artillery batteries.
- ⁷⁷ Robert Farquharson (1840–1867). Francis Augustus Grant had a connection to the Farquharsons of Invercauld through his uncle Francis Grant, whose first marriage had been to the daughter of Catherine Farquharson of Invercauld.
- ⁷⁸ Nicholas Woods was employed by the *Morning Herald* to send reports from the Crimean War.

FURTHER READING

The original letters are held by Library Archives Canada, Ottawa: Francis Augustus Grant Collection, MG 24 A 53. They have been digitised and can be viewed on the Canadiana Héritage website: <http://heritage.canadiana.ca/>.

The Canadian Encyclopedia (<https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/>) contains entries on individuals (such as Lord Elgin) and topics (such as the Rebellion Losses Bill) mentioned in the letters, as well as broader historical surveys. For further information about Elgin, Lafontaine and other individuals, see *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (<http://www.biographi.ca>). Readers interested in exploring a particular topic further should refer to the bibliography accompanying the relevant entry.

There is an extensive and varied literature on the Crimean War. General histories include: Baumgart, W. *The Crimean War, 1853–1856*, 2nd edn, London, 2020; Figes, O. *The Crimean War. A History*, London, 2012; and Royle, T. *Crimea: the Great Crimean War, 1854–1856*, London, 1991. Dawson, A. *The Siege of Sevastopol: the War in the Crimea told through Newspaper Reports, Official Documents and the Accounts of those who were there*, Barnsley, 2017, includes extracts from letters that can be compared with Grant's. See also *The Story of the Highland Brigade in the Crimea*, London, 1895, which contains the letters written by Anthony Sterling when he was serving in the Crimea as part of the Highland Brigade.

Holmes, R. *Redcoats: the British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket*, London, 2002, presents an overview of life in the British Army from c.1760 to c.1860 based largely on soldiers' diaries and letters. For the British military presence in Canada, see Hitsman, J M. *Safeguarding Canada, 1763–1871*, Toronto, 1968; Senior, E K. *British Regulars in Montreal: an Imperial Garrison 1832–54*, Montreal, 1981; and Stacey, C P. *Canada and the British Army 1846–1871*, Toronto, 1963. For Grant's regiment, see: *Historical Record of the Seventy-ninth Regiment of Foot, or Cameron Highlanders*, Edinburgh, 1863, which was compiled by Robert Jameson, who served with Grant in the Crimea; Groves, P. *A History of the 79th Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders, now the First Battalion Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders*, Edinburgh, 1893; and Fairrie, A. *Queen's Own Highlanders (Seaforth's and Camerons): an Illustrated History*, Inverness, 1998.

A contemporary description of Kilgraston can be found in volume 10 of the *Second (New) Statistical Account of Scotland*, in the entry for the parish of Dunbarny. The same series also contains descriptions of many of the places visited by Grant during his tour of northern Scotland, as does *The Topographical and Statistical, and Historical Gazetteer of Scotland*, 2 vols, Glasgow, 1842. The pedigree of the Grants of Kilgraston was set down in Fraser, W. *The Chiefs of Grant*, Edinburgh, 1883.

For other relevant works, see the notes to the Introduction.

IMAGE CREDITS

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Fig. 20 Walter Daniell, *Dunvegan Castle*, 1819. 1872,1012.3169.

CENGAGE

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Fig. 10 The burning of the parliament building in Montreal. *Illustrated London News*, 19 May 1849.

Fig. 11 Donegana's Hotel, Montreal. *Illustrated London News*, 8 September 1849.

Fig. 26 The British transport fleet embarking the troops at the port of Varna. *Illustrated London News*, 30 September 1854.

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Fig. 5 Jose Maria Escacena y Dazam, 79th *Highlanders in Gibraltar*, 1841. 78-1.

Fig. 23 Alfred Frank de Prades, *Camp of Exercise at Chobham (79th Camp)*. 89-10-7.

Fig. 27 Unknown artist, *The 79th Cameron Highlanders at the Battle of the River Alma, 1854*. R-90.

HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT SCOTLAND

<https://canmore.org.uk/>

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Fig. 1 Engraving of Kilgraston House. Drawn by J. P. Neale. Engraved by W. Faithorn, c.1830. DP 096399.

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Fig. 2 A sketch by Francis Augustus Grant of a private and an officer of the 79th Regiment of Foot. MG 24 A 53 9b.

Fig. 3 A sketch by Francis Augustus Grant showing how he got stuck in a boggy ditch while out shooting snipe, December 1847. MG 24 A 23b, 8b.

Fig. 4 Mary Bruce, *Quebec, from near Pt. Levi*. R977-160-0-E.

Fig. 6 After John Murray, *Southwest view, Notre-Dame street, Montreal*, 1850. A310-01.

Fig. 7 A portrait photograph of the earl and countess of Elgin, her sister Lady Alice Lambton and Lord Mark Kerr, 1848. R977-3-6-E.

Fig. 8 A sketch by Francis Augustus Grant depicting a scene from his hunting trip in Spring 1849. MG 24 A 23b.

Fig. 9 A sketch by Francis Augustus Grant depicting a scene from his hunting trip in Spring 1849. MG 24 A 23c.

Fig. 12 Mary Bruce, *St Helen's Island, opposite Montreal*, 1838. R977-79-0-E.

Fig. 13 Mary Bruce, *Monklands*, 1847. R977-128-4-E.

Fig. 14 A sketch by Francis Augustus Grant of the falls of Niagara, 22 October 1849. MG 24 A 53 36.

Fig. 15 James Duncan, *Tobogganing near Montreal*, c.1850. A063-01.

Fig. 16 A sketch by Francis Augustus Grant of a sleigh in the snow, 25 December 1850. MG 24 A 53 53a.

Fig. 21 A sketch by Francis Augustus Grant of a First Nations encampment in Upper Canada, 25 September 1852. 24 A 53 74b.

Fig. 22 A sketch by Francis Augustus Grant of the three types of vehicle commonly used during winter in Quebec. MG 24 A 53 76a.

NATIONAL ARMY MUSEUM

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Fig. 24 Francis Augustus Grant, *The Guards and Highlanders received by Omar Pasha and Marshal St Arnaud, 6 July 1854*. NAM.1964-04-19-12.

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Fig. 25 A L Mansell, *Varna from Kafirlu*, 1854. RCIN 750989.

TORONTO CULTURE, MUSEUMS AND HERITAGE SERVICES

<https://www.toronto.ca/explore-enjoy/history-art-culture/museums>

The image is © Toronto City.

Fig. 18 *Third Parliament Buildings of Upper Canada*, 1834. 1978.41.30.

SOURCES IN LOCAL HISTORY

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The *Sources in Local History* series was established by the EERC in 1994. Its aim is to provide edited transcriptions of diaries, letters and other personal documents that can be used to study everyday life in Scotland over the past three centuries. Six volumes were published between 1994 and 1997, making available a range of original sources, from the diary of an eighteenth-century Orkney farmer to that of a nineteenth-century Dundee millwright. The series was re-launched in 2015 as a free-to-access digital resource and forms part of the EERC's Regional Ethnology of Scotland Project.

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