

THE MANITOBA ACT IN TRANSITION, 1870-1896:
THE TRANSFORMATION
OF
MANITOBA'S FRENCH-CANADIAN POLITICO-CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

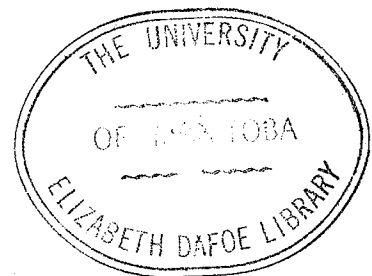
A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of Graduate Studies
University of Manitoba

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts

by

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September 1968



PREFACE

This study is concerned with analyzing the nature of the transformation of Manitoba's French-Canadian politico-cultural institutions in the period 1870-1896. It attempts to show how the transformation of population during those years destroyed the politico-cultural duality embodied in the Manitoba Act and the province's institutional structure which the original equilibrium between French and English Canadians in 1870 had made possible.

I am indebted to Dr. C. J. Jaenen for suggesting the subject of this thesis and to Father V. Jensen for his wise counsel and his many suggestions. However, the opinions and conclusions set forth in this dissertation are those of the author and the full responsibility for them is his.

ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes the transformation of Manitoba's French-Canadian politico-cultural institutions which occurred during the years 1870-1896 as a result of the tremendous influx of British and Ontario settlers in that period. It reveals that the earlier stages of institutional revision - the transition from parishes to municipalities and from communal to party politics - were accomplished in a spirit of compromise, while the last stage, the educational and linguistic changes of 1890 took place when the climate of racial and religious bitterness of federal politics in the 1880's had been carried over into Manitoba. The hostility of many Ontario immigrants towards the French Canadians in Manitoba was exacerbated by that climate. In conclusion, it was seen that those hostile attitudes and the tremendous numerical superiority of the English-Canadian majority made compromise on the language and school questions an impossibility, and consequently instead of merely revising the institutions as they had earlier done, the English-Canadian majority abolished the official use of the French language and the dual system of denominational schools.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	i
I. IMMIGRATION IN CANADA, 1867-1896	1
Immigration Problems of the Federal Government	1
Quebec and Insular Nationalism: The Ideology of Survival	9
Immigration and Colonization in Ontario: The Imperialism of the 'Clear Grits'	24
II. THE TRANSFORMATION OF MANITOBA'S POPULATION, 1870-1885	47
Ontario Emigration to Manitoba: The Beginning of the Cultural Clash Between French and English Canadians	47
French Canadian Colonization Efforts	73
III. THE TRANSFORMATION OF MANITOBA'S FRENCH- CANADIAN POLITICO-CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS	113
Municipality versus Parish	113
Provincial Rights and the Development of Political Parties in Manitoba	125
Linguistic and Educational Changes in Manitoba	146
CONCLUSION	165
BIBLIOGRAPHY	171
APPENDIX A. Lists of Rights	179
APPENDIX B. The Manitoba Act	188
APPENDIX C. Population Charts	196

INTRODUCTION

The position of French-speaking Roman Catholics in British North America has always been somewhat precarious, and one of the primary purposes of Confederation was to attempt to remedy that situation by insuring that the French-Canadian minority would at least be guaranteed their politico-cultural rights in Quebec, the one province where they would be a majority.¹ When the possibility of the Red River Settlement passing out of the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company² finally arose, a feeling of uneasiness developed among the French inhabitants in Red River. Their fears derived chiefly from the fact that Confederation had not really provided any politico-cultural guarantees for those French people living outside of Quebec.³ Furthermore, the proponents of annexation in Red River - fiery individuals such as John

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1. Ramsay Cook, Canada and the French-Canadian Question (Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1966), p. 181.
 2. The Hudson's Bay Company had been granted Rupert's Land, an area which included the Red River Settlement, by royal charter in 1670. They had possessed complete political powers in the region from that date until the late 1860's, and ever since the Company's union with, its chief trading rival, the North West Trading Company in 1821 it had also monopolized the fur trade in the area.
 3. There was, of course, one clause in the British North America Act which provided that either a Protestant or Roman Catholic minority possessed the right of appeal to the Governor General of Canada, if their provincial legislature passed a law which discriminated against their separate schools. See 30 Victoria, c. 3, Sec. 93, 3 & 4.

Christian Schultz, Henry McKenny, and James Ross ⁴ - were instrumental in increasing the fears of the French-speaking people, because they continually stated that once the area had been annexed by Canada and colonized by Ontario, the French settlers would be deprived of their rights and the Métis would be driven from their lands. ⁵

The French-speaking settlers in Assiniboia realized that while that attitude was held by only a few individuals in their own settlement, it had been ably spread among the masses of Ontario by George Brown, the owner of the Toronto Globe. There was, in fact a closely maintained liaison between that paper and its offspring in the North-West - the pro-annexationist Nor'Wester ⁶ - which resulted in editorials in both papers preaching the same message: within a few years time a new Upper Canada would be created in the North-West. ⁷

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4. W. L. Morton, ^{ed.} Manitoba: The Birth of a Province (Altona, D. W. Friesen & Sons Ltd., 1965), p. x. Dr. (later Sir) John Christian Schultz, 1840-1896, leader of the "Canadian party" in Red River; later Senator and Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. James Ross, the half-breed son of Alexander Ross, historian and Sheriff of Assiniboia, was born in Red River in 1835; educated at St. John's College and the University of Toronto; journalist and lawyer; Sheriff and Postmaster of Assiniboia, 1860-1862; left for Canada in 1864 and returned to Red River in 1869; died in 1871. Henry McKenny, Canadian, half brother of John Schultz; Sheriff of Assiniboia, 1862-1870, merchant and lumberman.
 5. G. F. G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1960). The Métis are half-breeds of French-Canadian origin, the descendants of men who worked for the North-West Fur Trading Company; at the time of the Manitoba Act, they constituted the majority of the population in Red River.
 6. Frank H. Underhill, In Search of Canadian Liberalism (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 53. The Nor'Wester was formed by two Toronto newspapermen, Buckingham and Goldwell, in 1859. Schultz gained ownership of the paper in 1865, and he controlled it until 1868. During that time he championed the cause of annexation and castigated the rule of the Company.
 7. Globe, January 2, 1863; Nor'Wester, I (1), December 28, 1859.

The major force behind that creation, according to the Ontario expansionists, would be a tremendous flood of Ontario immigrants into the North-West.

Both French and English settlers in Red River were well aware of the economic threat posed by a heavy influx of Ontario farmers into an area which had, up until that time, been almost singularly devoted to the fur trade;⁸ but the French people realized that they had much more to lose through annexation by Canada, especially if such annexation took place without their consultation. They recognized that their politico-cultural rights were being threatened just as much as their economic way-of-life. Indeed, the vituperative outbursts of Dr. Schultz and his followers⁹ directed at the Roman Catholic faith and the French language and the encroachments made upon métis lands by immigrants from Ontario¹⁰ convinced the French settlers that they would receive little if any special consideration once the flood of English-speaking immigrants had condemned them to minority status. It was, in reality, the foreknowledge that Ontario would be the colonial power in Red River after annexation had taken place, the fear that Ontario emigrants might "make of the colony an English province in the image of Ontario,"¹¹ which prompted the métis into action.

8. W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 104.

9. Stanley, Birth of Western Canada, p. 51.

10. Ibid., p. 55. Morton, Manitoba, pp. 116-117.

11. W. L. Morton, ed., Alexander Begg's Red River Journal and Other Papers Relative to the Red River Resistance of 1867-1870. (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1956), p. 163.

The acceptance of the inevitability of a successful invasion¹² of the North-West by Ontarians was based upon several obvious factors. George Cartier; Quebec's primary voice in Ottawa, had constantly opposed annexation in the years preceding Confederation, because he realized that it would serve to destroy the political influence of French Canada.¹³ Such a purpose had, of course, been prominent in Brown's mind for some time;¹⁴ he did a great deal to encourage Upper Canadians to look upon the West as part of their natural heritage. Cartier's opposition to annexation, on the other hand, tended to discourage French Canadians from emigrating to the North-West. There were, however, many other reasons why Ontario rather than Quebec appeared to be the inevitable colonial power in the North-West.

Quebec was generally speaking an anti-colonial province: its leaders were in favour of colonization of their own lands rather than those of Red River. Furthermore, since the Rebellion of 1837, Quebec's surplus population had been moving into New England, and at the time of Confederation that current had increased so greatly that it appeared difficult, if not impossible, to stop it. Ontario meanwhile was fully disposed to the idea of expansion. The province's historical background -

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12. Aileen D. Ross, "French and English Canadian Contacts and Institutional Change," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 20, 1954, p. 282, gives the sociological definition of invasion as "a movement of people of similar background into an area already settled by a different type of people. This is a common phenomenon in a changing society. It does not imply a well-planned scheme but is rather due to impersonal forces. . . ." I am using the term in the same sense but with the qualification that the movement of Ontarians into Manitoba was the result of careful planning and impersonal forces.
13. Underhill, op. cit., p. 52. Nor'Wester, Dec. 28, 1859, A. K. Isbister to Donald Gunn, and Joseph Tasse, ed., Discours de Sir George Cartier (Montreal, 1893), p. 625.
14. Globe, July 7, 1859.

the Loyalist migration during the American Revolution and the flood-tide of British immigrants in the 1830's and 1840's - had provided it with a solid migratory tradition, and it was to that tradition which Brown made his appeals for annexation. The Ontario tradition was after all a mixture of American and British ideas, and therefore it was natural for Brown to call upon the Ontarians to rival the expansionism of the United States and to do so in the name of the British Empire. ¹⁵ It was the recognition of these facts - the differences between the colonization policies and attitudes in Ontario and Quebec - and the immediate dangers annexation posed to their lands and politico-cultural rights which roused the métis into action.

The métis, in order to "oppose a regime they distrusted, . . . turned to the ancestral organization of their people, the council of the buffalo hunt." ¹⁶ Their actions in this regard were actually prompted by the fact that despite the continued threats of Schultz and his cohorts in Red River and Brown and the Globe in Ontario, the government of Canada failed to offer the French element any assurances that their rights would be protected when the transfer of authority from the Company to Canada had taken place. ¹⁷ Consequently, the métis chose a leader, Louis Riel, ¹⁸ and set out to protect their rights first through force of arms and secondly through negotiations.

15. Globe, June 30, 1862; January 27, 1864.

16. Morton, Manitoba, p. 121.

17. Stanley, Western Canada, p. 64.

18. Ibid., p. 67.

During the somewhat hectic period which preceded the birth of Manitoba, there existed a general confusion in the North-West in regard to who actually governed the area. Riel and his followers contended that the present government in Assiniboia - Governor William Mactavish and the Council of Assiniboia - was too weak and inept to govern properly, and so they decided to seize control of the administrative machinery and form a provisional government.¹⁹ The basic aim of the Provisional Government was to attempt to negotiate terms with Canada. During the course of events preceding actual negotiations between Canada and representatives from the North-West, four "Bills of Rights" were drafted, and in each one of them the influence of the French element was reflected in the demands for constitutional guarantees protecting the métis' lands and the politico-cultural rights of the entire French-speaking population.

The four bills actually reveal a progression of concern on the part of Riel and his followers for their lands and their politico-cultural institutions. It is possible that such a progression indicated an increased awareness on their part of how tenuous their position might become if a hostile English-speaking, Protestant majority from Ontario were to govern the area. The Roman Catholic clergy naturally encouraged Riel in this matter, because they realized that annexation threatened both the Church and the French nationality. After all the interests of the two had been bound together throughout most of Canada's history, and it was generally felt - by clergy and laity alike - "that the union could

19. Morton, Manitoba, pp. 121-122. William Mactavish, 1815-1870, Governor of Assiniboia, 1858-1870, of Rupert's Land, 1864-1870.

not be dissolved without the risk of sacrificing both.²⁰ Such a dissolution, however, would become a distinct possibility if the French were deprived of their rights in the North-West. It was that possibility which first led Fathers Dugas, Giroux, and Ritchot to encourage Riel to resist annexation by Canada,²¹ and it probably also determined the nature of their advice during the actual negotiations. At any rate, in order to see how these two factors - the growing political awareness of Riel and the assistance of the clergy - managed to play such important roles in the final drafting of the "Bill of Rights", it is necessary to glance somewhat briefly at the background of each of the lists.

Riel realized that in order to negotiate successfully with Ottawa they would have to create a Provisional Government which represented both the French and English sections of the population. Accordingly he arranged for a meeting between representatives from all of the French and English parishes in Assiniboia.²² That Convention drew up the first "Bill of Rights", but its English representatives refused to accept Riel's proposal favouring the creation of a provisional government, because they held that the Company Government was still legal.²³

Donald A. Smith,²⁴ a Canadian Commissioner, called a mass meeting in Red River at which he urged the people "to elect a convention

20. Jean-Marie Leger, "Aspects of French-Canadian Nationalism", University of Toronto Quarterly, Vol. XXVII, No. 3, April 1958, p. 316.
21. Morton, Manitoba, p. 119. The Reverend Noël-Joseph Ritchot, 1825-1905, came to Red River from Quebec in 1862; curé of St. Norbert, 1865-1905.
22. Ibid., p. 126. There were twelve delegates from each section.
23. Ibid.
24. See Morton, ed., Begg's Red River Journal, p. 296. It was at this meeting that Smith attempted to undermine Riel's leadership.

to prepare terms for submission to the Canadian government."²⁵ Riel attempted to convince this Convention that it was essential to form a provisional government which might negotiate terms with the Dominion that would be satisfactory to all of the present residents of the area.²⁶ Once again a majority of the Convention opposed Riel.²⁷ This second Convention produced a "Bill of Rights" which was practically identical to the first list.

In these first two lists it was recommended that the French and English languages should enjoy complete equality in the legislature and the courts, and that all public documents and Legislative Acts should be published in both languages.²⁸ It also stated that the Judge of the Supreme Court should be bilingual. In effect, then, the lists prepared by Conventions representing both sections of the Red River community only aimed at protecting the French language and the métis' lands.

The Convention subsequently found itself compelled to approve the setting up of a civil Provisional Government.²⁹ Riel was elected President of the government, while Judge John Black, Rev. Noel-Joseph Ritchot and Alfred H. Scott were elected as delegates to negotiate with the Canadian government.³⁰ Riel and his followers "produced in private a new, third, 'Bill of Rights'."³¹ The third list extended the

25. Morton, The Birth of a Province, p. xiv.

26. Morton, ed., Begg's Red River Journal, p. 163.

27. Ibid.

28. See Appendix A.

29. Morton, ed., Begg's Red River Journal, p. 429; The New Nation, Feb. 18, 1870.

30. Judge John Black was the English delegate; Ritchot represented the French community; and Alfred H. Scott was the American delegate.

31. Morton, Birth of a Province, p. xvi.

bilingualism of the first two lists to include the Lieutenant-Governor.³² It is possible, of course, that the addition was due to a growing sophistication on the part of Riel during the course of the negotiations, but the curious Article 17 in the third list would seem to indicate a growing desire on the part of the French to perpetuate the duality between French and English which had existed in the area for over fifty years, despite the actions of "designing strangers".³³ Probably the most important addition was Riel's demand "for the creation of a Province, despite the resolution of the Convention . . .".³⁴ Riel's concern in this regard stemmed from his desire to insure that the people of Red River would control the sale of their Crown lands and also to secure special land grants for the métis.³⁵

Bishop Taché, to whom the métis had always turned whenever they were in difficulty, had been absent in Rome throughout most of the Red River troubles. When he returned to Canada, he stopped in Ottawa to confer with Cartier and the government in Ottawa, and it appears likely that he was sent to Assiniboia as "a bearer of concessions, or a negotiator of terms."³⁶ Upon his arrival in Red River Tache met with Riel at Saint-Boniface, and together the two of them drafted a fourth "Bill of Rights."³⁷ This fourth list contained the bilingual sections, and the demand for provincehood, but it also

32. See Appendix A.

33. Ibid., p. 183.

34. Morton, Birth of a Province, p. xvii.

35. Ibid., pp. xvi-xvii.

36. Ibid., p. xvii.

37. Morton, ed., Begg's Red River Journal, pp. 345, 448.

recommended the creation of a second chamber like that of Quebec to protect minorities and the continuation of confessional schools in the area.³⁸ It can be seen, therefore, that Riel and Taché hoped the new province would embody "that union of French and English institutions that had been accepted as between Ontario and Quebec, but not within Ontario. Thus, the demand for the status of a province had become one freighted with great significance for the future of the North West, and indeed of the Dominion."³⁹

Ritchot took the fourth "Bill of Rights" with him, when he left for Ottawa with Black and Scott.⁴⁰ There they met with Prime Minister John A. Macdonald and Cartier. After the two sides had mutually agreed upon the clauses to be included in the final Manitoba Bill, the document was drafted and submitted to the House of Commons. There were two major surprises in the final Bill: the desire of Riel for the new province to consist of the entire North-West was denied, and his demand that the new province be given control of its lands as in the other provinces was also refused.⁴¹ Despite those revisions, Ritchot had seen to it that all of the major items of concern to the French element in Red River were accepted in Ottawa. Indeed, practically all of the items affecting the French population were quickly conceded in the debates without opposition.⁴²

In the Manitoba Act the new province was granted a constitution which confirmed the usage of the French language in the legislature and

38. See Appendix A.

39. Morton, Birth of a Province, p. xviii.

40. Morton, ed., Begg's Red River Journal, p. 341. Scott & Ritchot set out for Ottawa on March 21, 1870.

41. Ibid., p. 163.

42. Ibid., p. xxvii.

the courts, guaranteed the continued existence of confessional schools in the area, provided a legislative council to protect the rights of the minority, and established land grants for the métis.⁴³ Manitoba, therefore, was created in the constitutional image of Quebec, since the Act was largely based upon the idea that French-and-English-Canadian politico-cultural institutions should enjoy complete equality.

In a wider sense it may be said that the Manitoba Act was intended to protect the rights of the French Canadians, since it appeared likely that they would soon become a minority group in a majoritarian democracy, a democracy dominated for the most part by English-speaking Protestants from Ontario; who - judged by the actions of the Ontarians already in Red River - seemed to be hostile towards French-Canadian interests. The Act, therefore, was designed to secure for the French Canadians in Manitoba the same sort of guarantees accorded to the English Canadians in Quebec by the British North America Act.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, twenty-six years after the drafting of the Manitoba Act, the province was completely transformed, and the privileges of the French Canadians had been written out of the constitution. The transformation was actually a tri-fold process. Of course, the events involved in each of the three transformative stages were to some extent intertwined and overlapping, but basically the process occurred in the following manner: first of all, there was the transformation of the province's population which destroyed the numerical duality of the French - and English-Canadian groups; secondly, the province's local

43. See Appendix B.

44. Cook, op. cit., p. 181.

governmental institutions were transformed by the new majority in the area - the English-speaking Protestants from Great Britain and Ontario; and finally came the transformation of the French-Canadian politico-cultural institutions. These last two stages are so closely linked that it was felt best to deal with them in one section of the thesis. Finally, the purpose of this thesis is to analyze the nature of the transformative process which occurred in Manitoba in the period 1870-1896.

CHAPTER ONE

IMMIGRATION IN CANADA, 1867-1896

I. THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEMS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT:

The phenomenon of immigration is a dynamic process, and the range of factors involved in its study are wide and far-reaching. It is impossible, therefore, to analyze the transformation of Manitoba's population in the period 1870-1896 without taking into account the basic trends in immigration throughout the Dominion. Furthermore, because the nature of Manitoba's transformation was largely determined by the activity and passivity of two outside forces, it is essential to study the political and public attitudes in Quebec and Ontario towards the idea of colonizing Canada's newest province; and finally it is necessary to glance somewhat briefly at the immigration policies of European countries, particularly those of France and Great Britain. Only by examining the overall picture of immigration in these areas is it possible to discover why the French-Canadian element in Manitoba found it so difficult to bolster their numbers, while the English Canadians received material and numerical support from several directions.

In the period from 1867 to 1896 Canada experienced serious economic difficulties. During this period the Canadian Pacific Railway had been completed, the prairies had been surveyed and were ready for occupation by homesteaders on very easy terms, the industries in the east had been provided with adequate tariff protection, but still the era of economic prosperity which Confederation had seemed to promise

for Canada did not arrive.¹ Among the reasons advanced for the slow growth of Canada's economy were the low price of wheat and world-wide deflation caused by a gold shortage and conservative banking habits, but, as David Corbett pointed out, those reasons are only part of the story and the slow increase in Canada's population during that time must also be held to account.² At any rate, the tables below reveal the extreme gravity of Canada's situation during the period 1871-1891.³

TABLE I

NUMERICAL INCREASE IN POPULATION OF CANADA, QUEBEC, ONTARIO
MANITOBA, AND THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES, 1871-1891

Provinces	Population in 1871	Increase by decades, 1871 to 1891	
		1871 to 1881	1881 to 1891
Canada	3,689,257	635,553	508,429
Quebec	1,191,516	167,511	129,508
Ontario	1,620,851	306,071	187,399
Manitoba	25,228	37,032	90,246
North-West Territories	48,000	8,446	42,521

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1. David Corbett, Canada's Immigration Policy: A Critique (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 122.
 2. Ibid., p. 122.
 3. These tables are adapted from Canada, Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1924), Vol. I, p. 4. See Appendix C for the complete statistics.

The slowness of population growth was largely due to the changes taking place in Canadian society in the second half of the nineteenth century. Those changes were caused by:

the depression of the 1870's and consequent unemployment; the changing pattern of both rural and urban life and the accompanying social displacements; growing mechanization in both the extractive and manufacturing industries and the fact that the era of wheat as a staple crop in certain areas of the eastern provinces was drawing to a close and that the substitution of dairying, livestock production and fruit farming meant a decided decline in the rural population and in the demand for farm hands; the inability of urban industry to absorb the surplus population, and finally the slow growth of prairie settlement. ⁴

All of these factors combined to retard settlement in Canada. The situation was all the more serious, however, in light of the fact that, during the nineteenth century, virtually every important country in Europe except France was sending abroad thousands of emigrants. ⁵ It was naturally a matter of grave concern to the federal government that Canada simply did not appear to be attracting its share of immigrants. More important, perhaps, was Canada's apparent inability to hold many of the immigrants it did manage to attract; all too often emigrants from Europe would land in Canada but eventually settle in the United States. Indeed, throughout the nineteenth century the dominant problem

4. Norman Macdonald, Canada, Immigration and Colonization: 1841-1903 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 181.

5. A. R. M. Lower, "The Case Against Immigration," Queen's Quarterly, Vol. XXXVII, Summer, 1930, p. 567. The only major exception to this was Great Britain in the early 1870's, when the Liberal government adopted an anti-emigration policy, but that policy was only in effect for five years.

for Canada in the field of immigration and colonization was the flood of immigrants and native-born sons flowing across the border each year into the United States.

The United States, unlike Canada in the same period, enjoyed for the most part a tremendous growth both in material wealth and in numbers. That growth was largely due to "its immense area of continuous good lands (a Middle West instead of a Laurentian Shield). . ." ⁵ It was mainly the picture of prosperity in the United States which lured both immigrants and native-born sons out of Canada. The movement of settlers across the border to the south was so great that at times it appeared as if "the new nation seemed destined to be bled white by the process." ⁶

This movement of settlers from Canada to the United States actually had begun around 1850, because it was at that point that a critical land shortage developed in both Upper and Lower Canada. ⁷ Consequently, with the disappearance of arable land in those areas and the land monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company in the North-West, immigrant farmers and native-born farmers' sons alike found themselves forced to seek their futures in the United States. It was hoped by many that that trend would decrease with the advent of Confederation, but when the years of depression following Confederation revealed that,

5. Marcus Hansen, The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940), p. 164.

6. Ibid., p.

7. Ibid., p. 183. The flood of immigrants from Lower Canada, according to Marcus Hansen, began in 1851-1861, while that of Upper Canada started in 1861 to 1871. Jacques Henripin, "From Acceptance of Nature to Control: The Demography of French Canadians Since the Seventeenth Century," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXIII, Feb., 1957, p. 13, notes that the land shortage had, in fact, become critical in Lower Canada as early as 1820, and that the exodus of French Canadians to New England actually began in the 1830's and 1840's.

if anything, the trend had increased to alarming proportions, it became apparent to everyone that Canada's immigration policies were inadequate to meet the threat posed by her more powerful neighbour. Corbett stated that from 1871 to 1901 "the number of immigrants arriving annually was low - generally under forty thousand per year for all years in which the statistics are at all reliable. Emigration exceeded immigration in all three of the decades which span this period . . . Correspondingly, the ratio of foreign born to total population fell steadily from 1871 to 1901."⁸ The statistics reveal that this trend was basically felt in Canada as a whole, but in Quebec its effects were particularly noticeable.⁹ Ontario managed to weather the storm in the first decade only to find itself struggling with the rest of the country in the twenty years which followed.¹⁰ Manitoba, on the other hand, grew tremendously in comparison to the rest of Canada, but such an increase was only to be expected, since it was along with the North-West the sole region in Canada offering settlers large tracts of vacant, fertile land.¹¹ Manitoba's per cent increase per decade in her first twenty years as a province was 146.79 in 1871-1881 and 144.95 in 1881-1891.¹²

8. Corbett, op. cit., p. 122.

9. See Appendix B.

10. Ibid., Ontario underwent a slow, steady decline in per cent increase of its population per decade, and in the period 1891 to 1901 its increase was only 3.25%. That decline was also reflected in the number of Ontario immigrants arriving in Manitoba in each of the three decades.

11. Lower, "The Case Against Immigration", p. 559.

12. See Appendix B; Lower has noted that Manitoba's population increase during this period closely resembled that of Upper Canada's before 1850.

Nevertheless, even in Manitoba the movement of immigrants and native-born settlers to the United States was a constantly recurring factor during these thirty years.

The federal and provincial governments and various private groups in Canada attempted to compete with the United States in the fields of immigration and colonization in order to win their share of immigrants from Europe, to make permanent settlers out of those immigrants, to retain their native-born sons, and finally to win back those settlers they had lost to their southern neighbour. Among the methods employed by these groups were the increasing of immigration propaganda in all crucial areas: Great Britain, Germany, and the United States; the employment of "Return Men"; attempts at group colonization; the repatriation of Canadians who had emigrated to the United States; the periodical revision of the land granting system, especially in Manitoba and the North-West. ¹³

The federal government's efforts were severely hampered, of course, by the financial difficulties resulting from the depression. In its efforts to build a transcontinental railroad, it was first impeded by the monetary shortage and then by the Pacific Scandal and the change in government resulting from it. ¹⁴ The revision of general land policies

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13. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 186 and pp. 217-218. "Return Men" were successful immigrants who were commissioned by the member of parliament in their constituency to return to their homeland and recruit immigrants; they were generally paid \$50 for every group of ten or more settlers whom they attracted to Canada.
 14. In 1873 Macdonald was accused of bribery in regard to the Canadian Pacific Railway contract. The resulting scandal drove him from office for a period of five years.

proceeded smoothly for the most part, but even in that area the federal government received criticism from settlers and businessmen in the West, who were opposed to the fact that almost 4 million acres of land was set aside in reserves for the half-breeds, the Hudson's Bay Company, the Menonites, repatriated French Canadians, and other groups or organizations.¹⁵ The westerners claimed that those reserves discouraged countless prospective immigrants from settling in Manitoba and the North-West.

It was the general disorganization and maladministration of the federal government in the field of immigration which prompted many ethnic groups in the provinces to adopt definite immigration and colonization policies of their own.

Much of the confusion on the part of the federal government stemmed from the fact that the Dominion government and the provincial governments possessed concurrent jurisdiction in the immigration field. At the outset, John A. Macdonald suggested to John Sandfield Macdonald, the premier of Ontario, that a permanent commission of the Attorneys General of the Province might "settle some general system for future legislation and endeavour to dispose of the questions of conflict of jurisdiction that will from time to time arise."¹⁶ Macdonald then added that since Ontario had acquired such a tremendous surplus, the province was well-prepared for embarking upon a "liberal" immigration policy.¹⁷ The Ontario premier, however, was not ready for his province to incur such a large pecuniary liability. He replied to the Prime Minister on June 5, 1868: "We are of opinion that the Dominion government

15. Norman E. Wright, In View of the Turtle-Hill (Deloraine, 1951), p. 35.

16. Public Archives of Canada, Macdonald Papers, May 30, 1868, Sir John A. Macdonald to John Sandfield Macdonald, Vol. II, p. 2270.

17. Ibid.

must take the head in respect to pecuniary aid towards inducing emigrants to come to the Provinces." ¹⁸ The general conflict of jurisdiction and the unwillingness of either Federal or provincial governments to take the lead in the immigration field hampered Canada's efforts in that regard for several years, until the former body assumed command.

Quebec and Ontario - the largest and most powerful of the Canadian provinces and the chief representatives of French and English Canadians - were, of course, best qualified for carrying out a program of their own. Both provinces naturally recognized that most of Canada's immigration problems stemmed from her inability to compete with the United States, but they reacted to that fact in completely different manners, because their historical backgrounds, their religions, and their cultures had resulted in the creation of two diametrically opposed attitudes towards immigration. Quebec, on the whole, adopted a policy of isolation, while Ontario favoured colonial expansion; of course, the latter province's leaders were divided on the question as to whether the federal or provincial government should direct that expansion. In effect, those attitudes reflected two distinct forms of nationalism, and the difference between those two nationalisms was the basic factor which determined Manitoba's transformation in the period 1870 to 1896. The nature of Manitoba's transformation was naturally largely dependent on the political, religious, and cultural background of the people who settled her lands during those years, and the character of immigration in the province - the flood-tide of English-speaking Protestants, largely from Great Britain and Ontario, and the feeble trickle of French-speaking Roman Catholics - was directly determined by Quebec's isolationism and Ontario's expansionism.

18. Ibid., June 5, 1868, John Sandfield Macdonald to Sir John Macdonald.

II. QUEBEC AND INSULAR NATIONALISM: THE IDEOLOGY OF SURVIVAL:

French-Canadian nationalism, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, was both exclusive and isolationist: ¹⁹ exclusive in the sense that it included but one faith - Roman Catholicism, and isolationist in that one of its basic tenets was that contacts with people who were neither Catholic nor French-speaking should be strictly avoided, because such contacts increased the danger of assimilation. These feelings had partly developed as a result of Quebec's relationship with France.

Ever since the Conquest of New France by British forces in 1760, Quebec had been almost completely cut off from France, and during that period there had been practically no immigration from that country to Quebec. ²⁰ For one hundred years the survival of the French-speaking people in Quebec had been dependent upon their fantastic rate of natural increase rather than any appreciable immigration, ²¹ but their reliance on natural increase eventually prejudiced them against immigration into their province. The achievement of Confederation resulted in a strengthening of that opposition to immigrants, because the French Canadians felt that their rights in Quebec were dependent upon their position as the majority group in the province. Immigration was opposed, therefore, because it was felt that English-speaking Protestant immigrants would

19. Cook, op. cit., p. 34.

20. Senator M. A. Belcourt, "French Canada Under Confederation," C.H.A.; Annual Report, 1927, p. 29.

21. Jacques Henripin, ²² Despite the fact that French Canada received little in the way of net immigration, Henripin noted that its population doubled every 25 years.

either threaten to assimilate them or to curtail their politico-cultural rights, while immigrants who were neither French nor English were similarly feared, because it was assumed that they would merge with the English Canadians, who controlled big business and industry in Quebec.²² It must be remembered, however, that not all of this opposition was directed towards non-French-speaking immigrants.

Immigration from France had been constantly discouraged by the clergy in Quebec ever since the French Revolution of 1789. They contended that contact with the atheists and revolutionaries of the "Godless" Republic was fully as dangerous as that with English Protestants. The Church succeeded in winning support in this cause, because of the identification of the nationalist cause and Catholicism in the minds of many French Canadians.²³ In the nineteenth century, Ignace Bourget, Bishop and Archbishop of Montreal from 1840 to 1876, was primarily responsible for maintaining that identification.

Mgr. Bourget recruited several religious congregations from France, congregations who shared his ultramontane view "that liberal democracy was incompatible with Catholicism. . ."²⁴ and joined with him in denouncing the revolutions of 1848 and 1870 in France. This combination of anti-French feeling, ultra-montanism, and nationalism in Quebec ultimately gave birth to the belief that modern France was secular and

22. Belcourt, op. cit., pp. 31-32; see also Mason Wade, The French Canadians, 1760-1945 (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1955), p. 338, and Everett C. Hughes, French Canada in Transition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), p. 2.

23. Leger, op. cit., p. 316.

24. Jean-Charles Falardeau, "The Role and Importance of the Church in French Canada", in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin, ed., French-Canadian Society Vol. 1 (Toronto: Carlton Library, 1964), p. 349.

atheistic, and therefore contacts with her or her emigrants were to be avoided at all costs.

The clergy in Quebec feared that a mass movement of the "Godless" into the province would endanger the culture and the religion of the French Canadians. Indeed, the fears of the clergy were so intense that with subsequent liberal innovations in France - "the secular school, the law against religious societies, the rupture with the Pope, the separation of church and state"²⁵ - the Church in Quebec began to close its doors to the clergy from France. The ultramontane attitude was perhaps best expressed by La Verité and L'Etendard; the latter paper, for example, commented on the French defeat of 1870-1871: ". . . la tourbe diathés, de libres penseurs, de juifs et d'autres étrangers qui aujourd'hui trépignent sur le corps défiguré de notre malheureuse mère-patrie, pour insulter à ce que nous avons de plus cher."²⁶

It was not merely the position of the French-Canadian clergy and public which discouraged emigration from France. The population of France, in fact, had been reluctant to emigrate throughout most of her country's history. In the nineteenth century that reluctance was as strong as ever. "This was accounted for largely by the general equilibrium of French life: the diversity of cultures and climates and occupations was an economic safeguard, especially after 1871, when the population commenced to decline."²⁷ In short, there was little possibility

25. Andre Siegfried, The Race Question in Canada (Toronto: McClelland Stewart Limited, 1966), p. 28.

26. L'Etendard, Feb. 3, 1883.

27. Roberts, History of French Colonial Policy, (1890-1925) (London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1929), Vol. I., p. 238.

of an economic disturbance resulting in a sudden flood of mass emigration from France. Furthermore, in the decade of the 1870's - perhaps the most critical period in the immigration battle between French and English Canadians in Manitoba - there was little likelihood of Manitoba enticing immigrants from France, because the revolutionary spirit of 1871 inspired large numbers of Frenchmen to emigrate to Algeria. While it is true that the movement was a temporary one and that comparatively few of the Frenchmen remained in Algeria, it did hamper the work of Canadian emigration agents in France.²⁸ There was also the fact that Algeria continued to remain preferable to Canada for most Frenchmen who wanted to emigrate because of its proximity, its French laws and customs, its Mediterranean climate, and its position as a province of France.

Quebec's opposition to immigration from France and the latter's reluctance to encourage emigration proved to be a double hardship for Manitoba's French-speaking population. If it had been possible for Canada to lure large numbers of immigrants from France, it seems likely that Manitoba might have benefited in two manners: first of all, some of those immigrants probably would have settled in Manitoba; secondly, if Quebec's French-speaking population had been bolstered by immigration from France, then presumably more of her surplus population would have settled in Manitoba, and, at any rate, with her native French-Canadian population receiving support from France, Quebec would have been more receptive to the idea of colonizing Manitoba. Unfortunately, for the French element in Manitoba, the emigration policy of France did not

²⁸ Roberts, op. cit., Vol. I., p. 231.

undergo any drastic revision in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and consequently Quebec's demographic fears in the immigration field continued to plague the promoters of French-Canadian colonization plans in Manitoba and the North-West. Quebec's isolation from France, however, was perhaps not as serious a problem for those hopeful colonists as the tremendous movement of French-Canadian farmers and farmers' sons from the exhausted farmlands of Quebec to the flourishing industrial mills of New England.

Since they were not receiving any support through immigration while the English Canadians were, the French Canadians - fearful of becoming a minority group even in Quebec - strove to retain as much of their population as possible within the boundaries of Quebec. In the nineteenth century those attempts were complicated by the development of a critical land shortage which began around 1830.²⁹ The land shortage posed a distinct threat to the French Canadians and their way of life for two reasons: first of all, if they could not engage in farming, then they would be driven into the urban areas of Quebec, into the industrial world dominated by the English Canadians, and consequently they would be threatened with Anglicization and assimilation;³⁰ secondly, if they left Quebec for the industrial mills of New England, they would be similarly threatened with Americanization.

To a very great extent the core of the problem for the French Canadians in this matter lies in the geographical nature of Quebec itself.

29. Henripin, op. cit., p. 13.

30. Hughes, op. cit., p. 2.

As Everett C. Hughes has pointed out: "Only a small part of Quebec has ever been successfully farmed."³¹ Furthermore, most of Quebec's farmland is confined to a narrow belt of lowland along the St. Lawrence River, while the "remaining counties of Quebec form two frontiers. One, on the north, includes the Laurentian Highlands, the valley of the Saguenay River and of Lake St. John. The other, on the south, starts with the rough Gaspé Peninsula on the northeast and extends west and south along the United States border."³² These two frontier areas became the primary colonization areas when the land shortage arose in Quebec, despite the fact that in them "agriculture is neither prosperous nor self-supporting."³³

It is interesting to note that while both Upper and Lower Canada initially adopted colonization programs in order to cope with their land shortages, the former province abandoned its attempts when they met with failure but the latter did not.³⁴ The persistence of Lower Canada in the field of colonization is, of course, understandable when one appreciates their resistance to urbanization, industrialization, and assimilation. Also, it must be remembered that until Manitoba and the North-West were annexed by Canada, colonization was the sole mode of expansion possible.³⁵ Finally, the most important fact to be borne in mind is that the "French Canadians continually threaten their own inner equilibrium between population and land by a high rate of natural increase."³⁶ When there had been plenty of land available, the problem

31. Hughes, op. cit., p. 12.

32. Ibid., p. 13 and pp. 16-17.

33. Ibid., p. 17.

34. A. R. M. Lower, "Assault on the Laurentian Barrier," C.H.A. X, 1929, p. 297

35. Ibid.

36. Hughes, op. cit., p. iv.

had tended to look after itself, but by 1850 the shortage of fertile land was so acute that settlement had to be organized by colonization societies. Basically, these societies concentrated their attentions upon the Saguenay and Lake St. John districts. Two of the most prominent societies were "'Le Societe Generale de Colonization et de Repatriement' and 'Le Societe de Colonization du Lac St. Jean,' with its large tract of land in the vicinity of Lake St. John, 200 miles north of Quebec City. These societies carried on an active emigration propaganda in New England and provided free transportation to the repatriates, which was made possible by an annual Dominion subsidy of \$8,000." ³⁷ Despite the differences between these societies and the earlier ones, the results were basically the same. Most of them were met with criticism by French Canadians who claimed that the emigrés were no longer suited for life in Quebec; also, they often found it difficult if not impossible to lure Franco-Americans back to Canada. ³⁸ Nevertheless, the crucial factor still remained the fact that they were attempting the impossible: to encourage farming in regions which were manifestly unsuited for it. ³⁹

In their confrontation with the frontier the French Canadians have found that the "one really inviting rural frontier has been the hills of the Eastern Townships, rising from the St. Lawrence plain and continuing southward to New England." ⁴⁰ Perhaps this geographical factor played its part in attracting French Canadians into New England.

37. Macdonald, op. cit., p. 189.

38. Ibid.

39. Hughes, French Canada in Transition, p. 17.

40. Ibid., pp. 18-19.

Hughes has pointed out that by 1871 the French were in the majority in the townships originally colonized by the English, but still they found it necessary to emigrate in great numbers in order to keep up the equilibrium of family and farm.⁴¹ It is possible, therefore, that the tide of emigration from Quebec to New England originally began when farmers were forced to leave their farms on the lowland belt along the St. Lawrence to settle in the Eastern Townships because they were the most promising of the frontier districts, and once their rate of natural increase resulted in overpopulation, they moved on to the closest and most prosperous region: New England.

The tide of emigration into the United States was highly accelerated, of course, around 1830 when the countryside of Quebec approached a critical point in its history, since in many areas the point of maximum density of population had been reached. It had been the tradition in Quebec for farmers to subdivide their farms to their sons,⁴² but now the land was running out and large numbers of French-Canadian youth found themselves faced with the prospect of not being able to follow the occupation of their fathers.⁴³ In their search for employment those young men constantly came across advertisements in Quebec newspapers

41. Ibid., p. 19.

42. Ibid., p. 7.

43. Everett C. Hughes and Helen Machill Hughes, Where Peoples Meet: Racial and Ethnic Frontiers (Glenco: The Free Press, 1952), p. 199. Hughes suggests that "French-Canadian culture is so stable not because of its isolation, but because there has been a whole continent for its free-thinkers and other rebels to escape into." It must be remembered, however, that the Franco-Americans, while they often adopted the life of an industrial worker, strove to preserve the parochial structure of Quebec. The French Canadians who emigrated to the Western states, on the other hand, abandoned the parish life but still engaged in farming.

from New England factories, announcing their desperate need for industrial labourers and their generous terms of employment. ⁴⁴ It was not long before "the flower of the back counties' were leaving for the greener pastures of New England and Michigan." ⁴⁵

It has been stated by some that the exodus of French Canadians began after the Rebellion of 1837, but there is no definite proof of that statement, although undoubtedly many left the province because of the Rebellion. It seems more likely that the movement was mainly caused by the relative absence of manufacturing industries in Quebec, the high degree of unemployment, and the general over-all contrast between Canada's economy and that of the United States. ⁴⁶

At first the movement of French Canadians across the border was seasonal, and many of them deliberately chose seasonal work in the brickyards of New England so they would be able to visit their homes annually. ⁴⁷ Actually there was almost always some form of temporary employment for the French Canadians in New England: there were canals to be dug, factories to be built, and trees to be cut; and in all of those areas the French-Canadian migrant workers performed admirably. ⁴⁸ However, once their jobs were finished, they almost inevitably returned to Quebec, and therefore it appears as if they had no original intentions of leaving "la patrie" to settle in the United States. In fact, it is more probably that they regarded their sojourns in New England as a means to an end:

44. Macdonald, op. cit., p. 183.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Hansen, op. cit., p. 165.

48. Ibid.

Some went to repay the village moneylender who had financed their coming; others returned with the funds to lift the mortgage from the acres that the family hoped to retain as its own; a large proportion had parents whom they supported. Finally, it was said, nineteen out of twenty expected to leave the States permanently when their obligations had been removed or a modest fortune acquired, so that there were many friendly and business contacts which all wanted to maintain because of this hope. 49

During the years immediately preceding Confederation, however, the nature of the movement altered somewhat drastically.

The American Civil War led to a tremendous demand for industrial labour, and agents from the New England mill-towns circulated freely in Quebec and spread stories of the unlimited opportunities awaiting the French Canadians across the border. Those stories made New England appear even more attractive to the French Canadians, and consequently emigration from Quebec to the States reached its peak. 50 That peak lasted for a few years, and it was replaced by another which began around 1869. 51 Indeed, this latter peak was the one which spelled disaster for the French-speaking people in the North-West ~~and~~ who hoped to attract large numbers of their countrymen from Quebec, because it revealed that even ~~the~~ annexation of the North-West by Canada, would not stem the flood of French-Canadian emigrants into New England.

Every bit of information indicates that the exodus attained startling proportions at that time. The demands for hands was so insistent that farms along the St. Lawrence were abandoned, every member of the household departing with no intention of returning in the fall of the year.

49. Ibid., p. 166.

50. Macdonald, op. cit., p. 185.

51. Hansen, op. cit., p. 169.

A second peak was evident from the fall of 1872 to the spring of 1873. Families numbering ten or twelve souls disembarked day after day upon the New England station platform and agents representing the factories canvassed the Quebec countryside in an effort to enlist workers, young and old, to man the machines that were never idle. By June, 1873, it was estimated that one-fourth and perhaps one-third of the lands usually tilled in the province were lying uncultivated because of the desertion of farm families and the shortage of labourers. ⁵²

It soon became apparent that the workers who had formerly journeyed to New England for seasonal employment were ~~not~~^w taking up permanent residence in the States. This change was originally due to the fact that the mills and factories were employing women and children as labourers as well as men. ⁵³ In short, it became possible for entire families to secure employment in New England, and thus the dream of acquiring a modest fortune became stronger than ever. The emigration agents and industrial leaders did not hesitate, therefore, to advertise for whole families, and their efforts were tremendously successful. In this way the focal point of the French-Canadian emigrants shifted from Quebec to New England.

That transition was noted by the clergy in Quebec, and consequently they embarked upon missionary projects in New England which were designed to protect the faith of the French Canadians. ⁵⁴ The missionary work by the French-Canadian clergy and the letters of the émigrés in New

52. Ibid., p. 169.

53. Ibid.

54. Abbé Georges Robitaille, "L'Expansion Religieuse des Canadiens Français aux Etats-Unis," in Gustave Lanctôt, ed., Les Canadiens Français et Leurs Voisins du Sud (Montreal: Editimis Bernard Valiquette, 1941), pp. 239-266.

England quickly attracted doctors, lawyers, and newspapermen to this "Little Quebec".⁵⁵ French language newspapers came into being and soon the new parishes were being continually advertised in Quebec. In effect, then, it began to appear to the French Canadians that the Franco-American communities offered them everything that Quebec had to offer plus the added incentive of a more prosperous existence. There seemed little likelihood that it would be possible for French Canadians in Manitoba to encourage emigration from Quebec or New England to their province. The economic and historical events of the forty years preceding their province's birth tended to negate all of their hopes.

The years preceding Confederation had witnessed little in the way of French-Canadian emigration to the North-West. The reasons for that fact were obvious. The French Canadians did not desire to leave Quebec permanently; they only wanted to better their financial status, and therefore it would have been foolish for them to migrate to the North-West where they could only engage in farming or fur-trading, because the former would have required planting roots in the new land, while the latter was no longer a secure financial venture.⁵⁶ It should also be noted that the French Canadians received many bad reports concerning the soil in the North-West, and therefore even those farmers who would have left Quebec to farm new soil were not encouraged to

55. Hansen, op. cit., p. 167.

56. Morton, Manitoba, p. 104. The decline in fur trading began with the emergence of free traders, but it was not really noticed until around 1859.

emigrate to the North-West. There was, of course, some degree of truth in those reports, because for some time before Confederation agriculture in the North-West produced only enough food for the settlement itself.⁵⁷ These facts plus the poor transportation system between Quebec and the North-West and the land monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company largely explain why people from Quebec did not emigrate to the North-West, but the other fact to be considered is that there was really no desire on the part of Quebec or its leaders to expand into that area, while in Ontario the opposite was true. In short, a climate of opinion was created in Ontario - largely by Brown and the Globe - favouring annexation and colonization in the North-West, but in Quebec there was general opposition to any expansionist programs.

After Confederation the French Canadians were more aware than ever of the fact that Ontario had every intention of making a colony of the North-West, a colony which would offer no special privileges to French Canadians. The events surrounding the creation of Manitoba - Riel's Resistance and his execution of Thomas Scott, an Ontarian - and their effects upon Ontario made it appear certain that the flood of immigrants from Ontario would not be friendly, to say the very least, towards French Canadians. All of these factors - the possibility of being governed by a hostile majority from Ontario; the poor transportation facilities between Quebec and Manitoba, and Manitoba's distance from Quebec - tended to discourage emigration from Quebec to Manitoba. Finally, it may be said that the basic migratory pattern for French Canadians had become that from Quebec to New England, and once a migratory

57. Ibid., p. 88.

trend has been established, it is difficult if not impossible to reverse it. Such, however, was the task facing those who hoped to encourage French-Canadian immigration in Manitoba.

Quebec and France, in the nineteenth century, steadfastly opposed emigration, and both of them were confronted by a somewhat paradoxical situation: the largest numbers of people who left their home country eventually settled in lands which were neither colonies nor potential colonies of their mother country. In France, the situation was a result of the nature of Jules Ferry's colonization theories which specified that colonization could be accomplished without mass emigration;⁵⁸ in Quebec, however, it was due to the fact that her colonization programs were all directed at areas within her own boundaries. In a very real sense Quebec's policies in the field of immigration and colonization were, to some extent, self-defeating, because she would have gained a great deal by creating, or even attempting to create, another strong French-Canadian bloc in the form of Manitoba. Instead of engaging in an expansionist program, Quebec attempted to colonize her own lands which quite simply were inadequate for settlement. These futile attempts at colonization, the negative attitudes of the province's leaders towards the idea of encouraging emigration to Manitoba, and the absence of a definite colonization program outside of Quebec drove the province's surplus population across the border into the New England industrial mills. It could be said that Manitoba's French-Canadian population failed to receive numerical support for the same reasons

58. Roberts, op. cit., Vol. I., p. 16.

that Quebec failed to receive any from France: both of the latter two areas were so intent on opposing emigration that they were completely incapable of directing the emigration which inevitably did occur.

III. IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION IN ONTARIO: THE IMPERIALISM OF THE CLEAR GRITS:

There were two basic groups of immigrants in Upper Canada in the last part of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century: those from Great Britain and those from the United States, and the politico-cultural nature of Upper Canada, later Ontario, was largely determined by the resultant combination of British and American cultural patterns as well as by the fact that Upper Canada was a pioneer society. Between 1788 and the war in 1812,

the population of Upper Canada grew to 75,000, of which number about one-fifth were Loyalists and their children, and the remainder non-Loyalist Americans. Apart from the Loyalist movement into Upper Canada after the Revolutionary War, it was chiefly one common westward movement of land-seekers which peopled both the British province and the neighbouring American territory.⁵⁹

The Loyalists were more than welcome in the province because of their devotion to the British connection, but it should be noted that their loyalty did not always imply a complete opposition to American political and cultural ideas. In general, though, the Loyalists, while they were of many shades of opinion,⁶⁰ appeared to have tempered their admiration for American institutions with their loyalty to Britain.

There was still a general problem in the province concerning the extent of American influences, and part of that problem stemmed from those Loyalists who were somewhat weak in their "faith" to the

59. Fred Landon, Western Ontario and the American Frontier (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1967), p. 1.

60. Gerald M. Craig, Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 3.

British Empire. It was, however, mainly the later influx of immigrants from the United States who actually provided the basis for American influence in Upper Canadian affairs. Fred Landon states that

Immigration between 1790 and 1812 was chiefly from the United States, but in this period it was free land which was the chief attraction and the oath of allegiance was often an unimportant and lightly regarded prelude to its possession. Upper Canada was essentially an American community under British laws and British forms of government down to the period of the war with the United States. ⁶¹

The dangers of radicalism - which in the context of early nineteenth century Upper Canada is perhaps best defined, from a British point of view, as a general belief in the superiority of American politico-cultural institutions over those of Britain - became so feared at one point that the British element took steps after 1812 to discourage further emigration from the United States to Upper Canada; at the same time, efforts were made to encourage mass emigration from Great Britain. ⁶² Those efforts were principally the work of the governing party in the province, later referred to as the Family Compact, ⁶³ which was made up of staunch Loyalists and emigrants from Britain. As far as that group was concerned, "Upper Canada was not a mere possession of Great Britain but part of the British nation overseas, where British subjects had the

61. Landon, op. cit., p. 2.

62. Craig, op. cit., pp. 111-114.

63. The Family Compact, consisting mainly of Loyal Britons of the Church of England, ~~was~~ the socially, economically and politically dominant group in the province. It was devoted to the status quo, to the development of Upper Canada on British rather than American lines, and therefore to the affiliation rather than the separation of church and state. Of course, their defense of the status quo was principally a defense of their own privileged economic, social and political position.

same rights and obligations as at home. They had a strong sense of nationality but it was one of British nationality, and they had no desire for any other." ⁶⁴

The efforts of the Compact in the field of immigration were highly successful during those years. It is normal for a population to double approximately every twenty-five years, but in the first half of the nineteenth century the population of Upper Canada frequently doubled itself every twelve years. ⁶⁵ For example, from 1824 to 1848 the population of the province increased from 150,066 to 725,879. ⁶⁶

It proved impossible, however, to curtail the American influence entirely, because the two basic groups of American immigrants - Loyalists and non-Loyalists - shared in a general admiration for the American system of local government, and they were often joined in that admiration by the radical Scottish element in Upper Canada. ⁶⁷

The division of opinion between the supporters of American and British politico-cultural ideas resulted in a conflict which greatly affected Upper Canadian life in the first half of the nineteenth century, and that conflict is perhaps best reflected by the character of the Reform Party. ⁶⁸ By 1849 the Reform Party revealed that it was split

64. Ibid., p. 109.

65. Lower, "The Case Against Immigration", p. 559.

66. Canada, Census of Canada, 1665 to 1871 (Ottawa, Printed by J. B. Taylor, 1876), pp. 83, 165.

67. Landon, op. cit., p. xiv.

68. The Reform Party consisted of Americans and Britons who were strongly opposed to the political and cultural ideas held by the Family Compact and the Church of England. Furthermore, since the reformists included mostly Methodists and Presbyterians, they attacked the privileged position held by Anglicans and other Compact members in the province's government.

into two segments: a conservative (British) wing of reformers, known as Moderates, and a radical (American) contingent, referred to as the Clear Grits.⁶⁹ Prior to Confederation the powerful influence of the American element was primarily noticeable by the changes effected in the province's politico-cultural institutions. The role of the Clear Grits in bringing about these changes is not always clearly discernible, and that fact probably illustrates that other elements in the province, including the moderate wing of the Reformers, were also attracted to the American system of local government, particularly its financial system which had contributed so largely to the country's wealth and power. The changes, therefore, may have been just as much the result of the felt needs of the province as of the conscious desire to emulate the United States.⁷⁰

The limited attempts of the Reformers in Upper Canada to model their institutions after those of the United States revealed the gulf separating those favouring the cultivation of a wholly British nationality and those supporting the partial or complete adoption of the American cultural pattern.⁷¹ It should be noted that "two distinct types of local government, both of British origin, had developed in the American colonies, the New England type and the Southern type."⁷² However, since almost three-quarters of the Loyalists in Canada had come from New York, it was the New England type which exerted a great deal of

69. These terms - radical and conservative - are purely relative, of course, for while the American wing was "radical" as far as democracy was concerned, the British or Tory wing was radically anti-French. See D.C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto, pp. 97, 210.

70. Craig, op. cit., p. 198.

71. Ibid., p. 199, Craig noted that the desire of many Upper Canadians to mold their institutions along American lines often "denoted no inclination for a closer political association with that country."

72. K. G. Crawford, Canadian Municipal Government (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954), p. 22.

influence upon local government in Upper Canada.⁷³ The New England influence was clearly seen in the period from 1815 to 1840, when the dominant question in Upper Canada's local government "was whether common-school education should be under clerical control and restricted in scope as in England or should follow the more democratic example of the newer American states."⁷⁴ The question was actually that concerning the relationship of church and state: American immigrants and those influenced by American political ideas favoured the separation of church and state, particularly in the field of education. Those feelings were especially strong in the American branch of the Methodist Church which opposed denominational schools and demanded that "the clergy reserves ought to be used for the support of all Protestant bodies . . .,"⁷⁵ rather than solely for the Anglican Church. Those special privileges, possessed in fact by the Anglicans, had been guaranteed by the Canada Act of 1791, and in the nineteenth century they were protected by the alliance between the Family Compact and the Church of England.⁷⁶ The desires of the people in the province were opposed by the Family Compact and the Church of England whose attempts "to encourage settlement and the economic advance of Upper Canada along lines that would make it a truly British and loyal province were paralleled by an even more vigorous determination to guide religious and educational growth to the same end."⁷⁷

73. Ibid.

74. Landon, op. cit., p. 59.

75. Ibid., p. 73.

76. Craig, op. cit., p. 165.

77. Ibid.

The Methodists, headed by Egerton Ryerson, took the lead in advocating state-controlled schools like those of the United States, but it must be remembered that even they would not go so far as to suggest a purely secular form of education.⁷⁸ The slightly ambiguous nature of their position is perhaps a result of attempting to steer a middle course between the American and British systems. The educational ideals from an American point of view were secular public schools, under state supervision, open to all white children;⁷⁹ the British schools, at least up until 1870, were under church government,⁸⁰ and that, as far as the Church of England was concerned, was the correct practice to follow.

The conflict between the Church of England's belief in church schools and the Protestant dissenters' support of state-controlled schools was tentatively decided by the Act of 1841 which provided for "a comprehensive system of public schools and the freeing of the provincial university from religious limitations. The new public school system was based upon the experience of Great Britain, Ireland, several countries of Europe, and the eastern states of the American Union. The democratic character of New England's educational ideals was particularly reflected in the changes made in Upper Canada."⁸¹ It was Rev. Egerton Ryerson, however, who eventually determined the direction which education should take in Upper Canada. As Landon states:

78. Landon, op. cit., p. 226.

79. Carl N. Degler, Out of Our Past: The Forces that Shaped Modern America (New York and Evanston: Harper Publishing Company, 1959), p. 159.

80. Lovell Clark, ed., The Manitoba School Question: Majority Rule or Minority Rights (Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1968), p. 156.

81. Landon, op. cit., pp. 224-225. See also Masters, op. cit., p. 42.

The new era in provincial education proceeded from policies proposed by the Rev. Egerton Ryerson who had been appointed Superintendent of Schools in 1844. Immediately following his appointment Ryerson visited the United States and several countries of Europe, the results of his observations being embodied in the Common School Act of 1846, probably the most important piece of educational legislation in the whole history of the province. Ryerson's plans demanded well-qualified teachers, suitable buildings and equipment, regular inspection, and uniform textbooks. From the United States was drawn the thoroughly democratic principle that every child was entitled to the educational privileges provided by the state, and also the idea of local administration through elected school trustees who should have the right to demand from municipal councils the funds necessary for educational requirements. Efficiency and responsibility were to be the keynotes of the new system.⁸²

It was this system, with a few modifications, which was adopted by Ontario, and to some extent it may be regarded as something of a compromise between the American and British systems. By and large, though, the system tended to copy the former's institutional pattern and merely to demand loyalty to the British Crown from its students.

The American influence was clearly seen in several characteristics of the Ontario educational system: it stressed the importance of state supervision, non-denominationalism, and the propagation of Anglo-Saxon British patriotism.⁸³ Those features were prevalent throughout Ontario's entire educational structure from the common schools to the secondary level and even in the university,⁸⁴ and they served to make the system quite unappealing to French Canadians. By modelling their

82. Ibidl, pp. 225-226.

83. Siegfried, op. cit., p. 71.

84. Landon, op. cit., p. 227.

system after that of the United States, the Ontarians apparently hoped to mold a diversity of peoples into a single nationality. ⁸⁵

The influence of the United States upon Ontario's institutions was also clearly noticeable in the field of local government. In 1849 Robert Baldwin, one of the chief leaders of the reform movement, brought into effect a plan for local government ⁸⁶ which was

similar in all essentials to the so-called 'compromise' plan or 'township-county system' of New York and some of the north-western states, with its county board composed of township supervisors. The Baldwin Act gave increased importance to the township by making it an incorporated body with the power, not hitherto enjoyed, of raising money for public works. The township administration consisted of five elected councillors who named one of their number as reeve and another as deputy reeve if the population exceeded five hundred. The reeves and deputy reeves of the several townships in a county constituted the county council and elected one of their number as the warden of the county. ⁸⁷

This new system was so effective that it became one of Ontario's most prized institutions. It did, in fact, establish "the framework of the municipal system as it exists in Ontario. . ." ⁸⁸ The Ontarians, who later migrated to Manitoba, wasted little time before attempting to inaugurate the township-county system in their new home. ⁸⁹

These two institutional innovations in Ontario were definitely opposed to the duality which had existed in the Red River Settlement for much of the first half of the nineteenth century: the township-county system and the school system went hand in hand, and the latter was designed

85. Degler, op. cit., p. 159.

86. 12 Voct., c: 81.

87. Landon, op. cit., p. 224.

88. Crawford, op. cit., p. 32

89. Morton, Manitoba, pp. 188-189.

to promote the creation of a single - English-speaking and Protestant - nationality.⁹⁰ Both of them posed serious threats to French people - such as those in Assiniboia - who hoped to preserve their politico-cultural rights. Nevertheless, when the basic pattern of Upper Canada's politico-cultural institutions had been established, the primary problems in the province became those of a serious land shortage and, its concomitant, a large surplus population, and within a relatively short period of time the province's leaders had decided that the only possible solution to those problems was to secure the annexation of the North-West and thus insure that their surplus population remained in Canada rather than emigrating to the United States. The reasons for their decision were quite complicated, and they must be dealt with at some length; at this point, however, it must be noted that the proposed mass emigration of Upper Canadians to Red River would bring into contact two groups with sharply contrasting politico-cultural ideologies.

The people in Upper Canada responded to the problem of their land shortage in a manner quite different from that of Lower Canada. The exclusive and isolationist nationalism of the latter was directly opposed to immigration and emigration, while the former's assimilationist and expansionist nationalism - particularly as practiced by the Clear Grits - naturally favoured a highly vigorous policy in the field of immigration and colonization.

Upper Canada first experienced serious pressure caused by a land shortage in the decade of 1861-1871.⁹¹ At the outset, the province's

90. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

91. Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

leaders, like those of Lower Canada, felt that the Laurentian Barrier region might provide a home for much of their surplus population. The difference between the two provinces lies in the fact that in "Quebec the colonization society reigned supreme; in Ontario reliance continued to be placed on the trunk road, free grants, and immigration propaganda."⁹² That difference, of course, was largely the result of the different backgrounds of the settlers in the two provinces: Ontario had grown and thrived on immigration,⁹³ while Quebec had been forced to resist it for fear of assimilation.

It did not take Ontario long to recognize the futility of the attempts at settlement on the Barrier, and by 1875 their efforts in that area were almost completely abandoned.⁹⁴ They realized that in order to encourage emigration you must have good lands to offer to prospective emigrants, and the Barrier had proven to be distinctly unappealing, especially to Ontario's farmers. For several years, however, those farmers had been looking covetously at the highly fertile lands of the North-West, and they greatly regretted the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company possessed a monopoly on those lands.⁹⁵ It was relatively natural, therefore, for the proponents of expansion to direct the majority of their appeals towards the agrarian class.

George Brown commanded more support among the Ontario farmers than any other individual, and his newspapers' editorials were the most

92. Lower, op. cit., p. 305.

93. Craig, op. cit., p. 232. The Tories were particularly conscious of the benefits of immigration, since it had infused new life into their party in the 1830's when it was most desperately needed.

94. Lower, op. cit., p. 306.

95. Cook, op. cit., p. 33.

influential molders of agrarian opinion in the province.⁹⁶ Ever since he had become affiliated with the Clear Grit movement in the early 1850's, Brown had opposed Montreal's railway, banking and tariff policies and championed the causes of westward expansion and representation by population.⁹⁷ All of these policies were quite important to the agrarian element in the province, and consequently they cast their wholehearted support behind Brown and the Globe. The farmers in Ontario were particularly attracted to the doctrine of expansion, because, according to Brown, annexation of the North-West would not only mean that the idea of representation by population could no longer be denied by the Union Government, but would also provide them with the fertile land which they so direly needed.⁹⁸ It was in this manner that Brown managed to instill the farmers of Ontario with imperialistic fervour, and he was especially successful in the Western Peninsula because of that area's radical outlook and its migratory tradition.⁹⁹ The expansionist appeal was strongest among the radical agrarian segment of the province:¹⁰⁰ the lure of fertile soil insured that if the North-West were annexed by Canada, the agricultural element would constitute the majority of those who emigrated

96. J. M. S. Careless, "The Toronto Globe and Agrarian Radicalism, 1850-1867," C. H. R., Vol. 29, 1948, p. 14.

97. Ibid., p. 15.

98. The Globe, Sept. 15, 1859.

99. Landon, op. cit., p. 161.

100. F. H. Underhill, "Some Aspects of Upper Canadian Radical Opinion in the Decade Before Confederation," (C. H. A., 1927, p. 47, stated that "the essential thing about the Globe and the movement it led is that it represented the aspirations and the general outlook on life of the pioneer Upper Canadian farmer. The 'Clear Grit' party in Upper Canada was an expression of the 'frontier' in our Canadian politics just as Jacksonian Democracy or Lincoln Republicanism was in the politics of the United States." That view was later modified in light of Brown's obvious business connections, and the realization that the metropolis of Toronto was very much involved with the Clear Grit movement.

from Ontario to Red River. It should not be construed, however, that it was only the rural population who supported the westward movement.

The Globe was an extremely nationalistic paper, "but nationalism to the Globe did not mean separatism . . . Whatever might be the Globe's criticisms of particular individuals or groups in England, its imperialism in the end was as strong as its nationalism.¹⁰¹ It was that position plus a vigorous anti-French attitude which first linked Brown and the Globe to the Toronto business interests.¹⁰² Later, though, as the paper began to champion the cause of westward expansion in terms which made it especially palatable to the tastes of Toronto entrepreneurs, the bond between Brown and the business world became even firmer than that between him and the agrarian population. J. M. S. Careless noted that:

The final picture of the Globe should not be that of an agrarian radical oracle making common cause . . . with the essentially foreign world of Toronto business; but rather one of an urban Liberal newspaper seeking to carry its viewpoint to the rural masses and generally succeeding.¹⁰³

Consequently when Brown assumed leadership of the Clear Grit party, it meant that the party had fallen "under the control of an urban and professional group. . ."¹⁰⁴ From that moment onward the force of agrarian radicalism, the frontier influence centred in the Western Peninsula, was subordinated to the metropolitan commercialism and political conservatism of Toronto.

101. F. H. Underhill, "Canada's Relations with the Empire as Seen by the Toronto Globe, 1857-1867," C.H.R., Vol. X, 1929, p. 127.

102. Masters, op. cit., pp. 29, 33, and 80. Masters claimed that the Globe was actually the most Tory paper in Toronto. Its imperialism appealed strongly to the Toronto businessmen who represented the British or Tory wing of the Reform party, while its anti-French position appealed to the large number of Orange Lodge members among the Tories who hated the French as rabidly as Brown himself.

103. Careless, op. cit., p. 19.

104. Careless, op. cit., p. 16.

Brown was ideally suited to the task of combining the two wings of the Reform Party, because while he himself was a member of the business community, he had become the accepted leader of the rural masses. The nationalism of the Clear Grits was indeed, like many nationalistic movements, a rather strange amalgam of forces: British, American, agrarian and commercial forces were all combined in the movement. In effect, the two principal strains of influence in Ontario - the British and American - had been reconciled by Brown, but in the resultant union it was to be the conservative, British wing of Toronto businessmen which dominated the Clear Grit party.¹⁰⁵ The dominance of the British wing first became a reality at the Reform Convention in 1859, when the Grits, at Brown's suggestion, decided to assert the importance of the British connection and to scorn any talk of annexation of Canada by the United States. That decision revealed their desire to remain a distinctive national entity. Given their geographic proximity to the political, military and economic powers of the United States, Canada seemed to require some form of protection in order to prevent its being annexed by the United States.¹⁰⁶ It was for that reason that the Grits developed an ideology of survival for English Canada, based upon the imperial connection and the doctrine of economic competition against the United States.

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105. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16. That event was a reflection of the fact that the disappearance of fertile land had signalled the passing away of the frontier and the beginning of metropolitanism. As the rural area declined in strength in the fifties with the disappearance of its wealth, the urban area grew rapidly in economic, political and cultural strength. See Masters, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
106. Norman Penlington, Canada and Imperialism: 1896-1899 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 261.

Brown's personal position in the Clear Grit party and his awareness of the complex nature of that party enabled him to champion the expansionist cause in a truly effective manner. Many of the Globe's appeals for annexation of the North-West were phrased in a manner designed to attract both Americans and Britons, farmers and businessmen to the cause. On January 22, 1863, for example, the Globe stated:

If Canada acquires this territory it will rise in a few years from a position of a small and weak province to be the greatest colony any country ever possessed, able to take its place among the empires of the earth. The wealth of 400,000 square miles of territory will flow through our waters and be gathered by our merchants, manufacturers and agriculturists. Our sons will occupy the chief places of this vast territory, we will form its institutions, supply its rulers, teach its schools, fill its stores, run its mills, navigate its streams. ¹⁰⁷

Brown also seldom hesitated to point out that if Canada failed to annex the North-West, then the United States would almost certainly do so.

The Globe constantly berated Canadians for not demonstrating as much interest in expansion as the Americans did, and its pages were always warning the public that the political and commercial influence of St. Paul was steadily gaining ground in Red River. ¹⁰⁸ In this manner Brown's editorial policy clearly revealed the desire of Toronto businessmen to emulate the enterprising abilities of their counterparts in New York; ¹⁰⁹ of course, if the North-West were annexed by Ontario, then they would be able to expand their commercial activities and compete more effectively against the New York merchants. The challenge which

107. Globe, January 22, 1863.

108. Underhill, "Some Aspects of Upper Canadian Radical Opinion . . .," C.H.A., 1927, pp. 53-54.

109. Masters, op. cit., p. 211.

the Globe made to the Ontario public called upon them to imitate the enterprise and expansionism of others, without stating whether the "others" were American or British: "The non-occupation of the North-West Territory is a blot upon our character for enterprise. We are content to play the drone while others are working. We settle down quietly within the petty limits of an insignificant province while a great empire is offered to our ambition." 110

It was clearly evident, too, that the United States was gaining a firm foothold in the North-West. The Nor'Wester, the Globe's offshoot in Red River, reported in 1860 that a group had been formed favouring annexation of the area by the United States. 111 The Red River paper also confirmed the fears of the Globe and other Toronto papers that it was the commercial intercourse between St. Paul and Assiniboia which appeared to be gradually bringing the two areas towards a political union. 112 The Globe challenged the business community to act in order to prevent - what amounted to economic and political disaster - the passing of the Red River trading area into American hands. On August 26, 1859, the Globe remarked that "Toronto has a race to run with St. Paul to secure the full benefit of the Red River Trade. . ." 113 Such appeals were certainly not ignored by Toronto's business community. Geroge Brown's brother, Gordon, for example, took part in "financing the Kennedy expedition of commerce and exploration to the Northwest in 1856; and he was again associated with . . . the directorship of the North West

110. Globe, July 15, 1862.

111. Nor'Wester, Sept. 28, 1860 and Nov. 25, 1863.

112. Ibid., June 14 and July 28, 1860.

113. Globe, Aug. 26, 1859. See also the Toronto Leader, Aug. 27, 1859.

Transportation Company, organized in 1858." 114 Indeed, it was impossible for them not to realize that if Upper Canada's commercial interests supported the expansionist cause, they would reap the tremendous financial profits to be gained in any vast, new trading area. 115 Brown's assumption of the leadership of the Grits, therefore, meant much more than the mere subordination of the American radical wing to the British conservative segment: it also meant that the farmers' desire to expand physically and the businessmen's ambition to expand economically had been synthesized in an imperialistic movement. 116

The Globe's case for expansion was a very strong one, especially in terms of the immigration politics of the period. Since Canada's economy was suffering because of the tremendous loss of immigrants to the United States, it was essential for the country to acquire the fine lands of the North-West in order to attract and hold their European immigrants and to discourage native-born Canadians from leaving their country to settle in the United States. Ontario was experiencing those problems in an acute manner because of her land shortage, and Brown's argument seemed to make eminently good sense to the land-hungry farmers in Western Ontario.

Brown's basic point was "that with the West a part of Canada our adventurous spirits would go there instead of being lost to the United States; that the Red and Saskatchewan valleys would make us a

114. Careless, op. cit., p. 17.

115. Nor'Wester, Feb. 9, 1863, quoting from the Globe.

116. Cook, op. cit., p. 33.

rival with the republic for European immigration." 117 All of this implied a certain amount of envy of the United States, but it seldom amounted to a virulent anti-Americanism. 118 For several years the English-Canadian nationalists in the Reform Party had been divided by a factional war between the American (radical) and British (conservative) wings. During that conflict there had been a slight amount of anti-Americanism exhibited by the latter group, but when their division had been ended by Brown at the Reform Convention, it became no longer practical to indulge overmuch in overt anti-Americanism, because such actions would only alienate the American segment of the party. However, the Reform Convention, as mentioned earlier, signalled the takeover of the party by the business interests of Toronto, led by Brown, and both Brown and the Toronto reformers - especially the Orangists - were violently anti-French. 119

In effect, then, when the frontier of Ontario disappeared in the 1850's, the metropolis of Toronto became the cultural and political centre for the Clear Grits, and the opinions of the city soon became those of the party. 120 Also, the American wing had been primarily

117. Underhill, "Some Aspects of Upper Canadian Radical Opinion. . .", C.H.A., 1927, p. 54.

118. Penlington, op. cit., p. 262. Penlington stated that English Canada revealed a marked "reluctance to oppose the United States forthrightly."

119. Masters, op. cit., pp. 32-33. This also clarifies a point made earlier; while the Tories were often conservative in regard to democracy, they were quite radical in their opposition to the French. See ibid., p. 210, Masters noted that "Toronto can be at the same time a stronghold of conservatism and radicalism."

120. Ibid., p. vii. Masters, in speaking about Toronto's "metropolitan status," stated that "the term metropolis implies much more than mere economic dominance. Pushed to its fullest extent it implies many forms: political, cultural, and social as well as economic."

concerned with the problems of democracy and the relation between church and state; their radicalism had been primarily reflected in the reforms accomplished in Ontario's politico-cultural institutions. The radicalism of the British wing differed in that it was generally directed towards the goals of increasing material prosperity and solving concrete political problems. Indeed, even the anti-French position of the Grits was based upon economic and political, as well as cultural, grounds. It was relatively natural, therefore, for the Grits to turn from a muted anti-Americanism to a deep hostility towards French Canadian attitudes.¹²¹ While the Grits then generally tended to regard the Americans as rivals or business competitors in the struggle for control of the North-West, they began to regard the French Canadians as their actual enemies in that struggle.

The hostility of Brown and the Grits was directed both towards the Roman Catholic Church and the French Canadians,¹²² and it resulted first of all from the fact that the Grits believed that the union of the two provinces in 1841 had resulted in an oppressive situation for Upper Canada. They "believed their province to be the victim of an unscrupulous and unprincipled government which maintained itself in power by gross corruption and the votes of Lower Canada."¹²³ Brown himself felt that John A. Macdonald's government derived its strength because of the power of the Catholic Church in Quebec, and it was principally

121. Penlington, op. cit., p. 262. This is an example of what Penlington speaks of as the "alacrity with English Canada shifted from anti-Americanism to resentment of Canada's policy and of French-Canadian attitudes."

122. Landon, op. cit., p. 232; Underhill, "Some Aspects. . .," p. 46; and Careless, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

123. Landon, op. cit., p. 233.

the political activities of the hierarchy which roused the Globe's ire; their interference in elections; their refusal to accept the complete separation of Church and State which the Upper Canadian Reformers thought the only possible policy in a country of such diverse faiths as Canada; and especially their working alliance with the big business interest of Montreal which regularly delivered some fifty odd French-Canadian 'Moutons' in the Assembly under Cartier's leadership to vote for every job of the Grand Trunk, for tariffs that compelled Upper Canada to buy from Montreal instead of from the United States, or for the mere lack of action that prevented Canada from challenging the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company in the North-West. 124

This last fact is of crucial importance, because, for that reason and the others already noted, an anti-French attitude became a central tenet of Grit imperialism, and the idea of conducting a Kulturkampf in the North-West grew out of a refusal on the part of the Ontarians, led by the Grits, to tolerate French-Canadian politico-cultural institutions.

Brown constantly contended that it was mainly the opposition of Cartier and the French Canadians which prevented the speedy acquisition of the North-West. In 1860 the Globe stated:

The North-West Territory lies open before us - a field white for the harvest. We must not enter upon it. Lower Canadian interests forbid it. The interests of trade, of agriculture, the promptings of national and personal ambition, lead us in that direction; all must be abandoned because Lower Canada commands it. The Grand Trunk may be extended to the east through Lower Canada; docks at Montreal may be constructed with Upper Canadian money, but there can be no extension of operations to the west within British territory, because they would weaken the influence of Lower Canada. 125

124. Underhill, "Some Aspects. . .", p. 46.

125. Nor'Wester, March 28, 1860, quoting the Globe. See also the Globe, April 2, 1858.

Cartier's opposition to the method of annexation proposed by Upper Canada was made quite explicit on several occasions. The Nor'Wester reported in 1859 that

M. Cartier . . . was over here last autumn, and seems to have satisfied Sir Edward of the hopelessness of annexation. He told him very frankly that, as the head of the Lower Canadian party, any proposal of the kind would meet with his determined opposition - as it would be putting a political extinguisher upon the party and the Province he represented; and, if carried out, would lead to a dissolution of the Union. He admitted the desirability of throwing open the trade of the Hudson Bay Territory to Canadian capital . . . , and would willingly agree to Canada's contesting the validity of the Company's charter . . . provided that the territory taken from the Company should not be annexed to Upper Canada, but should be erected into a separate colony to form part of a general federation of the British Provinces. 126

At a later date, Cartier explained his view on the matter before parliament, "Je n'ai jamais été opposé, en principe, à cette mesure. Mais je n'ai jamais voulu consentir à ce que la province i'Ontario devint seul propriétaire de cette immense region, à l'exclusion des autres provinces . . . 127 Cartier's position, then, was that annexation of the North-West could only be acceptable to French Canada if the area did not become a part of Ontario.

Brown recognized that Cartier's position was basically that of Quebec as a whole, and under such circumstances annexation was completely

126. Nor'Wester, Dec. 28, 1859, A. K. Isbister to Donald Gunn. Sir Edward was Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, who was appointed as Colonial Secretary in 1858; during his period in that office he strove to bring about the annexation of the North-West by Canada. See Stanley, Birth of Western Canada, pp. 29-30.

127. Joseph Tassé, ed., Discours de Sir George Cartier, (Montreal, 1893), p. 625.

unfeasible. Brown consequently began to argue, along with Cartier, for the creation of a federal structure for Canada. On May 22, 1859 the Globe declared:

So long as the present regime exists, so long as Lower Canada has reason to fear the growth of the population of the West, so long will there be vacillation and weakness in our annexation policy. The disruption of the existing union and the establishment of a Canadian federal system is the only remedy for existing evils The French Canadian who desires to perpetuate his peculiar institutions - (to sleep in his shell while all the world around him is advancing) - may enjoy his wish unaffected by the designs of 'les Clear Grits' . . . ; the people of the West may regulate their local institutions on their own model, uninfluenced by foreign opinions, and may devote their wealth to the development of their great resources 128

The demand for the creation of a federal structure was not always phrased in such relatively peaceful terms. At one point, the paper commented that "Lower Canada, aided by the agents of the fur-trading monopoly, prevents our onward march to the West, and it will be so till we have either swept away the French power altogether or have given Lower Canada a position of comparative independence. 129

The first of the above statements implies that, since the French Canadians in Quebec were anti-expansionist, the North-West would be mainly settled by English Canadians from Ontario, and therefore it was logical to assume that the area's politico-cultural institutions would be those of the latter province. The second statement reiterates the contention

128. Globe, May 22, 1859. (Italics mine).

129. Ibid., May 24, 1859. (Italics mine).

of the Grits that the French Canadians were blocking the process of annexation and adds that it might be well to do away with the French influence entirely. The Globe carefully cultivated the theory among prospective Ontario emigrants that the West - even if it were not annexed by Ontario alone - would be a colony of Ontario, an area dominated by the English-speaking Protestant element, and finally an area in which the influence of the French would actually be "swept away altogether." Statements of that sort contending that the French Canadians were opposed both to annexation of the North-West and to political and economic progress in general resulted in the creation of a pervasive anti-French bias among Ontario emigrants.

The imperialism of the Grits demanded two things above all else: representation by population and westward expansion: they desired to see the implementation of both policies in order to free themselves from what they regarded as the political and economic domination of their province by Quebec. Quebec, on the other hand, was opposed to representation by population, since it would place them under Ontario's control. ¹³⁰ Such a situation could only be solved by the creation of a federal constitution. The British North America Act of 1867 was looked upon as a compromise by Brown and many other Reformers who would have preferred the achievement of representation by population. It was, however, a compromise which, in Brown's opinion, would give Ontario all it desired: "control of her own local affairs and a proper influence, based on her population, over general affairs, together with the great future

130. Underhill, Some Aspects on Upper Canadian Radical Opinion. . .", p. 55.

which the empire of the West would bring." 131 The latter idea had been carefully nurtured by the Globe and practically every other paper in the province for over a decade; all of the classes in Ontario supported the "Manifest Destiny" of their province to some degree or other. The expansionist cause did, indeed, promise something for everyone: land and gold for the farmers and merchants; missionary work for the evangelical sects; and the work of colonizing the new territory for those who desired to further the glory of the British Empire. Of course, as in many imperialistic movements, those motives were often intertwined and overlapping in the minds of the Ontario emigrants. One thing was certain: both the American and British poles of the English-Canadian nationalist spirit, which had developed coincidentally with the imperialism of the Grits, were devoted to cultural and institutional patterns that were fundamentally different from those of the French Canadians in Red River. Furthermore, the anti-French attitude of Brown, the Grits, and the Orangists among the Tories was shared by many of those who emigrated from Ontario to Red River; that attitude had played an important role in bringing about the Riel Insurrection and the birth of Manitoba, and in 1870 it only remained to be seen what would result when the Protestant, Anglo-Saxon culture came into close contact with that of the French Canadians in Manitoba.

131. Ibid., p. 55.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TRANSFORMATION OF MANITOBA'S POPULATION: 1870-1885

I. ONTARIO EMIGRATION TO MANITOBA: THE BEGINNING OF THE CULTURAL CLASH BETWEEN FRENCH AND ENGLISH CANADIANS:

The first decade and a half following Manitoba's creation as a province was an extremely critical transformative period for the province's population. The census at the time of the Manitoba Act revealed that the population was 11,963, consisting of 558 Indians, 5,757 metis, 4,083 English half-breeds, and 1,565 white settlers; it also stated that there were 6,247 Catholics and 5,716 Protestants. ¹ The equilibrium and common interests of the province's population had contributed to fifty years of peace, harmony and good-will between the French and English settlers in the area. ² It was also that equilibrium and harmony which had made the Red River settlement's institutions bilingual and bicultural in practice. Although the principle of duality - the equality of the French and English social groups in the area's politico-cultural institutions - thus practised had never been officially sanctioned, the "old" ³

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1. Canada, Sessional Papers, Vol. 20, 1871, p. 91.
 2. R. O. MacFarlane, "Manitoba Politics and Parties after Confederation," C.H.A., 1940, p. 45-46.
 3. Ibid., pp. 45-46. Macfarlane stated that the "term (Old Settler' is applied to those persons whose families came to Red River before the immigration from Canada began, say about 1860. It included three chief elements, the Hudson's Bay Company officials and dependents, the Métis, and the Kildonan settlers. All of these had a common denominator in the fur trade either as traders, as voyageurs, or as producers of supplies required by the first two groups. These were the people who had supported the provisional government in 1869-70, especially its bill of rights, on which the Manitoba Act was virtually framed."

Red River settlers nevertheless regarded the use of the French and English languages and the existence of separate Roman Catholic and Protestant schools as an integral part of their way-of-life.

J. O. Hertzler has stated that because ". . . institutions are established and serve as the chief agents of social contact, and since they are often hoary with sacred antiquity and dominated by the more conservative population elements, they tend to become ends in themselves and resist change."⁴ Such was the case in Red River. The French element, especially the metis, desired as much protection for their institutions as it was possible to obtain, and consequently they demanded that the principle of duality should be maintained and protected by the province's constitutions.⁵

The first rush of settlers to the province from the older provinces of Canada and the United States destroyed the equilibrium between the French and English segments of the area's population.⁶ The majority of the immigrants were English-speaking Protestants, principally from Ontario; indeed, from 1871 to 1874 the emigration of Ontarians to Manitoba greatly surpassed that of any other group,⁷ and as the tables below demonstrate that trend remained dominant until 1880, when the number of Ontario-born in Manitoba was actually greater than that of the native-born citizens.⁸ There was a gradual slackening of the flood

4. J. O. Hertzler, "Culture Contact and Institutional Change," in Race and Cultural Contacts (New York & London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1934), p. 50.

5. Le Metis, May 27, 1871.

6. Macdonald, op. cit., p. 179.

7. Morton, Manitoba, p. 159.

8. The tables, unless otherwise noted, were compiled from Censuses of Canada, 1871, 1881, and 1891. See Appendix C, Table II for complete figures.

in the early 1880's, and that was reflected by the Manitoban census of 1886 which revealed that the Ontario-born were slightly less than those born in Manitoba. 9

TABLE I
GROWTH RATE OF ONTARIO-BORN IN MANITOBA

Year	Ontario-born		Manitoba-born	
	Number	Percent of Population	Number	Percent of Population
1871	118	.96	11,298*	92.4
1881	19,125	29.0	18,020	27.32
1891	46,620	30.57	50,648	33.21

* In the 1871 census the population of the North-West Territories was included with that of Manitoba.

Most of the Ontarians settled in the south-western area of the province, particularly in the Portage la Prairie district. 10 Also, many of them were from the Western Peninsula of Ontario, and within a comparatively short period of time the radical tradition of the Ontario region had been transferred to south-western Manitoba. There were many other areas, of course, where the Ontarians settled, and in several of them it became clear that the French privileges were not going to be tolerated. 11 Indeed, while the statistical story is needed to illustrate

9. Manitoba, Census of Manitoba, 1885-6 (Ottawa, 1887), pp. 30-31, indicated that the Manitoba-born equalled 31,124, while that of Ontario numbered 31,121. Perhaps a more significant fact was the rapid increase of Ontario-born - an increase of approximately 2,000 - in the short space of five years.

10. Le Metis, July 6, 1871.

11. Ibid., May 1 and May 8, 1872.

the success of Brown's appeals to the imperialist sentiment in Ontario, the complete story of Manitoba's transformation during this period would not be fully accurate if it did not reveal the attitudes of many Ontario immigrants towards the métis and other French Canadians in Manitoba.

The hostility of the earliest Ontario immigrants - Schultz and his followers - towards the French-Canadian element had partly precipitated the Red River troubles, and it soon became evident as the flood of settlers from Ontario began to inundate the province that that hostility would be continued by a considerable number of Ontarians.¹² Brown, the Globe, the Grits and the Canada First Party¹³ had contributed to the growth of that hostility by utilizing anti-French propaganda in their expansionist program. The anti-French feelings of the Ontarians manifested themselves in an attitude of superiority towards the French Canadians, particularly the métis.¹⁴ Of course, imperialistic movements generally reveal the existence of an assumed superiority, a so-called natural right and duty on the part of one race or social group to dominate others.¹⁵

12. Ibid.

13. The Canada First group began meeting in 1868, and immediately announced itself as a champion, along with Brown and the Grits, of the cause of annexation of the North-West and British Columbia. The group also promoted the cultivation of a truly Canadian national sentiment, which, in their minds at least, meant that a great emphasis should be placed upon the British connection. Mingled with their loyalty to Great Britain, however, was a virulent hatred of French Canadians. That hatred was especially evident during the Insurrection.

The original group consisted of William A. Foster, a Toronto lawyer who later led the party, Charles Moir of Lanark, Ontario, and Rupert J. Haliburton of Halifax. At a later date, Dr. Schultz himself joined the movement. See Masters, op. cit., pp. 97, 128-129.

14. Chester Martin, "Political History of Manitoba, 1870-1912," in Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, Canada and Its Provinces (Toronto, Edinburgh University Press, 1914), Vol. XIX, p. 107.

15. Rene Maunier, The Sociology of Colonies, Vol. I, pp. 29-30.

In Manitoba the "superiority" of the Ontarians was expressed in several instances. At the outset, in the days following the Rebellion, Ontarians within and without Manitoba demanded that the federal government should despatch a military expedition to the North-West to punish the rebels and the executioners of Scott.¹⁶ Quebec, on the other hand, asked for an amnesty "to protect the half-breeds from the legal consequences of their levies upon the Hudson's Bay Company and private individuals, and from criminal proceedings arising out of the death of Thomas Scott."¹⁷ In the end Macdonald and Cartier found it impossible to ignore the uproar in Ontario - largely promoted by John Schultz, Charles Mair, William Foster, Colonel George T. Denison, and other members of the Canada First movement - over Riel's execution of Scott.¹⁸ Under the circumstances it was virtually impossible for the federal government to please both sides in the controversy. Eventually

16. Morton, *Manitoba*, p. 142. See Morton, ed., *Begg's Red River Journal*, pp. 327-328, for details of Scott's execution.

17. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, p. 113.

18. *Globe*, April 7, 1870. Biographical sketches - William Alexander Foster, lawyer and nationalist, was born in Toronto on July 16, 1840. He was educated at the University of Toronto and was called to the Ontario bar in 1861. He was one of the chief founders of the "Canada First" movement in 1868-1875; his pamphlet, *Canada First* (Toronto, 1871), provided the Canadian nationalists of that time with a rallying-point. He was one of the founders of the *Nation* (1874-1876), and of the National Club in Toronto. He died in Toronto on November 1, 1888. George Taylor Denison, soldier and author, was born in Toronto on August 31, 1839. He was educated at Upper Canada College and at the University of Toronto. In 1868 he was one of the group of young men who founded the "Canada First" movement; in 1893 he was the principal figure in the Imperial Federation movement. He died in Toronto on June 6, 1925.

Ottawa decided to grant a general amnesty, which did not absolve Riel of responsibility for Scott's death, and also to deploy an armed force to the North-West "to allay the anger of Ontario and to impress Americans and Indians." 19

The federal government's handling of the amnesty question marked the beginning of the métis' disillusionment with that body.

The amnesty question did even more than the insurrection itself to fan the flames of racial and religious animosity. On this issue many of the old settlers of Manitoba felt that they had been treated unjustly by the Dominion government, and that the most solemn promises that had been made in 1870 were broken three years later, in order to win the political support of the Orange element in Ontario. 20

The French Canadians were particularly disturbed by the government's final decision, because they had been given so many assurances that a complete amnesty would, in fact, be granted. Besides the promises mentioned above they had also heard from Bishop Taché and Father Ritchot that such an amnesty was guaranteed. 21 The outcome of the question naturally resulted in a great deal of criticism of the federal government by the French-Canadian press in the province, but that press also attempted to make the best of a bad situation by stressing the fact that the expedition to Manitoba, led by Colonel Garnet Wolseley, was a peaceful, not a punitive, force. 22

19. Morton, Manitoba, p. 142.

20. Macfarlane, op. cit., p. 47. See also The Manitoban, June 24, 1871; June 21 and April 27, 1872.

21. Morton, ed., Begg's Red River Journal, pp. 354, 382; see also Stanley, Birth of Western Canada, p. 147 and Morton, Manitoba, p. 142.

22. The Manitoban, May 2, 1874; see also Wolseley's proclamation in New Nation, July 23, 1870. Garnet Wolseley was born near Dublin, Ireland, June 4, 1833. He took part in several major campaigns, including the Burma War, the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, the China War, the American Civil War, the Ashanti War of 1873; the Zulu War of 1879, and the battle of Tell El-Kebir. Finally, in the 1890's he was made field marshal and commander-in-chief of the British Army. He died in 1913.

The Manitoban was actually trying to ease racial tension and discord in the province through such statements. Much of the friction between the French-and-English-Canadian elements in the province had actually been caused by Ontarians who believed that the force was supposed to ~~avenge~~ the death of Scott; that belief was especially strong amongst the Ontario volunteers who constituted the majority of Wolseley's expedition. ²³

There were, of course, many Ontarians in Wolseley's force who had volunteered because they wanted an opportunity to inspect the fertile soil of Manitoba for themselves. ²⁴ Both groups represented a distinct aspect of the imperialist movement: those hoping to ~~avenge~~ Scott's death and to conquer the new territory were supposedly working for the "glory" of the British Empire, while the latter segment was motivated by economic considerations and the desire for new lands to farm. ²⁵ Together the two groups were occupying and colonizing most of the province's lands.

The French Canadians in Manitoba were most disturbed by the marked absence of their compatriots in Wolseley's expedition. Their absence was largely due to Quebec's opposition to the force; ²⁶ another possibility, however, was that the men in Quebec were also not interested in settling in Manitoba. At any rate, the predominance of Ontarians in

23. Stanley, Birth of Western Canada, p. 132; Morton, Manitoba, p. 143, and Macfarlane, op. cit., p. 47.

24. Morton, Manitoba, p. 156.

25. The two groups were by no means mutually exclusive: many volunteers may have accepted the assignment with both ideas in mind.

26. Stanley, Birth of Western Canada, p. 132.

the force caused the French Canadians to look upon it as the first wave of the impending flood of Ontario emigrants into the province; furthermore the almost complete absence of French Canadians in the expedition and the hostility of many Ontario volunteers ²⁷ made the French Canadians feel as if Manitoba were actually being occupied by a victorious army. The French Canadians were rapidly confronted with countless private and public declarations by the Ontarians on the superiority of their culture and the priority of their rights in Manitoba. The Ontarian press and its offspring in Manitoba continually attacked the French people and the Roman Catholic clergy on racial or religious grounds, while the métis were continually accused of being disloyal rebels. ²⁸ The Ontario press and politicians proved particularly reluctant to forget the events of the past. The Globe constantly agitated for the punishment of Riel, and the Ontario legislature went so far as to offer a \$5,000 reward for the arrest and conviction of Scott's murderers. ²⁹ There was little the French Manitobans could do about such attacks other than to hope for better days in the future; for the time being, at least, it appeared as if Ontario would continue to interfere in Manitoba's provincial affairs. ³⁰

The press in Ontario busily began to warn its own citizens as well as Ontario immigrants in Manitoba that the latter province was becoming a "little Quebec". ³¹ Those warnings were aimed at stimulating the already strong current of emigration from Ontario to Manitoba, but

27. Le Métis, May 29, 1872.

28. Ibid., May 29, 1875, accused the Standard of maliciously attacking settlers from France and the Roman Catholic clergy. The Manitoban, Apr. 15, 1871, stated that: "Our Ontario confrères . . . do us injustice when they call one half of our population 'rebels'."

29. Le Métis, Nov. 29, 1873; June 5, 1872; Morton, ed., Begg's Red River Journal, p. 474.

30. Le Métis, May 29, 1872.

31. Ibid., Sept. 11, 1872.

they also had the effect of encouraging hostility on the part of many emigrants towards the French Canadians in Manitoba. ³² A hostile attitude was naturally most evident amongst members of the Orange Lodge. On one occasion the Orangists and other Ontario immigrants went so far as to destroy the presses of Le Métis and The Manitoban. ³³ All of this interference by Ontario in Manitoba's affairs and the violence demonstrated by many Ontario immigrants made the French Canadians all the more fearful of the Ontario emigration to their province. It must be remembered that such fears had existed before Manitoba's creation. In the debates on the Manitoba Bill the Hon. Sir Francis Hincks had commented:

It was perfectly clear that when the difficulties were settled and the Queen's authority established that a vast emigration would be pouring into the country, from the four Provinces but principally, there was no doubt, from Ontario, and the original inhabitants would thus be placed in a hopeless minority, and of this, they themselves had no doubt. If this were correct it was perfectly obvious that those who had been occupying the Territory, all their lives would naturally take this view: That they were to be entirely swamped and their influence destroyed. . . ³⁴

The métis and other French Canadians in Manitoba had indeed been well aware of the threat posed to their culture by the emigration of large numbers of Ontarians to their province. Such a migration would result in countless cultural contacts between French and English Canadians, and those contacts would quite likely bring about some form of institutional revision. ³⁵ Any proposal of institutional revision was viewed with

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., Oct. 12, 1872.

34. Morton, Birth of a Province, p. 184.

35. Hertzler, op. cit., p. 50.

considerable apprehension by the French Canadians, because it would endanger their basic system of values and beliefs. As Hertzler noted: "At the core of each institution is a maze of values and beliefs - not always clearly articulated - that created it, and deep-seated attitudes and the formal or informal code that maintains it. These values and attitudes are the fundamental elements of institutions and reflect the general system of values of the culture group as whole." 36

The fears of the French Canadians were increased by the existence of many factors which seemed to indicate that institutional revision might be accomplished quite rapidly, possibly through the use of force, and with little regard for their constitutional rights.

In the process of institutional reorganization, preliminary to some state of equilibrium, the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the selecting and recombining of elements cannot be predicted since a great number of variables, operating either singly or in combination, are involved. Among these are the numerical strength of the adherents of the respective cultures, the relative political and economic status of the respective peoples, . . . the existing antipathies and significant experiences, the tactics of the dominant group, as the use of force, the respective difference in the cultural level, the social approval or disapproval of perceptible racial differences, . . . the inflexibility or inconvertibility of the given institutions themselves, and a host of other factors. 37

All of these seven factors existed to some extent or other in the relations between the French and English Canadians in Manitoba in the period 1870-1896. There was every indication that the English-speaking Protestants, mainly from Ontario, would soon be an overwhelming majority in the province. Most of that majority would consider themselves economically

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., p. 53.

and politically superior to the French Canadians in Manitoba. ³⁸ Furthermore there were numerous antipathies existing between the two groups: some were caused by racial or religious differences, while others were born of the events which had occurred before, during and after the Red River Rebellion, but even this latter group of antagonisms was infused with racial and religious bitterness. As for the use of force, the behaviour of many Ontario immigrants, especially Wolseley's volunteers, and much of Ontario's politicians, press and public, seemed to indicate a readiness and a willingness on the part of many representatives of the future majority to employ the force of arms or the force of numbers in order to alter the area's institutional structure. ³⁹ Differences in cultural level were most noticeable between the English immigrants and the métis, and those differences - as has already been indicated - were far from tolerated. Finally, the general resistance to change of the institutions themselves and of the old settlers who supported them was the single factor which aided the French Canadians in their struggle to maintain their institutions. ⁴⁰

38. There was a great deal of evidence to show that the Ontario immigrants were financially well off. See The Manitoban, June 24, 1871. As for their political superiority, I am primarily referring to their greater degree of involvement in local government. See Crawford, op. cit., p. 36.

39. I do not mean to imply that the mass of Ontario immigrants were committed to rapid institutional revision, but rather that small, often influential, groups favoured the speedy re-creation of Ontario's politico-cultural institutions in Manitoba. The majority of Ontarians in Manitoba would probably have been content to choose for themselves, as individuals and in a gradual manner, a new institutional pattern. See Hertzler, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

40. Macfarlane, op. cit., p. 46.

It was the métis, however, who were most affected by the factors listed above. Social disorganization normally occurs among all cultural groups during a time of serious cultural clash, and the degree of disorganization is usually greatest "in the case of the inferior or numerically smaller group." ⁴¹ In Manitoba that group was the French Canadians, but among the French Canadians the position of the métis was most precarious because of their relatively impoverished condition, their role in the Insurrection, their higher degree of cultural differentiation from the English Canadians, and their general lack of political sophistication.

All of these facts seemed to indicate that Manitoba's early years might quite possibly see the province's political and social life more or less dominated by racial and religious tension. It was also quite evident that a great deal "of the racial and religious bitterness was a by-product of the insurrection, and of the methods employed to crush it," ⁴² It was largely because he recognized that fact that Cartier, acting for Macdonald who was ill at the time, ⁴³ selected Adams G. Archibald ⁴⁴ - a man who possessed a keen understanding of the nature of the insurrection and of the problems confronting the newly-created province - for the position of Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. Cartier

41. Hertzler, op. cit., p. 51.

42. Macfarlane, op. cit., p. 47.

43. John T. Saywell, The Office of Lieutenant-Governor (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 61.

44. Adams G. Archibald, 1814-1892, of Nova Scotia; Secretary of State, July, 1867-May, 1870; Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, 1870-1873; Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, 1873-1883, M.P. Colchester, 1888-1891.

. . . knew from personal experience that he was a man with a deep understanding of the racial cleavage within the federation. He had shown himself to be a man of faith and conviction when he championed the cause of confederation in Nova Scotia and had behind him nearly twenty years of experience in public life both as a member and as a cabinet minister in the Legislative Assembly . . . His speeches in Parliament on the Manitoba Bill had shown a grasp of conditions at Red River and sympathy with the people's attempt to obtain a constitution. ⁴⁵

During Archibald's comparatively short period in office in Manitoba, he was greatly occupied with the task of organizing the governmental machinery of the province. His task was made all the more difficult because the "people within the area were without experience in the art of government—representative, responsible, or any other kind." ⁴⁶ It was for that reason that Archibald was provided with a wide range of powers in Manitoba.

Although no one said so, the authority for the new government was assumed to rest in the person of Adams Archibald, the Lieutenant Governor. He was to carry prerogative powers, which no one could define for certain, . . . to the Red River Settlement and, by the use of these powers, summon a council, call an election, and set the machinery of government in motion. During his two years in office Archibald was prime minister and cabinet both and the legislature took orders from him. ⁴⁷

Archibald was able to wield his great power with a fine sense of fair play and justice towards all of the groups in Manitoba, which amply justified Cartier's confidence in his ability and his integrity. Those features of his governorship were particularly evident in his attempts

45. M. S. Donnelly, The Government of Manitoba (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 15. See also Morton, Birth of a Province, pp. 216-221, for Archibald's speech on the Manitoba Bill.

46. Ibid., p. 13.

47. Ibid., p. 15.

at minimizing the repercussions caused by the cultural clash between French and English Canadians in the province.⁴⁸ Archibald believed that only by adhering to the principle of duality, enshrined in the Manitoba Act, could serious conflict between French and English Canadians be prevented, and consequently he always attempted to follow that principle in all of his major political decisions. That was first illustrated by his division of the province into electoral districts and by his selection of a legislative council and a cabinet.

The Manitoba Act had stated in section 16 that the "Lieutenant-Governor . . . divide the . . . Province into twenty-four electoral divisions, due regard being had to existing Local Divisions and population."⁴⁹ Archibald interpreted those last words as meaning that the communal system of representation, which had been practised in the Red River Settlement and had been generally followed during the insurrection, should still remain in effect. As a result the

48. There was, of course, a far more general conflict occurring in the province's early days: a conflict between "old" and "new" settlers and their respective ways-of-life. It was, in reality, an economic contest between the fur trading practised by many of the Red River settlers and the farming pursued by the majority of the newcomers. Since the fur trade had been declining for many years, agriculture was the eventual victor in that contest, and within a matter of years the transition from a fur-trading to an agricultural economy was complete. In the context of this paper, however, that conflict is relevant only insofar as it revealed a bond of unity between old French-and English-Canadian settlers in a common struggle against the newcomers and an inability or an unwillingness on the part of many métis to adapt to the new way-of-life. See Macfarlane, op. cit., pp 46.

49. 33 Victoriae, c. 3. (*Italics mine*). See Appendix B.

. . . first division of the province into electoral district (sic) was done. . . on a basis of equality between French and English and the census was used only to reveal the racial and religious composition of each area. Twenty-four electoral divisions were created by proclamation and they were based almost exactly on existing parish lines, with twelve for the English and twelve for the French. ⁵⁰

Archibald had, according to Dom Benoit, consulted Taché regarding the division of Manitoba into electoral divisions; Taché thereupon submitted a plan to Archibald which the latter readily accepted. ⁵¹

While that incident may not actually have occurred, ⁵² others of a like nature certainly did. Although such consultation between Archibald and Taché could be defended because of the latter's greater political knowledge of the province, the Ontario radicals refused to regard it passively, and they quickly attacked Archibald as "a tool of Cartier or Tache. . ." ⁵³

Archibald's cabinet and Legislative Council also reflected the duality which the province had inherited from the Red River settlement. The positions in Manitoba's first cabinet and Legislative Council, which were formed on January 12, 1871, and March 10, 1871, respectively, were equally divided between French and English Canadians. ⁵⁴ The equal distribution of seats between French and English was a clear indication of Archibald's guiding principles in Manitoban politics: moderation, compromise, and equality between the province's two principal cultural groups. Indeed, he even divided the five portfolios of the Council between two

50. Donnelly, op. cit., p. 17.

51. Benoit, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 128.

52. W. L. Morton, "The Red River Parish", in R. C. Lodge, ed., Manitoba Essays (Toronto, The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1937), p. 103.

53. The Manitoban, April 15, 1871.

54. Alexander Begg and W. R. Nursey, Ten Years in Winnipeg (Winnipeg, 1879), pp. 20, 24-25.

English Canadians, two French Canadians, and one half-breed.⁵⁵ In this matter, by providing fair representation in the political arena for each of the most important groups in Manitoba's population, Archibald hoped to control the extent of the cultural conflict in the province.

As Morton states:

Two things characterized Archibald's council and the legislature: the balance of French and English, Catholic and Protestant; and the exclusion, by both the Governor and the electorate of the two extremes in the late troubles, Schultz and the Canadian party, and Riel and the leaders of the Provisional Government. The Governor surrounded himself with moderate men, insisted that Riel keep in the background and resisted both the public agitation and the private blandishments of Schultz.⁵⁶

The electorate did, in fact, follow Archibald's call for moderation⁵⁷ in this regard, and in the election "the Canadian group found itself opposed by all the others, although the union was a very loose one. The result was that Schultz himself was defeated, and only five of his supporters were returned in a House of twenty-four."⁵⁸ Schultz had run for election in St. John's parish, and he had been defeated by Donald A. Smith; after the election the St. John's News stated that: "The elections are to be upset at all hazards, at any cost - even though it should be at the expense of blood."⁵⁹ Archibald's attitude toward

55. Donnelly, op. cit., p. 17.

56. Morton, Manitoba, p. 146.

57. The Manitoban, March 18, 1871; The Metis June 8, 1871 contained Archibald's speech from the throne which was first and foremost a call for moderation on the part of all the groups in the province.

58. Macfarlane, op. cit., p. 50.

59. St. John's News, Jan. 16, 1871.

the French, the results of the election, and the nature of Archibald's appointments were also criticized outside of the province. The Globe published a letter from a "leading resident" of Manitoba which stated that while Archibald ". . . looks and speaks like an Englishman, and attends a Protestant place of worship. . . , he is in reality a Frenchman and a Roman . . ." ⁶⁰ The Globe also, on its own initiative this time, attempted to persuade Manitobans that there was no reason to grant French Canadians equal representation in the government, because, according to the paper's calculations, the "French are not above a third of the population, why should each of them be as much represented as two English?" ⁶¹ In short, neither Schultz and his followers in Manitoba nor Brown and the Grits in Ontario appeared ready to tolerate Archibald's administration because of his desire to maintain the racial equilibrium between French and English Canadians in the province. ⁶²

The French Canadians were not always prepared to accept quietly Ontario's interference in Manitoba's affairs. The Manitoban on January 28, 1871, demanded that "the Globe should leave Manitoba alone." ⁶³ As for Schultz and his cohorts, the paper declared that that group was directly opposed to the wisdom of Archibald's "politics of compromise": "Schultz and his friends have thrown down the Protestant glove, and seem resolved that the line of demarcation between French and English shall remain intact and that the old animosities between French and English,

60. Globe, Dec. 31, 1870.

61. The Manitoban, Dec. 22, 1870, quoting the Globe. See also The News Letter, April 26, 1871.

62. Le Metis, May 1, 1872.

63. The Manitoban, Jan. 28, 1871.

Catholic and Protestant, of Canada, shall be resuscitated in their entirety." ⁶⁴ There were actually several attacks on Archibald by English-Canadian nationalists because of what they regarded as his favouritism towards the French Canadians, particularly in the matter of political appointments. ⁶⁵ Besides opposing Archibald's arrangement of the electoral divisions, his political appointments, and his handling of the first election, Schultz's group and the Globe agitated in other areas as well. They complained about the failure of Wolseley's troops to mete out "revenge" upon Riel and his followers, the "seizure" of unsurveyed lands by the métis, and the supposed attempts of the French Canadians to make Manitoba a French-Canadian preserve. ⁶⁶ All of this plus the numerous denunciations of Archibald's actions made it extremely difficult for the Lieutenant-Governor to concentrate fully upon administering the province's affairs and almost impossible for him to prevent the deepening of hostility between French and English in Manitoba. ⁶⁷

One of the problems which plagued Archibald throughout his tenure of office was the "invasion" of métis lands by Ontarians. On February 15, 1871, Joseph Royal reported to Archibald that many Ontario immigrants were completely disregarding the rights of the Indians and the métis and attempting to settle, or cut wood, on lands reserved for the latter two groups on the Assiniboine and La Salle Rivers. ⁶⁸ In this matter Archibald could do little other than to confiscate the wood and

64. Ibid., Dec. 22, 1870. See also Le Metis, June 22, 1871.

65. Ibid., Apr. 22, 1871; Globe, Dec. 31, 1870.

66. Ibid., Jan. 28 and Oct. 7, 1871. See also Donnelly, op. cit., p. 20.

67. Begg and Nursey, op. cit., p. 45.

68. P.A.M., Archibald Papers, 193, Feb. 15, 1871. Royal to Archibald. See also Le Metis, April 3 and 10, 1872.

to issue a proclamation prohibiting the trespasses on reserved lands.⁶⁹ The proclamation had little effect upon the land-hungry immigrants from Ontario, and the incident noted above was but one of a series of confrontations between the métis and the Ontarians. At one point, the Ontarians asked Archibald to revise the métis reserves, but the Lieutenant-Governor wisely refused.⁷⁰ Throughout the conflict Archibald remained faithful to one dictum which he had originally delivered to Royal and which might well be regarded as the key to his governorship: "Do all you can to keep down excitement - It is our only danger and a spark may at any time do great damage."⁷¹

A spark was almost struck in July, 1871, when some Ontarians invaded the métis lands once more. The Immigration Agent for the North-West, J.A.N. Provencher,⁷² commented upon this invasion in the following manner:

The thirty-first section of the Manitoba Act, by which 1,400,000 acres of lands are set apart for the half-breeds in the Province, very nearly caused, in the course of last summer, trouble of a serious character . . .

The half-breeds, a little alarmed at the proportions which emigration assumed last spring, assembled in public meeting in their respective

69. Ibid., 198, Feb. 20, Archibald to Royal.

70. Le Metis, June 15, 1871.

71. P.A.M., Archibald Papers, 215, March 11, 1871, Archibald to Royal.

72. J.A.N., Provencher (1843-1887), journalist and Indian agent, was born in Lower Canada; called to the bar of that province in 1864; was editor of La Minerve in 1866; was a member of the provisional council of the North West Territories in 1869; and served as an intermediary between the métis and the Canadian authorities during the Insurrection of 1870. He returned to Montreal in 1881 and became editor-in-chief of La Presse in 1884. He died in Montreal on October 28, 1887.

parishes and adopted several resolutions, demanding that certain localities which they specified should be granted to them as their share of that reserve . . .

A certain number of emigrants ignorant of, or disregarding, these resolutions, proceeded to settle upon the reserve so selected. Allusion is principally made to Riviere aux Islets de Bois, to which some fifty families went, they subsequently proceeded westward, on being advised by the half-breeds . . . that those lands were claimed by them . . . Five or six families only remained until the present time, and some thirty volunteers have, in the same locality, marked out different lots, which it is doubtless their intention to go and occupy in the spring. ⁷³

The métis were particularly upset by this encroachment on their lands, and for a time it appeared as if a serious altercation might result.

"The métis organized to drive out the intruders, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that a collision was avoided." ⁷⁴

The métis turned from violence to legal means in order to protect their rights. They subsequently drew up a petition, protesting against the acts of the Ontarians, which was eventually presented by Archibald to the Governor-General of Canada. ⁷⁵ Archibald himself attempted to force the government into action on the question of the métis land reserve, but nevertheless little was done to remedy the situation during his time in Manitoba. ⁷⁶ In fact, the "history of the half-breed grant in Manitoba was one of ministerial incompetence, parliamentary indifference and administrative delay." ⁷⁷ The claims of the métis were

73. Canada, Sessional Papers, V(2), 1872, Annual Report for Immigration Agent for the North West, p. 76. This seems to indicate that the invasion of métis lands, like the violently anti-French position in general, was the work of a radical minority. See also Le Métis, July 6, 1871.

74. Stanley, Birth of Western Canada, p. 166.

75. P.A.M., Archibald Papers, 663, April 27, 1872.

76. Ibid., 427, Aug. 7, 1871 and 663, April 27, 1872; see also The Manitoban, July 24, 1872.

77. Stanley, Birth of Western Canada, p. 244.

only finally settled in 1885,⁷⁸ and the long period of waiting proved to be too much for many métis who began to despair of ever receiving justice. Indeed, over the years they had continually criticized the government's inactivity without achieving any concrete results.⁷⁹ The disillusionment of the métis with the federal government was compounded by the general scorn and abuse directed towards them by the Ontarians,⁸⁰ particularly by Wolseley's volunteers.

The coming of the volunteers - many of whom had openly stated 'that they had taken a vow before leaving home to pay off all scores by shooting down any Frenchman' who was in any way connected with the execution of Scott - opened an era of persecution. In spite of the fact that Wolseley, in his proclamation, had declared that this force represented 'no party, either in religion or politics,' one of the first actions of the Ontario volunteers was to establish an Orange Lodge. Conflicts between the métis and the Canadians became common occurrence.⁸¹

It was not long before the métis began to feel inferior in fact rather than merely in the eyes of the hostile Ontarians. The neglect of their rights by the federal government contributed to that feeling, but there was also the realization that a new civilization was rising to supremacy in their homeland.

The conquest of the Red River Settlement by Canada began with the arrival of the "fifth column," represented by John Christian Schultz and his ilk,

78. Ibid., p. 245.

79. Le Métis, July 10, 1872; April 5, 1873.

80. Ibid., Aug. 3, 1871. Many Ontarians continually referred to the métis, and treated them as animals.

81. Stanley, Birth of Western Canada, p. 165. See also Le Métis, May 29, 1872.

in the early sixties. The region was taken into "protective custody" for Canada, by Wolseley, after the natives had "rebelled" by refusing to be conquered peacefully by McDougall and his staff. The influx of immigrants from Canada, and the shift from fur to grain for an export staple, completed the transition from the Red River Settlement to the Province. 82

Their province had been occupied, after all, by people who were acting as their enemies, and the existence of an armed force in their midst, consisting primarily of hostile Ontarians, made it appear as if they really were a "conquered" people. It was, therefore, a combination of actual and imagined inferiority which finally prompted many of the métis to leave the province. They recognized that a new civilization was sweeping into power in Manitoba on the waves of the flood of immigration from Ontario. Moreover, they realized that many representatives of that civilization had little or no intention of treating them as equals or of recognizing their constitutional rights. The attitude of many Ontarians towards the métis was summed up by Le Métis: "Allons donc! Fichez-moi le camp dans le Nord, traitez métis, et laissez Manitoba à Ontario." 83

Their usual occupations, hunting, freighting or farming in a small way were no longer profitable, or even possible . . . Despairing of ever receiving their land patents, many disposed of their rights for a mere song. Some gladly sold their scrip for trifling sums, packed up their few possessions and trekked across the plains to the Saskatchewan to live again the old life of freedom. 84

The migration of many métis to the banks of the Saskatchewan and down into the United States was a matter of deep concern to all

82. Macfarlane, op. cit., p. 45.

83. Le Métis, August 3, 1871.

84. Stanley, Birth of Western Canada, p. 245. See also Canada, Appendix to the Journal of the House of Commons, 1877, No. 6, Select Report of the Minister of Agriculture, p. 91.

French Canadians in the province, but it was especially so for Bishop Taché who had devoted so much time and energy to the métis cause.⁸⁵ The movement was actually the first blow inflicted upon Manitoba's French-Canadian community in the cultural clash between French and English Canadians, the cultural clash caused by the sudden entry into the province of masses of English-speaking Protestants.⁸⁶ It was natural for the métis to be the first French group to experience the economic and cultural dislocation caused by the clash between the French and English groups, since they were the ones least capable of adjusting to the new, more progressive civilization which was inundating the province; as Stanley noted, their

. . . social and economic interests were more affected by Canadian expansion than those of their English-speaking kindred. Not only were the latter English-speaking and Protestant, but they were . . . for the most part agriculturists, not hunters, and, therefore, less likely to suffer from the economic dislocation which was bound to follow any rapid influx of white settlers.⁸⁷

They also felt more seriously challenged by the process of expansion, because they were the first to be made concretely aware of the cultural differences between themselves and the new settlers, the first to

85. Ibid., p. 107.

86. Everett C. Hughes and Helen MacGill Hughes, Where Peoples Meet, p. 189. The métis ^{may} be regarded as an example of a "marginal society",

"a function of the break-up and mixing of cultures attendant upon migration and the great cultural revolutions." Men who are part of a marginal society may either attempt to reconcile themselves to the new way-of-life or migrate to an area where they can strive to preserve their own culture. (Ibid., p. 193) Many métis chose to do the latter. It might also be noted that the migration of many French Canadians from Quebec may have been similarly motivated.

87. Stanley, Birth of Western Canada, pp. 61-62. See also Macfarlane, op. cit., p. 54 and Hertzler, op. cit., p. 52.

experience serious disadvantages because of their position as a minority.⁸⁸ In this matter the métis felt that they lacked influence upon the federal government, since the latter body had so completely ignored the issue of the métis reserves.

Taché realized the significance of the métis' experience, and he knew that it was fraught with serious implications for the entire French-Canadian element in Manitoba; the fate of the métis was a possible foreshadowing of the destiny awaiting all of the French Canadians in the province. The victory of the Ontarians over the métis in the struggle over the reserves revealed how determined the former group was to control the province's lands. Their determination was a crucial factor, since the "land question . . . was the fundamental issue of the times. Whoever possessed the soil would give the new province their language, faith, and laws."⁸⁹ Taché was also well aware of that fact, and he decided that it was essential for the French Canadians to embark upon a colonization program of their own in order to prevent the Ontarians from re-creating the institutional structure of Ontario in Manitoba.

The minority position of the French Canadians in the province became all the more precarious when Archibald left Manitoba. Archibald was forced to leave after he had enlisted the aid of the métis for the

88. Hughes, French Canada, p. 3, noted that "minority feeling is not so much a matter of number as a felt disadvantage in some hierarchy, accompanied by the sense that strangers and strange institutions are wresting from one's people mastery over their own fates."

89. Morton, Manitoba, p. 154.

defense of the province during the Fenian raid of 1871.⁹⁰ His action was severely criticized by the Ontarians, and the criticism increased when it was learned that Archibald had publicly thanked the métis.⁹¹ The Globe and the Nor'Wester raised such an uproar over his actions that Ottawa felt compelled to find another post for Archibald.⁹² The majority of the province's population was greatly displeased with Archibald's recall; the French-Canadian element was particularly upset by the federal government's decision because of Archibald's devotion to the principle of duality. Over the years they had made clear their loyalty to the province's first lieutenant-governor. They had hailed his first year's work in the province as a monumental success:

. . . Manitoba possesses a political machinery today, almost as complete as any Province in the Dominion, and the whole has been contrived in the course of a single twelve month. The Globe and its parasites may rave and become as silly as they please, and they may denounce Governor Archibald and clamor for his recal (sic), but the fact remains nevertheless, that a great work has been completed during the past year . . .⁹³

Much of the early French-Canadian optimism in Manitoba had, in fact, stemmed from Archibald's political credo with its emphasis upon moderation, compromise and justice for all the peoples in the province. The gulf between the French-and-English-Canadian moderates and the Ontario

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90. In September 1871 a group of Fenians gathered at Pembina on the American side of the border. They had decided to invade the province because they assumed that the discontented métis would support them. In fact, they based all their hopes of success upon métis support. See Saywell, op. cit., p. 68.
91. The Manitoban, Oct. 14, 1871; Le Métis, Sept. 28, Oct. 5, and Oct. 19, 1871.
92. The Manitoban, Nov. 25, 1871.
93. Ibid., Sept. 2, 1871. See also Ibid., April 27, 1872, and Begg & Nurse, op. cit., pp. 60-61, for a positive English-Canadian evaluation of Archibald.

radicals is strikingly clear in their reactions to Archibald's recall. The former group bitterly assailed the decision,⁹⁴ while the latter "gathered to burn Governor Archibald in effigy."⁹⁵ Archibald's recall was, therefore, a great blow to the majority of the province's people, but it was especially so for the French Canadians who had come to look upon the lieutenant-governor as the primary defender, along with Bishop Taché, of French-Canadian politico-cultural rights in Manitoba.

94. Ibid., Nov. 25, 1871; April 27, 1872.

95. Ibid., April 27, 1872.

II. FRENCH-CANADIAN COLONIZATION EFFORTS:

It had been Archibald's acceptance of the dualistic principle and the arrival of several highly respected men from Quebec which had prompted Taché to state at one point that:

Nos affaires de la Rivière-Rouge s'arragent, sinon à la perfection du moins avec bien plus d'avantage que nous pouvions espérer. Messieurs Girard, Dubuc, Royal, Clarke nous sont venus du Canada, et, avec quelques bons éléments que nous possédions déjà, nous pouvions nous flatter d'une représentation honorabile et probablement supérieure dans notre législature locale, en sorte que pour le moment nous ne sommes pas dans une position inférieure, et pendant les quatre ans de la première session du Parlement nous pouvons obtenir des lois avantageuses. Les rages et les fureurs d'Ontario s'apaisent; les gens sensés voient les choses à leur véritable point de vue. Le Lieutenant-Gouverneur est parfaitement bien disposé. En somme, le mouvement peut avoir un résultat heureux. 96

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96. Benoît, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 159. Sir Joseph Dubuc (1840-1914), chief justice of Manitoba (1903-9), was born at Ste. Martine, Lower Canada, on December 26, 1840; was educated at Montreal College and McGill University; called to the bar of Quebec in 1869, and of Manitoba in 1871; settled in Winnipeg in June, 1870; was a member of Riel's provisional council; elected to the first legislative assembly in Manitoba; was attorney-general for a while in 1874; was speaker of the Assembly from 1875-78; was appointed to the Council of the North-West Territories in 1872; was elected in 1878 to sit in the Canadian House of Commons; was appointed as a judge to the court of Queen's Bench in Manitoba. In 1903 he became chief justice of Manitoba, retired in 1910. He died in Los Angeles on January 7, 1914.
- Marc Amable Girard (1822-92), premier of Manitoba (1874), was born at Yarmouth, Lower Canada, on April 25, 1822; was called to the bar of Manitoba in 1871; represented St. Boniface in the Legislative Assembly from 1870-78 and 1879-83; was provincial treasurer from 1870-72; from July to December, 1894, he was premier of the province; in 1879-83 he was a member of Norquay's government, first as provincial secretary, and then as minister of agriculture; was called to the Senate in 1871; in 1872 he was appointed to the Council of the North West Territories. He died at St. Boniface on Sept. 12, 1892.
- H. J. Clarke was the Attorney-General and official head of Manitoba's first legislature; his inability to gain the support of either the French or English party in 1874 led to his defeat by R. A. Davis who succeeded him as premier.

Taché had good cause for optimism at that point, since it appeared that the expected assistance from Quebec would be provided and that Archibald's policies were soothing the racial animosities between French Canadians and Ontarians to a great extent.

Only a short time later, however, Taché wrote:

Nous avons eu des désagréments et des difficultés de toutes sortes depuis le commencement de nos changements politiques. Nous avons dû garder le silence à l'extérieur pour ne pas faire surgir de nouvelles difficultés; mais hélas! comme nos hommes d'Etat (de langue française) ont été aveugles sur nos intérêts, qui sont cependant ceux de la province de Québec! Et des journaux comme l'Événement, la Minerve . . . et quelques autres ont de temps en temps, aidé les ennemis de notre nationalité à nous précipiter et ensevelir dans l'abîme. 97

Taché realized how difficult it actually would be to enlist support for the colonization of Manitoba by French Canadians; such a realization was all the more bitter for Taché to accept because of the flood of Ontario immigrants into the province and the prospect of Archibald's recall by Ottawa. After all the French Canadians in Manitoba had suffered at the hands of many Ontarians at a time when the former group had constituted the majority of the area's population; naturally a question arose in Taché's mind: what would happen to the French Canadians when their numbers had diminished considerably in comparison to those of the English Canadians and when they no longer had a man such as Archibald to insure that their rights were protected from a majority which contained a violently anti-French element?

97. Ibid., p. 161.

Taché decided that only a strong current of French immigration could prevent the French Canadians in Manitoba from being swamped by the waves of the flood of English-speaking, Protestant immigrants, ⁹⁸ and from that point onward he spared no efforts in encouraging French-speaking Roman Catholics to emigrate to Manitoba. His biographer commented: "Pendant vingt-cinq ans, Mgr Taché appellera à son secours les hommes de bonne volonté des deux Frances: il écrira aux évêques et aux personnages de la province de Québec, aux amis et aux défenseurs de l'Eglise en Europe pour demander l'envoi de colons catholiques." ⁹⁹

Throughout the immigration battle Tache revealed an acute awareness of the fact that the future politico-cultural status of the French Canadians in Manitoba was at stake. Once he remarked: "Le nombre est tout dans les regime parlementaires: que deviendrons-nous quand nous ne compterons plus?" ¹⁰⁰ He realized that if the French Canadians became a minority in a majoritarian democracy, then their politico-cultural institutions would exist only at the will of the majority. Such a situation would be dangerous for the French Canadians because of the anti-French element in that majority. In a letter to Father Lacombe, Taché lamented that fact: "Hélas . . . nous avons bien besoin de force et d'énergie. Nous sommes débordés de toutes parts par des hommes qui ont la force, l'énergie, le nombre et la haine au coeur." ¹⁰¹

98. Ibid., pp. 283, 317, and 383.

99. Ibid., p. 196.

100. Ibid., p. 283. See also ibid., pp. 195-6.

101. Ibid.

The principal problem for Taché and other French-Canadian leaders in Manitoba was to find a way of securing large numbers of French-speaking settlers for the province, while Quebec refused to send them settlers or even to support the French Manitobans in their struggle. The politicians, clergy and public in Quebec tended to believe that it would be best for their province to conserve most of their energy and human resources for the colonization work going on within Quebec's boundaries, to protect the rights of the French Canadians where they were a majority rather than a minority.¹⁰² The French Canadians in Manitoba were in approximately the same position in regard to Quebec as the latter province was to France: Quebec preferred to conserve its manpower for its own battle rather than to share it with Manitoba; likewise France was determined to save her manpower for the fight along the Rhine rather than to encourage emigration to Quebec or any other French-speaking area.¹⁰³

It must be borne in mind that the same politicians and clergymen of Quebec who had supported the cause of the métis and other French Canadians throughout the Red River Rebellion were now faced with a serious dilemma: how could they hope to assist Bishop Taché and their French-Canadian compatriots in the west by encouraging French Quebeckers to emigrate to Manitoba, when they were already committed to the task of decreasing emigration from their province to New England? Their opposition to emigration to New England was based upon one overriding premise: any

102. Cook, op. cit., p. 34.

103. Roberts, op. cit., p. 10.

significant loss of French-Canadian population in Quebec threatened the survival of their nationality, which they had struggled for over a century to maintain. In short, after years of struggling to survive themselves as a minority cultural group, the French Canadians in Quebec simply could not be persuaded that their position was secure, that they could possibly risk losing their French-speaking citizens to New England and Manitoba. It must be remembered, of course, that the French Manitobans' requests for help from Quebec in the early 1870's could not be greeted with any sort of enthusiasm, because 1870 was a peak period in the emigration of French Canadians from the St. Lawrence region to New England.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, the people in Quebec found it very difficult to look favourably upon, or to respond to, any attempts by Taché or his associates to encourage emigration from Quebec, despite the fact that Taché's struggle was basically the same as their own. They had maintained their nationality over the years through a tremendously high rate of natural increase and a policy of insularity or isolationism, and it was virtually impossible for them to discard that tradition, to forget their own struggle for survival and embark upon a policy of expansion in order to protect the rights of French Canadians in Manitoba.

The initial hope of receiving assistance from Quebec was expressed on behalf of Manitoba's French element by Le Métis which stated that many people in the province "souponnent ardemment après une immigration de bonnes familles de cultivateurs de la province de Québec . . ." ¹⁰⁵

104. Hansen, op. cit., p. 169.

105. Le Métis, June 15, 1871. See also ibid., Sept. 21, 1871.

Those hopes like those of Bishop Taché quickly disappeared when the people in Quebec reacted with either indifference or hostility towards such proposals. Taché explained that some people in Quebec offered the following arguments against French-Canadian colonization of Manitoba and the North-West:

'La neuvième partie seulement de notre sol est défrichée, disent-ils: gardons pour nous toute notre population.' 'Les nôtres, ajoutent-ils, trouvent ailleurs des obstacles à leur foi et à leur nationalité: pourquoi iraient-ils ou ils courront le danger de perdre leur religion et leur langue?' 106

Taché nevertheless proceeded to secure as much support from Quebec as was possible under the circumstances. In a letter to Father Lacombe in 1872 he stated: "'Travaillez pour notre colonisation . . . autrement nous sommes perdus. Dites-le bien à Mgr. de Montreal et aux quelques amis qui nous sont dévoués.'" 107 In the same letter he noted sadly that their "'ennemis font des efforts gigantesques. . . , il fait mal de voir l'indifférence de nos amis.'" 108

Taché expended tremendous efforts in Quebec and France, attempting to encourage the emigration of French settlers to Manitoba. He continually made written and personal appeals to clergymen in Quebec and France, and he also despatched emissaries and circulated immigration propaganda in those areas and the French-Canadian communities in the United

106. Ibid., p. 198. These people frequently pointed back to Tache's early discouragement of emigration to Manitoba. Tache, however, replied that he had only been referring to certain desert areas of the province. It is also possible that Tache's early position had been dictated by a desire to maintain the equilibrium between French and English, Catholic and Protestant in the area, and such views would obviously have had to undergo modification in face of the large number of emigrants entering the province from Ontario. See also Morton, ed., Begg's Red River Journal, p. 501.

107. Ibid., p. 197.

108. Ibid.

States, particularly in New England.¹⁰⁹ Some of those efforts were partially successful, while others were dismal failures. The response in Quebec was divided: some of the clergy supported Tache's cause, while others opposed his every move.¹¹⁰ Certainly a comparison of the growth of Quebec- and Ontario-born in Manitoba during the period 1871-1891 in the table below¹¹¹ reveals that, by and large, the story of Manitoba's attempts to secure colonists from Quebec was one of failure.

TABLE II
GROWTH RATE OF ONTARIO- AND QUEBEC-BORN IN MANITOBA

Year	Ontario-born		Quebec-born		Manitoba-born	
	Number	Percent of Population	Number	Percent of Population	Number	Percent of Population
1871	118	.96	111	.90	11,298	92.4
1881	19,125	29.0	4,085	6.2	18,020	27.32
1891	46,620	30.57	7,555	4.95	50,648	33.21

The influx of Ontario immigrants - along with that from Great Britain, saw Manitoba's population growth during these years follow a trend similar to that of Upper Canada in the first half of the century. In the first decade - 1871-1881 - the province's population multiplied itself more than five times over, while from 1881 to 1891 it multiplied itself over seven times. In short, it multiplied itself, on the average, 7.2 times over a twelve year period.

109. *Ibid.*, pp. 196-7.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

111. Censuses of Canada, 1871, 1881, and 1891.

These figures also reveal the two most important features of Manitoba's demographic history during the period: the flood of Ontario emigrants into the province, and the trickle of settlers from Quebec. The tremendous disparity between the two was the principal basis for the province's politico-cultural transformation in the late 1800's. There are other reasons for the transformation, of course, and they are found in the nature of foreign emigration into the area.

The attempts of the French Canadians in Manitoba at initiating a flow of emigration from France were frustrated for a variety of reasons, but the principal causes of their failure were the anti-colonialism of France, their own xenophobia, and the mismanagement of their efforts and those of the federal government. The people of France, as was mentioned earlier, were on the whole reluctant to leave their country; the only significant emigration from France in the period following the Franco-German War was that from Alsace-Lorraine, and most of those emigrants went to Algeria.¹¹² France's government, moreover, was opposed to emigration and imposed restrictions upon it; Belgium, another possible source of French emigrants, also invoked such restrictions.¹¹³ It was basically these factors which created an attitude of indifference towards France among the federal government's immigration officials. They believed, in the words of one official at Ottawa, that the French "were

112. Canada, Sessional Papers, X, (6), 1877, Report of the London Agent, Mr. F. J. Dore, p. 125; Donatien Frémont, Les Français dans L'ouest Canadien (Winnipeg: Les éditions de la Liberté, 1959), p. 4.

113. Ibid., p. 60.

not an emigrating people, except in special circumstances." ¹¹⁴ The federal government, therefore, did not feel it was worthwhile to spend large sums of money upon the immigration office in France, since it seemed unlikely that they would achieve any significant success in that area. However, it is possible that they allowed themselves to become too lax about the situation in France, to accept the situation as it was, or to give little thought at all to the idea of maintaining Canada's racial balance between French and English Canadians. There were after all suggested reforms which were never acted upon, ¹¹⁵ and the paltry sum of money allotted to the immigration office in France could hardly have served to accomplish anything. Indeed, the disparity between the amounts spent in the London and Paris offices was severely criticized by many French Canadians. There were eighteen agents employed in Great Britain as opposed to only two in France; total expenses totalled \$47,865.16 for the British office and \$3,173.52 for the one in France. ¹¹⁶ Obviously the differences between the two offices could be partly justified on the grounds that it was only logical to spend more money in an area which yielded such fine results, but such an answer would not be acceptable to those who felt that the different results were contingent upon the amounts spent in the two areas. The inevitable result was a

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114. Canada, Appendix to the Journal of the House of Commons, XI, 1877 (No. 6), Report on the Select Standing Committee on Immigration and Colonization, Minutes of Evidence, p. 41; see also Ibid., XXII, 1888, (No. 5), Report on the Select Standing Committee on Immigration and Colonization, p. 84. In this latter report it was questioned whether or not it was a waste of money to employ an agent in Paris.
115. Canada, Sessional Papers, X (6), 1877, p. 125. It was recommended that the government should offer a reduced rate of passage in order to achieve better results.
116. Canada, Appendix to the Journal of the House of Commons, XI, 1877, (No. 6), Report of the Select Standing Committee on Immigration and Colonization, Minutes of Evidence, p. 36.

growing conviction by French Canadians that they were being discriminated against in the immigration field. While there was, no doubt, a fair amount of such discrimination, the strict economics of the immigration field must not be overlooked.

Many French Canadians often hindered the emigration of Frenchmen to Canada through their own attitudes, but the attitudes in question were fundamentally related to their distinctive way-of-life. The nature of French-Canadian life in the nineteenth century - the intimate connection between the French-Canadian nationality and the Roman Catholic Church - dictated that anyone who emigrated from France or elsewhere to Manitoba should be a staunch Roman Catholic. France, after having experienced two revolutions within twenty-two years and having moved into the industrial age, did not always appear to possess many people of that calibre. In short, the French Manitobans had assumed a similar attitude to that of Quebec towards France. Both Canadian groups were caught in an ambiguous position between the highly practical, secular task of attracting as large a quantity of immigrants as possible and the religious ideal of building up a homogeneous, parochial structure, containing only French-speaking Roman Catholics.

Those attitudes on the part of the French Canadians amounted at times to a form of xenophobia. Reverend J. B. Cousineau, the federal immigration agent in France, assumed a relatively moderate, but highly significant, position in this regard when he stated: "It is important to select colonists who have some pecuniary resources, and within the Christian centres, for immigrants without religion and without principle rather impoverish a nation than enrich it. It is not so much the quantity

as the quality that has to be looked for." 117 In other words, it was considered essential to prevent possible socialists, atheists, or criminals from emigrating to Canada. Cousineau's feelings were echoed by no less a person than Tache, who, according to his biographer, "établiissait peu de confiance dans les immigrants 'comme ceux qui vinrent de Paris' en 1872, jouisseurs et socialistes, n'apportant guère des vices au Nouveau Monde." 118 The French-Canadian public generally shared the views of Taché and Cousineau. In their minds industrialism and socialism were often intimately connected, especially in France after the revolution in 1848 and 1871, and they felt that it was better, therefore, to attract people from the agricultural rather than the industrial class. 119

Some French Canadians went much further than the two clergymen noted above and indulged in outright xenophobia towards the people of France. L'Étendard, for example, spoke of ". . . la tourbe d'athés, de libres penseurs, de juifs et d'autres étrangers qui aujourd'hui trépignent sur le corps défiguré de notre malheureuse mère-patrie, pour insulter à ce que nous avons de plus cher." 120 This attitude was often expressed in the West as well, particularly by those who felt that the French-speaking people of France were not suited to life in Manitoba and therefore should be discouraged from coming. 121

117. Canada, Sessional Papers, XXI (4), 1888, p. 178. Italics mine.

118. Benoît, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 383.

119. Fremont, op. cit., p. 4; (Benoist, Les Français et le Nord-Ouest Canadien (Bar-Le-Duc, 1895), p. 93.

120. L'Étendard, Feb. 3, 1883.

121. T. A. Bernier, Le Manitoba: Champs d'Immigration (Ottawa, 1887), pp. 78 and 81, Lewis Crummond, The French Element in the Canadian North-West (Winnipeg: The Northwest Review, 1887), p. 14.

All of these views seriously hindered the attempts at stimulating a strong emigration movement from France to Manitoba. While some of the ideas of the French Canadians - such as that of striving to preserve a distinctive way-of-life: the homogeneous parochial structure - were noble and idealistic, they were also considerable obstacles in the immigration field. Furthermore, the idea of a self-contained, homogeneous society was rapidly becoming outmoded in the modern world due to the tremendous advancements made in the fields of transportation and communication.¹²² At any rate, the English Canadians were seldom hindered by such attitudes. Their views on immigration were succinctly expressed by Sir Charles Tupper, who was High Commissioner in London at the time, when he remarked that ". . . a certain number of undesirable people are sure to emigrate each year, but this is not a matter for which your agents can be held responsible."¹²³ The gulf between the French- and English-Canadian attitudes in the immigration field can be seen by comparing that statement with the earlier one, concerning quantity and quality, made by Reverend Cousineau.

The differences between the French- and English-Canadian attitudes were first seen in the disparity between the number of Quebeckers and Ontarians who migrated to Manitoba, but it was later seen in a similar disparity between the numbers of people from France and Great Britain who settled in the province. The efforts made by Manitobans or the Federal

122. Hertzler, op. cit., p. 50.

123. Canada, Sessional Papers, XXI (4), 1888, Report on Emigration from the United Kingdom and Europe, Report of Sir Charles Tupper, p. 241.

government in France were few, scattered, and almost completely disorganized; their success was limited to the emigration of a few gentleman farmers who usually lasted only a short while in the province.¹²⁴ Taché managed to interest a few individuals in contributing financial support for the settlement of French colonists in Canada. The most successful venture in that regard was the colony formed at Fannystelle in 1888 with the financial assistance of the Countess of Albufera.¹²⁵ Their overall failure to lure emigrants from France and Quebec was all the more difficult to accept quietly, because by the end of the 1870's it became obvious to them that the flood of emigrants from Ontario, along with that from the United Kingdom, was definitively destroying the old equilibrium between French and English, Catholic and Protestant in the province.

In the early 1870's Liberal parochialism had severely curtailed emigration from the United Kingdom,¹²⁶ but the defeat of the Liberal party in England, the beginning of an agricultural depression in the United Kingdom, and the visits of British tenant farmers in Manitoba in 1877 marked the beginning of another period of heavy emigration from Great Britain to Canada, particularly to Manitoba.¹²⁷ For the next twenty years western Canada was the most well-advertised area in the United Kingdom. Further delegations of tenant farmers visited Manitoba and the North-West in 1879 and 1880, and a Royal Agricultural Show

124. Fremont, op. cit., p. 10.

125. Benoit, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 608-9; Macdonald, op. cit., pp. 192-3.

126. Roberts, op. cit., p. 9.

127. Canada, Sessional Papers, X (6), 1877, p. XVI; Morton, Manitoba, p. 177.

displaying Canadian produce and distributing pamphlets on the west was held at Reading in the latter year. 128

There was, in fact, a great campaign waged in the United Kingdom by the Canadian and British governments, private companies, and ethnic organizations, urging Britons to emigrate to Manitoba and the North-West. Every form of encouragement and argument was employed - agricultural exhibitions, ~~thousands~~ of pamphlets, transportation grants, and the fear of overpopulation - and the success achieved was equal to those efforts. 129

Of course, there were many natural factors which played their part in stimulating the tremendous flow of emigration from the United Kingdom to Manitoba. Some of the primary factors were the migratory tradition of Great Britain, the mass unemployment, poverty and social dislocation caused in most British towns by the Industrial Revolution;¹³⁰ but there was also the idea - on both sides of the Atlantic - that Canada's "interests are nearly the same as those of Great Britain. . . ." ¹³¹ One Briton challenged English tenant farmers to ". . . pluck up your spirits and cross the Atlantic, and go to Manitoba. It is only 90 days journey from England, you will still be under the old flag, and you sons of Brittania, may build another and greater England in the Dominion of Canada." ¹³² Imperial sentiment among Britons and English Canadians alike, therefore, as well as socio-economic factors, served to direct thousands

128. Canada, Sessional Papers, XVI (10), 1883, p. 198; *ibid.*, XIII (7), 1880, xxv.

129. Ibid., XXI (4) 1888, Report of the High Commissioner, Sir Charles Tupper, pp. 242-3.

130. Le Metis, April 3, 1879.

131. Canada, Sessional Papers, X (6), 1877, p. 60.

132. Ibid., p. 70.

of settlers from the United Kingdom to Canada in the period 1877 to 1897.

It was the combination of the overwhelming flood of Ontario and British emigrants and the assimilative powers of the Anglo-Saxon culture and the English language in North America which finally relegated the French Canadians in Manitoba to the status of a minority. That event took place in the years 1876-1881, when the British influx really began and the Ontario flood became more powerful than ever before. The basic reasons for the latter occurrence was that Manitoba's fame as a farming region had grown greatly in the latter part of the seventies.¹³³ Indeed, the "great influx of some forty thousand immigrants between 1876 and 1881, the years of the 'Manitoba (land) fever,' was in response to the fact that the possibilities of the Red River valley as a wheat-growing country both north and south of the border had been demonstrated."¹³⁴ Such advertising played a great part in luring Ontarians and Britons to the province. As Morton noted, those two groups constituted "the largest part of an estimated total of 11,500 immigrants in 1879, 18,000 in 1880, and 28,600 in 1881."¹³⁵ The results of the British influx did not, of course, go unnoticed by the French-Canadian leaders. Tache was prompted to remark: "Dire que les neuf dixièmes de ceux qui arriverent sont protestants! . . . Nous sommes déjà noyés, et si la chose continue, nous ne flotterons pas de sitôt."¹³⁶ The statistical record of British population growth in Manitoba during those years 1877-1891 amply

133. Manitoba Weekly Free Press, Nov. 4, 1876.

134. Morton, Manitoba, p. 181.

135. Ibid., p. 177.

136. Benoit, op. cit., p. 382.

demonstrates the reasons for Tache's fears, especially when it is contrasted with the slow growth of population born in France. ¹³⁷

TABLE III
GROWTH RATE OF MANITOBA'S POPULATION
BORN IN ENGLAND, BRITISH POSSESSIONS, AND FRANCE

Places of Birth	1871		1881		1891	
	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total
England and Wales	125	1.02	3,457	5.24	16,017	10.5
Scotland	49	.40	2,868	4.35	7,444	4.88
Ireland	248	2.03	1,836	2.78	4,583	2.99
Other British Possessions	10	.08	56	.08	208	.13
France	9	.07	81	.08	474	.31

It can readily be seen that the greatest increase occurred in the latter decade, but the Manitoban census of 1886 reveals that it took place largely during the "boom" period of 1880-1883. ¹³⁸

137. France was, with the exception of the last decade, always one of the smallest groups in this regard. See Appendix C.

138. Census of Manitoba, 1886 (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger and Company, 1887).

TABLE IV
COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF BIRTH PLACES, 1881 AND 1886

Birth Places	1881	1886	Increase Since 1881	
			Number	Percent
Canada	45,757	76,968	31,211	68.2
England and Wales	3,355	10,322	6,967	207.6
Ireland	1,715	3,621	1,906	111.1
Scotland	2,777	5,982	3,205	115.4
Other British Possessions	72	200	128	177.7
France	77	110	33	42.8
Germany	217	528	311	143.3
Iceland	328	1,998	1,670	509.1
Italy	20	38	18	90.0
Russia and Poland	5,645	5,724	79	1.4
Scandinavia	61	372	311	509.8
United States	1,694	2,322	628	37.1
Other Countries	443	238	-205	-46.3

Note: A minus (-) sign denotes a decrease.

The statistical story recorded above was naturally frustrating for Manitoba's French Canadians, but the startling difference between the number of immigrants from France and the United Kingdom had actually been anticipated. Indeed, Taché and other French-Canadian leaders in the

province had recognized the gravity of their situation in the immigration field during the early part of the 1870's. In short, the possibility of the Ontario flood combining with future immigration from the United Kingdom had spurred them into action. They had decided that it was essential to develop a highly efficient organization, capable of dealing with their numerous immigration problems. It was generally believed that their aims could best be achieved through the formation of a Colonization Society which, with financial assistance from the federal government, would attempt to attract French-speaking settlers from Quebec and to repatriate French Canadians who had settled in the United States. Although steps had been taken as early as March, 1871, by Joseph Roy¹³⁹ and Joseph Dubuc to form such a society, it was not until January 18, 1874 that the Colonization Society of Manitoba was actually formed, and the Society's first meeting was held in St. Boniface on January 24, 1874.¹⁴⁰ M. A. La Rivière was the first president of the Society, and M.I.J.A. Leveque was its secretary; there were also two vice-presidents, a Secretary of Correspondence, an Archival Secretary, a Treasurer, three Visitors, a committee of six, and an honorary president - Archbishop Taché.¹⁴¹ The meeting also saw the policy of the Society clearly set forth. Le Metis reported that the Society was designed to aid the immigrants from Quebec and New England in settling in Manitoba, that one of its primary goals was to divert the flood of emigrants from Quebec to New England into their own province, and finally that the Society offered prospective

139. Begg and Nurse, op. cit., p. 26.

140. Le Metis, Jan. 24, 1874.

141. Ibid.

French-speaking, Catholic immigrants:

. . . leurs paroisses, leurs églises, leurs curés,
leurs religieuses, leurs couvents et leurs écoles
. . . Le catholique paie sa taxe d'école à l'école
catholique, le protestant paie la sienne à l'école
protestante. La langue française se parle dans
les cours, dans la législature, dans les documents
officiels et partout comme en Bas Canada. ¹⁴²

The formation of the Society stimulated a great deal of interest in immigration and colonization among French Manitobans. Much of that interest was born of the hope that the organization could change the opinion of French Canadians in Quebec towards Manitoba. ¹⁴³ Indeed, for a time it was believed that the movement of French Canadians from Quebec to New England had ended, and if that were actually true, then the patriotic appeals made to French-speaking citizens in Quebec to emigrate to Manitoba might at last begin to succeed. ¹⁴⁴ That hope was short-lived, since there were no signs of a major migratory movement beginning between Quebec and Manitoba. In reality, the slowdown of the movement from Quebec was the result of a slack economic period in the United States: the year 1874 really marked the midway point between two peaks in the movement of French Canadians to the States rather than the termination of that progress. ¹⁴⁵ The unwillingness of French Canadians in the eastern province to emigrate to Manitoba in large numbers during such a slack period would seem to indicate that they continued to regard the New England area as practically the best of all possible migratory destinations.

142. Ibid., Jan. 24, 1874.

143. Ibid.

144. Ibid., July 4, 1874.

145. Jansen, op. cit., pp. 169, 181.

The disinterest of many French-Canadian politicians and newspapers in Quebec towards the idea of colonizing Manitoba was a continual source of disappointment for the latter province's French element. The latter group often believed, however, that attitudes alone were not preventing their compatriots in Quebec from settling in their province, and to some extent their beliefs were quite correct. For example, unlike Ontario where the Torontonians had been financially supporting the expansionist cause ever since Brown had awakened them to the economic benefits awaiting them, Quebec's economic expansion was never really linked to a colonial movement, because its "economic expansion was directed by that complex of English-Canadian financiers connected with the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Bank of Montreal . . .,"¹⁴⁶ who apparently had no desire to promote the physical expansion of French Canada. The differences existing in that regard between Ontario and Quebec prompted many French Canadians from Manitoba to suggest that the federal government should provide financial assistance to possible emigrants from the latter province. Le Metis noted that: "L'émigration qui nous vient d'ontario s'y forme au moyen de souscriptions, et à Toronto seul le fonds de secours pour acheminer les émigrés vers la Rivière-Rouge s'élève à \$30,000."¹⁴⁷ Senator Girard, rather than merely noting the differences between Ontario and Quebec, suggested that the federal government might provide financial assistance to French Canadians, since their transportation costs were higher than those of the Ontarians.¹⁴⁸

146. Cook, op. cit., p. 34.

147. Le Metis, June 15, 1871.

148. Public Archives of Canada, Cartier Papers: Correspondence with Marcel Girard, 27, I, D4, Vol. 5).

It was true, of course, that by and large the Ontario farmers were financially better off than their counterparts in Quebec,¹⁴⁹ but it is nevertheless unlikely that the cost of travel played a dominant role in preventing French citizens in Quebec from emigrating to Manitoba. After all there was no proportional decrease in migration from Nova Scotia due to its distance from Manitoba.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, the expense of moving to Manitoba was actually less than that of settling on the northern colonization lands of Quebec. Throughout the 1880's second class fare on the Canadian Pacific Railway from Montreal to Winnipeg was \$15 for emigrants; also, for a registration fee of \$10 an emigrant could obtain a homestead of 160 acres.¹⁵¹ To settle in northern Quebec, on the other hand, the transportation cost was \$5.50, and the settlers had to pay \$30 for 100 acres.¹⁵² In Manitoba, therefore, one received more land of a higher quality than that of Quebec for less money. The French Canadians nevertheless may have thought that it was more expensive to move to Manitoba, simply because it was further.¹⁵³ That would still not explain why so many English Canadians emigrated from Quebec to Manitoba. The increase in Manitoba's Quebec-born population in 1881-1886 was 5,976. The increase of those of French national origin was 1,506, and 33 of those were from France. Therefore, the number of French Quebecers was 1,473,

149. Canada, Sessional Papers, XIII (7), 1880, p. 64; Ibid, X (6), 1877, p. 101; The Manitoban, June 24, 1871.

150. See Appendix C.

151. Canada, Sessional Papers, V (2), 1872, p. 77; L'Etendard, April 4, 1884; Le Metis, April 13, 1876.

152. F. C. Innis, "The Land Use and Settlement of the Quebec Clay Belt", M.A. thesis for McGill University, 1960, p. 68.

153. I am grateful to Dr. C. J. Jaenen, formerly of the University of Winnipeg and now at the University of Ottawa, for suggesting much of the material in this section.

and that of English Quebecers was 318.¹⁵⁴ If we refer these numbers to Quebec's total French and English populations,¹⁵⁵ we find that 0.3% of the province's English population emigrated to Manitoba, while only 0.1% of its French population did so.

While many of the factors noted above doubtlessly tended to discourage the mass emigration of French Canadians from Quebec to Manitoba, it seems likely that the overall opposition of Quebec society to such a movement, the basic isolationism of most French Canadians, and the devotion to "la patrie" were perhaps even more responsible for preventing the settlement of large numbers of French-Quebeckers in Manitoba. The colonization societies of Quebec, after all, - "Le Soci t  G n rale de Colonization et de Repatriement" and "Le Soci t  de Colonization du Lac St. Jean"¹⁵⁶ were much more successful with their patriotic appeals to Quebec's French citizens than the Manitoban organization, and that success was probably largely due to the isolationism and the loyalty to "la patrie" of most of these people.

There were, therefore, a host of factors which conspired against the Manitoban's society's activities in Quebec, and consequently it was decided that they should concentrate their efforts upon North America's second largest French-speaking area - the French-Canadian communities in New England. Reverend P. E. Gendreau, a special Immigration Agent for the Dominion government, had estimated in 1873 that there were approximately "800,000 persons, Canadian-born of all languages and blood . . . living in the States. Of these approximately 400,000 were French, who

154. See Tables IV and VII on pp. 36, 52.

155. See Census of Canada, 1881.

156. Macdonald, op. cit., p. 189.

were distributed as follows: 200,000 in New England, 150,000 in the 'western states,' and 50,000 'scattered'." ¹⁵⁷ Obviously, then, New England appeared to be the logical area for the Society to work in, since it seemed to offer them the French-speaking, Roman Catholic settlers which they had failed to receive from France or Quebec. Furthermore, the Franco-American appeared to be highly suitable repatriates, since they had, for the most part, carefully guarded their language, faith and culture, thus demonstrating that they had never actually severed the bonds connecting them to the French-Canadian nationality.¹⁵⁸ Finally, there were numerous signs indicating that many of the Franco-American were more than willing to consider returning to their native land, because they had discovered that life in the United States was not always better than that of Canada. Those métis and French Canadians from Manitoba who had settled on the poor lands south of the border were forced to recognize "that grasshoppers, frost, droughts, taxes and interest rates made their lot as hard if not harder than it was in Manitoba." ¹⁵⁹ In New England the situation also revealed a growing desire on the part of many Franco-Americans to abandon their new home. To a large degree their disillusionment stemmed from the adverse economic and living conditions in New England. The Franco-Americans were not only frequently compelled to accept the lowest wages in the region, but they also "had to endure the hardships that accompanied their low wage

157. Macdonald, op. cit., p. 168.

158. Robitaille, op. cit., p. 244.

159. Macdonald, op. cit., pp. 194-5.

scale." 160 Living in such conditions, it is little to be wondered at that many Franco-Americans sincerely wished to abandon the industrial life and return to that of the farm. 161

The prospects of the Colonization Society of Manitoba appeared even brighter because of the federal government's decision to embark upon a repatriation program of its own. That decision was made because Canada simply could not afford to lose such a large proportion of its immigrants and native-born settlers to the United States. The federal government apparently felt that the time for combatting the flood of emigrants to the United States had arrived. It therefore

. . . offered to cooperate with Quebec in any judicious and carefully prepared plan for accelerating the sluggish flow of exiles back home, provide cheap transportation from the United States to Manitoba and a refund in aid of the reduction of cost after settlement on the land, and intensified its propaganda in praise of Manitoba and the North-West. Resident and travelling agents were appointed and well-known journalists and others were invited to contribute articles in praise of the immense material resources and splendid opportunities offered by the Canadian West. 162

With such large-scale assistance the success of the Colonization Society of Manitoba in the New England area virtually seemed assured.

There were, however, several factors which hindered the society's progress. Its first obstacle lay in the fact that it was forced to compete with the colonization societies of Quebec, the former home of

160. Iris Saunders Podea, "Quebec to 'Little Canada'"; The Coming of the French Canadians to New England in the Nineteenth Century, New England Quarterly, Vol. XXIII, September 1950, p. 375.

161. Canada, Sessional Papers, X (6), 1877, p. 101; Le Metis, April 4, 1878.

162. Macdonald, op. cit., p. 195. See also Hansen, op. cit., pp. 177-8.

most Franco-Americans.¹⁶³ Also, the fear of emigrating for a second time within such a relatively short period of time probably prevented a large number of Franco-Americans from returning, or even to consider returning, to Quebec, and their reluctance would be even greater in the case of Manitoba.

Those who did desire to emigrate to Manitoba were often unable to do so, because they simply could not afford the cost of the trip. Even those who did eventually travel to Manitoba, arrived there with very little in the way of financial resources.¹⁶⁴ One of the most successful federal immigration agents operating in the United States reported that he had "to refuse passage tickets to a great number who had not the capital necessary to build up a good settlement."¹⁶⁵ Because of their financial plight, the federal government found it was necessary to provide them with the easiest possible terms of settlement. The emigrants were offered 160 acres of fertile land for the nominal fee of ten dollars as well as a reduced travel fare.¹⁶⁶

Despite the federal government's generosity, it was still common for French Canadians to claim that Ottawa did not provide enough assistance for Franco-Americans who wished to emigrate to Manitoba.¹⁶⁷ Le Courrier du Canada charged that it was unjust for Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie - who had been called upon to form a new ministry when the Pacific Scandal had driven Macdonald from office - to provide

163. Canada, Sessional Papers, XII (7), 1879, p. 136.

164. Ibid., XXI (4), 1888, p. 119.

165. Ibid., X (6), 1877, Canadian Immigration Agent to Manitoba, (Charles Lalime), p. 102.

166. Ibid., p. 103.

167. Le Metis, Aug. 7, 1872.

more aid to Mennonites than to French Canadians.¹⁶⁸ Jacob Shantz, the Mennonite leader in Ontario and a close friend of Mackenzie, had managed "to secure a parliamentary loan of \$100,000 to assist in the work of settling Mennonites in Manitoba."¹⁶⁹ Louis Masson had challenged the granting of that loan in the House of Commons, contending that the Franco-American were entitled to an equal grant, since their financial status was much lower than that of the Mennonites.¹⁷⁰ The Mackenzie government refused to alter its policy, obviously believing that in the case of the Mennonites they were assured of success, while in that of the Franco-Americans they could not be positive of achieving any significant results. While such a decision may have been economically sound, the French Manitobans felt that their nationality was being discriminated

168. Le Courrier du Canada, Aug. 30, 1875. Alexander Mackenzie (1822-1892), prime minister of Canada (1873-78), was born near Dunkeld, Scotland, on January 28, 1822; moved to Kingston in 1842; edited the Reform newspaper and was a close friend of George Brown; was elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1861; supported Confederation; was elected to the House of Commons in 1867. In 1873, when Macdonald was driven from office by scandal, he became the first Liberal Prime Minister; was defeated in 1878. In 1880 he surrendered leadership of the Liberal party to Edward Blake. He died in Toronto on April 17, 1892.

169. Macdonald, op. cit., p. 200.

170. Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1875, p. 249. Louis Francois Rodrogne Masson, (1833-1903), lieutenant-governor of Quebec (1884-87), was born at Terrebonne, Lower Canada, on November 7, 1833; from 1867 to 1882 he served as a Conservative in the House of Commons; from 1878 to 1880 he was minister of militia in the Macdonald government; for a time in 1880 he was president of the council; retired to Senate; and in 1884 he resigned to become lieutenant-governor of Quebec. He gave up that post in 1887, returned to the Senate. He died at Montreal, on November 8, 1903.

against in the immigration field, and consequently they hailed the defeat of the Mackenzie government by Macdonald and the Conservatives in 1878 as a great event.¹⁷¹

It is doubtful whether there could have been much discrimination towards the French Canadians in the immigration field during much of the 1870's, since at times the French Canadians practically dominated the Department of Agriculture, which was then in charge of immigration. In 1876, for example, the Minister of Agriculture was Letellier de St. Just; the Deputy Minister was J. C. Tache, brother of Archbishop Tache; and Charles Lalime had been appointed as the special immigration agent in New England.¹⁷² Also, there were several indications that aside from the question of a financial loan, the federal government was quite willing to treat the Mennonites and Franco-Americans in an equal manner. For example, when the Colonization Society of Manitoba requested a reservation of two townships for Franco-American immigrants, the Department of Agriculture approved "an appointment of lands on the same conditions under which they have been granted to the Mennonites and other immigrants."¹⁷³ Later in "an Order-in-Council (19 March, 1875) four townships were set apart along the Red River along the United States frontier, 16 miles from Crookston, on condition that seventy actual settlers should be located on the townships within two years. Altogether nine townships,

171. Le Metis, Oct. 10, 1878.

172. Canada Sessional Papers, IX (7), 1876, p. xvi; *Ibid.*, V(2), 1872, p. 35.

173. P.A.C., Dept. of Interior Papers, Dominion Lands Branch, File 165914, C.C. Tache, Deputy Minister of Agriculture to Minister of Interior. See also Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 190. It was Senator Girard who applied to the federal government on behalf of the society.

in whole or in part, were reserved for them, subject to exchange if necessary." ¹⁷⁴ The most frequent problem in regard to these townships was their invasion by Orangemen, who often came into conflict with the French Canadians. ¹⁷⁵ While the Mackenzie government may be criticized for not granting the Franco-American emigrants to Manitoba a loan similar, though not necessarily equal, to that awarded to the Mennonites and for not extending the Pembina Branch line to Winnipeg in order to assist the transportation of American emigrants into the province, the Colonization Society of Manitoba had made an auspicious beginning in the mid-1870's, and much of the credit belongs to policies of the French Canadians in the Department of Agriculture.

Shortly after the Conservatives had returned to power, the French Manitobans were startled when the new government "ait jugé à propos de ne pas favoriser aussi largement que par le passé les canadiens des Etats Unis à venir s'établir à Manitoba." ¹⁷⁶ This decision was greeted with as much, if not more, opposition as the Mackenzie government's stand on the Mennonite Loan question. The travel grant was regarded as essential by the society because of the highly impoverished condition of many Franco-Americans; indeed, the original announcement of the grant had been enthusiastically greeted. ¹⁷⁷ Moreover, the French Canadians considered the decision especially harmful since it came at a

174. Macdonald, op. cit., p. 190. See also P.A.C., Dept. of Interior Papers, File 165914: The Society itself was first granted one section in each township; later instead of a free section it received a financial grant of \$1,600.

175. Manitoba Free Press, July 6, 1878, reported that Orangemen had tried to settle on a Mennonite reserve as well as the French townships of Letellier and Taché.

176. Canada, Sessional Papers, XIII (7), 1880, p. 76.

177. Le Metis, Feb. 10, 1876.

time when, according to Le Métis, the society was just beginning to achieve the success which it had originally envisaged. 178

The society had in fact accomplished a great deal since its formation in 1874. Father Lacombe, Archbishop Taché's principal immigration agent, had been ably assisted by Reverend M. Fillion, Dr. Weatherford, and Charles Lalime; those capable gentlemen had worked assiduously for the society in Montreal, Ottawa, Detroit, Saint-Hermas, Saint-Ignace, Sainte-Thérèse, Lowell, Nashua, Manchester, Worcester, and many other French-Canadian communities on both sides of the border. 179 Over the years those efforts had produced fairly successful results; for example, from 1877 to 1880 approximately 500 Franco-Americans settled annually in Manitoba. 180 It is also important that such success should be interpreted in terms of the competition which the society met in the United States.

There were several groups who considerably hampered the society's efforts in the states. In New England the society competed with immigration agents from Minnesota and Kansas as well as western railway company agents who, in Lalime's words,

have flooded the manufacturing cities with maps and pamphlets, both in English and in French, in favour of their lands offered for settlement and have appointed here, in Worcester and in the chief centres, Canadians as agents for the purpose of turning the tide of emigration towards their lands.

It is true that the Canadians of the Eastern States have remained deaf to their appeals . . . Still their movements have the effect of slightly impeding the immigration to . . . Manitoba. 181

178. Le Métis, March 27, 1879.

179. Canada, Sessional Papers, X (6), 1877; Le Métis, April 5, 1877; Benoit, *op. cit.*, pp. 311-12.

180. Canada, Sessional Papers, X (6), 1877, p. XVII; *ibid.*, XII (7), 1879, p. 136; *ibid.*, XIII (7) 1880, p. 52.

181. *Ibid.*, XIII (7), 1880, p. 76.

While the damage caused by the eastern groups was, like that of the Quebec colonization societies, only slightly disturbing, that which was inflicted by other groups and individuals in the United States certainly gave the Manitoban society cause for alarm. The area around St. Paul and Duluth proved to be a critical one for the society, because in that area there were various elements who were determined to stop the flow of Franco-American into Manitoba. "On the Red Lake River, 20 miles east by south from Crookston, on the St. Paul and Pacific Railway and at Middle River, there are settlements of French Canadians . . . constantly on the look-out for their countrymen immigrating . . . to Manitoba, and they induce many to remain at Crookston . . ." 182 There were also "so much per head agents . . . employed by large land owners, and sometimes by railway companies, to secure as many settlers as possible for the different States, principally Southern Minnesota and Dakota." 183 Few reports estimated the actual number of emigrants lured away from Manitoba by those groups. However, one report by the immigration agent at Dufferin stated that he knew of at least ten instances in which entire parties of immigrants had been persuaded to settle in the United States rather than Canada. 184

It can be seen, therefore, that the Colonization Society of Manitoba had to contend against many personal and impersonal forces: American and Quebec colonization companies, private groups and individuals in the United States, the policies of the federal government, the impoverished condition of many Franco-Americans, and their own lack of

182. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

183. *Ibid.*, p. 53. See also *ibid.*, XVI (10), 1883, p. 174.

184. *Ibid.*, X (6), 1877, Report of the Dufferin Immigration Agent, J. E. Têtu, p. 84.

experience in the colonization field. Despite all of these obstacles the society continued to wage a fairly strong and courageous battle against its opponents in the immigration field. Its members managed to enlist a considerable amount of aid for their program. Several notable supporters of the society have already been mentioned, but there were also numerous papers in Quebec, New England, and other centres in the United States which circulated immigration propaganda about Manitoba;¹⁸⁵ federal politicians - such as Masson and Girard - championed their cause in parliament;¹⁸⁶ and finally an association similar to their own was formed in Montreal to work towards the same end - the settlement of Franco-Americans in Manitoba.¹⁸⁷ All of that support plus the inauguration of truly sophisticated methods of repatriation enabled the society to achieve an even greater degree of success in the 1880's and 1890's. By the year 1896 they had successfully settled 3,000 repatriates on "eighteen" regularly organized parishes along the Red River southward, and westward along the Assiniboine toward Portage la Prairie . . . Like other racial groups they tended to segregate in areas in which their own culture would dominate."¹⁸⁸ That success came much too late, of course, to prevent the transformation of Manitoba's population, since that transformation actually took place mainly in the late 1870's and early 1880's.

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185. Some of the most important American papers were Le Travailleur; La Republique; Le Protecteur Canadien and Le Courrier, while the most prominent Quebec papers were Le National and Le Nouveau Monde (Quebec's somewhat pale imitation of the Globe.) See Le Metis, Aug. 12, 1875; March 23, April 20, and June 1, 1876; and Nov. 8, 1877.
186. The common complaint made by French Canadians was that so few French-speaking federal politicians understood their situation as well as Girard and Masson did. See Le Metis, Apr. 24, 1879.
187. Le Metis, June 1, 1876.
188. Macdonald, op. cit., p. 191.

Indeed, the number of French-Canadian repatriates was not even enough to offset the entrance into the province of two other Protestant groups - the Mennonites and the Icelanders. 189 The arrival of those two groups appeared to threaten the French Canadians, because it appeared as if they might quite possibly be assimilated by the English-Canadian element.

The French Canadians clearly recognized the danger posed to their culture by these new groups, and they often responded in a hostile manner towards the new groups. Le Courrier du Canada referred to the Mennonites as "ces russes dont la religion est de ne pas défendre la patrie." 190 T. A. Bernier stated that: "Les Canadiens-français vaudraient mille fois mieux, à tous les points de vue, que des Islandais." 191 The Roman Catholic Church was especially alarmed at the influx of these various new groups and the emerging diversity of the province's population. V. J. Grandin commented:

On nous envoie pour peupler . . . nos terres . . . des gens de toute nation, de toute religion, et trop souvent des gens sans foi et sans religion; on va chercher bien loin des Mennonites (sic), on reçoit même des Mormons qu'on semble vouloir donner comme exemple à nos Pieds-Noirs . . . Ne trouvez-vous pas, Messieurs, que c'est là un mal sérieux? 192

Some of these attitudes were probably attributable to the frustrations of the French Canadians in the immigration field, and their reaction to the Mennonite Loan can now be seen as part of their fear that the Roman Catholics were rapidly being outnumbered by the Protestants. In short, they felt that the old duality of Roman Catholic and Protestant

189. Morton, Manitoba, p. 163.

190. Le Courrier du Canada, Aug. 30, 1875.

191. T. A. Bernier, op. cit., p. 78.

192. V. J. Grandin, Un Supreme Appel, (n.p., 1891), p. 4.

in Red River and early Manitoba was being replaced by a plurality of faiths, and they realized, consciously or unconsciously, that "plurality indefinitely multiplied would imperil quality and lead, by an inevitable paradox, to uniformity." ¹⁹³ Moreover, the French Canadians recognized that the eventual uniformity would be that of the English-Canadian, Protestant culture, because that culture was rapidly becoming the majority in the province. Immigration and assimilation were the twin forces which thrust that culture into prominence. The tremendous influx of immigrants from Ontario and the United Kingdom had first insured that English-speaking Protestants would be the majority in the province; the diversity of other immigrants entering the province would serve to consolidate that majority, since it was inevitable that the newcomers would be more or less assimilated by the Anglo-Saxon culture, inevitable because of the dominance of the English language and culture in Manitoba, Canada, and the whole of North America. Certainly there were several indications that English Canadians fully intended to assimilate several of the diverse ethnic groups who had entered the province. Federal government officials often spoke favourably about the assimilative process; they also seemed to be particularly satisfied about how readily many of the immigrants, especially the Icelanders and the Mennonites, adopted various parts of the Anglo-Saxon culture. ¹⁹⁴ Such occurrences made the French Canadians believe that their culture was in serious danger. Its position had depended chiefly upon the province's

193. Morton, Manitoba, p. 163.

194. Canada, Sessional Papers, X (6), 1877, p. 68; Appendix to the Journal of the House of Commons, Vol. XXII, 1888, Report of the Select Standing Committee on Immigration and Colonization, p. 35.

religious and linguistic duality, and as the table below demonstrates that the population's religious duality had completely vanished over the years, because the number of Protestants in Manitoba had far surpassed that of the Catholics. The ^{part} greater of that transformation occurred during the "boom" period as the census of 1886 reveals below. ¹⁹⁵

TABLE V

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF GROWTH OF RELIGIONS, 1881-1886 ¹⁹⁶

Religions	1881	1886	Increase Since 1881	
			Number	Percent
Baptists	1,629	3,296	1,667	102.3
Brethren	29	114	85	293.1
Roman Catholics	11,679	14,651	2,972	25.4
Church of England	12,715	23,206	9,491	69.2
Congregational	343	997	654	190.7
Disciples	102	199	97	95.1
Jews	33	543	510	1,545.4
Lutherans	911	3,131	2,220	243.7
Methodists	9,382	18,648	9,226	98.7
Mennonites	7,776	9,112	1,336	17.2
Presbyterians	13,897	28,406	14,509	104.4
Protestants	45	428	383	851.1
Quakers	42	428	386	57.1
Other Denominations	105	179	74	70.5
No Religion	16	45	29	181.2

195. Census of Manitoba, 1886.

196. Census of Manitoba, 1886.

The trend begun during the boom years persisted throughout the 1880's, and by the end of that decade the full story of the transformation over the three decades was clearly revealed in the divergence between the number of Catholics and Protestants and the number of their churches.

TABLE VI
RELIGIONS OF THE PEOPLE, 1871-1891

Religions	1871 197		1881		1891	
	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total
Roman Catholics	-	-	12,246	18.57	20,571	13.42
Church of England	-	-	14,297	21.68	30,852	20.23
Presbyterians	-	-	14,292	21.67	39,101	25.64
Methodists	-	-	9,470	14.36	28,437	18.64
Brethren	-	-	29	.04	389	.26
Lutherans	-	-	984	1.5	6,545	4.29
Baptists	-	-	9,449	14.32	16,112	10.55
Congregationalists	-	-	343	.522	1,815	1.18
Disciples	-	-	102	.15	261	.17
Adventists	-	-	8	.01	32	.02
Unitarians	-	-	20	.03	74	.05
Universalists	-	-	8	.01	5	.003
Protestants	-	-	-	-	1,874	1.22
Quakers	-	-	43	.06	124	.08
Jews	-	-	33	.05	743	.49
Other Denominations	-	-	114	.17	847	.56
Not Specified	-	-	4,516	3.85	4,824	2.51

197. The census of 1870 stated that there were 5,452 Roman Catholics and 4,841 Protestants. Other information concerning religions at that date is unavailable.

TABLE VII
STATEMENT OF NUMBER OF CHURCHES, 1871-1891

Churches	1871	1881	1891
	Number	Number	Number
Roman Catholics	-	19	37
Church of England	-	23	53
Presbyterians	-	17	78
Methodists	-	24	74
Disciples	-	-	2
Lutherans	-	-	8
Baptist	-	3	17
Congregationalist	-	-	4
Universalist	-	-	-
Other Churches	-	2	18
Total	-	88	291

The essential over-all unity of these diverse Protestant sects was a very telling factor in the immigration battle between Protestants and Roman Catholics in Manitoba, and the four principal Protestant sects alone - the Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists - constituted 75% of the province's religious population. Actually, many French Canadians felt that the statistics failed to reveal how completely the English-speaking Protestants were dominating the situation. They claimed, for example, that even some Catholics were assimilated by the Anglo-Saxon culture. That was certainly the case as far as the Irish Catholics were concerned; in Charles Benoist's words: ". . . ce ne sont pas le liens

de la religion qui ont prévalu, c'est le langue: les Irlandais catholiques votent avec les Anglais protestants." 198 More alarming was the fact that even some French Canadians chose to assimilate to the English-Canadian culture. 199 At any rate, by 1891 the principal Protestant sects were practically five times as numerous as the Catholics and possessed five times as many churches, and those facts alone signalled the end of religious duality in Manitoba.

The growth in numbers of the English-speaking element and the assimilative power of the English language on the North American^{Continent} brought about an end to the linguistic duality of Manitoba's population. The fantastic growth rate of English-speaking peoples in Manitoba resulted in the relegation of the French-speaking element to a minority position. The following table on the origins of Manitoba's population during the period 1871-1891 reveals the tremendous difference between the growth rates of French- and English-speaking peoples; it does not, however, indicate that several of the other nationalities were eventually assimilated by the province's new, English-speaking, Protestant majority.

198. Benoist, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

199. Cf. Jean d'Artigue, Six Years in the Canadian North-West (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1882).

TABLE VIII

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF GROWTH OF NATIONALITIES, 1881-1886 200

Nationalities	1881	1886	Increase Since 1881	
			Number	Percent
Dutch	151	244	93	61.9
English	11,476	27,580	16,104	140.3
French	9,684	11,190	1,506	15.5
German	8,631	11,082	2,451	28.4
Icelandic	773	2,468	1,695	219.3
Indian	4,611	5,575	964	20.9
Irish	9,886	21,283	11,397	115.3
Scandinavian	169	564	395	233.7
Scotch	16,032	27,539	11,507	71.1
Welsh	103	229	126	122.3
Other Nationalities	30	236	206	686.6

It can be readily seen how completely the French-speaking element was swamped by those of English origin. Even if we concede the possibility of the Dutch settlers being French-speaking and unassimilated, the combination of Scotch, Irish, Welsh and English outnumbers the possible French-speaking populace by four to one.

Norman Macdonald stated that ". . . Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George Cartier favoured extensive settlements in the West, and it has been hinted that 'The Manitoba Constitution was purposely made bilingual in the hope' of deflecting the French Canadians from the United States to the West." ²⁰¹ The demand for a bilingual constitution originated in the West, of course, but if it was really the desire of Macdonald, Cartier and Taché to perpetuate the equilibrium between French and English populations, which had provided the basis for both the British North America Act and the Manitoba Act, in Manitoba and throughout Western Canada, then their desire was completely frustrated. It was frustrated because "l'immigration catholique, depuis vingt ans, n'avait point répondu au désirs de l'âme catholique et française de Mgr Taché ni à ses efforts . . ." ²⁰²

Taché and the other French Canadians in Manitoba lost the immigration battle in that province, and they lost it decisively, because there were simply too many factors mitigating against their success. Their opponents meanwhile - the English-speaking Protestants from Ontario - had virtually everything in their favour. They had both a solid Canadian and British source of emigration - Ontario and the United Kingdom; the Canadian and British governments worked closely together in the immigration fields; they possessed an expansionist and imperialistic tradition; their individuality and diversity in settling a country enabled them, as a majority, to assimilate other cultural groups; and finally their

201. Macdonald, op. cit., p. 189.

202. Benoit, op. cit., p. 640.

assimilative powers were further enhanced by the fact that their language, religion and way-of-life dominated North American society. The French Canadians, on the other hand, received very little help from Quebec and virtually none from France: their nationality possessed an exclusive and isolationist tradition which, for the most part, prevented mass emigration; their position as a cultural minority in North America and their communal spirit meant an almost complete absence of assimilative ability; their paradoxical position in the immigration field - caught between the necessity of securing a large quantity of immigrants and the desire of securing a high quality of immigrants - threatened their efforts from within; economic factors in Quebec and New England seriously hampered their efforts; and the federal government, by and large, displayed a complete disinterest in the idea of preserving the racial equilibrium in Canada by insuring that French and English elements received equal consideration in the immigration field.

Chester Martin remarked that "it was the resolute use of force by Riel and the French Métis which . . . planted in Western Canada the seed so sedulously cultivated upon the banks of the St. Lawrence." ²⁰³ The plant had been carefully tended by Archibald and Taché but sadly neglected by Quebec and the federal government. That neglect had seriously stunted the plant's growth by 1885, and by that time the question had arisen: would the transformation of the province's population, the termination of the duality of French and English numbers in Manitoba lead inevitably to the area's new majority demanding that the constitutional duality should be abolished as well.

203. Chester Martin, "Confederation and the West," C.H.A., 1927, pp. 27-8.

CHAPTER THREE

THE TRANSFORMATION OF

MANITOBA'S FRENCH-CANADIAN POLITICO-CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

I. MUNICIPALITY VERSUS PARISH:

Racial and religious issues were ever-present in Manitoba politics in the province's first decade and a half of existence, but during that period conflict of a serious nature had been generally avoided because of the general spirit of moderation and compromise existing among many of the province's leading politicians. Archibald had practically created singlehandedly these "politics of compromise" in Manitoba, and his example was followed by such notable individuals as Alexander Morris, R. A. Davis, and John Norquay.¹ There were also several signs indicating that the spirit of compromise existed throughout the levels of government. The Legislative Assembly decided, for example, that the province of Ontario had no legal right to interfere in Manitoba's affairs, to attack one segment of the latter's population by demanding the punishment of Scott's executioners.² The assembly did not condone the act of execution, of course, but they refused to allow Ontario or the so-called "loyal party" in Manitoba to continue their persecution of the metis. Another example of the willingness of politicians to compromise or recognize the equal rights of the various groups

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1. Le Métis, Oct. 24, 1878; The Manitoban, Dec. 7, 1872; and Morton, Manitoba, p. 229.
 2. Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1872, 35 Vict., pp. 23, 57.

in Manitoba was seen on December 16, 1871, when the Honourable Alfred Boyd, the Minister of Public Works, resigned in order that John Norquay might assume that position. Boyd's single reason for resigning was to enable the English half-breeds to possess a representative in the government.³ "Under Archibald's tutelage the province had matured and gained in wisdom, although it would be dangerous to exaggerate the extent of such gains."⁴

Indeed, it is possible to over-estimate the moderation of the politicians in the 1870's, because there were other factors in Manitoba that contributed to the relative degree of racial harmony in the period, racial harmony which was not really expected because of the events surrounding the province's creation. The racial and religious conflict slipped into the background of Manitoba politics, because of the principle of duality embodied in the Manitoba Act and the fact that the province's population had rapidly become preoccupied with the practical problems of attempting to secure better financial terms from the federal government and to build the railways needed to aid them in the immigration and agricultural fields.⁵

The basic problem for Manitoba's government was the province's economic situation. The young province had many difficulties to face in its struggle to take its place alongside the other provinces in the Dominion. Its task was made all the more difficult because of the depression and the federal government's unwillingness to provide it with

3. The Manitoban, Dec. 16, 1871.

4. Saywell, op. cit., p. 74.

5. Wright, op. cit., pp. 65, 75.

sufficient financial resources. The federal grant was seldom enough to enable the Manitoba government to function properly. The Manitoban contrasted Manitoba's government expenses with those of Ontario and the Dominion government, and concluded that "the cost of Legislation in Ontario was one-thirtieth of the total income; in the Dominion one-seventieth; in Manitoba one-sixth." ⁶ Furthermore, it was generally believed that Manitoba's financial problems could have been offset somewhat if the federal government returned Manitoba's Crown Lands to the provincial government. ⁷ Those lands had been taken away from the province by a clause which the Macdonald government had insisted upon:

All ungranted or waste lands in the Province shall be . . . vested in the Crown, land administered by the Government of Canada for the purposes of the Dominion, subject to, and except, and so far as the same may be affected by the conditions and stipulations contained in the agreement for the surrender of Rupert's Land by the Hudson's Bay Company to Her Majesty. ⁸

Macdonald's explanation of that clause was that the "land could not be handed over to them, it was of the greatest importance to the Dominion to have possession of it, for the Pacific Railway must be built by means of the land through which it had to pass." ⁹ These two facts - the federal government's control of the provinces' public lands and natural resources and its meagre financial subsidy - created a great deal of

6. The Manitoban, Jan. 11, 1873. See also Begg, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 73. Manitoba also paid a higher amount per capita to the federal government than the other provinces.

7. Ibid., Jan. 18, 1873.

8. 33 *Victoriae*, c. 3, Sec. 30.

9. Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Causes of the Difficulties in the North-West Territories in 1869-70 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1940), p. 143.

anger among Manitobans towards the federal government; in fact, those grievances later combined with the federal government's policy of railway disallowance in Manitoba created a province-wide opposition towards Ottawa. ¹⁰

In order to remedy Manitoba's financial situation the province's political leaders began a program of economic retrenchment; they also "sought to shift much of the burden of development to incipient municipalities. . ." ¹¹ It was natural for the Ontario immigrants to attempt to reconstruct the municipal institutions of their former home in the new province. ¹² Such a process, however, was bound to come into eventual conflict with the parishes of the French Canadians, because the former's ideals of individuality and diversity were directly at odds with the latter's goals of collectivity and unity. ¹³

At the outset such a conflict was avoided because of the limited nature of settlement. Indeed, in the first municipal legislation passed in the province - the Parish Assessment Act of 1871 - the municipal institutions were to be "based on the existing boundaries of parishes whose residents . . . were permitted to tax themselves for certain local public works." ¹⁴ By 1873 the need for a departure from the parochial lines of the Red River Settlement was seen to be a distinct necessity. Consequently

10. Donnelly, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

11. Chester Martin, *The Natural Resources Question* (Winnipeg: Sauls and Pollard Limited, 1920), p. 82.

12. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

13. Hughes, *French Canada in Transition*, p. iii.

14. *Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Local Government Organization and Finance*, submitted to Chairman Roland Michener, Provincial Government of Manitoba (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1964), p. 5. Unless otherwise noted references to this source will be designated as *Michener Royal Commission*.

in that year an Act ¹⁵ was passed which "authorized the incorporation of a municipality whenever two-thirds of the male householders so petitioned, provided there were more than thirty in the area. . ." ¹⁶ From that date onward the provincial government enacted numerous pieces of municipal legislation. The vast majority of that legislation was sponsored by Ontarians who were anxious to reproduce the county system of Ontario in Manitoba. ¹⁷

Legislation was introduced in 1883 which provided for the creation of twenty-six counties, each composed of from five to seven municipalities with central authority and power to levy for a county courthouse, registry office and certain inter-municipal matters such as drainage. ¹⁸

Judicial district boards were also established at that time. They were made up of the mayors or reeves of each corporation within a specified boundary; initially the district boards were empowered to levy only for courthouses and jails but in 1885 their power was enlarged to include other inter-municipal matters. ¹⁹ Eventually the county system had to be abandoned, because it had proven to be impractical, expensive and inefficient in Manitoba. The difficulties encountered by the system were chiefly the result of sparse settlement, great distances and insufficient financial resources. ²⁰

15. Statutes of Manitoba, 1873, 36 Vict., Ch. 23.

16. Michener Royal Commission, p. 5.

17. Statutes of Manitoba, 1875, 38 Vict., Ch. 41; ibid., 1877, 40 Vict., Ch. 3; ibid., 1880, 43 Vict., Ch. 10; ibid., 1881, 44 Vict., Ch. 14.

18. Michener Royal Commission, p. 5.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

The final form of municipalities in Manitoba was decided upon in 1886. A special commission of the Legislature had been formed in the province to study the problem, and following its recommendations "the province was divided into smaller areas called 'rural municipalities,' the judicial districts boards were abolished, and their functions were transferred to the Attorney General's Department." ²¹ It was also decided that "inter-municipal functions in Manitoba should be discharged "through an officer of the Provincial Government to be known as the Municipal Commissioner. . . ." ²²

Manitoba's municipalization exerted a deep influence upon the French-Canadian way-of-life in the province. That way-of-life had been molded in the days of the Red River Settlement, molded upon the image of French-Canadian parochial life on the banks of the St. Lawrence. As Morton states, "the social aspects of the life of Red River had developed around the church. From this point of view the Red River Settlement was a congregation of missions. These missions were called parishes."²³ That pattern was adhered to by the English as well as the French group in Red River. ²⁴ It is necessary, however, to understand the nature of the French, Roman Catholic parish in its broader context as well in order to distinguish it more readily from its English, Protestant counterpart. Ecclesiastically the

21. Crawford, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

22. Michener Royal Commission, pp. 5-6.

23. W. L. Morton, The Red River Parish in Manitoba Essays, ed. by R. C. Lodge, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1937), p. 90.

24. Ibid., p. 91.

. . . parish is the ultimate normal territorial unit in the Church. There is the Papacy, which reaches out over all the world, establishing a bond of unity in the whole Church, teaching, ministering, and governing. There are the Patriarchates and the Provinces, each with its distinct territory and including a number of dioceses. There is the diocese and the diocese itself is divided territorially into parishes. The purpose of the parish is the purpose of the Church, that is the salvation and sanctification of souls through Jesus Christ . . .²⁵

In the Red River Settlement each parish possessed its own church, school, and communal life: all of the elements of the parishes in Quebec. Each of those elements was designed to achieve the salvation and sanctification of souls, because all parochial functions are directed towards that end.²⁶

Over the years the French Canadians have also come to look upon the parish as their principal weapon in their battle for cultural survival in the Anglo-Saxon sea which constantly threatens them. They regard it, in fact, "as an integrating unit of community life as well as a 'rampart' for the religious and cultural survival of French Canadians . . ." ²⁷ In the single most important instance when the parishes of the Red River Settlement assumed a definite political function - the public assembly of French and English parishes called by Riel during the Red River Insurrection - the attempt to employ the parish as such a rampart was clearly seen.²⁸ Of course, for the most part the insular,

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- 25. C. J. Nuesse and Thomas J. Harte, eds., The Sociology of the Parish (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1950), pp. vii-vii.
 - 26. Ibid., p. viii.
 - 27. Jean-Charles Falardeau, Canada in The Sociology of the Parish, eds. Nuesse and Harte, pp. 325-6.
 - 28. Morton, The Red River Parish, p. 95.

homogeneous nature of the parish was felt to provide the maximum amount of protection for the French-Canadian culture. The strength of a parish, especially a French-Canadian parish, is directly dependent upon the maintenance of cultural and religious homogeneity and of the authority of the church, embodied in the person of the parish priest.²⁹ Any foreign cultural or religious elements, particularly English and Protestant ones, are regarded as distinct threats.

In Quebec the French-Canadian majority managed to preserve the strength of their parishes because of their numbers and their resolute opposition towards municipalities,³⁰ but in Manitoba the French-Canadian minority was virtually helpless as the waves of English-Canadian immigration buffeted their parochial structure. Time and again the French-Canadian element expressed the desire to maintain the homogeneity of their parishes, to remain isolated from other ethnic groups in the province.³¹ It was impossible to do so, however, because of the diverse and individualistic nature of English-Canadian settlement. The English Canadians, unlike the French Canadians, the Mennonites, and the Icelanders,³² seldom chose to settle in groups; they settled wherever they found the best farmlands. Consequently practically every region in the province possessed a goodly number of English Canadians, while, as the table below illustrates, only Provencher proved to be a stronghold for the French element.³³

29. Falardeau, Canada, pp. 327, 331.

30. Hughes, French Canada in Transition, pp. 10-11, and Crawford, op. cit., p. 19.

31. P.A.M., Archibald Papers, Laurence S. Clarke to Archibald, no. 562; C.S.P., V (2), 1872, pp. 76-7; and Le Metis, Jan. 20, 1871.

32. Morton, Manitoba, p. 163,

33. Census of Manitoba, 1886.

TABLE I
NUMBER OF PEOPLE OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH ORIGIN
IN MANITOBA, 1885-1886

Districts	English	Irish	Scotch	Welsh	French
Selkirk	8,807	7,817	7,939	47	1,057
Marquette	5,967	5,967	7,826	30	143
Provencher	1,295	1,187	1,162	33	4,264
Lisgar	2,934	1,818	3,369	41	747
Winnipeg	6,946	4,391	5,380	78	610
Total	25,949	21,180	25,676	229	6,821

It is quite obvious from this table ³⁴ that most French-Canadian neighbourhoods had been "invaded", to some extent or other, by the English Canadians. Such invasions naturally troubled the French Canadians, because they destroyed the racial homogeneity of the "collective and symbolic enterprise" ³⁵ which priests and people had so carefully built up. Furthermore, wherever the English Canadians settled they eventually set up their municipal institutions and, according to the school legislation of 1872, ³⁶ their schools. The Act of 1872 provided that any group in any area of the province was free to create their own school district even if a school district already existed in the area.

With the flood of Protestant immigrants into the province, the effect of the legislation was to multiply the number of Protestant school

34. Census of Manitoba, 1886.

35. Hughes, French Canada in Transition, p. 127.

36. Statutes of Manitoba, 1873, 36 Vict., Ch. 22.

districts in the province. Furthermore, it meant that a Protestant minority could form a school district in a Catholic parish despite the presence of the Catholic district. Consequently Protestant schools competed with those of the Catholics, and therefore the original nature of the parochial school system, the equal number of Catholic and Protestant school districts in 1871 - corresponding to the original twenty-four parishes of Manitoba - slowly passed out of existence. The trend in that direction was first seen in 1871, when the number of Catholic school districts declined from twelve to ten, while that of the Protestants increased to sixteen; by 1872 the Protestants added another five districts.³⁷

A similar process later took place as far as electoral districts were concerned. The original twenty-four electoral districts - also laid out according to the lines of the twenty-four parishes - had also been divided between the French and English Canadians. As new areas of settlement opened up, however, often containing municipal councils, the inhabitants of those areas naturally demanded representation in the provincial government. Eventually the electoral districts underwent a transition similar to that of the school districts: from a state of duality between French and English, Catholic and Protestant, they became more and more dominated by the English-speaking, Protestant majority in the province.

In both of those areas the French-Canadian minority had been

37. Manitoba Gazette, July 12, 1871, Dec. 31, 1872.

overwhelmed by the flood of English-Canadian and British immigrants. The latter two groups had settled throughout the entire province, including the French-Canadian parishes. Their presence in those parishes, along with their schools and their municipal councils, greatly weakened the parochial structure. Indeed, the French-Canadian parochial structure in Manitoba was never the same, for the municipal functionaries inevitably infringed upon the authority of the parish priest, the English-Canadian tradition of self-rule and self-government superseded the authoritarian pattern of the parish, and Protestant schools competed with those of the Catholic Church.³⁸ "What is not related to the principal purpose of the parish has no right place in the activities and the life of the parish."³⁹ English-speaking, Protestant churches and schools had no purpose to play as far as the French-speaking, Catholic parishes were concerned. The "three-fold mission of teaching, sanctifying, and ruling"⁴⁰ of the Catholic Church was definitely hindered by the Protestant influence, and the function of the parish as a rampart for the defense of the French-Canadian culture was threatened by the numerous contacts with the assimilationist English-Canadian culture. In short, the municipal structure not only weakened the parochial spirit in Manitoba, but it also stunted the growth of French Canadianism in the province by disturbing the roots

38. The English Canadians among the "old settlers" of the Red River Settlement had been prepared for this transition by "the reorganization of the Anglican parishes by Bishop Machray in 1866 on the basis of self-support and self-government . . ." Morton, The Red River Parish, p. 95. The French Canadians, on the other hand, had almost continually remained submissive to the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company and their parish priests. Ibid., pp. 95-6.

39. Nuesse and Harte, eds., Sociology of the Parish, p. viii.

40. Ibid., p. 3.

of French-Canadian life. It did so largely by preventing the parishes from assuming the role of local self-government which they had attained in Quebec,⁴¹ for it now became increasingly difficult for the French-Canadian parishes to produce the functionaries needed to integrate the family and parish with the larger society in Manitoba.⁴² The inability of French Manitobans to maintain their parochial structure at the same level as their compatriots in Quebec was primarily due to the fact that Ontario and British immigration had relegated them to a minority position.

The rural municipalities which had become the dominant form of local government in Manitoba had been developed because of the transformation of the province's population and the province's economic ills. Those latter two factors combined with the process of municipalization--the training ground for future parliamentarians⁴³--to effect still another radical transformation in Manitoba's life: the creation of provincial political parties.

41. Hughes, French Canada in Transition, p. 10.

42. Ibid., p. 11.

43. Michener Royal Commission, p. 7.

II. PROVINCIAL RIGHTS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN MANITOBA:

At the provincial level Manitoba's economic problems resulted in a program of economic retrenchment, but they also created a great deal of animosity towards the federal government. At the outset, however, the proposed solutions to some of the province's economic troubles threatened various rights of the French Canadians.

The new English-speaking, Protestant majority, particularly those from Ontario, had begun to complain about the costs of the dual school system, "the official use of the French language and the maintenance of a Legislative Council in the tiny province when Ontario did without one." ⁴⁴ The link between the need for economic reforms and the opposition to French-Canadian politico-cultural institutions was primarily forged by the Ontario oriented papers in Manitoba, papers such as the Liberal and the Manitoba Free Press. Those two papers continually attacked the French element and its supporters in the province. ⁴⁵ In 1874 the Free Press carried the attack a step further and called upon the people and the government to support the abolition of the French language rights. The paper's editor, W. F. Luxton, claimed that it would be wise to abolish the official use of the French language in the courts and legislature, because such a dual system was much too expensive for the province to afford. ⁴⁶ The Manitoban answered the charges of the Free Press by reminding its editor that "the use of the French language

44. Morton, Manitoba, p. 149.

45. Liberal, July 11, 1871; Manitoba Free Press, Sept. 4, 1874.

46. Manitoba Free Press, Sept. 4, 7, and 21, 1874.

in the Courts had been guaranteed by the Acts of the Dominion Parliament, and cannot be taken away by hasty and ill-timed attempts at legislation."⁴⁷ Undaunted the Free Press continued its attack upon the use of the French language in the courts and legislature,⁴⁸ and then embarked upon a similar struggle against the French schools in the province. The Free Press argued that French schools received a much larger grant from the provincial government than they were entitled to.⁴⁹ It was noted by The Manitoban, however, that the Free Press' calculations were based upon the claim that there were only six French schools in the province, whereas there were actually twenty-one Catholic schools; furthermore, the paper explained that the "extra" \$1,600 possessed by the French schools was the result of their frugality.⁵⁰ The Manitoban concluded by accusing Luxton of attempting "to get support by fanning enmity between the two races . . ." ⁵¹

An opposition to the existence of French schools and the usage of the French language in the province's courts and legislature arose in 1874. That opposition was based upon racial, religious and economic grounds. Several groups opposed to the idea of racial, religious and linguistic duality in Manitoba seized upon the province's economic ills as the basis for their claims that the French schools and the official use of the French language should be discontinued. Some individuals in those groups were less tactful. Shortly after the French settlement of

47. The Manitoban, Oct. 3, 1874; see also ibid., Sept. 12, 1874.

48. Manitoba Free Press, Oct. 10, 1874; March 11, April 9, 1875.

49. Ibid., May 8, 1875.

50. The Manitoban, Nov. 14, 1874.

51. Ibid.

Grande Clairiere had been organized, a local paper commented: "As for New Canada, our Grand North-West, let all newcomers learn English . . . In the east let them 'parley-voo' as long as they like." ⁵² These Ontarians in south-western Manitoba indicated that their hostility was reserved primarily for French and Belgian colonists. At one point it was noted that the "Ontario settlers resented the fact that 'foreigners' were placed on land reserved for them by the federal government, while at the same time Scandinavians had to rustle land for themselves." ⁵³ Obviously racial and religious differences as well as the anti-French attitude cultivated by Brown and the Grits in Ontario played their parts in this hostility towards the French.

While there were financial problems in the dual school system, many of those problems were the result of a rather cumbersome arrangement between the school boards, the municipal councils and the provincial government rather than the dual nature of the system. Dualism had been an integral part of the educational pattern of the Red River Settlement, and it was natural, therefore, for the old settlers to select a system which embodied the dualistic principle. Consequently, when the first educational legislation was passed in 1871, ⁵⁴ they settled upon a system similar to that of Quebec. "The Act provided for a central Board of Education with two sections of equal powers, the one Protestant and the other Roman Catholic." ⁵⁵ The legislative grants for education were divided equally between the two sections for the next four years, but as

52. Cited in Wright, op. cit., p. 98.

53. Cited in ibid.

54. Statutes of Manitoba, 1871, 34 Vict., Ch. 12.

55. Michener Royal Commission, p. 6.

immigration resulted in a tremendous increase of Protestant settlers and Protestant schools a revision became necessary. An amendment to the original Act provided that the grant would be made "in proportion to the number of children of schoolage in each group." ⁵⁶ In effect, there was no fault in the dual system itself; the difficulties derived from the adoption of Ontario municipal principles, which resulted

in the situation that one body of elected representatives, the school board, determines the amount to be expended, another, the municipal council, assumes the responsibility for collecting the taxes required to meet these expenditures, while a third, the Provincial Legislature, helps out with grants. Consequently a struggle developed very early between the school board and municipalities, and between the latter and the Provincial government over the amount of expenditures and the division of the financial burden. ⁵⁷

In short, the fact that "the Municipal Councils in Southwestern Manitoba found the financing of schools a heavy burden" ⁵⁸ . . . was not so much due to the existence of two sections in the Board of Education as to the conflict between the school boards, the municipal councils and the provincial government. The facts of the situation were not generally known at the time, however, and as a result many English Canadians genuinely felt that the dual system had to be abolished in order to remedy the economy of the school system. Moreover, the belief that the problem of financing schools grew out of dualism became a dominant idea in the minds of many south-western Manitobans.

56. Ibid.

57. Wright, op. cit., p. 69. See also Statutes of Manitoba, 1881, 44 Vict., Ch. 4.

58. Wright, op. cit., p. 69.

The agitation against Catholic schools temporarily left the Manitoba political scene in 1876, but the encroachment or attempted abolition of French-Canadian rights did not. When the Manitoban government requested an increased subsidy from Ottawa, the Mackenzie government stated that it would grant them a further \$26,746.96, which would make the total provincial subsidy \$90,000 when Manitoba's government had been "simplified and cheapened by the abolition of the second Chamber."⁵⁹ The upper chamber had been provided for in section 10 of the province's constitution.⁶⁰ The clause had been included in the Manitoba Act to protect the future minority of the province from being deprived of its rights by the majority; a similar clause existed in the Quebec constitution to protect the English-Canadian minority. The French-Canadian minority was naturally reluctant to surrender such a safeguard in light of the attacks upon their language and schools.

The Manitoba government had found it increasingly difficult to operate efficiently with the amount of money granted to it by the federal government.⁶¹ Several deputations had been sent to Ottawa to persuade the Dominion government to grant the province "better terms", but they were largely unsuccessful.⁶² Mackenzie's offer, therefore, was duly considered. "A bill for the abolition of the 'Upper House' was introduced by Norquay in the session of 1875, but was lost in the legislative council by a casting vote. Influence was brought to bear,

59. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1876, Vol. 8, Paper No. 36.

60. 33 Victoriae, c. 3, Section 10.

61. Le Metis, Apr. 19, 1873; Oct. 14, 1875.

62. Ibid., March 15, 1873; March 28, 1874; Sept. 30, 1875.

however, and in the session of 1876 the legislative council voted itself out of existence." ⁶³ It is interesting to note the breakdown of the voting on the question by the members of the Council. Those in favour of abolition were O'Donnell, Hamelin and Dauphinais. ⁶⁴ By and large then the French Members opposed abolition, while the English supported it. The latter group was rewarded for their decision with government positions, while the former "were left altogether out in the cold." ⁶⁵

The official explanation for the abolition of the Upper House was that it was deemed "desirable and expedient to reduce the expenditure in . . . the legislature . . ." ⁶⁶ Nevertheless the French Canadians were distinctly uneasy about the abolition, because it meant that henceforth they would have to rely upon the responsibility of the ministers for protection from the anti-French faction in the province. ⁶⁷ That situation had arisen mainly because of the electoral redistribution which immigration had necessitated.

The redistribution bills of 1873, 1874 and 1877 had meant the diminution of French-Canadian influence in the legislature. ⁶⁸ More ominous as far as the French-Canadian element was concerned was that, while the French Canadians, led by Royal, opposed the change in electoral distribution in 1873, some of the English Canadians in the legislature were busily arguing for the adoption of the principle of representation by

63. Martin, Political History of Manitoba, p. 108.

64. Begg and Nursey, op. cit., pp. 135-6.

65. Ibid., p. 136.

66. Statutes of Manitoba, 1876, 39 Vict., Ch. 28.

67. Le Metis, March 1, 1877.

68. Statutes of Manitoba, 1873, 36 Vict., Ch. 10; ibid., 1874, 37 Vict., Ch. 8; ibid., 1877, 40 Vict., Ch. 4.

population.⁶⁹ R. A. Davis became premier in 1874, and he "brought in a new redistribution bill which gave the English fourteen of twenty-four seats, on the plea that the English population was increasing more quickly than the French and that the rapidly growing sections in the west of the province were under-represented."⁷⁰ There was no talk of representation, however, and the principle of communal representation - it was generally believed - was being adhered to. In 1877 the government stated that a further redistribution was necessary in order to represent all of the "various interests and elements in the province."⁷¹ The new interests which demanded representation were once again primarily the Ontario immigrants in the western region of the province, and their emergence into the provincial political scene signalled an end to the dominance of the old French and English settlers in the legislature; the bill of 1877 provided that the French, the English and the newcomers would each possess eight seats.⁷² The bill still supported the idea of communal representation in principle, but in reality it indicated the future trend in Manitoba politics. Most French Canadians failed to realize that at the time, and they supported the bill in the legislature.⁷³ Joseph Royal, however, recognized the direction of the political winds in the province, and he decided that immediate action was needed in order to preserve French influence in Manitoba politics. Accordingly he set about to assure the French Canadians of at least a balance of power in the province.

69. Journals of the Legislative Assembly, Nov. 8, 1873; Manitoba Free Press, March 1, 1873; Le Metis, Nov. 8, 1873.

70. Macfarlane, op. cit., p. 50.

71. Journals of the Legislative Assembly, Feb. 26, 1877, p. 98.

72. Statutes of Manitoba, 1877, 40 Vict., Ch. 4.

73. Journals of the Legislative Assembly, Feb. 26, 1877, p. 100.

In the legislature Royal challenged the premier, John Norquay, on the grounds that his government did not possess the confidence of the majority of the English group in the legislature. In effect, Royal was attempting to get Norquay to agree to the principle of party politics "in place of the old dual system of equal representation of the two racial groups in the legislature and the cabinet."⁷⁴ The dual system of representation had quite obviously broken down as a result of the transformation of the province's population and the entry into the province of so many diverse ethnic groups. The redistribution bills, while they still paid some homage to the idea of communal representation, actually illustrated the waning of French influence. Even if the communal system persisted in some manner, the French-Canadian minority would possess relatively little power; however, Royal believed that "as a united minority in a two-party system they might still hold a balance of power."⁷⁵ Norquay was strongly opposed to party politics at this time, because he believed that Manitoba's grievances with Ottawa could only be solved if the province presented a united, rather than a divided, front to the federal government.⁷⁶ Consequently he replied to Royal that the government's lack of English support was due to the latter's presence in the cabinet, and he therefore asked Royal to resign. Royal and Delorme, the other French-Canadian cabinet minister, did so, and for the first time in the province's short history the French were without representation in the cabinet.⁷⁷ Furthermore, Norquay called a caucus

74. Morton, Manitoba, p. 196.

75. Ibid.

76. Manitoba Free Press, Nov. 8, 1879.

77. Begg and Nursey, op. cit., pp. 219-20.

of the English members of the cabinet at which it was proposed to do away with the printing of the public documents in French and to enact a bill favouring representation by population.⁷⁸ Norquay acquiesced to the former proposal but refused to accept the latter. The Lieutenant-Governor, Joseph Cauchon, reserved the Act to abolish the French printing of public documents for the pleasure of the Governor General-in-Council. Cauchon was strongly rebuked for his action by the Winnipeg Daily Times.⁷⁹

While Royal's attempt to promote the formal creation of political parties in Manitoba was forestalled at this moment, the question of Manitoba securing better terms and an end to the disallowance of provincial railway charters from the federal government was the issue which eventually led to the formation of parties in the province. The agitation for such parties was principally headed by the editor of the Winnipeg Daily Times. During the conflict between Royal and Norquay that paper had proclaimed itself to be a Liberal-Conservative newspaper and pledged itself to support the provincial government if the latter body would promote the "National Policy" of the federal government.⁸⁰ The paper also added that Royal and Norquay were both true Conservatives, and that it was only the Free Press who refused to acknowledge that fact. At a later date, the Daily Times advised the government to refuse the assistance of the Free Press, because the latter paper was under the control of the Grits.⁸¹ Royal, at least, does appear to have been a Conservative in fact,⁸² while Norquay was one in sentiment. At any

78. Journals of the Legislative Assembly, June 10, 1879, p. 46.

79. Winnipeg Daily Times, June 5, 1879.

80. Ibid., Apr. 12, 1879.

81. Ibid., May 31, 1879.

82. Begg, History of North-West, Vol. II, pp. 346-7.

rate, the division between the two papers at this time is highly revealing. The Daily Times continually stated that: "It is needless to shut our eyes to the fact that Manitoba politics are just now undergoing a revolution and that when the crisis is fully ended National party lines will have been more or less introduced." ⁸³ The Free Press, on the other hand, strongly opposed party government, but the grounds of its opposition are highly revealing. First of all, like Norquay the paper's editors believed that a government supported by both Liberals and Conservatives was best qualified to win concessions from the federal government; secondly, if party government were created, the minority would be stronger than it should be, and the price of its support would be special privileges. ⁸⁴ Their opposition then was based upon their desire to secure better terms and to prevent the French Canadians from increasing their influence; indeed, the latter fact is not all that is surprising, since the paper had been almost continually opposed to the power of the French cabinet ministers. ⁸⁵ Thus matters stood as the issues of better terms and the federal government's policy of railway disallowance raged throughout the province.

The clamor for better terms from Ottawa had dominated the province's political scene throughout much of the 1870's. By 1881, however, the issue of better terms was subordinated to provincial opposition of the federal government's disallowance of numerous railway charters in Manitoba. The young province desperately required increased railway

83. Winnipeg Daily Times, June 13, 1879.

84. Manitoba Free Press, Aug. 22, 1879.

85. Le Metis, Sept. 12, 1874.

facilities in order to increase its population and its economic growth.⁸⁶ Transportation for emigrants into the province was still mainly limited to the Dawson Route and the railway route via the United States.⁸⁷ The first of those routes was long and arduous and tended to discourage many potential emigrants, while the second resulted in the loss of many immigrants to the United States. Meanwhile the farmers in the province suffered great financial losses because of their reliance upon the Canadian Pacific Railway which often took full advantage of its railroad monopoly in Manitoba. The Canadian Pacific Railway Act had been passed on February 1, 1881, and it became law on February 17.⁸⁸ Clause 16 of the railway's charter was the so-called "monopoly clause"; it

prohibited the construction of any line running in a southerly direction from the main line of that railway. The object of this clause was, of course, to prevent competition from branch lines of American railways, particularly of the Northern Pacific. Its effect, however, was to make the construction of branch lines in the southern uplands dependent on the grace and means of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and to deny, since the Pembina Branch was part of the Canadian Pacific system, any alternative route to shippers of wheat from Manitoba. The freight rates of the Canadian Pacific were therefore not competitive rates, and those charged on the Pembina Branch were in fact prohibitive.⁸⁹

A further source of discontent in Manitoba towards Ottawa's railway policy was the creation of reserves of land adjacent to the main

86. The priority of Manitoba's claims in the immigration field had been urged as early as 1871. Cf., H. J. Clarke, Report of the Immigration Conference, 1871. See also The Manitoban, March 29, 1873.

87. Macdonald, op. cit., pp. 176-9.

88. Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 3, p. 30.

89. Morton, Manitoba, p. 215.

line for the purposes of the Canadian Pacific Railway. ⁹⁰ The federal government's aim in this matter was to reimburse the company's owners for their tremendous financial investments in construction of the line. Unfortunately for Manitoba, however, the move came at a particularly bad time. The emergence of the Canadian Pacific Railway in Winnipeg had stimulated the enormous speculation which had in turn resulted in the Manitoba "boom". ⁹¹ Naturally the numerous reserves in the province eventually discouraged a large number of prospective settlers at a time when the province could ill afford such bad publicity. Of course, the federal government claimed that its action was designed to discourage land speculators, but such an aim might have been better accomplished if the government and the railway company had engaged in a widespread program of colonization. The Canadian Pacific Railway, in particular, appeared reluctant to do so, ⁹² and therefore the discontent of Manitobans continued to grow.

The numerous provincial railway charters disallowed by the federal government fed the fires of provincial discontent and increased the pressure of the province's population and the opposition upon the Norquay government. ⁹³ Norquay had fought the federal government throughout his years in office, but his general inability to gain

90. Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 3, pp. 66.

91. Ibid., pp. 68-9.

92. Macdonald, op. cit., p. 179.

93. Correspondence, Reports of the Minister of Justice and Orders in Council, upon the subject of Dominion and Provincial Legislation 1867-1895, compiled under the Direction of the Honourable the Minister of Justice, by W. E. Hodgins, pp. 1329-32. Fifteen Manitoba Acts were disallowed in the period 1882-1887; thirteen of these were related to the building of railways.

redress from Ottawa for the province's grievances was beginning to make it appear as if he actually were a Conservative. The opposition hinted that "an important civil service appointment was to be the price of his alleged perfidy." ⁹⁴ It was the nature of this opposition to Norquay which eventually resulted in the transition from communal representation to party politics in Manitoba. "Greenway had been a Liberal member of Parliament for South Huron before he moved to Manitoba, and some of his followers were Ontario Grits . . ." ⁹⁵ Furthermore, there was a close connection between Greenway and Mowat, the Liberal leader and champion of "provincial rights" in Ontario; that connection was solidified by the existence of a strong provincial rights sentiment in south-western Manitoba where most of Greenway's supporters resided. The Ontario farmers in that region had also been exposed to Mowat's ideas. Therefore, what could be more natural than "for the opposition to take up the cry against the unpopular federal policies and set themselves up as the champions of 'provincial rights'." ⁹⁶ Of course, virtually every group in the province was a provincial rights party by 1886, ⁹⁷ but Greenway's party had assumed a more liberal stand in that regard than most of the others, including Norquay and his supporters. Indeed, even the Free Press had become disenchanted with his policy; it claimed, in fact, that Norquay was chiefly responsible for the continuance of the railway monopoly, and the paper now began to champion the cause of the Grits, by calling upon all the Liberals in Manitoba to unite and drive Norquay from office. ⁹⁸ The

94. Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 3, p. 116.

95. Morton, Manitoba, p. 220.

96. Ibid.

97. Donnelly, op. cit., p. 26.

98. Manitoba Free Press, January 1, 1883.

paper's change of policy occurred at the time when party lines were actually being formed in Manitoba. The provincial election of 1883 was contested on party lines for the first time in Manitoba's history, and the results - twenty Conservatives and ten Liberals were returned to office - indicated the growing strength of the Grits in the province.⁹⁹

Norquay realized that he would have to secure better terms from Ottawa or be driven from office. In 1886 he again journeyed to Ottawa to appeal to Macdonald for financial concessions. In this instance the federal government relented and agreed to several of the province's financial demands. Ottawa now offered Manitoba an annual grant of \$100,000 as compensation for Manitoba's public lands, a capital account based on a population of 125,000, a per capita grant of 80 cents on a population of 150,000, and a grant of 150,000 acres of land for university purposes.¹⁰⁰ This was certainly more than the federal government had ever offered previously,¹⁰¹ and Norquay consequently regarded it as a victory for the province. The provincial rights sentiment, however, had increased to the point where most of Manitoba's population and the opposition would only accept "a complete recognition of all their claims . . ." ¹⁰² The people of Manitoba had rapidly grown impatient and angry about the federal government's colonial attitude towards the province. That feeling was

99. Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 3, p. 142.

100. Ibid., pp. 118-9.

101. Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1874, 37 Vict., pp. IX and X; see also Report of the Delegates of the Executive Council of Manitoba to Ottawa, with regard to the claims of the Province upon the Dominion, 1879, (Winnipeg: Manitoba Free Press Steam Print, 1879), pp. 10, 12, 15-17, 52-53. In those years the federal government disregarded practically all of the province's claims.

102. Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 3, p. 119.

especially pronounced in the south-western region of Manitoba where the Ontario immigrants were desperately anxious to construct railway lines in order to improve their situation in the immigration and agricultural fields.¹⁰³ Only by selling their crops and settling their lands could they hope to be able to finance their municipalities and maintain their schools.¹⁰⁴ The farmers in that region had brought with them the Ontario tradition of organizing for political purposes,¹⁰⁵ and they quickly adopted that course in order to secure their goals. In 1883 the Manitoba and Northwest Farmers' Union was formed, and its Declaration of Rights revealed it to be a militant provincial rights organization.¹⁰⁶ Of course, there were a number of other provincial rights groups in the province at that point,¹⁰⁷ and they all added to Greenway's support.

Norquay realized that he would have to challenge the federal government's disallowance policy in order to survive politically. The election of 1886 brought that fact home to Norquay, since in it he saw the waning of his strength over the Liberals. The results revealed that twenty-one Conservatives had been returned to the house compared to fourteen Liberals.¹⁰⁸ In the session of 1886 the Manitoba legislature enacted railway charters for the Red River Valley, the Manitoba Central and the Emerson and North-Western railways.¹⁰⁹ When those charters were disallowed by Ottawa, Norquay had no alternative but to oppose that disallowance and proceed with the construction of Manitoba railways. Confronted

103. Wright, op. cit., pp. 65, 75, 78.

104. Ibid., p. 69.

105. Ibid., p. 54.

106. Manitoba Free Press, Dec. 20, 1883.

107. Some of the others were Winnipeg Reform Association, the Equal Rights Party, the Manitoba Rights Party, and numerous Provincial Rights associations. See Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 3, pp. 131-2.

108. Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 3, p. 142.

109. Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 3, p. 510. See also Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1886, 49 Vict., pp. 71-2.

by the Scylla of Manitoba's anti-disallowance sentiment and the Charybdis of Ottawa's disallowance policy, he could no longer manoeuvre his governmental ship between the two, since his vessel had grown all too frail under the attacks of Greenway and the Grits. "The Provincial Government resolved on the building of the Red River Valley Railway in defiance of the Dominion, and the people heartily applauded their determination." ¹¹⁰ Norquay ran into numerous financial and legal difficulties which made it appear unlikely that the line would ever be built; finally, however a contractor agreed to undertake the project, and all appeared to be well. ¹¹¹ Suddenly Norquay was unexpectedly attacked for "an irregularity in the financial transactions between the government and the Hudson's Bay Railway." ¹¹² Eventually Norquay was forced to resign - although he was later cleared of the charges - and he was succeeded by D. H. Harrison of Minnedosa. The new ministers in the Harrison government were required, according to the constitutional law of that time, to be re-elected on their acceptance of office. ¹¹³ The prospects confronting the Conservatives were far from bright, since the railway scandal and Norquay's inability to satisfy the provincial rights sentiment had considerably weakened their support throughout Manitoba.

One of the most crucial by-elections in the province's history took place that year in St. Francois-Xavier where Hon. Joseph Burke, a French Canadian who had been selected as Harrison's Provincial Secretary, was running for re-election. ¹¹⁴ His opponent in the predominantly French-speaking, Catholic district was F. H. Francis, an English-speaking,

110. Ibid., p. 148.

111. Ibid., pp. 151-3.

112. Morton, Manitoba, p. 221.

113. Ibid., p. 229.

114. Monseigneur Tache, Une Page de l'Histoire des Ecoles de Manitoba (St. Boniface: Le Manitoba, 1893), p. 63.

Presbyterian Liberal. Francis had only agreed to run in the election after he had received assurances from the Liberal leaders that they had no intention of passing laws prejudicial to the French-Canadian language or school rights, and those assurances formed one major plank in his campaign. ¹¹⁵ Joseph Burke, however, strove to capitalize on the rumour, which had circulated throughout the province, that the Liberals did indeed intend to infringe upon the rights of the French Canadians; he constantly warned the voters in St. Francois-Xavier in the following terms: "Allez vous mettre au pouvoir des hommes, qui, lorsqu'ils y seront, vous priveront de vos écoles et de votre langue?" ¹¹⁶ The campaign in the district, therefore, hinged upon the issue of whether or not the Liberals, if elected, would respect the institutional rights of the French Canadians, guaranteed by the Manitoba Act. According to one member of the Liberal party, James Fisher, there had never been any previous suggestion in the Liberal ranks of opposing the constitutional rights of the French Canadians: "Au contraire, les chefs Libéraux avaient toujours dit en public que ces institutions étaient protégées et que notre remède n'était que pour les abus et non pour l'abolition de ces institutions. On promettait que les dépenses occasionnées par l'usage de la langue Française seraient diminuées et l'octroi pour l'éducation augmenté." ¹¹⁷

The charges of Burke, however, appeared to harm Francis' chances of success in the district. Consequently Francis, Fisher and Joseph Martin

¹¹⁵. Ibid.

¹¹⁶. Ibid.

¹¹⁷. Ibid.

held two public assemblies in the district at which the latter individual solemnly vowed that the Liberal party had always intended to protect the rights of the French Canadians and would remain faithful to those intentions if they formed the provincial government. ¹¹⁸ Those two assemblies decided the election in Francis' favour. His was a very important victory, moreover, since it had taken place in an old Red River district, and along with the defeat of two more of Harrison's ministers, it "brought the weak administration to a swift and timely end." ¹¹⁹

Greenway was subsequently called upon to form an administration. In the course of doing so, he was required by Manitoba tradition and the pre-election promises to take a French-Canadian into his ministry. Greenway, accompanied by W. F. Alloway, visited Archbishop Taché in St. Boniface in order to get the latter's opinion as to which French Canadian he should select for the position. Taché was ill at the time and unable to receive guests, and therefore Greenway conveyed his messages to the Archbishop through Father Allard, the Vicar General of the Archdiocese of St. Boniface. ¹²⁰ Greenway announced that he wished to strengthen his government's French-Canadian support by taking a French-Canadian into his ministry; he also vowed that his government intended to maintain the separate schools of the Catholics, the official use of the French language and the French electoral divisions. ¹²¹ Father Allard conveyed these statements to Taché, who expressed his satisfaction with them, stated that he would place no obstacle in the new government's path and suggested that

118. Ibid., pp. 63-4.

119. Morton, Manitoba, p. 229.

120. Tache, op. cit., p. 65.

121. Ibid.

James Prendergast would make an able French-Canadian cabinet minister. 122

Greenway accepted Tache's suggestion and Prendergast later joined the administration as Provincial Secretary. As Morton states:

There seems no reason to doubt the sincerity of the pledges or the action of bringing in a representative of the French. The Liberals at that time were not committed to the elimination of the French from the government of the province or to any measure a French representative could not accept. The decisive factor was the narrow division of the legislature, in which the Liberals had been in a minority until the events of December and January. Even with the victories in the by-elections, they could be sure of controlling the House only with the support of the French members. 123

Following the formation of his government Greenway and his Attorney-General, Joseph Martin, proceeded to Ottawa to discuss the question of disallowance with the federal government. "Was the Goliath who had rebuffed Norquay so often to yield before the Davids of provincial rights?" 124 Actually the outcome of the issue had been decided before Greenway and Martin had even left for Ottawa. The federal government had decided in the spring of 1888 to put an end to the C.P.R.'s monopoly in the West. The reasons for that decision were the "completion of the Canadian Pacific, the mounting agitation in Manitoba, and, the decisive factor, the grain blockade of 1887 . . ." 125 While the final arrangements were actually made by Ottawa and the C.P.R., 126 the people of Manitoba felt that they had achieved a great victory over the Eastern

122. Ibid., p. 66.

123. Morton, Manitoba, p. 230.

124. Ibid.

125. Ibid.

126. Wright, op. cit., p. 78.

interests and that the architects of that victory were Greenway and Martin.

The Greenway government was dedicated to four primary objectives: railway building; "the enforcement of economy in the government service and expenditures; the increase of immigration into the province by all practicable means; a redistribution of the electoral districts on the old Grit principle of Ontario, the principle of representation by population coupled with introduction of manhood suffrage." ¹²⁷ In March, 1888, the Greenway administration passed a redistribution bill which largely accomplished the last of these objectives. ¹²⁸ The bill provided for a general representation by population, and thereby insured that for the next few years at least the new majority in the province, the English-speaking, Protestant majority, mainly from Ontario, would dominate the province's politics. Indeed, in the next election that majority expressed its thanks to Greenway for his "victory" over Ottawa and its basic agreement with the objectives of his government. Thirty-five Liberals were elected as opposed to only five opposition members, and there were only six French Canadians elected. ¹²⁹ In short,

the triumph of Grit democracy in Manitoba was complete. The old order, whether the dual system in language and schools with all it meant to the French, or the influence the old settlers had exercised through their communal constituencies and their own representatives led by John Norquay, now existed only at the discretion of the new majority, largely Ontario-bred and Protestant by creed. ¹³⁰

127. Morton, Manitoba, p. 231.

128. Statutes of Manitoba, 1888, 51 Vict., Ch. 3.

129. Morton, Manitoba, p. 232.

130. Ibid.

The "better terms" and disallowance agitation in Manitoba was responsible for several changes in the province's politico-cultural nature. As far as the French Canadians were concerned, the most critical changes were the transitions from parishes to municipalities and from non-party to party government. Both of those changes were naturally closely related, since they were both born of the same need: the desire to reform the province's financial situation. Municipalities were designed to accomplish that aim at the local level, while a party government - at least a party government devoted to the cause of provincial rights - was intended to force Ottawa into granting the province several concessions. The municipal institutions greatly weakened the parochial structure which was the basis of French-Canadian life, while the provincial rights party, the Liberals, contained an element - represented by the Free Press and the radical Ontarians in south-western Manitoba - which was distinctly hostile to their interests and threatened their politico-cultural rights. At this point, however, there was little reason for them to believe that the Liberals would not remain faithful to the vows, made before and after the by-election in St. Francois-Xavier, concerning the inviolability of French-Canadian institutional rights in Manitoba.

III. LINGUISTIC AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGES IN MANITOBA:

The politico-cultural institutions created in Manitoba in 1870 were basically modelled after those of Quebec. In another sense, however, some of them were continuations of the institutions which had existed in practice in the Red River Settlement, but they were now endowed with legal and constitutional status. Moreover, the institutions - the official languages in the courts and legislature, the provincial electoral divisions and the school system - guaranteed equal positions to the French and English elements because of their relatively equal numbers in Manitoba's population.¹³¹ The duality of the institutional structure in Manitoba at the time of its creation had been directly determined by the relative equilibrium of the province's population, and that duality was acceptable to the old Red River Settlers, because it had formed the basis of their society before provincehood; furthermore, harmony and goodwill existed between the old French and English settlers because of their common economic interests.¹³² The state of relative institutional equilibrium thus established, was, of course, a somewhat temporary one at best, since institutions are constantly undergoing some form of modification.¹³³ It was inevitable then for the province's institutional duality to change gradually over the years under normal circumstances. The circumstances of Manitoba's first three decades were

131. Benoit, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 283.

132. The Nor'Wester, Jan. 28, 1860; Macfarlane, op. cit., p. 46.

133. Hertzler, op. cit., p. 51.

far from normal, because they witnessed extensive cultural contacts between two diametrically different racial groups: the French and English Canadians. The institutional changes during those thirty years would be dominated by the results of that cultural contact. As Hertzler notes: "Racial or cultural contact greatly accelerates and complicates the processes of change continually going on in institutions. 134

The equilibrium of the province's population was quickly destroyed by the influx of English-speaking, Protestant immigrants from Ontario. 135 The termination of that equilibrium led to demands for institutional revision. Those demands had resulted in the abolition of the Legislative Council in 1876 on the grounds that Ontario did not possess such an institution, in the replacement of the parochial system of the French Canadians with a general municipal system by 1887 which was more to the liking of the Ontarians and in the substitution of representation by population and party politics for communal representation. All of those changes had been wrought as a result of the transformation of the province's population, and ~~they~~ all reflect the search for a new institutional equilibrium to take the place of that of 1870. 136 That struggle may, in fact, be said to have begun in 1871 when the province began enacting municipal legislation, and ~~it~~ continued to grow in strength as the number of English-speaking Protestants increased tremendously, while that of French-speaking, Catholics declined in comparison.

134. Ibid.

135. Morton, Manitoba, p. 150.

136. Hertzler, op. cit., p. 50. Once again the equilibrium of which I am speaking is a relative not an absolute quality. See ibid., "No culture is in a state of quietude and equilibrium."

"When cultures meet there is unavoidably some mixing as well as substitution and selection of institutional elements." ¹³⁷ In 1870 the insular society and culture of the French Canadians in Manitoba came into contact with the expansionist society and culture of the English Canadians from Ontario and the basic question facing the French Canadians was whether or not they would be able to maintain their most important institutions: their parishes, their language and their separate schools. The first institution had been greatly weakened by the emergence of municipalities in the province; the latter two, however, continued to flourish.

Two conditions are necessary if an institution is to carry on its essential functions. In the first place, enough people must continue to agree on its value and purpose to keep on supporting it, and secondly, it must be able to continue to recruit functionaries to take over its offices. Any change in the racial, religious, or ethnic character of a population, or a change in its sex or age composition is thus a potential institutional crisis. ¹³⁸

The parishes had languished because of a gradual decline in the number of potential functionaries: those functionaries were often involved in teaching and therefore the decline of the parishes meant a decline in the number of churches and schools. In other words, the weakening of the parochial structure had as its concomitant the weakening of the Catholic school system.

As far as the French Canadians were concerned then, the influx of Ontarians and Britons into Manitoba was actually an institutional

137. Ibid., pl. 5.

138. Aileen D. Ross, op. cit., pp. 282-3.

crisis. From 1870 to 1888 they were only slightly threatened. There had been, as has already been noted, a certain amount of agitation within and without the province against the French language schools in the years 1874-1877,¹³⁹ and an actual attempt to abolish the official use of French was made in 1879.¹⁴⁰ It is interesting to note, too, that both of those events occurred during peak periods of Ontario and Ontario-British immigration. Neither movement was successful, though and therefore they bear testimony to the fact that whatever equilibrium the province's population was then in search of, the proposed changes did not then form a part of it.¹⁴¹ They illustrated that at that time the "emotional attachments, long-established values, ingrained habits, group solidarities, and the inflexibility of institutional structure. . ."¹⁴² were too strong to allow major revision of the language or school laws to take place.¹⁴³ Two other factors were also at work here. The first was the fact that the province's population was primarily occupied with improving its financial situation; in short, the emphasis was almost entirely upon practical problems.¹⁴⁴ Secondly, as the two cultures and their respective institutions clashed, there was a certain degree of mutual modification or compromise.¹⁴⁵ Examples of that process may be seen in the eventual willingness of many French Canadians to accept the

139. Globe, Nov. 3, 1876; Manitoba Free Press, May 8, 1875.

140. Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1879, p. 46.

141. Hertzler, op. cit., p. 52.

142. Ibid.

143. The Act abolishing the official use of French had been the action of a caucus of English cabinet ministers, and it did not really represent the public opinion. Cauchon's disallowance of the Act did not cause a great uproar in the province.

144. Morton, Manitoba, p. 240.

145. Hertzler, op. cit., p. 50.

abolition of the Upper House, to accept the development of municipalities and the replacement of communal representation by population in a relatively placid manner,¹⁴⁶ and finally the English Canadians - for the most part - were generally willing to support various French-Canadian institutions.

Next to their parishes with all they meant to their religions, cultural and communal life, the French Canadians cherished their schools. They believed that if their schools disappeared their culture would be irreparably damaged.¹⁴⁷ In 1871 the provincial government passed an

'Act to establish a system of education in the Province.' By the said, Act, the Lieutenant-Governor in Council was empowered to appoint not less than ten, nor more than fourteen persons, to be a Board of Education for the province, of whom one-half were to be Protestants, and the other half Catholics; also one superintendent of Protestant schools and one superintendent of Catholic schools, who were joint secretaries of the board.¹⁴⁸

The Act also provided in section 13 that "the moneys appropriated to education by the Legislature were to be divided equally, one moiety thereof to the support of Protestant schools, the other moiety to the support of Catholic schools."¹⁴⁹ Finally, it was also decided that each of the twenty-four parishes in the province should constitute a school district.¹⁵⁰ The legislation bore clear traces of the area's

146. Le Metis, May 15, 1875.

147. Ibid., Feb. 1, 1877.

148. John S. Ewart, The Manitoba School Question (Toronto: The Copp, Clark Company Limited, 1894), p. 2.

149. Ibid., p. 3.

150. Michener Royal Commission, p. 6. See Also Statutes of Manitoba, 1871, 34 Vict., Ch. 12.

heritage from the Red River Settlement, of section 22 of the Manitoba Act ¹⁵¹ and of the school system operating in Quebec. There was not a great deal of controversy over the terms of this Act, and the first important amendment, which occurred in 1872, was mainly designed to alter the apportionment of the provincial grant. That change was made necessary by the beginning of the movement of Ontarians into the province and the resultant increase in the number of Protestant school districts. ¹⁵² Obviously under the original terms of the Act, if the Protestant districts increased while those of the Catholics did not, then the latter group would receive more money to operate each of its districts than the former did. Consequently in 1872 it was provided that the grant would be made on the basis of the aggregate of the average attendance. ¹⁵³ That legislation was passed without any criticism by the Catholics who recognized the justice in it and seemed ready to accept the revision as the logical result of the nature of immigration in the province.

Further amendment was found to be necessary in 1875 due to the continued growth of Protestantism in the province. The representation of the Roman Catholics on the Board of Education was reduced from twelve to nine members while the Protestant membership remained at twelve. ¹⁵⁴

151. See Appendix B.

152. Manitoba Gazette, July 12, 1871. At this date the number of Roman Catholic school districts had dropped from 12 to 10 and that of the Protestants had increased from 12 to 16. By the end of 1872 the Protestants had formed another five districts. See ibid., Dec. 31, 1872.

153. Statutes of Manitoba, 1873, 36 Vict., Ch. 22.

154. Statutes of Manitoba, 1875, 38 Vict., Ch. 27.

Moreover, the provincial grant was shared "in proportion to the number of children of schoolage in each group." ¹⁵⁵ The French-Canadian Catholics still found little reason to complain. Indeed, to all intents and purposes the French Canadians had apparently resigned themselves to such periodical revisions and learned to accept them as the inevitable result of their diminishing numbers in comparison to the English-Canadian Protestants. They had also learned to content themselves with the preservation of their rights to operate their own separate schools and to pay no taxes for the support of Protestant schools. ¹⁵⁶ In effect, then, it was the institution itself - the Roman Catholic separate school - that really mattered to the Catholics rather than the terms of its existence which they could do little about because of their minority position.

Manitoba's first Lieutenant Governor, Adams G. Archibald, had recognized during the period following the province's creation that only a spark was needed to set the province ablaze with the fires of racial hatred. Nineteen years later a "spark was to fall, a spark generated by the Jesuits Estates Act passed in 1888 by the Mercier government of Quebec." ¹⁵⁷ Mercier's appeal to the Pope in that matter had stimulated

155. Michener Royal Commission, p. 6.

156. Statutes of Manitoba, 1877, 40 Vict., Ch. 12.

157. Morton, Manitoba, p. 241. The Act "settled the long vexed question of the Canadian lands of the Jesuit Order, which had passed to the British Crown at the Conquest and to the province of Quebec at Confederation. The Act wisely directed the greater part of the monetary compensation voted to the Jesuit Order to the uses of education, but requested the Pope as head of the Church of Rome to arbitrate certain claims."

a violent reaction among certain Protestant elements in Ontario, particularly the Equal Rights Association formed by a young Conservative named Dalton McCarthy. McCarthy and his followers were worried about the growing influence of the French vote in federal and provincial politics, and in an attempt to curb that influence they were attempting to form a staunchly Protestant, anti-French party. The group had little chance of success as far as the Jesuits Estates Act was concerned: they called for the disallowance of the Act, and Macdonald had resorted to that action so many times in the past that opposition to it was great indeed.

McCarthy's failure in the Jesuit Estates matter was a partial success in that it wakened religious and racial feelings throughout the land. Realizing that Manitoba was largely made up of Ontarians - many of whom were Protestant and anti-French, since they had been exposed to either the early anti-French campaign of Brown or the latest one stimulated by McCarthy and the Toronto Evening Telegram¹⁵⁸ - McCarthy travelled there in an attempt to build up a strong Protestant, anti-French wing of the Conservative Party in Western Canada. His first attempt at molding that wing was in Portage la Prairie on August 5, 1889. There he made a speech in which he spoke in favour of the abolition of French language and school rights in Manitoba and the North-West.¹⁵⁹ Joseph Martin, the Attorney-General of the province, moved a vote of thanks for McCarthy's speech, and took the opportunity to express his own

158. Toronto Evening Telegram, August 2, 1888.

159. Manitoba Free Press, Aug. 7, 1889.

views on the subject. Martin subsequently attacked the continued use of the French language in the courts and legislature and the printing of public documents in French; he also stated that:

Since he had attained years at which he had been able to reason at all, one principle had commended itself to him. It was, he had thought, firmly established in the British constitution, that church and state were entirely separate; but in the separate schools we have the opposite of that . . . If we abolish this iniquity we must say education is to be simply education; and religion is to be for the family and the church. On that platform he asked the support of the rev. gentlemen and his constituents assembled. He proposed to take that stand in the House and stand or fall by it . . . 160

At first there was little reaction to those speeches, but then the Brandon Sun began a campaign in favour of the abolition of separate schools ¹⁶¹ and soon the province was in a furor over the question.

The abolition forces were especially strong in the south-western region where several local papers continually supported the position of McCarthy and Martin. ¹⁶² Such a reaction in that area was not entirely unexpected, since it was the centre of anti-Catholic feeling in the province. However, papers in other areas of the province, papers such as the Manitoba Free Press also raised the anti-French cry in earnest. ¹⁶³

Martin's proposal to abolish the official use of the French language and the Catholic schools apparently came as a complete surprise

160. Ibid.

161. Brandon Sun, May 16, May 30, 1889.

162. Chief among those papers were the Deloraine Times, the Marquette Reporter, and the Melita Enterprise. See for example, the Deloraine Times, March 6, 1890.

163. Manitoba Free Press, Aug. 6, 1889.

to Greenway.¹⁶⁴ The Premier was, in fact, furious at his lieutenant's actions. Within a short period of time, though, he found himself unable to ignore the forces in favour of abolition in the province, the forces residing mainly in his home region. Eventually

the Premier, Martin, and Smart, the ministers from the region in which the agitation had sprung up, determined to abolish the dual school system . . . The ministers, at the prompting of J. B. Somerset, Superintendent of Protestant schools, were genuinely concerned both with economy in administration of the schools and with an increase in the school grants. But the possibility that they sought a popular issue with which to recover the strength lost in the controversy over the Northern Pacific contract is not to be overlooked.¹⁶⁵

There was naturally a negative reaction to the government's announcement of its intention to abolish the French language and school rights. Numerous petitions were presented to the government on behalf of the minority.¹⁶⁶ There was also a considerable amount of opposition to the resolution by the Protestant clergymen who objected to the fact that all religion would be excluded from the new system.¹⁶⁷ It was largely the determined opposition of two Protestant leaders - Rev. Dr. J. M. King, Principal of Manitoba College and representative of the Presbyterian faith, and Bishop Robert Machray of the Anglican Church - which finally

164. Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Greenway Papers, Aug. 6, 1889.

165. Morton, Manitoba, p. 243. See Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1888, 52 Vict., pp. 5-7. Greenway and Martin were involved in a railway scandal in which it was alleged that Greenway had received funds for election purposes.

166. Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1890, 53 Vict., pp. 13-19

167. Ewart, op. cit., pp. 161-197.

caused the government to relent and allow religious exercises in the schools, "so the stigma of godlessness was avoided and a possible source of opposition to the changing of the school system removed." 168 The system proposed for Manitoba, nevertheless, resembled the American system of "National Schools" more than any Canadian or British model. It might be said that the system would be more of an expression of frontier democracy and American influence than the Ontario system, since the latter possessed a system of separate schools. Actually the difference was probably due to the fact that Manitoba was still basically a frontier community, whereas Ontario by 1860 had lost most of its frontier and was on the verge of possessing a thriving metropolis.

The final nature of the proposed legislation was also very revealing about the attitudes existing amongst the English-Canadian groups in favour of the new system. It appears as if there were two basic attitudes existing among those English Canadians: one attitude (the position of Machray and King) favoured the abolition of separate schools but the retention of basic religious exercises; the second attitude (the position of Martin and James Smart, the Minister of Public Works) believed that the schools should be absolutely non-denominational and secular. The difference, in fact, is basically that between the British and American wings of the Grit party. Both groups were also generally affected by the argument that the French schools were inefficient and received more money than they were entitled to. Those arguments were popularized by Smart, and although they possibly rested on a

168. Morton, Manitoba, p. 246.

false basis - since many of the Protestant districts' financial difficulties were largely the result of an inefficient municipal system ¹⁶⁹ - they did gain a wide degree of acceptance, particularly in the southwestern area which was not only economically distressed ¹⁷⁰ but also the centre of anti-French animosity.

The two wings of the Grit Party also desired to cultivate a single nationality in the province even though they did not agree on the exact nature of that nationality. Generally, though, it may be said that they desired "a uniform British-Canadian culture." ¹⁷¹ At any rate, it seems likely that the English-Canadian support for the abolition of the dual school system rested upon racial, religious, nationalistic and economic motives, and that very often there was an admixture of those motives.

Finally, in 1890 the Greenway government - despite the promises made by the Attorney-General and the Premier before and after the by-election of 1887 in St. Francois-Xavier, and despite the rights guaranteed to the French Canadians in the Manitoba Act and the British North America Act - proceeded to pass acts which abolished the official use of French and the dual system of denominational schools in Manitoba. The first Act stated:

Any statute or law to the contrary notwithstanding, the English language only shall be used in the records and journals of the House of Assembly for the Province of Manitoba, and in any pleadings or process in or issuing from any court in the Province of Manitoba. The Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba need only be printed and published in the English language. ¹⁷²

169. Alfred Thomas Phillips, "Development of Municipal Institutions in Manitoba to 1886" (Unpublished M.A. thesis for the University of Manitoba, 1948), pp. 63-4.

170. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

171. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

172. Statutes of Manitoba, 1890, 53 Vict., Ch. 14.

There were two educational acts passed. The first one, "An Act Respecting the Department of Education," provided for the creation of a Department of Education, consisting of an Executive Council appointed by the Lieutenant Governor; it also stated that there would be an Advisory Board of seven members which would prescribe the forms of religious exercises for the schools.¹⁷³ The "Act Respecting Public Schools" stated that:

Religious exercises in the Public Schools shall be conducted according to the regulations of the Advisory Board. The time for such religious exercises shall be just before the closing hour in the afternoon. In case the parent or guardian of any pupil notifies the teacher that he does not wish such pupil to attend such religious exercises, then such pupil shall be dismissed before such religious exercises take place . . .

The Public Schools shall be entirely non-sectarian and no religious exercises shall be allowed therein except as above provided. In cases where before the coming into force of this Act, Catholic school districts have been established . . ., such Catholic school districts shall . . . cease to exist, and all the assets of such Catholic school districts shall belong to, and all the liabilities thereof be paid by the public school district. All arrears of taxes levied under the authority of any such Catholic school board shall be . . . handed over to the municipal council to be collected on the behalf of the public school board.¹⁷⁴

The French Canadians were naturally violently opposed to these innovations, since they swept away two of their most cherished institutions. Almost at once the French Canadians in Manitoba began to seek

173. Ibid., 1890, 53 Vict., Ch. 37.

174. Ibid., 1890, 53 Vict., Ch. 38.

redress for what they regarded as a completely unjust act. It was impossible for the French Canadians to compromise in this matter. In the past they had always accepted reasonable institutional revision, but the abolition of their institutions and their replacement by institutions which they regarded as anathema was more than they could tolerate. That was especially so in regard to the school system; "French Canadians almost without exception have always believed that (a) schools should be denominational, (b) the school is above all an extension of the family, and (c) the school must be kept free of politics and must not be subject to the absolute control of the state." ¹⁷⁵ The influence of the state in the schools was unacceptable to the Catholics; worse yet was the fact that they felt the schools were really denominational, that they were continuations of the Protestant system existing prior to 1890. ¹⁷⁶ All of those feelings led to their attempts in the legal and political fields to have the legislation of 1890 ruled ultra vires of the Manitoba government or to have it disallowed. ¹⁷⁷ All of their attempts ended in failure. Their last hope was destroyed when the Conservative government of Sir Charles Tupper, ^{which} had vowed to enforce remedial legislation in Manitoba, was defeated in the election of 1896 by Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberals. ¹⁷⁸

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175. Charles Bilodeau, "Education in Quebec", University of Toronto Quarterly, XXVII, 3 (April, 1958), p. 404.
 176. Clark, ed., op. cit., p. 67.
 177. For a view of all of the legal and political manoeuvres of the French-Canadian minority, as well as a summary of the attitudes throughout Canada on the School Question, see Clark, The Manitoba School Question, or Ewart, The Manitoba School Question.
 178. Oscar Douglas Skelton, Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Vol. I., (London, Oxford University Press, 1921), pp. 471-85.

Laurier had promised that if he and his party formed the next X government, they would remedy the Manitoba School Question through diplomacy rather than force. In 1897 Laurier and Greenway were able to agree to a compromise on the matter, and new provincial legislation was passed in the same year which stated that:

In any school in towns and cities, where the average attendance of Roman Catholic children is forty or upwards, and in villages and rural districts where the average attendance of such children is twenty-five or upwards, the trustees shall, if required by a petition of parents or guardians of such number of Roman Catholic children, respectively, employ at least one duly certificated Roman Catholic teacher in such school . . .

When ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language, or any other language other than English, as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language, and English upon the bi-lingual system. 179

This compromise was somewhat reluctantly accepted by the Catholics of Manitoba and Quebec. "Only intervention by the papacy prevailed on the Catholic hierarchy of Quebec to desist from open opposition. The Greenway government found no difficulty in having the religious clauses accepted on the grounds that no privilege had been granted to a religious sect or a section of the population . . ." 180

Such, in brief, were the principal events of the Manitoba Schools Question. It is still necessary to analyze the nature of the institutional change in terms of the over-all transformative process which took place

179. Statutes of Manitoba, 1897, 60 Vict., Ch. 27. See also Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Greenway Papers, 9487.

180. Morton, Manitoba, p. 271.

in Manitoba during the period 1870-1890. For several years the schools and language question had not troubled provincial politics, and then quite suddenly it loomed into prominence. The reasons for the period of relative quietude seem to lie in the disorganized nature of Manitoban institutions, the built-in resistances to change in the institutions themselves, the concentration upon practical problems during the period and the mutual modifications by the French and English groups of each other's institutions. By 1889 the resistances to change were still present though in a somewhat muted form, since the old settlers had been deprived of several of their native institutions including the communal representation system which had previously guaranteed them an important role in the province's political affairs. The decline of the old settlers political power, however, is not sufficient reason for the abolition rather than the revision of the separate school system.

The Protestant schools had established a trend towards secularism in the province,¹⁸¹ and that institutional trend no doubt had increased over the years, creating among many groups the desire for strictly secular schools. Certainly the Free Press had advocated such schools for over a decade, but the difference now was that as the English-speaking, Protestant population had increased so too had its financial difficulties in the educational field. Consequently the argument, misguided though it may have been, that Catholic schools and the

181. Morton, Manitoba, p. 187.

separate school system were causing the financial difficulties developed in rural Manitoba. Secularism, therefore, appealed to some on emotional grounds and to others on practical or economic grounds.

The racial and religious bitterness which federal politicians were exploiting in such matters as the hanging of Louis Riel and the Jesuit Estates Act in the late 1880's was another dominant factor in this regard. When Dalton McCarthy brought that unfortunate trend into the province with him and exploited the anti-French feelings of the Ontarians in south-western Manitoba, he destroyed the mood of mutual modification and compromise which had existed in the past. Under such circumstances it was impossible for the Manitoba School Question to be resolved peacefully or in a compromising manner; racial and religious hatred made the French and English Canadians recognize once more their "social difference and distance. . ." ¹⁸² Such a recognition resulted in a tremendous acceleration of the process of change and caused the English Canadians to demand total change or abolition of the old system rather than mere revision or compromise which they had agreed to in the past.

Perhaps the most telling factors of all, though, were the simple facts of the absolute numerical domination of French Canadians by English Canadians, consisting principally of Ontarians who were distinctly hostile towards French-Canadian privileges because of their tutelage under people such as Brown or McCarthy. "The chief problem of

182. Hertzler, op. cit., p. 51.

a declining population is to maintain an efficiently functioning institutional system." 183 In the first thirty years of Manitoba's history the French and English Canadians alike faced that problem. They were involved in a cultural clash from which they hoped to salvage their most precious institutions. For both groups their schools and their religions were an integral part of their existence, and neither one of them would compromise on those matters with the other, if compromise meant adopting the other's system. 184 Religious and educational institutions, along with the family, are after all responsible for "maintaining and passing down the core of each cultural heritage. . ." 185 and consequently compromise was impossible. The position of the French Canadians, however, was all the more precarious because of their dominance by a group which opposed their rights.

The transformation of the province's population made it appear as if the French Canadians possessed "too few people to support even the basic institutions." 186 As a result, all of the arguments against the maintenance of a dual system of separate schools became valid to some extent in the minds of the English Canadians, especially among those who were anti-French: if there were so few French Canadians, why did they deserve a separate system? How could their schools be anything but inefficient and costly? and finally why should they be allowed to prevent the formation of a single British-Canadian nationality?

183. Ross, op. cit., p. 294.

184. Ibid.

185. Ibid.,

186. Ibid.

The English Canadians seldom bothered to try and prove such charges, because they felt the evidence of numbers was proof enough. Like the other major transformations which occurred in Manitoba during these years, while the transformation of Manitoba's educational institutions "was precipitated suddenly, the factors which underlay the change were long standing, and nearly all arose out of the changing character of the population which in turn was a result of immigration, mostly from Ontario."¹⁸⁷ The significance of the Ontario immigration, however, was that that which had occurred in the 1870's had been schooled in the anti-French sentiment of Brown and the Grits, while that of the 1880's was inevitably influenced by the revival of that sentiment by Ontario papers such as the Toronto Telegram and politicians such as McCarthy. Finally, in the late 1880's McCarthy was able to play upon that anti-French feeling, to incite the Protestant, English-speaking majority to sweep away the language and educational rights of the French-Canadian minority. Those two factors - majority of numbers and distinct anti-French attitudes - combined to deprive the French Canadians in Manitoba of basic rights which they had been guaranteed in 1870.

187. Macfarlane, op. cit., p. 52.

CONCLUSION

In 1870 Manitoba was legally created by the Manitoba Act in the image of Quebec. The decision to model the province's constitution and institutional structure upon that of the latter province stemmed from a recognition on the part of the French element in the Red River region that English-Canadian immigration in the future might upset the equilibrium of French and English numbers in the area and threaten politico-cultural rights which they now possessed. Consequently they requested that Manitoba's constitution should contain clauses legalizing the bilingual and bicultural character which the province was inheriting from the Red River Settlement. Their requests were granted; the constitution provided both the French and English languages with legal status, and it also provided for the existence of Catholic and Protestant denominational schools in the province. Manitoba began its existence as a bilingual and bicultural province.

Immigration in the 1870's and 1880's resulted in a cultural clash between French and English Canadians in the province. That clash naturally entailed some degree of institutional revision, and generally the French Canadians - who had rapidly become a minority group in the province - were forced to compromise on institutional matters with the English-speaking, Protestant newcomers, primarily from Ontario. That fact was clearly in evidence as they acquiesced in the abolition of the

Leaf 166 omitted in page numbering.

Upper House, originally intended to protect their rights, in the substitution of a municipal form of government for their own parochial structure and finally in the replacement of their communal system of politics at the provincial level by party politics. All of those changes were basically secular in nature, although the victory of the municipalities over parishes seriously weakened the spiritual fabric of French-Canadian life. In 1889, however, the abolition of the official use of the French language and of the dual system of separate, denominational schools were proposed. The French Canadians struggled desperately against the proposals, since they would deprive them of two institutions which were among their most cherished or sacred because of their service in maintaining and passing down the core of their cultural heritage.¹ In short, the English Canadians were asking the French Canadians to compromise in two areas in which they found it impossible to do so. Furthermore, all of the other institutional revisions had been primarily based upon economic reasons: "better terms" and "provincial rights" had been the fundamental causes for the abolition of the second chamber, for the municipalization of the province, and for the creation of provincial political parties, but in the educational field the French Canadians were unwilling to believe the charges of the English Canadians that their Catholic schools were inefficient and overly expensive. The French Canadians felt that the actual reasons for the proposed abolition were racial and religious in character, and

1. Ross, op. cit., p. 294.

indeed the pronouncements of Martin, McCarthy and countless others would seem to support their feelings to a great extent.

The decisive factor in the School Question as in the earlier instances of institutional revision was the numerical dominance of the English Canadians.² There was simply no way in which the French Canadians could stop the passage of the acts for abolition. Furthermore, later events revealed that neither the courts nor the federal government would remedy their situation. It is questionable, of course, whether the English-Canadian majority needed to go as far as it did in the matters of the French language and school rights, but then it must be remembered that the issue was being decided in a climate in which the feelings of racialism, nationalism and imperialism were running rampant. Such a situation unavoidably confused the process of institutional revision. At any rate, while the English-Canadian reasons for the abolition of those rights were racial, religious, economic and nationalistic, all of those reasons were related to one basic fact: it simply appeared to them that there were not enough French Canadians in Manitoba to support, operate or necessitate the continued existence of their language or of provincial aid to their schools.

The abolition of the official use of the French language and the discontinuance of provincial aid to Catholic schools in Manitoba were two serious blows to the French-Canadian culture in the province, since they struck at the status of two of their most sacred institutions.

2. There is also, of course, the large question concerning the legality or illegality of the province's legislation. That question, however, is beyond the scope of this paper.

Manitoba's constitution meanwhile had been rewritten. Its bilingual and bicultural clauses had, to all intents and purposes, been written out; the English language and Anglo-Saxon culture prevailed in the courts and the schools, and Manitoba would henceforth be a unilingual and unicultural province in the image of Ontario. Perhaps, in fact, it might be said that Manitoba was actually becoming a province in the image of the United States, since the new educational legislation had deprived it even of the separate schools which existed in Ontario and given it a National School system on American lines.

The institutional transformation of Manitoba was largely a result of the tremendous physical expansion of Ontarians into the province. Ontario's expansion had been stimulated by Brown and the Clear Grits and maintained by the natural economic desires of the Ontario farming community, and Quebec - because of the exclusive and isolationist nature of her nationalism - was largely unwilling and unable to match Ontario's efforts in that regard. When the Ontarians transformed Manitoba's population, institutional revision became inevitable. During the early period of Manitoba's history, revision took place in a relatively harmonious, compromising manner. However, the revival of racial and religious bitterness in federal politics in the 1880's increased the anti-French feelings which Brown, the Grits, and the Orange Lodge had cultivated among Ontarians in Manitoba, and consequently the course of institutional revision took an unfortunate turn for French Canadians in the province as it became embroiled in racial and religious controversy. The mood of compromise was shattered, and

abolition rather than revision became the order of the day as the French Canadians were deprived of language and school rights which they had possessed ever since 1870. The French Canadians were unable to maintain those rights in the face of an aroused and hostile English-Canadian majority. Moreover, their failure had important effects upon the nature of Canadian federalism as a whole. The French Canadians throughout the Dominion had observed closely the events of 1890-1896 in Manitoba, and the lesson of 1896 was - as far as they were concerned - strikingly clear: the French-Canadian minority outside of Quebec was simply unable to preserve its politico-cultural institutions because of the majoritarian nature of Canadian democracy. It appeared then as if the French-Canadian nationalists in Quebec had been correct: the French-Canadian culture could only be sure of its rights by isolating itself behind the protective provincial boundaries of Quebec. Of course, it must also be remembered that it was originally such thinking which had partly caused the English-Canadian transformation of Manitoba's population and her French-Canadian politico-cultural institutions by helping to prevent the emigration of French Canadians to Manitoba, the emigration which had been needed to offset the flood of English-speaking, Protestant Ontarians into the province.

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APPENDIX A

I. The First "LIST OF RIGHTS."¹

1. That the people have the right to elect their own Legislature.
2. That the Legislature have the power to pass all laws local to the Territory over the veto of the Executive by a two-thirds vote.
3. That no act of the Dominion Parliament (local to the Territory) be binding on the people until sanctioned by the Legislature of the Territory.
4. That all Sheriffs, Magistrates, Constables, School Commissioners etc., be elected by the people.
5. A free Homestead and pre-emption Land law.
6. That a portion of the public lands be appropriated to the benefit of Schools the building of Bridges, - Roads and Public Buildings.
7. That it be guaranteed to connect Winnipeg by rail with the nearest line of Railroad within a term of five years; the land grant to be subject to the Local Legislature.
8. That for the term of four years all Military, Civil and Municipal expenses be paid out of the Dominion funds.
9. That the Military be composed of the inhabitants now existing in the Territory.
10. That the English and French languages be common in the Legislature and Courts and that all Public Documents and Acts of the Legislature be published in both languages.
11. That the Judge of the Supreme Court speak the English and French languages.
12. That Treaties be concluded and ratified between the Dominion Government and the several tribes of Indians in the Territory to ensure peace on the frontier.
13. That we have a fair and full representation in the Canadian Parliament.
14. That all privileges, customs and usages existing at the time of the transfer be respected.

1. Begg, Journal, pp. 209-10.

II. The Second "LIST OF RIGHTS." ¹

1. That in view of the present exceptional position of the North-West, duties upon goods imported into the country, shall continue as at present (except in the case of spirituous liquors) for three years, and for such further time as may elapse until there be uninterrupted railroad communication between Red River Settlement and St. Paul, and also steam communication between Red River Settlement and Lake Superior.

2. As long as this country remains a Territory in the Dominion of Canada, there shall be no direct taxation except such as may be imposed by the Local Legislatures for Municipal or other Local purposes.

3. During the time this country remains a Territory in the Dominion of Canada, all military, civil, and other public expenses in connection with the general government of the country, - or that have hitherto been borne by the public funds of the Settlement, beyond the receipt of the above mentioned duties, shall be met by the Dominion of Canada.

4. That while the burden of public expense in this country is borne by Canada, the country be governed under a Lieutenant-Governor from Canada, and a Legislature, three members of whom being heads of departments of the Government, shall be nominated by the Governor General of Canada.

5. That after the expiration of this exceptional period, the country shall be governed, as regards its local affairs, as the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec are now governed, by Legislature elected by the people, and a Ministry responsible to it, under a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Governor General of Canada.

6. That there shall be no interference by the Dominion Parliament in the Local affairs of this Territory other than is allowed in any of the Provinces in the Confederation; and that this Territory shall have and enjoy in all respects, the same privileges, advantages and aids in meeting the public expenses of this Territory as the Confederated provinces have and enjoy.

7. That while the North-West remains a Territory, the Legislature have a right to pass all laws local to the Territory, over the veto of the Lieutenant-Governor, by a two-third vote.

8. A Homestead and Pre-emption Law.

9. That while the North-West remains a Territory, the sum of \$25,000 (Twenty-five thousand dollars) a year be appropriated for schools, roads and bridges.

1. Alexander Begg, The Creation of Manitoba (Toronto, 1871), pp. 255-59, and The New Nation, February 4 and 11, 1870.

10. That all public buildings be at the cost of the Dominion Treasury.
11. That there shall be guaranteed uninterrupted steam communication to Lake Superior within five years, and also the establishment by rail of a connection with the American railway as soon as it reaches the International Line.
12. That the English and French language be common in the Legislature and Courts, and that all public documents and Acts of the Legislature be published in both languages.
13. That the Judge of the Supreme Court speak the French and English language.
14. That treaties be concluded between the Dominion and the several Indian tribes of the country, as soon as possible.
15. That until the population of the country entitles us to more, we have four representatives in the Canadian Parliament - one in the Senate and three in the Legislative Assembly.
16. That all properties, rights and privileges, as thitherto enjoyed by us, be respected and the recognition and arrangement of local customs, usages and privileges, be made under the control of the Local Legislature.
17. That the Local Legislature of this Territory have full control of all the public land inside a circumference, having Upper Fort Garry as the centre, and that the radii of this circumference, be the number of miles that the American line is distant from Fort Garry.
18. That every man in this country (except uncivilized and unsettled Indians) who has attained the age of twenty-one years, and every British subject, a stranger to this Territory, who has resided three years in the country, and is a householder, shall have a right to vote at the election of a member to serve in the Legislature of the country and in the Dominion Parliament; and every foreign subject, other than a British subject, who has resided the same length of time in the country, and is a householder, shall have the same right to vote, on condition of his taking the oath of allegiance - it being understood that this article be subject to amendment exclusively by the Local Legislature.
19. That the North-West Territory shall never be held liable for any portion of the £300,000 paid to the Hudson Bay Company, or for any portion of the public debt of Canada, as it stands at the time of our entering the Confederation; and if, thereafter we be called upon to assume our share of the said public debt, we consent only on condition that we first be allowed the amount for which we shall be held liable.

"By order.

(Signed) "W. Coldwell,

"Lu. Schmidt.

"Secretaries to the Convention."

Donald Smith.

Ottawa, 12th April 1870.

III. The Third "LIST OF RIGHTS." ¹

1. That the territories heretofore known as Rupert's Land and North-West shall not enter into the Confederation, except as a province, to be settled and known as the Province of Assiniboia, and with all the rights and privileges common to the different Provinces of the Dominion.

2. That we have two representatives in the Senate, and four in the House of Commons of Canada, until such time as an increase of population entitled the province to a greater representation.

3. That the Province of Assiniboia shall not be held liable at any time, for any portion of the public debt of the Dominion contracted before the date the said province shall have entered the Confederation, unless the said province shall have first received from the Dominion the full amount for which the said province is to be held liable.

4. That the sum of \$80,000 be paid annually by the Dominion Government to the Legislature of the province.

5. That all properties, rights and privileges enjoyed by the people of this province up to the date of our entering into the Confederation be respected, and that the arrangement and confirmation of all customs, usages and privileges be left exclusively to the Local Legislature.

6. That during the term of five years the Province of Assiniboia shall not be subject to any direct taxation, except such as might be imposed by the Local Legislature for municipal or local purposes.

7. That a sum equal to eighty cents per head of the population of this province be paid annually by the Canadian Government to the Local Legislature of the said province, until such time as the said population shall have increased to 600,000.

8. That the Local Legislature shall have the right to determine the qualifications of members to represent this province in the Parliament of Canada, and in the Local Legislature.

9. That in this province, with the exception of uncivilized and unsettled Indians, every male native citizen who has attained the age of twenty-one years; and every foreigner being a British subject, who has attained the same, and who has resided three years in the Province, and is a householder; and every foreigner, other than a British subject, who has resided here during the same period, being a householder, and having taken the oath of allegiance shall be entitled to vote at the

1. Begg, Journal, pp. 515-19, and Ewart, The Manitoba School Question, pp. 346-67.

election of members for the Local Legislature and for the Canadian Parliament. It being understood that this article be subject to amendment exclusively by the Local Legislature.

10. That the bargain of the Hudson's Bay Company in respect to the transfer of the government of this country to the Dominion of Canada be annulled so far as it interferes with the people of Assiniboia, and so far as it would affect our future relations with Canada.

11. That the Local Legislature of the Province of Assiniboia shall have full control over all the public lands of the province, and the right to annul all acts or arrangements made or entered into with reference to the public lands of Rupert's Land and the North-West, now called the Province of Assiniboia.

12. That the Government of Canada appoint a commission of engineers to explore the various districts of the Province of Assiniboia, and to lay before the Local Legislature a report of the mineral wealth of the province within five years from the date of entering into confederation.

13. That treaties be concluded between Canada and the different Indian tribes of the Province of Assiniboia, by and with the advice and cooperation of the Local Legislature of this province.

14. That an uninterrupted steam communication from Lake Superior to Fort Garry be guaranteed to be completed within the space of five years.

15. That all public buildings, bridges, roads, and other public works, be at the cost of the Dominion Treasury.

16. That the English and French languages be common in the Legislature, and in the courts, and that all public documents, as well as all Acts of the Legislature, be published in both languages.

17. That whereas the French and English-speaking people of Assiniboia are so equally divided in numbers, yet so united in their interests, and so connected by commerce, family connections, and other political and social relations, that it has happily been found impossible to bring them into hostile collision, although repeated attempts have been made by designing strangers, for reasons known to themselves, to bring about so ruinous and disastrous an event.

And whereas, after all the trouble and apparent dissensions of the past, the result of misunderstanding among themselves, they have, as soon as the evil agencies referred to above were removed, become as united and friendly as ever; therefore, as a means to strengthen this union and friendly feeling among all classes, we deem it expedient and advisable;

That the Lieutenant-Governor, who may be appointed for the Province of Assiniboia, should be familiar with both the English and French languages.

18. That the Judge of the Superior Court speak the English and French languages.

19. That all debts contracted by the Provisional Government of the Territory of the North-West, now called Assiniboia, in consequence of the illegal and inconsiderate measures adopted by Canadian officials to bring about a civil war in our midst, be paid out of the Dominion Treasury, and that none of the members of the Provisional Government, or any of those acting under them, be in any way held liable, or responsible, with regard to the movement, or any of the actions which led to the present negotiations.

20. That in view of the present exceptional position of Assiniboia, duties upon goods imported into the province shall, except in the case of spirituous liquors, continue as at present for at least three years from the date of our entering the confederation, and for such further time as may elapse until there be uninterrupted railroad communication between Winnipeg and St. Paul, and also steam communication between Winnipeg and Lake Superior.

IV. The Fourth "LIST OF RIGHTS." ¹

1. That the territory of the North-West enter into Confederation of the Dominion of Canada as a province, with all the privileges common with all the different Provinces in the Dominion. That this province be governed:

- (1) By a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Governor-General of Canada.
- (2) By a Senate.
- (3) By a Legislature chosen by the people with a responsible Ministry.

2. That, until such time as the increase of population in this country entitles us to a greater number, we have two representatives in the Senate, and four in the House of Commons of Canada.

3. That in entering the Confederation, the Province of the North-West be completely free from the public debt of Canada; and if called upon to assume a part of the said debt of Canada, that it be only after having received from Canada the same amount for which the said Province of the North-West should be held responsible.

4. That the annual sum of \$80,000 be allotted by the Dominion of Canada to the Legislature of the Provinces of the North-West.

5. That all properties, rights and privileges enjoyed by us up to this day be respected, and that the recognition and settlement of customs, usages and privileges be left exclusively to the decision of the Local Legislature.

6. That this country be submitted to no direct taxation except such as may be imposed by the Local Legislature for municipal or other local purposes.

7. That the schools be separate and that the public money for schools be distributed among the different religious denominations in proportion to their respective population according to the system of the Province of Quebec.

8. That the determination of the qualifications of members for the Parliament of the Provinces, or for the Parliament of Canada be left to the Local Legislature.

1. Ewart, op. cit., pp. 364-67.

9. That in this province, with the exception of the Indians who are neither civilized, nor settled, every man having attained the age of twenty-one years, and every foreigner being a British subject, after having resided three years in this country, and being possessed of a house, be entitled to vote at the elections for the members of the Local Legislature, and of the Canadian Parliament, and that every foreigner other than a British subject, having resided here during the same period, and being proprietor of a house, be likewise entitled to vote on condition of taking the oath of allegiance.

10. That the bargain of the Hudson's Bay Company with respect to the transfer of government of this country to the Dominion of Canada, never have in any case an effect prejudicial to the rights of the North-West.

11. That the Local Legislature of this province have full control over all the lands of the North-West.

12. That a commission of engineers, appointed by Canada, explore the various districts of the North-West, and lay before the Local Legislature, within the space of five years, a report of the minerals of the country.

13. That treaties be concluded between Canada and the different Indian tribes of the North-West, at the request and with the co-operation of the Local Legislature.

14. That an uninterrupted steam communication from Lake Superior to Fort Garry be guaranteed to be completed within the space of five years, as well as the construction of a railroad connecting the American railway, as soon as the latter reaches the international boundary.

15. That all public buildings and constructions be at the cost of the Canadian exchequer.

16. That both the English and French languages be common in the Legislature, and in the courts; and that all public documents, as well as the Acts of the Legislature, be published in both languages.

17. That the Lieutenant-Governor to be appointed for the Province of the North-West be familiar with both the English and French languages.

18. That the Judge of the Supreme Court speak the English and French languages.

19. That the debts contracted by the Provisional Government of the Territory of the North-West, now called Assiniboia, in consequence of the illegal and inconsiderate measures adopted by Canadian officials to bring about a civil war in our midst, be paid out of the Dominion

Treasury, and that none of the members of the Provisional Government or any of those acting under them, be in any way held liable, or responsible, with regard to the movement, or any of the actions which led to the present negotiations.

20. That in view of the present exceptional position of Assiniboia, duties upon goods imported into the province shall, except in the case of spirituous liquors, continue as at present for at least three years from the date of our entering the confederation, and for such further time as may elapse until there be uninterrupted railroad communication between Winnipeg and St. Paul, and also steam communication between Winnipeg and Lake Superior.

APPENDIX B

THE MANITOBA ACT

(33 Victoriae, c. 3.)

An Act to amend and continue the Act 32 and 33 Victoria, chapter 3; and to establish and provide for the Government of Manitoba.

(Assented to May 12th, 1870.)

Whereas it is probable that Her Majesty, The Queen may, pursuant to the British North America Act, 1867, be pleased to admit Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union or Dominion of Canada, before the next Session of the Parliament of Canada:

And whereas it is expedient to prepare for the transfer of the said Territories to the Government of Canada at the time appointed by the Queen for such admission:

And whereas it is expedient also to provide for the organization of part of the said Territories as a province, and for the establishment of a Government therefor, and to make provision for the Civil Government of the remaining part of the said Territories, not included within the limits of the Province:

Therefore Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and the House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

1. On, from and after the day upon which the Queen, by and with the advice and consent of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, under the authority of the 146th Section of the British North America Act, 1867, shall by Order in Council in that behalf, admit Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territories into the Union or Dominion of Canada, there shall be formed out of the same a province, which shall be one of the Provinces of the Dominion of Canada, and which shall be called the Province of Manitoba, and be bounded as follows: that is to say, commencing at the point where the meridian of ninety-six degrees west longitude from Greenwich intersects the parallel of forty-nine degrees north latitude, - thence due west along the said parallel of forty-nine degrees north latitude (which forms a portion of the boundary line between the United States of America and the said North-Western Territory) to the meridian of ninety-nine degrees of west longitude, - thence due north along the said meridian of ninety-nine degrees west longitude to the intersection of the same with the parallel of fifty degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, - thence due east along the said parallel of fifty degrees and thirty minutes north latitude to its intersection with the before-mentioned meridian of ninety-six degrees west longitude, - thence due south along the said meridian of ninety-six degrees west longitude to the place of beginning.

2. On, from and after the said day on which the order of the Queen in Council shall take effect as aforesaid, the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, shall, except those parts thereof which are in terms made, or, by reasonable intendment may be held to be specially applicable to or only to affect one or more, but not the whole of the Provinces now composing the Dominion, and except so far as the same may be varied by this Act, be applicable to the Province of Manitoba, in the same way, and to the like extent as they apply to the several Provinces of Canada, and as if the Province of Manitoba had been one of the provinces originally united by the said act.

3. The said Province shall be represented in the Senate of Canada by two Members, until it shall have, according to decennial census, a population of fifty thousand souls, and from thenceforth it shall be represented therein by three Members, until it shall have, according to decennial census, a population of seventy-five thousand souls, and from thenceforth it shall be represented therein by four Members.

4. The said Province shall be represented, in the first instance, in the House of Commons in Canada, by four Members and for that purpose shall be divided by proclamation of the Governor General, into four Electoral Districts each of which shall be represented by one Member: Provided that on the completion of the census in the year 1881, and of each decennial census afterwards the representation of the said Province shall be readjusted according to the provisions of the fifty-first section of the British North America Act, 1867.

5. Until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, the qualifications of voters at Elections of Members of the House of Commons shall be the same as for the Legislative Assembly hereinafter mentioned: And no person shall be qualified to be elected, or to sit and vote as a Member for an Electoral District, unless he is a duly qualified voter within the said Province.

6. For the said Province there shall be an Officer styled the Lieutenant Governor, appointed by the Governor General in Council by instrument under the Great Seal of Canada.

7. The Executive Council of the Province shall be composed of such persons, and under such designations, as the Lieutenant Governor shall, from time to time think fit: and, in the first instance, of not more than five persons.

8. Unless and until the Executive Government of the Province otherwise directs, the seat of Government of the same shall be at Fort Garry, or within one mile thereof.

9. There shall be a Legislature for the Province, consisting of the Lieutenant Governor, and of two Houses, styled respectively, the Legislative Council of Manitoba, and the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.

10. The Legislative Council shall, in the first instance, be composed of seven Members, and after the expiration of four years from the time of the first appointment of such seven Members, may be increased to not more than twelve Members. Every member of the Legislative Council shall be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in the Queen's name, by Instrument under the Great Seal of Manitoba, and shall hold office for the term of his life, unless and until the Legislature of Manitoba otherwise provides under the British North America Act, 1867.

11. The Lieutenant-Governor may, from time to time, by Instrument under the Great Seal, appoint a member of the Legislative Council to be Speaker thereof, and may remove him and appoint another in his stead.

12. Until the Legislature of the Province otherwise provides, the presence of a majority of the whole number of the Legislative Council, including the Speaker shall be necessary to constitute a meeting for the exercise of its powers.

13. Questions arising in the Legislative Council shall be decided by a majority of voices, and the Speaker shall in all cases have a vote and when the voices are equal the decisions shall be deemed to be in the negative.

14. The Legislative Assembly shall be composed of twenty-four members to be elected to represent the Electoral Divisions into which the said Province may be divided by the Lieutenant-Governor as hereinafter mentioned.

15. The presence of a majority of the Members of the Legislative Assembly shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the House for the exercise of its powers; and for that purpose the Speaker shall be recognized as a Member.

16. The Lieutenant-Governor shall (within six months of the date of the Order of Her Majesty in Council admitting Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union, by Proclamation under the Great Seal, divide the said Province into twenty-four Electoral Divisions, due regard being had to existing Local Divisions and population.

17. Every male person shall be entitled to vote for a Member, to serve in the Legislative Assembly for any Electoral Division, who is qualified as following, that is if he is: -

- (1) Of the full age of twenty-one years, and not subject to any legal incapacity:
- (2) A subject of Her Majesty by birth or naturalization:
- (3) And a bona fide householder within the Electoral Division, at the date of the Writ of Election for the same, and has been a bona fide householder for one year next before the said date; or,

- (4) If, being, of the full age of twenty-one years and not subject to any legal incapacity and a subject of Her Majesty by birth or naturalization, he was, at the time within twelve months prior to the passing of this Act, and (though in the interim temporarily absent) is at a time of such election a bona fide householder, and was resident within the Electoral Division at the date of the Writ of Election for the same:

But this fourth sub-section shall apply only to the first election to be held under this Act for Members to serve in the Legislative Assembly aforesaid.

18. For the first election of Members to serve in the Legislative Assembly, and until the Legislature of the Province otherwise provides, the Lieutenant-Governor shall cause writs to be issued, by such person in such form and addressed to such Returning Officers as he thinks fit; and for the first election, and until the Legislature of the province otherwise provides, the Lieutenant Governor shall, by proclamation, prescribe and declare the oaths to be taken by voters, the powers and duties of Returning and Deputy Returning Officers, the proceedings to be observed at such election, and the period during which such election may be continued, and such other provisions in respect to such first election as he may think fit.

19. Every Legislative Assembly shall continue for four years from the date of the return of the writs for returning the same (subject nevertheless to being sooner dissolved by the Lieutenant-Governor), and no longer; and the first Session thereof shall be called at such time as the Lieutenant-Governor shall appoint.

20. There shall be a Session of the Legislature once at least in every year, so that twelve months shall not intervene between the last sitting of the Legislature in one Session and its first sitting in the next Session.

21. The following provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, respecting the House of Commons of Canada, shall extend and apply to the Legislative Assembly, that is to say: - Provisions relating to the election of a Speaker, originally, and on vacancies, - the duties of the Speaker - the absence of the Speaker and the mode of voting, as if those provisions were here re-enacted and made applicable in terms to the Legislative Assembly.

22. In and for the Province, the said Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to Education subject and according to the following provisions: -

- (1) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any class of persons have by Law or practice in the Province at the Union:
- (2) An appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any Act or decision of the Legislature of the Province or of any Provincial Authority, affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to Education:
- (3) In case any such Provincial Law, as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section, is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council on any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial Authority on that behalf then, and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section, and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section.

23. Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of the Legislature, and both those languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses: and either of those languages may be used by any person or in any pleading or Process, in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under the British North America Act, 1867, or in or from all or any of the Courts of the Province. The Acts of the Legislature shall be printed and published in both those languages.

24. Inasmuch as the Province is not in debt, the said Province shall be entitled to be paid and to receive from the Government of Canada by half-yearly payments in advance, interest at the rate of five per centum per annum on the sum of four hundred and seventy-two thousand and ninety dollars.

25. The sum of thirty thousand dollars shall be paid yearly by Canada to the Province, for the support of its Government and Legislature, and an annual grant in aid of the said Province shall be made, equal to eighty cents per head of the population estimated at seventeen thousand souls; and such grant of eighty cents per head shall be augmented in proportion to the increase of population, as may be shown by the census that shall be taken thereof in the year one thousand one hundred and eighty-one, and by each subsequent decennial census, until its population amounts to four hundred thousand souls, at which amount such grant shall remain thereafter, and such sum shall be in full settlement of all future demands on Canada, and shall be paid half-yearly, in advance, to the said Province.

26. Canada will assume and defray the charges for the following services: -

- (1) Salary of the Lieutenant-Governor.
- (2) Salaries and allowances of the Judges of the Superior and District or County Courts.
- (3) Charges in respect of the Department of the Customs.
- (4) Postal Department.
- (5) Protection of Fisheries.
- (6) Militia.
- (7) Geographical Survey.
- (8) The Penitentiary.
- (9) And such further changes as may be incident to any connected with the services which, by the British North America Act, 1867, appertain to the General Government, and as are or may be allowed to the other Provinces.

27. The Customs duties now by law chargeable in Rupert's Land, shall be continued without increase for the period of three years from and after the passing of this Act, and the proceeds of such duties shall form part of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada.

28. Such provisions of the Customs Laws of Canada (other than such as prescribe the rate of duties payable) as may be from time to time declared by the Governor-General in Council to apply to the Province of Manitoba shall be applicable thereto, and in force therein accordingly.

29. Such provisions of the Laws of Canada respecting the Inland Revenue, including those fixing the amount of duties, as may be from time to time declared by the Governor-General in Council applicable to the said province shall apply thereto, and be in force therein accordingly.

30. All ungranted or waste lands in the Province shall be, from and after the date of the said transfer, vested in the Crown, land administered by the Government of Canada for the purposes of the Dominion, subject to, and except, and so far as the same may be affected by the conditions and stipulations contained in the agreement for the surrender of Rupert's Land by the Hudson's Bay Company to Her Majesty.

31. And whereas, it is expedient, towards the extinguishment of the Indian Title to the lands in the Province, to appropriate a portion of such ungranted lands to the extent of one million four hundred thousand acres thereof, for the benefit of the families of the half-breed residents, it is hereby enacted that under regulations to be from time to time made by the Governor General in Council, the Lieutenant-Governor shall select such lots or tracts in such parts of the Province as he may deem expedient, to the extent aforesaid, and divide the same among the children of the half-breed heads of families, residing in the province at the time of the said transfer to Canada, and the same shall be granted to the said children respectively in such mode and on such conditions as to settlement and otherwise, as the Governor General in Council shall from time to time determine.

32. For the quieting of titles, and assuring to the settlers in the Province the peaceable possession of the lands now held by them, it is enacted as follows: -

- (1) All grants of land in freehold made by the Hudson's Bay Company up to the eighth day of March in the year 1869, shall, if required by the owner, be confirmed by grant from the Crown.
- (2) All grants of estates less than freehold in land made by the Hudson's Bay Company, up to the 8th day of March aforesaid, shall if required by the owner, be converted into an estate in freehold by grant from the Crown.
- (3) All titles by occupancy with the sanction and under the licence and authority of the Hudson's Bay Company up to the eighth day of March aforesaid, of land in that part of the Province in which the Indian Title has been extinguished, shall, if required by the owner, be converted into an estate in freehold by grant from the Crown.
- (4) All persons in peaceable possession of tracts of land at the time of the transfer to Canada, in those parts of the Province in which the Indian title has not been extinguished, shall have the right of pre-emption of the same, on such terms and conditions as may be determined by the Governor in Council.
- (5) The Lieutenant-Governor is hereby authorized under regulations to be made from time to time by the Governor General in Council to make all such provisions for ascertaining and adjusting, on fair and equitable terms, the rights of Common, and rights of cutting Hay held and enjoyed by the Settlers in the Province, and for the commutation of the same by grants of land from the Crown.

33. The Governor General in Council shall from time to time settle and appoint the mode and form of Grants of Land from the Crown and any Order in Council for that purpose when published in the Canada Gazette shall have the same force and effect as if it were a portion of this Act.

34. Nothing in this Act shall in any way prejudice or affect the rights or properties of the Hudson's Bay Company as contained in the conditions under which that Company surrendered Rupert's Land to Her Majesty.

35. And with respect to such portion of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory as is not included in the Province of Manitoba, it is hereby enacted that the Lieutenant-Governor of the said Province shall be appointed, by Commission under the Great Seal of Canada to be the Lieutenant-Governor of the same under the name of the North-West Territories and subject to the provisions of the Act in the next section mentioned.

36. Except as hereinbefore is enacted and provided, the Act of the Parliament of Canada passed in the now last session thereof, and entitled "An Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory when united with Canada" is hereby re-enacted, extended and continued in force until the first day of January, 1871, and until the end of the Session of Parliament then next succeeding.

APPENDIX C

TABLE I

POPULATION AT EACH CENSUS PERIOD AND ITS

INCREASE OVER PRECEDING CENSUS, 1871-1891¹

Provinces and Census Years	Population			Increase Over Preceding Census					
	Total	Male	Female	Total		Males		Females	
				Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
CANADA									
1891	4,833,239	2,460,471	2,372,768	508,429	11.76	271,617	12.14	236,812	11.09
1881	4,324,810	2,188,854	2,135,956	635,553	17.23	319,590	17.10	315,963	17.36
1871	3,689,257	1,869,264	1,819,993	-	-	-	-	-	-
QUEBEC									
1891	1,488,535	744,141	744,394	129,508	9.53	65,966	9.73	63,542	9.33
1881	1,359,027	678,175	680,852	167,511	14.06	82,134	13.78	85,377	14.34
1871	1,191,516	596,041	595,475	-	-	-	-	-	-
ONTARIO									
1891	2,114,321	1,069,487	1,044,834	187,399	9.72	90,933	9.29	96,466	10.17
1881	1,926,922	978,554	948,368	306,071	18.88	149,964	18.10	156,107	19.70
1871	1,620,851	828,590	792,261	-	-	-	-	-	-

1. Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Volume I (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1924), p. 4.

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POPULATION AT EACH CENSUS PERIOD AND ITS
INCREASE OVER PRECEDING CENSUS, 1871-1891

Provinces and Census Years	Population			Increase Over Preceding Census					
	Total	Male	Female	Total		Males		Females	
				Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
MANITOBA	152,506	84,342	68,164	90,246	144.95	49,219	140.13	41,027	151.18
	62,260	35,123	27,137	37,032	146.79	22,259	173.03	14,773	119.48
	25,228	12,864	12,364	-	-	-	-	-	-
NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES	98,967	53,785	45,182	42,521	75.33	25,672	91.32	16,849	59.47
	56,446	28,113	28,333	8,446	17.60	3,839	15.81	4,607	19.42
	48,000	24,274	23,726	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE II
PLACES OF BIRTH ²

Places of Birth	1871		1881		1891	
	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total
Ontario	118	.96	19,125	29.0	46,620	30.57
Quebec	111	.90	4,085	6.2	7,555	4.95
Nova Scotia	-	-	820	1.24	1,402	.92
New Brunswick	-	-	341	.52	718	.47
Manitoba	11,298	92.4	18,020	27.32	50,648	33.21
British Columbia	-	-	25	.04	55	.04
Prince Edward Island	-	-	154	.23	234	.15
North-West Territories	-	-	6,422	9.74	785	.51
Other Areas in Canada	60	.50	-	-	-	-
Newfoundland	-	-	16	.02	72	.05
England and Wales	125	1.02	3,457	5.24	16,017	10.5
Scotland	49	.40	2,868	4.35	7,444	4.88
Ireland	248	2.03	1,836	2.78	4,583	2.99
Other British Possessions	10	.08	56	.08	208	.13
United States	166	1.4	1,752	2.65	3,063	2.01
Germany	-	-	220	.33	857	.56
Scandinavia	-	-	121	.18	2,746	2.46
Russia and Poland	-	-	5,651	8.57	6,251	4.10
France	9	.07	81	.08	474	.31
Other Countries	27	.22	795	1.2	1,628	1.07
At Sea	-	-	7	-	7	-
Unknown	7	.06	102	.15	169	1.1
Total	12,228		62,260		152,506	

2. Compiled from Censuses of Canada, 1871, 1881, and 1891.

TABLE III
COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF GROWTH
OF NATIONALITIES, 1881-1886 ³

Nationalities	1881	1886	Increase Since 1881	
			Number	Percent
African	25	30	5	20.0
Chinese	4	18	14	350.0
Dutch	151	244	93	61.9
English	11,476	27,580	16,104	140.3
French	9,864	11,190	11,506	15.5
German	8,631	11,082	2,451	28.4
Icelandic	773	2,468	1,695	219.3
Indian	4,611	5,575	964	20.9
Irish	9,886	21,283	11,397	115.3
Italian	38	72	34	89.5
Jewish	18	71	53	294.4
Russian and Polish	18	381	363	2,017.2
Scandinavian	169	564	395	233.7
Scotch	16,032	27,539	11,507	711
Welsh	103	229	126	122.3
Other Nationalities	30	236	206	686.6

3. Census of Manitoba, 1886.