ungrateful task but himself. He left for Washington on 27 February for what he would later describe as the "most difficult and disagreeable work that I have ever undertaken since I entered Public Life."

Macdonald had seen little of the United States for 20 years, and the commission was his first extended contact with American statesmen. He was surprised to find them agreeable socially; that did not make them less dangerous diplomatically. Of the pressing issues the *Alabama* claims was the most serious, but the commission, for the moment, could only agree to disagree on it. The full weight of negotiations then fell upon the Canadian inshore fisheries. Free access to those fisheries had ended when the Reciprocity Treaty lapsed in 1866 and the licensing of American vessels was now being rigorously enforced [*see* Peter MITCHELL]. Solving this issue became a matter of vital importance to Great Britain, which hoped to face the military and political consequences of the Franco-German War without the distraction of Americans being angry and belligerent. The United States, Macdonald told Tupper, wanted everything and would give nothing; his British colleagues, especially Lord de Grey, the chief commissioner, were ready to make Macdonald and Canada responsible for failure. They wanted a treaty in their pockets "no matter at what cost to Canada." Macdonald seriously weighed resigning as commissioner. De Grey strongly urged him not to, for the resignation of a plenipotentiary, especially the Canadian one, would endanger the treaty in the American Senate. Macdonald had been caught, as he admitted, between the devil and the deep blue sea, between his role as a British commissioner and as Canadian prime minister. Britain was so anxious to secure a treaty that, to help persuade Canada to ratify it, the British accepted Macdonald's suggestion that compensation be given by the imperial government for the Fenian raids, since the Americans had refused to consider any redress as part of the treaty.

Americans had accepted Canadian ratification of the treaty only because they thought that Canada would be a rubber stamp. If the British parliament ratified the treaty, that was that. As Macdonald put it to Tupper in April, "When Lord de Grey tells them that England is not a despotic power & cannot control the Canadian Parlt. when it acts within its legitimate jurisdiction, they pooh! pooh! it altogether." On 8 May, with much misgiving, Macdonald signed the Treaty of Washington.

In Canada he would face strong opposition from both political parties. He wrote to Rose some days after the signing, "I think that I would have been unworthy of the position, and untrue to myself if, from any selfish timidity, I had refused to face the storm. Our Parliament will not meet until February next, and between now & then I

must endeavour to lead the Canadian mind in the right direction. You are well out of the scrape." He put it more sharply to de Grey: Canadian indignation in June and July was intense and pervaded all classes – parliament was certain to reject the treaty. If that happened, Macdonald suggested to Governor General Baron Lisgar [Young*] in July, he would leave the government. His colleagues might or might not carry on without him. If they resigned, and a Liberal government were formed, it would oppose the treaty lock, stock, and barrel.

The fall of the Sandfield Macdonald government in Ontario in December 1871 did not augur well for the treaty, or for Ontario in the next federal election. Edward Blake*, the new premier, and Alexander MACKENZIE, his lieutenant, both opposed the treaty. It offered Ontario and Quebec nothing: no compensation from the United States for the Fenian raids on the Ontario and Quebec borders; free navigation of the St Lawrence for the Americans in return for the dubious privilege given to Canada of navigating three rivers in Alaska. The fisheries settlement offended most areas: Canadian fish would be admitted free to the American market, but access to the inshore fisheries was to be sold to the Americans for 10 years at a price to be set down by arbitrators. Macdonald had had to fight to avoid it being set down for 25 years. Scholars could later write about the treaty as an achievement in settling outstanding issues between Great Britain and the United States; it was another matter for the prime minister of a country that had to swallow critical sections of it. In the end, by waiting until May 1872, when Canadian public opinion had cooled down and the British had offered a guarantee for Canadian railways as compensation for the Fenian raids, Macdonald was able to get the treaty through the commons by 121 votes to 55. The vote did not mean, however, that the hustings had forgotten it.

Nor was this all. Riel would not go away. He had been got out of the country, but he drifted back. In the so-called Fenian attack across the Manitoba border in October 1871, Macdonald suspected him of playing a double game, first encouraging the leader, William Bernard O'Donoghue*, and then switching sides when he saw that the raid would be damped down by the Americans. For that and other reasons Macdonald found Lieutenant Governor Adams George ARCHIBALD's shaking hands with Riel in apparent reconciliation unpardonable, and he wished that Archibald had had his political antennae sensitized by Ontario's reaction to the death of Thomas Scott.

These elements combined to make the general election of the summer of 1872 difficult, even treacherous, for Macdonald. He did not like to run a government out to full term, but after Washington an election in 1871 would have been folly. Even now the

timing was not much better. Ontario farmers, he told Colonial Secretary Lord Carnarvon privately in September 1872, could not understand why the Maritime provinces should get free admission of fish to the United States while Ontario got nothing. And Ontario was even more important politically than before; after the 1871 census, redistribution gave it 88 seats, six more than it had in 1867. Macdonald worked at Ontario tenaciously. He went nowhere else (it was still the custom for ministers to preoccupy themselves with their home provinces), leaving Quebec to Cartier and Langevin, New Brunswick to Tilley, Nova Scotia to Tupper, and Manitoba to A. G. Archibald and Gilbert McMicken, now dominion lands agent in that province. Macdonald also lavished money on Ontario. He got $6,500 from Conservative friends and received from Sir Hugh Allan* some $35,000, plus an emergency draft of $10,000 on 26 August. The day after, in Toronto, he borrowed $10,000 on his own hook from Charles James Campbell and John Shedden* at six per cent on a six-month note, a loan that alarmed Conservative campaign manager Alexander Campbell.

By this time Macdonald was very discouraged. He fought on as best he could, with those reserves of optimism that he always summoned up when the going was bad. His *modus operandi* in Ontario is suggested in his dealings with James Simeon McCuaig, MP for Prince Edward: "Let me tell you that if [Walter] Ross goes in with money he will stand a great chance of beating you. You must fight him with the same weapon. Our friends here have been liberal with contributions, and I can send you $1000^{00} without inconvenience. You had better spend it between nomination and polling." McCuaig lost, and Macdonald got only 42 out of 88 Ontario seats, if that. In September he estimated his overall majority as 56. That was high, though how big his majority was depended on the issue. In April 1873, when Lucius Seth Huntington* broke the first intimations of the Pacific Scandal, it would be 31.

At least three, possibly four, groups in Canada were interested in the Pacific railway by 1872, to say nothing of Americans. The main groups were those of Sir Hugh Allan of Montreal and David Lewis MACPHERSON of Toronto. Cartier had conceded in 1871, under opposition pressure and while Macdonald was ill, that the railway would not be built as a government enterprise but by a private company. Macdonald tried to bring the main groups together before, during, and after the election, but jealousies between Toronto and Montreal and mutual suspicions between principals made that impossible. In the late autumn of 1872 Allan was given the task of putting a company together to build the railway. Macdonald had made only one promise to Allan: the presidency of an amalgamated Canadian Pacific Railway Company, whenever it was formed. But there

were commitments of which, as yet, Macdonald knew nothing, notably Cartier's to Allan in the summer of 1872, that Allan's group would be guaranteed the charter and a majority of stock in return for additional election funding, totalling more than $350,000. When Allan finally told Macdonald the amount, it seemed so fantastic that he did not believe Allan, and that fall he wrote to Cartier to confirm it. Cartier did, more or less; he was then in London fighting Bright's disease, which eventually would kill him, in May 1873. There was also Allan's commitment to American backers, of which Macpherson had been suspicious all along.

The Pacific Scandal was partly scandalous, partly not. All parties used money at election time. Macdonald would explain to Governor General Lord Dufferin in September 1873 how Canadian elections went. There were legitimate election expenses; because of the many rural constituencies, with sparse populations, these were large. Other expenses, long considered necessary, were in a half-light, being sanctioned by custom though technically forbidden by law, for example hiring carriages to take voters to the polls. Such expenses, in Macdonald's parliamentary experience, had never been pressed before an elections committee. No doubt the $1,000 McCuaig was to spend between nomination and polling day was partly for carriages. It was also no doubt for other things Macdonald did not mention: treating the voters could comprehend more than just carriages and whisky.

The Pacific Scandal broke in the commons on 2 April 1873. Huntington made a motion calling for a committee of inquiry and charging that Allan's original company, the Canada Pacific Railway Company, had been financed with American money and that Allan had advanced large sums of money to senior members of the government in the election. To his charges Macdonald ostensibly paid no attention; he brought in the members and voted down Huntington's motion; he called for a committee of investigation on his own. However, Conservatives were already uneasy. From then on Macdonald fought a stubborn, sometimes despairing, but often skilful rearguard action, hoping to rally his followers and to placate an uncomfortable, occasionally censorious governor general. But the telegrams published in Liberal newspapers on 18 July were damning, showing that Macdonald, and especially Cartier and Langevin, had accepted large sums of money, actions that were singularly inappropriate since the funds came from a financier with whom the government was negotiating a major railway contract.

When parliament met in late October, Macdonald's colleagues were confident they would weather the storm, but almost at once defections began, including that of Donald Alexander Smith. Macdonald was urged to meet the opposition, to stop further

haemorrhage while there was time. Dufferin and others believed that had the prime minister forced a vote of confidence early enough, he might have won by double figures. But Macdonald sank into a lethargy of gin and despair, waiting, glassy eyed, for some card he feared the opposition had up their sleeve. Finally, he made a great rallying speech on the night of 3 November, but he had been outgeneralled by fear and had left it too late. He and his government resigned 36 hours later, on the 5th.

Macdonald was in some ways glad to be out of it. He went to caucus the day after his resignation and offered to retire as leader, half hoping the members would accept, half fearing an abrupt plunge into private life. Caucus would have none of it. Perhaps retirement was not in his nature. When he was ill in 1870 Joseph Howe had suggested that he should retire to the bench, as chief justice of the proposed supreme court of Canada [*see* Sir William Johnston RITCHIE]. Macdonald was contemptuous, exclaiming as Under-Secretary of State E. A. Meredith recorded in his diary, "'I wd. as soon go to H –ll!'"

Shortly after New Year's Day 1874 the new government of Alexander Mackenzie called an election and proceeded to wipe the floor with the Tories. Of 206 seats in the house the Liberals took 138. Macdonald held Kingston, by only 38 votes, but he was unseated in November on charges of bribery and other electoral malpractice. Yet the Conservatives' popular vote overall, even in this disastrous election, was still 45.4 per cent. Now in opposition (he was returned in a Kingston by-election), Macdonald needed income to live on. The money acquired in 1872 had never stuck in his pockets; he had bled freely with his own money, as well as with the funds of Allan, C. J. Campbell, Sir Francis Hincks*, and others. He was only five years distant from having been flat broke.

Macdonald's private life in the 1850s and 1860s had demanded all his reserves of patience and sanguineness, hope and resilience. The spring and summer of 1869 marked its nadir. After a long and dangerous delivery, Agnes gave birth on 8 Feb. 1869 to a hydrocephalic girl, Margaret Mary Theodora, whose enlarged head undoubtedly contributed to the difficulty of her birth. A photograph taken in June shows Agnes and Mary; sad it is. Even sadder is one of mother and daughter in 1893 when Mary was 24. The cost in moral anguish to both parents can never be known, but any judgement of Sir John and Agnes should always have Mary in mind. By midsummer 1869 it was slowly coming to Macdonald – and with what infinite reluctance did he allow it – that Mary might never be normal. There were always hopes of some new medical treatment that would allow her to live like anyone else. It never came. She never did.

In 1869, too, Macdonald hit the bottom of his personal finances. He had been fighting off that dénouement for five years. One reason for the elaborate marriage settlement of 1867 was to protect Agnes against his creditors. The problem had begun in March 1864 on the death of his law partner, A. J. Macdonell. In May 1867 an estimated $64,000 (roughly $800,000 at 1988 prices) was jointly owed by Macdonald and the Macdonell estate, mainly to the Commercial Bank of Canada. As long as it would carry him – at rates of interest as high as seven per cent – Macdonald could stay afloat. But in September the bank failed; its assets and liabilities were taken over by the Merchants' Bank of Canada. Among the assets was Macdonald's debt, which in April 1869 was almost $80,000. Hugh Allan, president of the Merchants' Bank, did not press but indicated, when Macdonald raised the matter, that it would be useful to have the debt dealt with. The arrangements Macdonald was compelled to make in 1869 are by no means clear. He borrowed $3,000 from D. L. Macpherson to tide him over and, with Agnes, took out a mortgage on property at Kingston, payable to the bank, for $12,000. The money owed him by the Macdonell estate was largely uncollectable. (When Macdonell's widow died in 1881, Macdonald's Kingston factotum, James Shannon, told him that the estate still owed him $42,000.) In 1869 a case was pending in Toronto against Macdonell and Macdonald. It could have been settled out of court in 1865 for $1,000, but Macdonald did not like the counsel for the plaintiffs, Richard Snelling, whom he thought a shark. Finally Hewitt Bernard, again acting as a personal aide, was forced to negotiate a settlement in 1872, for $6,100.

At the time of confederation Macdonald had little income. As prime minister and minister of justice he earned $5,000 per year. His income from his legal partnership with James Patton Sr of Toronto, formed in 1864, was $2,700 between 1 May 1867 and 30 April 1868; the next year it was $1,760. What got Macdonald through was pride, and his friends. Macpherson discovered how bad Sir John's position was after Macdonald's attack of gallstones in May 1870; he set to work to develop a private subscription. He thought it unjust that a prime minister could not support and educate his family on his official income. In the service of his country he had become poor. By the spring of 1872 some $67,000 had been collected by Macpherson and invested as the Testimonial Fund, the income of which Macdonald could use in meeting the ordinary costs of living. Out of it, presumably, Macdonald's debt to the Merchants' Bank would be slowly discharged. Ever sanguine, in 1876 he told Thomas Charles Patteson of the Toronto *Mail* not to be upset at owing money. Treat debts as Fakredeen, in Disraeli's *Tancred*, treated his, Macdonald advised: he "caressed them, toyed with them. What would I be without these darling debts."

After the parliamentary session of 1874 was over, Macdonald began to feel that perhaps his fighting days were coming to an end. He sold his Ottawa house in September 1874 for $10,000 and began plans to move to Toronto, where his law firm and principal client, the Trust and Loan Company, were now located. Before he moved, he wanted the dispute over the contested Kingston election settled; he did not want it known that he would not be returning to Kingston. He won the by-election at the end of December by 17 votes. He then moved into a house on Sherbourne Street in Toronto, rented from T. C. Patteson, and a year later into a more fashionable brick house on St George Street.

Macdonald in 1875 was determined to lie back, avoid factiousness, and ride the party with a loose rein. He lay back too much. One Friday in February, when Agnes was visiting in Niagara, he had been drinking brandy in the Senate bar, and by 3:00 P.M. he was already drunk. George Airey KIRKPATRICK got him into the house for the speech he had to make. He spoke with sufficient clarity, though everyone present knew he was "sprung." Alexander Mackenzie followed. Macdonald, by now fractious, interrupted him constantly. Conservatives tried to get him out, but he refused to go. When he was drunk his temper went awry. Agnes would have kept him under control; left to himself, as Charles Belford* of the *Mail* remarked, "he is helpless as a baby." She was called home abruptly by her mother's death that same evening. Macdonald had reason to try to turn over a new leaf. He did: he joined the Church of England on 2 March.

It may be well to confront the legend that Macdonald was a chronic drunkard. He was not. He was a spasmodic one: now and then, as the dialectic of life and politics went too savagely against him, or as the sheer strain of running or some inner compulsion, now beyond analysis, drove him. The numerous stories may be exaggerated but cannot be safely denied. A few examples suggest the general point. During the exertions and the parties of the Quebec conference of 1864, a friend discovered Macdonald standing in his room in front of a mirror, dressed in his nightshirt, a train rug thrown over his shoulder, practising lines from *Hamlet*. He was not sober. Such incidents were not always so innocent of effect. In the late stages of negotiations with the Manitoba delegates in April 1870, Macdonald, after having been on the wagon for several months, became quite *hors de combat* on a Friday, and could not be got working again until the Monday. He was tired from overwork, distracted by worries, and demoralized by the sudden death of a friend. In some ways that combination was typical. Still, it was also true that Macdonald was ill from gallstones. Perhaps the worst period of drinking occurred in 1872–73, at the time of the election

and Pacific Scandal. In reviewing the fall of the government, Alexander Campbell told Alexander Morris*, lieutenant governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, that Macdonald, "from the time he left Kingston, after his own election, . . . kept himself more or less under the influence of wine, and . . . really has no clear recollection of what he did on many occasions at Toronto and elsewhere after that period."

Macdonald's drinking had been serious enough that when he had consulted Hewitt Bernard about marrying his sister Agnes, Bernard replied that he had only one objection. Macdonald promised reformation. Another source said that Bernard tried to dissuade his sister from the marriage for that reason. Altogether, there is no doubt that Agnes had some idea of what she was getting into when she married Macdonald in 1867. And it was easier for Macdonald to promise reformation than to effect it. His reformations were spasmodic too. His having joined the Church of England in March 1875 did not prevent an unpleasant incident at a dinner party in T. C. Patteson's house in Toronto some months later. Macdonald got drunk, insulted Tupper, and finally went ropily upstairs to bed. Agnes went out the front door, and was still outside, sitting on the gate, when Patteson looked out at 6:00 A.M. Macdonald's political colleagues were philosophical; they would try to get him where he could sleep it off. Agnes could usually handle him, but, as this incident shows, not always. Of course people made allowances. His drinking may not have harmed him all that much in a world that tolerated a good deal of heavy drinking; it may even have had advantages in an age when men voted and women did not. What it did to him morally and physically is difficult to know; and one can only imagine what it did to Agnes. Some of her feelings surface in her diary.

The internal life of Macdonald's second marriage is as much a mystery as most marriages are. The main difficulty in knowing it is the absence of correspondence between them. One suspects that Agnes herself was the source of this hiatus, for she lived on until 1920 and had ample time to destroy not only Macdonald's letters to her but hers to him. Agnes was not greatly popular in Ottawa; she was acutely conscious of her lack of genial social graces, of deftness and ductility, and she finally seemed to take refuge in being something of a Tartar in the capital's society. But one must never forget her crippled daughter.

By 1875 Macdonald's law practice had become rather snarled. His agreement with Patton in 1864 was to last eight years. In the summer of 1871 a new agreement was drafted with a 20-year term. Macdonald's son, Hugh John, now 21 and a law student, was to enter the firm on 1 Nov. 1873. Of the profits from the Trust and Loan business

Macdonald was to have one-third, Patton two-thirds; of general business Macdonald and his son were to have one-third, Patton one-third, and a new partner (Robert M. Fleming) one-third. The agreement defined Macdonald's participation as "protecting & advancing the interests of the Firm, using his influence on their behalf & advising on important questions." At the end of 1875 Hugh left the firm to go into practice on his own at Kingston, partly owing to a row with his father over his engagement to a young Toronto widow. The correspondence with his son does not show Macdonald to advantage. A softer and less vigorous edition of the old man, Hugh was, at least on paper, sweet reasonableness; Macdonald sounded like a heavy-handed father, gruff and unforgiving. He slowly got over it. By the end of 1877 Patton wanted out of the partnership. Evidence of the degree of bitterness is conflicting. Macdonald told T. C. Patteson on 18 Jan. 1878 that he and Patton were parting, but not amicably; the next day he told Hugh that any breach had been healed. The break became effective on 15 April. A formal indenture, dated 15 Oct. 1880, registered what had been a fact for two years.

In January 1877 Macdonald had told Langevin that he would resign the Conservative leadership when caucus met in Ottawa for the new session. His health seemed precarious, and he did not like to be an inefficient leader. But caucus would not hear of his resigning; Macdonald gritted his teeth and went on. He had already begun to think the Mackenzie government might be defeated. In the session of February–April 1877 he definitely adopted a protectionist policy, something he had been drifting toward for some years. Macdonald had once been a free trader; several of his Conservative colleagues were still free traders, Macpherson for one. But Liberals had occupied that terrain. Macdonald had to agree with Patteson of the *Mail*, as early as 1872, that the Conservative party had no option but to "coquet with the Protectionists." Of course that wicked word "protection" should never be used, Macdonald told Macpherson privately in February 1872, but "we can ring the changes of a National Policy; in paying the United States in their own coin." In the summers of 1876–78 he was into political picnics, his hands "full of these infernal things," which were nevertheless an efficient means of popularizing protection and revitalizing his party.

The extent of its victory in the general election of September 1878 astonished even Conservatives. Macdonald's personal defeat in Kingston could not alter their elation. Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Ontario, and Quebec all reversed positions from 1874. The most dramatic change was in Ontario, where Mackenzie had won 66 of 88 seats in 1874, and where Macdonald now won 63. Besides the obvious effects of the

depression of the mid 1870s, the temperance question had in Macdonald's view done the Liberals great damage in Ontario. At the dominion level Mackenzie had passed the Canada Temperance Act in April 1878; at the provincial level Oliver Mowat*'s Liberal government passed the Crooks Act in 1876, which transferred authority for liquor licences from the municipalities to a provincial board. These acts alienated 6,000 licensed hotels and taverns in Ontario.

Subsequently elected in both Marquette, Man., and Victoria, B.C., Macdonald judiciously chose to represent the latter. His cabinet was built that fall from the same template he used to shape all his cabinets. It reflected Canada's national and religious composition and contained representatives of six provinces. Making such agglomerations work was the product of Macdonald's own peculiar make-up. First, he believed in politeness. Asking Langevin in 1879 to comment upon an enclosed letter, Macdonald noted, "What answer shall I send? Let it be *soft*." It made no sense to alienate people, merely for the sake of satisfying a principle, usually irrelevant. There were times to be tough and exigent: but they were far less frequent than people thought. If Macdonald returned few hard answers, he rarely promised, definitely, anything. Agnes had a frank word with T. C. Patteson on that subject. Patteson was interested in some office, perhaps for a friend. Agnes made it clear Macdonald was as costive with her as with everyone else. It was unlikely the office was already promised. Macdonald did not work that way. But she had no direct influence. "Of Sir John's plans & purposes I know nothing, tho' the world . . . persists in thinking I do . . . . My lord & master who in his private capacity simply lives to please & gratify me . . . is *absolutely* tyranical in his public life so far as I am concerned. If I interfere in any sort of way he will be annoyed. . . . Sir John knows my opinion & wishes on the subject perfectly well . . . . The other day . . . I expressed it again with added decision – but Sir John, as is usual with him . . . looked very benign[,] very gracious, very pleasant – but – answered *not one word*!" In 1890 Joseph Pope said much the same: Macdonald hated to be boxed in by promises, real or implied.

Under Macdonald patronage settled into a certain pattern. Nominations came from anyone, but ministers listened to those from party members of standing, especially from Conservative MPs or a Conservative who had fought an election and lost. Macdonald would never concede, and tried to prevent colleagues from conceding, that an MP had any *right* to be consulted about appointments. Fundamentally, it was a minister's responsibility to decide, and Macdonald rarely interfered. In his own departmental administration – as minister of justice (1867–73), minister of the interior

(1878–83), superintendent general of Indian affairs (1878–87), and minister of railways and canals (1889–91) – Macdonald was cautious about appointments, and he would not have his deputy minister pushed around by cabinet ministers or MPs out for favours for their constituents.

When he was minister of justice, he paid particular attention to the appointment of judges; to some extent he always would. The argument that Macdonald never appointed to a judgeship anyone without a substantial record of party service is not true. Joseph Pope was basically right: Macdonald was after quality – mind, law, integrity, good health, even address. In 1882 he pushed Alexander Campbell, then justice minister, to appoint Lewis Wallbridge* of Belleville, well known to Manitoba lawyers and an old friend, as chief justice of Manitoba, despite his Grit family connections. "He will be a good judge," Macdonald reasoned. "It is so seldom one can indulge one's personal feelings with due consideration for public interests." Macdonald's main concern was Wallbridge's teeth. He could not contemplate the prospect of a grave chief justice delivering judgement through a mouthful of black, decaying stumps. Mackenzie Bowell*, a cabinet minister from Belleville, was set to work to get Wallbridge to have new teeth. It was a doubtful business, although, as Bowell put it irreverently, of "*gnashing* importance."

The more important the judgeship, the less was Macdonald willing to let ordinary canons of patronage prevail. "My rule," he told one Nova Scotian in 1870, "is to consider fitness as the first requisite for judicial appointments, and . . . political considerations should have little or no influence." Perhaps the best example of this concern was his appointment of Samuel Hume Blake* as a vice-chancellor of Ontario. In 1869 he thought the judges of its Court of Chancery, John Godfrey Spragge* and Oliver Mowat, lacked authority; as Macdonald put it to J. H. Cameron, equity in Ontario needed heavier metal. He had wanted Edward Blake; solicited privately, Blake did not accept the offer, mostly because his private law practice was too lucrative. Macdonald tried other Liberals and in the end, in 1872, got Blake's brother to accept. "There was," he explained to Patteson, "literally no Conservative fit for the position who was available." Macdonald applied the rule of judicial qualification generally. Bliss Botsford* was appointed a county court judge in New Brunswick in 1870, even though he had been an anti-confederate in 1865–66. Timothy Warren ANGLIN, a New Brunswick Liberal, noted that appointment and wondered if there were any possibility for himself. Macdonald answered promptly, stating that Botsford had been selected on "special recommendation" and declaring his patronage principles: "I think that in the

distribution of Government patronage we carry out the true Constitutional principle. Whenever an office is vacant it belongs to the party supporting the Government if within that party there is to be found a person competent to perform the duties. Responsible Government cannot be carried on in any other principle. I am not careful however what a man's political antecedents have been, if I am satisfied that he is really and bona fide a friend of the Government at the time of his appointment. My principle is, reward your friends and do not buy your enemies."

In 1878 Macdonald took on the Department of the Interior portfolio because the west was the growing edge of the country. By 1881, however, the CPR was taking up so much of his time and energy that David Mills*, one of the members of the Liberal opposition with whom he was always friendly, chided him with having largely left the department "to take care of itself." Macdonald was, as he was to admit in 1883, unprepared in debate and had to "rely on memory and the inspiration of the moment." That did not answer with a vigilant opposition. Macdonald was 66 in 1881, and his age was starting to show. He had been ill in 1880 and during the winter of 1880–81, when the CPR contract was going through parliament. He managed an expert defence of it in the house on 17 January, but after the session prorogued, on 21 March, he went to ground, pulse at 49, with liver and abdominal pain. His sister, Louisa, saw him early in May: "I never saw John looking what I would call old till this time." But he made no plans to give up. The CPR and the National Policy both needed the buttress of another election victory. He nursed his strength as best he could at home. Charles John Brydges*, land commissioner of the HBC, found him there on 3 May looking "very ill indeed" but determined to straighten out an ugly tangle with the HBC over a contract with the government for Indian supplies. Macdonald put the blame on Chief Factor John H. McTavish. In 1881 he still cherished hard memories of the HBC as partly responsible for the Red River rebellion. But his old friendship with Brydges allowed a sensible compromise that Brydges had suggested to go forward.

Macdonald by now needed help with the interior portfolio. D. L. Macpherson had become a minister without portfolio and government leader in the Senate in 1880, and the following year an ailing Macdonald began to get him to do the interior work when he himself was abroad for recovery. Macpherson liked the task and believed he was good at it. From London in 1881 Macdonald watched Macpherson taking hold while he tried to build up his energies. Work was now his only pleasure. He returned to Ottawa in mid September a good deal more spry. A cartoon by John Wilson Bengough* in *Grip* showed him passing his 67th birthday milestone with

"M.DCCC.L.XXX.II. JNO.A. O.K." carved on it. This well-being was reflected triumphantly in the general election of June 1882. There were no major issues, and Canadians gave Macdonald (who was returned in the eastern Ontario riding of Carleton) nearly as large a majority as he had had in 1878.

Yet the next nine years of Macdonald's life would be a struggle to maintain his own strength, and that of his cabinet, against old age, illness, incompetence, or colleagues simply wearing out. Macpherson took over the interior portfolio officially in 1883 because he and other colleagues saw that Macdonald was carrying too heavy a load. But Macpherson soon flagged and was abroad for his own health in 1883 and again in 1884. When a question about British Columbia lands arose that year, of course Macdonald had to deal with it. He looked better than most of the cabinet but claimed that he felt the worst, with the possible exception of John Henry Pope*. Although his face and voice did not betray his weakness, he was already thinking of easing back in the harness, especially when parliamentary sessions were on. But Tupper's retirement to England in 1884 as high commissioner left a gaping hole in the cabinet; a solid and capable replacement was a matter of urgency. It took a long time. "We want new blood sadly," Macdonald told Tupper in February 1885. Campbell and Archibald Woodbury McLelan* wanted out, Tilley in finance was unwell and was away much of the time, Macpherson and Joseph-Adolphe CHAPLEAU were ill and away, J. H. Pope was sick, John Costigan* was often drunk. The work fell on Macdonald, that too-willing horse, and, he admitted to Campbell, "much of it of necessity was ill done. . . . If we don't get Thompson I don't know what to do." Well before John Sparrow David THOMPSON came into cabinet, the Saskatchewan crisis, at the end of March 1885, was fully upon the government.

The issues in the Saskatchewan River valley were produced by a series of disappointments and an overstrained administration. The CPR pulled its main line far to the south in 1882; there were bad harvests in the valley in 1883 and 1884. The territory needed attention from Ottawa and there was no one to give it. Langevin went west in 1884 but he declined to make a 200-mile ride across the prairie to hear grievances from disaffected Métis at Batoche (Sask.) or whites in Prince Albert. In Regina Edgar Dewdney*, lieutenant governor of the North-West Territories, did the best he could on skimped budgets and attempted so far as he was able to buffer Macdonald from difficulties.

Riel's arrival in the Saskatchewan valley in July 1884 created a stir among both Métis and whites. A large petition to Ottawa about grievances was got up by Riel, William

Henry Jackson*, and Andrew Spence in December. It was reviewed by Macpherson, now back on the job. On 28 January the cabinet concluded that it would have to assess the position of the Saskatchewan Métis, with full enumeration and probably land scrip in mind. Macdonald, who had always frowned on land grants and scrip as a solution, did not much like the decision, but he went along with forming a three-man commission to investigate the claims of those Métis who were still eligible but had not participated in land allocation under the Manitoba Act. The news was telegraphed to Dewdney on 4 February; Riel got it via his cousin Charles Nolin* four days later. The appointment of a commission was not merely a shuffle. The government was looking to a strong commission; Macdonald and Macpherson were weighing up the men for it in early March. Once it was appointed and working, an insurrection would be pointless and any settlement of Riel's personal land claims unlikely.

In late March 1885, by an extraordinary combination of circumstances, two major problems landed on Macdonald's desk at the same time. The outbreak of fighting on the 26th at Duck Lake, between the Métis led by Gabriel Dumont* and a North-West Mounted Police force under Lief Newry Fitzroy Crozier*, occurred on the very day when Macdonald finally told George Stephen*, president of the CPR, that the cabinet could not approve any further loan to allow its completion. By the next day it was becoming clear to Macdonald that the one problem could be made to relieve the other: further funding could be considered for the CPR because of its value in moving forces to quell the insurrection [*see* Sir Frederick Dobson MIDDLETON]. As tactics the solution was brilliant: as government it was desperate.

In these circumstances, the introduction in April, not of relief for the CPR, but of the electoral franchise bill, might have seemed quixotic, not to say foolhardy. But with a rebellion on in the west, it was patent that, as things stood, whether the CPR survived or not, Macdonald could not win another general election, which was due within two years. Provinces controlled their own franchise and dominion elections were based upon provincially prepared voters' lists. Because Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Ontario were now under Liberal control, it was sensible to consider having a federal franchise, with federal voters' lists administered by county court judges or, where necessary, by local barristers. Macdonald wanted at least impartiality; he certainly wanted to negate Liberal partiality. Vigorously defended by Macdonald against a barrage of opposition attacks, the franchise bill passed in July, near the end of the session.

In dealing with the CPR, a private company dependent on the goodwill of the government, Macdonald could be more cavalier. The CPR was, as he had remarked in 1884, the government's "sleeping partner (with limited liability)." In February of that year he suggested to Stephen that, in the war coming between the Grand Trunk and the CPR, it would be well to strengthen the latter's hand in sections of the country. "The CPR must become political & secure as much Parliamentary support as possible." Appointments to the Ontario and Quebec, the railway leased by the CPR from January 1884, "should all be made political. There are plenty of good men to be found in our ranks." In March Macdonald put the question more jocularly to Henry Hall Smith, the Ontario Conservative organizer. No one should be working on the CPR who was not – Macdonald used William Cornelius Van Horne*'s pithy remark – a "fully 'circumsised'" Conservative.

Stephen was not an easy-going confrère. He complained of manifold difficulties, but he did not always appreciate Macdonald's. For example, in 1885 the CPR wanted to institute a land buy-back scheme; being land rich and cash poor, it would sell some of its land back to the government. The cabinet was opposed and Macdonald reminded Stephen on 26 May that it had been only "with *very* great difficulty" that he himself had gained acceptance for the loan package devised during the rebellion. "The majority of our friends in Parlt and *all* our & your foes were in favour of the Govt assuming possession of the road, and my personal influence with our supporters and a plain indication of my resignation only got them into line. This was done by personal communication with every one of them . . . . You speak of having to come back next Session. I hope you have not done so to anyone else. A hint of that kind getting abroad would be fatal to you." The CPR aid package, notice of which had been given by the prime minister on 1 May, was introduced in the commons on 16 June and passed in July. It is possible to wonder what would have happened to the CPR had Macdonald not been in power, or if he and Stephen had not worked together in utmost frankness. The line to the west coast was completed later in 1885 and in the summer of 1886 Macdonald travelled overland to British Columbia, his first trip west. Ironically, during the parliamentary session that spring the CPR did sell 6.8 million acres, valued at $10.2 million, back to the government to help repay the loan.

A glimpse of Macdonald's personal opinion about one of the most dramatic episodes of the North-West rebellion, Riel's trial and execution, emerges from his correspondence with his trusted friend, J. R. Gowan, now retired from the bench, whom Macdonald had appointed to the Senate in January 1885. Macdonald confessed

to him on 4 June 1885, two weeks after Riel was captured, that if Riel were convicted "he certainly will be executed but in the present natural excitement people grumble at his not being hanged off hand." When the question of clemency for Riel arose after his conviction in August, Gowan's legal and political view was much the same as Macdonald's. It would be, he told Macdonald in September, "a fatal blunder to interfere with the due course of law in his case. The only plea he could urge was urged for him at the trial and found against him." Macdonald's correspondence on this touchy subject is thin, but Gowan's letter to him of 18 November, two days after Riel was hanged, reveals Macdonald's perception clearly enough: "From what you wrote me I did not doubt the result but I felt most uneasy to the last knowing how public men are often obliged to take a course they do not individually approve. The fact may affect you prejudicially with Lower Canada but looking at the subject with all anxiety to see the wisest course for you to take I felt it would have been an act of political insanity to yield, simply because the man was of French blood." Thus, although it is sometimes averred that Macdonald sacrificed Riel to Ontario opinion, that is the truth inside out. Riel was a victim of the law. One way out might have been to bend before Quebec opinion. The *furia francese* spent its force eventually, but not without political damage. Though he won a comfortable majority in the federal election of February 1887, Macdonald lost ground in Quebec; provincially, the Conservatives lost control of Quebec to Liberal leader Honoré MERCIER.

The west, after the rebellion, went on to become prosperous, with ranches, railways, immigration, and wheat. Ontario, on the other hand, took up fear of Catholicism and the French; Quebec took up fear of Protestants and the English. Anti-Catholicism had spilled northward from the United States, where a strong nativist movement arose in the late 1880s; but there was plenty of Protestant tinder in Ontario always ready for a satisfying and warming blaze, and Toronto's Protestant papers took fire after Mercier's Jesuits' Estates Act was given royal assent in July 1888 [*see* Christopher William BUNTING]. Protestant Ontario demanded disallowance, claiming papal intrusion into a settlement between the Jesuits and the province of Quebec (the estates' owner since confederation), but Macdonald and the minister of justice, Sir John Thompson, thought the act should stand. The Protestant "equal rights" uproar followed in March 1889 [*see* Daniel James MACDONNELL]. William Edward O'Brien*, MP for Muskoka, told Macdonald that he would move in the commons that the Jesuits' Estates Act be disallowed. Macdonald said he regretted such a motion but, he added in a typical gesture, he would be sorry if any Conservative should feel bound to separate from the party merely because he had voted for O'Brien's motion. He told William Bain Scarth*,

his right-hand man in Manitoba and MP for Winnipeg, to leave "equal rights" severely alone. Many Conservatives might take it up but Macdonald felt they "will be all right at election time. There is no use of reminding them of their mistake. It might, such is the perversity of human nature, have the effect of making them stick to their cry." Macdonald had little stomach for recriminations.

In the commons debate in 1889 on disallowance, Thompson walked into O'Brien's outspoken ally D'Alton McCarthy with a cool, polite, but infuriating logic. Thompson was appalled at the sheer impolicy of the motion in a country like Canada, which was 40 per cent Catholic. Macdonald admired his performance but for one thing: it was too good. Thompson had angered McCarthy. Macdonald was thinking of a day when O'Brien and McCarthy, both Conservatives, would cool off and return to the party. Thompson had perhaps reduced that possibility. The government's overwhelming majority against disallowance, 188 to 13, was due not only to parliament's revulsion at McCarthy's argument but also to the French Canadians on the Conservative side having been told to keep quiet and let the common sense of the anglophone members prevail. Nevertheless, Macdonald did not like the drift of things. Canada, he told Gowan in July 1890, as a just punishment for ingratitude for the blessings that had been heaped upon it, was heading into trouble. "The demon of religious animosity which I had hoped had been buried in the grave of George Brown has been revived. . . . McCarthy has sown the Dragons teeth. I fear they may grow up to be armed men."

On the Manitoba school question, which grew out of "equal rights," Macdonald agreed in 1890 with both Thompson and Edward Blake – the decision about the constitutionality of Manitoba's abolition of public funding for Catholic schools was best left to the courts, not to the House of Commons. He who had been so free with disallowing provincial legislation to protect the CPR from Manitoba [*see* John Norquay*] or with Ontario over the Rivers and Streams Act [*see* John Godfrey Spragge], now capitulated to basic good sense. If Manitoba's school legislation was *ultra vires*, the courts would so declare it. If it were *intra vires*, what was the point of disallowance?

By 1890 many of Macdonald's colleagues had died off or retired, some of them too young. Thomas White* died in 1888 at age 58, having won golden opinions as minister of the interior; Macdonald loved him like a son. John Henry Pope died in 1889; Macdonald mourned him as a trusted and salty companion. Others went to pasture: Tilley to Government House in Fredericton in 1885, Sir Alexander Campbell to Government House in Toronto in 1887. The weaknesses of Sir Adolphe-Philippe

Caron*, the minister of militia and defence, seemed to grow more apparent, as did Secretary of State Chapleau's thirst for a portfolio with blood in it. Macdonald had acquired younger men, enthusiastic and hardworking, but not very experienced: John Graham Haggart*, Charles Carroll Colby, George Eulas Foster*, and Charles Hibbert Tupper*. They were awkward colleagues to handle sometimes, especially young Tupper, MP for Pictou, N.S., and minister of marine and fisheries from 1888 to 1894. He had much of the talent and all of the bumptiousness of his father. One of Tupper's importunate requests Macdonald endorsed with "Dear Charlie, Skin your own skunks. JAMD." In a characteristic argument in 1889 Tupper took exception to Conservative friends in Pictou being ignored in a coal contract for the Intercolonial Railway. Macdonald, then in charge of railways and canals, reminded him that chief engineer Collingwood Schreiber* was responsible for the contract. Schreiber had no other interest than doing his duty. You can, Macdonald told Tupper, "throw all the blame on me, if you like." Still, he prefaced his letter with a touch of jocularity. "I see we must find you a seat where there are no coal mines, or we shall have annual trouble."

Foster also had a difficulty, though it was not with his Department of Finance. Macdonald was distressed over Foster's marriage to Adeline Chisholm [Davies*] in 1889. Her husband had deserted her and she had eventually got a divorce in Illinois. In a letter to former governor general Lord Lansdowne [Petty-Fitzmaurice*], now in India, Macdonald was frank. Mrs Foster would be shunned by Ottawa society, he said, and Rideau Hall would be closed to her. Foster would be stung to death in the next session of parliament. "But," Macdonald added, "as Sir Matthew Hale long ago said, 'There is no wisdom below the belt.'" Macdonald judged wrong. If Lady Macdonald refused to see Mrs Foster, Lady Thompson [Affleck*] would and did see her, and in 1893 Sir John Thompson persuaded Governor General Lord Aberdeen [Hamilton-Gordon*] and Lady Aberdeen [Marjoribanks*] that the nonsense had gone on long enough.

Macdonald's heir apparent, after Sir Charles Tupper went to London in 1884 and McCarthy refused to enter the cabinet, had been Sir Hector-Louis Langevin. He had been groomed to replace Sir George-Étienne Cartier, upon whom Macdonald had relied so much. Cartier had been his Quebec lieutenant, respected, listened to, and with real authority. He had also been Macdonald's right hand in the commons, taking over the running of it when Macdonald was away. To this double role Langevin might have succeeded, but he was never really capable of filling either part of it. The political control of Quebec he was forced to share, reluctantly, with others. Hardworking in his department (Public Works), he was the senior minister but, despite Macdonald's

urging, he seemed never quite to rise to mastering the general business of the house. He remained senior minister but by 1890 Thompson had become Macdonald's real lieutenant. He and Macdonald got on well together; he wrote admirable state papers and shouldered a great deal of the work. Macdonald was nevertheless devoted to Langevin, who had stood by him through many a dark hour. And he had always let tried and experienced ministers run their own departments. The obverse was that he could be caught by that trust. Of Joseph-Israël Tarte*, Caron, and others, who by 1890 were bringing Macdonald allegations of wrongdoing in Langevin's department, Macdonald could only ask, what could he do? It was perhaps his inkling of a scandal involving Langevin and MP Thomas McGreevy, if not its details, that made him look early in 1891 for reasons to dissolve parliament. He now lived, according to Gowan, in daily fear that the searchlight would be applied to Langevin's department. Macdonald was not at all sure his government would survive.

The election of March 1891 would be fought on patriotic grounds, by meeting head on the Liberal call for unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. It was apparent to Macdonald that the American secretary of state, James Gillespie Blaine of Maine, was an expansionist interested in taking over Canada. Macdonald could strike the patriotic note hard. Asked for a dissolution, Governor General Lord Stanley* was more than a little dubious about using, as a weapon of political war, the proofs of a pamphlet by journalist Edward Farrer* on how American policies could be devised for driving Canada into annexation, but, with the Liberals getting the Langevin scandal hot and ready to serve, Macdonald did not want another session of parliament without an election first. He did not hesitate, in an enthusiastic address in Toronto on 17 February, to colour Liberal schemes of unrestricted reciprocity as fundamentally annexationist. Macdonald's famous remark in his electoral address on the 7th of that month, "I am a British subject and British born, and a British subject I hope to die," has to be read more as an expression of Canadian nationalism than as any lofty imperial sentiment. Indeed as early as 1884 he was looking to the day when Britain (now a rather "shaky old Mother," as he saw her) would be taken care of by her growing children. That year he was sorry to see New South Wales throwing over the chance to have an Australian federation; Canada and Australia together would have work to do ere long helping the mother country, he said in a letter to Gowan. But in 1889 cabinet expressed only mild interest in his proposals for a conference with the "Australasian Colonies" and, perhaps following the lead of business, the possibility of trade relations.

Parliament opened at the end of April 1891 and on 11 May Tarte moved for the Langevin–McGreevy investigation. The next day, in an interview with the governor general, Macdonald suffered a slight stroke. Neither Thompson nor Lord Stanley liked the look of it; the election, which had produced a reduced Conservative majority, had taken a great deal out of Macdonald. Nevertheless, he rallied and in ten days was back in that all too familiar and sweaty harness at the Department of Railways and Canals, dealing, once more, on 22 May, with C. H. Tupper's importunities. It was almost the last business Macdonald did. Tupper wanted a policeman to control the crowds at the Pictou railway station when the trains came in. Macdonald patiently sent the letter to Schreiber, who replied that he could not believe the good people of Pictou had suddenly become all that uncontrollable! Few could know how toilsome were Macdonald's working days. Behind a life that seemed full of achievement and great projects were a mountain of detail, piles of paper, and long days of aching routines. In these last weeks, working in his department and in cabinet, he tried to keep his strength, avoiding late-night sittings of the house. He was chagrined at a ministerial defeat on 21 May on a motion to adjourn, by a vote of 65 to 74, because Conservative members were at dinner parties given by Chapleau and Dewdney. Such a defeat had not happened to Macdonald before, in 13 years of office. He himself had to come into the house. This defeat and the Langevin scandal gave the opposition new life and vigour.

Macdonald went the other way. While he was in bed recovering from a cold, a severe stroke overtook him on the afternoon of 29 May. He never spoke again. He died a week later, in the evening of 6 June 1891. There was a great state funeral in Ottawa and he was buried in Cataraqui Cemetery, near Kingston, beside his parents, his first wife, his sisters, and his long-dead child.

Under Macdonald's will, dated 4 Sept. 1890, rights of administration were given to Edgar Dewdney, Frederick White (a former secretary), and Joseph Pope, his secretary since 1882. The three men were, with Agnes, the official guardians of Mary, who would live until 1933. All of Macdonald's real estate and property in Ottawa (mainly Earnscliffe, the family's home since 1883) went to Agnes free of rent. Her current income was provided by her marriage settlement and by the testimonial gift of $67,000 presented to the Macdonalds in 1872. Macdonald's two insurance policies, each worth £2,000, were to be invested for the benefit of Hugh John, who also received some estate and stock left to Sir John by his sister, Louisa. Not counting the Earnscliffe property, Macdonald left about $80,000 plus the Testimonial Fund income.

Macdonald had an elasticity of mind and range of information rare in Canada and unusual anywhere. He joined to that a huge and irreverent sense of humour. He wore the dignity of his office, well and good; he had style, manners, and vocabulary, but they were often a mask and the real Macdonald would show through it, especially if he caught the eye of an old friend. With his friends, he rarely worried about being what later Victorians might have called respectable. He was never a later Victorian anyway. When his affairs were in a tangle, when he was depressed, when he was unable to put things off, he might get drunk: more often he would open up the truth in conversation. He often discovered that talk suggested, to his fertile mind, some way of escape. He had enormous patience. Sir Alexander Campbell, his old law partner and long a colleague, marvelled at it. To A. W. McLelan of Nova Scotia he gave the impression, even in 1889, that there were reserves of power yet unused.

J. R. Gowan reflected that of Macdonald's great aspirations, of his nobility of aim, there could be no doubt. But if Macdonald thought of the ends, he was insufficiently concerned with the means. The public service was affected. Lord Lansdowne, in India, was not surprised at the Langevin revelations, however much he was fond of Macdonald. In his own departments Macdonald would not tolerate a slack or disobedient deputy minister and he would back a fair and judicious official such as Schreiber in railways or a cabinet minister of the calibre of Thompson. But often he had to work with lesser men, of doubtful integrity or dubious intelligence. He may have trusted them too much, or his own capacity for using them. "A good carpenter," he told T. C. Patteson in 1874, "can work with indifferent tools." On 19 June 1891 the *Montreal Star* observed that as long as he was there, it did not much matter who was in the cabinet: "His infinite capacity for getting well out of any scrape that his friends got him into . . . [was] such as would have inspired confidence in a government composed of Montreal aldermen had he been at the head of it." Macdonald's protean mind, his resourcefulness, his reserves of doggedness when the going was really rough – all gave him tremendous depth and resilience. He calls to mind an aphorism by Talleyrand, "The stability of complicated natures comes from their infinite flexibility." This quality could mean timidity, as with George Eulas Foster. Yet he was never a prig; his sense of humour could be wicked, and he loved old, even gamy friends and associations. It could also mean a tenderness that was both charming and touching. In April 1891 Tilley, his old finance minister, wrote from New Brunswick asking if he could continue for a while longer as lieutenant governor; if he stepped down, his and his wife's combined income would not be enough for them to live on. He would have to eat up his capital, and this, though Tilley did not say so, after 12 years of public service to New Brunswick and 24 to

Canada. Macdonald sent the letter on to Foster, the New Brunswick minister in cabinet, endorsing it, "My dear Foster, This is a sad letter. . . . We must leave him in Govt House as long as possible." Foster agreed. Tilley stayed until 1893.

The truth was, notwithstanding all the vicissitudes Macdonald had endured, he enjoyed his *métier*. He remembered faces and places, associations and names, and he kept them alive in mind and practice with an enormous and often personal correspondence. He listened to everyone, and led all to think that he set great store by their information. His own letters are a marvellous treasure: trenchant, whimsical, full of pith and substance, salt and savour – the way he was. "He was the father and founder of his country," said Sir John Thompson in 1891 in a rare interview, "there is not one of us who . . . had not lost his heart to him." Even Liberals were not without grudging admiration; Conservatives, in parliament, in the country, loved the Old Man and at his death they mourned for him as if he had been taken from their very firesides.

J. K. JOHNSON and P. B. WAITE

[The main manuscript source for this study is the Macdonald papers at NA, MG 26, A. The letter-books, copious for the late 1860s and early 1870s, are particularly useful. Other important collections at the NA are the papers of Sir James Robert Gowan (MG 27, I, E17), Henry Hall Smith (MG 27, I, I19), Sir George Stephen (MG 29, A30), Sir John Thompson (MG 26, D), and Sir Charles Tupper (MG 26, F). At the AO are the papers of Sir Alexander Campbell (MU 469–87), Alexander Morris (MS 535), T. C. Patteson (MS 22), and W. B. Scarth (MS 77). Also useful are the Langevin papers at the ANQ-Q (P-134) and the Williamson papers at the QUA (2259).

Leading printed sources are Sir Joseph Pope's edition of the *Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald* . . . (Toronto, 1921), still valuable after nearly 70 years, and the more detailed and modern *Letters of Sir John A. Macdonald* . . . , in two volumes covering the period from 1836 to 1861, edited by J. K. Johnson and C. B. Stelmack (Ottawa, 1968–69). A collection of Macdonald family correspondence, also edited by Johnson, has been published as *Affectionately yours; the letters of Sir John A. Macdonald and his family* (Toronto, 1969). Other major primary materials include Can., Prov. of, Parl., *Confederation debates*, and Pope's *Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald, G.C.B., first prime minister of the Dominion of Canada* (2v., Ottawa, [1894]).

There are several biographies of Macdonald. One that must be mentioned here is Donald Grant Creighton*'s two-volume study, *Macdonald, young politician* and *Macdonald, old chieftain*. It is unforgettable, splendid, but flawed. Creighton makes daring assumptions not only in his description of Macdonald but also in his reading of characters in apposition. Nevertheless, it is probably the greatest Canadian biography yet published in English. Other

useful works are P. B. Waite's *Macdonald: his life and world* (Toronto and New York, 1975) and his *Life and times of confederation*; J. K. Johnson's "John A. Macdonald" in *The pre-confederation premiers: Ontario government leaders, 1841–1867*, ed. J. M. S. Careless (Toronto, 1980), 197–245, "John A. Macdonald, the young non-politician," CHA *Hist. papers*, 1971: 138–53, and "John A. Macdonald and the Kingston business community," *To preserve & defend: essays on Kingston in the nineteenth century*, ed. G. [J. J.] Tulchinsky (Montreal and London, 1976), 141–55; and W. R. Teatero, "John A. Macdonald learns – articling with George Mackenzie," *Historic Kingston*, no.27 (1979): 92–112. J.K.J. and P.B.W.]

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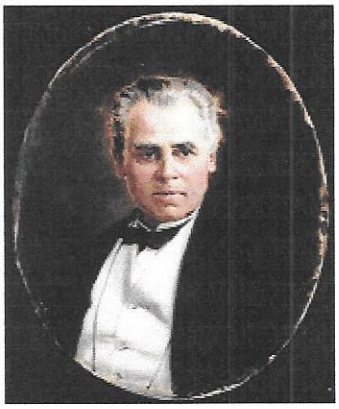

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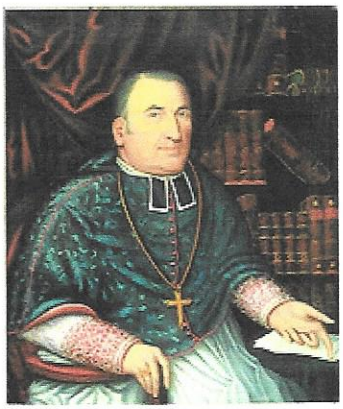

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