

**“WHY NOT GO TO THE HUDSON’S BAY COUNTRY?”:
SCOTS-INDIGENOUS ENCOUNTERS IN THE TRAVEL WRITING OF JAMES
CARNEGIE, NINTH EARL OF SOUTHESK AND TRANSATLANTIC TOURIST**

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HIST448 D100: Scots in the Atlantic World
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April 9, 2019

James Carnegie, the Ninth Earl of Southesk, (1827-1905) was the eldest son in an aristocratic Scottish Lowland family.¹ A well-educated man, he attended the Edinburgh Academy and the Royal Military College at Sandhurst in his youth.² Upon graduation, Southesk served as part of the Gordon Highlanders (then designated the 92nd Regiment of Foot) and the Grenadier Guards,³ though his rank and years of service remain concealed in archives.⁴ According to his obituary, Southesk succeeded his father, Sir James Carnegie, as the sixth baronet of Pitbarrow in 1849 and claimed the Earldom of Southesk in 1855,⁵ a title which his three-times-great grandfather had forfeited due to his participation in the Jacobite Rising of 1715.⁶

In the latter half of 1858, Lord Southesk expressed his desire to travel to “some part of the world where good sport could be met with among the larger animals” and where he could “recruit [his] health by an active open-air life in a healthy climate.”⁷ Essentially, he wanted to travel to a destination wherein he may hunt big-game and improve his health. According to his account, an anonymous friend recommended that he travel to British North America; “Why not go to the Hudson’s Bay country?” his friend suggested, “The country is full of large game, such as buffalo, bears, and deer; the climate exactly what you require.”⁸ Acting on this advice,

1. “Obituary: The Earl of Southesk,” *The Geographical Journal* 25, no. 4 (1905): 465.

2. Rick Bowers, “Shakespeare Meets the Rocky Mountains: The Earl of Southesk in Western Canada, 1859,” *Queen’s Quarterly* 114, no. 4 (2010): 531-2.

3. “Obituary,” 465; “History,” The Gordon Highlanders Museum, accessed April 5, 2019, <http://www.gordonhighlanders.com/History#.XKsuY-tKjOR>.

4. While this information is likely available in The Gordon Highlanders Museum archives in Aberdeen, Scotland, research requests are filed and filled with a minimum ten-week turnaround time; as such, the information could not be obtained in time to include in this essay.

5. “Obituary,” 465; Great Britain, Privileges Committee, “Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Committee for Privileges to Whom the Petition of Sir James Carnegie of Kinnaird, Baronet, to Her Majesty, Claiming as of Right to Be Earl of Southesk, Baron Carnegie of Kinnaird and Leuchars in Scotland: Together with Her Majesty’s Reference Thereof to This House Was Referred,” (London, England, 1848), <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433000049118>.

6. “Obituary,” 465.

7. James Carnegie, *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains: A Diary and Narrative of Travel, Sport, and Adventure, During a Journey through the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Territories in 1859 and 1860* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1875): 1.

8. Carnegie, *Saskatchewan*, 1.

Southesk began preparations for a seven-month long hunting expedition across Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains the following spring.⁹

Literate, learned, and considerably wealthy, Lord Southesk could not only afford the expensive transatlantic expedition and the journey across British North America, but was able to record the events of his voyage in a daily diary. Southesk's diary carefully detailed the route he travelled, the environment he endured, the Indigenous peoples he encountered and employed, and his exploits as a big-game hunter in Hudson's Bay Country. Had it not been published in 1875 under the substantial title *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains: A Diary and Narrative of Travel, Sport, and Adventure, During a Journey through the Hudson's Bay Company's Territories in 1859 and 1860*, the legacy of the Lord's adventures would have been lost with the original diary, which was destroyed in a devastating fire at the Southesk family estate, Kinnaird Castle, in 1921.¹⁰

Once published, Lord Southesk's diary transcended the realm of personal writing and entered the world of popular literature; rather than a journal, *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains* was read by the literate public as a travel narrative. Praised by reviewers and revered by its readers, Lord Southesk's published diary told the exciting story of a daring gentleman-hunter whose intellect was matched by his athleticism; "he can bowl over a buffalo...or he can knock you off a neat bit of Shakespearean *exegesis* with the same happiness and skill [original emphasis]," wrote *Belgravia* magazine, depicting Southesk as the quintessential British sportsman.¹¹ According to Historian Tina Loo, accounts like Southesk's were hardly rare;

9. Carnegie, *Saskatchewan*, 1.

10. The New York Times Company, "Kinnaird House Burns: Art Treasures Lost," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), Nov. 8, 1921.

11. "Sport and Adventure in Hudson's Bay Country," *Belgravia: A London Magazine* 6, no. 3 (1875): 56; Greg Gillespie, "'I Was Well Pleased with Our Sport among the Buffalo': Big-Game Hunters, Travel Writing, and Cultural Imperialism in the British North American West, 1847-72." *The Canadian Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (2002): 557.

“literally hundreds” of books and articles which “chronicled and communicated the imperial hunter's adventures to a wide public” were published between the early-nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries, making Southesk’s narrative just one story within the larger literary genre of travel literature.¹²

When read today, however, Lord Southesk’s published diary tells a different story, one of a transatlantic Scot whose attitude towards Indigenous peoples was shaped by his position as a big-game hunter and nineteenth century tourist. The attitudes of big-game hunters, Loo explains, “stemmed from prevailing racial ideas”¹³ which valued whiteness and European notions of civility over Indigeneity and so-called savagery. When such attitudes were published as content in books such as *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains*, they had the power to shape how its readers imagined Indigenous peoples; essentially, travel narratives became one of the sources which prevailing racial ideas stemmed from. As such, this essay argues that Lord Southesk’s published diary not only reflects his own attitude towards First Nations and Metis peoples as a big-game hunter, but as a popular travel narrative also influenced how readers imagined Indigenous peoples.

Method

In the first half of this essay, I briefly discuss how Lord Southesk’s use of Scottish social networks and newly developed transportation methods both enabled his journey and ensured its success. Then, I explain Lord Southesk as a big-game hunter using definitions provided by Tina Loo and Greg Gillespie, arguing that his position as a British sportsman influenced his attitude towards Indigenous peoples. Since these attitudes were reflected in his depictions of First

12. Tina Loo, “Of Moose and Men: Hunting for Masculinities in British Columbia, 1880-1939,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (2001): 299.

13. Loo, “Moose and Men,” 312.

Nations and Metis peoples in *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains*, I lastly discuss the influence of Lord Southesk's published diary as a travel narrative, which had the power to shape how readers imagined Indigenous peoples.

To reveal Lord Southesk's attitude towards Indigenous peoples in his published diary, I will analyse *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains* for depictions of First Nations and Metis peoples. It is important to note, however, that the original diary was not written to be published. Southesk himself described it as being "formless and uneven...a mere assemblage of ill-balanced notes, abounding in rough disjointed sentences [and] dry repetitions...".¹⁴ In an effort to make his account readable for a public audience, Southesk re-wrote select diary entries into narrative form while maintaining the content, order, and diction of its source entry. Southesk ensured that he did so with transparency, "so that the reader may not be cheated into accepting the remarks of to-day as those of fifteen years ago" when the diary was first written.¹⁵ To ensure an accurate historical analysis, however, this essay will only consider passages that have been marked as transcripts from Southesk's original diary. Such entries are distinguished by use of single inverted commas in the published edition. Narrative-form entries will only be referred to in this essay when describing Lord Southesk's route (below), and have been verified by the maps contained in *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains*.

Route Summary

Departing from Liverpool on 15 April 1859, Lord Southesk boarded the Cunard steamship *Africa* en route to New York City, spending nearly two weeks at sea before reaching dry land.¹⁶ Following five days of rest and recovery at the Brevoort House hotel on Fifth avenue,

14. Carnegie, *Saskatchewan*, vii.

15. Carnegie, viii.

16. Carnegie, 2.

Southesk took a short sight-seeing trip to Niagara Falls via the Erie railway line.¹⁷ After viewing the Falls and being rather disappointed in them, Southesk travelled by train to Kingston, Ontario, where he boarded a St. Lawrence steamship to Lachine, Quebec.¹⁸ Southesk arrived in Lachine on 5 May 1859, where met with his Western contact, Hudson's Bay Company Governor Sir George Simpson (1786-1860), and his travel companions. According to his journal, Southesk's party consisted of Sir George Simpson and his secretary Mr. Hopkins, a company officer named Mr. Cameron, and four attendants: Simpson's servant, a Shetlander named James Murray, Southesk's Scottish gamekeeper, a Perthshire highlander named Duncan Robertson, and two Iroquois voyageurs named Baptist and Toma who were employed as canoe-men.¹⁹ Southesk's party was later joined by James M'Kay, a highly regarded Scots-Metis guide.²⁰ It was arranged that Simpson would accompany Southesk to Fort Garry, the HBC's Western Headquarters in the Red River Colony.²¹ Once in Fort Garry, Southesk and his team spent two weeks purchasing and preparing equipment, animals, and rations for their pending adventure. After acquiring the necessary supplies, Southesk parted ways with Simpson, and on 15 June 1859, the Lord and his ensemble embarked on a journey across Saskatchewan, the Rocky Mountains, and return, travelling a distance of over four thousand kilometers before Southesk traveled home to Scotland in 1860.²²

Social Networks and Transportation

17. Carnegie, 2-3.

18. Carnegie, *Saskatchewan*, 4.

19. Carnegie, 5.

20. Carnegie, 8.

21. Carnegie, 1.

22. Susan Berry, "Recovered Identities: Four Métis Artists in Nineteenth-Century Rupert's Land," in *Recollecting: Lives of Aboriginal Women of the Canadian Northwest and Borderlands*, ed. Sarah Carter and Patricia A. McCormack (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2011): 29.

As previously mentioned, Southesk's journey to British North America was inspired by the advice of an anonymous friend. As it turned out, this friend not only inspired Southesk's journey, but enabled it. According to a narrative entry from *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains* that was not present in Southesk's original diary, this unknown man had "a very powerful influence in the councils of the great Company that dominated those enormous territories in British North America."²³ This highly influential friend offered to write Sir George Simpson and ask for his assistance on behalf of Southesk, therefore establishing a British North American contact for the Scottish Lord and ensuring a successful voyage. As demonstrated by Douglas Hamilton in his research of eighteenth-century Scots on slave plantations, Scots such as Lord Southesk often used social networks of family, neighbours, and close friends to facilitate travel and enterprise.²⁴ Lord Southesk's use of a middle-man to form connections in British North America for his gain as a big-game hunter and tourist is just one such example of Scottish social networking in use.

Though he had friends in high places who could ensure a successful journey once in Hudson's Bay Country, there would be no journey – or diary – at all if he could not travel across the Atlantic and explore the land. Transatlantic tourism became more accessible and affordable thanks in part to the advancement and expansion of transportation technologies such as steamboats and railways in the 1830s.²⁵ In the words of Elizabeth Cavaliere, these technological advancements "had a profound impact on both travel and travel literature,"²⁶ as more people were able to travel and subsequently publish their adventures. For example, not only did rail

23. Carnegie, *Saskatchewan*, 1.

24. For more information on Scots networks, see Douglas Hamilton, "Scots on the Plantations," in *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World 1750–1820*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2010): 53–83.

25. Elizabeth Anne Cavaliere, "Canada by Photograph: Instructed Looking and Tourism of the Late Nineteenth-century Canadian Landscape." *Social History* 49, no. 99 (2016): 308.

26. Cavaliere, "Canada by Photograph," 308.

stations frequent the western landscape, making it easier to board a train and ride to any number of destinations in British North America, but tickets decreased in cost as the customer base grew. Customer bases grew because members of the middle classes had, at this point in time, more disposable income to spend on travelling and increased leisure time which allowed them to do so,²⁷ a result of a more efficient and profitable economy spurred by the Industrial Revolution. This dual increase of mobility and money, Loo explains, “made it possible for more men to reach hunting grounds that had previously been too expensive and too remote,”²⁸ including Lord Southesk and his big-game hunting expedition to British North America. As seen in the above route summary, Southesk depended heavily on rail systems and steam travel during the first half of his journey, after which he proceeded by foot, horseback, and canoe. Without these affordable and accessible transportation methods, his journey would not have been possible. As such, Lord Southesk’s decision to travel to British North America was justified because of the ease and ability with which he could travel there.

Lord Southesk as a Big-Game Hunter

Though Lord Southesk was concerned for his health, the main motivation behind his adventure was big-game hunting. Big-game hunters had particular associations to race, class, and gender; simply put, they were white, upper-class men.²⁹ These men referred to themselves as sportsmen,³⁰ which according to Loo, was “a man who had time to acquire the arcane knowledge about the habits of exotic beasts and the money to put it into action in faraway places.”³¹ By this description, Lord Southesk – an aristocratic white male with money to spare – was the very

27. Loo, “Moose and Men,” 300; Tim Youngs, *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling in the Blank Spaces*, ed. Tim Youngs (London; New York: Anthem Press, 2006): 6.

28. Loo, 300.

29. Gillespie, “Big-Game Hunters,” 557; Loo, 310.

30. Gillespie, 557.

31. Loo, “Moose and Men,” 307.

definition of a British big-game hunter and the typical sportsman. Big-game hunters viewed the Indigenous peoples they encountered on their journeys in relation to prevailing racial ideas of the nineteenth century. In part, these ideas stemmed from the travel texts and writings of past European explorers, anthropologists, and historians who often depicted Indigenous peoples as undisciplined, uncivil, and ignorant, among other denigrating descriptions.³² Such texts asserted a belief in British racial and cultural superiority over Indigenous peoples, a belief which big-game hunters brought into their sport. This attitude of racial superiority is one held by Lord Southesk and is clearly seen in *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains* through his depictions of the Indigenous peoples he encountered and the Metis guides he employed.

Depictions of First Nations and Metis

Though Southesk first encountered Indigenous peoples when he was acquainted with two Iroquois canoe-men, Baptist and Toma, he does not describe their appearance nor pay much attention to them in the first half of his journal. In this case, it is not Southesk's depiction of First Nations peoples that informs us of his attitude, but rather the lack thereof. In Loo's view, though "armed tourists" such as Southesk "fancied themselves great white hunters confronting the savage wilderness on their own, they were in fact dependent on their guides, many of whom were aboriginal."³³ While it could be argued that Southesk's failure to describe Baptist and Toma at this point in his diary denotes an attitude of tolerance, one which does not feel the need to depict their Indigeneity, Loo's assertion that big-game hunters were dependent on their guides yet viewed themselves as solo-adventurers suggests an attitude of superiority. This attitude caused big-game hunters to sometimes push Indigenous guides to the margins of their narratives

32. Wilcomb E. Washburn and Bruce G. Trigger, "Native Peoples in Euro-American Historiography," in *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas. Vol. 1: North America, Part 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 62-3, 71.

33. Loo, "Moose and Men," 298.

despite their importance in both ensuring the success and survival of men like Southesk in a dangerous, unfamiliar landscape.

Although Southesk at first delegated Toma and Baptist to the margins of his narrative, they were still present throughout. This is because, as Loo states, “instead of writing the guides out of their stories, big game hunters called attention to them, using a mixture of romance, condescension, and sometimes outright disdain.”³⁴ For example, Southesk later offers descriptions of Toma which mix romanticism with condescension, depicting him as thus: “Toma, the Iroquois, is generally grave in look, but gets on well with the rest, – they are always joking together. I find him very attentive and useful. He sings pleasantly monotonous canoe-songs as he dries my waggon [sic], sitting under the shade of a canvas tilt.”³⁵ In this entry, Southesk acknowledges the value of Toma as a canoe-man and travel companion. His description, however, calls upon the stereotype of the simple Indian or noble savage. This is an image which Washburn and Trigger attribute to late-fifteenth century depictions of Indigenous peoples as being “free from many of the vices that afflicted European civilization,” making them noble and innocent due to their simple lives in the wilderness.³⁶ This trope was used to describe Toma in all subsequent diary entries which pertained to him, crafting the powerful image of a “brave Iroquois canoe-man” with “massive limbs” and a “swarthy face,” who had “small black eyes, grave in their expression though often twinkling with humour, – a most faithful and excellent fellow.”³⁷ By depicting Toma as a straight-faced yet happy man who is “attentive and useful”

34. Loo, 312.

35. Carnegie, *Saskatchewan*, 47; note once more that this entry and all subsequent entries pertaining to the depictions of Indigenous peoples in *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains* were distinguished by single quotation marks as excerpts from Southesk’s original diary.

36. Washburn and Trigger, “Native Peoples,” 63, 71.

37. Carnegie, *Saskatchewan*, 203.

like a simple-minded worker, Southesk channeled a prevailing Indigenous trope in his diary to describe Toma in a subtly demeaning light.

While Southesk's depictions of his Iroquois guides suggest an attitude of racial superiority and draw upon Indigenous tropes of the period, he reveled in the glory of his man, James M'Kay. Southesk describes him physically in the following way: "his face – somewhat Assyrian in type – is very handsome: short, delicate, aquiline nose; piercing dark grey eyes; long dark-brown hair, beard, and moustaches; white, small, regular teeth; skin tanned to red bronze from exposure to weather."³⁸ Though Southesk refers to M'Kay as having a beak-like nose, thus describing him through animal imagery often used to dehumanize Indigenous peoples,³⁹ and compares his appearance to that of another non-white person, his description falls on the side of romanticism. Later, he goes on to talk about M'Kay as being "powerful in form and strong of muscle, broad-chested, dark, and heavily bearded,"⁴⁰ and often praised M'Kay for his skills as a hunter.⁴¹ Perhaps this is because Southesk sees M'Kay as someone who is more Scottish than Indigenous. Rather than referring to M'kay as a half-breed, a term Southesk favoured when discussing the Metis guides he employed, he elaborates in the narrative portion preceding his description that M'Kay was a Scotsman with "Indian" blood on his mother's side. Accordingly, he attributes the red-bronze or dark colour of his skin to time spent in the sun rather than his Metis heritage. This description can be seen in contrast to that of M'Kay's younger Scot-Metis cousin, James Short, who joined their adventure halfway through. Despite being Scot-Metis from

38. Carnegie, *Saskatchewan*, 9.

39. Washburn and Trigger, "Native Peoples," 66.

40. Carnegie, *Saskatchewan*, 202.

41. For an example, see Carnegie, 14, 22, 68.

the same family as M'Kay, Southesk describes Short as "a Scotch half-breed, more Indian in his ways than Scotch."⁴²

Even though Southesk expressed admiration for M'Kay and considered him more Scottish than Indigenous, he still did not view M'Kay as his equal. Racial and class differences between the two men are conveyed through Southesk's lonely written musings:

This open-air life suits me well, though, when one considers it bit by bit, it does not seem so very charming. Long wearisome riding, indifferent monotonous eating, no sport to speak of, hard bed upon the ground, hot sun, wet, no companion of my own class; nevertheless I am happier than I have been for years.⁴³

Though Southesk seems to enjoy his time in British North America, he specifically mentions that none of the members in his party are suitable companions; M'Kay, in all his glory and might, was only half Scottish and of a lower class racially and economically. Therefore, he was unsuitable in the mind of Southesk as anything other than a guide. As such, Southesk depicted him as an impressive yet racially inferior employee. In fact, Southesk outright states that he prefers the company of his horses to that of the Indigenous peoples he employs. In a lengthy two-page entry wherein Southesk describes the physical appearance and demeanor of his horses, Bichon and Wawpooss, he admits that he "could go on writing for hours about [his] horses" because, "having no companion," he was always observing and spending time with them.⁴⁴

Aside from his Indigenous travel companions (or, rather, non-companions), Southesk also offers his impressions of the First Nations peoples he encounters along his journey. Of the Stoney Nakoda First Nations, or "Stonies" as Southesk calls them, Southesk felt the need to record their "Indian improvidence" in his diary:

42. Carnegie, 47.

43. Carnegie, 54.

44. Carnegie, *Saskatchewan*, 72-4.

These Stonies, on their own hunting-grounds, needlessly destroy game, knowing that the scarceness of game in most of the surrounding country had often brought people to the verge of starvation... With the buffalo it is the same – kill, kill, kill. All the year round the Indians are hunting and slaughtering them, and in the winter they drive them into ‘pounds’ by hundreds at a time, and murder every beast in the enclosures, male and female, young or old, usable or useless. Such waste will soon bring its bitter punishment.⁴⁵

Through this description, Southesk depicts Indigenous hunting practices as cruel and wanton violations of the sportsmen’s code. According to Gillespie, big-game hunters ascribed by a code of conduct which situated their sport “within the confines of respectable manly leisure so as to justify and rationalize morally the slaughter of game.”⁴⁶ Loo describes this code as a set of rules and regulations which guided the big-game hunter in the craft of gentlemanly killing.⁴⁷ By killing animals for what Southesk saw as needless purposes, Stoney Nakoda peoples broke the sportsmen’s creed, pushing them out of the realm of the civil hunter and into that of the savage killer. Their so-called savagery was amplified by the way in which they conducted their hunt. Rather than killing only the male of the species as the sportsmen’s code dictates, the Stoney Nakoda hunted both male and female buffalo. Furthermore, they also killed mothers and their young, another violation of the code. Last but not least, this particular Indigenous group used traditional hunting practices to kill buffalo rather than the Euro-acceptable way to kill animals, which was by a clean-shot conducted on foot or horseback.⁴⁸ In his description of the Stoney Nakoda’s buffalo hunt, Lord Southesk effectively depicted them as needless animal murderers rather than gentlemen-hunters; this depiction casts Indigenous peoples not only as poor sportsmen and, consequently, uncivil hunters, but creates an image of Indigenous peoples being bloodthirsty, ignorant, wasteful, and immoral. Through this depiction, Lord Southesk’s attitude

45. Carnegie, 263-4.

46. Gillespie, “Big-Game Hunters,” 557.

47. Loo, “Moose and Men,” 307.

48. For a full description of this code, see Loo, “Moose and Men,” 307.

towards Indigenous peoples was made clear; when compared to British big-game hunters, he implies, First Nations were the lesser party in every determinable way.

The Influence of Travel Writing

As written by Tim Youngs, “the belief in racial superiority stains many contemporary texts,”⁴⁹ especially those in the genre of travel writing. Travel narratives, including Lord Southesk’s, purvey the centuries-old belief that Indigenous peoples are an inferior race; they do so through their depictions of First Nations and Metis peoples which “assert[ing] Europe’s...racial superiority over non-Europeans.”⁵⁰ As stated by Gillespie while discussing big-game hunters and land appropriation, British sportsmen “used their books...to inscribe cultural meaning on the little-known territory” to their readerships in England and Scotland.⁵¹ Essentially, by portraying the western landscape in their narratives as “familiar, resource-rich land,” big-game hunters prepared it in the minds of their audience as imperial property.⁵² To this, I would add that big-game hunters also portrayed Indigenous peoples according to the racial ideas of their time, which in turn influenced how their audience imagined Indigenous peoples. As seen in late-nineteenth century reviews of *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains*, those who read Lord Southesk’s narrative also came to adopt his views. In the same review published by *Belgravia Magazine* which praised Lord Southesk as a big-game hunter, for example, the reviewer acknowledged Southesk’s view of Indigenous peoples when they wrote that, “as to the character of the native Indians, our author seems to have formed the lowest possible opinion of them.”⁵³ Immediately following this statement, however, the reviewer made one of their own;

49. Youngs, *Travel Writing*, 6.

50. Roy Bridges, “Exploration and travel outside Europe (1720-1914),” in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Tim Youngs and Peter Hulme (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 57.

51. Gillespie, “Big-Game Hunters,” 555.

52. Gillespie, 555.

53. “Sports and Adventure,” 58.

“They are mostly thieves and drunkards, and are all of them liars and knaves.”⁵⁴ Accordingly, Lord Southesk’s published diary had considerable influence over the way his readers thought of First Nations and Metis peoples in British North America. As such, *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains* was not only a product of British racial ideas which shaped the attitudes of big-game hunters, but was one of the sources from which these attitudes grew.

54. “Sports and Adventure,” 58.

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Julia: excellent work. You have deconstructed Southesk's diary in what is a well-researched and well-written essay. The way in which you organized the essay and formed your prose makes it a clear, concise and enjoyable read. I would say that you should work on getting the argument up front as it is 3 pages before we see your thesis, which left the reader waiting for it. State the argument up-front, right away to avoid any questions as to what you are going to argue. That said the thesis is very well-developed through the essay. There was perhaps a little heavy reliance on Loo, though that is a really good article and goes far to explain the attitudes that men like Southesk brought with them on their travels. I would have perhaps used a theorist like Mary Louise Pratt to bolster the deconstruction of Southesk's journal. Nevertheless, well done.

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