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CANADIANA.

A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

VOL. I.

NOVEMBER, 1889.

No. 11.

THE DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE.

By MR. GEORGE MURRAY.

In the *Montreal Star* of March 24, 1888, I published a long note under the foregoing heading. Since that time I have received many letters on the subject, and several requests to republish the article, with any additional information that I may since have obtained. In obedience to the desire of the Editor of *Canadiana*, I now send him the original note, and have appended to it an extract from the *London Notes and Queries* of February 5, 1851, that, to me at least, appears full of interest.

In March, 1888, I wrote as follows:—"A letter dated Louisburg, Nov. 17, 1759, from Henry Browne to his father, John Browne, M.P. for Castlebar, who subsequently became Earl of Altemonte, was lately printed (for the first time) in the *London Times*, and has been republished in many Canadian journals. In it we read: "I gave you, dear father, as distinct an account as I could of our action of the 13th September, and of the taking of the town of Quebec. I must add a little to it by informing you that I was the person who carry'd General Wolf off the field, and that he was wounded as he stood within a foot of me. * * * * * The General did our company the honor to head us in person,

as he said he knew he could depend upon our behaviour, and I think we fully answered his expectations, etc. * * *

The poor General after I had his wounds dressed died in my arms. Before he died he thanked me for my care of him, and asked me whether we had totally defeated the enemy. Upon my assuring him that we had killed numbers, taken a number of officers and men prisoners, he thanked God and begged that I would let him die in peace. He expired in a minute afterwards, without the least struggle or groan."

If we believe, and there seems no reason to doubt, this plain account, it is a pity that it was not published long ago. More than a century and a quarter has elapsed since the death of Wolfe, and it has hitherto been an undecided question as to who was with him when he died. In *Notes and Queries* of May 24, 1856, I find the following: "It is stated that General Wolfe, after he received his death-wound, was carried off the field of battle by a grenadier of the 28th regiment, then known as 'Braggs.' On the other hand it is asserted that the man who supported the wounded general on this sad occasion was a grenadier belonging to the 58th regiment, then known as Robert Anstruthers. In West's picture at Hampton Court a grenadier is introduced; are his facings yellow or black? The former would assign him to the 28th regiment, 'The Slashers,' and the black facings would lead to the conclusion that he belonged to the 58th regiment, of Gibraltar fame. Is this circumstance mentioned in any life or memoirs of General Wolfe? The name of the soldier in question was James McDougal, and at p. 47 of Cannon's 'History of the 67th Regiment' he is styled 'the faithful Highland sergeant who attended him when dying.' Here, then, we have the names of four different men who are said to have carried the dying general off the field, and the accounts in various lives of Wolfe seem to differ materially. This shows with what difficulty history must be written. Lord Bolingbroke once charged Voltaire with having changed in his narrative the circumstances of

an event in the life of Charles XII, for the sake of effect: 'Confess,' he said, 'that it did not occur as you told it.' 'Confess,' replied Voltaire, 'that it is better as I have told it.' Sir Robert Walpole expressed in the strongest terms his want of faith in history. Having been asked, when he was unwell, what book he would like read to him, he answered: 'Anything but history, for history must be false.'

The following singular account of the circumstances that led to Wolfe's death may be found in Hone's "Table Book," p. 126, (1827), and, as I have not seen any reference made to it before, it may prove interesting to the readers of the *Star*. Hone writes: "It is related of this distinguished officer, that his death-wound was not received by the common chance of war. Wolfe saw one of the sergeants of his regiment strike a man under arms (an act against which he had given particular orders), and, knowing the man to be a good soldier, reprehended the aggressor with much warmth, and threatened to reduce him to the ranks. This so far incensed the sergeant that he deserted to the enemy, where he meditated the means of destroying the General. Being placed at the enemy's left wing, which was opposed to the right of the British line, where Wolfe commanded in person, he aimed at his old commander with his rifle, and effected his deadly purpose."

"Can any correspondent tell where this story 'is related,' as Hone says? Has any serious notice ever been taken of it, or has it been regarded as a mere fable unworthy of being examined? The truth of the tale is not impossible; and that is perhaps all that can be said of it. If the vindictive sergeant really shot his former commander, it is hardly probable that he would have acknowledged his crime except *in articulo mortis*, under the pressure of remorse. But the question is, how did such a narrative get into print? Hone gives us no clue to the origin of the tale."

This is all of my note in the *Star* that need be quoted on the present occasion. No correspondent, apparently,

was able to comply with my request, and point out the source from which Hone had derived his story; and though I had stated in a guarded manner that "the truth of the tale was not impossible" no one attempted either to confirm or refute it.

Several months after the publication of my note I was turning over the pages of an old volume of *Notes and Queries* (vol. 1. 1853), when an article entitled "General Wolfe" attracted my notice. The article is signed *H. G. D.* (Knightsbridge), and is written by one who evidently takes the deepest interest in everything connected with Wolfe. He refers to a portrait of Wolfe by Sir Joshua Reynolds—to some collections made by a Wm. Henry George towards a life of Wolfe, and to letters, still in existence, that were written by the General. At present I am concerned only with the death of Wolfe, and, therefore, merely print the account quoted by *H. G. D.* It involves the repetition of part of the extract from Hone's "Table Book" before cited, but as the wording is slightly different, the Editor and readers of *Canadiana* will doubtless pardon the iteration.

H. G. D. writes: "I copy the following interesting Note from the *London Chronicle*, August 19, 1788:—"It is a circumstance not generally known, but believed by the army which served under General Wolfe, that his death-wound was not received by the common chances of war, but given by a deserter from his own regiment. The circumstances are thus related:—The General perceived one of the sergeants of his regiment strike a man under arms, (an act against which he had given particular orders), and, knowing the man to be a good soldier, reprehended the aggressor with much warmth, and threatened to reduce him to the ranks. This so far incensed the sergeant, that he took the first opportunity of deserting to the enemy, where he meditated the means of destroying the General, which he effected by being placed in the enemy's left wing, which was directly opposite the right of the British line, where Wolfe com-

manded in person, and where he was marked out by the miscreant, who was provided with a rifle piece, and, unfortunately for this country, effected his purpose. After the defeat of the French army, the deserters were all removed to Crown Point, which, being afterwards suddenly invested and taken by the British army, the whole of the garrison fell into the hands of the captors; where the sergeant of whom we have been speaking was hanged for desertion; but, before the execution of his sentence, confessed the facts above recited." To this extract from the *London Chronicle*, quoted by H. G. D., the Editor of *Notes and Queries* appends the following foot-note: "The incident related has been preserved by Sir William Musgrave, in his *Biographical Adversaria*, (additional MSS. No. 5,723, British Museum), who has added the following note: "This account was had from a gentleman who heard the confession."

I may here be allowed to draw attention to what I formerly wrote in the *Star*: "If the vindictive sergeant really shot his former commander, it is hardly probable that he would have acknowledged his crime except *in articulo mortis*, under the pressure of remorse. But the question is, how did such a narrative get into print? Hone gives us no clue to the origin of the tale."

All this is now explained by the extract reprinted in *Canadians* from the *London Chronicle* of 1788.

THE QUEBEC SHIELDS.

Mr. J. M. LeMoine, F.R.S.C., &c., furnishes the following additional note upon the shields which were removed from the Gates of Quebec and taken to England in 1759:—

I have pleasure in forwarding a photo, just received from Lt. Philip Wolfe Murray, H.M.S. *Bellerophon*, now at Halifax, in connection with my note on the Hastings

French Shield of 1759, and explanatory of the same. "The original of this photograph hangs," says Lt. Murray, "in one of the rooms of the Royal Naval College Dockyard, Portsmouth, where I have often seen it." He adds: "On reading your communication, I see there can be no doubt that this is a different shield to the one you had a photo. of from Mr. J. O'Leary. His was taken in 1876, at Hastings, and I saw the one at Portsmouth first in 1877, and have no doubt it been there for many years. Besides, the two are altogether of different make. I am very glad to have been able to get this photograph from you, and thus add to the lore of Quebec."

The photograph which Mr. LeMoine has been good enough to send, shows the shield surrounded by a heavy moulding, almost square, except that the upper side is partly arched. The shield is surmounted by a crown, the band plain and six broad strips rising from it and meeting in a *fleur de Lis*. The fesse of the shield is an oval boss upon which are three *fleur de Lis*; the boss is surrounded by a collar and pendant, and around this again the order of the *Saint Esprit*, the whole set on a gracefully scrolled and decorated escutcheon. Beneath this is a very heavy and complicated sheath of arms, and flags laid horizontally, in the centre of which is a tablet surrounded by a scroll, the inscription being as follows:—

" THIS TROPHY
Was taken down from the Gates
OF QUEBEC,
When that place was conquered on the 18th of Sept., 1759,
BY THE PERSEVERANCE AND CONDUCT
OF VICE-ADMIRAL SAUNDERS
AND BRIGADIER-GENERAL WOLFE,
Seconded by the Bravery and Continued Ardour
OF THE FLEET AND ARMY,
Under their respective Commands.

Can any of our readers give any history of the shield which, no doubt, was on the remaining Gate of Quebec?

THE NAME QUEBEC.

Referring to the disastrous landslide in Quebec, the *Canadian Gazette* (London) has the following paragraph, which is reproduced with grateful acknowledgment of the flattering reference to *Canadiana* :—

“In speaking of this calamity, the *Daily Chronicle* reminds us that the very name of Quebec should have suggested to its easily impressed inhabitants the imprudence of building at the foot of the Citadel cliff, since it is derived from an Indian word signifying “beware of the rock!” Is the *Chronicle* quite sure of its ground here? There is, we fancy, some measure of doubt on the point, for not a few antiquarian inquirers tell us that the city derives its name from the compression of the great river St. Lawrence at this spot, the word “Quebec” signifying in the native Indian tongue, “the strait.” No doubt Mr. Wm. J. WHITE could throw some light on the point in the interesting collection of Canadian historical notes which he publishes monthly at Montreal under the name of *Canadiana*.”

“Beware of the rock!” is a refreshing novelty in this well-worn discussion. The following authorities are generally accepted :—

Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. iv., p. 114, Note 2. For the various theories regarding the origin of the name Quebec,—whether it is derived from a Norman title, as Hawkins maintained; or from an exclamation of the first beholders of the promontory “Quel-bec;” or from the Algonquin,—see Hawkins' *Picture of Quebec*; Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Histoire du Canada*; Ferland, *Histoire du Canada*; Garneau's *Canada*, 4th ed. i. 57; Bell's translation of Garneau's *Canada*, i. 85; Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*, i. 62; Shea's edition of *Charlevoix*, i. 260.

The fullest note is, probably that of the Abbé C. H. Laverdière, M.A., of Laval University, the Quebec 1870

edition of Champlain's works, p. 89, note (4). It may be translated as follows:—"This is the first time the name Quebec is met with as designating what Jacques Cartier called at one time Stadacona, at another—Canada. Each of these names, without contradicting or excluding one another, suggests a particular side of the picturesque scene which the site of Quebec presents.

Stadaconé was built in the *wing* (l'aile) formed by Cape Diamond; and according to Mgr. Laffèche, Stadaconé, in the *Cris* or Algonquin dialects means wing, although other linguists profess to find a Huron origin in this word (see *Hist. de la Colonie Française en Canada*, i, 532, note * * *). The word Canada, of which Cartier himself gives us the meaning: ("ils appellent une ville, *Canada*,") seems to have indicated the relative importance of Stadaconé, which was due to its advantageous position. And lastly, it is natural to suppose that the Indians, after the disappearance or removal of Stadaconé, could not find to designate the same place, any expression more suitable than Kébec or Québec, which means, as Champlain here remarks, *strait, narrows*, or even something more expressive, *it is stopped, (c'est bouché)*. It is, perhaps, this narrow passage compressed between two rugged banks which strikes the traveller most as he comes up the St. Lawrence which, up to this point, has been so wide and majestic. Moreover, the Indians of the lower part of the river, still use the same word *Kébec* to indicate a place where the water narrows or is shut in. It is unnecessary here to refute the opinions more or less ingenious which seek to find the origin of the name of Quebec in the exclamation of a Norman sailor, *quel bec!* that is, what a cape! or in the arms of a certain count or seigneur of Normandy. In reply to all these guesses there is always the convincing evidence of Champlain and Lescarbot, who assert that the word is Indian. (See Ferland I., 90, note 3.)"

DE LIANCOURT AND SIMCOE.

BY MR. JAMES BAIN, JR., TORONTO.

On the 20th of June, 1795, the Duc de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt crossed the Niagara river at Fort Erie, with the intention of extending his travels in North America, by a trip through Canada. The narrative of his journey appears in the second volume of the first edition of his "Travels through the United States of North America, the country of the Iroquois and Upper Canada," Paris, 1799, and in the first volumes of the English translation, two volumes 4to, London, 1799, and four volumes, 8vo, 1800.

The number of lines omitted in the English translation has always afforded room for surmise, as to the reasons which led the translator to delete them. The scandals spoken of in the suppressed passages are not such as would be made public by a gentleman at the present day, but they are not worse than many others in books issued from the press at the beginning of this century. The happy discovery of a letter written by General Simcoe, in answer to one from Phillips, the publisher, enquiring whether he would object to a complete and accurate translation, reveals the truth of what has been long suspected, that the suppressions were made in deference to the wishes of General Simcoe, and that it was by his express desire, that the report of his speech at the closing of the 5th session of the 1st Parliament of Upper Canada was printed as a supplement to the second volume of the 8vo. edition of 1800. Accompanying the letter is a review of the book in detail prepared under the instructions of General Simcoe, intended for publication, but which does not appear to have been printed.

It is easy to see from the Duke's Travels, that though a royalist and refugee from his native land, he was still a Frenchman, earnestly desirous of visiting his kindred on the St. Lawrence; so that in spite of the acknowledged kindness and hospitality of General Simcoe and the officers

with whom he came in contact, he was deeply mortified by Lord Dorchester's refusal to allow him to proceed further than Kingston, and betrays the suspicion that General Simcoe and others were cognizant of the import of Lord Dorchester's order before its arrival.

The consequence is that everything that tends to the disadvantage of Upper Canada and the British Government is eagerly seized upon, and comparisons are unfairly drawn between the older settled States of the Union and the newly established Province.

The whole tone of the books was therefore distasteful to General Simcoe and the U. E. Loyalists to a degree that we cannot realize now, when the rawness caused by rupture has healed.

The posthumous memoirs of which General Simcoe speaks were, we believe, never finished.

WOLFORD LODGE,

25th June, 1799.

"I feel myself highly obliged by your letter of the 19th of June, and the more so, as the press, since the commencement of the American war, has fashioned itself to the views and interests of those who have endeavoured to destroy the constitution of England.

"In respect to the subject of your letter, I do not see how it would be practicable to alter in the translation what the Duke de Liancourt has printed in his native language. The sheets before me are, I think, uniformly misstatements, and those on points (such as the Canada constitution) where he had the subject matter in print. I presume these errors not to be wilful. In respect to any part of my public conduct, that will be always ready to meet discussion where such discussion is useful to the public, but I trust our American enmity has ceased, and I know that, under God, I am the instrument that prevented the war between the two countries.

"If the Duke de Liancourt, on his return to Philadelphia, told the Americans that should a war commence, I said 'it must be a war of the purse,' and that instead of their attacking Niagara, 'I meant to attack Philadelphia,' his visit (and also that of many others) was of great temporary utility to the King's service. But where he could pick up the story of there being fifty thousand Indians (which no American could believe) or that they had all taken oaths to roast and scalp the Americans, which many Americans would swallow, I am at a loss to conceive.

"On the whole, let his book take its course in the world; if necessary I shall contradict it, if otherwise, still in process of time my posthumous memoirs may appear, and a niche may be reserved for this very ungenerous Frenchman.

"In the 240th page the Duke mentions my boasting. I detest the word, and trust it has never infected my conduct. I wish it could be altered to 'speaking' or any other word. I never burnt a house during the whole war, except founderies, gaols, and magazines; and in the Memoirs of the Queen's Rangers, a few copies of which I published, in one view to contradict such characters as La Fayette and Chastelleux, I expressly remarked, page 20, 'on the return, and about two miles from Haddonfield, Major Simcoe was observing to some officers a peculiar strong ground, when looking back he saw a house, that he had passed, in flames; it was too far gone for his endeavours to save it; he was exceedingly hurt at the circumstance, but neither threats of punishment nor offers of rewards could induce a discovery. This was the only instance of a disorder of this nature that ever happened under his command; and he afterwards knew it was not perpetrated by any of the Queen's Rangers.'

"So that you see, Sir, my proud boasting is of a different quality from what Monsieur Liancourt has apprehended; but most certainly, if American avarice, envy, or folly, had attempted to overrun Upper Canada, I should have defended myself by such measures as English Generals had been ac-

customed to, and not sought for the morality of war, in the suspicious data of the insidious economist; my humanity, I trust, is founded on the religion of my country, and not on the hypocritical professions of a puny Philosophy. That the Duke de Liancourt asserts my defensive plans were settled, and that I loudly professed my hatred to the United States, I conceive with the candid reader, will make all those shafts fall harmless, which through me he aims, as an honest Frenchman, at my country and its best interest, namely, an irrevocable union with the United States. Those sentiments of mine were called forth into public by the improper conduct of Mr. Randolph, the American Secretary of State, in 1794, and are printed in Debret's collection. I know they gave great satisfaction to the English Americans and as much umbrage to the Philosophists and Frenchmen.

"I will trouble you for a moment to say, that if you publish any papers as an appendix to your translation, you may not think it improper to include the speech I enclose, which has never been printed in England, and is illustrative of the objects I had in view, and may, by a note of reference, be easily connected with the view of them, as exhibited by Mons. Liancourt.

"His descriptions, it may be easily traced, originated from snatches and pieces of my conversation. Should this speech not enter into your plan, I will be obliged to you to return it to me.

"Does the Duke de Liancourt mention his companion Petit-Thouars? Perhaps your translator may not know that he was Captain of the *Tonant*, and killed in the battle with Lord Nelson;* if he does not, the anecdote may be agreeable to him.

"I am now to apologize for the trouble I give you in this hasty letter; receive it as a mark of my respect, as I would wish to stand well in the opinion of a man who, like you,

* Battle of the Nile, 1798.

has the wisdom to see that the character of the nation is interested in that of the individual; and that unspotted reputation is the most desirable acquisition for a military and civic servant of his King and country to secure and to enjoy.

"I observe, the translator says, p. 229, 'York designed to be the seat of Government,' and it is at present the seat of Government, but before I left England for America, I designed London, on the Thames, or La Tranche, as the seat of Government, and York as an arsenal. I did not, as Mons. Liancourt seems to suppose, act from circumstances, for I always expected Niagara to be given up, and I never thought its possession of importance."

Copy of a paper delivered to the Honorable Rufus King,
Minister of the United States.

LONDON, May, 1800.

"The Duke de Liancourt-Rochefoucault, in the recent publication of his travels through North America, speaks with much freedom of General Simcoe, then Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. It must evidently appear to any person who shall give the subject due consideration, that the conclusions which the Duke de Liancourt draws from his supposed communications with the Lieutenant-Governor (while living in his family), are at variance and inconsistent with themselves, yet, as a servant of his King and country, Major-General Simcoe deems it proper to say, that the principles which governed his conduct while in the administration of the Government of Upper Canada were the reverse of what is insinuated by the Duke de Liancourt, and that he was actuated by the most sincere intentions to preserve peace, good neighbourhood, and good will between the King's subjects and those of the United States; and he has ever been of opinion, in express contradiction to Mons. de Liancourt, that the most strict union between the two nations

is the real interest of each, and will mark the soundest policy and true wisdom in those who shall, respectively, govern their Councils. Major-General Simcoe is so conscious of having personally acted upon those principles, during his administration of that Government, that he has claimed from the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt protection and consideration, as having been the principal means of preventing hostilities with the United States, from the mode in which he executed the military orders he received in Upper Canada. In testimony of these premises, Major-General Simcoe begs leave, most respectfully, to offer this representation to the Honourable Rufus King, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to the King of Great Britain."

THE PROPHECY OF MAJ. ROBERT CARMICHAEL-SMYTH.

In volume 8 of the Pamphlets on Canada, in the Library of McGill College, is one with the following title page:—

“THE EMPLOYMENT
of the
PEOPLE AND CAPITAL OF GREAT BRITAIN
IN HER OWN COLONIES,
explained in
A LETTER
from
MAJOR ROBERT CARMICHAEL-SMYTH,
to his friend
The Author of “The Clockmaker,”
containing
THOUGHTS ON THE SUBJECT
of
A BRITISH COLONIAL
RAILWAY COMMUNICATION
between
THE ATLANTIC AND THE PACIFIC,
at the same time
ASSISTING EMIGRATION AND PENAL ARRANGEMENTS,
with a map by Wyld.
LONDON:
W. P. METCHIM,
20, Parliament Street.
1849.

The map at once attracts attention; it shows The World on Mercator's Projection, and the "lines of communication that would result from the carrying out of the suggested British Colonial Railway between the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean." When the red lines of proposed routes are examined, the involuntary tendency is to look for the familiar words "published by the Canadian Pacific Railway"; as not only are there steamer lines from Liverpool to Halifax, but, also from Victoria to the Sandwich Islands, to Japan, to China, to the Carolines, to New South Wales, and to New Zealand, while the overland route from Halifax to Victoria is about identical with the present Short Line. The Major writes throughout in a lively and hopeful strain of the great national work, which shall open the shortest road to the most extensive regions of wealth ever before at the command of any nation in the world, (not regions of gold, but for commerce and industry), so that at no future period, (within at least the imagination of man), will Great Britain have to complain either of too great a population for her soil, or too small a market for her labour. The text selected is more than justified by the event, and is this quotation from Dr. Lardner, 1840. "Let these, who discard speculations, like these, as wild and improbable, recur to the state of public opinion, at no very remote period, on the subject of Steam Navigation.

"Within the memory of persons not yet past the meridian of life, the possibility of traversing by steam engines, the channels and seas that surround and intersect these islands, was regarded as the dream of enthusiasts."

Major Carmichael-Smyth's attention appears to have been drawn to the subject, through meeting Messrs. Fairbanks, Howe and Haliburton (no insignificant names, as he remarks) on a voyage to England, where their mission was to wait upon the Colonial Minister—point out to him the necessity and importance of steam communication from the mother country to her children in the West, and plead the cause of Halifax. The whole pamphlet shews great research

and a surprising acquaintance with the facts and figures relating to Canada. It is now a rarity, and in every respect, of great interest.

Queries and Replies.

(1.) Who was writer of a pamphlet entitled, "An interesting account of the campaign of 1814, by a Musician of the Army." Printed for the author, 1815, 8 pp.?

The period covered is from July 2nd to August 24th, 1814, and it was issued without publisher's name or place of publisher.

(2.) Tiffany (of Newark) announces in the *Upper Canada Gazette* for 1794, the publication of the *Upper Canada Almanac* for 1795. Have any of your readers seen this or any of his Almanacs prior to 1802, a copy of which is in the Toronto Public Library?

(3.) In his M. S. diary for 1787, Major Mathews (53rd Regt.), Aide-de-Camp and Secretary to Lord Dorchester, writes:—"Signified to Lord Dorchester my feelings at being absent from my Regiment at a time when the complexion of affairs in the upper country were rather gloomy, and my regret at the necessity of relinquishing the honour of attending him. His Lordship received and approved of my proposal to join my Regiment in the handsomest manner, would not allow of its making any alteration in my situation with him, and said he had business at Detroit, &c., to charge me with, on which he would expect me to return and report to him in the fall, provided the situation of affairs above would permit it. I therefore prepared immediately to set off."

The entry for May 13th concludes:—"Got to Three Rivers at nine o'clock—while supper was getting ready, the Countess came in and bored us to death with the history of her husband."

Who was her husband?

PUBLIC LIBRARY,
Toronto, 15th October, 1889. }

J. B.