

THE SCOTS CANADIAN

Issue XLVII

Newsletter of the Scottish Studies Society: ISSN No. 1491-2759

Summer 2018

Graham Fraser named Scot of the Year 2018

It was back in 1993 that we initiated our Annual Scot of the Year Award to honour individuals with a Scottish connection who have achieved distinction through their contribution to Canadian society or the international community at large and we invite you to attend our 2018 event during which we will pay tribute to this year's recipient: Graham Fraser, Canada's sixth Commissioner of Official Languages, a former Canadian journalist and a writer whose Scots ancestry can be traced to the north of Scotland.

He is the author of several books, both in English and French, and served as National Affairs Correspondent for the *Toronto Star* for which he also wrote a weekly column. He was also an adjunct professor of journalism at Carleton University from 2003-2008.

Graham is the son of Blair Fraser, a respected newspaper and magazine reporter of the mid-20th century who sadly drowned



Graham Fraser is this year's recipient of the Scottish Studies Society's annual Scot of the Year Award which will be presented on Friday, October 26, at the Arts & Letters Club in Toronto. During the evening, you will enjoy a magnificent evening of fine food, music and dance—all with a Scots-Canadian flavour in the historic environment of the Arts & Letters Club, designated a National Historic Site of Canada in 2007. Details are on our website at www.scottishstudies.com



THE SCOTTISH STUDIES FOUNDATION

P.O. Box 45069
2482 Yonge Street
Toronto, Ontario
Canada M4P 3E3

Charitable registration
No. 119253490 RR0001
www.scottishstudies.com

Membership Secretary:
Catherine McKenzie Jansen
admin@scottishstudies.com

Newsletter Editor:
David Hunter
davidhunter@scottishstudies.com

on a canoe trip in 1968. Graham attended Upper Canada College and later studied at the University of Toronto where he obtained a BA in 1968 and an MA in History in 1973. During his career as a journalist, he wrote for *Maclean's*, *The Globe and Mail*, *The Montreal Gazette*, *The Toronto Star* and *Le Devoir*.

Graham has written several books, including *Fighting Back: Urban Renewal in Trefann Court* (1972), *Playing for Keeps: The Making of the Prime Minister* (1988) and *Vous m'intéressez: chroniques* (2001). He also authored *PQ: René Lévesque and the Parti Québécois in Power*, which was shortlisted for the Governor General's Literary Award for Non-fiction in 1984.

In early 2006 he published *Sorry, I Don't Speak French*, which reviewed the successes and failures of Canada's policy of official bilingualism. It was largely on the basis of that book and of Fraser's bilingual work experience that he was appointed Canada's Commissioner of Official Languages in September 2006.

In this role, he handled such high-profile language issues as the Vancouver 2010

Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games and the 40th anniversary of the Official Languages Act including the *Déjà Vu: 40 Years of Language and Laughter in Political Cartoons* exhibition.

In 2010, Graham received the *Baldwin-LaFontaine Award* from the Canadian Club of Vancouver and in 2011 was awarded the title of *Chevalier de l'Ordre de la Pléiade* by the Assemblée parlementaire de la Francophonie. He was the first recipient of the Public Policy Forum's *Hyman Solomon Award for Excellence in Public Policy Journalism* and has been awarded honorary doctorates by the Université Sainte-Anne, the University of Ottawa, Concordia University, and York University.

Graham is married to Barbara Uteck who was Counsellor Federal/Provincial Relations at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, D.C from 1993 to 1997 and Private Secretary for the Governor General of Canada from 2000 to 2006. During her six years in this position she was named a Commander of the Victorian Order by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

Report from the President

Dear fellow members,

I do hope you are having a pleasant summer.

After an extended time in Scotland I am back in Canada and was pleased to arrive just in time to attend the Spring Colloquium in April. As in the past, it was held at the University of Toronto's Knox College and this year featured presentations on nineteenth and twentieth century Scotland by Dr. Sarah Sharp (University of Otago, New Zealand), Dr. Don Nerbas (Chair in Canadian-Scottish Studies at McGill University) and Dr. James Fraser (Scottish Studies Foundation Chair at the University of Guelph). Dr. Catriona M. M. MacDonald (Glasgow University) gave the Annual Jill Mackenzie Lecture which discussed popular literature in the twentieth century (from Buchan to Prebble).

I am pleased to let you know that the digital archive facility at the University of Guelph's library is now up and running. This is all thanks to ongoing donations received from our members and other supporters. These donations now total \$95,000 of the \$150,000 cost of the project. The Digital Archives Project is an integral component of the renovations that have been ongoing at the University of Guelph's McLaughlin Library since 2017.

The renovations to the Archival and Special Collections, where the Scottish rare book collection resides, include a new, expanded reading room, seminar room, and a dedicated exhibit space with state-of-the-art museum-quality custom-built display cases. Storage capacity has doubled in size and

improved environmental controls provide for enhanced capacity to be good stewards of the holdings. The Scottish Studies Foundation Digitization Room contains a flatbed scanner, large format scanner (for maps and architectural plans, etc.), and a book scanner, which has already been used to great effect in the Scottish Chapbooks project.

The digitization room forms an important component of the new higher profile Archival and Special Collections presence in the McLaughlin Library.

While in Scotland, I was working with the rest of our team on the Scot of the Year project and as you may have noticed on page 1, in a break with tradition, this year's event will be held in October rather than around our usual Tartan Day date of April 6. The original idea of holding it then was to avoid conflict with what other Scottish groups might be doing and at that time (in 1993) no other groups appeared to be celebrating Tartan Day. This has all changed now that Tartan Day has received widespread acceptance. Anyway, this year we decided on the October date as it seem to be a "neutral date" and it also tied in better with the schedules of some of our key participants.

Once again, we will be commemorating the arrival of Scots pioneers in Pictou, Nova Scotia back in 1773 on board the old ship *Hector* by holding our Annual Tall Ship cruise on Canada's tallest sailing ship *Empire Sandy*. The event will take place on Sunday, September 2, 2018 (Labour Day Weekend).

This is a wonderful opportunity to have a great time with Highland dancers, folk music and the pipes as you sail beyond Toronto Island and out into Lake Ontario so please

check our website

(www.scottishstudies.com) for details. We hope to see you on board.

In the meantime, thank you all for your support. It is truly appreciated.

Sincerely,

David Hunter

davidhunter@scottishstudies.com

From the Office of the Dean



*Samantha Brennan
Dean, College of Arts,
University of Guelph*

The support and generosity of the Scottish Studies Foundation to the University of Guelph and the College of Arts has helped to position the University of Guelph as the leading centre in North America for graduate studies in the history, literature and culture of Scotland and Scottish settlements, and among the top universities in the world for this field of research. We have researchers and scholars visiting from around the globe to access our extensive Scottish Studies Collection that is the largest in the world outside the United Kingdom.

One of the great benefits to the Scottish Studies Chair position that you have generously supported is the doors that it opens between academia and the broader community of interest.

The city of Guelph and its environs has been a popular area of settlement for members of the Scottish diaspora. The collaboration that flourishes between The Scottish Studies Chair, the Centre for Scottish Studies and this active and engaged community has helped to enhance the College's mission of communicating our research into a broader sphere. Your gift is enriching the lives of our students, our community and advancing our research mission.

Thank you for your vision and generous support.



John McMillan and Mary Walsh in the new Scottish Studies Foundation Digitization Room. John is a long-serving Scottish Studies Foundation Director; Mary is Senior Development Manager, Alumni Affairs and Development at the University of Guelph.

Could Scottish Gaelic have been an official language of Canada?

By Dr James Fraser
Chair of Scottish Studies
at the University of Guelph

A bill was introduced in the Senate in 1890 proposing to give Gaelic official status in Canada. It failed spectacularly—but the reasons might surprise you.

In February 1890, independent senator Thomas McInnes (BC), a child of Scots immigrants to Nova Scotia, introduced a private-member's bill in the Senate of Canada: "to provide for the use of Gaelic in official proceedings." After second reading on March 18, during which detractors dismissed it as a "far-fetched joke," the bill was prevented from proceeding to third reading by a vote of 42 to seven. Few bills attracted such hostility that they were denied the courtesy of a third reading before being struck down. What was it about the Gaelic bill that created such an animus against it?

The bill was doomed to fail from the very beginning. It is true that it survived first reading, despite Conservative senator Henry Kaulbach (NS) interrupting McGinnis' introductory remarks by calling out that "the hon. gentleman might also include German; it is more important."

Sinister government shenanigans followed. On March 11, McInnes arrived at the chamber to discover that his bill had already been called, earlier than scheduled, and had been promptly dropped because of his absence. When he moved that it be reinstated and its second reading be rescheduled, Liberal-Conservative senator Samuel Prowse (PEI) objected... "Because, I take it, the object of my hon. friend is simply to have a joke."

Prowse was not alone in his doubts. The Government leader in the Senate, the future Prime Minister, Conservative senator John Abbott (PQ), expressed what must have been PM John A. Macdonald's position on the bill at second reading: "I must, out of courtesy to him, assume that he is advocating this proceeding seriously ... but without imputing to my hon. friend any such intention, this bill appears to me like a sort of far-fetched joke ... and I do not propose to discuss it."

"I do not propose to discuss it" meant "please stop this bill in its tracks now"—government sentiments that explain the suspicious rescheduling of the bill on the March 11 agenda. But McInnes was adamant that "it is no joke," and he objected sufficiently strenuously to the dropping of the bill to get his motion for reinstatement

passed, very begrudgingly it seems, with second reading rescheduled for March 18.

The McInnes bill was not the first time that matters pertaining to Scottish Gaelic were raised in Parliament. On various prior occasions, the House of Commons discussed whether or not ballot papers should be printed in Gaelic in ridings with large numbers of speakers.

McInnes pointed out that ten of his fellow senators, and perhaps 20 MPs, were Gaelic speakers. The first Liberal prime minister, Alexander Mackenzie, a native of Logierait, had been one such; another had been Sandford Macdonald, the first premier of Ontario, a native of Glengarry County, who in 1870 became the first person to speak Gaelic in formal parliamentary proceedings when he made a whimsical speech in the language during a filibuster, "to the astonishment of the House."

Yet many parliamentarians at this time espoused intolerant views towards Gaelic for the record. "The best thing for the Gaelic-speaking races now," observed Liberal senator Robert Haythorne (PEI) in the second-reading debate of the McInnes bill, "is to learn English as quickly as they can," so as to "become more useful and more wealthy." Haythorne had lived, he said, "for some forty-four years in a settlement [in PEI] largely composed of families whose original tongue was Gaelic," and he could not "say that I believe the Gaelic language was of service to them" because they could all speak English.

That Gaelic had no commercial value, and thus no value at all, and that its decline was a mark of positive progress, were common contemporary sentiments among Scots wherever they lived. Many senators who considered the McInnes bill probably shared them, but only two gave voice to them in the second-reading debate.

Besides Haythorne, the other was Conservative senator William Macdonald (BC), a native of Skye who had emigrated in 1850. He addressed the chamber, he said, "as a Highlander," and while he insisted that "the hon. gentleman who brought this bill forward has no reason to be ashamed," Macdonald remarked that "we cannot close our eyes to the fact that Gaelic is not a commercial language," nor to the fact that it "is dying out of the land," even "in the very heart of the Highlands."

Other senators made more supportive noises towards Gaelic in this debate. "I am not familiar either with Gaelic or Erse," said Liberal senator Lawrence Power (NS), "but as I heard the hon. gentleman's closing remarks [delivered in Gaelic], I feel that there was a good deal to be said in favour of having that musical language used in Parliament."



Thomas Robert McInnes or (in Gaelic) Tòmas Raibeart Mac Aonghais (November 5, 1840 – March 19, 1904) was a Canadian physician, Member of the House of Commons, Senator, and the sixth Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia. McInnes is also remembered for an 1890 senate bill entitled "An Act to Provide for the Use of Gaelic in Official Proceedings" which would have made Gaelic an official language in Canada.

Conservative senator Joseph-Hyacinthe Bellerose (PQ) professed to be "ready to approve" of the bill, save that, in his opinion, its financial implications made it an inappropriate subject for a private-member's bill. Liberal-Conservative senator Pascal Poirier (NB), a native Acadian, agreed, but remarked that otherwise he was "favorably impressed" and "greatly in sympathy with the idea of doing anything to extend the use of the Gaelic language."

It is important to remember that all of these men were aware that their remarks were being minuted. That most expressed a degree of sympathy towards the bill, only to vote it down at second reading, is a reminder of the serious consideration given to what might be called the "Highlander vote" at this time in our history. McInnes, indeed, sought to gain leverage in the debate by warning his fellow senators that, by his calculations, 35 MPs held their Commons seats "through the votes of the Highland Scotch" who would repay at the ballot box anyone who dared "sneer and speak lightly of the Highland language and the Highland Scotch people."

The threat was not entirely empty. There are known instances when an MP's insulting remarks about Highlanders were printed and circulated by rival political parties in ridings with large numbers of Highlander voters. Thus we must not suppose that the opinions expressed, for the record, by the senators who participated in the debate over the McInnes bill, favourable or unfavourable

towards Gaelic, necessarily reflect their private views.

Such consideration for the “Highlander vote” makes the fierce response to the McInnes bill on the part of the Government and other senators all the more extraordinary. It turns out that their disdain had little to do with Gaelic, and much to do with another minority language of Canada. John Abbot, speaking on behalf of the Cabinet, was frank: the real purpose of the bill was to “ridicule ... the just pretensions of our fellow citizens of French origin to have their language recognized in our courts and in our Parliaments, as we do recognize it.”

The accusation was far from baseless. In January 1890, just four weeks prior to first reading of the McInnes bill, a private-member’s bill had been introduced for first reading in the House of Commons by Dalton McCarthy, Conservative MP for Simcoe North, seeking to strip French of legal and official status in western Canada. In February—during the hiatus between first and second reading of the McInnes bill in the Senate—the McCarthy bill had received second reading in the Commons, where it had provoked three days of vehement cross-party condemnation.

One MP who had defended McCarthy, however, was Alexander McNeill, Liberal-Conservative MP for Bruce North, who had argued that Scotland was divided and weakened by the presence of two languages, and that “nothing has more contributed to that better and happier condition of things [in Scotland] than a more general use of the English language in the Highlands.”

Scarcely four weeks after the McCarthy bill had been crushed, McInnes was making reference to census figures from the northwest and remarking that, “if the French language is to be maintained there as an official language, there is ... better reason for a similar recognition of Gaelic.” Such direct evoking of the McCarthy debate must have been intentional. McInnes proceeded to read out, in Gaelic and in English translation, a “specimen” of the “dozens of letters and addresses” he had received supporting his bill: a letter sent to him by the Gaelic Society of Bruce County—the same county represented by McCarthy’s defender

McNeill.

This letter too evoked the McCarthy debate. It mentioned the “thousands of immigrants from Scotland” who had settled “in the North-West part of the country,” and “who understand little of any other language but the Gaelic they learnt from their mothers.” It stated that “as a society, we do not ask nor believe that more than one language should be maintained at the public expense, yet, if more than one is to be so maintained, we submit that the Gaelic should not be left behind.” For, it concluded, “what language is more entitled [to official status] than that of the valiant braves who stood shoulder to shoulder on the Plains of Abraham ... the day the country was won to the British Crown.”

It can scarcely be doubted that McInnes selected this “specimen” letter carefully and advisedly. As such, it is inescapable that he desired to hammer home the sentiment, advocated by McCarthy in the Commons, that English should be the solitary official tongue of Canada, and that it was in order to belittle French that he placed the language on a par with (or inferior to) Gaelic.

It is inescapable too that McInnes understood and intended the impact that the letter’s provocative invocation of the French defeat on the Plains of Abraham would have on francophones in the Senate. Considering the timing of the bill in the wake of the McCarthy bill’s defeat in the Commons, it seems that McGinnis’s critics were right. His Gaelic Language bill was—and failed so spectacularly because it was—an insincere joke that weaponized Gaelic in support of the movement to roll back the official status and related privileges enjoyed by the French language in western Canada.

As such, both its introduction and its defeat reflect important and divisive issues of the day quite separate from contemporary attitudes towards Highland or Gaelic-speaking Canadians or the place of Gaelic in Canadian public and private life, but we can perhaps learn a little about such things from this remarkable episode in Canadian parliamentary history. ■

From the Chair



Dr. James Fraser

With its Scottish Studies unit approaching its fiftieth anniversary (in 2018), supported by the largest and richest Scottish archival collection and Scottish Studies research library anywhere outside the UK, the University of Guelph is uniquely positioned to support research on all periods of Scottish history. It is also the case, very happily, that public awareness of the unit and its work is such that we enjoy the privilege of having interested members of the public in attendance at our events, which greatly facilitates our outreach and knowledge-transfer efforts.

My research focuses on the period of the Scottish past (some hesitate to call it “Scottish” at this early date) between about AD 550 and AD 750. I am hoping to discover the real strength and imitations of the scattered fragments of surviving evidence for these times in order to understand political organization, political behaviour and political ideas at all levels of society. In brief, I want to understand how power worked, especially across large distances; how people were governed and participated in their governance and how ideas like honour, duty, fidelity, family and nation shaped (and were shaped by) political activity.

The past has power. The role of the professional historian is to develop an authoritative evidence-based understanding of the past that can hope to withstand subordination by powerful people and powerful interests that have always sought to dictate and manipulate how we understand the past for their own benefit.

My research challenges preconceptions and misunderstandings about the era when Scotland became Christian, and about a period characterized by ethnic diversity and weak centralizing forces, perspectives that influence today’s political, ethnic and religious identities. ■

In support of his bill, McInnes quoted facts from the 1881 census that showed that “Canadians of Gaelic origin, Irish and Scottish, outnumber those of French origin by nearly 400,000 and constitute more than one-third of the entire population of Canada.” Although the motion for a second reading of this bill would be defeated by a vote of 42 to 7, in supporting the bill through its first reading, McInnes brought forward several interesting arguments: of the entire Canadian population of the day (4,324,810), the census figures show the English in third with a population of only 881,301. Canadians of “Gaelic origin”—Irish and Scots tallied together, held first place at 1,657,266, followed by the French at 1,298,929. In a distant fourth place with 254,319 were the persons of German origin. No mention is made of the Welsh who, though of “Celtic origin” spoke a Celtic language, albeit different from Irish and Scottish Gaelic.

The Canadian Pacific Railway

A short anthology of the early days of Canada's "First Transcontinental."

The Canadian Dominion Bubble

by Henry Du Pré Labouchère



Labouchère was editor of the popular weekly British periodical "Truth." His cynical article on the CPR money question appeared in that journal on September 1, 1881

The Canadian Pacific Railroad Company has begun, I see, to launch its bonds. A group of Montreal and New York bankers have undertaken to float ten million dollars' worth of the company's land grant bonds, and the Bank of Montreal, with its usual courage, has taken one-fourth of the entire loan. This announcement looks as if the Canadians were going to raise the necessary capital on the other side of the water, but I have a shrewd suspicion that they have no real intention of doing anything of the kind.

The New Yorkers are keen enough gamblers, and reckless enough at times I admit, and yet it is impossible to believe that they are such fools as to put their money into this mad project. I would as soon credit them with a willingness to subscribe hard cash in support of a scheme for the utilization of

icebergs. The Canadian Pacific Railway will run, if it is ever finished, through a country frost-bound for seven or eight months in the year, and will connect with the western part of the Dominion a province which embraces about as forbidding a country as any on the face of the earth. British Columbia, they say, has forced on the execution of this part of the contract under which they become incorporated with the Dominion, and believe that prosperity will come to them when the line is made.

This is a delusion on their part. British Columbia is a barren, cold mountain country that is not worth keeping. It would never have been inhabited at all, unless by trappers of the Hudson's Bay Company, had the "gold fever" not taken a party of mining adventurers there, and ever since that fever died down the place has been going from bad to worse. Fifty railroads would not galvanize it into prosperity.

Nevertheless, the Canadian Government has fairly launched into this project and I have no doubt the English public will soon be asked to further it with their cash. The Canadians spend money and we provide it. That has been the arrangement hitherto, and it has worked out splendidly—for the Canadians—too well for them to try any other scheme with the Canadian Pacific, which they must know is never likely to pay a single red cent of interest on the money that may be sunk in it.

A friend of mine told me and he knew what he was talking about—that he did not believe the much-touted Manitoba settlement would hold out many years. The people who have gone there cannot stand the coldness of the winters. Men and cattle are frozen to death in numbers that would rather startle the intending settler if he knew; and those who are not killed outright are often maimed for life by frostbites. Its street nuisances kill people with malaria, or drive them mad with plagues of insects: and to keep themselves alive during the long winter they have to imitate the habits of the Esquimaux.

Last year the country had the benefit of a good crop and a good market so that it did a little better, but generally it was hard work to make both ends meet, and often can't. Nearly every year it comes for a new loan or two, and once it is fairly committed to

making this new railway, I see nothing before it but bankruptcy.

While the money is being spent, all will go well enough perhaps, but in the end the Dominion will have to go into liquidation. It amazes me that its stocks stand where they do as things are, but if people took the trouble to look beneath the surface, prices would be very different. One of these days, when the load gets too heavy, Ontario is pretty certain to go over to the States into which it dovetails and where its best trade outlet is.

When that day comes the "Dominion" will disappear. With the contingency ahead and with the prospect of another fifty million pounds or so to be added to the debt, can it be said that "Canadian Unguaranteed Four Per Cent" are worth their present price? The "Dominion" is, in short, a "fraud" all through, and destined to burst up like any other fraud.

Then I suppose the British taxpayer will ask why we guaranteed so much of this sham government debt.

Laying the Tracks

by James Henry Edward Secretan



Secretan was an early civil engineer who worked for many years with the Canadian Pacific Railway as a surveyor. His many works include "To Klondyke And Back: A Journey Down The Yukon From Its Source To Its Mouth" (1898), "Out West" (1910), and "Canada's Great Highway: From The First Stake To The Last Spike" (1924).

The line was now covered with graders, and contractors' camps were strung out for hundreds of miles. Track-laying swiftly followed, and although in those days they had no track-laying machines, the rapidity with which it was done was astonishing. Donald Grant, a seven-foot giant, was in charge of this work with a gang of about 125 men. Winnipeg was the base of supplies, and construction trains ran on a regular schedule. Each train contained material for exactly one mile of tracks, so many cars of rails and fastenings, ties, telegraph poles, and bridge material were required. It all worked like clockwork. These trains, loaded in the

When British Columbia joined the Dominion of Canada in 1871 one of the terms of union was the promise that the federal government would complete a railway to the Pacific within the next ten years. Politics delayed construction, and there were inevitable money difficulties. But what would seem to have been the greatest barriers to such an undertaking—the granite-hard spine of Shield rock and the muskeg swamps of central Canada, the chasms of the Rockies—were speedily surmounted once work began in earnest under the brilliant construction manager, William van Horne. In November 1885, the last spike was driven and the young Dominion was joined, ocean to ocean, by two bands of steel—the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Winnipeg yards, came up to the front regularly on time, were rapidly unloaded.

The empty train backed out and the ties were pitched on the prairie and loaded on the wagons which were waiting for them at the end of the track. They were then distributed by hand, rails were handed along by the men with the iron car, followed by the spiking gang; and in less time than you could possibly imagine, another mile of the great railway was completed.

While all this was taking place on the plains, work was also proceeding in the mountains. A tote road was built through the Kicking Horse Pass to bring in supplies, and contracts were let for the heavy rock excavation and tunnels. Along the bleak North Shore of Lake Superior, the heaviest kind of work was also being rushed to completion.

I was often amused during the track-laying on the plains at the sight of the Indians who would arrive apparent from nowhere, simply appearing. Squatted on the haunches in double rows, they would take in the proceedings, only occasionally emitting a grunt of half-concealed surprise and admiration as the "fire-wagons," as they called the engines, slowly pushed the steel rails to the front. I often wondered what thoughts penetrated the dusky domes of the savage warriors as they saw those two little bands of steel slowly but surely creeping westward across their old hunting grounds. They would sit for hours patiently watching the wonders of the paleface, and then when evening came they would fade away in the dusk and go home to relate to their families that they had seen thousands of white men springing up like blades of grass on the prairie.

John A. goes west on the C.P.R. 1886 by Donald Creighton



Creighton was a noted Canadian historian whose major works include "The Commercial Empire of the St-Lawrence: 1760-1850" a detailed study on the growth of the English merchant class in relation to the St Lawrence River in Canada. His biography of John A. Macdonald, published into two parts between 1952 and 1955, was considered by many Canadian historians as re-establishing biographies as a proper form of historical research in Canada.

Beyond Calgary the land lifted into foothills and the foothills broke apart and thrust themselves furiously upwards in mountains. The train was stopped. Agnes and Macdonald seated themselves securely on the buffer bar—the cow-catcher-in front of the engine; and the wheels began to move again. The wind tore past their faces. The Kicking Horse River wound about, with sinuous agility, below them. The valley contracted menacingly into what seemed an impassable gorge and then broadened out into lush and placid meadowlands.

The enormous, uninterrupted prospect began to make the view from the train windows seem narrow and unsatisfying. Agnes, with her inexhaustible vitality, preferred the hot sun and the rushing wind; and Macdonald, though he was a less frequent and less indefatigable passenger on the cowcatcher than his wife, kept his precarious perch for longer than he might have believed possible four months before.

They travelled through Roger's Pass and past Craiggellachie on the buffer bar; from it they watched the great coiling valleys of the Thompson and Fraser Rivers. On the distant sides of the canyons the great cascades hung trembling like threads of silver. The colours of the rock-face-green and rose and amethyst and deep purple—melted and mingled. Even the coming of sunset did not end the excitement of the ride; and after dinner, on the last evening of journey out, they took their accustomed places on the buffer bar. It was black dark by now.

The train was racing down the Fraser canyon towards Lytton. Above, the gloom was lit by a few stars; hundreds of feet below was the river; and the locomotive, feeling its way experimentally with the great beam of its headlight, laboriously skirted the edges of the chasm, roared through tunnels, and rattled over creaking bridges.

To the Pacific Ocean by Sir Joseph Pope



Pope was a Canadian public servant. He was Private Secretary to Sir John A. Macdonald from 1882 to 1891 and Assistant Clerk to the

Privy Council & Under Secretary of State for Canada from 1896 to 1926. From 1909 to 1925, he was the first permanent under-secretary of State for External Affairs.

On the last morning of our western railway journey my turn on the cow-catcher came with the rising sun. We were going along over a straight piece of road near Hope at a fairly lively rate when suddenly there started up from a neighbouring ditch a number of young pigs just in front of the train.

They ran for a while straight ahead of the engine, then broke and scattered, all except one little fellow who seemed determined to try conclusions with us, for he kept on the track, running as hard as he could and squealing at the top of his bent. We closed on him rapidly. I knew we were in great danger but there was nothing to be done. The train rushed on. The point of the cow-catcher was a foot from the pig's hind legs. I heard the thud as the onspeeding train struck him. Squealing, he was lifted high in the air and passed between my body and the post I was holding! The engine-driver, who immediately above me was looking out of his window in horror, comforted me after the crisis had passed with the assurance that if that pig had struck any of us going at the rate we were, it would have been more disastrous than a rifle bullet. I have not ridden on a cow-catcher since.

At 1 p.m. the same day we reached the terminus at Port Moody (the railway not yet having been carried through to Vancouver) and looked out on the blue waters of the Strait of Georgia. The usual address followed, and then Sir John, taking off his hat, addressed the people from the platform of his car.

As I stood on the shore of the Pacific by the side of that old man, with his grey hair blowing across his forehead, I could not help feeling what an exultant moment it must have been for him. Here was the full realization of his political dream of years. His chief opponent had left on record his belief that all the resources of the British Empire could not build the road in ten years. Here it was built, out of the resources of Canada, in less than half that time. It was no paper road, this. He had travelled over it himself. With his own eyes he had witnessed the marvellous feat. Here was the car which had brought him from Ottawa. Here, too, lapping his feet, were the waters of the Pacific Ocean. His dream had become an accomplished fact! ■

The Sutherland Clearances, 1816

Few episodes in Scottish history have cast so long a shadow as the forced removal of large swathes of the crofting community from their land in the Highlands. Donald MacLeod, a Sutherlander, wrote the following uncompromising account of the protracted and sometimes vicious eviction of crofters, which began at the end the eighteenth century, and lasted beyond the middle of the nineteenth. His home county attracted particular attention for the harshness of its treatment of tenants, notably by its reviled factor, Patrick Sellar, at whose name some women had been known to fall into a panic, or "lose their reason." MacLeod's piece begins shortly after tenants received letters of eviction.

In about a month after the factors had obtained this promise of removal, and thirteen days before the May term, the work of devastation was begun. They commenced by setting fire to the houses of the small tenants in extensive districts—part of the parishes of Farr, Rogart, Golspie, and the whole parish of Kildonan. I was an eye-witness of the scene. This calamity came on the people quite unexpectedly. Strong parties, for each district, furnished with faggots and other combustibles, rushed on the dwellings of this devoted people, and immediately commenced setting fire to them, proceeding in their work with the greatest rapidity till about three hundred houses were in flames!

The consternation and confusion were extreme; little or no time was given for removal of persons or property—the people striving to remove the sick and the helpless before the fire should reach them, struggling to save the most valuable of their effects. The cries of the women and children—the roaring of the affrighted cattle, hunted at the same time by the yelling dogs of the shepherds amid the smoke and the fire—altogether presented a scene that completely baffles description; it required to be seen to be believed.

A dense cloud of smoke enveloped the whole country by day, and even extended far on the sea; at night an awfully grand, but terrific scene presented itself—all the houses in an extensive district in flames at once! I myself ascended a height at about eleven o'clock in the evening and counted two hundred and fifty blazing houses, many of the owners of which were my relations, and all of whom I personally knew; but whose present condition, whether in or out of the flames, I could not tell.

The conflagration lasted six days, till the whole of the dwellings were reduced to ashes or smoking ruins. During one of these days a boat lost her way in the dense smoke as she approached the shore; but at night she was enabled to reach a landing place by the light of the flames!

It would be an endless task to give a detail of the sufferings of families and individuals during this calamitous period; or to describe its dreadful consequences on the health and lives of the victims. I will, however, attempt a very few cases. While the burning was going on, a small sloop arrived, laden with quick-lime, and while discharging her cargo, the skipper agreed to take as many of the people to Caithness as he could carry, on his return. Accordingly, about twenty families went on board, filling deck, hold, and every part of the vessel. There were children and aged, male and female, sick and well, with a small portion of their effects, saved from the flames, all huddled together in heaps.

Many of these persons had never been on sea before, and when they began to sicken a scene indescribable ensued. To add to their miseries, a storm and contrary winds prevailed, so that instead of a day or two, the usual time of passage, it was nine days before they reached Caithness. All this time, the poor creatures, almost without necessaries, most of them dying with sickness, were either wallowing among the lime, and various excrements in the hold, or lying on the deck, exposed to the raging elements! This voyage soon proved fatal to many, and some of the survivors feel its effects to this day.

During this time, also, typhus fever was raging in the country, and many in a critical state had to fly, or were carried by their friends out of the burning houses. Among the rest, a young man, Donald MacKay of Grumbmor, was ordered out of his parents' house; he obeyed, in a state of delirium, and (nearly naked) ran into some bushes adjoining, where he lay for a considerable time deprived of reason; the house was immediately in flames, and his effects burned. Robert MacKay, whose whole family were in the fever, or otherwise ailing, had to carry his two daughters on his back a distance of about twenty-five miles. He accomplished this by first carrying one, and laying her down in the open air, and returning, did the same with the other, till he reached the sea-shore, and then went with them on board the lime vessel before mentioned.

An old man of the same name, betook himself to a deserted mill, and lay there unable to move; and to the best of my recollection, he died there. He had no sustenance but what he obtained by licking the dust and refuse of the meal strewed about, and was defended from the rats and



*A Monument to the Highland Clearances
Couper Park, Helmsdale, Scotland*

other vermin, by his faithful collie, his companion and protector. A number of the sick, who could not be carried away instantly, on account of their dangerous situation, were collected by their friends and placed in an obscure, uncomfortable hut, and there, for a time, left to their fate. The cries of these victims were heart-rending—exclaiming in their anguish, "Are you going to leave us to perish in the flames?" However, the destroyers passed near the hut, apparently without noticing it, and consequently they remained unmolested, till they could be conveyed to the shore, and put on board the before-mentioned sloop.

George Munro, miller at Farr, residing within 400 yards of the minister's house, had his whole family, consisting of six or seven persons, lying in a fever; he was enabled, with the assistance of his neighbours to carry them to a damp kiln, where they remained till the fire abated, so that they could be removed. Meantime the house was burnt.

It may not be out of place here to mention generally, that the clergy, factors, and magistrates, were cool and apparently unconcerned spectators of the scenes I have been describing, which were indeed perpetrated under their immediate authority. The splendid and comfortable mansions of these gentlemen were reddened with the glare of their neighbours' flaming houses, without exciting any compassion for the sufferers; no spiritual, temporal, or medical aid was afforded them; and this time they were all driven away without being allowed the benefit of their outgoing crop

Nothing but the sword was wanting to make the scene one of as great barbarity as earth ever witnessed; and in my opinion, this would, in a majority of cases, have been mercy, by saving them from what they were afterwards doomed to endure. The clergy, indeed, in their sermons, maintained that the whole was a merciful interposition of Providence to bring them to repentance, rather than to send them all to hell, as they so richly deserved! ■

Directors of the Scottish**Studies Foundation:****President:** David M. Hunter**Vice President:** Maggie McEwan**Treasurer:** David H. Thompson**Secretary:** John B. McMillan

Heather Bridge

Dr. James Fraser

J. Douglas Ross, FSA Scot

Honorary Directors: Harry S.

Ferguson, William Somerville

Honorary Patrons:

Robert Buchan

John E. Cleghorn, O.C.

Professor E.J. Cowan

Harry Ferguson

John Anderson Fraser

Douglas Gibson

Alastair W. Gillespie, P.C., O.C.

Col. the Hon. Henry N.R. Jackman,

C.M., O.Ont., K.St.J.

The Hon. Donald S. Macdonald, P.C.,

C.C.

Lewis W. MacKenzie

Lewis MacKinnon

The Hon. Roy MacLaren

Dr. Alistair MacLeod

Kathie Macmillan

Michael I. M. MacMillan

Robert McEwan, C.M.

Alan McKenzie, FSA Scot

Bill R. McNeil

Alice Munro

Lloyd Robertson, O.C.

T. Iain Ronald

Bruce Simpson

Bill Somerville

Donald Stewart

Jean Watson

Richard Wernham

Lynton "Red" Wilson, O.C.

Corporate Sponsors:

The Harold E. Ballard Foundation

Wm. Glen & Sons

Citibank Canada

Fergus Scottish Festival and Highland Games

The Willie and Mildred Fleischer

Charitable Foundation

Hal Jackman Foundation

Korn/Ferry Canada Inc.

Walter Stewart and Associates

Benefactors:

Walter M. and Lisa Balfour Bowen

Dr. Colin R. Blyth and Valerie Blyth

David Campbell

John and Pattie Cleghorn

Ian Craig

Richard Currie

William H. Davidson

Mr. and Mrs. Harry Stewart Ferguson

Thomas L. Foulds

Constance C. Gibson

Alastair W. Gillespie, P.C., O.C.

Alan Gordon

Gordon and Shirley Grant

Helen Grant

Jon K. Grant, O.C.

Marie Gregor

Jane Grier

Nona Heaslip

James N. Hepburn

Hon. Henry N.R. Jackman

Roger Alexander Lindsay of Craighall,

FSA Scot

James M. Main

Dr. William Ross McEachern

Joan and Don McGeachy

Alan McKenzie

Mary MacKay MacMillan, FSA Scot

Margaret Nightingale

C. Douglas Reekie

T. Iain Ronald

Sir Neil Shaw

Bruce and Tracy Simpson

Robert Smart

Donald A. Stewart

John Mac Stewart

Dr. Roselynn M. W. Stevenson

Alexander K. Stuart, C.M.

The Toronto Gaelic Society

Dr. Cicely Watson

Richard Wernham

Lynton "Red" Wilson, O.C.

Patrons:

Margaret S. Adat

Olwen Anderson

Robert Anderson

Sharie Argue

Dr. Gary Ashby

Louis and Donald Baldone

Mary G. Barnett

Peter Hugh Baxter

William David Beaton

Stephen Bennett

Stewart Bennett

Jetta Bickford

Ann Boden

John and Ruth Borthwick

Ian Buchanan

G. Laurence Buchanan

Robert Burns

John Buttars

Driffield M. Cameron

Mrs. Helen Campbell

Donna Carmichael

Isabella Carnegie

John H. C. Clarry

Mrs. Elma Connor

Dr. John H. Cooper

Phyllis M. Corbett

Kenneth L. Coupland

Nola Crewe

Donald A. Crosbie

Antony A. Cunningham

James Cuthill

Custom Scottish Imports

Heather Doyle

Dr. Kirsty Duncan

Dorothy Dunlop

Heather J. Elliot

Margaret Eastham

Prof. Elizabeth Ewan

Dr. & Mrs. G.T. Ewan

Alice Ferguson

Georgina Finlay

Dr. Harry K. Fisher

Ian Fisher

Allan C. Fleming

James K. Fleming

W. Neil & Marie Fraser

Dr. William & Mrs. Margaret Fraser

John Peter Fyvie

John MacKenzie Gammell

Gendis Inc. & Associates

Douglas M. Gibson

John D. Gilchriese

Mr. & Mrs. Ian Gillespie

Stan Glass

Catherine Goldie

Malcolm M. Gollert

Helen Grant

Jon K. Grant

Hon. Edwin A. Goodman, Q.C., P.C., O.C.

William A. Goodfellow

Alan P. Gordon

James M. Grant, Clan Grant Society of Canada

Mary Gregor

Jane Grier

James Haliburton

M. Gen. (Ret) James E. Hanna

Kathryn Harvey

Mrs. Jean Hedges

Alex B. Henderson

Iain Hendry

Rev. J. Alvin Hingley

David Hobbs

Ms. Geraldine Howitt

Maureen Hunt

David Hunter

James Lamont Hunter

Margaret Anne Hunter

John & Lorna Hutchinson

Andrew MacAoidh Jergens

Dr. & Mrs. Ted Kinnin

Dr. Alison Kirk-Montgomery

Barbara Klich

Captain Olof & Mrs. Sheila Kuipers

Douglas Lackie

Susan E. Lahey

Ruth and James Lillico

Loch Ness Celtic Jewellery

Elizabeth & Leonard

MacLachlan Lain

Marion F. Livingston

Ruth S. MacBeth

John H. Macdonald, FSA Scot

The Hon. Donald S. Macdonald, P.C., C.C.

Miss Duncan MacDonald

The MacFie Clan Society

R. C. (Bob) MacFarlane (in memoriam)

Hugh K. N. Mackenzie

Jim and Ann Mackenzie

Margaret MacLeod

Dr. Alexander Macpherson

Dr. Kenneth and Mrs. Rhoda

MacRitchie

Gordon Main

Jack K. R. Martin

Richard C. Meech Q.C.

Gordon Menzies

William Irvine McArthur

D.D.C. McGeachy

Ian A. McKay

M.R. MacLennan

Margaret MacLeod

Charles and Elizabeth MacRae

Robert W. McAllister

Archibald H. McCallum

Ms. Doris McArthur

Dr. K. J. McBey

Valerie McElroy

Murray McEwan C.M.

Maggie McEwan

Ian McFetters

Derek McGillivray

Alistair McIntyre FSA Scot

Gail McIntyre

Margaret McGovern

Donald McKenzie

Capt. Duncan D. McMillan

John B. McMillan

Mrs. Lois McRae

Douglas and Ilse McTaggart

Mr. Don McVicar

Douglas A. McWhirter

Mary Elizabeth Mick

Peter Montgomery

William & Audrey Montgomery Allan D. Morrison

Ian Morrison

Madeleine Muntz

David Murray

Catherine O'May

Ann Nicol

Marguerite Noble

Leslie Parada

Mr. Gordon Paterson

Ed & Anne Patrick

Lloyd Preston

Darren B. Purse

Ms. Patricia Rae

Alastair G. Ramsay

Sheldon Rankin

Hazel Rayner

Mary Arvilla Read

Sadie Reynolds

Rodger E.T. Ritchie

Kim Ritchie

Michael Paul Roberts

Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rooney

Royal Scottish Geographical Society

J. Douglas Ross, FSA Scot

Dr. Robert and Laura Saunders

Mr. & Mrs. Gary Seagrave

Skara Brae Collections

Marie Scheffel

Dr. David J. Scott

Hudoneil Scott

Graham W. S. Scott, Q.C.

Rory Sinclair

Helen B. Smith

Robert and Isobel Smith

Stanley & Margory Smith

Bill & April Somerville

Capt. Stephen Spence

Jim & Kathy Spence

St. Andrew's Society of Toronto

Helen C. Stevens

Allan E. Stewart, C.D

David R. Stewart

Helen Matthew Stewart

Ian G. Stewart

Donald Campbell Sutherland

Mr. & Mrs. J.G.C. Templeton

Dr. Paul Thomson/Michelle Perrone

David H. Thompson

Janis Todd

J. James Wardlaw

Prof. David B. Waterhouse

Dr. Cicely Watson

Joanne Watson

Mitchell Watt

Robert Watt

Ian White

Douglas Whitelaw

Scottish Studies Society Directors:**President:** Heather Bridge**Vice President:** Maggie McEwan**Treasurer:** David H. Thompson**Secretary:** John B. McMillan

David M. Hunter

Edward Patrick

J. Douglas Ross, FSA Scot