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Justin Trudeau, Andrew Scheer, Stéphane Dion, Doug Ford, Jagmeet Singh

Open this photo in gallery Photo illustration by The Globe and Mail/(Source: AFP/Getty Images, The Canadian Press).

For those who believe carbon pricing is urgently needed to fight climate change, Canada will be one of the world's most important battlegrounds in 2019.

It's not just the strategy to reduce Canada's 1.6-per-cent share of global emissions at stake in this year's federal election, as Justin Trudeau's PERSON Liberals defend their decision to impose a carbon tax on provinces – as of now Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and New Brunswick – that don't meet new federal carbon-pricing requirements. (A levy on large industrial polluters took effect Jan. 1, and one on fossil fuels will begin in April.).

More than that, the campaign will serve as a case study about carbon taxation's political viability, sure to be noticed by politicians elsewhere considering similar measures.

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Even if his shine may be wearing off at home, Mr. Trudeau PERSON is still seen by liberals through much of the world as a political star. If Andrew Scheer's PERSON Conservatives drive him from office after one term, with carbon-tax opposition playing a major role, he could join the likes of France's Emmanuel Macron PERSON as a cautionary tale about even the most skilled politicians not being able to sell this sort of policy.

Conversely, if the Liberals win another majority government, it will allow carbon-pricing advocates elsewhere to push back against arguments that it's politically toxic. And some of them, not least U.S. Democrats who will be participating in primaries shortly after Canada's election, will closely study Mr. Trudeau PERSON's implementation and communication, with an eye to what they can borrow. Heading into the year, it's possible to get a sense of some of the open questions that will yet determine how this story plays out here – many of them up to the competing parties to answer, in the months ahead.

HOW MUCH WILL THE PARTIES ACTUALLY CAMPAIGN ON THIS ISSUE?.

Open this photo in gallery Conservative Leader Andrew Scheer PERSON. Jacques Boissinot PERSON /The Canadian Press.

At this point, both leading federal parties seem to think the carbon-pricing debate is a winner for them. There is a view in Mr. Trudeau PERSON's camp that many Canadians will respect him for taking a principled risk, and disqualify Mr. Scheer PERSON for his comparative unwillingness to take seriously an existential environmental challenge; the Liberals particularly hope it will help mobilize younger voters, key to their 2015 electoral success. The Conservatives believe they'll be able to cast it as nothing more than a tax grab; they say their research shows their target voters prioritize economic and affordability concerns over the environment.

It's possible both parties will maintain that confidence. It's equally possible one of them will decide it's a political loser, and try to change the channel.

Especially in provinces (Quebec and British Columbia, among others) where Ottawa won't collect the tax due to systems already in place, it could also easily become just one piece of a broader cost-of-living

debate. Carbon pricing may be the biggest policy rift between the parties, but that doesn't necessarily mean it'll be top of mind come October.

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CAN THE LIBERALS DRAW ENOUGH ATTENTION TO THEIR REBATES?.

Open this photo in gallery **Prime Minister Justin Trudeau** PERSON, right, is shown in 2015 with **Stéphane Dion** PERSON, then newly sworn in as **his** Foreign Affairs Minister. As **Liberal leader** in 2008, **Mr. Dion** PERSON ran for election promising aggressive measures to cut Canada's emissions. The Canadian Press.

Key to the Liberals' hopes for avoiding the same fate as when **Stéphane Dion** PERSON campaigned on a carbon tax back in 2008 is their assurance that it won't take money out of Canadians' pockets.

Almost all revenues, they promise, will be returned to families and individuals in the provinces they were collected – and because those revenues also come from businesses, most people will see a net gain.

It's a model that strikes some carbon-pricing advocates as so foolproof, it's already being cited internationally as a way to avoid backlash. But a potential catch is how the money will be returned.

While voters could think about the new tax every time they pay for fuel – especially in Ontario, where **Doug Ford**'s PERSON government has mused about serving reminder through stickers on gas pumps – the rebates will be distributed through annual tax returns. So the returned revenue could go all but unnoticed among other calculations.

That's going to place a premium on communication around tax season. Voters in provinces where Ottawa will be collecting and returning money can expect lots of advertising drawing attention to the rebate.

WILL THE CONSERVATIVES' PLAN GIVE THEM COVER?.

Open this photo in gallery **Ontario Premier Doug Ford** PERSON, right, meets with **Mr. Scheer** PERSON at Queen's Park. **Chris Young** PERSON /The Canadian Press.

To date, the Liberals have been able to accuse the Conservatives of having no policy to reduce emissions. It's unlikely the governing party's rhetoric will change much after the Tories release a plan closer to the election.

While **Mr. Scheer** PERSON has said **his** approach will be “comprehensive,” **he** has made clear it won't include carbon pricing. It may be in the same vein as **Mr. Ford** PERSON's, which includes scaled-back emissions-reductions targets, and fairly modest commitments to industrial regulation and clean-technology funding.

How it lands will test the way Canadians currently see climate-change policy. If many target voters expect parties to be ambitious with their policies, the Conservatives will likely have a problem. If most people just want to know they're not climate-change deniers, any plan at all could suffice.

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CAN THE LIBERALS GET THEIR TONE RIGHT?.

Open this photo in gallery **Mr. Trudeau** PERSON speaks during a Liberal fundraising event in Kingston. **Lars Hagberg** PERSON /The Canadian Press.

Whenever **he** accuses the Conservative plan of being insufficient, **Mr. Trudeau** PERSON will face a delicate balancing act.

His aim will be to present the lack of a serious emissions-reduction strategy as proof of unfitness for office, as the world runs out of time to stop climate change's impacts. But if he goes too far scorning anyone who doesn't view it as a top priority, he risks offending voters struggling to make ends meet and worried about the tax's impact.

CAN THE NDP (OR GREENS) CONVINCE VOTERS THE LIBERALS AREN'T DOING ENOUGH?.

Open this photo in gallery [Federal NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh](#) PERSON. [Cole Burston](#) PERSON /The Canadian Press.

The level of taxation the Liberals have chosen may not be enough to meet the Paris Agreement commitment to reduce emissions to 30 per cent below 2005 levels by 2030. And Canada is certainly not on pace to achieve much greater reductions that the United Nations' climate change panel says are needed to avert environmental catastrophe.

The Conservatives will make that point, but it could be made more effectively by parties that want to do more rather than less.

[Jagmeet Singh](#)'s PERSON New Democrats and [Elizabeth May's](#) PERSON Greens will argue that [Mr. Trudeau](#) PERSON's continued (if to Conservative eyes tepid) commitment to oil sands development undermines other emissions-fighting efforts. And they will argue those efforts don't go far enough, likely calling for more regulations and greater investment in clean technology.

The Liberals hope that if anything, such messaging will leave them looking like the responsible middle option. But if it gets traction, it could take away the policy's political upside.

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WHAT IMPACT WILL THIRD PARTIES HAVE?.

Open this photo in gallery [Supporters wave signs during an anti-carbon tax rally in Calgary.](#) [Jeff McIntosh](#) PERSON /The Canadian Press.

There are outside groups on either side of this debate with strong interest in its outcome. Even under new political financing restrictions, there is opportunity for them to influence its outcome through digital-media advertising.

Look for some of the most visceral anti-carbon tax messaging to come from the conservative Ontario Proud, which did huge traffic on Facebook in last year's provincial election, and is now going national. Liberal-aligned groups may respond by painting [Mr. Scheer](#) PERSON as a threat to the planet's future. They could respectively have financial backing from corners of the resource sector and from environmental groups, or those interests could go it alone with their own third-party ads.

Whatever impact such efforts have, it's likely to be strongest in the first half of 2019, before pre-election third-party spending limits kick in, and when the window to shape opinion on the new policy may be widest.

HOW WILL THE COURTROOM DRAMAS PLAY OUT?.

Open this photo in gallery [Saskatchewan Premier Scott Moe](#) PERSON shakes hands with [Doug Ford](#) PERSON at a joint press conference at Queen's Park. [Christopher Katsarov](#) PERSON /The Canadian Press.

In February, Saskatchewan's Court of Appeal will start hearing arguments in a constitutional challenge of the carbon tax brought forward by that province's government. In April, a similar case courtesy of Mr. Ford PERSON's government will begin in Ontario.

Neither verdict is likely to be the final judicial word on the matter, given the prospect of appeals. But if the cases move swiftly enough for pre-election rulings, they will bolster or significantly weaken Mr. Trudeau PERSON's argument. And even if they're slower, the proceedings – including interventions on both sides from other provinces' governments – could help frame the debate.

WHERE WILL GAS PRICES BE AT?.

Open this photo in gallery A gas pump is shown at a station in Montreal. Graham Hughes PERSON /The Canadian Press.

If gas prices remain as low as currently, drivers may not be aggrieved by the carbon tax adding a projected 4.42 cents a litre. But if unrelated market fluctuations cause prices to rise more sharply, there could be more outrage at the pumps.

Theoretically, the government should want that kind of reaction: Carbon pricing's purpose is to incentivize decisions, such as taking public transit rather than driving, that lower emissions.

In practice, the Liberals would likely prefer the tax's perceived impact initially be mild, with it gaining acceptance as Canadians realize the rebate balances it out, before the tax rate (and rebates) are increased – as opposed to it immediately receiving outsized blame for the cost-of-living squeeze.

WHAT KIND OF SUMMER WILL IT BE?.

Open this photo in gallery Kits Beach, Vancouver. This summer's weather may affect how Canadians process the climate-change debate. Jeff Vinnick PERSON /The Globe and Mail.

No, weather in one part of the world in a single season is not a responsible lens through which to view climate change happening globally over decades.

But it's human nature to feel urgency about things in plain sight. If next summer is like the last, with rampant wildfires and other disasters amid blazing-hot temperatures, the planet's future may be more on voters' minds than if it has been mild.

Rightly or not, that will combine with the many variables over which politicians have more control, to help determine Canadians' mindset about carbon pricing when they send a message to the rest of the world in the fall.

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Dorie Greenspan, the Star, Michael Greenspan, Julia Child, Dorie and Michael, Joshua, Karon Liu Home bakers will know Dorie Greenspan PERSON as the undisputed authority on cookies but in her latest cookbook, which marks her 13th, she is highlighting the weeknight savoury recipes that she cooks at home. Her new cookbook, Everyday Dorie (\$50, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt) is a welcome addition to the days when a simple and hearty dish is what the body is craving. "I cook simple food and I don't fuss about the finishing touches that much," says Greenspan PERSON while visiting The Star PERSON's test kitchen with her husband Michael Greenspan PERSON. "I think ingredients are beautiful themselves and this is how I've been cooking in the last decade. It's about seeing the ingredients you already stocked your fridge with and saving a trip to the supermarket."

American cookbook author Dorie Greenspan PERSON visited the Star's test kitchen and made a turkey meatball soup with the Star's Karon Liu PERSON from a recipe in her book Everyday Dorie. (Richard Lautens PERSON / Toronto Star) The meatballs in this soup also go well in pastas, stews, bean dishes, as a main with a side of vegetables or sliced up and served in a baguette like a banh mi. (Richard Lautens PERSON / Toronto Star).

Even though Greenspan PERSON has co-authored books with renowned French chefs such as Daniel Boulud PERSON and master chocolatier Pierre Herme PERSON , as well as the legendary Julia Child PERSON , she maintains that she's always been more of a home cook, one that burned down her home kitchen as a kid. "It's an old story, but I burned down my parents' kitchen at 12," Greenspan PERSON says while rolling up her sleeves to make gingered-turkey meatballs. "I was making frozen french fries and instead of using the oven, I used a pot of oil. I thought that if water boiled faster with a lid, so would oil. The fire went up and burned the cabinets and the ceiling. It wasn't something you could put out with baking soda." It wasn't exactly the catalyst Greenspan PERSON wanted to get her active in the kitchen, but she says she didn't come from much of a cooking family: she notes that her mom uses the oven and microwave more as extra storage space. In college she pursued a doctorate in gerontology, the study of aging, before she got married after meeting her husband while working at a card shop.

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"I walked into the store because I needed cards for school and I met this sassy woman," says Michael PERSON . "I didn't buy anything but I knew I had to go back and see her. I was an engineer and a nerd. I didn't even ask for her name when I was in there the first time." After the they had their son Joshua PERSON in 1979, Greenspan PERSON didn't want to go back to graduate school and developed an interest in baking. In the early '80s, through a friend of a friend, she got a job as a pastry apprentice at the Soho Charcuterie in New York making chocolate chip cookies and the restaurant's signature cake. She lasted a month. "One day I changed the cake recipe and got fired for 'creative insubordination,'" says Greenspan PERSON , rolling the ground meat into golf balls and putting them into a pot of simmering broth. "It was a chocolate cake with almonds, raisins and whisky. I made it with pecans, prunes and Armagnac. I was bored and I'd been making the same thing every day; I was not made to be in a professional kitchen. But when I was fired, they admitted the cake was delicious." The cake can be found in Greenspan PERSON 's Baking From My Home To Yours book where the recipe is literally called The Cake That Got Me Fired. Not suited for the restaurant kitchen, Greenspan PERSON pursued food and recipe writing in a way that only could have worked in decades past, or a mid-2000s rom-com about magazine publishing. "I was introduced to someone who worked in the test kitchen of Food And Wine magazine and was asked to write a proposal for a column," she says, describing how she got the attention of the magazine's editors. "Instead I just made everything that I thought would be good and brought it to their office. This was in the '80s when there weren't a lot of people who wanted to do this and working in food wasn't seen as glamorous. People nowadays would probably send in pictures of their cooking rather than bring dishes to the offices." She also started to get work from Elle magazine when the French-based publication launched an American edition in the mid-'80s, translating recipes from French into English and interviewing French chefs (she learned how to speak French from their son's au pair). She wrote her first cookbook in 1991, then in the late '90s

she became a food columnist for Bon App tit for eight years, the Washington Post for two years and in the past two years, for New York Times Magazine.

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In addition to her own books, Greenspan PERSON also co-wrote cookbooks with big-name chefs.

“They were all chefs and I made them accessible for home cooks,” she says. “I loved doing that.”

Greenspan PERSON also co-wrote Baking With Julia, the companion cookbook to Julia Child’s PERSON ’90s baking show on PBS. Greenspan PERSON ’s name could be seen on speed dial on Child PERSON ’s phone, which is immortalized as part of Child PERSON ’s kitchen on display at the

Smithsonian’s National Museum of American History in Washington, D.C. “I love doing this work and I never stop thinking how lucky I am to be able to do it,” she says, ladling herself a bowl of cooked meatballs. “When I write a book or a recipe that I send out to the world, I want to encourage someone

to make it, enjoy the process, and have the satisfaction of having something that they can say they’ve made.”

Gingered-Turkey Meatball Soup These herbal and citrusy turkey meatballs are really easy to make and can be frozen for up to two months. Greenspan PERSON says they also go well in pastas,

stews, bean dishes, as a main with a side of vegetables or sliced up and served in a baguette like a banh

mi. For the meatballs 1 large egg 1/4 cup (60 ml) plain Greek yogurt 1/2 cup (125 ml) finely chopped onion, patted dry 1/2 cup (125 ml) freshly chopped cilantro, basil or a mix 1/2 cup (125 ml)

unseasoned dry bread crumbs 2 finely minced garlic cloves 1 tsp (5 ml) peeled and grated fresh ginger

Zest of 1 lemon 1 tsp (5 ml) kosher salt 1/2 tsp (2 ml) black pepper 1 lb (454 g) ground turkey 2L plus

2 cups (4500 ml) no salt-added chicken broth In a large mixing bowl, beat egg with a fork. Add all

ingredients except ground turkey and broth. Using hands, mix all ingredients until well combined.

Add turkey and mix with hands until blended. Using hands, form golf ball-sized meatballs (about 36g

each). Place on a plate until ready to use, cover with a paper towel and refrigerate until next day, or

freeze for up to 2 months. To cook meatballs, bring broth to a boil in a large saucepan or a

medium-sized pot over medium-high heat. In batches, drop in meatballs and cook for 8 minutes, or

until meatballs float to surface of broth. Remove cooked meatballs with a slotted spoon and set aside.

Reserve broth for making soup. Makes about 24 meatballs. For the soup 1/2 lb (227 g) rice noodles,

sticks or straight-cut 4 cups (600 g) chopped, sliced or shredded mushrooms/vegetables such as carrots,

napa cabbage, onions, snow peas, kale and spinach Kosher salt and black pepper, to taste 1/3 cup (80

ml) chopped fresh herbs such as cilantro, basil, parsley or mint Soy sauce, sesame oil, chili sauce, for

serving Bring a large pot of water to a boil over medium-high heat. Cook noodles until tender, about 4

minutes. Drain and rinse under cold water. Set aside. Bring broth from cooking meatballs to a boil over

medium-high heat. Add vegetables and cook until tender, about 4 minutes. Add noodles. Stir. Add

cooked meatballs. Season with salt and pepper to taste. Divide noodles, vegetables, meatballs and broth

evenly into serving bowls. Season with chopped herbs and condiments, if using. Makes 4 to 6 servings.

Karon Liu PERSON is the Star’s food writer and is based in Toronto. Follow him on Twitter:

@karonliu

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Ian Poulter, Andy Pazder, Jordan Spieth, Ian Poulter + others, Andy Pazder + others

KAPALUA, Hawaii – Part of Ian Poulter's PERSON punishment for violating a PGA Tour policy is spending two weeks in Hawaii to start the new year.

That would be a most literal interpretation of the penalty.

And it only tells part of the story of how Poulter PERSON chose to make up for missing a tournament he was supposed to play.

Along with adding two tournaments he had not played in the last four years — one of them, happily, was the winners-only field at Kapalua — Poulter PERSON hosted eight tournament guests for a round of golf at his home club in Florida, lunch and a tour of the house where he keeps his Ferraris and Ryder Cup memorabilia.

"I would say it was beyond what we would consider an acceptable make-good," said Andy Pazder PERSON, the tour's chief officer of tournaments and competitions. "To do what he did ... was just terrific."

The violation was failing to play a tournament where he had not been in the last four years.

What got Poulter PERSON into this position was winning.

The PGA Tour has a policy that players who don't compete in 25 events must play a tournament where they haven't been in the last four years. Life members (20 or more tour victories) and veterans (45 years or older) are exempt. Poulter PERSON is neither.

The policy wasn't a problem until the 42-year-old from England won the Houston Open. Suddenly, he was eligible for the Masters. His movement in the world ranking got him into the U.S. Open and British Open. The victory took him to No. 20 in the FedEx Cup, all but assuring him at least three playoff events. And it put him squarely in the mix to make the Ryder Cup team for Europe.

"Winning was going to put me in default," Poulter PERSON said.

Jordan Spieth PERSON also violated the policy when he didn't reach the Tour Championship, and it received plenty of attention because the three-time major champion carries plenty of star power.

Poulter PERSON, however, was the first culprit, and he saw it coming not long after his Houston victory. He met with the tour at Hilton Head a week after the Masters.

"I told them, 'How do you want to go about it?' I'm going to be the first person, and it's going to be sensitive," Poulter PERSON said. "I want to give something back so I can fulfill an obligation."

The actual penalty is unclear, and it was badly misinterpreted, especially relating to Spieth PERSON. It falls under the "major penalty" category, which is a fine of at least \$20,000 and suspension from more than three tournaments. But that's ridiculous. Why punish a player for not playing enough tournaments by making him sit out even more?

Besides, the commissioner has the final say on any tournament regulations.

Poulter PERSON told the tour he would be at the Sentry Tournament of Champions for the first time since 2013 (it had been that long since his last tour victory), and stay an extra week for the Sony Open.

"That would tick two boxes," he said.

And then he offered a day with tournament guests. The Wyndham Championship was one Poulter PERSON could have played under normal circumstances, but that would have given him nine straight weeks leading up to the Ryder Cup.

So he let Wyndham select who they wanted to send to Orlando, Florida.

“We had a great time,” Poulter PERSON said. “I played nine holes with each group, we had a bite to eat, and a few of the guys wanted to see the car museum and my Ryder Cup office-homage. I took them through that.”

He built this “museum” as part of a guest house so it could serve as corporate entertainment and charity functions, and this served the purpose.

Poulter PERSON says some of the guests were pure “petro heads” who can’t get enough of the cars. They all like golf, and his office is all golf, mostly the Ryder Cup.

That includes a text message that European captain Jose Maria Olazabal PERSON sent to Poulter PERSON on Christmas Day in 2012, three months after Poulter PERSON nearly single-handedly led Europe on a comeback victory at Medinah. He framed the text on a silver board. He won’t say what the message is.

“They get to see that when they’re there,” he said.

There are Ryder Cup trophies (five of them for Poulter PERSON), letters from Arnold Palmer PERSON, 60 tour bags filled with clubs that he has used in his 20-year career, notes from when he taught juniors as a fledgling club pro in England, and yardage books from a few significant moments.

“The report we got back was it was an exceptional day,” Pazder PERSON said.

And so Poulter PERSON has paid his dues, devoting some eight hours of his time — and his home — to guests of a tournament he didn’t play. And he is in Hawaii for two weeks.

All is well.

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Konrad Gajewski, Kent Moore, David Atkinson, Konrad Gajewski + others(s)

Open this photo in gallery People walk on the sidewalk during snowy weather in Kingston, Ont., on Jan. 30, 2019. LARS HAGBERG PERSON /AFP/Getty Images.

As Ottawa limps across the finish line of its snowiest January on record, cherry blossoms are blooming at the legislature in coastal Victoria.

Millions of Canadians were hiding out this week under extreme cold warnings stretching across the map, even as some East Coast cities enjoyed moderate temperatures.

According to experts, these co-existing extremes have been predicted for some time – and they’re likely here to stay.

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“This is the kind of thing people have been predicting for years,” said Konrad Gajewski PERSON, a professor of geography and environment at the University of Ottawa. “This kind of pattern of more alternation, more extremes, both in terms of warm and cold conditions is what we’re expecting for the future.”

Central Canada’s cold snap comes from the oscillating upper wind patterns of the jet stream, pushing the cold air down from the north with the polar vortex.

At the same time, the large “waves” in the wind patterns push some warm air north, explaining comparatively warm temperatures on the coasts.

The exact role climate change plays in the pattern’s changes is a continuing discussion in the scientific community, but a common belief says it’s the result of a warming Arctic.

“It’s thought that as the Arctic warms up because the ice is melting back, we’re going to have more of a situation where you have what we call ‘waviness’ in the polar vortex,” Dr. Gajewski PERSON said.

This “waviness” in the upper wind’s pattern could be carrying cold farther and farther south into southern and Central Canada, and pushing warm air further north along the coast.

Atmospheric physics professor Kent Moore PERSON at the University of Toronto says the striking weather patterns show how the world’s climate system is intimately coupled, and how changes in the coldest and warmest regions can be felt in central Canadian cities.

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As an example, Dr. Moore PERSON pointed to the theory that the waves in upper wind patterns are moving slower, with larger amplitudes as a possible result of warming in the Arctic.

“The largest changes in the climate are occurring in the Arctic and some would say, ‘Who cares? I live in mid-latitudes, why should I care about that stuff?’” Dr. Moore PERSON said. “The Earth is kind of a small place and so things that happen in the Arctic don’t stay in the Arctic.”

This interconnectedness of the world’s climate system also explains the effects from El Nino systems on Canada, Dr. Moore PERSON said.

David Atkinson PERSON, a climate professor at the University of Victoria, said the jet stream’s behaviour could also make the increasingly frequent, intense storms on the East Coast gain even more strength.

“If the air is kind of moving apart, it allows surface air to rise more easily,” Atkinson PERSON said.

“That helps a storm to work, storms depend on rising air.”

Dr. Gajewski PERSON said the arrival of long-predicted weather patterns means it’s time for all levels of government to seriously plan for changes that are already hitting Canada in the form of sweltering heat waves in the summer and record cold in the winter.

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This could mean more snow-clearing and flood response on the municipal level and global warming mitigation efforts across the board.

In Ottawa, Dr. Gajewski PERSON pointed to some continuing local efforts such as more bicycle lanes and efforts to plow some of them in the winter.

“A lot of it would just be common sense. It’s going to get hotter in the summers and we’re going to get perhaps more snow, more rain, more extreme conditions, more floods,” Dr. Gajewski PERSON said.

“Cities have to be planned to deal with that kind of thing.”

For cities such as Ottawa, which just completed its 12th straight day of round-the-clock plowing, people shouldn’t plan to retire their shovels any time soon.

“We’re going to have to shovel more often.”

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George Pullman, Cecil Foster, Cecil Foster + other(s), Stanley Grizzle, Stanley Grizzle + other(s), Harold Adams, George Garraway, Jennifer Yang

During the golden age of North American train travel, sleeping cars often came with porters who would carry your luggage and shine your shoes. Porters were smiling, courteous and unfailingly polite;

for the better part of the last century, they were also Black, male, and sometimes referred to condescendingly as “George PERSON’s boys” — or, simply, “George PERSON.” Both terms refer to George Pullman PERSON, a 19th-century American industrialist who pioneered and popularized a brand of train service modelled after the type of Black servitude found in Antebellum-era plantation houses. The first Pullman PERSON porters were ex-slaves and in Canada — where post-Confederation railway companies imported and replicated the Pullman model — Black porters worked for decades under discriminatory conditions for minimum pay.

Author Cecil Foster PERSON’s new book delves into the history of Canada’s Black train porters and their struggle for social justice. He is shown at Union Station in Toronto. (Andrew Francis Wallace PERSON / Toronto Star) Porter Percy Corbin PERSON, right, and Wilfred Notley PERSON, steward, shown in 1958 with the Governor-General’s Railway cars in Ottawa. (Library and Archives Canada).

They were also perpetually at risk of being fired over the smallest offence. So whenever a passenger would call a porter by the name “George” — the rich, white man to whom he was symbolically indentured — the only acceptable response was to smile and nod. “Most of them hated that name because it meant they had no individuality,” says Cecil Foster PERSON, author of the new book *They Call Me George: The Untold Story of Black Train Porters and the Birth of Modern Canada*. “When everyone would just simply say, ‘Hey George PERSON, get me a cup of coffee; George PERSON, clean my shoes’ — it meant that it didn’t matter who was doing it, your labour was indivisible. “You had no identity. You were just a George PERSON.”.

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But in his latest book, released this month by Biblioasis, Foster PERSON aims to restore the identities of the Black men who once worked on Canadian railroads. In the process, he also excavates a chapter of Canadian history that has been largely erased from the collective memory: the role that Black train porters played in furthering social justice and shaping Canada into the country it is today. In 2019, multiculturalism is considered official government policy and equal employment rights are protected by law. While significant challenges and inequities remain — especially for Black and Indigenous communities — the story of the Black train porter reminds us that such ideals did not come easily to Canada, where post-Confederation leaders like Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier PERSON envisioned a “home for whiteness in the western hemisphere,” Foster PERSON writes in his book. “Canada wasn’t originally intended to be a multicultural society,” he writes. “The train porters turned Canada black, brown, and a host of other shades. Yet this important piece of Canadian history has yet to be fully told.”.

Dining staff and porters with the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway are shown in this 1914 photo. (Library and Archives Canada).

Foster PERSON marvels at how little most Canadians know about this history; he himself only recently came to appreciate and understand it. The journalist and academic grew up in Barbados, where he watched men leave every year to toil on North American railroads; after he moved to Canada, he worked in several newsrooms, at one point even covering the transportation beat. He also knew the late Stanley Grizzle PERSON, a prominent labour and civil rights activist who became Canada’s first

Black immigration judge but worked for 20 years as a train porter, an experience Grizzle PERSON described in his 1998 autobiography, *My Name's Not George*.

Yet it was only recently that Foster PERSON pieced these fragments from his life together to realize they were all pieces of a larger story. “I never put these elements together,” he remarks. “The truth is I only got to fully understand the impact of what these train porters did (in Canada) when I started to do the research on this book.” In addition to interviewing surviving train porters, Foster PERSON’s research involved digging through parliamentary speeches, newspaper clippings and government transcripts. And while he understood that early Canada was a racist society, he was still shocked by how frequently and openly this bigotry was expressed — spanning from 1915, when politicians like Laurier PERSON casually used the n-word in Parliament, to the mid-’50s when editorials openly disdained Black immigration.

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“Nothing more disastrous could happen to Canada than an immigration flood of 5,000,000 Negroes, unless it might be a flood of 5,000,001,” a national newspaper columnist wrote in 1954. “We wish them all well, but we do not think it (would) be a good thing for their numbers to be appreciably added to Canada.” Foster PERSON writes that early Canadian politicians worried about the racial turmoil they saw in the United States and strove to avoid a similar fate by suppressing non-white and Black immigration — even though Canada was in desperate need of immigrants at the time. The Canadian Immigration Act of 1910, for example, prohibited immigration by “anyone belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada.” Foster PERSON points out that this stipulation conveniently disqualified Black people from the West Indies, who were “native to the tropics (and therefore) deemed unsuited for the Canadian climate.” Canada preferred immigrants who were British subjects; specifically, those that were white, Foster PERSON writes. He argues that this is why policymakers rejected pressure from Britain to allow the British West Indies to join the Canadian confederation, while Newfoundland was allowed in. “By keeping the Black population low, Canada’s leaders argued it had avoided the racial trap that the United States had created with its dependence on Black labour,” Foster PERSON writes. “Although Canadian policymakers eyed the British West Indies as a potential pool of cheap Black labour, fear of an increasing Black presence in the country meant that Black immigration in the early 20th century was limited annually to 100 people — mainly men — all of whom were channelled toward a career in portering.”

CN porter Louis Augustin PERSON helps Sue Bristow PERSON, left, and Judy Hunter PERSON aboard a train at Union Station in January 1972. (Toronto Star file photo).

Indeed, railways were one of the only workplaces that would hire Black Canadians — but only as porters. Workplace segregation policies meant that Black men were never hired for operational jobs or promoted to conductors, who supervised porters. For nearly six decades, railway employees were segregated into two groups: one for porters, nearly all of them Black, and one for all other railway employees, who were white. The major railway unions were no friends to the Black train porter, either. In fact, railways used unions “to keep Blacks in their place,” Foster PERSON says. “The very constitution of the conductors’ union indicated that membership had to be white,” he states in his book. “Porters on Canadian National Rail in particular would have to continue fighting their own union, the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, for equality of treatment and for recognition

as full union members for decades.” But life would have been even harder without the limited opportunities offered by railroads and for much of the 20th century, the work of train porters became the centre of Black life in Canada, Foster PERSON writes. The father of former Lt.-Gov. Lincoln Alexander PERSON was a train porter; so, too, was the dad of jazz legend Oscar Peterson PERSON. In 1950s Calgary, around 90 per cent of the city’s Black population depended on the railways for employment, according to Foster PERSON’s book. Black train porters were always sharply dressed and the job conferred respect and prestige within their communities. But portering was a gruelling job, involving long hours and terrible pay along with the expectation that porters would provide friendly and impeccable service around the clock. The risk of getting fired loomed constantly and a passenger missing his or her stop, for example, was considered a firing offence. Porters were also vulnerable to exaggerated or false accusations, sometimes for becoming “too familiar” with white female passengers, Foster PERSON writes; such accusations “tended to accumulate the closer the porter got to the age of retirement, an obvious attempt by the company to avoid paying pensions.”

Stanley Grizzle PERSON, a prominent labour and civil rights activist, worked 20 years as a porter. (Toronto Star file photo).

Porters were responsible for everything from serving tea and retrieving luggage to pressing clothes and shining shoes while passengers slept — an accumulation of tasks that left porters notoriously sleep deprived. A bitter joke was that porters were more appropriately called “sleepy car porters” rather than “sleeping car porters,” Foster PERSON writes. In an interview with the Star, former train porter Harold Adams PERSON, 76, recalls how he slept for just 3-1/2 hours when he first started working as a porter, often curling up on a couch in the men’s washroom. “I don’t know how many times I came home and said I’m not going back, this work is not for me,” he tells Foster PERSON in the book. Adams PERSON says he never got involved with political activism but other porters, like Stanley Grizzle PERSON in Toronto, decided to organize and fight to improve the rights of Black Canadians. And in doing so, they played a significant role in “taking Canada off the bankrupting path of trying to be an exclusive and racist country,” Foster PERSON writes. Black train porters like Grizzle PERSON recognized that they had to fight “both pillars of the social system: who got in and who got what work in Canada,” he writes. This meant advocating for fairer and more equitable employment practices; it also meant pushing Canada to change its immigration policies and expand its vision for who could be included as “Canadians.” In his book, Foster PERSON frequently returns to a pivotal moment in 1954, when the Negro Citizenship Association chartered a sleeping car to mount a protest in Ottawa — the first delegation of Black Canadians to meet with members of the federal Cabinet. The group was dominated by train porters and headed by respected civil rights leader Donald Moore PERSON, whose first job in Canada was as a sleeping car porter, Foster PERSON writes. In their meeting with then-immigration minister Walter Harris PERSON, the delegation presented a series of grievances, challenges and demands around Canada’s discriminatory immigration policies. They had two broad aims, Foster PERSON writes; to challenge how Blackness and belonging was thought of in Canada, and to ensure that any benefits won by Black people were extended to all racialized groups.

Benjamin Layne PERSON, a retired porter with Canadian Pacific Railways, looks at a display of photos before a ceremony honouring the work of porters in 1999 at Windsor station in Montreal. (THE CANADIAN PRESS FILE PHOTO).

The delegation's historic trip drew national attention to Canada's discriminatory immigration laws and paved the way for change. "These guys were smart enough to go to Ottawa and say we have a different vision for our Canada," he says. "They said there's an alternative, and the alternative is the Canada we live in today, where even (today's) minister of immigration (Ahmed Hussien PERSON) would not have been allowed in under that period." By the late 1960s, the activism of Black train porters had yielded a series of victories that included improving their work conditions and ending policies of workplace segregation. In 1955, George Garraway PERSON was hired by the Canadian Pacific Railway as a conductor, making him the first Black Canadian to hold the job. Through their own struggle for social justice, Black porters made Canada a fairer place for everyone, Foster PERSON believes. "I'm hoping that people (who read this book) will take it as an unromanticized look at Canada, in which we look at Canada in all its warts and imperfections," he says. "I also hope that they will think that the Black communities (were made up of) exceptional Canadians, where people had a vision of what Canada could be," he continues. "There were those who fought for their ideas and their ideals of what a country should be ... and in getting those gains, they've helped other groups achieve those gains as well." Jennifer Yang PERSON is a Toronto-based reporter covering identity and inequality. Follow her on Twitter: @jyangstar