

THE POLITICS OF THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION  
AND ITS IMPACT ON L.-P.-A. LANGEVIN'S RELATIONS  
WITH MANITOBA'S CATHOLIC MINORITY GROUPS  
1895 - 1915

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The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research  
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by  
Gilbert-Louis Comeault  
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THE POLITICAL IMPACT OF ARCHBISHOP A. LANGEVIN, 1895-1915

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GILBERT LOUIS COMEAULT

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MASTER OF ARTS

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## ABSTRACT

In 1890, Manitoba's dual system of denominational schools was replaced by a non-sectarian public school system. Representatives of the French and English-speaking Catholic communities protested the change, claiming that their right to publicly financed denominational schools had been infringed upon. The legacy of this controversy was the Manitoba School Question.

During his episcopate, Louis-Philippe-Adélard Langevin, Archbishop of St. Boniface from 1895 to 1915, made every effort to provide Manitoba's Catholic population with a publicly funded educational system influenced by Catholic thought. His objectives were frustrated by the politicians of the day who were keenly aware of the battle for cultural domination being waged by the Anglo-Protestant majority. Langevin sought to overcome this hurdle through Catholic immigration. The arrival of diverse national groups belonging to the Catholic faith did not resolve the issue. Instead, it added to Langevin's problems. Because the School Question and the attempts to resolve it had varied consequences on the different Catholic groups, divisions emerged and concerted action proved impossible.

Much of the strife which plagued Langevin's episcopate was fostered by the Laurier-Greenway agreement. While it gave legal sanction to French-Canadian demands, the compromise did not offer any measure of relief to English-speaking Catholics hardest hit

by the 1890 Public Schools Act. It created a source of friction between the two respective communities and helped foment a rift between Langevin and English-speaking Catholics. The bilingual clause of the agreement also inadvertently caused Langevin to become embroiled in a campaign which, while it proposed to safeguard the faith of Central European immigrants, had severe repercussions on the French-Canadian community.

The Laurier-Greenway agreement was to hurt Langevin in several other respects as well. Because of his insistence that the compromise was unworkable in centres where Catholics were a majority, Langevin incurred the wrath of Wilfrid Laurier. He also found himself shunned by Rome, by the Apostolic Delegates and by some of his eminent episcopal colleagues. Virtually isolated, Langevin sought the support of Rodmond Roblin, Premier of Manitoba from 1900 to 1915. He also endeavoured to mobilize the political force of the French-Canadian electorate to safeguard and fashion a recovery of the educational rights of the Catholic community. But the close relationship which developed between Langevin and Roblin was not without repercussions.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.S.B.	Archives archiépiscopales de Saint-Boniface
A.A.W.	Archives of the Archdiocese of Winnipeg
A.S.M.O.	Archives des Soeurs Missionnaires Oblates
C.A.R.	Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs
CCHA	Canadian Catholic Historical Association
CHA	Canadian Historical Association
CHR	Canadian Historical Review
LCSB	Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface
M.F.C.L.	Manitoba Federation of Catholic Laymen
MSRC	Mémoire de la Société Royale du Canada
P.A.C.	Public Archives of Canada
P.A.M.	Provincial Archives of Manitoba
RHAF	Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française
SCHEC	Société canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise catholique
TRSC	Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada

## INTRODUCTION

The origins and development of the Manitoba School Question have been the subject of much research by scholars and students of Canadian History.<sup>1</sup> The tortuous court proceedings inaugurated by the Catholic minority to test the 1890 Public Schools Act have equally been reviewed.<sup>2</sup> The effects of the school question on the federal level have been dealt with<sup>3</sup> and the issue's impact on Manitoba provincial politics in the 1890's recently set out.<sup>4</sup> The consensus has been that the Manitoba School Question was not only ... "a Catholic problem"...but also "... an unmistakeably French problem..." with little distinction being made between religion and nationality.<sup>5</sup> That the minority as a whole was not permitted "...to enjoy its school rights except under crippling financial penalties..." has also been taken for granted.<sup>6</sup>

Little attention, however, has been paid to the actual situation in which French Canadians found themselves and the attitudes they adopted to tide them over their difficulties.<sup>7</sup> Even less consideration has been given to the roles played by English-speaking Catholics<sup>8</sup> and the "new immigrants"<sup>9</sup> in the development of the Manitoba School Question.

The 1890 Public Schools Act was not an attempt to improve the quality of education in Manitoba.<sup>10</sup> It was a legislative enactment motivated by the determination of the new majority of Anglo-Protestants to imprint their social and cultural mores on

the province.<sup>11</sup> The effects of legislation, however, turned out to be more apparent than real and it would be a mistake to assume that the curriculum changes "... were as great in practice as they were in theory."<sup>12</sup> Indeed, T.-A. Bernier, the former superintendent of the Catholic Board of Education, could write in September of 1890:

"Nos écoles ont repris leurs classes, à leur corps défendant, avec le conseil, de la part des comités de ne tenir aucun compte de la loi nouvelle. C'est bien l'attitude à prendre, il semble."<sup>13</sup>

This was made possible because of the municipality's right to levy taxes for the financial support of schools established within its boundaries. In many districts where French Canadians formed a majority, the obtaining of school monies appeared to have been, till 1894, a routine matter.<sup>14</sup>

That a number of French-Canadian school trustees opted for accommodation is evident in the case of the schools operated in St. Boniface where the local school board continued to levy municipal taxes. A study of the schools in that community has suggested that if St. Boniface did not withdraw from the Public School system, it was due to the efforts of the Government Inspector of "French Schools" A.L. Young. A French-speaking native of Quebec, he encouraged the School Board to operate within the provisions of the law for the purpose of obtaining public grants.<sup>15</sup> Other school boards which followed this practice included those in the villages of St. Pierre, St. Anne-des-Chênes, St. Laurent and St. Joseph.<sup>16</sup>

Evidence of this readiness to accept accommodation was further suggested in A.L. Young's report of 1892 concerning "French Schools." During that year he inspected some 50 school districts along the Red,

Assiniboine and Rat Rivers, most of which had been under the jurisdiction of the Catholic Section of the Board of Education. He noticed that only five schools "... are claimed to be conducted according to the Public School Act of 1890, in regard to religious exercise."<sup>17</sup> Instead of refusing to accept a public school system, French Canadians chose to make some adjustments provided their basic rights were respected.

These adjustments, however, were not being made without conflict. In Ste-Anne-des-Chênes the legislative grants were on occasion secured through what Father L.-R. Giroux referred to as "devious means." In 1892, the trustees for the school district of St. Raymond requested that the teacher sign the statutory declaration stating that religious exercises had been conducted according to the Regulations of the Advisory Board. Norbert Landry, the Secretary-Treasurer, had no qualms about making this demand, as he argued that no religious exercises and catechism had been conducted during regular school hours. The following year the teacher, smitten with remorse, refused to sign the declaration. The trustees responded with an ultimatum: to either submit to their demands, or resign.<sup>18</sup>

Giroux viewed the school trustees' decision as "un mauvais example." He cited the case of the school districts of Lorette and Iles-des-Chênes which had taken the necessary measures enabling them to obtain legislative grants. These precedents, he warned, were being followed closely by trustees of nearly every school district and could become infectious:

Les autres commissaires des autres arrondissements qui ont fait des rapports au Gouvernement, en retouchant et rayant les clauses...et qui n'ont pas tout naturellement reçu d'octroi sont naturellement anxieux de savoir, si on va laisser tranquille les commissaires...à faire un rapport assermenté en jouant sur les mots de déclaration...<sup>19</sup>

This play on words, Giroux concluded, meant only one thing:

"C'est tout simplement l'acceptation du principe des Ecoles Publiques... principes qui ont leur résumé et abrégé dans les deux clauses de la déclaration demandée."<sup>20</sup> He pleaded with Taché to take a firm stand<sup>21</sup> with those bent on relegating"...l'enseignement religieux, comme un balais derrière la porte, en le donnant avant et après les classes."<sup>22</sup>

This argument did not carry much weight, at least with a few parishioners from the village of St.Jean-Baptiste. Residing nearer to Morris, they sent a request to Father J.-D. Fillion, asking "...s'ils ne pourraient pas s'unir avec quelques protestants leurs voisins, pour former un nouvel arrondissement." Fillion sounded Taché as "Ils auraient par là à reconnaître la loi Martin..." The petitioners' parish priest pointed out to the Archbishop that "...nos catholiques seraient en majorité dans ce nouvel arrondissement."<sup>23</sup> In St.Pierre, Father Jean-Marie Jolys did not share his colleague's nonchalance. Fully expecting a newly formed school district to come under "le système Martin," he denounced the school inspector for trying to bring schools within the provisions of the Public Schools Act.<sup>24</sup>

A.L. Young's intimations had not gone for naught. In his 1894 report to the Department of Education he pointed out that some ninety-one school districts had formerly been under the control of



the Catholic section of the Board of Education. Since 1890, twenty-four districts had been disbanded, including some which had never been put in operation owing to the Catholic population being insufficient to support them. Young then took pleasure in informing his superiors that "twenty-seven of these old districts, together with nine newly formed ones have accepted the public school system, making a total of thirty-six school districts now under Government control."<sup>25</sup> Some thirty-eight schools were also listed as "separate"<sup>26</sup> and eight others referred to as "convents."<sup>27</sup> Young remained optimistic that these schools would eventually accept the Public School System:

From my intercourse with the French and Half-breed Catholics of the Province, I have no hesitation in saying that the vast majority of them are prepared to abide by the final decision of the authorities in regard to the school question. They still cling to the hope that the Separate School system will be restored to the Province, but should this hope not be realized in the near future, it will only be a matter of short time before the Public School system will practically be universally adopted throughout the Province.<sup>28</sup>

There was certainly some truth in Young's statement. During the past four years, the "new system" had been given a try and an appreciable section of the French-Canadian community had found it workable. This was not on account of any preference for "public schools." The system had been made to accommodate the community's wishes. The enactment of the 1890 Public Schools Act was one thing. Its enforcement was altogether another matter.

Nonetheless, it was impossible for Archbishop Alexandre-A. Taché to openly support the principle of accommodation. After the promulgation of the 1890 Public Schools Act, he had been quick to

denounce "...the new school laws...[which] show that they have been framed with a deep-seated hostility to Catholicism, and...the whole system will work according to the Protestant ideas."<sup>29</sup> In addition, the aging Archbishop had the responsibility of leading the Roman Catholic community in its fight for the re-establishment of denominational schools. Here a principle was at stake. A fundamental right conferred by the Manitoba Act, and protected by the BNA Act had been abolished. Taché could not allow such an injustice to go unheeded:

Je suis de ceux qui croient qu'une question n'est réglée que quand elle l'est avec justice et équité. Je ne suis admirateur ni des techniques subtilités légales ni des savantes combinaisons de l'art des expédients.<sup>30</sup>

Whatever the theory of parliamentary sovereignty implied, the majority had no right, Taché claimed, to commit such a gross injustice. Yet the decision of whether to encourage school trustees to seek both municipal and legislative grants, to establish a system of private schools, or to close down some schools altogether, proved to be a dilemma for Taché and his parish priests. If the school trustees refused to accept both municipal and government grants, the Catholic minority's case before the courts would assuredly be strengthened. Nevertheless, such a drastic course of action could not be undertaken without due consideration.

The vexing dilemma first confronted Dom Paul Benoît<sup>31</sup> not quite two years after his arrival in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes. The community he planned to establish had hardly taken shape before he felt compelled to seek Taché's advice. After due consultation, the line of attack adopted was to request municipal grants, provided the

application did not arouse public controversy.<sup>32</sup>

With the passage of Manitoba's School Amendment Act of 1894, the situation became more complicated. Municipalities were now "...prohibited from granting money to, or levying or collecting taxes for schools that are not public schools according to Public Schools Act."<sup>33</sup> Much to Benoît's consternation, a number of residents in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes were willing "...à se soumettre à la loi Martin." Taché, ailing, was unable to give Benoît immediate advice: "La question est bien grave et bien délicate. S'il y avait moyen d'obtenir le retard jusqu'à ce que nous ayons arrêté une ligne de conduite qui ne laissera pas nos gens agir à l'arbitraire."<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, some residents of St.Léon and Somerset decided not to wait and settled on sending their children "...aux écoles protestantes."<sup>35</sup>

As a means to counter any such re-occurrence, Benoît began to give serious consideration to letting the schools in St.Claude and Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes operate under the Public Schools Act. He rationalized thusly: "Peut-être la soumission à la loi aurait-elle moins d'inconvénients à Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes et à Saint-Claude qu'ailleurs car dans ces deux places, il n'y a pas un seul enfant protestant ou anglais fréquentant ou pouvant fréquenter l'école..." He further argued that the prayers could be recited and the catechism taught outside the regular school hours.<sup>36</sup>

Taché replied that complete submission to the Public Schools Act should be avoided. He also urged that no new school districts should be formed until a settlement of the school question was

reached. Yet, the Archbishop cautioned Benoît that "s'il fallait vous mettre en grande difficulté avec votre population, il faudrait mieux fermer les yeux, en insistant pour que les prières et le catéchisme soit enseignés avant et après la classe..."<sup>37</sup> Less than a month later, Benoît informed Taché that both the residents of St.Claude and Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes had chosen not to submit to the "exigencies of the Martin law."<sup>38</sup> The decision reached by the village of St.Claude was rendered less painful owing to the Municipality of Dufferin's promise of \$280 "sans parler d'aucune soumission à la loi Martin."<sup>39</sup>

Understandably, Taché did not favor letting the French-Canadian community make the best of an awkward situation. Still, it is quite apparent that while he waged a passionate battle in defence of a principle he cherished, he succeeded in avoiding unpleasant controversy. He discreetly accepted reality for what it was. At the same time he remained hopeful that eventual justice would be accorded to the Catholic minority. When Taché died on June 22, 1894, the Manitoba School Question was still the subject of judicial litigation. The venerable prelate had been spared the necessity of becoming directly embroiled in the bitter controversy which would necessarily erupt once this contentious issue reached the political arena.

The mantle of responsibility fell on Louis-Philippe-Adélard Langevin.<sup>40</sup> His elevation to the episcopal see of St.Boniface coincided with the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council's decision to return to the Federal Government the burden of resolving the

Manitoba School Question. The ramifications of the Judicial Committee's decision of January 29, 1895 are well known to students of Canadian history. Less attention, however, has been paid to the impact of Archbishop Langevin on subsequent developments of the school situation in Manitoba.<sup>41</sup>

Langevin was a controversial figure and it is perhaps fitting that his nomination was not without dispute. Initial opposition came from the secular clergy who maintained that the West could no longer be regarded as simply "un pays de missions." Further claiming that the Archdiocese of St. Boniface was relatively well organized in Manitoba, its members did not want an Oblate as Archbishop. Instead, they proposed that one of their own members, Father A.-A. Cherrier, be given that responsibility. Rome decided otherwise.<sup>42</sup>

Underlying the secular clergy's argument that the Archdiocese had acquired its permanent framework was the belief that the composition of the Catholic community would in essence remain the same. But the first years of Langevin's episcopate were to coincide with a rapid influx of Catholic immigrants of different ethnic origins.<sup>43</sup> This sudden influx was to create an almost countless series of problems in the Archdiocese of St. Boniface as a whole. In Manitoba, the strains put on its administration would be even more accentuated as each of these ethnic groups would be distinctly affected by the Manitoba School Question. The result was to be the creation of tensions along linguistic and racial lines within the Catholic population as well as an increase in hostility and apprehension

between Anglo-Saxon Protestants and Catholics.

It was the English-speaking Catholics who found themselves, in 1895, most seriously afflicted by the 1890 Public Schools Act.

This had not escaped Langevin's attention:

Dès l'année 1890, toutes les écoles catholiques de la Province du Manitoba ont été privées de l'allocation du gouvernement, mais il nous restait encore pour les maintenir, les taxes scolaires municipales, à l'exception toutefois, de la ville de Winnipeg.

A Winnipeg, le gouvernement Greenway a enlevé, dès l'année 1890, aux catholiques de la ville, et l'allocation du gouvernement, et les taxes scolaires...<sup>44</sup>

To remedy this situation, and taking into consideration the Judicial Committee's decision of January 1895, Langevin advised his clergy to favour the establishment of private schools throughout Manitoba. He aimed at unifying and consolidating the Catholic position. His parish priests reacted quickly. In Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, the direction given to school trustees was explicit:

Vous savez que le Conseil Privé d'Angleterre a déclaré... que les catholiques...avaient droit à leurs anciennes écoles.

En attendant que les législateurs viennent séparer l'injustice commise envers notre...religion, les catholiques organisent partout des Ecoles catholiques...dirigées par leur chef naturel, à savoir leur Archevêque.

Je viens vous demander de ne pas affaiblir la résistance commune en passant du côté de nos ennemis, mais à établir une école catholique.

Vous ne sauriez protester votre pauvreté; car Monseigneur vous aidera et soyez certain qu'une école catholique ne vous coutera pas plus qu'une école Greenway.

Vous ne sauriez craindre non plus une [influence] indue du clergé; les commissaires seront les maîtres de l'école et l'organiseront comme ils l'entendront sur les principes chrétiens...Si vous établissez une école Greenway, aucun prêtre catholique...ne pourra mettre les pieds.<sup>45</sup>

The warning had only limited success.<sup>46</sup> In December of 1896, one school in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes was operating as a private Catholic school. But in a neighbouring district, Carnot School had been "...constitué en 1896 sous le régime Greenway par plusieurs français remplis de préjugés révolutionnaires." The village of St.Claude had also chosen to operate under the Public Schools Act: "Cette école a été fondé en 1893 et a reçu dès l'origine et pendant 3 années l'argent de la municipalité, même après la loi du 4 mars, 1894, quoiqu'elle fut catholique comme d'ailleurs les autres écoles de la municipalité de Dufferin."<sup>47</sup>

Langevin received other indications that French Canadians were working out their own modus vivendi with regard to the "pernicious Martin law."<sup>48</sup> The trustees of the school district of St.Jean-Baptiste North explained to Langevin that they had never "in principle" submitted to the 1890 legislation. The legislative grant was accepted "...parce qu'on nous permettait de garder nos institutrices, nos exercices religieux, nos livres, en un mot une véritable école catholique subventionnée par le Gouvernement."<sup>49</sup> The argument did not carry much weight with Langevin. A.L. Young, in his school inspector's report for 1895, noted strong efforts had been made "...by the authorities of the Catholic Church to close all French schools which were complying with the School Act, but so far with limited success."<sup>50</sup> An indication that some French Canadians were slowly resigning themselves to the status quo manifested itself in the 1896 provincial election. In the constituency of Lorne, Léon Roy, a resident of Somerset, fought a success-

ful campaign on behalf of the Liberal candidate J. Riddell. According to Dom Benoît, he succeeded in persuading "...nos gens qu'il fallait mieux voter pour le candidat de Greenway, afin de ne pas nous faire d'ennemis dans les partisans du Gouvernement."<sup>51</sup>

Langevin's problems were merely beginning. On February 11, 1896 the Federal Government introduced a Remedial Bill which the Archbishop regarded as "...satisfaisant à la minorité catholique qui l'accepte comme un règlement substantiel praticable et final de la question scolaire suivant la constitution."<sup>52</sup> Its withdrawal little more than a week prior to the dissolution of the seventh Parliament of Canada was a severe blow for Langevin. From the day of his nomination, the young Archbishop had fought a determined battle to have Roman Catholic school privileges restored. His efforts had gone for naught and he had come out of the battle severely scarred. Unlike his predecessor, he was not treated with deference. He was regarded as a parvenue and judged harshly for it. Senator T.-A. Bernier had found him to be too impulsive, "inflammable, avec peu d'expérience."<sup>53</sup> Sir Mackenzie Bowell remembered him for his "propensity for inflammatory statements."<sup>54</sup> Langevin had made an equally unfavourable impression on Lady Aberdeen. Her journal described him as "...very full of anxiety, making unwise fighting speeches, exhorting his hearers not to give an inch."<sup>55</sup>

Langevin's contemporaries may have very well argued that the reverses which the Archbishop suffered during the first years of his episcopate were due to his outspoken ways. His militancy had not only provoked his opponents, but also offended supporters of



the cause he was espousing. In his struggle for remedialism, an influential segment of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, while urging that the principle be accepted, did not share Langevin's propensity for trenchant episcopal declarations. It also disapproved, as did the Liberals, of Langevin's marked affinity for the Conservatives, especially during the federal election of 1896.<sup>56</sup> These dispositions would continue to haunt the Archbishop of St. Boniface.

Langevin was a highly opinionated and emotional man. His thoughts were sudden and spontaneous. His abrupt manner of speech carried through into his writings. His sentences were short, written in haste, with exclamation marks everywhere. His ideas were scribbled down hurriedly and his penmanship denoted a nervous man, overwhelmed, pressed for time.<sup>57</sup>

Langevin disliked deliberations. To that end his high-pitched voice, which is said to have sounded like a bugle,<sup>58</sup> served him well. He was a man who preferred to act and to be straightforward. He liked clear and precise situations. He despised any form of intrigue, and had little use for diplomacy. To reach his objectives, he preferred face to face encounters in which he could present his shrewd and, at times, spiteful arguments. His decisions, which were reached promptly, tended to be final. It follows that at a time when the majority was most intolerant, his imperious habits often became the subject of much controversy.

Langevin has been, to some degree, misunderstood. His forthright views may have been a direct cause of many misconceptions. He has been regarded as being not only a Catholic, but also a French-

Canadian prelate who made little distinction between his religion and his nationality.<sup>59</sup> Naturally, Langevin would have had difficulty in separating the language question from the religious issue. This did not mean that Langevin confined his mandate to resolving the Manitoba School Question inasmuch as it affected only French-speaking Catholics. On the contrary, he resolved not to ignore those Catholics of different linguistic backgrounds. Here lies the tragedy of his efforts. The French-Canadian community was intent on solving the school question in a way which Anglo-Protestants could have found palatable. Langevin, however, to secure the denominational rights of non-French-speaking Catholics was to use, impulsively and provocatively, the political force of the French-Canadian community in a way which proved to be detrimental to French public education in Manitoba. That he was forced to resort to this rather tragic strategy happened because of Wilfrid Laurier's unwillingness to use a more direct approach in seeking to re-establish the rights which Catholics had enjoyed prior to 1890.

## NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

<sup>1</sup>An excellent bibliography dealing with this issue has been compiled by Lionel Dorge, Introduction à l'étude des Franco-Manitobains: Essai historique et bibliographique (St. Boniface: La Société Historique de Saint-Boniface, 1973), pp. 205-214. This work also contains one of the first syntheses on the subject, being Antoine d'Eschambault's Histoire du Groupe français au Manitoba, originally published in Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface in 1938. This study was followed by those of R.E. Clague, "The Political Aspects of the Manitoba School Question, 1870-96" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1939); W.L. Morton, "Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationality, 1890-1923," Canadian Historical Association, Report (1951), 51-59; the same author's Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), pp. 239-250; Keith Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, 1967), pp. 181-246; A.S. Roscoe, "The Manitoba Act in Transition, 1870-1896: The Transformation of Manitoba's French-Canadian Politico-Cultural Institutions" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1969); J.A. Jackson, The Centennial History of Manitoba (Winnipeg: Manitoba Historical Society, 1970), pp. 134-150; J.E. Rea, "The Roots of Prairie Society," in D.P. Gagan, Prairie Perspectives: Papers of the Western Canadian Studies Conference (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), pp. 46-57; J.R. Miller, "D'Alton McCarthy, Equal Rights, and The Origins of the Manitoba School Question," Canadian Historical Review, 54 (December, 1973), 369-392.

<sup>2</sup>W.T. Shaw, "The Role of John S. Ewart in the Manitoba School Question" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1959).

<sup>3</sup>J.T. Saywell, The Canadian Journal of Lady Aberdeen, 1893-98 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1960), pp. xxxii-xxxxiv; L.C. Clark, "The Conservative Party in the 1890's" Canadian Historical Association, Report (1961), 58-74 and the same author's The Manitoba School Question: Majority Rule or Minority Rights? (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1968); L.-L. Lapierre, "Politics, Race and Religion: Joseph Israël Tarte" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1962), pp. 263-328; P.B. Waite, Canada, 1874-1896: Arduous Destiny (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), pp. 245-277; and Paul Crunican, Priests and Politicians: Manitoba Schools and the Election of 1896 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

<sup>4</sup>Joseph A. Hilts, "The Political Career of Thomas Greenway" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1974), pp. 176-334.

<sup>5</sup>Crunican, Priests and Politicians..., p. 4.

<sup>6</sup>Clark, The Manitoba School Question..., p. 3. A.-G. Morice made a similar generalization: "...les catholiques du Manitoba gémissaient sous le poids d'une double taxe scolaire." A.-G. Morice, Histoire de l'Eglise catholique dans l'Ouest canadien du Lac Supérieur au Pacifique, 1659-1905 (Winnipeg: Chez l'Auteur, 1912) III, 89.

<sup>7</sup>Notable exceptions include J.-M. Jolys, Pages de souvenirs et d'histoires. La paroisse de Saint-Pierre-Jolys au Manitoba (n.p.n.p. 1914), p. 100. Eugène Voyer, Histoire de la Paroisse Sainte-Anne-des-Chênes, 1876-1976 (Ste-Anne: Comité historique du Centenaire, 1976), p. 43; Pauline Mercier, St-Laurent, Manitoba (Elie: Division Scolaire de la Prairie du Cheval Blanc, 1974), pp. 4-5; Marie-Olive Sarrasin, Histoire de la Paroisse St-Joseph (Altona: W. Friesen & Sons, 1964), pp. 89-90.

<sup>8</sup>See G.R. Cook, "Church Schools, and Politics in Manitoba, 1903-1912," Canadian Historical Review, XXXIX (February, 1958), 16-19; John Mercer Reid, The Erection of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Winnipeg (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1961), pp. 48 and 56; and Robert Choquette, "Adélard Langevin et l'érection de l'Archdiocèse de Winnipeg," Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française, XXVIII (septembre 1974), 198.

<sup>9</sup>Namely the "Ruthenians," along with the Germans and Poles who adhered to the Catholic faith. The subject has been touched upon by W.L. Morton, "Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationality, 1890-1923," 54.

<sup>10</sup>Jackson, The Centennial History of Manitoba, p. 141.

<sup>11</sup>Rea, The Roots of Prairie Society, 48-49; and A.J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914 (McGill-Queens University Press, 1975), pp. 195-197.

<sup>12</sup>Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba," p. 176.

<sup>13</sup>T.-A. Bernier to P.-B. Boucher de la Brière, Sept. 17, 1890; cited in Antoine d'Eschambault, "Histoire du Groupe Français au Manitoba," 49.

<sup>14</sup>Idem...

<sup>15</sup>George Belton, "A History of the Origins and Growth of the Schools in the City of St. Boniface," (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1959) pp. 69-70.

<sup>16</sup>See footnote 7.

<sup>17</sup> Manitoba, - Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Education for the year 1892, p. 51.

<sup>18</sup> Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Boniface (hereafter cited as A.A.S.B.), Taché Papers, L.-R. Giroux to Taché, February 28, 1892.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., Giroux to Taché, March 3, 1892.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., Giroux to Taché, February 28, 1892.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., Giroux to Taché, April 16, 1893.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., Giroux to Taché, March 3, 1893.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., J.-D. Fillion to Taché, February 15, 1894.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., J.-M. Jolys to Joachim Allard, September 18, 1894.

<sup>25</sup> At least five of these schools were not, strictly speaking, located in French-Canadian centres.

<sup>26</sup> These schools were all located in French-Canadian communities. The number of separate schools which managed to secure municipal grants, i.e., Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, has not been established.

<sup>27</sup> One "convent" is listed as being located in Brandon. In all likelihood, they were not eligible for any public grants.

<sup>28</sup> Manitoba, Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Education for the year 1894, pp. 42-47.

<sup>29</sup> A.-A. Taché, Pastoral Letter of His Grace the Archbishop of St. Boniface, on the New School Laws of Manitoba, August 15, 1890, p. 6. Similar views were expressed in Taché's Les Ecoles dites écoles publiques sont des écoles protestantes (St. Boniface, n.p. 1893).

<sup>30</sup> A.-A. Taché, Une page de l'histoire des écoles de Manitoba (St. Boniface: Le Manitoba, 1893), pp. 5-6.

<sup>31</sup> For an analysis of Benoît's career in Manitoba, see Maurice Dupasquier, "Dom Paul Benoît et le Nouveau Monde, 1850-1915" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Université de Laval, 1970).

<sup>32</sup> A.A.S.B., Benoît-Guérét Papers, Dom Benoît to Taché, March 10, 1892, and January 10, 1894; although Taché kept no letterbooks, he wrote down his comments on the letters he received from Benoît and returned them to the author.

<sup>33</sup>Manitoba Statutes, 57 Vict., c.28, 1894. This amendment was assented to on March 2, 1894.

<sup>34</sup>A.A.S.B., Benoît-Guérét Papers, Benoît to Taché, March 15, 1894. Taché's reply in on Benoît's letter to the Archbishop.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., Benoît to Taché, April 3, 1894.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., Benoît to Taché, May 9, 1894.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., Taché to Benoît, May 12, 1894.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., Benoît to Taché, June 2, 1894.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., Benoît to Joachim Allard, October 1, 1894.

<sup>40</sup>Louis-Philippe-Adéland Langevin was born at Saint-Isidore-de-la-Prairie on August 23, 1855. His father, François-Théophile Langevin, was a notary public and a relative of Sir Hector Langevin. His mother, Marie-Pamela Racicot, was the sister of Mgr. F.-T. Racicot. Langevin was educated at the Collège de Montréal and the Séminaire de Québec. To the disappointment of his parents he entered the Oblate Order in 1881, and was ordained in 1882. He was professor of Theology at the University d'Ottawa from 1885 to 1893. He also served as director of the Grand Séminaire d'Ottawa. He came to Manitoba at the request of Taché in 1893. He served as vicar superior of the Oblates and parish priest of St. Mary's Church in Winnipeg prior to this appointment as Archbishop of the See of St. Boniface. Taché had recommended that Langevin succeed him. For a review of the literature concerning Langevin, see Dorge, Introduction à l'étude des Franco-Manitobains...

<sup>41</sup>A recent study by Stephen Thaddeus Rusak, "Archbishop Adéland Langevin and the Manitoba School Question, 1895-1915" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1975), examines this aspect of Langevin's career. But many of the conclusions brought forward are questionable. Rusak argues that Langevin adopted a conciliatory attitude in response to Laurier's electoral victory of 1896 (p. 72); and considered the encyclical Affari Vos "un magnifique document" which might require him to change his style (p. 80). Langevin is also portrayed as endorsing Laurier's proposal for a partial settlement (p. 101); and cautioning Catholics not to offend the provincial and federal governments (p. 91). The problem of Roman Catholic unity among the different Catholic groups is treated very summarily and misrepresented. He concludes that following Joseph Bernier's entry into Rodmond Roblin's cabinet in 1913 the "various Catholic factions, including the Irish, coalesced into a single unit acknowledging once again the leadership of the Archbishop of St. Boniface" (p. 295). Rusak does not consider the anti-French sentiment that Langevin aroused in the Anglo-Saxon community by associating the aspirations of the French Canadians with those of the ethnic Catholic minorities.

Nor does he discuss the effects of Langevin's attempts to mobilize the political force of the French-Canadian community to fashion a recovery of the rights of Manitoba's English-speaking Catholics.

<sup>42</sup>La Minerve, [December ], 1894; Archives of the Catholic Parish of St.Norbert, Mgr. Vital Grandin to J.-N. Ritchot, A.-A. Cherrier and Joseph Messier, July 14, 1894; Arthur Savaète, Voix Canadiennes, vers l'abîmes, histoire politico-religieuse du Canada de 1763 à nos jours, XII, "Mgr. Langevin, archevêque de Saint-Boniface. Sa Vie, ses contrariétés, ses oeuvres" (Paris: Librairie générale catholique, n.d.), pp. 156-162; A.-G. Morice, Vie de Mgr. Langevin (St.Boniface: Chez L'Auteur, 1916), p. 115.

<sup>43</sup>The official census returns for the years 1891-1921 illustrate this growth. In Manitoba there were 20,571 Catholics in 1891; 35,672 in 1901; 73,994 in 1911; and 105,384 in 1921. Censuses of Canada, 1891-1921.

<sup>44</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Adélarde Langevin to [the Bishops of Canada], July 24, 1895.

<sup>45</sup>A.A.S.B., Benoît-Guérét Papers, [Dom Benoît] to M. Taillefer and the Trustees of the school district of Faure, [1895].

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., Benoît to Langevin, July 4, 1895.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., Benoît to Langevin, December 8, 1895.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., Langevin Papers, Nazaire Pelletier (St.Joseph) to Langevin, August 12, 1895; N.-C. Jutras (Letellier) to Langevin, October 31, 1896; Noël Perquis (St.Alphonse) to Langevin, October 25, 1895 and May 26, 1896; L. Lebrault to Langevin (Fannystelle) January 29, 1896.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., Onésime Bordeleau and Hyacinthe Sabourin to [Langevin], April 18, 1895.

<sup>50</sup>Manitoba, Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Education for the Province of Manitoba for 1895, p. 46.

<sup>51</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Noël Perquis to Langevin, February 2, 1896.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., Memorandum of Langevin "La Question des écoles de Manitoba: La doctrine des évêques et la doctrine de M. Laurier," n.d. Langevin's position vis-à-vis the Remedial Bill has been chronicled by Crunican, Priests and Politicians, pp. 170-236; and the same author's "Father Lacombe's Strange Mission: Lacombe-Langevin Correspondence on the Manitoba School Question, 1895-96," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Report (1959), 57-71.

<sup>53</sup>Bernier to de la Bruère, March 24, 1895; cited in Crunican, Priests and Politicians... p. 72.

<sup>54</sup>Crunican, Priests and Politicians... p. 88.

<sup>55</sup>Saywell, The Canadian Journal of Lady Aberdeen..., p. 235.

<sup>56</sup>Crunican, Priests and Politicians... pp. 272-73.

<sup>57</sup>Dupasquier, "Dom Paul Benoît et le Nouveau Monde...", pp. 300-10.

<sup>58</sup>Morice, Vie de Mgr. Langevin, p. 51.

<sup>59</sup>Cook, "Church, Schools, and Politics in Manitoba...", 3.



## CHAPTER I

### LANGEVIN AND LAURIER'S DEFECTIVE COMPROMISE OF 1897

On April 16, 1896, the Government of Sir MacKenzie Bowell abandoned the Remedial Bill. But whatever blame might have been attributed to the Bowell Administration for failing to put the bill through, the Archbishop of St. Boniface had no intentions of deserting the Conservatives on this issue. Moreover, he had no qualms about denouncing Laurier for having refused to support the Conservatives in their attempt to restore Catholic school privileges in Manitoba. Langevin made this quite clear on a number of occasions during the 1896 federal election campaign.<sup>1</sup> He was therefore very much angered by the Liberal victory at the ballot boxes in June of 1896:

Quel désastre! Aux mains de quel forban sommes-nous tombés! Et ce sont des Canadiens français de Québec qui vont nous empêcher d'avoir une loi fédérale réparatrice; nous serons réduits à accepter bon gré malgré quelques miettes que Greenway va nous jeter avec dédain.<sup>2</sup>

The results of the election had nonetheless propelled Laurier's Liberals into power and their tacticians quickly set about to remove the Manitoba School Question from the arena of federal politics. To convince Thomas Greenway's Liberal government in Manitoba of the advantages in settling this issue and arriving at a compromise acceptable to the Canadian Church hierarchy constituted the task at hand. In light of the existing political climate Wilfrid Laurier saw no immediate obstacles in so far as the Manitoba Government was concerned. Nor did he envisage, for the moment, any insurmountable objections on the part of the Church hierarchy. He barred Langevin

from the negotiations and confidently set out to reach a settlement.

Commenced in a mood of optimism in the summer of 1896, the negotiations between the two levels of government led to the drafting of a proposed settlement by mid-August. No one outside the two levels of government had been sounded out. With the Church authorities in St. Boniface excluded from the discussions Langevin held little hope that the rights of the Catholic minority would be fully respected. A meeting with Laurier and Joseph Israël Tarte confirmed his worst suspicion. The interview, he noted, "...m'a laissé sous la pénible impression que tout serait réglé sans nous."<sup>3</sup>

The events which were to follow confirmed Langevin's fears. In November he met briefly with Tarte and spelled out the demands of the Catholic minority for a "certain control" of the schools and freedom of religious instruction. His requests were specific. He wanted the teachers to be trained in a Catholic environment, Catholic readers and Catholic history books printed in French and English and the appointment of Catholic school inspectors. Langevin was most emphatic about the minority being able to control its own school taxes so as to be free of double taxation and to be eligible for legislative grants. Most importantly he wanted separate school districts. He insisted on this crucial point because any concessions granted would be without value in Winnipeg.<sup>4</sup> Langevin, however, held little hope that the Greenway Government would give in to this demand. He had been warned by James E. Prendergast, the MLA for St. Boniface, that

Il est impossible d'obtenir que le Gouvernement local concède des districts scolaires catholiques. Ils ont tellement besoin

de la question scolaire pour se maintenir au pouvoir qu'ils laisseront tomber leurs amis à Ottawa plutôt que de céder.<sup>5</sup>

On November 19, 1896, the Laurier-Greenway settlement was made public. Briefly, it allowed "at least one duly certified Roman Catholic teacher" to be employed in a school attended by forty Roman Catholic children in towns and cities and ten in villages and rural districts. Half an hour of religious exercises was permitted at half past three if the parents of ten children attending a rural school or twenty-five in an urban school requested it. The compromise also provided for bilingual instruction when "ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language, or any language other than English as their native language..."<sup>6</sup> As W.L. Morton stated: "Such were the simple terms of the compromise that was intended to end eight years of controversy."<sup>7</sup> It unfortunately ignored Langevin's crucial demand for the creation of separate school districts and neglected to spell out adequately the Archbishop's other requests. Although the compromise was intended to bring an end to the grievances of the Catholic minority it was effective only where Roman Catholics lived in concentrated groups.

Laurier knew that "un bon nombre de Canadiens-français... étaient prêt à accepter quelque compromis que ce soit."<sup>8</sup> If many found the compromise quite acceptable it was because it simply gave legal sanction to measures which had already been in operation since 1890. Forty petitioners from the district of Deleau had little difficulty in giving their tacit approval of the settlement and wrote to Laurier, informing him that "...tous les hommes qui ne sont influencés par aucun esprit de parti, acceptent ce règlement

comme étant de mieux vu les circonstances." Furthermore "si ce règlement est suivi honnêtement par les autorités locales, nous sommes certains que les dissensions qui agitent le pays depuis si longtemps, cesseront petit à petit..." But at the same time Edouard Colleaux and Edouard Lapham, a "lifelong Conservative," warned that "...une grande partie du clergé canadien, principalement Monseigneur Langevin, n'est pas satisfait du règlement et le rejette complètement."<sup>9</sup> James E. Prendergast expressed a similar sentiment. He hoped that the agreement would be carried out "in a spirit of goodwill which will surely improve in a considerable degree the state of affairs." For it contained "a series of decided improvements in the law which I believe my co-religionists would make a serious mistake in not putting to a serious and honest trial."<sup>10</sup>

Langevin took exception to Prendergast's statement. In a strongly worded letter to the MLA for St.Boniface, he spelled out the implications of accepting the Laurier-Greenway agreement:

...il faudrait enlever nos livres catholiques de nos écoles, il faudrait diminuer le français de plus de moitié dans nos écoles...il faudrait cesser de parler de Dieu durant les heures de classes...il faudrait consentir à laisser les enfants de Winnipeg s'asseoir à côté des enfants protestants ...En retour, nous aurions de l'argent.<sup>11</sup>

Langevin also delivered sermons, notably one in St.Boniface following the official publication of the settlement, which went to considerable length in criticizing the legislation.<sup>12</sup>

The Laurier-Greenway agreement virtually shattered Langevin's prospects for a return to the pre-1890 public schools system in Manitoba. But the young Archbishop would not admit defeat. He

mustered his forces in preparation for the next phase of the question. On November 24th, he sent a circular letter to his parish priests asking them to establish private Catholic schools in their respective parishes. He appointed Father A.-A. Cherrier superintendent of the "Bureau des Ecoles catholiques" and announced his intention to set up a normal school to train Catholic teachers.<sup>13</sup> He had decided to put into practice his motto "Depositum Custodi" and to aim for a truly Catholic school system which, although financed with minimal funds, would be firmly under his jurisdiction.

Langevin received full support from his clergy<sup>14</sup> who, in turn, exhorted their Archbishop to take a forceful stand. Father J.-M. Jolys urged his Archbishop not to hesitate but to take "une action vigoureuse bien tranché et ne laissant prise à aucun faux fuyant me parrait s'imposer. L'effet d'une telle attitude sera prodigieux...il n'y a pas à douter et c'est la seule chance pour nous de ne pas voir enterrer nos droits pour jamais."<sup>15</sup> Father Léon Favreau, another parish priest, suggested that letters protesting the Laurier-Greenway agreement be sent to various newspapers.<sup>16</sup> His proposal found ready acceptance as public meetings began to take place throughout Manitoba.<sup>17</sup> The organizers of meetings held in St.Pierre, Winnipeg, Lorette and St.Charles all formulated resolutions to be forwarded to Ottawa. The parishioners of Ste-Anne-des-Chênes presented the most strongly worded protest which summed up Langevin's resentment:

Ce Règlement...est une lâche et honteuse trahison de nos droits, est le triomphe de l'élément intolérant du cabinet,

et est un premier pas vers le triomphe de l'école neutre...  
 Nous protestons contre le fait que le Gouvernement Fédéral...  
 a voulu nous ignorer dans cet arrangement...  
 L'Archevêque de St.Boniface était bien celui qui avait le  
 droit et l'autorité de parler au nom de la minorité, et celui-  
 là au moins devait être consulté.<sup>18</sup>

In practice the Laurier-Greenway agreement was workable in French-Canadian centres. In principle, however, it was unacceptable. Langevin resolved to demonstrate that Catholic education was still a critical issue, especially where Roman Catholics were not sufficiently concentrated to obtain religious instruction for their children attending public schools.

To protest against the existing public school system, he was ready to order the closure of schools receiving grants from the Greenway Government<sup>19</sup> and had no reservations about exerting pressure in the St.Boniface by-election in February of 1897. During the election contest Langevin denounced the Liberal candidate, S.-A.-D. Bertrand, for accepting the compromise.<sup>20</sup> Amidst this turmoil, Téléphore-A. Rochon, whom Laurier had succeeded in having appointed as Catholic inspector via negotiations with the Manitoba Government, sent word to Ottawa that Langevin had advised him "...qu'il ne pouvait me recevoir comme représentant de M. Greenway."<sup>21</sup> In Quebec these developments caused the Church hierarchy to become more apprehensive about steps to be taken in the future. Quebec Liberals also found themselves in an ambivalent position. Laurier concluded that recourse to Rome and the despatch of a papal delegate seemed the only viable alternative to what he termed another "holy war."<sup>22</sup>

Laurier, who had hoped to see the issue disappear from federal politics, subsequently wrote to Lord Aberdeen that Mgr. Langevin had "...emphatically rejected the terms of the settlement and...that nothing would satisfy him, but the absolute restoration of the Separate school system which was upheaved by the Provincial Legislature of 1890." The Prime Minister also voiced his apprehension at seeing Langevin trying to win the Bishops of Quebec over to his side and placing "the question before the Papal Authorities upon a representation which is not only without foundation but absolutely misleading."<sup>23</sup>

Ensuing events were to reveal Laurier's tact when dealing with the Papacy. The appointment of Raphael Merry del Val as Apostolic Delegate to Canada in 1897 certainly pleased Ottawa. For some time the Liberals had been requesting a papal representative having the authority to discipline episcopal members with "Conservative" tendencies such as the Archbishop of St. Boniface. As it turned out Laurier would have the unexpected assistance of Langevin himself.

Langevin was convinced that Rome would look upon the Laurier-Greenway agreement as being unworkable. In his habitual haughtiness Langevin drew up a lengthy memorandum which he sent Merry del Val. In it he reiterated most of the arguments previously raised in condemning the Laurier-Greenway compromise: it had been imposed upon a Catholic minority which had not been consulted; it consecrated the concept of neutral schools; it spelled the triumph of liberal doctrines in Canada; it served as a political expedient to keep a certain political party in power. On this point he chose to

elaborate. He warned the Apostolic Delegate that Laurier's Liberals viewed his nomination as a triumph over the bishops. Indeed, according to Langevin, these Liberals were publicly maintaining that the Delegate had not come to resolve the school question but to protect them from the bishops.

In addition, Langevin advocated that an independent course of action be pursued as far as Catholic schools were concerned. He proposed that the Church commit itself over the next five years to take up a collection in Quebec for the purpose of operating as many as one hundred Catholic schools in Manitoba. To him this appeared "...l'unique voie honnête et sûre qui nous soit ouverte en dehors de compromis ou des concessions fatales qui nous affaibliraient et compromettraient tous nos droits." As such he hoped that "...Sa Sainteté unisse les Catholiques dans une réprobation unanime et formelle du Règlement néfaste..." As for officially recognizing any Catholic inspector nominated by Laurier and approving any government programme, the Archbishop made his point even more categorically:

Que l'on nous rende d'abord notre droit d'exiger des Arrondissement scolaires...que l'on nous laisse choisir nos livres et contrôler l'instruction religieuse, que l'on nous permette de prélever des taxes municipales, que l'on nous donne notre part de l'octroi législatif, que l'on nous exempte de taxes pour les écoles publiques. Que d'abord tout ceci devienne loi à Winnipeg et soit sanctionné à Ottawa et alors nous consentirons à accepter un inspecteur Catholique nommé par le Gouvernement.<sup>24</sup>

Upon terminating his inquiry Merry del Val did not pay much heed to the recommendations of the Archbishop of St. Boniface. He made his note to Langevin prior to his departure to the point:

"...il reste...un devoir impérieux pour tous...celui de s'abstenir entièrement de toute agitation, d'oublier les divisions et les



resentiments et de suspendre toute discussion."<sup>25</sup> Langevin subsequently voiced his disenchantment with this recommendation to his long-time friend and confidant Colonel Alphone Audet:

Que cette trêve fasse l'affaire des Libéraux, ce n'est que trop vrai pour le moment. C'est un incident regrettable ...Ce qu'il faut dire et faire dire aux journaux, c'est que tout a manqué par la faute des misérables qui nous gouvernent.<sup>26</sup>

That the Papal Delegate's presence had indeed "lulled all expression of adverse criticism" was acknowledged by Laurier in a letter to Greenway. This situation, he continued, could very well pave the way for a final settlement and that "a good deal may be done by the Provincial authorities in the administration of the Act passed by your Government." He therefore urged Greenway to give immediate consideration to grouping together Catholic children, especially in country localities, and to remove from all books used in these schools all matters objectionable to the conscience of Catholics; to appoint Catholic inspectors; to guarantee adequate Catholic representation on the Board of Education; and to leave the certification of Catholic teachers who belong to religious communities to their own establishments acting in concert with Archbishop Langevin.<sup>27</sup>

What in fact Laurier wanted was the tacit acceptance of these concessions on the part of the Greenway Government. He hoped to have them implemented by means of an Order-in-Council preferably prior to Merry del Val's departure. This did not materialize but Laurier was quite sure that "...Mgr. Merry del Val is too familiar with negotiations not to realize that an obstacle of some kind may always come at the most inopportune moment to postpone an anticipated

and an expected result." In any case he would have the opportunity to meet with Merry del Val that summer and to discuss further with the Pope himself the means by which the School Land Funds could be used to gain more concessions for the minority in Manitoba.<sup>28</sup>

The recommendations, representations and counter-representations made to Merry del Val produced the long awaited encyclical Affari vos. Officially announced in Rome on December 9th, it was promulgated in all Roman Catholic Churches in Canada a month later. Aside from asserting that the Catholic minority in Manitoba had been deprived of their rights by the 1890 legislation, it labelled the Laurier-Greenway settlement as "defective, unsuitable, insufficient." It nevertheless urged that the principles of "moderation, gentleness, and mutual charity" be adopted as a means of achieving a better settlement. Furthermore, any concessions ought to be seen as partial satisfaction: "If...anything is granted by law, or custom, or the good will of men, which will render the evil more tolerable and the dangers more remote, it is expedient and useful to make use of such concessions."<sup>29</sup>

The Liberals viewed the encyclical as a message of peace and interpreted it as meaning that the Pope "...in truth properly understands our problems that beset our path in the attempt that we are making to remedy the grievances under which the Manitoba Catholics suffer."<sup>30</sup> The Honourable R.W. Scott, for one, could now write without hesitation to Archbishop John Walsh that Langevin's policy of refusing all overtures from the school authorities in Manitoba had been most unfortunate as "...one half of the Catholic

schools...had been working satisfactorily under the name of public schools, but in reality they enjoyed the benefits incidental to Separate schools." Moreover, it seemed to Scott "extremely injudicious to denounce a school simply because it is called a public school" and as T.-A. Rochon's report indicated, the clergy in Manitoba did refuse "...to approve of those schools though possessing all the advantages..."<sup>31</sup>

For the Archbishop of St.Boniface who had always maintained a great respect for Papal authority, the encyclical had to be very distressing. He found it quite perplexing and disturbing, as revealed in a letter he wrote to Archbishop Bégin of Quebec: "...ce qui me paraît...plus grave...le Pape désire que nous fassions des concessions...sans les garanties légales et constitutionnelles que nous avons toujours réclamées comme une condition sine qua non ..." It confirmed his suspicion that he had been depicted in Rome "...comme un homme impossible, entêté et même fourbé." But he warned that "...si la voie des concessions après nous avoir soulagée durant un temps nous conduise aux abîmes, je n'en serai point responsable devant l'histoire, devant mon pays et surtout devant Dieu et ma conscience."<sup>32</sup>

Ten years later Langevin was to write that the encyclical Affari vos had made him susceptible to Liberal attacks aimed at discrediting him in Rome; this with a view of removing him from St.Boniface altogether. The encyclical had also left him with little alternative but to give T.-A. Rochon official recognition. Neither could he speak openly on the school question. Also he

was restrained from making public appeals in Quebec for private funds to support Catholic schools in Winnipeg and other centers where the Laurier-Greenway agreement had proven to be unworkable.<sup>33</sup> All in all, the encyclical, like the school question, must have appeared to him as a complete disaster. He had every reason to have been exasperated by it. In his view Merry del Val had settled, out of hand, a question of which he failed to understand the full significance. The fact that the Papal Delegate had refused to consider a public appeal for funds, thereby leaving those alone affected by faulty legislation to raise all the monies, best exemplified the regrettable consequence of his findings. In effect, the encyclical had left Langevin in an awkward position: Catholics in centres like Winnipeg had been asked to support private schools while their Archbishop discreetly sought redress through private negotiations.

Laurier, on the other hand, had gained by the encyclical. In the past he had always tried to keep all negotiations aimed at squeezing further concessions from the Greenway government out of the public limelight. Now that Merry del Val had put a ban on public controversy, the prime minister was determined not to allow the Manitoba School Question to erupt into federal politics. Thus, early in 1898, when the newly appointed Archbishop of Montréal sounded out Laurier on the possibility of raising the issue in the Speech from the Throne, Bruchési received the following reply: "L'effet de toucher à la question dans le discours du Trône serait de la ramener dans l'arène de la politique...et je

dois avouer...mon absolue et entière conviction que jamais la question ne sera réglée de cette manière."<sup>34</sup> To those such as Father A.-A. Cherrier, bent on sabotaging the negotiations in view of bringing the school question into the political arena, he warned that "Pour vouloir tout obtenir, elle perdra tout...L'intervention fédérale est une chose impossible depuis le jour où la loi de 1890 n'a pas été désavouée."<sup>35</sup>

Archbishop Bruchési agreed with Laurier's approach. In February he wrote a lengthy letter to Langevin explaining to him that negotiations between the two levels of government remained the only recourse in obtaining further concessions. In the meantime there were to be no contacts between bishops and politicians; no legislative amendments, in short, "rien que de l'officieux, rien d'officiel." The Advisory Board, he continued, could be depended upon to initiate a gradual improvement of the situation as its Catholic representative would be pleading the minority's case. As such all modifications would be brought about by "nos adversaires eux-mêmes." To Bruchési this bore out the triumph of the encyclical. The strategy itself seemed implicit:

Franchement je ne vois pas d'autre chose à faire. Persuadez vos prêtres et vos amis; ne paraissez pas conclure un contrat: laissez agir les autres; ordre leur est déjà donné d'agir; vous, subissez la position qu'ils vous feront et qui vaudra...mieux que la position d'aujourd'hui."<sup>36</sup>

Bruchési's recommendation to Langevin had in all probability resulted from a meeting he had had with Laurier the previous day. The prime minister had given his assurance to Bruchési that the Advisory Board would be pressed to grant further concessions. The

School Lands Fund<sup>37</sup> had obviously entered these discussions for on the following day the Archbishop reminded Laurier that "Ces gens-là attendent de vous des faveurs: si vous y mettez des conditions, ils s'y rendront: les dollars leur sont plus précieux que des règlements scolaires."<sup>38</sup>

That Laurier did indeed use the School Lands Fund to this purpose while Greenway was premier of Manitoba has been amply documented.<sup>39</sup> If the issue succeeded in bringing about some relief it did so at a painfully slow pace, as each incident resulted in a major crisis between the two contracting parties. However neither party ever hesitated much in holding the Archbishop of St. Boniface responsible for endless delays. Twice within the space of two months the North West Review and Le Manitoba had it that Laurier was to exact full redress on part of the Catholic minority in return for a settlement of Manitoba's financial claims.<sup>40</sup> To Laurier this appeared to have been misconstrued by Langevin and he immediately sent word to St. Boniface admonishing that "Le moins on en parlera d'avance, plus elles seront facile à obtenir. Je ne saurais trop recommander à tous ceux qui s'intéressent au règlement de cette question, d'observer sur tout ce qui se passe le silence le plus complet."<sup>41</sup>

Other issues which had entered the negotiations were the selection of "readers" expounding the Catholic doctrine, the choosing of text-books written in English and the contentious question of an oath which asked teachers and trustees whether or not religion had been taught outside the hours as prescribed by

law. Once again, the ecclesiastical authorities in St. Boniface had balked unjustifiably, so it seemed to Laurier.<sup>42</sup> During the course of these proceedings Langevin had not hesitated to "fan the warm coals of the school question" by stating in the Montreal Gazette that little was being done. All this irritated Laurier to the point that he complained to Merry del Val that St. Boniface was showing little good will compared to the other side: "Les autorités civiles sont bien disposés, mais malheureusement, les autorités religieuses ne veulent pas le croire..."<sup>43</sup>

Laurier felt he had every reason to be disgruntled. After successfully convincing officials from the Bureau of Education in Manitoba to take over Catholic schools in Winnipeg and in other mixed centers, he repeatedly witnessed the Archbishop of St. Boniface rejecting his overtures, and warning him that he could not compromise on such matters as the selection of text-books and that he would not let his Catholic schools become neutral schools.<sup>44</sup>

Langevin made this abundantly clear to Laurier: "...il est évident que plusieurs ne veulent pas faire la moitié du chemin comme nous. Il faudrait accepter simplement tous les livres des écoles publiques, ce qui ne peut pas même être mis en question, puisqu'il s'agit d'un principe à maintenir."<sup>45</sup>

All in all, it seemed that the only noteworthy concession carried out by the Greenway Government was the appointment of S. A. D. Bertrand to the Advisory Board. But even this nomination had undergone difficulties. Both J. D. Cameron, Manitoba's Attorney-General, and Clifford Sifton had been pressing for the appointment

of James E. Prendergast to the board.<sup>46</sup> Rochon, however, had previously warned Laurier that such a nomination would surely provide Langevin with yet another opportunity to criticize both levels of government for not having been consulted; and for choosing a man who did not have his confidence and whom he had not seen in more than two years.<sup>47</sup> With Sifton pressing the

issue, Laurier had to do some explaining to his colleague:

"Prendergast and the Archbishop are not on good terms...If we were to appoint him, the Archbishop probably would only reluctantly act with us..." As for Bertrand he ought to be appointed for he has "the ear of the Archbishop" and "...is well disposed toward us and can be the means of communications."<sup>48</sup>

Despite these seemingly interminable difficulties Laurier tried to maintain an air of optimism when negotiating with officials of the Manitoba Government. Early in 1899 he informed Dr. George Bryce that a point had been reached "where mutual concessions can be agreed upon" and that Langevin "...is quite ready to place the catholic schools [in Winnipeg] under the law, provided a new series of books is added to the series in circulation."<sup>49</sup> S.-A.-D. Bertrand, however, described the situation quite differently as Langevin and Greenway could not agree on choosing an assistant to the catholic inspector and on deciding whether or not normal school classes could be conducted in a convent.<sup>50</sup> The latter issue caught Laurier quite by surprise and he immediately wrote to Rochon and Bertrand exhorting them to make it clear to the Archbishop that he was assuming grave responsibilities



"by denying Catholics their rightful educational subsidies."<sup>51</sup>

Rochon nevertheless continued to despair at seeing the local clergy bent on embarrassing the local government and overthrowing it at the next provincial elections. This with a view of proving to both Liberal Governments that only federal remedial legislation could settle the question.<sup>52</sup> By now Laurier's nominee had become quite convinced

qu'aussi longtemps que Mgr. Langevin sera Archevêque de St. Boniface, nous ne pourrons rien faire, tout sera toujours à recommencer...Mgr. paralyse les efforts du gouvernement fédéral, les bonnes dispositions du gouvernement local, le dévouement et l'action des deux membres Catholique, c'est à dire l'inspecteur et le représentant des Catholiques sur l'Advisory Board...Je suis tout de croire que l'on suscite toute espèce de difficulté afin de nous prendre en défaut ou de nous décourager. Alors leur but sera atteint, ils diront: Nous avons essayé la conciliation, les concessions partielles et ça ne fait pas, donnez nous une loi selon que vous l'avez promis.<sup>53</sup>

Unable to come up with a solution Rochon proposed to Laurier that Rome be called upon to intervene.<sup>54</sup> Laurier, looking for an expedient, urged S.-A.-D. Bertrand to impress upon Catholic teachers the need to use greater discretion. To avoid any confrontation the prime minister advised that "il est d'autant plus important ...pour les catholiques d'user d'une circonspection extrême dans les écoles, et de ne pas donner le moindre prétexte à la partie adverse de nous combattre."<sup>55</sup>

By this time Langevin had had enough of Laurier's "sunny ways" and of hearing Ottawa claiming that the school question had been dealt with adequately. He took it upon himself to advise the Governor General that "...we do not consider the said question yet settled to the satisfaction of the parties interested and

that it will be so as long as the School Law of 1890 and 1896, objected to, shall remain the same..." He reiterated his demands:

- 1st. The right of organizing Catholic School districts, wherever there is the sufficient number of catholic rate-payers, and of Catholic Children, as it was the case before.
- 2nd. The liberty of religious teaching.
- 3rd. The use of books according to our religious principles.<sup>56</sup>

Laurier thought this letter most regrettable. He hoped it would not become public as it would only serve to fan the flames throughout the country. He accused Langevin of hindering his attempts to bring satisfaction to the Catholic minority. His demand for Catholic textbooks, the prime minister argued, could only arouse "les éléments hostiles and "...toutes les concessions nouvelles, qui restent à obtenir, vont être mises en péril, et peut-être... les concessions déjà obtenues dans la partie française."<sup>57</sup> Laurier therefore warned Langevin that "...si la question des écoles... est ramené dans l'arène fédérale...je ne serai pas responsable de l'échec qui pourrait en résulter..."<sup>58</sup> That Langevin could not and would not ever agree to Ottawa's strategy in dealing with the matter was clearly explained to Laurier by J.S. Ewart: "the Archbishop has not accepted the settlement-neither as a fait accompli, nor as irreversible if in fact accomplished. He looks forward to the restoration of the status quo ante-Martin, and will probably for many years find it quite impossible to resign himself to any other situation."<sup>59</sup> The March crisis nevertheless subsided when one of Langevin's superiors in Rome forwarded the Archbishop of St. Boniface a cautionary note as to the means to be adopted in reaching a definitive settlement of the school question:

sans blesser le gouvernement proclamer les principes, affirmer l'insuffisance des concessions faites, dans le but de ne laisser rien prescrire, et de tenir les fidèles en haleine...de temps en temps, et selon les circonstances, adresser au gouvernement des réclamations privées qui seront enveloppées de la plus grande discrétion, jusqu'au jour, où leur publication deviendra nécessaire: c'est ce que Rome désire que vous fassiez...<sup>60</sup>

The situation remained unchanged until the Manitoba provincial election of 1899 which resulted in a Conservative victory. In this development Laurier saw a sign of relief. Now at last he could blame a Conservative administration for inaction. This he fully expected to happen: "Il est plus que certain que le gouvernement de Hugh John Macdonald ne fera absolument rien, et alors les coups devraient tomber non pas sur les libéraux du parlement fédéral, mais sur le gouvernement conservateur de Winnipeg."<sup>61</sup> Laurier's analysis of the situation substantiated Prendergast's claim that the Greenway Government was determined to ignore Ottawa on the question of separate school districts.

For the time being Ottawa could wait for events to happen. The removal of Télesphore Rochon as inspector of Catholic schools was one of the first changes brought about by the new provincial administration. His nomination to this position had been a Liberal political appointment. His dismissal therefore did not cause Langevin much grief. The Archbishop in fact thought his position much enhanced by this development as revealed in a letter to Archbishop Diomède Falconio, the newly appointed Apostolic Delegate: "Le nouveau Gouvernement m'a fait savoir que personne ne serait nommé sans mon assentiment."<sup>62</sup>

Consequently Langevin could claim he had the confidence of

the local government and as such it appeared to him he would have a better control over events than he had been accustomed to. But this turned out to be a two-edged sword, as the message he tried to convey to Falconio did not escape the Apostolic Delegate's attention. Falconio immediately informed Langevin that the consensus amongst both federal parties was that little stood to be gained from federal intervention. As such he urged the Archbishop of St. Boniface to use his influence to extract from the Manitoba Government the concessions he was demanding.<sup>63</sup>

In spite of this advice Langevin had considered sending another memorandum to the Governor-General concerning the unsettled school question. Falconio immediately informed the Archbishop what he thought of this approach: "...la solution de la question est entre les mains du gouvernement actuel du Manitoba. Qu'il la règle définitivement...et l'on saura lequel des deux gouvernements a rendu justice à la minorité catholique."<sup>64</sup> The Archbishops of Quebec, Montreal and Ottawa were in complete agreement with this strategy.<sup>65</sup> Understandably an exasperated Langevin could not help but see a scheming Laurier behind all this:

Laurier assure Mgr. le Délégué qu'il est prêt à tout, et il demande toutbonnement que Hugh J. Macdonald rappelle les lois injustes de 1890! Rien que cela!! Il ne l'a pas demandé à son ami Greenway; mais il le demande à J.J. sachant bien que ce dernier ne peut pas le faire sans se suicider? Et Laurier reçoit son brevet de bon vouloir et se frotte les mains en riant...Non! Que l'on m'accorde une quête pour nos écoles de Winnipeg, telle que je l'ai demandée, c'est ce qu'il y a de plus sûr...<sup>66</sup>

Perhaps Langevin had been a bit harsh in his outright condemnation of Laurier. Early in 1901 Sir Wilfrid, at the invitation

of Mgr. Bruchési, met with the Archbishops of Ottawa, Halifax, Quebec and St. Boniface to assure those present that the interest resulting from the sale of school lands would never be transferred to the Province of Manitoba unless satisfaction was given to the Catholic minority.<sup>67</sup> A few days later he reiterated these sentiments very explicitly to the Apostolic Delegate. He explained to Falconio that the federal government was under no obligation to transfer funds resulting from the sale of these lands to the Province of Manitoba. Hence, "...il ne serait que juste par conséquent, d'exiger de la part du gouvernement de Manitoba des concessions réciproques."<sup>68</sup>

Laurier confided that he would like separate schools re-established in Manitoba in exchange for these funds. He nevertheless could not see Hugh J. Macdonald's successor, Rodmond Roblin, being able to guarantee this in view of the existing opposition to such schools in that province. Consequently he saw no reason for any immediate transfer of the funds in question and thought it best to prepare "l'opinion publique à faire des concessions nouvelles par voie législative et d'amener à la minorité la substance des privilèges qu'elle réclame." All in all, notwithstanding the re-establishment of a dual Protestant and Catholic school administration, Laurier believed that the privileges essential to the functioning of separate schools could be eventually obtained. He cautioned, however, that any such scheme would have to be sanctioned by concurrent legislation, federal and provincial. This he thought to be indispensable.<sup>69</sup>

To accomplish this Laurier once more informed his party that no political capital be made out of this question and "I hope that the same attitude will be maintained by the Leader of the [Manitoba] Conservative Party."<sup>70</sup> But the negotiations which ensued between the two levels of government did not get off to a good start. Langevin considered the selection of E. Farrer as Sir Wilfrid's intermediary most unfortunate and complained to Ottawa that "... [il] s'occupe malheureusement trop de faire la guerre au gouvernement Roblin sur la question des chemins de fer."<sup>71</sup> The following day Langevin wrote to Laurier again protesting a report concerning the negotiations which appeared in the Manitoba Free Press and with a view of embarrassing the Roblin Government.<sup>72</sup>

The Archbishop received the reply that, if for his part, he insisted on a legal opinion, the unanimous consent of all Liberal members of the Winnipeg Public School Board, the remittance of \$13,870.00 on part of the Manitoba Government in return for monies unjustly seized in 1890, the prior approval of a series of textbooks, and lastly an amendment to the Laurier-Greenway agreement as necessary conditions for the takeover of ~~these~~ Catholic schools in Winnipeg by the City's School Board, he should not be surprised at any lack of progress. Laurier also made clear to Langevin that he did not intend to turn over to the Manitoba Government any school lands as Roblin wanted the conditions of the transfer to be set by the federal government. Evidently, neither Laurier nor Roblin wanted to take on the responsibility of legislating a settlement resolving the difficulties which plagued the Catholic minority



in Winnipeg. At the same time Laurier did not want the agreement of 1897 violated: "ce n'est pas trop exiger des curés dans chaque district scolaire, s'ils sont à confesser les enfants aux écoles, de les confesser après les heures de l'enseignement."<sup>73</sup>

Langevin nevertheless continued to press Roblin's simple demand that Ottawa set the conditions of the transfer in as far as the annual revenue of the School Lands Fund was concerned. But this did not meet well with the Apostolic Delegate's views. He criticized the points raised by the Archbishop concerning the transfer of Catholic schools and urged him to leave the negotiations up to the parties concerned. He also left no doubt as to who should settle the issue once and for all:

Aussi faut-il ne céder [les fonds scolaires] que lorsque tout aura été arrangé d'une manière stable et définitive par un acte parlementaire du Gouvernement manitobain approuvé à Ottawa..."...il est temps que le Gouvernement manitobain s'il est vraiment disposé, manifeste sa bonne volonté... Tout dépend des chefs de ce Gouvernement, car...M. Laurier, qui est d'un autre parti, n'a pas sur eux une grande influence, et de plus, pour ménager leur susceptibilité il doit éviter de s'immerger trop dans les affaires purement locales...Tout ce que vous pourrez espérer, c'est qu'il ne cèdera les fonds scolaires qu'après reconnaissance...des droits catholiques. Et cela...est tout à fait différent des concessions partielles que vous demandez et qui sont déjà contenues plus ou moins dans l'arrangement Laurier-Greenway.<sup>74</sup>

The situation in Winnipeg having become intolerable,<sup>75</sup> Langevin found the warning ill-advised and informed the Sacred Propaganda of the Faith in Rome that Laurier was not only doing little for the Catholic minority in Manitoba but that the Apostolic Delegate "...me paraît entretenir beaucoup plus de confiance en M. Laurier, qu'en nous tous...au Manitoba." He also thought it most unfortu-

nate that Falconio had not deemed it necessary to spend some time in Manitoba where he could have studied the issue "...en dehors de l'influence exercée par le Gouvernement à Ottawa." Furthermore, in the face of all the insinuations and accusations that he had been subject to on the part of Laurier and the Apostolic Delegate,<sup>76</sup> he no longer saw "l'utilité de traiter désormais cette question avec Mgr. le Délégué."<sup>77</sup> When Cardinal Ledochowski later informed him that Falconio had only been transmitting the wishes of Rome, his reaction was one of total exasperation: "Que tout périsse... mais, en même temps, je crois devoir jeter le cri d'alarme."<sup>78</sup>

In view of this situation Langevin felt compelled to intercede on behalf of the Manitoba Government. He endeavored to persuade Laurier and Falconio that once Ottawa transferred to the province the interest arising from the School Lands Funds, Roblin could be counted on to improve considerably the lot of the Catholic minority. According to Langevin the Manitoba Government would then be in a position to construct a normal school in St. Boniface, print a series of French and English textbooks acceptable to the minority, and modify the wording of any statutory declaration which forbade "religious teaching" during school hours. The Roblin Government was also prepared to work out a settlement with the Winnipeg Public School Board which would be satisfactory to Catholic ratepayers and to remit the sum of \$4000.00 to be given to Catholic teachers who had not been remunerated during the past few years.<sup>79</sup>

Despite the Apostolic Delegate's reticence<sup>80</sup> Langevin continued to press the issue and by May of 1902 Laurier agreed to transfer to the Province of Manitoba \$225,000.00,<sup>81</sup> a sum which, according



to the Honourable Charles Fitzpatrick, had "been kept from the people of Manitoba by the harsh and unreasonable policy of the Conservative party."<sup>82</sup> This decision on the part of Laurier drew a rare word of praise from the Archbishop. Nevertheless Langevin saw the measures as only a step in the right direction as the normal school, for instance, was not the property of the Catholics "et un autre Greenway pourrait nous en chasser..."<sup>83</sup>

Efforts at having the Catholic schools in Winnipeg taken over by the city's public school board continued. But the issue remained an explosive one with Laurier in Ottawa and Roblin in Winnipeg taking every precaution not to offend publicly any of their political friends.<sup>84</sup> Neither did the Winnipeg Public School Board want to give the appearance of giving in to any party. So while the members urged their "Catholic friends to trust them, they adamantly refused to acknowledge this trust by way of a bargain or written agreement."<sup>85</sup> But members of the Catholic minority had learned according to the editor of the Manitoba Free Press, John W. Dafoe, that Ottawa intended to bring about an arrangement and as such were quite ready to create "a political disturbance that will result down East if their desires are not met."<sup>86</sup> Thomas Greenway as well wanted a settlement as the situation "...is troublesome to our party friends here in view of the approaching election..."<sup>87</sup>

With the new Apostolic Delegate, Mgr. Donatus Sbaretti pressing for a settlement,<sup>88</sup> Laurier continued to urge all parties to come to an understanding. Thus, when the School Board objected

to hiring teachers wearing religious garb, he immediately asked George Bryce to use his influence "to have the recalcitrants give up that objection" as "it matters very little in this country what garment a man may use."<sup>89</sup> But two Winnipeg Catholics, Frank Russell and Thomas Deegan had had enough of waiting and made it known that they would ask Laurier to appoint a commission of inquiry or else they would make a direct appeal to the Governor-General. In choosing this course of action they had Langevin's full "approbation."<sup>90</sup> Sbarette was not amused as Laurier had promised him to try and settle the matter using different means.<sup>91</sup>

Unlike his predecessor, Sbarette demonstrated much more confidence in the Roblin Government. In the fall of 1903, the Apostolic Delegate had sent Roblin two proposed amendments which he thought could not be considered unreasonable. One would allow parents to have the right to demand that only Catholic teachers instruct their children wherever the enrolment of Catholic children exceeded thirty in a given school in towns and cities; and fifteen in any given school in villages and rural districts. The other permitted the separation of pupils by religious denominations wherever the above mentioned conditions existed.<sup>92</sup> Langevin agreed. With the help of Ottawa, Roblin should be able to enact such legislation "...car il a plusieurs années de règne devant lui et, après tout, il doit beaucoup aux catholiques, et il a intérêt à les ménager."<sup>93</sup>

Hopes that further progress could be made collapsed early in 1904, when the federal government failed to hand over the monies

arising out of the School Lands Fund.<sup>94</sup> This development took the Archbishop totally by surprise and he complained to Sbaretti that Ottawa was creating an unjust financial embarrassment for Roblin "qui semble bien disposé à faire les amendements proposés."<sup>95</sup> Sbaretti argued the contrary and thought it advisable to ask Ottawa not to transfer the monies in question until the situation in Manitoba improved.<sup>96</sup>

For his part Laurier was not about to be told by the Apostolic Delegate how the issue could best be resolved. He alone would make any overture to Roblin.<sup>97</sup> Merry del Val also agreed as he could not see what good might come of having Clifford Sifton involved in the negotiations<sup>98</sup> as had been requested by Sbaretti.<sup>99</sup> Sir Wilfrid also informed del Val that the Apostolic Delegate thought that a bill restoring separate schools in the proposed provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta could be introduced into Manitoba by means of extending that province's boundaries. Laurier viewed such a project as very unwise. If anything it served to demonstrate that Sbaretti "...n'a pas encore mesuré toute l'étendue de l'agitation qui a convulsé la province et même tout le pays de 1890 à 1897..." Furthermore should the Apostolic Delegate and the Archbishop of St. Boniface try to make this issue flare up in the next upcoming federal election, "...cette attitude serait déplorable et même dangereuse...Ce serait réveiller les passions heureusement apaisées, et mettre en péril les résultats à obtenir..."<sup>100</sup>

Langevin remained, nevertheless, quite determined to do everything in his power to settle the question to his own satisfaction. In November of 1904 he urged his bishops to press for full

restoration of separate schools in the North West Territories as "...nos Libéraux...cherchent à gagner du temps en trompant les honnêtes gens." Once this was achieved, similar terms could then be applied to the territories sought by the Province of Manitoba which would of course be required by Ottawa to harmonize its school legislation. To accomplish this, the Archbishop was convinced that Rome would have to officially inform the electorate of the inequities of the school settlement in Manitoba as "...on ne saurait croire comme les Libéraux ont réussi à faire croire le contraire, même par le clergé de Québec." In these circumstances "...Léon XIII qui nous imposé le silence pour permettre à Laurier de tout régler...doit élever la voix...pour nous tirer de l'humiliation en réclamant nos droits scolaires."<sup>101</sup>

To Langevin the creation of two new provinces in the west seemed the perfect occasion for taking the initiative away from Laurier on the school question. He tried once more to gain the support of the Canadian Episcopate but again he received little or no encouragement: "Malheureusement Mgr. Bruchési et deux autres évêques de langue française avec les évêques d'Ontario n'ont pas été favorable à une déclaration publique qui m'aurait été très utile en ne me laissant pas seul sur la brèche."<sup>102</sup> He had also hoped to see Sbaretti take a firm stand with Laurier but by April of 1905, he knew that the matter would not be handled to his satisfaction: "Hélas! Le Délégué ne nous sauvera pas plus que tous les messieurs de son espèce qui vivent de diplomatie..."<sup>103</sup> What irritated Langevin even more was that Laurier had once again been

able to convince Rome of his good faith and as such "Nous serons donc toujours victimes de la lacheté de cet homme néfaste...les saints de Dieu sont trompés par les ennemis de la cause catholique ..."<sup>104</sup> The Autonomy Bills having been passed, Langevin wrote the Archbishop of Montréal advising him that he viewed the episcopate's silence throughout the controversy most unfortunate: "le silence épiscopal qu'on nous a imposé a été un malheur dont je ne me console pas parce qu'il nous a fait un tort peut-être irréparable. Dois-je ajouter que c'était une atteinte à la liberté des évêques."<sup>105</sup>

The events of 1905 had left Langevin with little hope of seeing Laurier introduce federal legislation establishing separate schools in Manitoba. Laurier had no intention of surprising him either. During March of that year he had written George Bryce and made his views clear as to where he stood on the matter:

In Manitoba, it was supposed, in 1870, when the Province was admitted into the Dominion, that there had been a system of separate schools in existence, either by law or practice. It turned out that this was a misconception, and the highest judicial authorities of the British Empire decided that at the time of the entry of Manitoba into Confederation, there was no system of separate schools either by law or by practice and that, consequently the power of Manitoba, in matters of education, was not trammelled as that of the Provinces, of Ontario and Quebec, and was absolutely unlimited.

Therefore...I opposed the so-called Remedial Bill, which Manitoba had the right to adopt or to reject.<sup>106</sup>

Having said this he continued to plead with his Liberal "friends" in Manitoba "not to allow another school question in Manitoba to develop." Never deviating from his previous policy, he pleaded with them to favour any arrangements that could be made with the Winnipeg Public School Board for the take-over of Catholic schools

as "...a strong reason for this course, apart from all others..., that it would be a justification for the legislation of 1897 and a vindication of our policy."<sup>107</sup>

Here the debate rested. Neither Langevin's suggestion that Manitoba's boundaries be extended in return for an equitable settlement through written legislation, nor Sbarette's demand to modify the school law, would succeed in deflecting Laurier from that stand.<sup>108</sup> The prime minister gave Merry del Val the following explanation for following this course of action:

...in my humble opinion, Mgr. Sbarette does not sufficiently appreciate the fact that the general opinion of the protestant majority in this country, while willing to give by voluntary concessions separate schools to the minority, has always been roused to a dangerous point of excitement whenever legislation in that direction has been attempted.<sup>109</sup>

Understandably, Laurier never made any mention of the school question during the course of all official negotiations between his government and that of Manitoba. No doubt Laurier had other reasons for never bringing the subject up. For one thing he was very much aware that the Roblin administration could well afford "to publicly inflame public opinion against the Dominion Government" with this issue.<sup>110</sup> Moreover, Roblin's tactic of asking Parliament to legislate while reserving the right to reject such legislation<sup>111</sup> gave Sir Wilfrid every reason to believe that this strategy employed by Manitoba would apply to any remedial legislation. At best his Manitoba counter-part could be counted on to make it clear that Ottawa was seeking to impose separate schools upon him.

On the other hand Sir Wilfrid knew that he would have to

continue to seek means that would bring satisfaction to Winnipeg's Catholic minority prior to granting Manitoba an extension of its boundaries. Should he not be able to achieve this, he realized that the subject could become a contentious issue in Québec.<sup>112</sup> Until his government's demise in 1911 he attempted to resolve the "...situation in Winnipeg [which] has been a constant regret to me and...a cause of weakness to us politically."<sup>113</sup> In this respect he blamed both Archbishop Langevin "...[qui] n'a jamais accepté de bonne grâce la législation de 1897, et [qui] n'a jamais fait sincèrement l'effort pour le faire accepter à Winnipeg."<sup>114</sup> and the illiberality of the Winnipeg Public School Board.<sup>115</sup> In justice to Sir Wilfrid, however, it should be added that Laurier, the politician, was willing to take some of the blame for an impasse which had lasted over a decade. "Each party," he wrote to George Bryce, "is afraid of the other and probably thinks that if he takes the lead the other will stab him."<sup>116</sup>

The 1911 federal election put an end to these agonizing endeavours. But Archbishop Langevin would hardly thank Laurier for his efforts. His defeat represented the retribution that he deserved: "Laurier qui a sacrifié ses frères du Manitoba au fanatisme anglais et protestant reçoit le coup de pied des anglais protestant d'Ontario!"<sup>117</sup> To which he added: "Rien ne paie... comme faire son devoir. Si l'on succombe c'est avec mérite et avec gloire tandis qu'autrement la défaite est honteuse. On dit que le grand homme en a pleuré et ne se console guère, lui, qui n'a pas eu d'autre passion que celle du pouvoir."<sup>118</sup>

Langevin's total exasperation with Laurier was understandable. After all it was Sir Wilfrid who, as prime minister, had been responsible for the drafting of the Laurier-Greenway agreement. First and foremost a political expedient, the settlement had only given legal sanction to the demands which in French Catholic centres, had already been acquired through practice. To the English-speaking Catholics who had been hardest hit by the 1890 Manitoba Public Schools Act, it was totally inconsequential. Langevin was therefore determined not to let the matter rest and sought to demonstrate that Ottawa's efforts to settle the Manitoba School Question in 1896 had been a dismal failure. As such the Archbishop of St. Boniface remained insistent that Laurier initiate a revamping of the settlement to include the spelling out of the minority's demands.

Laurier, however, had stubbornly refused to move in this direction. Instead, he took objection to Langevin's claim that the settlement of 1897 was defective and attempted to vindicate it using conciliatory methods. Though his "politique de conciliation" proved totally ineffective, Laurier was rather successful in extricating himself from most of the blame when his efforts met with failure. He continuously acquitted himself by accusing Langevin of being too intransigent in his demands and by charging that Roblin's Conservative Government was waiting to be coerced by Ottawa to stir up another school question for its political ends. To Laurier, it was of secondary importance that the self-appointed guardians of the sectarian school system had equally been responsible in preventing a solution from being reached.



As unjustified as the accusations levelled at Langevin may have been, the Archbishop of St. Boniface had found himself in an untenable position. He had been shunned by Rome which chose to put its faith in Laurier's "sunny ways." Langevin had also received little active support from his episcopal colleagues in Quebec. With Bégin and Bruchési not wanting to embarrass Laurier with another school question Langevin was left rather isolated and with little support in seeking the betterment of the Catholic's position in centres such as Winnipeg. This he regarded as humiliating enough. Yet he was to be subjected to another affront, this time by the English-speaking Catholic population who came to blame him for its failure to be released from the burdensome double school tax.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

<sup>1</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to L.-R. Giroux, June 15, 1896; Crunican, Priests and Politicians..., p. 272.

<sup>2</sup>Langevin to Chanoine Louis-Joseph-Paul-Napoléon Bruchési, June 29, 1896; cited in Jean Bruchési, "Sir Wilfrid Laurier et Monseigneur Bruchési," Mémoire de la Société Royale du Canada, XL (1946), 6. For an interpretation of Langevin's relations with Laurier see Robert Choquette, "Adélard Langevin et les questions scolaires du Manitoba et du Nord-Ouest, 1895-1915," Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XLVI (Juillet-septembre 1976), 324-344. A discussion as to the role played by the Greenway Government in "settling" the Manitoba School Question is given in Hiltz, "The Political Career of Thomas Greenway," pp. 259-262.

<sup>3</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Memorandum of Langevin, n.d. For a further discussion on this subject see Laurier LaPierre, "Joseph-Israël Tarte et les évêques de Saint-Boniface," Sessions d'études, Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique, XXXVII (1970), 185-191.

<sup>4</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to the Bishops of Quebec, November 4, 1896.

<sup>5</sup>Idem...

<sup>6</sup>Manitoba Statutes, 60 Vict., c. 28, 1897.

<sup>7</sup>Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 271.

<sup>8</sup>LaPierre, "Joseph-Israël Tarte et les évêques de Saint-Boniface," 185.

<sup>9</sup>Public Archives of Canada (hereafter cited as P.A.C.) Laurier Papers, Edouard Colleaux and Edouard Lapham, on behalf of 40 petitioners of the district of Deleau, to Wilfrid Laurier, n.d.

<sup>10</sup>Toronto Globe and Mail, November 21, 1896; cited in William B. Ready, "The Political Implications of the Manitoba School Question, 1896-1916" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1948), p. 55.

<sup>11</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to James E. Prendergast, December 11, 1896.

<sup>12</sup>Winnipeg Tribune, November 23, 1896.

- <sup>13</sup>Arthur Savaète, Voix Canadiennes... XII, 198-99.
- <sup>14</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, L.-R. Giroux to Langevin, November 15, 1896; December 9, 1896; Benoît to Langevin, December 1, 1896; Langevin to Benoît, December 4, 1896.
- <sup>15</sup>Ibid., J.-M. Jolys to Langevin, December 1, 1896.
- <sup>16</sup>Ibid., Léon Favreau to Langevin, December 12, 1896.
- <sup>17</sup>A.-G. Morice, Histoire de l'Eglise catholique dans l'Ouest canadien..., III, 103.
- <sup>18</sup>P.A.C., Scott Papers, Memorandum of a public meeting held at Ste-Anne-des-Chênes, December 28, 1896.
- <sup>19</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to [the Bishops of Quebec], November 18, 1896; December [ ], 1896; Winnipeg Tribune, February 8, 1897.
- <sup>20</sup>Roger E. Turenne, "The Minority and the Ballot Box: A Study of the Voting Behaviour of French Canadians of Manitoba" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970), pp. 38-41.
- <sup>21</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Télesphore A.-Rochon to Laurier, February 9, 1897.
- <sup>22</sup>R.C. Brown & Ramsay Cook, Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1974), pp. 14-15.
- <sup>23</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Laurier to Lord Aberdeen, December 23, 1896.
- <sup>24</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Mgr. Raphaël Merry del Val, n.d.
- <sup>25</sup>Ibid., Merry del Val to Langevin, July 3, 1897.
- <sup>26</sup>Archives nationales du Québec, L.-P.-A. Langevin Papers, Langevin to Colonel Alphonse Audet, July 21, 1897.
- <sup>27</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Laurier to Thomas Greenway, n.d.
- <sup>28</sup>P.A.C., Scott Papers, Laurier to R.W. Scott, July 24, 1897.
- <sup>29</sup>Joseph Schull, Laurier: The First Canadian (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1965), pp. 366-67.
- <sup>30</sup>P.A.C., Fitzpatrick Papers, Charles Fitzpatrick to Merry del Val, January 11, 1898.

<sup>31</sup>P.A.C., Scott Papers, R.W. Scott to Archbishop John Walsh, January 7, 1898.

<sup>32</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Mgr. Louis-Nazaire Bégin, January 22, 1898.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., Memorandum on the Manitoba School Question, March 8, 1908.

<sup>34</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Bruchési to Laurier, January 27, 1898; and Laurier to Bruchési, January 28, 1898.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., Laurier to S.-A.-D. Bertrand, January 30, 1898.

<sup>36</sup>Archives nationales du Québec, L.-P.-A. Langevin Papers, Bruchési to Langevin, February 20, 1898.

<sup>37</sup>In 1872 the Dominion Lands Act provided for section 11 and 29 in each township to be set aside as an endowment for educational purposes. In 1879 a further Dominion Lands Act authorized the Federal Government to invest the revenues from land sales in Dominion securities with the interest arising therefrom "paid annually to the Government of the Province or Territory within which such lands are situated towards the support of public schools therein." Manoly R. Lupul, The Roman Catholic Church and the North-West School Question: A Study in Church-State Relations in Western Canada, 1875-1905 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. 260. For an account of Manitoba's claim that the province be entrusted with the administration of these lands and funds, see Canada, Sessional Papers, No. 83, 1902.

<sup>38</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Bruchési to Laurier, February 20, 1898.

<sup>39</sup>Hilts, "The Political Career of Thomas Greenway," pp. 278-95.

<sup>40</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Laurier to George Bryce, March 12, 1898; and Laurier to Bruchési, April 13, 1898.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., Laurier to S.-A.-D. Bertrand, April 13, 1898.

<sup>42</sup>Laurier to Bruchési, August 21, 1898; cited in Bruchési, "Sir Wilfrid Laurier et Monseigneur Bruchési," 15.

<sup>43</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Laurier to Merry del Val, September 5, 1898.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., Rochon to Laurier, September 18, 1898.

<sup>45</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Laurier, September 27, 1898.

<sup>46</sup>P.A.C., Sifton Papers, Clifford Sifton to Laurier, September 27, 1898; Laurier Papers, Sifton to Laurier, November 26, 1898.

<sup>47</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Rochon to Laurier, September 23, 1898.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., Laurier to Sifton, November 29, 1898.

<sup>49</sup>P.A.C., Sifton Papers, Laurier to Bryce, January 3, 1899.

<sup>50</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Bertrand to Laurier, January 2, 1899.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., Laurier to Rochon, January 27, 1899; Laurier to Bertrand, January 27, 1899.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., Rochon to Laurier, January 28, 1899.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., Rochon to Laurier, February 16, 1899 and February 18, 1899.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., Rochon to Laurier, February 18, 1899.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., Laurier to Bertrand, February 20, 1899.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., Langevin to the Earl of Minto, March 7, 1899.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., Laurier to Bertrand, April 6, 1899.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., Laurier to Langevin, April 13, 1899.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., J.S. Ewart to Laurier, April 22, 1899.

<sup>60</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Joseph Lemius to Langevin, May 31, 1899.

<sup>61</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Laurier to Henri D'Hellencourt, June 4, 1900.

<sup>62</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Mgr. Diomède Falconio, February 3, 1900.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., Falconio to Langevin, February 17, 1900.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., Falconio to Langevin, February 26, 1900.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., Langevin Papers, Bégin to Langevin, February 28, 1900.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Father A. Lacombe, June 14, 1900.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., "Assemblée des Archevêques du Canada tenue à l'Archevêché d'Ottawa," January 30, 1901.

<sup>68</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Laurier to Falconio, February 5, 1901.

<sup>69</sup>Idem...

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., Laurier to E. Farrer, February 18, 1901; A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Falconio, February 13, 1901.

<sup>71</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Langevin to Laurier, March 20, 1901.

<sup>72</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Laurier, March 21, 1901.

<sup>73</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Laurier to Langevin, April 1, 1901.

<sup>74</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Falconio to Langevin, April 8, 1901.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Laurier, April 12, 1901.

<sup>76</sup>Langevin was not far from the truth in his assessment of the prime minister's position. On April 22, Laurier wrote Falconio that "...ces négociations auraient...meilleures chances de réussir ..."if it was not for Langevin standing in the way of success. "Elle (Langevin) n'a ni le tact, ni la prudence, ni le sang-froid que la délicatesse aurait exigés: P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Laurier to Falconio, April 22, 1901.

<sup>77</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Cardinal Ledochowski, April 13, 1901.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Mgr. F.-X. Cloutier, September 28, 1901.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Falconio, August 12, 1901; Langevin to Laurier, December 23, 1901; Laurier to Langevin, January 30, 1902 and February 18, 1902; Henri Bourassa to Langevin, March 30, 1902; Roblin to Langevin, April 8, 1902.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Falconio, December 23, 1901.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., W.E. Blumhart to Langevin, May [ ], 1902.

<sup>82</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, The Telegram, October 6, 1902.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., Langevin to E. Blumhart, May 13, 1902.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., Roblin to Laurier, April 24, 1903; J.K. Barrett to Laurier, May 2, 1903; Fitzpatrick Papers, N. Bawlf to Fitzpatrick, April 24, 1903.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., C.H. Young to Fitzpatrick, May 7, 1903.

<sup>86</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, J.W. Dafoe to Laurier, May 11, 1903.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., Greenway to Laurier, May 22, 1903.

<sup>88</sup>For an interpretation of Sbarette's attempts to settle the Manitoba School Question during Laurier's term of office see Cook, "Church, Schools, and Politics in Manitoba, 1903-1912," 1-23.

<sup>89</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Laurier to Bryce, May 6, 1903.

<sup>90</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Sbarette, July 18, 1903.

<sup>91</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Sbarette, July 21, 1903. Mgr. Maxime Decelles, Bishop of Saint-Hyacinthe, in a sardonic note to Langevin, had earlier commented as to how both Sbarette and Laurier proposed to settle the issue: "...on se gardera bien...de crier fort. Ce qui permettra aux politiciens de filer leur chemin, sans être molestés par qui que ce soit. Ah! que c'est beau, la diplomatie dans le gouvernement de l'Eglise!" Ibid., Mgr. Maxime Decelles to Langevin, February 16, 1903. In Ottawa, meanwhile, Laurier was discussing the main obstacles to his conciliatory methods: "Bien que sa Grandeur soit douée d'un grand nombre de qualités très estimables, je ne crois pas qu'elle ait aucune de celles qui pourraient en faire un négociateur heureux. De plus, je dois exprimer toute ma pensée, je suis convaincu que Sa Grandeur n'a jamais accepté de bonne grâce la législation de 1897, et n'a jamais sincèrement fait aucun effort pour la faire accepter à Winnipeg. Avec Sa Grandeur le résultat serait douteux; avec un autre, je serais certain du succès." P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Laurier to Sbarette, May 30, 1903.

<sup>92</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Sbarette to Laurier, December 26, 1903.

<sup>93</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Sbarette, December 31, 1903.

<sup>94</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Roblin to Laurier, January 20, 1904; Laurier to Roblin, January 26, 1904.

<sup>95</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Sbarette, January 7, 1904.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., Sbarette to Langevin, February 12, 1904.

<sup>97</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Laurier to Merry del Val, March 4, 1904.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., Merry del Val to Laurier, April 1, 1904. That Laurier enjoyed the full support of Merry del Val is evident in the Cardinal's letter: "Il est incontestable qu'en réglant définitivement la question [des écoles] vous avez gagné la reconnaissance de Rome."

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., Sbarette to Laurier, February 7, 1904.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., Laurier to Merry del Val, May 26, 1904.

<sup>101</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to his suffragan Bishops, November 26, 1904.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., Langevin to M. Hacault, June 1, 1905.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Mgr. F.-X. Cloutier, April 9, 1905.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Bégin, June 10, 1905.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Bruchési, September 28, 1905.

<sup>106</sup>Provincial Archives of Manitoba (hereafter cited as P.A.M.), Bryce Papers, Laurier to George Bryce, March 7, 1905.

<sup>107</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Laurier to Dafoe, February 28, 1906.

<sup>108</sup>Cook, "Church, Schools, and Politics in Manitoba, 1903-12," 5-16.

<sup>109</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Laurier to Merry del Val, June 20, 1908.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., Laurier to Sbarette, February 16, 1909.

<sup>111</sup>P.A.M., Roblin Papers, Laurier to R.P. Roblin, November 30, 1909.

<sup>112</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Laurier to A.B. Aylesworth, June 11, 1908.

<sup>113</sup>P.A.M., Bryce Papers, Laurier to Bryce, February 23, 1909.

<sup>114</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Laurier to Sbarette, May 30, 1903.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid., Laurier to Bryce, May 6, 1903.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., Laurier to Bryce, March 5, 1909.

<sup>117</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Chanoine A. Beaudry, September 23, 1911.



<sup>118</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Joseph Dubuc, November 12, 1911.

## CHAPTER II

### LANGEVIN, MANITOBA'S ENGLISH-SPEAKING CATHOLIC MINORITY AND THE SEPARATE SCHOOLS ISSUE

While arranging the final details of the Laurier-Greenway agreement, Laurier sent his Minister of Public Works, Joseph-Israel Tarte, to Manitoba. His mission was to break the news that the settlement would amount to a compromise. He divulged the federal government's position in late October of 1896 when he addressed a group of children attending a public school in Winnipeg:

...I see strong healthy boys and some very nice girls here, and I don't see for the life of me why my son should not find some love among you...There is no reason why Roman Catholics and Protestants should not walk together in childhood...My young friends, I bid you goodbye, and I hope the next time I visit Winnipeg I shall find in these halls Roman Catholics and Protestants working hand in hand.<sup>1</sup>

Tarte's statement was not well received. The North West Review,<sup>2</sup> a Winnipeg English Catholic weekly, denounced the proposal as being the outcome "...Catholic parents want by all means to avoid."<sup>3</sup> Their objection was totally disregarded. The Laurier-Greenway agreement announced less than three weeks later completely ignored the minority's request that it be allowed to organize its Catholic schools into Catholic school districts and raise its own school taxes. Instead, the settlement stipulated that "No separation of pupils by religious denominations shall take place during the secular school work."<sup>4</sup> The implications of this clause were only too obvious to the Archbishop of St. Boniface: "...il fallait alors consentir à jeter les enfants catholiques de Winnipeg dans

les écoles publiques." Langevin refused to consider this as he could not see himself sacrificing "...tous les centres mixtes pour ne protéger qu'imparfaitement les centres catholique..."<sup>5</sup> He felt duty bound to denounce the Laurier-Greenway agreement in toto.<sup>6</sup>

The position adopted by the authors of the compromise was altogether different as they believed that the Catholic minority as a whole had much to gain from the agreement. Their expectations hinged on the premise that outside Winnipeg the Roman Catholic and Protestant population formed two distinct homogeneous groups. It was nevertheless anticipated that the carrying out of this settlement would meet with difficulty in ten or fifteen schools where the children of the Roman Catholic or Protestant minority would not be sufficient in number to permit the hiring of a teacher of their respective faith. Nonetheless, to the politicians who engineered the agreement this appeared unavoidable and in any case "the difficulty applies equally to Protestants and Catholics and ...would only occur in a trifling number of cases."<sup>7</sup>

Unfortunately these "trifling number of cases" occurred in centres where English-speaking Catholics lived amidst a predominantly Protestant population. The Catholic schools in the City of Winnipeg best exemplified this predicament. Clifford Sifton realized one of the difficulties involved. He could not see how the city could accommodate all its Catholic school children should the parents of the latter ever decide to make the best of exist-

ing conditions. But he thought that the City's school trustees could rent the Catholic schools and indeed, was convinced that this plan would eventually be adopted. The application of this measure he maintained "...will practically be that the Roman Catholic children will be so grouped in their schools that they will be able to avail themselves in almost every case of the privilege conferred by Statute of having Roman Catholic teachers."<sup>8</sup>

Pending the realization of this hope the English-speaking Catholics would be required to wait and expected to bear the brunt of the expenses in maintaining their private Catholic schools. The predicament at first appeared doubly painful to them as the 1897 compromise seemed to have been devised to meet the needs of the French Canadians first. Throughout 1897, their discontentment was to be somewhat abated by Langevin's no-compromise stand. But this situation was to be short-lived. In December 1897 the Papacy issued the encyclical Affari Vos which instructed all Catholics to accept the Laurier-Greenway agreement as a point of departure for obtaining future concessions through conciliatory means.<sup>9</sup> It remained to be seen to what extent English-speaking Catholics could afford to patiently await administrative changes which would see their schools subsidized by the state.

As early as the fall of 1898 Archbishop Langevin felt they could no longer bear the financial burden. He deemed it necessary to inform Wilfrid Laurier that if nothing were done fairly quickly he would be forced to take up a public collection in Quebec:

...comme je l'avais prévu nos Irlandais de Winnipeg ne sont guères satisfaits. Les commissaires catholiques qui ont

travaillé avec nous depuis huit ans ont...décidé de convoquer une assemblée des paroissiens de Ste.Marie et de l'Immaculée Conception afin de trouver les moyens de recueillir l'argent nécessaire.<sup>10</sup>

Father A.-A. Cherrier also saw the necessity of asking Laurier's intervention in regard to the proposed "English Readers" which the Winnipeg School Board absolutely refused to consider. He viewed a solution to this problem one of paramount importance "...car nous avons ici, à Winnipeg surtout, un élément de langue anglaise, lequel nous accuserait certainement de trahison, si nous n'insistons..."<sup>11</sup>

The negotiations which ensued temporarily succeeded in placating the demands of the English-speaking Catholics. But by March of 1900 they had grown restless waiting and decided to press the Winnipeg Public School Board for a settlement. They failed, however, to gain any concessions from the Board. That body stood firm on its conditions for the take-over of any Catholic school. It would allow no religious teaching during the normal school hour; it demanded that any crucifix and all pious images be removed from all classrooms; it would not permit teachers to wear religious garb; and it would continue to prohibit the separation of students according to religious belief.<sup>12</sup>

Not surprisingly, Ottawa viewed this public confrontation with certain misgivings as it threatened the success of their negotiations. The Apostolic Delegate also felt that this initiative taken by the English-speaking Catholics was unfortunate. Langevin came to their defence and informed Falconio of how their financial plight had left them with no alternative as "...Laurier

n'a rien réussi ou ...rien conclu en faveur des écoles catholiques." He further hoped this incident would serve as a warning to Laurier's Liberals "...[qui] se sont imaginés qu'ils avaient carte blanche, et qui ont pensé que s'ils nous donnaient ce qu'il leur serait possible ils feraient tout leur devoir."<sup>13</sup> Evidently Langevin could not understand why Laurier and indeed Falconio could ever hope to reach an agreement with a pseudo-sympathetic board all too willing to utilize the Catholic tax-payers' money "pour bâtir de belles écoles et faire enseigner la musique à leurs enfants 'with the beggars money'..."<sup>14</sup>

Henri d'Hellencourt, the editor of the Liberal weekly L'Echo de Manitoba, expressed quite a different view of the situation. He defended the Winnipeg School Board and argued it could be depended upon to meet the minority's demands, at least in part; but it could not politically afford to pin itself down to anything in writing. The minority's insistence on an agreement in writing, wrote d'Hellencourt, could nevertheless be weakened if the ecclesiastical authorities in St. Boniface were to be convinced of the dangers of such an ultimatum. He proposed to Laurier the following scheme: "...je compte représenter à nos catholiques français qu'ils ne peuvent s'exposer à perdre ce qu'ils ont, pour les Irlandais... qui les ont lâchés sur la question de la langue française..."<sup>15</sup>

Laurier interpreted the Irish Catholics' recent representations to the Winnipeg Public School Board and to the local government in Manitoba as a deliberate attempt by the Conservatives in their midst to bring the school question back into federal politics. Being the politicians that they were, they anticipated an outright

refusal when seeking redress from the Winnipeg School Board and the Manitoba Government. Consequently another appeal to Ottawa could be justified.<sup>16</sup> D'Hellencourt agreed and admitted that even Langevin, if persuaded, could not prevent them from pursuing this course of action: "Les Catholiques de Winnipeg agissent en complète indépendance de Monseigneur, ils vont de l'avant et Monseigneur les suit, court derrière eux, pour ne pas les laisser se détacher complètement, et pour sauvegarder son autorité."<sup>17</sup> As such, Langevin felt compelled to issue a public declaration in support of Winnipeg's English-speaking Catholics. Unfortunately for him, his pronouncements never ceased to furnish his opponents with the ammunition required for their next attack on the proponents of Catholic schools:

Le malheur est, que Monseigneur, ne sait résister à l'entraînement du verbe; il n'est pas plus maître de sa plume que de sa parole, il ignore l'art si précieux de la pondération; c'est un impulsif dans toute la force du terme.

Pour qui ignore l'homme, cette lettre fait l'effet d'un fourgon de munitions soigneusement préparé pour le camp adverse, mais c'est en réalité par inconscience que les drayées destinées aux Irlandais se sont transformées sous la plume de Monseigneur en bonbons explosifs.

...Aujourd'hui Monseigneur se lamente de voir sa prose servir de projectiles aux politiciens...il gémit de voir l'usage qu'on fait de ses paroles, il proteste hautement de la pureté de ses intentions, et s'indigne qu'on puisse le soupçonner, mais il n'a pas encore réalisé, il ne réalisera jamais, que volontairement ou non, lui seul est responsable.

En un mot, il est si peu diplomate, si peu positif, qu'il ne saisit pas la portée de ses paroles, si peu en rapport avec ses intentions réelles.<sup>18</sup>

That the Liberals could do much to prevent the Archbishop of St.

Boniface from antagonizing his opponents was unlikely. On the other hand nothing prevented the Liberals from working upon the feelings of the Irish Catholics to convince them that Manitoba's Conservative Government did in fact, by virtue of the 1897 agreement, possess the power of redress. This strategy would nevertheless have to be carefully nurtured as the Irish Catholics were, reported one of Laurier's emissaries, demanding too much and as such not yet "in a reasonable frame of mind." Furthermore, with Manitoba's Provincial Government bent on injuring Sir Wilfrid over the school question and "undoing the good effect of the Greenway concessions by ignoring them and seeking to enforce the law as it stood originally", every step necessitated great caution. Meanwhile the Prime Minister's Office intended to capitalize on the fact that the French Catholics of Winnipeg and St. Boniface were not desirous of having to face another school question and that Archbishop Langevin could be "...kept down partly by the presence of the Papal Legate, partly by the indifference manifested by the mass of the French Catholics."<sup>19</sup> The Liberals could also depend upon the passage of time as being one of their most dependable allies as "...la question matérielle les fera réfléchir, les Irlandais comme les autres."<sup>20</sup>

Falconio himself supported the Liberal strategy. In June of 1900 he gave notice to Langevin that means of financing Winnipeg's Catholic schools would eventually have to be forthcoming from the provincial government as his episcopal colleagues would not allow another national campaign for funds. Laurier's timely



\$2000.00 subsidy which Langevin received through the Archbishop of Montreal in the spring of 1900 was equally used by the Apostolic Delegate as a basis for prohibiting the Archbishop of St. Boniface from taking up a public collection.<sup>21</sup> Such were the subtle ways employed to pressure Langevin into accepting Laurier's "politique de conciliation à outrance..."<sup>22</sup>

In the summer of 1901 Ottawa, capitalizing on Langevin's absence, attempted to persuade the Catholic School Board to come to an understanding with the Winnipeg Public School Board.<sup>23</sup> It believed the timing to be right as the Catholic laity "...are much pleased at the prospect of getting rid of their double burden, but are afraid that he [Langevin] will raise some objections at the last moment. The priests in charge of the Winnipeg parishes ...are strongly in favour of the transfer and doing all they can to bring it about..." To assure the success of this undertaking, Edward Farrer<sup>24</sup> asked Laurier's Private Secretary to induce the Papal Delegate into advising Langevin "...that he had better keep quiet and allow the settlement to be consummated in the interest of the Catholic people themselves [as] the priest and laity of Winnipeg, would...be thankful."<sup>25</sup>

D'Hellencourt, for his part, did not see how any arrangement could meet with the approval of the Archbishop of St. Boniface as long as the Winnipeg School Board remained inflexible in its attitude towards the religious garb. For Langevin feared that if a precedent was established in Winnipeg, it would be inevitably invoked throughout the province. To complicate matters the Irish

were now openly admitting that their debt of some \$15,000 left them with little alternative, despite the declaration of the French-speaking parish priest of St. Mary's that it would have to be all or nothing. To the editor of L'Echo the strategy of the Archbishop seemed implicit: "Nous allons voir réapparaître les fulminations contre le règlement de 1897...Mais cette fois le pétard fera long feu..."<sup>26</sup> et peut-être fonde-t-on...espoir sur cette fermeture pour une nouvelle agitation."<sup>27</sup>

Langevin decided on a different plan. Knowing that the integrity of Winnipeg's Catholic schools could not be preserved should they be handed over to the City's Public School Board, he directed his efforts towards both levels of government. He called on Ottawa to transfer the interest on the endowment of the School Lands Fund to the Province of Manitoba.<sup>28</sup> Langevin informed Laurier that this gesture on the part of the federal government would encourage Roblin to undertake a more active role in settling a dispute which had existed since 1890.<sup>29</sup>

The Apostolic Delegate balked at this proposal and warned Langevin that in the past Roblin had showed little inclination to assist Manitoba's Catholic minority "...particulièrement en ce qui concerne le point le plus important, les écoles de Winnipeg."<sup>30</sup> Much to Falconio's consternation Langevin continued to press the issue<sup>31</sup> because of his conviction that Roblin "...déploiera... plus de zèle pour régler l'affaire de nos écoles de Winnipeg." But should these monies be withheld from Roblin "...la solution de la difficulté de Winnipeg...sera...rendu plus ardue et peut-

être impossible."<sup>32</sup>

Langevin's persistence met with success in 1902 when a federal order-in-council transferred \$225,000 to the Government of Manitoba. But this was to work to the advantage of the Liberals who could now claim to be doing more than their fair share. Thus, when the negotiations for the takeover of the Catholic schools by the Winnipeg Public School Board kept running aground, George Bryce accused the Roblin Government of insincerity. He also felt that Langevin's insistence on religious dress for teachers was a hindrance to a settlement as in Manitoba "his insistence on a thing is a good reason for opposing anything the Archbishop declares for."<sup>33</sup>

By 1903 the negotiations had reached an impasse and the Prime Minister's Office had no doubt as to who was at fault:

It is the universal opinion...that had the case of the Separate School Board been left unreservedly in the hands of Mr. Bawlf and Mr. Barrett, a satisfactory result would have been reached. As it was, those gentlemen, as well as other members of the Separate School Board, were subjected to influences from St. Boniface which rendered the whole business fruitless.<sup>34</sup>

Laurier's private secretary also noted that "les difficultés qui existent là ne sont pas dûes à la loi elle-même..." He challenged members of the federal Conservative party to ask its friends in Manitoba "...pourquoi ses amis, qui sont au pouvoir au Manitoba depuis quatre ans n'ont pas encore rien fait dans ce sens."<sup>35</sup>

Meanwhile Langevin and a committee representing Winnipeg's six Catholic schools were continuing negotiations with R.P. Roblin. In October of 1903 a meeting was held "dans la même salle du Conseil que la loi scolaire scélérate de 1890 a été décidé."<sup>36</sup>

The representatives of the Catholic school trustees, Thomas Deegan

and Frank Russell, were nevertheless optimistic that the members now occupying the room would be more sympathetic. Both pointed out to Roblin that in the last provincial election, Winnipeg's English-speaking Catholic minority helped three members of his Conservative Government get elected. But Roblin deflated their argument by pointing out that the French Canadians had voted Liberal in three provincial constituencies. A proposal for the formation of a bi-partisan committee consisting of representatives from both levels of government to negotiate with the Winnipeg Public School Board was also discussed. The meeting ended on a rather discouraging note as the premier attacked Laurier for his unwillingness to take any steps which might damage him politically.<sup>37</sup>

Langevin refused to be dismayed. Searching for new ways to resolve the issue he suggested that the extension of Manitoba's boundaries offered both levels of government a golden opportunity to establish separate schools in Manitoba.<sup>38</sup> But unknown to him at the time, this issue was to become a contentious subject affecting his relationship with Manitoba's English-speaking Catholic community. It was the "eminent" J.K. Barrett<sup>39</sup> who gave the first indications that the English Catholic viewpoint on the subject offered a potential source of trouble. In an obvious commentary on his Archbishop's façon d'agir he wrote Langevin a cautionary note in December of 1904:

the addition of new territory to the Province of Manitoba [is] fraught with very grave dangers to the interests of the Catholics of Manitoba...The questions that will arise, so far as our interests are concerned, will have to be

handled with gloves, in order to avoid exciting the Protestant mind so easily disturbed at giving even cold justice to us.<sup>40</sup>

By early 1906 the rift between Langevin and Barrett was complete, the latter apparently having been won over by Laurier's "sunny ways." Shocked by this turn of events Langevin warned Father Louis Drummond "[qu] il serait regrettable que le North West Review fit de ce personnage un héros alors qu'il ne s'agit plus que d'un vulgaire participant de l'assiette au beurre." To which he added: "Le bon docteur a baissé énormément dans l'estime des gens sérieux et ces coups d'encensoir à Laurier ainsi que son revirement vers les Libéraux ne sont pas propres à le relever."<sup>41</sup>

That J.K. Barrett had indeed gone over to the Liberal side became obvious in April of 1907 when he briefed Sir Wilfrid on the Archbishop's manoeuvres following the 1907 provincial election. According to Barrett, Langevin had been so elated by the results of the election that he found himself unable to refrain from openly congratulating his flock for voting Conservative. Not satisfied at just irritating the secular press he tried to utilize the North West Review to publicly censure the Catholic Liberals. Moreover "his clique were now busy spreading the rumor that Dr. Barrett had joined Laurier in trying to oust him." Barrett, although denying this allegation, admitted that "...it would be a blessing if he was retired some place where he could not injure the Church in the west."<sup>42</sup> A month later he voiced a similar complaint and hoped that Winnipeg would soon be blessed with an English-speaking bishop who would guarantee the Irish community English-speaking priests and "our school difficulty with the Protestant Public School Board

would disappear..."<sup>43</sup>

By early 1908 Winnipeg's Catholic community was urging Ottawa to try and extract from the Roblin Government concessions in exchange for the extension of Manitoba's boundaries. They considered this to be a unique opportunity for Laurier to secure "...at least a portion of their rights in educational matters."<sup>44</sup> J.K. Barrett also sympathized with this strategy but realized that Manitoba was not prepared to let itself be coerced by Ottawa. The Roblin administration, he argued, could well afford to do this, since Archbishop Langevin was "ready to excuse the Tory Government of Manitoba for denying us our rights" while at the same time "openly demanding of the Laurier Government not to give any territory to Manitoba unless the Government of that province restores our schools..." The result of which, according to Barrett, had led to a preposterous situation as demonstrated by the following incident:

In a recent by-election in that province [Manitoba] a leading member of the Roblin Government appealed to the electors to support his candidate because Sir Wilfrid Laurier was in league with Your Excellency [Sbaretti] to hand over the public schools of Manitoba to the Pope. As he was making these appeals to the bigotry and intolerance of the Protestant electors, His Grace of St. Boniface was appealing to the credulity of the Catholic electors to vote for the same candidate because ...the Roblin Government was willing to wink at the law and allow the Archbishop to conduct 130 public schools in accordance with his Bourbon ideals.<sup>45</sup>

Roblin's double dealings, Barrett later wrote to Laurier, seemed to provoke the Liberals who "know if they came out openly and denounced the conditions here and created another agitation on this school question, they could defeat the Government."<sup>46</sup> The result of course would be the closing of 130 public schools enjoying government

support. Barrett felt this would be a just retribution for the Archbishop as only then would he be able to understand his "criminal folly."<sup>47</sup>

Coincidentally the North West Review began to voice the opinion of its readers who advocated different approaches to the school question. One scheme called for the exclusion of those Catholics "more anxious to justify the attitude of one party or another ...[and] who dream that Manitoba will ultimately be coerced in the matter of school legislation" by the Federal Government. Moreover, one writer went on, "the Catholic vote must cease to be a Conservative unit as any independent action on the part of English-speaking Catholics would be of little weight because without the support of their bi-lingual co-religionists they would be a safely ignorable quantity." Only with the two parties working together as a Catholic unit, he concluded, could a reasonable settlement be effectuated. Another reader wanted a more definite stand to be taken by his bi-lingual co-religionists who "...must take the initiative and not ourselves."<sup>48</sup>

Another type of approach calling for bi-partisan overtures at the provincial level appeared in the next issue of the Review. Its author called for a deputation of Catholics to "wait on the Hon. R.P. Roblin and endeavor to secure from him a promise to pass a school bill providing that Mr. Norris and the Liberal party will agree to assist in the passage of such a measure." Should either party not consent to such a proposition the Catholics would at least know how to cast their vote in provincial elections. In the event

that both parties would agree "...Catholics would be free to divide and support the party of their own choice. Nor would the Conservative or Liberal party suffer from the protestant vote as both would be blamed or praised equally for passing such school legislation."<sup>49</sup>

By the end of 1910, Barrett could inform Laurier that three Liberals and three Conservatives were to meet to consider removing the school question from politics. The English-speaking Catholics had opted for this course, he added, owing to Archbishop Langevin being so outrageously partisan that he had to be thrown "...bag and baggage, overboard."<sup>50</sup> Laurier wrote back that this development had not surprised him at all as he had always foreseen "...no other ending possible to this long controversy." He also wholeheartedly endorsed the proposed project which, if successful, would eliminate the question from politics.<sup>51</sup>

Frank O. Fowler, president of the Winnipeg Liberal Association, immediately expressed reservations about this proposal. He feared that should the Liberals ever make a concrete representation in the Provincial Legislature "...Roblin is cute enough to put the blame upon the Leader of the Opposition" after which "...advice would be sent out to all Orange Lodges in the country by Mr. Roblin, that this was forced on him by Sr. Wilfrid Laurier before the settlement of the Boundary could be made...he would then be able to say to the Catholics that he had done this thing, and to the Orange-men and Protestants, that it had been forced on him by yourself." Consequently, Fowler proposed an alternate plan. He suggested that Thomas Molloy, the Irish Catholic member for LaVérendrye, introduce a bill



"amending the school act by abolishing the clause prohibiting the segregation of scholars of different religious beliefs." In the meantime he assured Sir Wilfrid that the English-speaking Catholics of Winnipeg being "very tired of the burden they are bearing themselves in connection with the education of their children," Liberals could be counted upon not to miss "...any opportunity of pointing out to them wherein His Grace [Langevin] has been overlooking their condition."<sup>52</sup> In his reply Laurier reproached Fowler for not having exploited this situation before:

I have long been aware of the strained relations which existed between the English-speaking Catholics of Manitoba and the Archbishop, and it has long been a matter of surprise that no efforts were made by the Liberal party to take advantage of their opportunity in this and endeavour to meet the views of a section of the community which, by instinct, is strongly liberal. The first object in this should be for all parties, but above all for our own party, to remove the grievance of which all sections of the minority may complain. In this game, take it as a fact that no matter what is done or not done, the Archbishop will stand by Roblin. The English Catholics, however, are of a different mind...<sup>53</sup>

The means by which the Irish Catholic member for LaVérendrye elected to propose an amendment to the Public School Act had been so carefully contrived that it could not help but create further divisions within the Catholic community. On March 14, 1911, Molloy asked Joseph Bernier, the Conservative member for St. Boniface, to second his bill. Having twice already refused to support his "Catholic colleague" Bernier attacked Molloy for "not trying to bring relief to his co-religionist but trying to make a little political capital for himself." Molloy replied that he "had fully expected the member for St. Boniface would not have pluck enough to support

the bill." The Minister of Education, G.R. Coldwell, subsequently interjected and asked Molloy to withdraw his bill as the clause in question had been enacted by two governments which he, Molloy, had supported.<sup>54</sup>

The controversy over this incident surfaced in the North West Review. An editorial described Bernier's action as the type "...we might expect from the Grand Master of the Orange Lodge..."<sup>55</sup> Seeing himself attacked by his co-religionists the member for St. Boniface retorted that he had never expected much sympathy from the North West Review. For having defended the rights of the Catholic minority in Manitoba ever since his election to the Legislature, he had not received one word of encouragement "...from that newspaper, which would like to represent itself as the sole guardian of the Catholic faith and Catholic principles west of Lake Superior." He also stated his reasons for not supporting his English-speaking "Catholic colleague." The repeal of Clause 220, he argued, failed to alter and amend the curriculum which called for the usage of "neutral and godless books." Nor would it have dealt with the ostracism directed at religious costumes and emblems. Neither would it have given "the French language the stand that it is entitled to in the schools of this province."<sup>56</sup>

To an English-speaking Catholic "onlooker," Bernier and his French-speaking Conservative colleagues Albert Préfontaine, Aimé Benard and J.-B. Lauzon, had finally shown their true colours. He denounced them for never having made an effort to get any sort of relief for their co-religionists and explained why:

...We all know that three out of the four<sup>57</sup> named gentlemen are married body and soul to the Roblin government, as it is the Roblin government that made them rich and they dare not vote or work otherwise than as Roblin dictates...if we had been represented by such men as the "opportunist" Molloy, we<sup>58</sup> would have something tangible as a result of their efforts.

As for Bernier time and again refusing to accept a cabinet post in the Roblin Government so "that he might be a 'free lance' to support any measure of relief towards the minority, it's enough to make Maud laugh" concluded the "onlooker."<sup>59</sup>

Les Cloches de St-Boniface, the official archdiocesan review, refused to swallow these insults thrown at the member for St.Boniface:

L'attitude de M. Joseph Bernier...relative à cette motion, a été diversement appréciée. Nous n'hésitons pas à dire que, dans les circonstances, il était pleinement justifiable de refuser de la seconder, puisque les deux parties politiques étaient décidés à la rejeter en bloc. Un coup de fusil tiré inutilement au hasard par un soldat indiscipliné fait plus de mal que de bien, et loin d'être un acte de bravoure, n'est souvent qu'une étourderie funeste.<sup>60</sup>

The Manitoba Free Press which had already been actively publicizing the difference of opinion between French and English-speaking Catholics over the 1910 University of Manitoba Commission Report<sup>61</sup> made the most of this editorial to point out the dispute existing between the two Catholic groups.<sup>62</sup> The estrangement had now become public knowledge. Moreover it could no longer be viewed as merely being the result of the Irish Catholics demanding the creation of new English-speaking parishes in Winnipeg, the establishment of an English-speaking Catholic College and the appointment of an English-speaking bishop.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, so wide had the gulf become by 1911 that the altercations degenerated to the language

issue. In its issue of January 7, the North West Review editorialized that "...we have no particular interest in Bi-lingual schools. If it were pointed out that they were a detriment to the country and to the people in whose favour they were established we would see them disappear without a thought."<sup>64</sup> One reader went as far as declaring the "French people...a pest and we have no place for them in this glorious western country."<sup>65</sup> Not surprisingly a French-Canadian subscriber wrote to the Review the following week, thanked it for its "heartfelt convictions" and asked the editor to keep the paper "for your English-speaking friends." Another reader took objection to the paper for insulting his nationality and informed it that

...The French are as good as any other people and if there is room in the West for English, Irish, Ruthenians, Germans, Poles and other nationalities there is certainly room for the French also...It is certainly very abusive to say of any nationality that they are a pest. It might have been said of the Dukhobours but it cannot be said of the French people.<sup>66</sup>

The year 1911 therefore offered the Archbishop of St. Boniface all he needed to substantiate a statement he made in his Mémoire confidentiel sur la situation religieuse:

la situation pénible des catholiques de Winnipeg et de Brandon, obligés de payer un double impôt scolaire, a été pour certains catholiques au service de la politique l'occasion de faire notre procès, comme si nous avions favorisé davantage, lors du soi-disant règlement final Laurier-Greenway...la section française de la population du Manitoba...les catholiques pour lesquels Nous avons le plus travaillé, le plus lutté et le plus souffert, sont précisément ceux qui Nous accusent de les avoir négligés!<sup>67</sup>

The triumph of the Conservatives over the Liberals in the federal election of 1911 heralded a new stage in the Manitoba school controversy. With Borden having promised to settle Manitoba's

boundary question,<sup>68</sup> the issue of separate schools was bound to come up. Some might well have argued that only the safeguarding of Catholic schools in Keewatin needed to be resolved by the legislation providing for the territorial transfer. The North West Review, however, took a very different view of the matter by demanding a definite answer in as much as the Catholic schools in Winnipeg were concerned. It warned of its refusal to tolerate any longer Roblin's customary excuse that Ottawa was preventing a satisfactory settlement. With the Conservatives being in power both at the provincial and federal levels the editorial saw them as being "...committed to solve that problem or to brand themselves as hypocrites...they must show, whether they will forever depend on the Orangemen and offend Catholics...or whether they will strengthen their position by gaining the vote of the latter."<sup>69</sup>

If this campaign for an educational clause guaranteeing the Winnipeg Catholic minority their rights to separate schools proved nearly fruitless, as later revealed by the legislation extending Manitoba's boundaries, it nevertheless led to the formation of the Manitoba Federation of Catholic Laymen. Its English-speaking members had very definite ideas as to the purpose of this organization: to provide the Catholic laity with a greater voice in how the reestablishment of separate schools in Manitoba ought to be handled. Accordingly, in early January of 1912 the newly formed Federation set out to perform its first task. It deputized a delegation comprised of Eddy Cass, T.D. Deegan, F.W. Russell, M.J. Rodney, T.J. Murray, Dr. James McKenty and Joseph Troy to urge

the Archbishop of St. Boniface to make known to the Government of Ottawa "our wishes to have our education rights safeguarded in the Boundary Bill soon to be introduced in Parliament."<sup>70</sup> The committee, however, immediately experienced difficulty in arranging a meeting with Langevin.

When the two parties met the encounter was brief. The delegation made it clear that it was "...the duty of the laity to assist the Hierarchy...to see that in the transfer of this new territory to Manitoba that proper safeguards be embodied in the Bill to perpetuate Catholic rights now existing to their schools..." The petitioners further requested that a distinction be made:

[when] considering the Manitoba School Question, and to avoid mixing the present School Question in Manitoba, with the School Question in the new territory about to be added, [with] the present School Question [to] be hereafter known as the Old Manitoba School Question and our school rights in the new territory to be known as the New Manitoba School Question, [and]

That the settlement of the Old Manitoba School Question be not now discussed or considered by the Catholic laity but that it be left in abeyance for the present or until after the Dominion Government passes legislation transferring the new territory to the Province.<sup>71</sup>

The committee also insisted that the Bill transferring any new territory to the Province of Manitoba would have to contain "an explicit clause perpetuating separate schools in that territory..." Should this right be overlooked the delegates announced their intention to call "a monster public meeting to protest against such an Act by the Parliament of Canada..."<sup>72</sup> Langevin informed the delegation that he had held discussions with a number of federal Cabinet ministers who had assured him "that our educational rights would receive careful attention and protection at the hands of the

Government at Ottawa." The committee failed to hear anything further for approximately a month.<sup>73</sup> By then, the extension of Manitoba's boundaries had become a fait accompli.

The Federation subsequently called a meeting with a view of entering "a united protest by the Catholics of Manitoba against their being deprived of their guaranteed rights to separate schools in Manitoba." In March of 1912 it succeeded in assembling thirteen-hundred delegates who vowed "to throw party affiliations to the winds."<sup>74</sup> They demanded a different approach in dealing with the minority's rights, as revealed in a recommendation formulated by a delegation from Dauphin. The resolution called for the "Catholic layman" himself to explain to the people of Manitoba...the reasonableness and justness of the Catholic claim." Only he, the argument went, could "discuss the subject intelligently and convincingly with those whose opinions are different from ours." The basis of this proposal was that "our devoted Archbishop and clergy...when it comes to dealing intimately with those outside the fold they are handicapped in many ways."<sup>75</sup> Langevin began to view these developments with great misgivings as he had hoped to see the Federation bring about a rapprochement between all Catholic nationalities. But by now he had realized that "nos Irlandais veulent dominer, et ils sont aussi habiles qu'ambitieux"<sup>76</sup> and warned A.-A. Cherrier that "un mécontentement se prépare...et il y aura des conséquences chez le Gouvernement."<sup>77</sup>

The roots of this disenchantment which permeated the Federation could be traced to the adoption of certain changes in the

School Act by the Manitoba Legislature in the spring of 1912. The modifications, known as the Coldwell amendments, had resulted from promises that, following the extension of the provincial boundaries, the Manitoba Government could be relied upon to give the Catholics a fair deal.<sup>78</sup> The legislation which provided for the separation of children along religious lines in the larger schools was viewed by Langevin as "un simple commencement de restauration de nos droits scolaires."<sup>79</sup> Disagreement nevertheless broke out over the meaning of these amendments. The Winnipeg Public School Board refused to take over the Catholic schools on a rental basis and pay the teachers of these schools out of the Public School funds as requested by the Federation of Catholic Laymen. As a result, in August of 1912, its English-speaking members met with the Minister of Education and informed him that it would attempt to negotiate a settlement with the Public School Board directly. Though the Minister thought the project unfortunate, the deputation requested him "to leave the settlement of the School Question to the Federation."<sup>80</sup>

Accordingly in December of 1912 the Manitoba Federation of Catholic Laymen petitioned the Public School Board. Its president, Dr. J.E. McKenty, advised the Board of its demands to secure a religious and secular education for the children of the Catholic ratepayers of Winnipeg. These ratepayers, he argued, were supporting eight private schools in which 2,029 students were being presently educated by 39 teachers. In addition to supporting these private schools at a cost of approximately \$58,000 the Catholic ratepayers had to pay taxes to support the public schools of the city, thus



bearing a double burden of expense for the purpose of education. This he viewed as being very unfair and called upon the Winnipeg Public School Board to lease the buildings in which the Catholic schools operated; to take over these schools; to employ qualified teachers subject to the requirements of the Public School Act; and to teach the same subjects as in all other elementary public schools in the city.<sup>81</sup>

The Winnipeg Public School Board replied by stating that it would seek legal counsel. It appointed J.H. Munson to examine the questions arising as to the interpretation of the legislation of 1912 amending the Public School Act. After examining the petition of the Roman Catholic ratepayers of Winnipeg, Munson noted that it was open to two meanings as the wording did not make it clear whether the Catholic schools were to be operated under the Public School Act or whether they would just formally be under the Public School Act but administered as Catholic schools. Accordingly he recommended that the Board ask the petitioners if it was their intention to conduct religious teaching outside of the time provided by the law; to agree to the text-books authorized by the Schools Act; to accept that the Catholic schools be operated and administered as any other public schools in Winnipeg; and finally to have teachers clothed in their religious costumes.<sup>82</sup>

On January 29, Dr. J.E. McKenty received a letter to this effect and by February 10 the president of the Manitoba Federation of Catholic Laymen had drafted a reply. His response to the first two points raised was that the exigencies of the law would be

complied with. The third point puzzled him as the question seemed unnecessary unless some departmental regulation of which he was ignorant existed. As for the last point, he indicated that he was unaware of anything in the school laws of the province of Manitoba regulating the character of the vesture of teachers. On March 10, Munson informed the Board that "a clear and satisfactory reply to three of the questions has since been received by the chairman of the committee representing the petitioners..." But as to the last point raised, the Board's legal counsel viewed McKenty's answer objectionable on the following grounds:

There is no express reference in the Manitoba act to the garb or costumes of teachers, and no regulations of the advisory board have been made on this subject, but from the fact that such costumes have a distinctive symbolism as pertaining to and representative of one church, and from the importance naturally attached to them by the petitioners, they are to that extent sectarian, and their use in the schools, even if the oral and other teachings and books were those provided for under the Public Schools Act, would, in my opinion, be of a breach of Section 214 prohibiting anything that is not entirely non-sectarian, and as much as if emblems tending toward the exultation of any other church were to be constantly exhibited in the schools.<sup>83</sup>

This ruling alone was enough to unsettle any member of the Federation. However, another attempt at circumventing the Catholic ratepayers' difficulties had run aground as well during the spring of 1913. Early in January the Federation had decided to ask both provincial political parties to join hands and settle their problem once and for all. It also sought a meeting with John W. Dafoe to secure from the editor of the Manitoba Free Press "...the favourable consideration of that newspaper." Father J.C. Coffey, T.J. Murray and Joseph Troy were asked to confer with R.P. Roblin, Edward Brown

and J.W. Dafoe respectively and make the result of their interviews known to the Federation.

Father Coffey's report revealed that Roblin thought the endeavour to bring in "a separate school bill" with the co-operation of the Liberals "impracticable." Furthermore he did not think that he could hold his own party together to pass such legislation as it would break away from him. The premier also stated that, as far as he was concerned, the Coldwell amendments would eventually give the Catholic minority the relief it demanded. T.J. Murray reported that in addition to having seen Brown, he had met with Thomas Johnson,<sup>84</sup> J.W. Dafoe and Frank Fowler. Brown's first reaction was that although he relished the thought of seeing the school question removed from politics he would nevertheless insist on the University Question<sup>85</sup> being settled, a compulsory education law passed and the bilingual school matter resolved. For his part Johnson made it known that he did not trust Roblin and feared the premier might attempt to make political capital out of any action such as was proposed and use it in the next election to the detriment of the Liberal party. Dafoe, on the other hand, demanded "a compulsory education clause passed with the proposed bill and the bi-lingual schools improved or abolished." The Troy Report revealed an even more restive attitude on the part of the editor of the Free Press. Dafoe claimed Roblin would never dare introduce such a bill in the house and "if the Liberals got mixed up in the matter...Roblin might go to the country riding the Protestant horse and accusing [sic] the Liberal party of being in favor of separate schools."

In addition Dafoe asserted

that such a co-operation with the Government would not bring any additional strength to the Liberal party and contended that the Catholic Church in this Province was Conservative in politics and in all probability would remain so - so long as the present Archbishop remained at St. Boniface. Liberals would never be given any credit for anything they would do in the matter.<sup>86</sup>

The ensuing events nevertheless took on a different twist.

At the next meeting of the committee the Archbishop of St. Boniface informed its members that Roblin would personally introduce a private bill establishing separate schools provided T.C. Norris would second it. Langevin was convinced the premier would make good his promise. Unfortunately the deliberations which ensued between the two leaders fell through. On January 24, Norris informed Father Coffey he wanted a proposal in writing from Roblin. Then the committee learned that Edward Brown and J.W. Dafoe now demanded "a Government measure backed by the opposition." Roblin countered by advising the Committee that he would not be able to introduce any measure as he had "just learned of further defections from the ranks of his party and he could not give assurance of how many supporters he could get to vote for the measure." J.K. Barrett refused to accept this latest excuse and moved that the Conservative committee of the Federation act at once to "form a deputation of influential Conservative Catholics to meet Sir Rodmond Roblin and endeavour to persuade him to bring a Bill...introducing the Saskatchewan School Law in the Province of Manitoba."<sup>87</sup> Accordingly, a delegation met with Roblin on January 31st and asked that "a school bill be introduced as a government measure and passed at

this session of the legislature similar to the Saskatchewan School Act." Roblin answered that they might have as well asked him to "...try[~~to~~] fly in the air as to attempt to pass such an Act."

Moreover he reminded the delegation that in any event "...he would continue to do business with one man only - His Grace who was the head of the Catholic Church in the Province."<sup>88</sup> The committee, being of the opinion that Roblin underestimated the importance of the Federation, complained bitterly to Langevin.<sup>89</sup>

Admittedly the Federation had had enough of the political game played by the Manitoba Government ever since the passage of the Coldwell amendments. Joseph Troy, its secretary, opined that the Catholic newspapers had refrained for much too long from printing anything which might embarrass G.R. Coldwell in his negotiations with the Winnipeg School Board. The papers themselves, he argued, were not to blame for not speaking out on the school question. Instead he blamed the Roblin Government, the Archbishop of St. Boniface and Father Plourde, the general manager of the West Canada Publishing Co., for having muzzled the editorial staff. Langevin was further singled out for pursuing the policy of "the greatest good for the greatest number...as the bi-lingual schools were getting as much now as they would get under a separate school law that His Grace for this reason was reluctant about harassing the Government for schools in...Winnipeg and Brandon." The arguments presented convinced Father Coffey of the necessity to deal publicly with the school question henceforth.<sup>90</sup>

To no one's surprise the North West Review's issue of April

5th, 1913 launched an unprecedented critical attack on the Roblin administration and the Conservative weekly Le Manitoba. It chose to zero in on a letter signed by Joseph Bernier, Aimé Bédard and Albert Préfontaine addressed to Armand Lavergne who gave it wide publicity in the last Quebec provincial election. The document, which had been the subject of a Free Press editorial, stated that "by reason of the Coldwell amendments to the school law, the Roman Catholics in Manitoba had reason to be satisfied with the Roblin Government, and were satisfied." This the Review objected to and criticized Bernier, Bédard and Préfontaine for exonerating Roblin over his handling of the negotiations with the Winnipeg School Board. The English Catholic weekly also asked its readers to take note of the Free Press' editorials "Two Reservoirs of Votes, and Their Dams" which asked how could any Catholic "...hope to get the Roblin Government to pass a separate school law...if 99 percent of the Orange voters support the Roblin Government." In view of these facts, the Review asked its readers to inquire as to what "the Catholic voter received for 90 percent of the total Catholic vote."<sup>91</sup>

The insinuation and accusations contained in this editorial were sufficient to provoke Langevin into an outright condemnation of the members of the Federation for launching such an unjustified attack. The fact that the Archbishop's denunciation of these members took the form of a mandement made his charges more serious. The criticism was categorical and gave warning to those wanting to use the Federation for political ends: "Nous ne tolérons pas qu'elle devienne un engin de guerre contre un parti politique quel-

conque et encore moins contre le parti qui nous a rendu des services appréciables au Manitoba..." Langevin also asked "...si l'on a toujours bien compris que les Catholiques de nos paroisses de campagne jouissent de certains avantages, grâce au bon vouloir des Gouvernements actuels, non pas parce que les Catholiques de la plupart des paroisses...sont de langues française...mais parce qu'ils sont groupés et qu'ils se donne la peine d'élire des commissaires d'écoles catholiques." Lastly the mandement came to the defense of G.R. Coldwell who, after having tried in vain to persuade the Winnipeg School Board to take over the city's eight Catholic schools, "...s'est heurté à un refus appuyé sur le fait que les nouveaux amendements scolaires n'obligeaient pas le Bureau à se rendre à la demande du Gouvernement local du Manitoba d'accepter nos écoles."<sup>92</sup>

The mandement was to have little effect in calming the now much disgruntled Federation or the North West Review. The entry of Joseph Bernier into the provincial cabinet provided all the rationalization they needed to launch yet another round of attack on the Roblin administration and its French-Canadian Conservative adherents. As early as March 20, the North West Review deemed it wise to inform its readers that no Catholic representative had occupied a cabinet position since 1890 and "...it is not quite clear to us how any self respecting Catholic can conscientiously accept a cabinet portfolio until such time as our school rights are again restored."<sup>93</sup> In the celebrated issue of April 5, a "Constant Reader" of the Review expanded on the subject and viewed the

appointment of a Catholic to the cabinet as "evidence of the depth to which small men can descend for the sake of trifling political favors." He reminded his audience that for many years the Conservative party of Manitoba had assured the Catholic electorate of redressing the injustices perpetrated against them once a Conservative government had been elected in Ottawa or else every Catholic member of the cabinet would resign. A Liberal Catholic had already resigned to protest these injustices and the same ought to be expected from any Catholic member of the Conservative party. As such

The people are still waiting for some Conservative members to resign, they have been given a law which is a mockery, the Province of Manitoba has been extended and the Catholic people robbed of their rights in the added territory but they are promised a cabinet minister and they are told in the organ of that Cabinet minister to be, that they have got all they deserve.<sup>94</sup>

Two days following the official announcement of Bernier's appointment to the post of Provincial Secretary, the Manitoba Federation of Catholic Laymen met to discuss the consequences of this latest development on the future of the school question in Manitoba. E.R. Dowdell protested Bernier's elevation to a cabinet position on the grounds that his acceptance would be "...interpreted generally that Catholics had accepted the Coldwell amendments as a settlement of the school question." He further suggested that the Archbishop of St. Boniface ought to ask Bernier to step down.<sup>95</sup> In its issue of April 26, the North West Review confirmed the Federation's opposition to Bernier accepting a portfolio in the Manitoba government.<sup>96</sup> The Review, however, refrained from taking the



Archbishop to task. Instead it chose to let one of its Catholic Brandon readers carry out this unpleasant business:

The Catholics of this city were amazed when they read of Mr. Bernier's acceptance of a portfolio in the Roblin cabinet. His action, if approved by Archbishop Langevin and the Catholic body, will forever put us out of court as far as our demand for redress in school legislation is concerned. His endorsement means nothing less than a complete acceptance of the situation as it is and will condemn future generations of Catholic citizens to undergo the hardships of paying double taxes...His acceptance of a portfolio at the present time can mean nothing else than that he is in accord with Mr. Roblin's recent refusal to pass an acceptable school bill. If he [Langevin] is honest and consistent with his past professions he shall be obliged to place a candidate in the field to contest the election of Mr. Bernier. Nothing else shall satisfy Brandon Catholics nor justify His Grace in the eyes of his people.<sup>97</sup>

The electors of St. Boniface were therefore expected to decide "...between the promptings of national pride and a principle... for which they have suffered and bled in the past." In this regard the Federation left them with no option as it demanded a sacrifice "which can only be rendered complete and satisfactory by the election of a candidate who will not surrender his birth-right for any trifling temporal consideration."<sup>98</sup>

Langevin was left with little alternative but to declare that Bernier's nomination did not signify the acceptance of the Coldwell amendments as redress for the injustices inflicted upon the Catholic minority.<sup>99</sup> This statement, however, did little to deter the Manitoba Federation of Catholic Laymen from believing that an arrangement had been arrived at between the Archbishop and Roblin "...by which as an alternative, and in return for His Grace declining to press the Premier to introduce the Saskatchewan Act,...Roblin was to take into his cabinet...Joseph Bernier."

Clearly the Archbishop of St. Boniface had once again demonstrated he "...had at heart the interests of the Conservative party to a greater degree than those of the double tax [sic]." The reason: "...the French speaking people of the Province, who are naturally closer to His Grace than the rest of Catholics and whose interests he is at all times more careful to guard, have practically all they want..."<sup>100</sup>

The Federation also felt that Manitoba's Liberal party had "...been furnished with further and sufficient proof not only that the laymen have no say and power, but that the Archbishop is even less to be relied upon than they thought." At one time, it argued, its leaders were willing to co-operate with the Conservatives to negotiate a settlement. But events had demonstrated that Roblin could not be trusted as he took his instructions "...so far as the Catholic people were concerned from only one man and that was the Archbishop." In the past the Liberal party had "been filled with a feeling of mistrust of our clergy and particularly of His Grace." Now all attempts by Catholic laymen to influence this party to believe it could deal with them had vanished in an instant.<sup>101</sup>

By July of 1913 the Federation had become convinced that English-speaking Catholics could no longer work in co-operation with Langevin when dealing with the school question. Any further negotiations with Manitoba's two political parties would have to be conducted without the Archbishop's presence as he was more a politician than a churchman. In fact, in the eyes of the Federation he had become "first a Conservative and secondly a Catholic."

The time had come to make Roblin aware of the English-speaking Catholics' dissatisfaction with his government at the next provincial election and to show him once and for all that they could no longer be "...a people accused of being a body delivered to the Roblin Government by His Grace." For they had now realized that their unanimous and constant support of the Roblin administration "...has proved our undoing, and that if greater independence in politics was shown we could probably secure better results."<sup>102</sup>

The Federation subsequently vowed to become a non-political organization formed exclusively of "double tax payers" and which would "decline to recognize any leadership from the Archbishop in connection with the school question. The only obstacle still to be encountered, it claimed, was "...an unduly large representation of the French people ...[who] because of their indifference on the school question...act as a drag" and "their opinion, when it comes down to a vote, will necessarily be cast in the direction of His Grace...". The course to take never seemed clearer:

...our position so long as the Archbishop retains his place as our direct spiritual head, is hopeless and almost desperate. We can no longer rely upon him in any degree [and] the indifference of the French Catholics very materially hampers us...

The only ray of hope that we can see lies in the possible appointment of a Bishop who is not a politician first and a Catholic afterwards and who would be given charge of that portion of the Province in which are situated the districts where the chief suffering occurs. Given a new Bishop with whom we could work in harmony and in confidence, we are sure that not only would Catholic activities in all lines take a new lease of life in those portions of the Province, but the settlement of the school question, we believe, soon become an accomplished fact.<sup>103</sup>

Having sounded the alarm that either Langevin be removed from the Archdiocese of St. Boniface or that the present archdiocese be divided with a new diocese formed of that portion of Manitoba lying north of the Assiniboine River and which would include Winnipeg, Brandon, Portage la Prairie "...and other small centres where the burden of double taxation is chiefly felt,"<sup>104</sup> the Manitoba Federation of Catholic Laymen disbanded to avoid further friction with the ecclesiastical authorities in St. Boniface.<sup>105</sup> The Federation had made its point and would now let the North West Review carry on the task of informing Winnipeg's English-speaking Catholics as to why they would have to continue to pay "a double school tax."

For its part, the editorial staff of the Review found ample ammunition forwarded by its readers to continue a concerted attack on Roblin and his "bilingual friends." On August 9, 1913 it printed a letter in which the author went on at great length to demonstrate how Roblin had, for far too long, successfully ridden the Protestant and the Catholic horse. As he had performed "...this difficult circus feat with a great measure of success, the "Reader" called upon T.C. Norris to take "...a few lessons from the dexterous Knight." On this point the "Reader" chose to elaborate:

True, the Catholic horse lately appeared to be getting jaded and Mr. Roblin, with his usual foresight, has seen fit to engage a special stableman in the person of Mr. Joseph Bernier to look after the Catholic steed. The Protestant horse is being looked after by Geo. Coldwell and judging from his performance...he is quite capable of filling the position. The two nags are being curried and fed up and when the next election comes around the same old circus trick will be performed...in the same old

way.

Bernier has told us that the Coldwell amendments have altered the public schools act in some way or other to relieve us from paying a double tax. Coldwell told the Orangemen...that the public schools act grants no relief to Catholics whatever...<sup>106</sup>

A further refusal on the part of the Winnipeg Public School Board to take over Winnipeg's Catholic schools provided another round of controversy between "Veritas" and Les Cloches de St. Boniface. In its issue of January 15, 1914, Les Cloches blamed the Free Press, T.C. Norris, the Liberal Party, the School Board and its legal counsel for keeping the school question alive. "Veritas" thought it very unfortunate that Les Cloches had omitted to mention "the biggest sinner of them all, the Manitoba Government." Admittedly, he argued, both parties were to blame and "...it is high time that Les Cloches ...observe this rule when dealing with the settlement of the Manitoba School Question."<sup>107</sup> Until the provincial election of July 1914 the main altercations which followed centered around the continuing wrangle between Le Manitoba and the North West Review over the true meaning of the Coldwell amendments and the demise of the Federation of Catholic Laymen. The Provincial Secretary's political mouthpiece having chosen to discredit the late Federation, its past secretary quickly came to its defence. Its misfortunes, Troy argued, were due to its two cardinal vices, "that of not subordinating itself sufficiently to the religious authority..." and of refusing to play the game of politics. That latter vice, he continued, greatly perturbed Le Manitoba "whose existence depends in a great measure on the crumbs it

gathers from a political table..."<sup>108</sup>

The 1914 provincial election campaign gave the North West Review little to cheer about from a Catholic viewpoint.<sup>109</sup> The outcome however, delighted some of its readers as no less than seven Catholic MLA's had been elected, namely Aimé Bénéard, Joseph Bernier, J.P. Folley, Joseph Hamelin, J.-B. Lauzon, Thomas Molloy, and Jacques Parent. With the Conservative Government's majority being seven,<sup>110</sup> these representatives of the Catholic minority could now be called to task. It did not take long for "Veritas" to once again take up the pen and point out to the Review's readers that the results of the election "has placed the Catholic members in a situation whereby they could ally themselves to the Government...or...defeat it by voting against it." Moreover, it would furnish Joseph Bernier a splendid opportunity to demonstrate what he could do. "Veritas" concluded by adding that the Irish Nationalists had secured splendid legislation for the Catholics in Ireland without "such an opportunity thrust upon them as is the good fortune of the Catholic members in the next Provincial Parliament."<sup>111</sup> Another Catholic reader chose to be much less diplomatic and demanded immediate action:

...What is to prevent them from forcing the hand of the Government? Nothing can save the government from defeat but the vote of the Catholic members. Will our Catholic members play party politics and neglect Catholic educational interests? Will they do their duty to the Catholic electors or will they content themselves to linger around the government's financial festive board, hat in hand looking for a chance to pick up the few financial crumbs thrown them from the political table...<sup>112</sup>

At this point Joseph Troy judged it timely to throw in a red herring, the appointment of Joseph Bernier to a cabinet post.

This sole event, he argued, caused T.C. Norris to become thoroughly convinced of the necessity to secularize Manitoba's educational system.<sup>113</sup> In a desperate attempt to gain some support and acceptance from the Anglo-Saxon community,<sup>114</sup> the North West Review began exploiting an "anti-French" sentiment which was being fostered by a war that had brought on a suspicious nationalistic hysteria.<sup>115</sup> It did this by publishing editorials of the Toronto Globe on the issue of the use of French in Ontario's schools. Essentially the editorials carried by the Review denied the French language any official status and declared Regulation 17 in Ontario was made necessary because of the French Canadians "utter neglect of English" and in an English-speaking community inability to speak the English language "is a handicap of a very serious sort."<sup>116</sup>

By March of 1915 some "Catholic double tax payers" were convinced that bilingual schools now constituted another obstacle to be overcome in their campaign for separate schools. Accordingly, a warning was issued to La Liberté:

...if the English-speaking Catholics of Manitoba face the sacrifices that are demanded of them, whilst the French-Canadian Catholics are quite concerned with the conditions that are already theirs, and the extension of which they have no interest in getting extended to their less favored brothers, that, if in the troubled days to be faced they find a repetition of the difficulties they have cropped up in Ontario, then they will know that their slanders have a way of acting in boomerang fashion.

La Liberté should reconsider its assumption that the French language is an equally important issue as the teaching of Catholic truths...the saving of our souls is a more important issue than that contained in the language question.<sup>117</sup>

To another "double tax payer" the issue of bilingual schools and separate schools had become confused. Yet the Catholic represen-

tatives as a whole chose to remain silent on that subject because of their preoccupation with safeguarding bilingual schools.<sup>118</sup> By now passions had become so inflamed that an editorial of the North West Review categorically blamed Bernier and B nard for supplying "the necessary arguments to inflame the religious prejudices of the ignorant or intolerant electorate." It further pointed out that the declarations of Le Manitoba and the Provincial Secretary served to "...touch the match to the magazine and they must bear, in large measure, the responsibility."<sup>119</sup>

Some three months later Joseph Bernier saw the Conservative administration forced from office. The August 1915 election having firmly entrenched T.C. Norris' Liberal party in power, the North West Review deemed it   propos to print letters which spoke out on the right of various national Catholic groups in Canada to retain their language. One "old timer" thought that "in the interest of themselves, the Church and of the nation, they should adapt themselves to Canadian conditions as soon as they reasonably can" and "any attempts to perpetuate here quasi colonies of nationalities of foreign speech can, in the long run...be ruinous to the religious interests of the next and succeeding generations." To back up his point he quoted a former Apostolic Delegate to the United States telling French Canadians in Connecticut that "you must remember that you have left the country in which the use of that language is common, and have voluntarily come to another in which a different language is spoken."<sup>120</sup> A French-speaking "reader" took objection to these remarks<sup>121</sup> only to find himself confronted with a quote from Archbishop Bourne's famous declara-



tion to the Eucharistic Congress held in Montreal in 1910:

If the mighty nation that Canada is destined to become in the future is to be won for and held to the Catholic Church, this can only be done by making known to a great part of the Canadian people in succeeding generations, the mysteries of our faith through the medium of our English speech.<sup>122</sup>

As it turned out the revamping of the Manitoba School Act in early 1916 did little to improve the plight of the English-speaking Catholic ratepayers. But the abolition of the bilingual clause from the Statute Books appeared to them a just retribution which their bilingual co-religionists deserved for refraining to pressure the Roblin administration into granting them full redress. The North West Review did not hesitate in making this point clear:

More than one occasion presented itself - notably in February and March 1912 when the extension of the provincial boundaries was discussed - to make their influence and numbers felt, but history records the total failure of the Bilingualists to measure up to expectations. It was street rumour at the time that they feared any readjustment lest Bilingualism might, in some manner, be compromised. It was apparent to the least observant that some of their more prominent leaders were playing politics, and that religious consideration were to them at least of minor importance...They could not, or would not, read the signs of the times. They failed to realize the fact that the hand that dealt them the first blow was far from palsied, and that its possessor although far from the scene, still pointed a quill in this city.<sup>123</sup>

On March 14, the Review, in a final word of caution to the French-speaking community, warned them not to attempt to approach non-English speaking minorities with a view to enlisting their support in a fighting campaign to restore bilingualism. For this would result in nothing less than a most regrettable political debacle at a time where there are

...problems of a serious and pressing nature to be solved in this province - and not the least is the educational problem - which are bound to suffer by a national alignment

of people. Where racial lines are tightly drawn, where nationalities of different temperaments and cultural ideals are thrown into opposing camps, and where a flavour of religious persecution either real or imaginary is added to the campaign, true progress and stable development are well nigh impossible.<sup>124</sup>

The Winnipeg Public School Board's perennial refusal to accommodate the English-speaking Catholic ratepayers did not emerge as an issue in 1916. Instead, the frustrations they experienced found expression in the charge that the Catholic faith itself had been sacrificed on the altar of French-Canadian nationalism. The abortive attempt to establish separate schools within the framework of public education was attributed to the French Canadians' unwillingness to risk their bilingual schools. Langevin's actions over the past fifteen years gave the English-speaking Catholic minority every reason to believe that the Archbishop of St. Boniface had indeed conspired with the Roblin administration in fostering bilingualism in Manitoba. On this count Langevin was found guilty of compromising the interest of the Roman Catholic Church in a country destined to become English-speaking. The erection of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Winnipeg in December of 1915 convinced English-speaking Catholics of the validity of their claim. To them it seemed only legitimate to side with the Anglo-Saxon extremists and the educational establishment of the province on the question of the repeal of the bilingual school system in Manitoba.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

<sup>1</sup>Manitoba Free Press, October 30, 1896.

<sup>2</sup>The first issue of the North West Review appeared in August of 1885. Its first editors were J.J. Chaddock, N.D. Beck, Alex McGillis, J.K. Barrett and F.W. Russell. Fathers Lewis Drummond and C. Cahill were also frequent contributors during the late 1890's. In the 1900's, because policy was being formulated by "French-speaking priests," the editorial content of the Review became a major source of grievance for Manitoba's English Catholic community. In 1900 Father A.-A. Cherrier was appointed editor-in-chief and held the position till 1904. From 1904 to 1906, except for being "printed and published weekly with the Ecclesiastical Authority of [St. Boniface]," the Review lacked an editorial policy. In 1906-07 it was taken over by the West Canada Publishing Co. managed by Father Josaphat Magnan, an Oblate priest. In the 1914-15 petition outlining the English Catholic case for a separate diocese a complaint was made that the North West Review eulogized French activities and condemned "...anything and everything that can be classed as an expression of opinion by the English-speaking members of the Church." The accusation was somewhat unfair if judged by the variety of letters to the editors which were printed in the Review between the period 1910-1916. J.M. Reid, "The Erection of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Winnipeg," p. 51. See also North West Review, Forthieth Anniversary Issue (Winnipeg: The North West Review, 1940), pp. 94-95.

<sup>3</sup>Excerpt from the North West Review cited in the Winnipeg Tribune, November 7, 1896.

<sup>4</sup>Manitoba Statutes, 57 Vict., c.28.

<sup>5</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to [the Bishops of Quebec], November [ ], 1896.

<sup>6</sup>For an overall examination of Langevin's reaction to the Laurier-Greenway agreement see Chapter I, pp. 24-26.

<sup>7</sup>P.A.C., Sifton Papers, Sifton to Laurier, June 1, 1897.

<sup>8</sup>Idem..

<sup>9</sup>For an assessment of Langevin's reaction to the encyclical Affari Vos see Chapter I, pp. 31-32.

<sup>10</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Laurier, September

27, 1898. In 1899 there were six private Catholic schools in Winnipeg with a student enrollment of 1000. Ibid., Langevin to Laurier, September 2, 1899.

<sup>11</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, A.-A. Cherrier to Laurier, August 29, 1898.

<sup>12</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Falconio, March 29, 1900.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Falconio, April 7, 1900. Langevin gave this explanation as to why Laurier was so adamant about avoiding any form of controversy: "Si les politiciens ont accusé et les catholiques de Winnipeg et leur archevêque de faire de la politique pour les embarrasser c'est qu'ils étaient fort contrariés de ne pas voir tomber le dernier boulevard de la question des écoles et de prouver ainsi leur assertion mensongère que la question des écoles du Manitoba était réglée à la satisfaction des parties intéressées et qu'il n'y avait qu'une poignée de mécontents qui réclamaient à Winnipeg!" Ibid., "Mémoire adressé au Vénérable Episcopat Canadien sur la Question Scolaire du Manitoba..." December 8, 1900.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Lewis Drummond, March 29, 1900; and Memorandum on the Manitoba School Question, February 26, 1908.

<sup>15</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Henri d'Hellencourt to Laurier, May 30, 1900. For an assessment of d'Hellencourt's career in Manitoba as well as the editorial policy of L'Echo see Bernard Pénisson, "Un Hebdomadaire Libéral: L'Echo du Manitoba, 1898-1905," Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française, XXVIII (décembre 1974), 367-84.

<sup>16</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Laurier to d'Hellencourt, June 4, 1900.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., d'Hellencourt to Laurier, June 20, 1900.

<sup>18</sup>Idem.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., Edward Farrer to R. Boudreau, July 29, 1900.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., d'Hellencourt to Laurier, July 18, 1900.

<sup>21</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Falconio to Langevin, June 16, 1900.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Bégin, January 4, 1901.

<sup>23</sup>The transfer of the following schools to the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 was involved: The Brothers' Schools (Hargrave Street); Holy Angels School (St. Mary's Street); St. Joseph School (Pacific Avenue); Immaculate Conception School (Austin Street);

Holy Ghost School (Selkirk Avenue); and St. Mary's Academy (Notre Dame Street). Ibid., Langevin to Falconio, May 17, 1901.

<sup>24</sup>Farrer was a journalist by profession. Of Irish parentage he came to Canada in 1870 and joined the editorial staff of the Toronto Daily Telegraph. He served as editor-in-chief of the Mail from 1882 to 1884 and later resided in Winnipeg where he managed the Times and Sun. He was "...closely related with the ...Laurier Government and acted as their confidential agent on different occasions." Manitoba Free Press, April 28, 1916.

<sup>25</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Farrer to Boudreau, July 9, 1901.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., d'Hellencourt to Laurier, August 14, 1901.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., d'Hellencourt to Laurier, August 24, 1901.

<sup>28</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Laurier, May 17, 1901.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Laurier, October 24, 1901. See also Chapter I, pp. 40-45 and Chapter 4, pp. 165-170.

<sup>30</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Falconio to Langevin, October 3, 1901 and November 8, 1901. The Archbishop of Ottawa also thought that Langevin's strategy was ill-advised and reminded his colleague that "...le seul espoir qu'il y ait pour vous est dans la promesse que l'honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier a faite de ne point remettre au gouvernement du Manitoba les fonds des écoles avant que justice ne soit rendue à la minorité manitobaine." Ibid., Joseph-Thomas Duhamel à Langevin, October 5, 1901.

<sup>31</sup>By now Langevin's exasperation with Falconio had reached its apogee: "On devrait comprendre que personne n'est plus intéressé que moi à réussir; c'est moi qui porte le poids d'une situation navrante et il me semble que je n'ai pas encore donné de preuves d'imbécillité telle que je sois jugé capable de compromettre sottement et criminellement...Si on consultait les Protestants avec lesquels je vis et qui n'ont pas d'intérêt comme certains politiciens à Ottawa à dénigrer l'archevêque de St. Boniface qu'on ne trouve pas assez souple, on verrait que leur impression est bien autrement favorable...Le fait est que j'ai la conscience fort tranquille bien que je sache et trouve très pénible d'être maltraité par Mgr. le Délégué et les politiciens d'Ottawa que par les Protestants des deux parties politiques ici à Winnipeg!...Qu'on me laisse donc souffrir et travailler en paix sans chercher à me tourmenter." Ibid., Langevin to Joseph Lémius, August 3, 1901.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Falconio, November 17, 1901.

<sup>33</sup>P.A.C., Fitzpatrick Papers, George Bryce to Fitzpatrick, May 14, 1903. Laurier's tacticians were not alone in expressing

dissatisfaction at the Archbishop's methods. When Langevin submitted a pastoral letter on the Manitoba School Question for publication in the Catholic Record (of London, Ontario) its publisher, Senator Thomas Coffey, refused to print it. Coffey cautioned Langevin that agitation should be avoided and in the meantime "...it is deemed advisable to wait and see what effect conciliation would have. This is the opinion of his Lordship of London and I think he also speaks the mind of the Bishops of the Province." A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Thomas Coffey to Langevin, August 14, 1903.

<sup>34</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, R. Boudreau to Farrer, June 13, 1903.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., Boudreau to Adélard Tourgeon, September 20, 1904.

<sup>36</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, "Entrevue de Sa Grandeur Mgr. l'Archevêque et de MM. [Thomas] Deegan et [Frank] Russell avec les Honorables MM. [Rodmond] Roblin, [Robert] Rogers et [David Henry] McFadden, October 2, 1903.

<sup>37</sup>Idem.

<sup>38</sup>See Chapter 5, pp. 198-212.

<sup>39</sup>Born in Hamilton, Ontario in, 1850 John Kelly Barrett received his early education in Worcester, Mass. After graduating from the University of Ottawa he was appointed principal of St. Mary's Model School in Hamilton in 1872. He entered the federal public service in 1873 and occupied various posts in the Department of Inland Revenues. In 1885 he was appointed district inspector in Winnipeg. In 1903 he became inspector of malt houses and breweries. He also served as managing director and editor-in-chief of the North West Review and represented St. Boniface College on the University of Manitoba Council. Barrett is best remembered for the petition he filed against a Winnipeg municipal by-law which, under the 1890 Public Schools act, required him to pay public school taxes.

<sup>40</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, J.K. Barrett to Langevin, December 9, 1904.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Lewis Drummond, March 6, 1906. In December of 1906 the split between Langevin and Barrett was to be aggravated by Winnipeg's English-speaking Catholics petitioning the Archbishop of St. Boniface for the nomination of a Suffragan Bishop of their nationality in Winnipeg; the establishment of a Catholic College in Winnipeg; the erection of English-speaking parishes; the appointment of English-speaking priests to take charge of St. Mary's Church; and better church accommodations throughout Winnipeg. Reid, "The Erection of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Winnipeg," pp. 14-15. Iterated in Choquette, "Adélard Langevin et l'érection de l'archidiocèse de Winnipeg,"

189-191. But the demand for a bishop of their own nationality carried overtones which went beyond the claim that Langevin was being discriminatory. In June of 1905 a memorandum had been drafted by a committee representing Canada's Irish Catholic community which put forth the thesis that the Manitoba School Question would never have occurred "...had there been a Bishop of English-speaking nationality in the diocese at the time." Archives of the Oblate Missionary Sisters (hereafter cited as A.O.M.S.), "Réponses aux prétendus griefs des Catholiques Irlandais du Canada contre les Catholiques français du même pays, - ou réponse à un mémoire irlandais adressé d'Ottawa, 17 juin 1905, à son Eminence le Cardinal Merry del Val, Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Sainteté Pie X," (1909), appendice 1.

<sup>42</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, J.K. Barrett to Laurier, April 15, 1907.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., J.K. Barrett to Laurier, May 11, 1907.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., F. McEvoy to Laurier, February 17, 1908.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., Barrett to Sbarette, February 26, 1909.

<sup>46</sup>Manitoba's Liberal party was being held back from "stirring things up for political ends" by Laurier. In 1903 he had written to John W. Dafoe, the editor of the Manitoba Free Press that "...our friends should remember that there is a question on which both have to lose and to gain whatever position is taken by themselves [Winnipeg's Roman Catholics] or Roblin. It is better to settle it on broad lines, and thus remove division amongst important sections of the community." Ibid., Laurier to Dafoe, May 6, 1903. But Laurier's letter to Dafoe in February of 1906 was closer to the truth: "It may be that some of our friends would be tempted to fold their arms, and let all the confusion arise...in the hope that some political advantage might be gained from it; but this is altogether an erroneous view. Our friends, on the contrary, should favour the admission of the voluntary schools to the rank and status of public schools, and a strong reason for this course, apart from all others, is that it would be a justification of the legislation of 1897 and a vindication of our policy. Ibid., Laurier to Dafoe, February 28, 1906.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., Barrett to Laurier, February 18, 1910.

<sup>48</sup>North West Review, September 10, 1910.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., September 25, 1910.

<sup>50</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Barrett to Laurier, December 2, 1910.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., Laurier to Barrett, December 6, 1910.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., Frank O. Fowler to Laurier, December 30, 1910.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., Laurier to Fowler, January 3, 1911.

<sup>54</sup>North West Review, March 18, 1911.

<sup>55</sup>Idem..

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., March 25, 1911.

<sup>57</sup>J.-B. Lauzon was defeated in the 1910 provincial election; a Conservative, he had represented LaVérendrye.

<sup>58</sup>North West Review, April 1, 1911.

<sup>59</sup>Idem..

<sup>60</sup>Les Cloches de St-Boniface (hereafter cited as LCSB), X (April 1, 1911), 112-113.

<sup>61</sup>An account of this controversy is given in A.-A. Cherrier, Mémoire sur la situation religieuse actuelle dans l'Ouest canadien et sur la question universitaire (St.Boniface: Imprimerie du "Manitoba", 1911). Since 1877 the University of Manitoba's jurisdiction had been limited to the examining of candidates and the conferring of degrees. In December of 1910 a committee composed of English-speaking Catholics proposed that the University become a teaching university. It also asked that an English Catholic college be erected in close proximity of the University. Father A.-A. Cherrier, who had sat on the University Commission, viewed the request as resulting from "the tendencies of modernism." The committee retorted that while "...we are determined to protect our children from all errors of modernism, we are equally determined to protect them from the stagnation of sixteenth century Bourbonism. Let those who approve that system of stagnation, enjoy it to the full; but let them take notice that the English-speaking Catholics absolutely decline to follow them, notwithstanding threats that our action has put us under suspicion.

The English-speaking Catholics in Winnipeg have given an example of self-sacrifice in maintaining what we believe to be a conscientious principle in education.

We have done this in face of the fact, that we were, and are still sacrificed in cold blood to the interest of the bi-lingual school of the province.

We have determined that we have borne this sacrifice too long and intend to look after our own interests in the future." Idem., pp. 20-36.

<sup>62</sup>North West Review, April 8, 1911.



<sup>63</sup>Reid, "The Erection of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Winnipeg," p. 13; and Choquette, "Adéland Langevin et l'érection de l'Archidiocèse de Winnipeg," 187-207.

<sup>64</sup>North West Review, January 7, 1911.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., January 14, 1911.

<sup>66</sup>Idem.

<sup>67</sup>L.-P.-A. Langevin, Mémoire confidentiel sur la situation religieuse et statistiques de la population catholique de l'Archidiocèse de St-Boniface (St-Boniface, 1911), pp. 7-9.

<sup>68</sup>Cook, "Church, Schools, and Politics in Manitoba, 1903-1912," 19.

<sup>69</sup>North West Review, October 14, 1911.

<sup>70</sup>A.A.W., Minutes of the Manitoba Federation of Catholic Laymen, (hereafter cited as M.F.C.L.), June 10, 1913.

<sup>71</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Petition of the M.F.C.L. to Langevin, January 24, 1912.

<sup>72</sup>Idem.

<sup>73</sup>A.A.W., Minutes of the M.F.C.L., June 10, 1913.

<sup>74</sup>North West Review, March 16, 1912.

<sup>75</sup>A.A.W., Catholics of Dauphin to Joseph Troy, Secretary of the M.F.C.L., March 12, 1912. The English Catholic press limited itself to a commentary on the exigencies of party politics: "The treatment that has been meted out to us in the last 22 years at the hands of this or that political party is guarantee enough that the future holds very little for us. When one party is willing to enact legislation to restore our Catholic schools, the other invariably refuses to fall in line and the efforts and good will of the first are thereby paralysed." North West Review, March 2, 1912; cited in Cooks, "Church, Schools, and Politics in Manitoba, 1903-1912," 23.

<sup>76</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to L. Hacault, May 10, 1912.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., Langevin to A.-A. Cherrier, August 20, 1912. Already the Government had ceased patronizing the West Canada Publishing Co. Government advertisement which had brought about \$2,000 to the North West Review in the last 12 months ceased because "...we have many would be politicians there...whose views are not in accordance with the action of the Government in many

respects, particularly pertaining to the 'Separate School Question' ...we have too many meddlers and men who consider themselves such brilliant writers that they are imbued with...socialistic spirit of gritism, and they cannot keep their pens quiet and give the Government a chance to settle this question amicably and fully from our point of view." The Government, however, promised "to have this patronage returned" provided Joseph Troy could be stopped from writing inflammatory articles against Roblin. Ibid., C.N. Forrester to Langevin, May 27, 1912.

<sup>78</sup>Cook, "Church, Schools, and Politics in Manitoba, 1903-12," 22. For a more complete analysis as to what the Coldwell analysis were designed to accomplish see Chapter V, pp. 213-215.

<sup>79</sup>Langevin to Colonel Alphonse Audet, March 31, 1912; cited in Lionel Groulx, ed., "Correspondance Langevin - Audet," Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française, I (1947), 277.

<sup>80</sup>A.A.W., Manitoba School Question. Meeting of the M.F.C.L., August 1, 1912.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., Minutes of the M.F.C.L., January 17, 1913. Winnipeg's eight private schools consisted of St.Mary's School on St.Mary's Avenue: 8 teachers, 8 classes and 372 students; Immaculate Conception on Austin: 5 teachers, 7 classes and 227 students; St.Joseph on College Avenue: 5 teachers, 7 classes and 250 students; St.Nicholas School on Flora Avenue: 5 teachers, 6 classes and 334 students; Holy Ghost on Selkirk Avenue: 5 teachers, 7 classes and 417 students; St.Edward School on Notre Dame Avenue: 4 teachers, 8 classes and 170 students; Sacred Heart School on Bannatyne Avenue: 4 teachers, 8 classes and 155 students; St. Ignatius, Fort Rouge: 3 teachers, 6 classes and 104 students. LCSB, XII (January 1, 1913), 5.

<sup>82</sup>A.A.W., Minutes and proceedings of the M.F.C.L., January 17, 1913.

<sup>83</sup>Idem.

<sup>84</sup>Thomas Herman Johnson was a member of the Winnipeg Public School Board from 1904 to 1907. A Liberal, he was elected to the Legislature in 1907 and 1910 and represented Winnipeg West. He later served as Minister of Public Works and Attorney-General in the T.C. Norris Administration.

<sup>85</sup>In 1907 a Royal Commission was appointed to examine the governing and financing of the University of Manitoba. In 1909-10 it issued three conflicting reports. One report drafted by the "traditionalists" favored the continuance of the original organization of the university. A second report wanted the university secularized, state-supported and state-controlled. A third report was presented by the evolutionists who stood midway

between the traditionalists and the secularists. The Liberal party, having a marked preference for secular state education, favored the creation of a state university. As Morton stated the "university question" was in 1911, of course, as it had been in 1889 and 1890, part and parcel of the larger 'Manitoba School question', and could be answered only in terms of an answer to the larger question." W.L. Morton, One University: A History of the University of Manitoba, (1877-1952) (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1957), p. 84.

<sup>86</sup>A.A.W., Minutes and proceedings of the M.F.C.L., January 17, 1913.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., January 27, 1913.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., February 5, 1913.

<sup>89</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Meeting of the M.F.C.L. with Langevin, February 5, 1913.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., March 26, 1913.

<sup>91</sup>North West Review, April 5, 1913.

<sup>92</sup>Mandements des Evêques de St-Boniface, 1895-1915, pp. 383-383.

<sup>93</sup>North West Review, March 20, 1913.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., April 5, 1913.

<sup>95</sup>A.A.W., Minutes of the M.F.C.L., April 20, 1913.

<sup>96</sup>North West Review, April 26, 1913.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., April 21, 1913.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., April 26, 1913.

<sup>99</sup>Le Manitoba, April 30, 1913.

<sup>100</sup>A.A.W., M.F.C.L. to Judge Nicholas Beck, July 22, 1913. Beck, Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Alberta, was not unfamiliar with the problems affecting Winnipeg's English Catholic community. He was a former editor of the North West Review and an active member of the Church Extension Society. Langevin contended that Beck was appointed to his post because he had supported Laurier over the controversy surrounding the autonomy bills. A.A. S.B., Langevin Papers, "Monsieur Beck a une position de juge en perspective," January [ 7 ], 1907.

<sup>101</sup>Idem.

<sup>102</sup>Idem..

<sup>103</sup>Idem..

<sup>104</sup>Idem..

<sup>105</sup>North West Review, October 24, 1914.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., August 9, 1913.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., January 31, 1914.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid., April 18, 1914.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., June 20, 1914.

<sup>110</sup>Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1915.

<sup>111</sup>North West Review, July 25, 1914.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., September 5, 1914.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., October 24, 1914.

<sup>114</sup>It is significant that Winnipeg's Catholic community rarely alluded to its Irish background. This can be interpreted as a willingness to blend into the English community in return for toleration.

<sup>115</sup>For an analysis of the factors which brought about an anti-French reaction on the part of the Anglo-Saxon community see Gilbert-Louis Comeault, "Les rapports de Mgr. L.-P.-A. Langevin avec les groupes ethniques minoritaires et leurs répercussions sur le statut de la langue française au Manitoba, 1895-1916", Sessions d'études, Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique, XLII (1975), 65-85.

<sup>116</sup>North West Review, February 20, 1915.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid., March 20, 1915. In a roundabout way Senator Thomas Coffey had in November of 1912 confronted Langevin with a similar argument, claiming that the French language did not necessarily guarantee the preservation of the Faith: "My contention is that a Catholic boy if properly instructed, and receives careful pastoral attention as he grows old, will be a good Catholic, no matter what may be his language. I can see no reason, then, why a French Canadian boy, educated in a Catholic School in the English language will not be just as good a Catholic as if he were educated in French. Language is neither Catholic nor

Protestant. It is a medium by which we may express our thoughts. If the French boy loses his language when he learns English, it is proof that in the majority of cases he was not properly instructed in the doctrines of the Church." A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Senator Thomas Coffey to Langevin, November 28, 1912.

<sup>118</sup>North West Review, March 20, 1915.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid., February 27, 1915.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid., October 16, 1915.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid., October 30, 1915.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., November 13, 1915.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., February 26, 1916. Italics my own. Aside from the fact that French-Canadian politicians had been misled by Langevin the Review pointed out that a political explanation for the Norris Government's attitude towards bilingual schools "... is the lack of support by French Canadians in past campaigns... for the past twenty years the French have been hand-in-glove with the Roblin party, and this notwithstanding the fact that Bilingualism was conceded to them by the Liberals." Idem.

<sup>124</sup>Ibid., March 4, 1916.

### CHAPTER III

#### LANGEVIN, THE NEW IMMIGRANTS AND BILINGUAL SCHOOLS

The English-speaking Catholic community's contention that the Archbishop of St. Boniface had sacrificed the interest of the Church on the altar of French-Canadian nationalism was unjust.<sup>1</sup> Throughout his episcopate Langevin had been immersed in formulating a cohesive plan of action which sought to resolve the Manitoba Schools Question through Catholic immigration. In this endeavour he had received the unconditional support of Merry del Val who maintained that "...la question des écoles s'améliorera dans la proportion où s'augmentera le nombre des catholiques à opposer aux protestants."<sup>2</sup>

In 1901, there were only 35,672 Roman Catholics in Manitoba as compared to 44,922 Anglicans, 49,936 Methodists, and 65,348 Presbyterians.<sup>3</sup> Eventually, Catholics did come, in the form of immigrants from Central Europe: Ruthenians,<sup>4</sup> Poles,<sup>5</sup> and Germans.<sup>6</sup> In them Langevin saw the possibility of realizing his "Empire," a Catholic community that would triumph over an ever increasing secularised and Protestant society. The Ruthenians, because of their number, would represent a considerable force; the Poles, being one of Europe's "most brilliant races," would form an intellectual force; to these would be added the English-speaking Catholics who could make converts among the various Protestant churches. The French Canadians, being well versed in religious and constitutional battles, would provide leadership in the struggles that lay ahead.<sup>7</sup> In 1902, Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface

summed up the potential role of the new immigrants in this projected "Empire": "Ces populations ne sont certes pas les moins intéressantes et leur développement incessant sera peut-être un jour une des plus grandes forces de l'Eglise Catholique au Manitoba." But Langevin also had some disquieting reasons for welcoming these new immigrants:

ces braves populations...ont été assez intelligents pour venir s'emparer des belles terres du Manitoba dédaignées par tant de canadiens français qui préfèrent aller s'établir dans les manufactures des Etats-Unis plutôt que de vivre libres et indépendants sur le sol encore vierge de leur immense et si beau pays.<sup>8</sup>

It remained to be seen, however, to what extent the Polish and German Catholics, and especially the Ruthenians, would be willing to participate in Langevin's objectives.

The Ruthenians presented the most complex problem for the Archbishop. As one parish priest put it, the greatest enemies of the Ruthenians "to be encountered are not strangers, the inhabitants of this country, but the fellow-countrymen of these poor people, who are always arming against us new weapons. They are preachers of socialism and even of atheism. Unhappily, the Ruthenians are more exposed to be deceived and to fall away because of their ignorance." He did, nevertheless, optimistically report to the Archbishop that "the Poles, on the contrary, reject these attacks with courage and success, because they are better taught and more religious."<sup>9</sup> Langevin continued to be encouraged as he firmly maintained that the Ruthenians adhered to the Catholic faith:

Faut-il le redire encore? Une faible partie des Ruthènes appartient à la religion dite grecque orthodox, tandis que la grande majorité professe la religion catholique romaine.

Bien que suivant un rite différent du rite latin, les Ruthènes catholiques sont sous la juridiction du Pape de Rome et des Evêques en communion avec lui.<sup>10</sup>

He reminded the Ruthenians of the flexibility of the Catholic Church which could adapt to the demands of any nations just as long as they kept their faith intact. He also told them that by respecting him, they recognized the Pope and him as the leaders of their religion. He urged them to remain alert to the pretentious demands of their false bishops and priests who were spreading the rumours that the "Latin" hierarchy intended to obliterate the "Ruthenian" rite.

In an attempt to gain influence, Langevin portrayed himself as the guardian and the defender of their rite. Financial aid was consistently made to win over the Ruthenians. In 1904, the Archbishop lent \$30,000 to the Basilian Order<sup>11</sup> to construct a church that would serve some 5,000 Ruthenians in Winnipeg. This was to compete with the Presbyterians who, it was rumoured, were to undertake the construction of a \$40,000 church in the same area. Sixty-thousand dollars was eventually spent in the construction of the Holy Ghost Church in Winnipeg.<sup>12</sup> Considerable sums of money were later spent in building religious establishments, convents, hospitals, presbyteries, in buying land and in setting up a Ruthenian newspaper. Langevin was always emphatic about what was being done in Manitoba for "his" Ruthenians. The Quebec clergy also showed deep interest in the "Ruthenian Question" as

les Révérendissimes Pères du Premier Concile Plénier de Québec ont bien voulu donner une preuve de l'intérêt qu'ils portent à nos chers ruthènes, en promettant de donner, chaque année, pendant dix ans, pour les oeuvres ruthènes,



quatre piastres par mille diocésains, ou de faire une quête qui donnera le même résultat ou même davantage. En retour, les évêques de la Province Ecclésiastique de Saint-Boniface ont consenti à renoncer, pendant dix ans, à la quête des écoles du Nord Ouest...<sup>13</sup>

Financial support represented only one facet of Langevin's attempts to keep the Ruthenians within the Catholic fold. His parish priests were his main instruments. On May 1, 1897, the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda of the Faith had placed Greek Catholic priests under the jurisdiction of Roman Catholic bishops in North America. Previous to that, the Sacred Congregation had decided that no married priests could come to the American continent. As early as 1896, Langevin had asked for German and Polish-speaking priests of the Oblate Order to work in Ruthenian parishes and missions. In 1898, he asked the Greek Catholic Metropolitan of Galicia, Count Andrew Sheptycky, to send a "Ruthenian celibate clergy" to Canada. Instead, a Belgium Redemptorist, Father Achille Delaere was sent. Other Redemptorists soon followed. Four years later, the first "Ruthenian" clergymen, Fathers Platonid Filas, Sozont Dydyk, and Anton Stocki of the Basilian Order arrived in Canada.<sup>14</sup> But their presence in the diocese of St. Boniface seemed not to have pleased the Archbishop. He complained to Cardinal Gotti, the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda that "le passage des prêtres séculiers Ruthènes au sein de nos colonies a fait plus de mal que de bien, et ceux qui sont vraiment religieux parmi ces peuples, s'attachent seulement aux prêtres latins..."<sup>15</sup>

By the end of 1904 Langevin arrived at what he thought would be the solution to the Ruthenians' demands for priests of their

own rite: to form a Ruthenian clergy made up of secular priests and Redemptorists. Accordingly, in 1906, after long negotiations with Rome, Father Delaere passed from the "Latin" rite to the "Ruthenian" rite. He was joined by other Redemptorists and secular priests including Fathers Adonias Sabourin, Désiré Claveloux, Joseph Gagnon, Joseph Jean, and Arthur Desmarais. Langevin thought this would be the best way to prevent the appearance of heresy and schisms and the doctrines of protestantism from spreading like a prairie fire amidst Ruthenian settlements. It would also be an expedient to prevent the introduction of a married clergy with their wives posing as "ménagères" and demanding nothing else but a healthy salary.

If Langevin thought that the Basilian Order would provide a stout bastion for the Catholic faith among the Ruthenians, he was to be partly deceived. For one thing, the Ruthenians remained somewhat suspicious of Langevin's "monkish advisers" who, after all, advocated submission to "Latin" bishops and the incorporation of their church property to a French bishop. They were often accused of trying to latinize the "Ruthenian" rite and as such were dubbed "wolves in sheep's clothings."<sup>16</sup> Other problems also faced the Archbishop. Ruthenians in Manitoba were being continuously urged by the American Ruthenian newspaper, Svoboda, to join the Association of the Ruthenian Church Parishes of the United States to escape from the domination of the "Latin" hierarchy. A case in point involved some Ruthenians from the parishes of St.Vladimir and St.Olga who broke away to form the Independent

Greek Catholic Church.<sup>17</sup>

As if the Ruthenians were not divided enough, an individual by the name of Seraphim, bearing the pompous title of Bishop and Metropolitan of "The All-Russian Patriarchal Orthodox Church," appeared upon the Winnipeg scene in September of 1903. Rumours coming from Catholic officials had it that he liked money and liquor and would consecrate anybody a priest for the nominal fee of \$50. Farmers were consecrated free of charge. The movement spread like wildfire all over Manitoba. His fits of insanity eventually led him to build a scrapiron cathedral in Winnipeg which was his downfall.<sup>18</sup> The priests he had ordained broke away from his church, and, subsidized by the Presbyterians, formed the Independent Greek Church.<sup>19</sup> Langevin bitterly denounced this new development and warned the Ruthenians of the lies this new religious movement had been spreading around Manitoba such as

Do not trust the French clergy, because they are your enemies, they try to deprive you of the treasure of your rite. Do not trust the Archbishop of St. Boniface, nor the missionaries he sends you. Do not place your church lands, nor your churches under his authority, because he will oblige you to pay the tithes, that is the tenth part of everything you possess, the tenth cow, the tenth chicken, the tenth goose, the tenth turkey...<sup>20</sup>

Langevin had been quick to realize that the struggle for the souls of the Ruthenians carried political overtones. The Protestants reacted much the same way as they too regarded Ruthenian settlements as possible markets for their beliefs.<sup>21</sup> As could be expected, Langevin's response was blunt. He accused the various Protestant churches of bribing the Ruthenians with temporary shelters, hospitals, medical supplies, clothing and foodstuffs. He

also charged that these churches were endeavoring to gain control of the educational system, preaching socialism, and suggesting that the French Canadians were seeking to enslave the Ruthenians, as the Poles had done in Galicia. Langevin denounced the Kanadiyskyi Ranok and the Kanadiyskyi Farmer, both of which received support from the Liberals and the Presbyterian Church, for their violent attacks on Catholicism. As a countermeasure he urged all Catholics "de prendre hardiment et vigoureusement en main la cause de l'Eglise ruthène dans l'Ouest, de faire de leur cette cause capital." But he warned that if this challenge was not taken up, "une émigration se tournera contre [nous et nous aurons] à faire face à un nouvel ennemi."<sup>22</sup> To assure the success of this struggle Langevin put forward a plan of action which was very much in keeping with his façon d'agir:

On cherche à me convaincre qu'avec de la tolérance on gagne plus qu'avec trop de chaleur dans la défense de nos intérêts ...mais lorsqu'un berger voit venir le loup, va-t-il se contenter de l'attendre à la porte et de lui dire bien poliment: "S'il vous plaît, monsieur le loup, veuillez donc avoir la bonté de ne pas entrer dans la bergerie?" Non, il prend vite sa houlette et le chasse avec toute promptitude et l'ardeur possible. Quand le salut des âmes est en jeu, une âme épiscopale sait voir au-delà des différences de rite et de race.<sup>23</sup>

One of the first problems that Langevin had to face when dealing with the Ruthenians was that of registering their church lands with the Archiepiscopal Corporation of St. Boniface. He wanted this procedure adhered to for a number of reasons. He feared that if church property was inscribed in the name of a lay committee, the authority of the parish priest and bishop would be substantially reduced. It would also be virtually impossible

to prevent a Ruthenian church council from giving permission to heretics, schismatics and Protestant clergyman to use buildings "erected with the Archbishop's money."<sup>24</sup> But Langevin's attempt to ward off these problems put him in the midst of a controversy. In 1903, Joseph Bernier, the MLA for St. Boniface, introduced a bill calling for the "Greek Ruthenian Church" to inscribe its property with the Archiepiscopal Corporation. The legislation was eventually attacked by the Ukrainian Voice, a weekly newspaper supporting the Orthodox Church. The Voice accused Langevin of being a saviour more concerned about the "hard-earned cents" of the Ruthenians and added that

If the foundation of all Catholicism rests on the incorporation of property, and in general on property, then the Catholic church is a business corporation or a company like the C.P.R....We shall tell the French 'Stop tampering with us and go and redeem your France which is perishing.'<sup>25</sup>

Svoboda, an American newspaper also supporting the Orthodox Church, went a step further and attacked Langevin for trying to bring the Ruthenians under "French rule." In 1910, the Austro-Hungarian consul in Winnipeg took up the cry by charging that Langevin and his French-Canadian priests had imperialistic designs upon the Ruthenians:

What the Ruthenians chiefly object to is that the French bishop wants to force French priests upon them...the Archbishop is sending a lot of French clergymen over to Austria to study the Ruthenian language and to go over to the Ruthenian church, so as to be able to return here and take up parishes among our Ruthenians. It seems as if it were a determined purpose not to allow the business to go out of French hands...The chief point seems to me to be, not the question of the difference of rite, but the question of French domination in the Catholic church. I can assure anybody, however, who is working in that direction, that he is working at a hopeless task, and that our people, who

are coming in this country, are of different stock than the half-breeds of Louis Riel.<sup>26</sup>

Meanwhile, events in the village of Sifton<sup>27</sup> were shattering Langevin's dream of a united "Catholic Empire." In 1906, the Basilian Order had acquired property in the district and had tried to establish a ministry among the Ruthenians. But their objective met with complete failure. Father Filas wrote to Fathers Dykyk and Kryjanowski: "Secouez la poussière de vos chaussures et repliez-vous sur Winnipeg où vous serez mieux reçus."<sup>28</sup> Langevin was not to be so easily dissuaded. He sent Father Adonias Sabourin,<sup>29</sup> who had just passed from the "Latin" rite to the "Ruthenian" rite, to try and establish a Catholic stronghold in the area. Upon his arrival in Sifton, he described the community as one which

always had the leading step in religious disturbances among Ruthenians with the Presbyterians sending \$10,000 a few years ago to erect a mission named the 'Hospital' placed under the direction of the 'ill-famed' Dr. Reid. The shameless imposter Séraphim has performed one of its most numerous ordination in this town and Apostate priests are trying to take control of the Catholic Church...A duel is going on between the Orthodox and the Catholic faith. Unhappily, schismatics have the upper hand, so far, because they are left in quiet possession of the Catholic Church built by Catholics for Catholic worship, owing to a flaw in the contract that was made in the purchase of the land from the C.N.R.<sup>30</sup>

Sabourin remained determined that the Ruthenians were not going to attain their "own salvation independently of Rome, and if it pleases also the Methodist Minister [J.S. Woodsworth] independently of God."<sup>31</sup> He attempted to achieve this by removing Ruthenian priests in his district, opposing the appointment of a Ruthenian bishop and insisting that the Ruthenians inscribe their church lands in the name of the Archiepiscopal Corporation of St.

Boniface.<sup>32</sup> His tactics failed. In 1911, Langevin had to write him: "Inutile de se dissuader, tu n'as pas assez la confiance des Ruthènes à Sifton où ils sont trop travaillés par les schismatiques et les protestants."<sup>33</sup> The last words had been a rationalization.

As early as 1907, Bishop Orzynski, the first Ruthenian bishop to be appointed in the United States, had written Father Delaere that Langevin's project of having "Latin" priests passing to the "Ruthenian" rite to work among these people was bound to fail. The Protestants and the Orthodox, he maintained, were the ones who would gather the fruits of this undertaking.<sup>34</sup> It did not take long for the Basilian Order to start demanding the appointment of a Ruthenian bishop who, with a truly Ruthenian clergy, could alone save the situation. It was not without coincidence that the Catholic Church Extension Society of Canada,<sup>35</sup> an organization in which prominent Irish Catholics abounded, began to challenge the way Langevin was handling the Ruthenian question. The Society reminded the Archbishop that the Church was instituted not to protect the national identity of the new immigrants but to save their souls.<sup>36</sup>

Langevin was of course very much aware of the Church Extension Society's objectives. In August of 1908 he shared his opinions with Archbishop Bégin:

ces Messieurs veulent donner des prêtres de langues anglaises au Nord-Ouest...mais nous les évêques nous savons très bien que nous avons besoin de prêtres parlant les langues étrangères au français et à l'anglais comme le Polonais ou le Ruthène, l'Allemand et le Hongrois. Le fait de vouloir s'occuper exclusivement du recrutement d'un clergé de langue anglaise dans l'ouest alors que les catholiques parlant cette langue sont l'infinie minorité est propre à rendre sus-

pecte une société qui semble poursuivre plutôt un but national qu'une mission catholique...<sup>37</sup>

Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface, having little doubt as to what the Society's but national was, warned that "c'est un fait d'expérience que ceux qui apprennent que l'anglais...se mettent souvent au service des Presbytériens et des Méthodistes. Ceci se produit surtout chez les jeunes."<sup>38</sup>

The means by which the Church Extension Society sought to achieve its goals made Langevin even more uneasy. He viewed with some misgivings the monies which the Society was setting aside to build churches in Ruthenian settlements. He was equally apprehensive about its proposal to subsidize a Ruthenian newspaper<sup>39</sup> and to erect a seminary in Toronto to "train" Ruthenian priests. He gave notice that "il faut autre chose que de l'or de la Church Extension Society pour sauver la foi des catholiques de l'ouest... Dieu nous préserve de ce nationalisme étroit et provocateur qui croit tout conquérir avec de l'argent et des beaux discours."<sup>40</sup>

Langevin did not confine his remarks to these observations. In 1911 he issued a confidential Mémoire in which he pointed out that "Ceux qui ont prétendu un jour, vers 1909, avoir fait la découverte de nos Ruthènes ont montré une regrettable ignorance de l'histoire et ont oublié qu'il avait un épiscopat vigilant dans l'ouest canadien."<sup>41</sup> He maintained that those individuals who continued to insist that, in Western Canada, the doctrines of the Church be taught in the English language were actually undermining the faith of the new immigrants. Nevertheless Langevin admitted that the Ruthenians, the Poles, the Germans and



the Hungarians would inevitably some day speak English. But he made it clear that, for the time being, their ignorance of the English language would prevent them from being proselytized by the Protestant churches.<sup>42</sup>

Except for the fact that one of the Church Extension Society's presidents, the Rev. A.E. Burke, wanted the Ruthenian question to be resolved by a Ruthenian Bishop,<sup>43</sup> little else is known about the organization's involvement in this affair. Yet, it can be supposed that its views were not altogether different from those of J.K. Barrett who, in 1911, had discussed the problem with Mgr. Donatius Falconio. In his representation to the Apostolic Delegate to the United States Barrett had contended that while

every Protestant sect is using every effort to proselytize our people, especially the Ruthenians, our Archbishop is wasting his time and energy in trying to maintain French domination, instead of looking after the universal needs of the Catholics in his diocese...These poor emigrants will only learn the English language, because it is the language of the country. For obvious reasons it is the only language they will accept. This fact alone is sufficient to cool the zeal and deaden the efforts of His Grace of St. Boniface ...it will be a lasting disgrace to us as Catholics if they are lost to the Church...<sup>44</sup>

Whatever truth there might have been in Barrett's argument, Langevin remained convinced that his strategy had the best chance of succeeding in gaining the adherence of the Ruthenians to the Roman Catholic Church. For this reason he opposed the nomination of a Ruthenian bishop. As early as 1900 he had resisted the appointment of a Ruthenian coadjutor in the diocese of St. Boniface so as to avoid further divisions within the Catholic community:

Vous savez ce que je pense de la nomination d'un sous-délégué ruthène, je crois que ce sera une vraie calamité. C'est le plus sur moyen d'éterniser le rite ruthène comme on le veut en Galicie. Puis au danger du schisme s'ajoutera le danger de l'influence hérétique dans ce pays protestant... Enfin avant longtemps l'on demandera un évêque du rite ruthène, déjà on en a parlé. Au contraire avec des religieux du rite latin comme les Oblats de Marie Immaculée... on laisserait la liberté de garder quelques pratiques extérieures du rite ruthène, en dehors de la messe et de l'administration des sacrements, nous réussirons à unifier ces peuples...<sup>45</sup>

By 1911, however, Rome had determined that the only solution to the Ruthenian question was the appointment of a Ruthenian bishop.

On July 15, 1912, the announcement came that Niceta Budka had been appointed bishop with personal jurisdiction over all Ruthenians in Canada. Budka immediately incurred the enmity of the Archbishop of St. Boniface by supporting the Canadian Ruthenian's opposition to a French-speaking Ruthenian clergy. As a result Langevin withdrew his financial support from the newspaper. Budka retaliated by recommending that French-Canadian priests should no longer be allowed to work among the Ruthenians. He also intimated that Sabourin liked his horses better than the Ruthenians.<sup>46</sup> Following this denunciation, Sabourin complained to Langevin that Budka was spreading the news that Ruthenians had never accepted priests from the "Latin" rite having changed to the "Ruthenian" rite. Sabourin also accused the Ruthenian bishop of spreading schisms and suspected him of seeking Rome's permission to bring married priests from Galicia to Canada.

It did not take long for Fathers Gagnon, Desmarais and Claveloux to ask for their recall. Langevin bluntly told Budka the reason: "ce sont les dispositions adverses to votre grandeur

qui a déterminer à abandonner le rite ruthène."<sup>47</sup> Sabourin also thought of demanding his recall: "Pour moi, je ne vous le cache pas, la question de retourner au rite latin se pose très sérieusement." But he was a fighter and decided to remain because "notre départ facilitera cette introduction [of married clergy] sous le faux prétexte que le peuple ruthène ne veut pas de prêtre d'origine latine ou que ceux-ci trouvent trop difficile de desservir les Ruthènes dans leur langue et leur rite."<sup>48</sup> In the end, Langevin refused to assume any responsibility for Budka's various ventures. He reminded him that he had made great pecuniary sacrifices for the Ruthenians "mais si Votre Grandeur les rejette qu'elle en subisse les conséquences et qu'elle ne soit pas étonnée que l'oeuvre des Ruthènes cesse d'avoir pour les Catholiques latins surtout dans la Province de Québec, les mêmes sympathies ardentes et religieuses."<sup>49</sup> Clearly, the Archbishop's dream for a united Catholic Empire had been shattered.

Nevertheless, when the first wave of immigration had started to pour into Manitoba in the early 1900's, the Archbishop of Saint-Boniface had only begun to see his potential "Catholic Empire" in the West. But if he was primarily concerned with such a kingdom, he was also very much preoccupied with protecting the French-Canadian position in Manitoba. Thus, when speaking of the immigration of thousands of Galicians, he told Alexandre Guasco, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda of the Faith that "il faut lutter partout pour maintenir l'influence catholique et française dans un pays protestant et anglais."<sup>50</sup> He therefore had to have an empire within an empire whereby the union of the

whole would be based upon common action in dealing with the school question in Manitoba. Little did he realize the consequences that such a strategy could have. But Langevin's course of action was predictable. It was the logical outcome of his dictum "qui perd sa langue perd sa foi." In this context, Manitoba's bilingual system would become the means by which his Galicians would be able to safeguard their faith as it assured instruction in their native language and not in English, a parlance which, in Canada, was "une force pour l'hérésie."<sup>51</sup>

Blinded by this conviction, Langevin did not realize the repercussions that the utilization of the bilingual clause contained in the Laurier-Greenway Agreement by the non-French Catholic minorities could have on the status of the French language in Manitoba's public school system. Section 10 of that agreement was never expected to be used by these minorities. It had been meant, said J.W. Dafoe,

to preserve the right of the French to their own language in the schools in which they were a majority; the possibility under this clause of saddling the province with a multi-lingual system of primary schools was not realized. It was expected, by the negotiators, that these privileges would be claimed only by the French; but the clause was made inclusive to forestall criticism - against Laurier for claiming and against Sifton for conceding special privileges.<sup>52</sup>

All in all, it would have been more in the interest of the French Canadians if "the drafters of the legislation had had the courage to say what they meant."<sup>53</sup>

Upon the arrival of the first immigrants from Central Europe, Langevin had quickly shown his concern for their education and

immediately appealed to Rodmond Roblin, Manitoba's premier, for help:

Allow me to state before you the Galician and Polish people who have come lately from the Empire of Austria belong in the great majority to the Roman Catholic Church of the latin or ruthenian rite, and the balance belongs to the Russian Church which believe as we do in the Apostle's creed and in seven sacrements [sic]. Besides hundreds in Winnipeg alone, the Reverend Fathers of the Holy Ghost's Church, assure me that they could get, before long at school, about two hundred children speaking Polish or Galician, if they had the financial means to provide for school rooms and school teachers...Consequently, I take the liberty...to ask the Government to provide means to instruct and educate the children in the English language as also in their own idioms.<sup>54</sup>

Others thought differently. In December of 1901 a committee made up of prominent Winnipeg citizens was formed to deal with the question "of introducing the public school system in the Galician settlement." At its first meeting the committee decided that a delegation<sup>55</sup> meet with the Provincial Government to discuss the importance of teaching the English language to the Galicians. When the delegation met with Roblin on December 30th, Dr. J. Reid, a Presbyterian medical missionary, put forth the argument that unless the Galicians were anglicized they would "become a menace to our people."<sup>56</sup> It was also proposed that the Government introduce compulsory education<sup>57</sup> as a means of assimilating these "foreign born people." A final resolution called for the "striking out" of the bilingual clause "except where it refers to the French and German languages."<sup>58</sup>

Langevin vehemently denounced the resolutions at a mass meeting held in Winnipeg on January 5th. In a speech which deserves to be quoted at length he vigorously opposed any amendments

to the bilingual clause:

Schools must be established for [the Galicians] according to the law, and the English language should be taught in those schools but the school law of the country...consecrated the bi-lingual system, and those people, as a matter of right, [may] have their children taught their own language in the schools, together with the English language, and, as matter of fact, they [desire] that very strongly. But if all [agree] that English should be taught in the schools...the Galicians [believe] that they must keep their language...because it is the best means for them to keep their faith.<sup>59</sup>

Langevin also wondered why the sudden preoccupation with the Galicians: "[Is] it not because the very great majority... [belong] to the Catholic church?" He concluded by asking all concerned to cease meddling in the affairs of the Roman Catholic Church. But he warned the committee that if it wanted to create another school question, the Catholics of Manitoba, because of the increase in their numbers during the last ten years, were never better prepared.<sup>60</sup> Langevin had committed himself to helping the new immigrants resist assimilation as he was determined to minimize the possibility of contact between them and the Protestant churches.

Meanwhile the debate over the education of the Galicians raged on with the Reverend George Bryce bringing up the sensitive issue of calling on "the Dominion government to hand over the interest accruing from the sale of school lands to the Province [of Manitoba] for school purposes, especially for affording education to the foreigners of Manitoba [since] it would be impossible to obtain Galician schools unless the money from the Dominion government was obtained." Father A.-A. Cherrier denounced this motion on the ground that "the Roman Catholics did not consider the school question as settled and as long as the Catholics of

Winnipeg were suffering an injustice such as they were at present, it would not be considered as settled."<sup>61</sup>

During the debate, Roblin had been approached in regard to the problem of educating these "foreigners." Stating that their education had never escaped his attention, he explained that the finances of the province simply could not stand the extra burden "especially if a Bill making school attendance compulsory should ever be passed."<sup>62</sup> But there was another reason why the Premier did not want to introduce such legislation at this time. Roblin had consulted the Archbishop on the question of compulsory education and had been told that "it will be quite difficult to have it work unless our free schools of Winnipeg are accepted as... public schools."<sup>63</sup> Also, by enforcing compulsory education, the Manitoba Government would have found itself hard pressed to furnish bilingual instruction.

Party politics in Manitoba also played a role in setting up schools for foreigners. A few weeks before the 1907 provincial election, at the behest of W.B. Waddell, Conservative M.L.A., Robert Fletcher requested A.B. Fallis to establish a new school district for

there is a special reason for prompt attention, as there is a heavy vote in that locality and it is almost essential to split the vote in order to give Mr. Waddell a chance of election. The Galician vote is usually Liberal ...It therefore behooves us to put the machinery promptly.<sup>64</sup>

Fletcher also saw to it that potential Conservative party supporters were made aware of the accomplishments of the Roblin Government concerning the education of the "foreigners'" children.

Prior to the 1910 provincial election, he wrote to Glen Campbell, the former Conservative M.L.A. for Gilbert Plains, the following account:

Since the present government came into power, we have established sixty-nine schools that are purely Galician or practically so. We have a Ruthenian Training School at Brandon which was opened on January 1st 1908 with a class of forty-three students. In January 1909 we opened a Polish Training School at Winnipeg with a class of eleven students and we have recently transferred eight Polish students from the Brandon school to Winnipeg. While we operated the one school we endeavored to have both Ruthenian and Polish students. There are now seventeen on the Polish Training School and between twenty-five or thirty in the Ruthenian Training school. We established our first training school in February 1905 and closed it on July 1st, 1907. From that school we graduated twenty-nine students as teachers for the Galician schools.<sup>65</sup>

While the Conservative Government of Manitoba kept busy erecting bilingual schools in settlements inhabited by "foreigners" for political purposes, Langevin was advocating the need for more "Galician school districts" and teachers so as to "save them to the Catholic Church." The government had a duty to perform: "c'est la conséquence logique du système bilingue reconnu par la loi."<sup>66</sup> He also began pressuring the province to appoint a Catholic school inspector for these districts: "the best man you could secure for the position of Inspector of schools among the colonies," the Archbishop wrote to D.C. Campbell, Manitoba's Attorney-General, "is M. John Baderski, a Polish gentleman speaking fluently, both the English and the Polish or Galician language...M. Baderski is in the best possible standing with his church..."<sup>67</sup> Early in 1903, Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface was pleased to announce his appointment by the provincial inspector as school inspector for all of



Manitoba's "Galician" settlements.<sup>68</sup>

To effectively forestall assimilation to the Anglo-Saxon way of life, however, Langevin needed to overcome the problem of a critical shortage of bilingual Catholic teachers. Accordingly, he directed his efforts to convincing the Government that Ruthenian and Polish "Training Schools" be set up and staffed with Catholic personnel. In 1905, Winnipeg saw the opening of a Ruthenian Training School and Langevin expressed his pleasure in this accomplishment to Robert Rogers, the Minister of Public Works. He nevertheless reminded the Minister that "unless a reliable man like Mr. John Baderski...is appointed to teach these young men, it will be difficult to be convinced...that the new school for young Galicians is in an immense advantage to these people who are in such urgent need of school teachers."<sup>69</sup>

Langevin, however, encountered unexpected opposition to his proposal. Rogers demanded why he should acquiesce to such a demand when two members of the Basilian order, Fathers Hura and Kulawy were "no friends of ours."<sup>70</sup> Langevin took objection to the remark and argued that "these Fathers are quite willing to help, in every possible way, the Conservative Party, and they have done it already, no matter what has been said falsely against them." He also hoped that it was not the intention of the Government to "hurt the Catholic Church" by staffing the Training School with "socialistic and anti-religious" individuals.<sup>71</sup> The argument failed to impress the Minister of Public Works<sup>72</sup> and Langevin was unable to have Baderski appointed principal of the school. He nevertheless did succeed in

having Basilius Kodryk appointed to the teaching staff.<sup>73</sup> Yet Langevin was left with the bitter feeling that the Roblin Government had created "a nest of anti-catholic and socialist Ruthenians, than of efficient...quiet...religious and unbiased teachers."<sup>79</sup> It was obvious that the Government intended doing "a lot more for the Greek Independent Church and their paper Ranok."<sup>75</sup>

In 1907, a Ruthenian Training School had also opened in Brandon; but again it did not meet with the Archbishop's approval. Writing to R.P. Roblin in 1908, he denounced the principal of that school as "a very prominent Orangeman and an active opponent of Catholicism - particularly as to education." He objected also to the assistant principal for being an advocate of socialism and materialism; took exception to the fact that students were being forced to attend Protestant religious services; and protested the replacement of a Catholic school inspector by a non-Catholic inspector "who sends anti-Catholic teachers to districts either wholly or in majority Catholic."<sup>76</sup> He complained to Rogers, warning him that should nothing be done "the result will be a bitter feeling among our people towards the Government. Allow me to say that you cannot disappoint us to that extent."<sup>77</sup> Langevin, however, was not able to convince the Manitoba Government to change the staff of Brandon's Ruthenian Training School.

Although the Archbishop was not able to make any headway in Brandon, he was somewhat appeased by the opening of a Normal School in Winnipeg for Ruthenian and Polish students. He had promoted its need to Rogers in December of 1908:

It is well understood that there will be boarders ... educated at the expense of the Government. There is surely a pressing need of teachers for hundreds of Galician children who are raised without the least instruction, and the Government [will be] doing a great social work by preparing teachers; we will see that the results prove satisfactorily...<sup>78</sup>

Langevin, however, met with disappointment when the Government appointed a "Protestant" as its principal. Infuriated by the announcement the Archbishop protested to Roblin:

Really, I am amazed to hear that another man and a Protestant is appointed, when Mr. Block is a suitable man. Is there any other influence working in an anti-catholic way?

If things are such, and if you cannot see your way through granting a Normal School for Galicians with a principal and, perhaps, an assistant that we can trust, my idea is that we better leave aside the scheme; but the feeling of our Galicians, Poles and Ruthenians in Winnipeg and outside will be bitter against the Government and I will not blame them. - Why did M. Rogers promise me so positively a Normal School for our Galicians if this school falls in the hand of our adversaries as it was the case with the...normal school in Brandon and when Catholic pupils are under a Presbyterian ruling. - Why could not M. Block be appointed principal of the New Normal School? ...my secretary will wait for your answer.<sup>79</sup>

When the change was not made the Archbishop took his complaints to the Minister of Education, G.R. Coldwell: "It seems to me but fair and just that our Catholic students of the Greek-Ruthenian rite be not under un-Catholic influences when experience proves that when they lose their faith they fall into socialism or they become unbelievers."<sup>80</sup> No action was taken. Finally, in December, Langevin made his views known in a more explicit fashion. He told Roblin that since the Protestants were in control of the Ruthenian Training School in Brandon and in Winnipeg and since the Normal School could only accommodate ten students, "the confidence put until now in the Government is greatly shaken, and really we must

admit that the Poles and the Ruthenians, are not treated fairly in Manitoba." He demanded immediate rectification of the above complaints and added: "Unless these things be done, we regret to say that the Government will lose a great deal of influence among the Catholic foreigners, and as a consequence, among other Catholics in Manitoba."<sup>81</sup> The government finally acquiesced perhaps because it had started to plan for a forthcoming election. A triumphant Langevin wrote to Mgr. Sbaretti, the Delegate Apostolic in Canada:

J'ai le plaisir de vous annoncer que le Gouvernement local, à ma demande a porté le nombre des élèves de l'Ecole Normale ...de Winnipeg de 10 à 18 élèves: plusieurs élèves de l'Ecole de Brandon ont été envoyés à Winnipeg. Le principal de l'Ecole est un brave catholique polonais, M. Adam F. Block...<sup>82</sup>

Meanwhile, John W. Dafoe's enthusiasm for more non-English-speaking immigrants was rapidly fading.<sup>83</sup> Prior to 1907, he had described them as necessary and beneficial to the West. But now they were rapidly becoming a threat to the perpetuation of the Anglo-Saxon community in Manitoba. The movement calling for "a new and significant race known as Canadians" began to quickly gather momentum as the editor of the Manitoba Free Press was now criticizing the Ruthenians, the Poles, and the Germans for remaining firm in their determination to preserve their own identity. The feeling grew among the Anglo-Saxon community that these minorities should no longer be given the choice of accommodation or assimilation. Feeling threatened, it had had enough of the experiment involving multiculturalism and multilingualism: these minorities would have to be dissolved in the Anglo-Saxon melting pot and Manitoba's educational system would now have to provide

them with the means of graduating into that new society.

Dafoe's determination to "Canadianize" all immigrants led him, unavoidably, to attack the bilingual clause of the Manitoba School Act and decry the lack of compulsory education. It was inevitable that in his campaign to make the public school system a key agent in this assimilation process, Dafoe would be opposed by Langevin who wanted to have the foreign groups educated in their mother tongue. In 1908 the two clashed over a bill designed to make primary school education compulsory. Dafoe noted the Archbishop's resistance to the proposed legislation and concluded that "since church facilities for education were inadequate the Archbishop preferred ignorance to secular education."<sup>84</sup> Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface retorted by pointing out that "purely secular education bred ignorance like a swamp bred flies."<sup>85</sup> An editorial by Dafoe ensued:

In a country like ours where so many nationalities are settling in our midst, it is imperative that the children of these different nationalities should be taught the same ideals of citizenship as our natural-born Canadian.<sup>86</sup>

Langevin continued to prompt the Ruthenians and the Catholic Poles and Germans to insist on bilingual teachers who would preserve their children's language thereby safeguarding their faith. He continued to attack the campaign being waged by the Free Press and the Liberal Party against bilingualism and a people rapidly becoming "a menace to the state." He reminded all the parents that in order to meet their responsibility before God they must have their children taught in their native tongue.<sup>87</sup> The consequences of the strategy would be far reaching. By advocating the usage of the bilingual

clause by these "foreigners" he stood to jeopardize the status of the French language. Indeed, he was providing his opponents with the arguments they needed to justify a simplified solution in dealing with the matter of bilingual schools.

In 1911 Langevin's antagonists found further justification for their position when J.-Ad. Sabourin argued that if the Ruthenians should ever adopt the English language, the result would be an unqualified evil.<sup>88</sup> The Free Press reacted violently to Sabourin's claim and accused him of committing a "national apostasy" and added:

If it is the policy of the church authorities at St. Boniface to discourage the learning of English by the foreign settlers they are guilty of an act of folly. They are doing the worst possible service to these people who doubtless look to them for disinterested advice and leadership. The consequences must react, and that speedily, upon them. There is no institution big enough to block the triumphant march of English in Western Canada.<sup>89</sup>

Langevin was not to be deterred. He continued to urge these non-French Catholic minorities to demand their school rights, to safeguard their maternal tongue in order to preserve their Catholicism, to unite so as to combine forces to elect Catholic school trustees and to encourage Catholic immigration from Central Europe.

By 1914, the Free Press was worried about Manitoba's Slavic population of "between 50,000 and 60,000 with most being Ruthenians or Poles from Galicia..."<sup>90</sup> In July of that year, it warned its readers of the impending dangers of Canada becoming multilingual with the Ruthenians, the Poles and the Germans all cherishing their "divergent national ideals." Moreover, a great danger now existed in a "nationalist-clerical movement among the Ruthenians" aiming

"at nothing less than the establishment in Western Canada of a distinct Ruthenian nationality, which with its language, institutions, customs and ideals shall persist for ever as a nation within a nation."<sup>91</sup> The Free Press alluded to two powerful agencies which prevented the Canadianization of a generation of foreign born settlers especially of the Ruthenian or Ukrainian communities: "The movement for building up a separate Ukrainian nationality in Western Canada has...reached dangerous proportions" and this because of the encouragement and subsidies of the Roblin Government which wanted their votes; and by the Roman Catholic hierarchy under the direction of Archbishop Langevin. On this point it chose to editorialize further:

Archbishop Langevin's encouragement of the Ruthenian national movement is in keeping with his well-defined religio-political programmes. His idea is to create conditions in the Western Provinces which will enable him to bring the various Governments to their knees and compel them to yield him concessions upon demand. A compact Ruthenian organization, animated by race feelings, and subject, in large measure, to clerical control would be a weapon which he could use with advantage in bludgeoning reluctant Governments.<sup>92</sup>

During the 1914 provincial election the Free Press accused the "Roblin-Langevin-Nationalist-Ruthenian combination" of defeating the Liberals in the provincial constituencies of Gilbert Plains, Dauphin, Beautiful Plains, Lakeside, Rockwood, Emerson, Dufferin, Manitou, and Brandon. It was an alliance to be feared.<sup>93</sup> La Liberté,<sup>94</sup> Langevin's French Catholic newspaper, took great pleasure in pointing out to the Free Press that the Catholic minorities had kept the Conservatives in office. It also sarcastically remarked that the Liberals had been narrowly defeated by those threatening

the Anglo-Saxon ideals. To augment the Free Press' indignation, La Liberté concluded with a biting observation:

Supposons pour un moment que ces Ruthènes, Polonais et Allemands aient tort et que réellement ils soient une menace pour le Canada. Mais à qui donc la faute? Qui se doit frapper la poitrine et s'attribuer leur présence au Canada?...C'est l'immigration intense pratiquée depuis un dix ou douze ans qui a fait d'eux des citoyens canadiens. Mais qui fut l'auteur de cette politique d'immigration à outrance? N'est-ce pas Sifton, le père nourricier du Free Press? Et dans quel but? Tout simplement de noyer l'élément français et catholique dans l'Ouest. Il rêvait, ce Sifton, de nous écraser sous une masse de nouveaux venus. Mais ses calculs ont été déjoués. Il s'est trouvé que le résultat de sa politique anti-française, anti-catholique que devait supprimer jusqu'aux derniers vestiges de toutes nationalités autres que la nationalité anglaise a été tout simplement d'amplifier le problème et de dresser plus de combattants contre les anglicisants.<sup>95</sup>

Its comments might not have appeared so offensive save for the fact that on the eve of the British Government's declaration of war on Germany, Bishop Niceta Budka had called upon all "the Austrian subjects...to defend the endangered Fatherland."<sup>96</sup>

By 1915, with the "foreigners" having become a very real threat to Canada's national security, the Free Press' demands for un-hyphenated Canadians were most adamant. It served notice to those Ruthenians "who look forward to leaving a hyphenated progeny on Canadian soil to at once select some other country." It argued that the "Ukrainian" language could not be given bilingual status in the public school system as never "in the history of Manitoba were its citizens less inclined to permit an extension of bilingualism that [sic] at the present moment." The Free Press called upon the Government to abolish the bilingual clause and to legislate "very specific and definite clauses governing the teaching of a second language in the public schools..."<sup>97</sup>



Moreover the Free Press warned French clerical leaders that if they persisted in claiming that other nationalities should enjoy the same right as they did, they would forfeit all chances at obtaining concessions.<sup>98</sup> Langevin had died but his name was still being associated with those urging the French Canadians to make common cause with Manitoba's Catholic minorities; upsetting the calculations of the advocates of unilingualism; and of having been responsible with spreading teachers knowing everything except English all over the province. Less than a year after his death, bilingualism in Manitoba was abolished.

Much has been said about the abrogation, in 1916, of bilingualism in Manitoba's public school system. In May of 1915, the legislative scandal, coupled with a war that had served to produce a suspicious nationalistic hysteria, an imperialistic emotionalism, and a fear for the "balkanization" of the Canadian West, had swept the Liberals under the leadership of T.C. Norris into office. The atmosphere of the times unleashed an attack of unprecedented determination which brought about the abolition of bilingualism in Manitoba. Nativistic attitudes resulted in a deep-seated Anglo-Saxon animosity directed at all Central European immigrants who were threatening to supplant the "Canadian way of life." In this context the public school had to become almost exclusively "an assimilating agent, an inculcator of accepted social values."<sup>99</sup>

French-speaking Manitobans saw the abolition of Section 258 of the Public School Act as an attack directed at their social values. But other factors of equal consequences and beyond their

control had been at work. The Free Press admitted that the insistence of the French Canadians on preserving their language and institution" is natural and understandable...as it was their country, indeed first...the fact of conquest is not so important as many think." As such it asked its readers "to bear in mind the fact that they occupy a special position, and are entitled to exceptional consideration."<sup>100</sup> In 1915 the Department of Education upheld the views put forth by the Free Press. It contended that the French Canadians did not come under the same category as the other non-English-speaking nationalities...[and] any easement...granted to [them] stands on its own basis and cannot be claimed by other...nationalities."<sup>101</sup> By March of 1916, R.S. Thornton, the Minister of Education, had decided that the simplest means of dealing with the matter of bilingual schools was the repeal of all sections of the Public Schools Act which allowed for bilingual instruction.

P.A. Talbot, the Liberal M.L.A. for LaVérendrye, had earlier suspected the reasons which could provoke a simplistic solution. He recognized the predicament to which the French-Canadian community was reduced as a result of Langevin's policies:

Ce qu'il y a de malheureux et qui complique notre position c'est que les Allemands, les Polonais et les Ruthènes ont depuis 15 ans pris avantage de la clause...et qu'aujourd'hui, sur les 436 écoles bilingues que nous avons dans la Province, 310 sont soit Allemands, Ruthènes ou Polonaises, et que tous les jours, de nouvelles demandes se font, toujours se basant sur les privilèges que leur donnent le règlement Laurier-Greenway pour demander de nouvelles écoles bilingues et où l'anglais est très peu enseigné...aussi il est assez difficile de blamer les Anglais de vouloir cesser cet état de chose, mais comment le faire sans affecter les Canadiens Français...s'il était possible de retrancher du règlement Laurier-Greenway "or any other language" je crois que cela serait la solution - mais on prétend

...plutôt que de laisser immoler les allemands, les polonais et les ruthènes maintenant, cela affaiblira notre cause, et nous redeviendrions une quantité négligeable car nul doute que le but de Monseigneur Langevin en encourageant l'état de chose qui existe aujourd'hui était de se renforcer afin de pouvoir ré-ouvrir la question des écoles séparées un jour ou l'autre.<sup>102</sup>

Wilfrid Laurier, obviously shunning any responsibility for the wording of the Act, agreed: "...la situation est compliquée...par suite des abus qui ont été commis...C'est lui [Langevin] qui a poussé les Ruthènes à demander des écoles bilingues."<sup>103</sup> John W. Dafoe expressed similar views when he wrote to Thomas Côté in April of 1916, justifying the Norris Government's decision not to grant any special status to the French language:

there was a very general disposition on the part of those charged with dealing with the situation to retain upon the Statute Book certain privileges for the French...If it was found politically impossible to do this, the responsibility rests upon the French people of this Province and their leaders...in particular the clergy...there was a conspiracy, the moving spirit of which was the head of the Roman Catholic Church in this diocese, to reduce the teaching of English to a minimum.

...the influence which turned the supposed bilingual schools into French clerical schools in defiance of the law, and, in contempt of the agreement of 1897...deliberately instigated the Ruthenians and Polish sections of the community to claim, under the school law, the rights which it was the intention in 1897 to limit to the French alone...The agitation against bilingualism in Manitoba was directed primarily against the System of Slavic schools...If the people, in wiping them out, did not distinguish between them and the French schools...the French, the Polish and the Ruthenians having made common cause, invited and received identical treatment.<sup>104</sup>

The Archbishop of St. Boniface had been largely responsible for the adoption of such a policy. He had aroused anti-French sentiment among the Anglo-Saxon community by associating, on too many occasions, the French-Canadian cause with that of other non-English speaking minorities. He had urged these Catholic groups

not to adopt the language of the Anglo-Saxon community. His "Catholic Empire" depended upon the bilingual schools for its survival. In this context, Langevin, a prominent figure of the French-Canadian community, was seen by the Anglo-Saxon community, as an obstacle to its destiny in Manitoba. He had, in its eyes, encouraged the Germans, the Poles and the Ruthenians not to abandon their native tongue. This meant impeding assimilation and contributing to the "balkanization" of Manitoba, thereby adding to the "foreign peril." For twenty years he had interwoven the aspirations of the French-speaking community with those of the Catholic immigrants from Central Europe so as to use the force of numbers to effectuate a permanent settlement of the school question. In the hope of accomplishing this he had given his full support to a government that had, for too long, protected the rights of the "foreigners." Here the French Canadians were implicated: at the urging of their Archbishop they had supported a "corrupt" government which had done much to contribute to the "balkanization" of Manitoba. For this, and for presumably supporting an Archbishop who had opposed the designs of the Anglo-Saxon element, they had invited retaliation.

Much has been said about the attitude of Archbishop Langevin in dealing with issues. Many have applauded without reserve his haughty and outspoken ultimatums. Others argue that he should have had greater recourse to diplomacy instead of continuously having resorted to rhetoric and open warfare. Whichever side one chooses, Langevin remains in spite of all his shortcomings, a

tragic figure. His greatest strength was his greatest weakness. A firm belief in his mandate coupled with a determination to succeed contributed to the overthrow of the very causes he was espousing. Concerning the Ruthenian question, he exhibited an inability to deal in a pragmatic manner with the complexities of the problem. In that issue, and on the question of bilingualism, his actions helped bring about the defeat and eventual destruction of his well-meaning, yet misunderstood, unappreciated and misappropriately timed projects. One must nevertheless try to empathize with his objectives, the establishment of a universal Catholic Church in Manitoba. He was not the only one, in his day, to have dreamed of empires.

### NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

<sup>1</sup>In early 1911 a delegate representing Winnipeg's English Catholic community had accused Langevin of being a fanatical French-Canadian nationalist. The indictment made was that while Langevin assiduously laboured "...to maintain this narrow nationalism in which Christ and his Church hold only a nominal priority, the Catholics in all other races are neglected and ignored. The whole national movement of which the Archbishop of St. Boniface is a leader, is not concerned in the interest of religion but its deadly enemy." The petition also charged that a "French-Canadian nationalist movement" in Quebec and Ontario was undermining the "...one man in Canada who has labored earnestly, in season and out season, to bring about a proper spirit of understanding and esteem for each other among the various divergent races in Canada...Sir Wilfrid Laurier." P.A.C., Laurier Papers, J.K. Barrett to Donatius Falconio, March 1, 1911. But John W. Dafoe had been advised "by Catholics of standing who are...well informed, that...[French-Canadian] nationalism is fighting a losing battle, it being the policy of the Vatican to confine the French bishops to the Province of Quebec..." University of Manitoba, Dafoe Papers, Dafoe to William Maxwell, December 29, 1910.

<sup>2</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Joseph Lémius to Langevin, May 31, 1899.

<sup>3</sup>Census of Canada, 1901.

<sup>4</sup>The Ruthenians (later referred to as Ukrainians) belonged to the Greek Catholic Church. They were variously referred to in official reports as Galicians, Bukowinians, Austrians, Rumanians, Russians or even Poles, depending on which region they came from. It has been argued that most Ruthenians came from either Galicia or Bukowina. Galicia, at the turn of this century, was a large province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire north of the Carpathian mountains, about 30,000 square miles, with a population of approximately 8,000,000 inhabitants in 1910. The Ruthenians numbered about 3,000,000 and were a majority in eastern Galicia while the Poles numbered about 4,000,000 and formed a majority in western Galicia. In Galicia could also be found a Jewish urban population of about 800,000. Ruthenians as such lived in Bukowina which was under Rumanian rule and numbered around 300,000 but these "Ruthenian-Bukowinians" seemed to have adhered more to the Greek Orthodox Church than the Greek Catholic Church. To list the number of Ruthenians that immigrated to Manitoba between the years 1895-1915 is difficult to assess since confusion in terminology does

not permit accurate statistics. The 1901 Census of Canada lists 7,899 Manitobans as belonging to the Greek Church. It also lists 8,981 Austro-Hungarians. Popular estimations ran at about 9,000 Ruthenians in Manitoba in 1901. Langevin, however, estimated their number at 21,935 in 1903 of which 16,525 belonged to the Greek Catholic Church with the remaining 5,400 being "Greek Schismatics." A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Mgr. Sbaretti, July 18, 1903. In 1904, he calculated their number at approximately 30,000 in the diocese of Saint-Boniface. Ibid., "Mémoire sur la situation des sujets ruthènes de sa Majesté l'empereur d'Autriche dans l'Ouest Britannique, le 2 juillet, 1904." In 1909, they tallied at 45,000 and had settled in Winnipeg, Saint-Norbert, Gonor, Cook's Creek, Melrose, East and West Selkirk, Broken Head, White-mouth, Brandon, Stuartburn, Overstone, Vita, Caliente, New York, Steinback, Sartre, Roblin, Ashville, Valley River, Sifton, Ethelbert, Pine River, Fork River, Winnipegosis, Clenella, Garland, Duck Mountain, Newdale, Stratclair, Oakburn, Rossburn, Russell, Pleasant Home, Teulon, Komarno, Gimli, Jaraslow, Beaverdale, Plainview, Hirzel, Logberg, Starlight, Mulock, Menofield, Tetlock, Kowlsuka, Grogorow, Czchow, and Dobrwaka. Ibid., "Réponses au Questionnaire à propos des Ruthènes, le 11 juin, 1909." In Winnipeg alone, he placed their number at 6,000. AOMS, Réponse à un Mémoire Irlandais..., p. xxix. Other more conservative sources placed their number at 32,637 in 1911. Théophile Hudon, La Fédération des Catholiques Manitobains, 1912, p. 3. The Census of Canada, 1911, on the other hand, places the number of Manitobans belonging to the Greek Church (Greek Catholic or Greek Orthodox) at 31,042. It also lists the number of Austro-Hungarians as 39,665. Marunchak, looking at the census of 1901, comes up with 17,224 Ruthenians, 504 Bukowinians, and 12,956 Galicians. Michael H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History, (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), p. 67. The above information was also drawn from Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953); Paul Yuzyk, "The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1958); Odarka Trosky, The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada, (Winnipeg: Bulman Bros. Ltd., 1968); Encyclopaedia Britannica; Encyclopedia Canadiana, The Catholic Encyclopedia, Encyclopaedia Americana and Vladimir J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlement in Canada, 1895-1900: Dr. Joseph Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964).

<sup>5</sup>The Census of Canada for 1901 does not make mention of the Poles. The Census for 1911, however, places their number at 12,310. Langevin, in 1909, estimated the number of Polish Catholics to be 13,195 with 3,800 living in Winnipeg. A.O.M.S., Réponse à un Mémoire Irlandais..., p. xxviii and xxix. But according to Hudon, La Fédération des Catholiques Manitobains, p. 3, 9,369 Polish Catholics resided in Manitoba in 1911.

<sup>6</sup>The Census of Canada for 1901, places the number of Germans in Manitoba at 27,265 while that of 1911 estimates their number at 34,530. According to Langevin, 10,789 German Catholics lived in Manitoba in 1909 with 1,500 living in Winnipeg. A.O.M.S., Réponse à un Mémoire Irlandais, p. xxviii.

<sup>7</sup>Langevin's concept of what he thought should be the course of action to be undertaken by Manitoba's Catholics found expression in an organization known as La Fédération des Catholiques Manitobains. It was well enunciated in a pamphlet written in 1912 by Théophile Hudon, La Fédération des Catholiques Manitobains (n.p.n. d., 1912).

<sup>8</sup>LCSB, 3 (December 15, 1904), 317. For a discussion on the subject of French-Canadian "immigration" to Manitoba see Florence Schimnowski, "Douze Années d'immigration française au Manitoba, 1870-1882" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University d'Ottawa, 1952); Arthur Isaac Silver, "French Canadians and Prairie Settlement" (unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1966) and "Quebec and the French-speaking Minorities, 1864-1917" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1973); Robert Painchaud, "Le Manitoba et l'Immigration Canadienne Française, 1870-1891" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Université d'Ottawa, 1968) and "The Catholic Church and the Movement of Francophones to the Canadian Prairies, 1870-1915" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1976).

<sup>9</sup>The North West Review, February 6, 1901.

<sup>10</sup>LCSB, 9 (January 1, 1910) 3. Both Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba, and Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History, seem to agree that most Catholic Ukrainians (Ruthenians) came from either Galicia or Carpatho-Ukraine while the Orthodox Ukrainians came from Bukowina and the Eastern Ukraine. Christianity came to the Ukraine via Constantinople, the Greek capital of the Byzantine Empire. The Christian Church was still united in 988; but a rift occurred between east and west in 1054 when the Kievan metropolitans broke with the Roman Pope in 1104 and recognized the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Ukrainian Church was then referred to as "Greek Orthodox." With Poland's conquest of Galicia in 1349, a catholicizing process took place. The Act of Union in 1595 was brought about with the Greek Catholic Church which became known as the Uniate Church. It accepted the Pope but kept the Greek Byzantine rite "using Old Slavonic in liturgy, the Byzantine-Ukrainian style of church architecture, and the right of priests to marry before ordination." (Encyclopedia Canadiana). As for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, it was forced to break with the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1654 and came under the Patriarch of Moscow in 1686. In Canada, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church was largely the result of Ukrainian nationalism and hatred for the "Latin" hierarchy.



<sup>11</sup>Considered the elite of the Ruthenian clergy, they did not marry.

<sup>12</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, "Rapport de la Commission chargée par le Premier Concile du Canada d'étudier la question des Ruthènes et de soumettre quelques conclusions, le 28 septembre, 1909." Holy Ghost Church, however, was not meant for the Ruthenians alone. In 1899 Father Damaskian Polyvka arrived in Winnipeg and established the first "Greek Catholic Church" in Manitoba. But Langevin did not want to hear of a separate Ruthenian parish; instead, he wanted the Ruthenians to amalgamate with the Polish Holy Ghost Church in Winnipeg. Not suprisingly, the Poles and the Ruthenians failed to get along. The conflict is historical: in 1866, the Austrian emperor Francis Joseph, "for the pledge of Polish support, granted the Polish landlords acendency over the Ukrainians." P. Yuzyk, "The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada," p. 65. Also, the Polish hierarchy had tried, at different periods, to "Latinize" the Ruthenians. In any event, Father Polivka and a great many Ruthenians left as two Polish priests tried "to convert the Ukrainian settlers to the Roman Catholic religion and to undermine the settlers' confidence in their own religion by belittling and slandering the Ukrainian Catholic priests in Canada." Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians..., p. 104.

<sup>13</sup>Mandements des Evêques du Nord-Ouest, 3 (1905-1915), "Circulaires au Clergé de l'Archevêché de St-Boniface, le 2 février, 1910," 285.

<sup>14</sup>To recruit a celibate Ruthenian clergy was a difficult proposition as there were about only 30 Basilians and 200 secular celibate priests in Galicia at that time. J.-Ad. Sabourin, L'Apostolat chez les Ruthènes, (Québec: Imprimerie de l'Action Sociale, Limitée, 1911), p. 30. See also Louis-Eugène Bélanger, Les Ukrainiens catholiques du rit grec-ruthène au Canada (Québec: Imprimerie de la Faculté de Droit canonique de Laval, 1945) p. 15.

<sup>15</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Cardinal Gotti, August 11, 1902.

<sup>16</sup>Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians..., p. 89.

<sup>17</sup>A Roman Catholic priest explained this incident in the following manner: "L'ignorance du peuple pouvait excuser en partie cette aberration. Assurés que Rome défendait leur hiérarchie, même sous la menace des peines ecclésiastiques, garantis par l'histoire de la continuité de sa politique protectrice, les Ukrainiens ne voyaient que dans un nuage confus le principe d'allégeance "qui n'est pas avec moi est contre moi." Ils savaient bien qu'on ne peut faire partie de l'armée en refusant obéissance au général. Mais ce chef ne pouvait être latin." Emilien Tremblay, Le Père Delaere et l'Eglise Ukrainienne du Canada (Press of the Catholic Ukrainian Bishop of Saskatchewan, 1960), p. 101.

<sup>18</sup>According to some reports, "Seraphim" is said to have lost his sanity when a Russian army officer ran away with his wife. His immoral conduct which ensued led ecclesiastical officials in Russia to relieve him of his jurisdiction. A former confessor of Tsar Nicholas II, he then retired to a monastery but was again chased away because of his conduct.

<sup>19</sup>From 1907 to 1913 the Independent Greek Church received financial support from the Presbyterians who wanted to "protestantize" this off-shoot of the Greek Orthodox Church. A recent study concludes that the experiment failed because "...the Ukrainian culture and religion was regarded as inferior...While the motivation of the Presbyterian Church might have been earnest, the means employed were inept and mischievous. While the Ukrainians sought only to preserve and protect their culture in the new land, the British Canadian ascendancy group desired to extend its culture. What was demanded of the newcomers was not allegiance to the Crown and institutions of government, but total assimilation to the mores of the Protestant Ascendancy."

Kenneth Wain Gunn-Walberg, "The Church Union Movement in Manitoba, 1902-1925" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Guelph, 1971), pp. 177-78. The Methodists' attempt to gain converts among the Polish Independent Church met with a similar fate.

<sup>20</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin "To the Catholics of the Ruthenian Rite in Winnipeg and in the Colonies of the Diocese," n.d.

<sup>21</sup>Emery writes that "...some Methodists linked European votes to Roman Catholic political power. From the Methodist viewpoint, the Roman Catholic Church was already uncomfortably influential in government circles...and now Rome's ranks were being swelled by the immigration of papists to the prairies." The reaction of the Christian Guardian to the passage of seven French-Canadian priests to the Ruthenian rite is interesting. The Methodist organ "doubted that Protestant ideals could triumph west of the Great Lakes if the works of the seven proved successful." George Neil Emery, "Methodism on the Canadian prairies, 1896-1914: The Dynamics of an Institution in a new Environment" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1970), pp. 27-28. The study also examines the setbacks which the Methodist church incurred while attempting to proselytize the new immigrants: "Methodist missions made little impact upon the European population. Methodist growth was limited partly by the patterns of immigration which favoured rival denominations, including the Roman Catholic Church. Methodist objectives were also hampered by inadequate resources...success was largely confined to the Anglo-Saxon, urban middle class and to well-to-do farmers." Ibid., p. iii. The Rev. Wellington Bridgman, whom Brooks described as being "in some ways more typical of the western Methodist clergyman of the period" was to later argue that "Methodism had been overtaken by the Presbyterian precisely because the latter had spent less on

the 'foreigners' and more on their own flesh and blood." William Howard Brooks, "Methodism in the Canadian West in the Nineteenth Century" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972), p. 318 and Emery, "Methodism on the Canadian Prairies...", p. 347. The Church of England did not actively attempt to seek converts among the new immigrants. The Presbyterian position has been dealt with in footnote 19.

<sup>22</sup>LCSB, 8 (April, 1909), 91.

<sup>23</sup>A.-G. Morice, Vie de Mgr. Langevin, p. 279.

<sup>24</sup>Mandements des Evêques de Saint-Boniface, 3 (1905-1915), 313. Langevin also argued that the registering of church property with a parish council was the "Protestant way" of conducting affairs and a rudiment of gallicanism.

<sup>25</sup>Paul Yuzyk, "The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada," p. 109.

<sup>26</sup>Manitoba Free Press, August 30, 1910.

<sup>27</sup>Sifton, Manitoba was located some two hundred miles north of Brandon. The priest residing in the Sifton district would visit the missions of Winnipegosis, Mountain Road, Glenella, Pine-Creek, Mink-River, Garland, Ethelbert, Dauphin, among others.

<sup>28</sup>Emilien Tremblay, Le père Delaere et l'Eglise Ukrénienne du Canada, p. 32.

<sup>29</sup>Father Sabourin was ordained to the priesthood in 1905, studied in Rome from 1905 to 1907, spent two years in Galicia, passed to the "Ruthenian" rite, arrived in Sifton in 1909 and worked in the Ruthenian missions till 1917.

<sup>30</sup>A.A.S.B., Sabourin Papers, J.Ad. Sabourin to A.E. Burke, September 29, 1909. Rumours had it that the "fanatic" Dr. Reid had embezzled \$2000 and had since left for the United States. Meanwhile, Siftonians were burning him in effigy.

<sup>31</sup>Idem..

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., Joseph P. Gagnon to J.-Ad. Sabourin, August 4, 1911.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Sabourin, March 16, 1911.

<sup>34</sup>Emilien Tremblay, Le père Delaere et l'Eglise Ukrénienne du Canada, p. 136.

<sup>35</sup>The Catholic Church Extension Society of Canada was officially recognized by Pope Pius X in 1910. Its first president,

A.E. Burke, defined the aims of the Society as "being a purely charitable one - the extension of the Church with all that this comprehends - no unworthy motive or narrow selfish spirit can be permitted to enter into its administration." Those who sat on its executive board included the Most Rev. F.P. McEvoy, Archbishop of Toronto, the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, Chief Justice of Canada, and the Very Rev. A.E. Burke. Its business manager was John A. Harkins. The Society published the Catholic Register and Canadian Extension, a weekly newspaper. A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, A.E. Burke to Langevin, July 20, 1910. Archbishop Bégin, Bishop Archambeault and Alexandre Tachereau also sat on its Board of Governors. LCSB, VIII (March, 1909), 74.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 74-75.

<sup>37</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Bégin, August 1, 1908.

<sup>38</sup>LCSB, VIII (April 1909), 87.

<sup>39</sup>In 1909 the Church Extension Society had committed itself to fund a project which would see to the construction of 10 churches in the Sifton area. It also subscribed \$1000 to the setting up of a Ruthenian newspaper. Ibid., VIII (October, 1909), 247.

<sup>40</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Arthur Béliveau, September 30, 1909.

<sup>41</sup>In 1910 the archdiocesan review had remarked that "Si le zèle apostolique de certains membres de l'Extension n'était pas toujours préoccupé de verser le blâme et le mépris sur tout ce qui s'est fait jusqu'ici par les missionnaires en immense majorité français, ils nous donneraient une idée bien plus favorable de la pureté de leur zèle et de leur sincérité, lorsqu'ils parlent toujours d'écarter les questions de langues...pour n'en faire dominer qu'une." LCSB, IX (Mars 1910), 63.

<sup>42</sup>L.-P.A. Langevin, Mémoire confidentiel sur la situation religieuse et statistiques de la population catholique de l'Archidiocèse de Saint-Boniface (St.Boniface: Imprimatur, 1911), pp. 4-7.

<sup>43</sup>A.A.S.B., Sabourin Papers, A.E. Burke to Sabourin, January 11, 1910.

<sup>44</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Barrett to Falconio, March 1, 1911. The Irish Catholics' criticism of Langevin's handling of the Ruthenian question did not cease with the appointment of a Ruthenian bishop. In a public statement issued in 1926 Archbishop Henry O'Leary of Edmonton stated that "two formidable obstacles stood in the way of [his] success. In the first place, the Ukrainians have very strong national feelings and their national antipathy is directed against the Poles. Now, France has always been friendly

to Poland, and, on that score, the Ukrainians were not predisposed to welcome French missionaries. In the second place, the Protestants of Canada undertook to convert the Ukrainians and expended a vast deal of effort and money to wean them from the Catholic Church, appealing to their racial antipathies by impressing upon them that French missionaries were in effect Polish agents. It was when the efforts of these priests had failed that a small group of priests and a bishop of the Greek rite came to Canada to labour amongst the Ukrainians." Archives of the Ukrainian Catholic Archdiocese of Winnipeg, copy of a letter signed by the French-speaking Bishops of Canada to Pius XI, July, 1926.

<sup>45</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Falconio, October 5, 1900.

<sup>46</sup>A.A.S.B., Sabourin Papers, Sabourin to Joseph P. Gagnon, August 21, 1913.

<sup>47</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Budka, December 6, 1913.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Budka, July 23, 1913.

<sup>49</sup>Idem.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Alexandre Guasco, December 10, 1903. When Langevin spoke of the Galicians, he usually meant immigrants from Galicia (Poles and Ruthenians) but he also included, at times, the Germans.

<sup>51</sup>A.-G. Morice, Vie de Mgr. Langevin, p. 248.

<sup>52</sup>J.W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relations to his Times (Toronto: The McMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1931), p. 98.

<sup>53</sup>Robert Fletcher, "The Language Problem in Manitoba's Schools," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, No. 6 (1951), 52.

<sup>54</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to R.P. Roblin, January 23, 1901.

<sup>55</sup>The delegation included Archdeacon Octave Fortin (Church of England), Dr. George Bryce (Presbyterian), Wm. White, R.J. Whitla, Rev. Dr. William Patrick (principal of Manitoba College), Rev. Dr. Joseph Walter Sparling (principal of Wesley College), Rev. John Hogg (Presbyterian), Thomas Gilroy (manager of the Sun Life Insurance Co. of Canada, Winnipeg), J.A.M. Aikins (of Aikins, Pitblado, Robson & Loftus, and a Methodist), Prof. Thomas Hart (Manitoba College), Dr. J. Reid, Rev. Hamilton Wigle (Methodist), Rev. Joseph Hogg (Presbyterian), E.L. Drewry (Church of England), Rev. Dr. N.R. Wilson (Manitoba College), Rev. W.L. Armstrong (Methodist), Rev. C.W. Gordon (Presbyterian), Rev. [ ] McLellan.

<sup>56</sup>Reid was not alone in regarding the foreigners as a possible menace. In an article published in Vox Wesleyana in 1907 and titled "The Immigration Problem as it affects Canadian Methodism," Rev. Wellington Bridgman noted the criminality rate among foreigners and suggested to the Government to "leave these foreign people right at home to be cared for and corrected by the nation that neglected their education and devote re-doubled activity to the immigration of English speaking people." Vox Wesleyana, V (February, 1901), 63-66. See also J.W. Shipley, "Immigration," Vox Wesleyana, X (February, 1906), 78-81.

<sup>57</sup>In February of 1901 Wesley College's journal had published a short article on compulsory education. It stated that "Our educators are beginning to see, none too soon, a deep menace to the permanent welfare of the citizen body in the numbers of children of foreign-born parents in the province...there are many...who can best be persuaded [to benefit from education] by a man in a blue coat and brass buttons.

We can never look with favor on a polygot population. Any institution, such as even a newspaper, published in Canada in a foreign tongue, we should only regard as a temporary makeshift for the convenience of those whose time or opportunity has passed for mastering the language of their adopted country. For their children our education system must provide the possibilities of intelligent citizenship. And for the careless or the stupid and delinquent the proposed [educational] legislation will, we hope, prove obligatory." Vox Wesleyana, V (February, 1901), 84-85. Articles reflecting similar sentiments appeared in the Western School Journal from 1906 to 1916.

<sup>58</sup>Manitoba Free Press, January 3, 1902.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., January 6, 1902.

<sup>60</sup>Idem.

<sup>61</sup>North West Review, January 25, 1902.

<sup>62</sup>C.A.R., 1902, p. 467.

<sup>63</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Roblin, February 5, 1906.

<sup>64</sup>P.A.M., Manitoba Department of Education, Chief Clerk Letter Book, Robert Fletcher to A.B. Fallis, February 20, 1907.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., Fletcher to Glen Campbell, January 5, 1910.

<sup>66</sup>LCSB, 1 (January, 1902), 22.

<sup>67</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Colin H. Campbell, December 4, 1902.

<sup>68</sup>LCSB, 11 (January, 1903), 5.

<sup>69</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Robert Rogers, February 6, 1905.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., Rogers to Langevin, February 8, 1905.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Rogers, April 3, 1905.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., Rogers to Langevin, April 13, 1905.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., R.P. Roblin to Langevin, August 17, 1905.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., Langevin to [S.W. McInnis], September 23, 1907.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Rogers, December 12, 1905.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, October 30, 1908.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Robert Rogers, February 6, 1909.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Rogers, December 24, 1908.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, February 6, 1909.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., Langevin to G.R. Coldwell, April 29, 1909.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, December 14, 1909.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Sbarette, December 27, 1909. The Normal School, however, did not operate without problems. As it was attended by both Ruthenian and Polish students, conflicts were inevitable. Block cited the case of M. Kamenecki, a Ruthenian, who "began to bring about a racial antagonism, ...his utterances took the form of insults towards the Polish nation." Ibid., Adam F. Block to Langevin, June 15, 1912.

<sup>83</sup>For a discussion of Dafoe's attitude towards immigrants see Kathleen O'Gorman, "John W. Dafoe's Views on Education, 1901-1916" (unpublished paper, University of Manitoba, 1970); Martin Spigelman, "Bilingual Schools in Manitoba and their Abolition" (unpublished paper, University of Manitoba, 1970); Brenda Schrofel, "Dafoe on the Immigrant Question, 1901-1919" (unpublished paper, University of Manitoba, 1972); M.A.R. Denton, "The Abolition of Bilingual Schools in Manitoba in 1916" (unpublished paper, University of Manitoba, 1973); and Alan F.J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), p. 201-202.

<sup>84</sup>Murray Donnelly, Dafoe of the Free Press (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968), p. 57.

<sup>85</sup>Idem..

<sup>86</sup>Idem..

<sup>87</sup>LCSE, 10 (February, 1911), 52-53.

<sup>88</sup>Sabourin, L'apostolat chez les Ruthènes au Manitoba, pp. 13-28.

<sup>89</sup>Manitoba Free Press, June 16, 1911.

<sup>90</sup>Manitoba Free Press, February 11, 1914.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., July 29, 1914.

<sup>92</sup>Idem..

<sup>93</sup>The results of the 1914 provincial election had given the Conservatives 28 seats and the Liberals 21 seats. Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1915. See also Chapter V, pp. 234-235.

<sup>94</sup>The weekly was launched by Langevin in May of 1913 and published by West Canadian Publishers. See also Chapter V, p. 223.

<sup>95</sup>La Liberté, August 4, 1914.

<sup>96</sup>C.A.R., 1915, p. 278.

<sup>97</sup>Manitoba Free Press, November 20, 1915.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., October 25, 1915.

<sup>99</sup>Morris K. Moth, "'Foreign Peril': Nativism in Winnipeg, 1916-1923" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba), p. 73.

<sup>100</sup>Manitoba Free Press, July 29, 1914. Its issue of February 26, 1916 expounded a similar attitude.

<sup>101</sup>C.A.R., 1915, p. 644.

<sup>102</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, P.A. Talbot to Laurier, January 29, 1916.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., Laurier to Talbot, February 2, 1916.

<sup>104</sup>University of Manitoba, Dafoe Papers, J.W. Dafoe to Thomas Côté, April 6, 1916.



## CHAPTER IV

### LANGEVIN, R.P. ROBILIN AND THE FRENCH-CANADIAN ELECTORATE

The Norris Administration refused to give "exceptional consideration" to the French language in 1916 because it was assumed that French Canadians had fully supported Langevin in making education a critical issue in Manitoba politics. But as shown earlier,<sup>1</sup> a significant section of the French-Canadian community had opted for accommodation after discovering that the Public Schools Act of 1890 could be just as easily breached as it was observed. In 1897, the Laurier-Greenway agreement gave French Canadians the means to ignore the Manitoba Schools Question. For the issue which kept it alive, namely separate schools, compulsory school attendance and the instruction of the new immigrants in their native language, were of no immediate concern to them.

It was inconceivable for Langevin, however, to let other Catholic groups fight their own educational battles alone. Taking for granted that the interests of the Roman Catholic Church paralleled those of the French-Canadian community, Langevin had no intentions of allowing this contented minority to pursue its destiny in comfortable isolation. On the eve of the 1899 provincial election he had presumed that, with Greenway's continual reluctance to grant concessions to the Catholic minority, the French-Canadian electorate would vote overwhelmingly Conservative.<sup>2</sup> Instead, while the province as a whole had voted Conservative the constituencies of St. Boniface, La Vérendrye and Carillon switched their allegiance to the Liberals.<sup>3</sup>

As could be expected, the question of the "French vote" immediately became an issue. The Liberal weekly, L'Echo de Manitoba, viewed the results as being significant: "La minorité...a voulu prouver qu'elle mettait le souci de la cause des écoles avant toute autre chose, elle a...fait connaître son intention et sa ferme volonté de soutenir loyalement et fermement le partie...disposé à lui accorder justice."<sup>4</sup> L'Echo also congratulated the "French voters" in the constituency of Lorne for electing a Liberal, and complimented St.Jean-Baptiste for having supported the defeated Liberal candidate rather than Colin H. Campbell. Sainte-Rose-du-Lac and Laurier were also congratulated for giving Dauphin a Liberal member.<sup>5</sup> The Morning Telegram gave its readers a similar assessment.<sup>6</sup>

The French-Canadian Conservative weekly, Le Manitoba, did not accept L'Echo's interpretation. Instead it attributed the defeat of Roger Marion and Thomas Paré in the constituencies of Carillon and LaVérendrye to "les éléments étrangers."<sup>7</sup> The editor of the North West Review, Rev. A.-A. Cherrier, elaborated by claiming that Jérôme and Lagimodière owed their victory to the German vote. In Lorne, Cherrier attributed the Liberal victory to "...a bad lot of Frenchmen from France, very different in religious training and national aspirations from French Canadians, or because the French voters were deceived by the absurd promises of ...Rochon."<sup>8</sup>

The North West Review further contended that the Catholic vote went overwhelmingly Conservative as demonstrated in Avondale,

Brandon North, Portage la Prairie, Virden and Morris. Accordingly it asked Hugh J. Macdonald to take these facts into consideration when dealing with the minority.<sup>9</sup> Thomas Bernier as well urged Macdonald to take note of the actual situation as:

it would be a grave misapprehension to frame a policy on the assumption that the minority went Liberal and intended to approve the so-called settlement of 1896... It should not be forgotten that there are about a dozen counties where the Catholic vote can influence the result of the elections. Then, four years from now, when an appeal is taken to the people, that vote will be known on the Conservative side if we can show that your action has been beneficial to the peace of the country in so far as the school question is concerned.<sup>10</sup>

Langevin, however, was under no illusion as to why French Canadians had voted Liberal: "Le vote des trois centres français en faveur de Greenway et à cause des concessions faites par celui-ci... prouvent que nos Canadiens n'ont songé qu'à sauvegarder les intérêts scolaires."<sup>11</sup> But it was a disgruntled Tory who gave the most perceptive analysis of the election results; "In some respects, this action of the French is satisfactory. It shows that we are not to have any further trouble over the School Question. When the three French constituencies support Mr. Greenway, it shows that they are perfectly satisfied with the settlement of the School Question."<sup>12</sup>

Under the circumstances it was to be expected that Hugh J. Macdonald<sup>13</sup> would remain evasive about granting Winnipeg's Catholic minority further concessions. But Langevin quickly found himself under considerable pressure from his episcopal colleagues to seek Macdonald's support in arriving at a satisfactory conclusion of this rather vexing issue. In March 1900, Langevin asked the pre-

mier if the Government intended to bring about any educational changes. Macdonald replied that the Caucus endeavoured to remove from politics "...everything appertaining to the education of the young. It will consequently be necessary to formulate a totally new system, which cannot be done in a hurry, as it will require deep thought and full consideration on the part of those who have the matter in hand."<sup>15</sup>

Langevin, nevertheless, continued to press the premier for an amendment to the school legislation which prohibited the division of pupils by religious denominations.<sup>16</sup> Recognizing that an evasive answer would not suffice, Macdonald made his reply categorical:

You must remember...that the position is considerably changed since the remedial Order was passed, as the elections which came on in June 1896 [sic] the Catholic people of...Quebec declared by their votes that they had no confidence in the Conservative Party and preferred to have the much vexed School Question settled by Sir Wilfrid. He tells us that it is settled, and there have been no protests...none loud enough to be heard by the general public, made by the Catholic minority against this statement. There is consequently an extreme disinclination on the part of the people of Manitoba to the re-opening of this question, and there is certainly no chance of it being dealt with by the Government of this Province at the present time.<sup>17</sup>

Langevin did not reply, undoubtedly convinced that Macdonald did not intend to give the matter serious consideration.<sup>18</sup>

Unquestionably the departure of Hugh J. Macdonald from the provincial scene in the fall of 1900 greatly alleviated the Archbishop's apprehensions concerning the Catholic minority's educational prospects. On September 24th, Langevin wrote a most civil letter to the premier: "...We all regret deeply the loss that we will

suffer by your withdrawal from local politics to go into the federal arena, our only consolation is that the loss will become a gain..." But the Archbishop could not refrain from making his recommendations as to who the next premier of Manitoba should be:

...we would like very much to see in your place, a man who enjoys as you do the entire confidence of our people. Of course we have nothing to say against your Honourable colleagues...but allow me...to say that Mr. Roblin is particularly well known, more especially since his last election in Woodlands. We cannot forget this gentle man nobly voting for our rights in times of great troubles when a criminal appeal was made to the wild passions of the people. It seems that after the prominent part he has taken in the dealings and success of his party, the position of Premier should in justice go to him. His experience, his power of eloquence, his kindness and his spirit of fair-play will make him a popular leader and give a new hope and a new courage to all. It will be another wave added to the stream that is bringing yourself and your party in power at Ottawa. For myself, I may add that I will feel more at ease with M. Roblin to treat many delicate points concerning our school question.<sup>19</sup>

Evidently, Langevin had not forgotten the actions of the only Protestant member of the Manitoba Legislature to oppose the Manitoba Schools Act of 1890.<sup>20</sup> Nor had Roblin's performance escaped the attention of F.D. Monk who, as early as April, had urged Langevin to throw his support behind the member for Woodlands: "Il est très bien disposé, je le sais, et il est particulièrement désireux de te rendre service, persuadé qu'il est que notre cause est juste..." Monk nevertheless urged Langevin to deal tactfully with Roblin as "...il ne faut pas oublier qu'il y a un groupe influent qui voit toutes...concessions d'un très mauvais oeil et il se trouve obligé de ménager les susceptibilités avec lesquelles je suis convaincu qu'il ne sympathise."<sup>21</sup>

Langevin was certainly in no position to issue ultimatums to

Roblin. The election of 1899 had left him in a politically awkward position. But an opportunity to extricate himself from this precarious position offered itself when the member for St. Boniface, S.-A.-D. Bertrand, resigned to run in the constituency of Provencher in the federal election of 1900. But the change may have been, at least in part, engineered by Langevin, as suggested by a letter he wrote to Bertrand at the height of the by-election campaign: "Il nous faut...comme vous l'aviez compris vous-même un ami du Gouvernement local qui veut s'appuyer sur un Canadien-Français quand il traitera la question des terrains des écoles et qu'Ottawa posera ses conditions."<sup>22</sup> The Archbishop also made it clear that he wholeheartedly endorsed Joseph Bernier's candidature and hoped the latter would be elected by acclamation. Thus, when Bertrand considered entering the race after suffering defeat in the federal election Langevin threatened to denounce him publicly:

les deux parties politiques ne tiennent guère à votre candidature et à cette heure solonelle où il y a lieu d'espérer une amélioration de notre position scolaire si nous avons un homme instruit et ami du Gouvernement à la tête du comté, le clergé ne peut pas appuyer votre candidature...la chose doit être rendue publique...<sup>23</sup>

If this warning sufficed to discourage Bertrand, two other aspirants, Jean-Baptiste Lauzon, a Conservative by conviction, and Victor Mager, a Conservative by convenience,<sup>24</sup> nevertheless remained determined to contest the St. Boniface provincial by-election. Nor were they to escape the wrath of the Archbishop. The letter which Lauzon received bore a striking resemblance to the one addressed to Bertrand.<sup>25</sup> The instructions that Langevin gave to his clergy the following day were explicit:

Voici une copie de ma lettre à Monsieur J.B. Lauzon, qui doit se retirer puisque personne n'en veut et qu'il fait tort immense à la cause catholique par son ambition personnelle. Veuillez, s.v.p. lire cette lettre en chair à moins que vous m'appreniez que M. Lauzon ne s'est pas mis en nomination demain, samedi à midi; ajoutez simplement que tous les catholiques doivent s'unir pour donner à l'Archevêque un homme instruit et capable de lui servir d'un intermédiaire auprès du gouvernement qui est décidé de faire quelque chose pour les écoles de Winnipeg et d'ailleurs. Les libéraux eux-même l'admettent et ne veulent pas présenter de Candidat libéral mais...ils ont offert la candidature à Mager peu instruit et dont beaucoup de conservateurs ne veulent pas, malgré ses bonnes qualités. C'est le jeune Bernier qui devrait réunir tous les suffrages en ce moment.<sup>26</sup>

Lauzon, not wanting to challenge the Archbishop, withdrew. Mager, on the other hand, resorted to strategy in order to avoid ecclesiastical opposition. On the Sunday morning, prior to the by-election, he informed Langevin of his resignation. But after all the masses were said, Mager withdrew his resignation. Mager, however, underestimated the cunning of his Archbishop. Three days prior to the by-election, Langevin issued an official statement printed in Le Manitoba. The declaration stated that Mager had assured Langevin he would support Bernier and withdraw from the contest. But his volte-face, Langevin concluded, was to be deplored: "...je regrette qu'il ait persisté à se présenter, parce qu'il fait du tort à la cause catholique, étant moins apte que M. Jos. Bernier, avocat, à nous rendre service voulu." Placed immediately beneath the declaration was a letter from Rodmond Roblin. It read "I am pleased to see that Mr. Joseph Bernier has consented to contest St. Boniface in this by-election...I hope all friends of this party as well as the government will rally to his support and elect him with a substantial majority."<sup>27</sup> On November 24th, Bernier defeated

Mager by a majority of 154 votes.<sup>28</sup>

The Manitoba Free Press found in this by-election startling evidence of a compact between church and state in St. Boniface. A bargain had been made between Langevin and Roblin: "if the archbishop would procure the election of a Roblin man, in return the government of Manitoba would introduce legislation, or make some grant to meet some of the views of the archbishop and his associates in regard to the schools of this province."<sup>29</sup> Enraged by the outcome of the by-election, the Free Press in a subsequent issue, accused Roblin of not believing in the separation of church and state and charged Bernier as sitting "as the representative, not of the duly qualified electors, but of His Grace the Archbishop."<sup>30</sup> The Telegram simply noted that "the vote was large for a by-election."<sup>31</sup>

L'Echo de Manitoba<sup>32</sup> found the Conservative victory difficult to accept but nevertheless predictable

quand on songe que le ciel et l'enfer se sont, chacun de leur côté, jetté dans la lutte en faveur de M. Bernier... Tandis que le nom de Mgr. Langevin s'étalait en de flamboyants placards distribués à profusion pour le plus grand et l'unique profit de M. Bernier... les réserves liquides et solides des coffres du gouvernement Roblin, donnèrent en phalanges compactes l'assaut final. M. Mager peut avoir raison de s'écrier: "Ils étaient trop"... l'autorité Archiépiscopale est venue jeter dans la balance le poids de son appréciation personnelle.<sup>33</sup>

S.-A.-D. Bertrand also expressed great misgivings about the consequences of the by-election results:

...parlant de la question des écoles... les extravagances de langues... ont été sans mesure depuis l'élection de St. Boniface l'an dernier. A l'heure qu'il est et depuis qu'ils se sont débarrassés de... Rochon et de Greenway, les choses vont leur vieux train et je crois sincèrement qu'ils ne s'arrêteront que lorsqu'un scandale quelconque aura fait son chemin



dans la presse. Ce qui nous éloignera plus que jamais d'une solution, et ce qui leur permettra de tasser davantage les libéraux. Ce qu'ils cherchent sur la question des écoles je l'ignore. En attendant la vie est triste dans notre beau pays.<sup>34</sup>

Bertrand evidently failed to appreciate Langevin's objectives. The role played by the Archbishop in the November 24th by-election was significant. It served to demonstrate the extent to which Langevin was willing to direct the energies of French-Canadian politicians in the matter of the school question. More importantly, the Conservative victory allowed Langevin to fashion an alliance with Roblin which would benefit the Catholic minority as a whole. This alliance with the Manitoba Government might also be utilized to counterbalance the manoeuvres of Laurier and, to a lesser extent, the papal delegate. In short, Langevin felt that with the support of Roblin his recommendations and decisions would necessarily carry greater weight.

It is not mere coincidence that two days following the by-election Roblin wrote Laurier asking the prime minister to call a conference "for the purpose of discussing the propriety of transferring to the Province the monies realized on sales of School Lands already sold, as well as the handling over to the Province those still vested in the Crown." The premier thought an early meeting necessary owing to "the ever increasing importance of the Educational Question in this Province."<sup>35</sup> Three days later Langevin could write to the Apostolic Delegate, Falconio, that "Roblin m'a assuré qu'il était disposé à améliorer notre sort et qu'en demandant à...Laurier les terres des écoles, il s'attendait bien à ce

que ce dernier pose des conditions en faveur des écoles catholiques."<sup>36</sup>  
 But the greatest obstacle to this plan, Langevin informed Falconio, was the Free Press which aimed to prevent Roblin from making any concessions.<sup>37</sup>

During the next month, Langevin spent his energies trying to convince the Archbishops of Halifax, Ottawa, Kingston and Montreal of the necessity of issuing a collective letter forcing Laurier's hand. He called upon the Canadian episcopate to press Laurier into fulfilling his duty and proving that he indeed believed in Catholic schools.<sup>38</sup> Langevin explained to Bruchési why he thought this course of action to be timely:

nos ministres de Winnipeg, Roblin et les autres, ne seront pas fâchés, d'être forcés par...Laurier de faire des concessions pour pouvoir obtenir les terrains scolaires; ils s'engageront comme Gouvernement, et la chambre locale ratifiera leur engagement à cause des avantages matériels que le pays va en retirer. Mais c'est l'épiscopat qui forcera Laurier à faire son devoir et qui, par conséquent, nous sauvera.<sup>39</sup>

Having presented his case to the Church hierarchy Langevin approached Roblin. He proposed that legislation giving a measure of relief for the Roman Catholics of Winnipeg be enacted in return for the remittance of school endowment held in trust by the Federal Government.<sup>40</sup> Roblin, however, was of the opinion that "it would be a mistake to propose a statutory enactment in that direction at the present time." Though he did not offer any concrete alternative he spelled out the challenge of "providing relief...without fanning into a flame...the dying embers of the race and creed, so wickedly started years ago." But he pointed out to the Archbishop that "...Ottawa can assist very materially if they choose, as the whole

question...has been one of party politics." Roblin further contended that with Ottawa's assistance, this vexing school question could be removed from politics "through the School Board in the City [of Winnipeg] recognizing the Catholic schools as public schools and providing properly certificated teachers of the Roman Catholic Faith to teach them and otherwise comply with the regulations..."<sup>41</sup>

Without hesitation Langevin turned to the Archbishop of Montreal and asked Bruchési to persuade Laurier to intercede on behalf of the Catholic minority by approaching Roblin on the question of the School Lands Fund. The proposal called for Laurier to annually grant the interest generated by the Fund in return for a commitment that Roblin remit to the minority the monies paid over to Greenway in 1889; obtain a legal opinion in regard to the clause of the compromise of 1897 which forbade the separation of pupils by religious denominations; and guarantee an eventual modification of the compromise itself. To add weight to his proposal, Langevin assured Bruchési of Roblin's complete co-operation.<sup>42</sup>

With Laurier unwilling to take the initial steps, Manitoba's Attorney-General entered the act. Colin H. Campbell insisted that without these monies, payments of grants to the schools would have to be suspended and the result "...will be agitation...and what I fear is the revival...of the school question only in another form and I am certain that neither you nor us desire this to occur."<sup>43</sup> Laurier replied that he failed to see "...any connection at all between the two."<sup>44</sup> Campbell in return pointed out how easily the two could become intertwined:

...As to the logical connection between your refusal and the School Question, I quite agree with you that perhaps they are not logically connected in the past and generally are not looked at on that basis. The monies are absolutely needed for the maintenance of our schools...The refusal to pay means that discontent and agitation will commence in about 1,200 schools. In a matter of this kind, a strong desire, I know, will be evinced to strike back and strike hard. Knowing the feeling of the country I fear the consequences and the demand that will inevitably follow for legislation and agitation.<sup>45</sup>

Campbell was obviously trying to blackmail Laurier into transferring to the Province of Manitoba the monies accrued from the School Lands Fund. The Roblin administration needed these monies to grant "concessions" to the Catholic minority. It had been under considerable pressure to meet some of Langevin's demands. These included the modification of the oath which asked teachers to declare that there had been no religious teaching or exercises during regular school hours, the construction of a normal school in St. Boniface, the adoption of "Catholic National Readers of Ontario" by the Advisory Board, and the take-over of Winnipeg's Catholic schools by the Public School Board on the condition that Catholic teachers be permitted to wear religious costumes. Roblin accepted in principle the Archbishop's demands.<sup>46</sup> But he hesitated to give them serious consideration unless Ottawa agreed to hand over to the province the monies arising from the School Lands Fund.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, Langevin impressed upon the Apostolic Delegate the necessity for advising Laurier of the stand taken by Roblin. He also requested Falconio to bear in mind an order-in-council recently passed by the Manitoba Government amending the oath required of teachers when completing the half-yearly attendance registers.<sup>48</sup>

Langevin's persistent efforts met with success in the spring

of 1902 when \$225,000 were transferred to the Government of Manitoba by a federal order-in-council. The Archbishop reacted swiftly. He wrote to Robert Rogers, the Minister of Public Works, asking that "...the 'Normal School'...be built immediately at St.Boniface..."<sup>49</sup> Langevin suggested that \$20,000 ought to be spent in building this normal school which "...should be a credit to the Government for our people who say: 'What have they done for us?'"<sup>50</sup> To assure that this structure would be modestly imposing Langevin urged Rogers to award the building contract to J.-A. S  n  cal who "...is the only one now that understands the kind of building we need and we want and I hope you will not disappoint me for a few hundred dollars of difference, particularly when it is to be feared that the man who cuts the price is not always the best one. It is not for me a question of persons, it is a question of skill, because the new school must be a first-class building."<sup>51</sup>

The realization of this particular objective was of great importance to Langevin as "tout l'avenir de notre   ducation   l  mentaire pour les enfants catholiques d  pend en quelque sorte, du dipl  me..."<sup>52</sup> Les Cloches de St.Boniface editorialized that with the construction of a normal school in St.Boniface, "...le Gouvernement Roblin fait un grand acte de sagesse et de justice en construisant cette   cole qui nous consolera de la perte de la somme ...qui a   t   remise...au gouvernement Greenway."<sup>53</sup>

In addition to his demands for the building of the normal school in St.Boniface, Langevin had been pressing Roblin for funds to maintain at least two private Catholic schools in Winnipeg.

In this endeavour, Langevin was unsuccessful. Understandably he did not hide his disappointment from Roblin:

Must I understand that everything will be turned into a disappointment now that you have received the money from the Federal Government?

Had I known what happened to me now for St. Joseph's and the Holy Ghost's school entirely left to my own charge and responsibility I would never have said a word or written a line or made a step to induce...Laurier to help you for the readjustment of the interests of the school money.<sup>54</sup>

Langevin's impetuous remarks to the premier were, to say the least, cutting. But the Archbishop was not about to sever his ties with the government which had supposedly brought about a modus vivendi. The provincial election of July 20, 1903 demonstrated this vividly.

Even before the dissolution of the 10th Legislature, the school question flared up as an election issue. Sensing the approaching election the Free Press took the opportunity to comment on a sermon given by the Archbishop on the subject of the duties of Catholics at election time. The article's headline read: "Archbishop's Declaration Says Roman Catholic Must Vote as Instructed by the Clergy." Coincidentally one of Langevin's parish priests declared that the school question was far from settled. To Henri d' Hellen-court, the editor of l'Echo, these incidents pointed to one thing: "...le clergé de la Province se propose de remettre sur le tapis lors des prochaines élections, la question des écoles, et de s'en servir pour aider le partie conservateur."<sup>55</sup> This development led d'Hellencourt to reassess his position concerning Langevin's removal from St. Boniface. He explained his reasons to Laurier thus:

Je reconnais que je m'étais trompé et suis bien convaincu

que le seul moyen d'en arriver à une conclusion satisfaisante, même au point de vue catholique, serait de mettre un autre archevêque sur le siège de St. Boniface.

Non seulement nous n'aurons jamais la paix, mais c'est aussi ma ferme conviction que jamais aucun Gouvernement provincial n'aura le souci de traiter avec Mgr. Langevin; les conservateurs savent qu'il sera toujours de leur côté, moyennant quelques faveurs sans importance, et les libéraux savent que quoiqu'ils fassent ils l'auront pour adverse. Le déplacement de Mgr. Langevin nous donnerait une force morale énorme, surtout dans les circonstances présentes.<sup>56</sup>

During the election campaign, l'Echo de Manitoba warned the Conservatives not to make the school question a political issue. The Liberal weekly cautioned Roblin and Bernier "...[qu'ils] se trompent étrangement s'ils croient pouvoir renouveler la comédie par laquelle ils ont dupé l'électorat de St. Boniface en décembre 1900."<sup>57</sup> To prevent this occurrence, Bernier's Liberal opponent, Horace Chevrier, called upon all available resources. The week prior to the election he telegraphed Laurier asking the prime minister to intervene because twenty-two Trappist monks "...at Saint-Norbert in the St. Boniface constituency say they are ordered to vote against me."<sup>58</sup> Laurier assured him that the proper authorities would be notified. The next day, he sent a telegram warning the Apostolic Delegate that "...the Clergy are taking an active part in the local elections..." Laurier also pointed out to Sbaretti that

the clergy are making a serious mistake, from their own point of view and from the point of view of the question, the final settlement of which we have all at heart, to interfere either on one side or the other, in party politics.<sup>59</sup>

Sbaretti's directives to Langevin could not have better revealed the Apostolic Delegate's position:

...Sir Wilfrid Laurier a essayé d'arranger la question scolaire,

et quoi que les négociations ne furent pas couronnées de succès il n'est pas découragé, mais...après les élections ...il a des bonnes espérances de succès.

Par conséquence, Monseigneur, je le jugerais plus prudent et dans l'intérêt de notre cause, si les prêtres ne se mêlent pas dans ces élections.<sup>60</sup>

While L'Echo was attempting to keep the school question from becoming an issue, Le Manitoba, Joseph Bernier's political mouth-piece, sought to reintegrate the French-Canadian community in the political life of the province. It endeavoured to do this by claiming that the Roblin administration was solely responsible for the lenient administration of the School Act, the building of the normal school, the construction of a highway linking St.Boniface with French-Canadian communities in south-eastern Manitoba, and the creation of a fourth constituency [Assiniboia] in which the French Canadians would be a majority. Le Manitoba also mounted a concerted attack against Greenway who was portrayed as "le persécuteur de notre race."<sup>61</sup>

The election results, nevertheless, saw the Liberals victorious in three of the four constituencies in which French Canadians constituted the majority of the electorate. Even St.Boniface elected a Liberal, by a one vote majority at the recount. The victor, Horace Chevrier, attributed his opponent's near victory to the clerical vote in St.Boniface which "...including the hired men in the different establishments number 101 [and] I have reason to believe every one of them voted against me." Chevrier informed Laurier that although Langevin had publicly admitted receiving a directive from the Apostolic Delegate "...these intentions he did not carry out."<sup>62</sup>



The results of the election were a disappointment to Langevin who had counted on the election of French-Canadian candidates supporting the Conservatives to increase the Catholic minority's educational prospects. Seeking to extricate himself from a rather embarrassing situation he blamed the English vote for having turned the scales in favour of the Liberals in the constituencies of St. Boniface, LaVérendrye and Assiniboia.<sup>63</sup> He also made much of the fact that Roblin, Campbell and Rogers had benefitted substantially from the French vote:

The Hon. M. Campbell knows that there are some French-Canadians at Letellier and St. Joseph who can vote all right! The Hon. Rogers could say the same of the people of St. Léon and Somerset ... Even St. Claude, the dreadful St. Claude, has changed a majority of 60 for the Liberals in a majority for the Premier of our Province - Bravo St. Claude.<sup>64</sup>

Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface supported the Archbishop's contention and argued that the French-Canadian vote, as a whole, had been a Conservative one. In the constituencies of Dauphin and Avondale, the villagers of Sainte-Rose-du-Lac, Laurier, Canada-Ville, Deleau, Grande Clarière and Pipestone had supported a Conservative candidate. In Dufferin, R.P. Roblin had received the support of Fannystelle, Saint-Claude and Saint-Daniel. Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Saint-Léon and Somerset were congratulated for having supported Robert Rogers in the constituency of Manitou. In the Morris constituency, except for Saint-Jean-Baptiste, the French-Canadian parishes voted for Colin H. Campbell. In the French-speaking constituencies of LaVérendrye and Assiniboia, both William Lagimodière and Joseph Préfontaine narrowly escaped defeat, despite having publicly repudiated Greenway and having claimed they were running as independent

Liberals. In St. Boniface, in spite of Bernier's defeat, the polls demonstrated that the French-Canadian vote was overwhelmingly Conservative. Carillon elected a Conservative, Albert Préfontaine, despite the Liberal candidate's rejection of Greenway's policies.<sup>65</sup> As subsequent events were to demonstrate, Roblin appeared to have given some consideration to Langevin's claim.

Following the 1903 provincial election, one of the major issues affecting Langevin's relationship with the Roblin Government was the question of compulsory school attendance. It unavoidably became entangled with the schools question. The question of compulsory education first appeared locally in December of 1900 following Joseph Bernier's by-election victory in St. Boniface. The possibility of introducing such legislation was initially brought forth by Colin Campbell. At that time Langevin had not opposed the legislation because the Attorney-General had given his assurance that private Catholic schools would be officially recognized like "...the voluntary schools in England," which received state subsidies.<sup>66</sup> However, by November 1905, although Langevin still did not object in principle to any legal provisions that would make attendance compulsory, he had serious reservations about their application. He admitted "...qu'il y a un devoir... très grave pour les parents d'envoyer leurs enfants à l'école quand ils le peuvent [et que] l'Etat favorise de toutes manières ce devoir..." Still, he maintained it was the parents' sacred right to decide whether their children should be educated in school or at home. This right, he argued, was preciously valuable

to parents at seeding and harvest time. Langevin was also adamant that any legislation dealing with compulsory education would have to contain a clause giving parents the right to send their children to either a public school or a private school.<sup>67</sup>

As it turned out, the Winnipeg Public School Board took the lead in pressuring the Government for a compulsory education bill.<sup>68</sup> Late in 1905 it submitted a proposal to Colin H. Campbell who, according to the North West Review, "...promised that he and the Hon. Mr. Roblin will do their utmost to have the bill made law at the next sitting of the legislature." The Review did not take these rumors lightly. It hoped that the Provincial Cabinet would not be so imprudent "...as to antagonize the entire Catholic body by making the compulsory clause of their bill require attendance at the public schools." The Review further warned that the introduction of compulsory school attendance was an extremely controversial matter:

To enact that all children shall have some schooling is one thing, and to enact that all children shall attend one kind of school is quite another...The state may have perfect right to say to parents: 'You must educate your child'; but it has no right to say 'You must send your child to my school.'<sup>69</sup>

To the Catholic weekly, compulsory education was simply a pretext used by the Winnipeg School Board to force Catholic students into Protestant schools.<sup>70</sup>

Langevin nevertheless felt confident that Roblin could be depended upon not to introduce this legislation. He did, however, suspect Colin Campbell of being a proponent of compulsory school attendance but expected the member for Morris to hold back because

"...il est intéressé à ménager ses électeurs catholiques!" Langevin felt the agitation for such legislation, was being brought about by the freemasson movement "[qui] travaille et...complot. Puis elle met dans les journaux et dans l'air ses idées afin d'en pénétrer les esprits, de les préparer, de les empoisonner à l'avance..."<sup>71</sup> When the Winnipeg Public School Board approached Roblin to protest the lack of a school attendance law in January of 1906, Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface sounded the alarm:

C'est fait! Le nuage menaçant a crevé! nous nous y attendions ...à une pression de l'opinion publique, mais n'y a-t-il pas aussi l'influence secrète et même, pour plusieurs, le mot d'ordre de la Francmaconnerie poursuivant sa croisade diabolique ...Essayer d'empêcher la "passation" de la loi c'est tout comme vouloir arrêter "l'Imperial Express going West."<sup>72</sup>

But Les Cloches also had a suggestion to make. It proposed that Winnipeg's Catholic community agree to such legislation provided its private schools receive financial subsidies from the government.

Though the proposal drew little comment, Langevin had the pleasure of witnessing Roblin declare that public school attendance could not be enforced in schools not officially recognized by the government. The Archbishop attributed Roblin's stand to loyalty to the Catholic people. As for the other Conservative cabinet ministers Langevin believed they were reticent in supporting compulsory education for "political reasons."<sup>73</sup> In any case Langevin was now more at ease and thanked Roblin "...for the brave and loyal and just stand you have taken when you said to a delegation asking for compulsory education that you would not force inspection upon our free schools of Winnipeg as long as they are considered as private schools."<sup>74</sup>

Nevertheless, the Winnipeg Public School Board remained determined to have the issue debated in the Legislature. It called on J.T. Gordon, the M.L.A. for Winnipeg South, to propose a bill providing for compulsory attendance. The matter was immediately brought to the attention of Roblin who conferred with the Archbishop.<sup>75</sup> Langevin told the Premier that compulsory education would be unacceptable unless Winnipeg's Catholic schools were accepted "...as they are, as real public schools doing the same work as any other schools." However, Langevin admitted to Roblin that he despaired of being able to arrive at some understanding with the Winnipeg Public School Board. Consequently, the Public Schools Act needed to be amended so as to allow Catholic schools to receive public subsidies:

it would be better to ask the Local Legislature of Manitoba in order to have the "school law" amended or interpreted in such a way that our free national schools...would receive the benefit of Municipal and Government grants, though our children remain in separate buildings already built at great cost, and under our religious teachers.<sup>76</sup>

Such an amendment, however, would have virtually established a separate school system in Manitoba and Roblin was unwilling to go that far. Consequently, Gordon's reply to the Winnipeg Public School Board was predictable. He stated that he "would have no objection bringing a Bill into the House" provided "the...Board and the representatives of the Roman Catholic Schools...get together, and once and for all settle this school question."<sup>77</sup>

Langevin's position remained unchanged: he would not agree to compulsory school attendance unless Winnipeg's private Catholic schools received the public subsidies to which they were entitled.

He hoped that the opponents of denominational schools, if they were really serious about making education available to all, might reassess their position: "Qui sait si nos ennemis ne nous aideront pas, sans le vouloir"<sup>78</sup>...et peut-être même allons-nous, à l'occasion de cette instruction obligatoire, faire modifier la loi en notre faveur."<sup>79</sup> In this endeavour Langevin had received the encouragement of the Apostolic Delegate. Sbarretti's interests however, did not stop there. He asked Langevin if he could be of any assistance.<sup>80</sup> The Archbishop's reply revealed that he was under no illusion as to the success of his proposal. But he could not miss the opportunity to make a few cutting remarks directed at Sbarretti's "Ottawa friends":

Il reste quelque espoir de la part de l'Hon. Roblin qui est bien disposé; mais il n'est pas seul, et il ne se suicidera pas pour nous alors que des catholiques à Ottawa, se gênent si peu pour leurs coréligionnaires.<sup>81</sup>

But the issue of compulsory education was to remain in abeyance as Roblin refused to give it serious consideration until the Winnipeg Public School Board agreed to meet the Catholic minority's demand.<sup>82</sup> The Board refused to consider this.

At this point Langevin could have easily accused Roblin of lacking integrity and honesty for not allowing the School Question to be reopened in anticipation of the upcoming election. But the Archbishop supposed that the programme carried out in over 105 public schools controlled by Catholic trustees<sup>83</sup> owed its existence to the lenient administration of the School Act. At least this was the picture that emerged at the blessing of a new school in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes. Had the event not been documented by Les Cloches

de Saint-Boniface, it would have probably gone unnoticed. But it caught the attention of the Free Press which reported that "two superb crucifix given to Dom Benoit by a generous friend" had been placed in separate classrooms by Archbishop Langevin.<sup>84</sup> Unaware that these crucifix were the generous gift of Robert Rogers,<sup>85</sup> the Free Press concerned itself with an excerpt of Benoit's address given on the occasion:

...there has intervened a 'modus vivendi' which, in fact and so long as we have equitable men, leaves to Catholics a freedom in schools which, if not perfect, is very appreciable. And I am glad to recall, on this occasion, that it was here in this school, in charge of our sisters, that this 'modus vivendi' was first accepted and applied to be extended immediately to the other schools of the parish and thence somewhat to all the schools of the regime of His Grace...Honour then to the men who in Manitoba are inspired in their Government by respect for conscience and for the constitution who seek to lessen the injustices of the preceding regime.<sup>86</sup>

To the Free Press this obviously illustrated that the "... school laws of the Province are being ignored, the Catholic school inspector represents the Archbishop, many public schools are French and Catholic, and all this through the generosity of the men in power."<sup>87</sup> With these charges, the Free Press became fully engaged in partisan warfare with Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface over compulsory education, Roblin's relationship with the Catholic Church, and the lenient administration of the School Act.

The provincial election of 1907 sparked the next round of controversy. Langevin did not wish to let the disastrous Liberal victories of 1903 re-occur in St. Boniface, LaVérendrye and Assiniboia. Nor did he want any Catholic voting Liberal in the remaining constituencies. His directives to his clergy were explicit. In

St. Boniface he asked the Trappist Monks to vote for Joseph Bernier "parce que Roblin a bien traité les Catholiques, et il nous a beaucoup aider pour nos écoles."<sup>88</sup> In Dauphin, Langevin requested Father F.M. Bastien to brief his assistant at Laurier on the current political situation in Manitoba: "Le Gouvernement Roblin nous a été très favorable pour les écoles tandis que Brown menace de tout nous enlever. Notre ligne de conduite est toute tracée."<sup>89</sup> In the constituency of Morris, the Archbishop urged all Catholics to vote for Colin H. Campbell in preference to the Irish Catholic candidate J.P. Molloy:

...le Dr. Molloy, son père et son frère sont des créations du Gouvernement Laurier et ils ont dit qu'ils voteraient pour Greenway s'il revenait.

Des catholiques sans principes sous un chef adverse à nos écoles sont plus à redouter que des Protestants plus ou moins compromis, mais sous un chef loyal aux Catholiques.

Je me permets de vous écrire ces choses afin que vous puissiez donner une direction à vos gens...A l'heure actuelle, voter contre Campbell, c'est voter contre Roblin, et voter contre Roblin c'est se rendre ridicule aux yeux des protestants fanatiques et compromettre notre cause scolaire.<sup>90</sup>

Langevin's active role in this election was without doubt due to his concern over compulsory education. In the previous year Roblin's ultimatum to the Winnipeg Public School Board had convinced Langevin of the Conservatives' unwillingness to create additional difficulties for the metropolitan's Catholic population. In addition the Attorney-General's declaration that compulsory education would infringe upon the constitutional rights of Catholic parents reassured the Archbishop of the advisability of his actions. On the other hand, Edward Brown's pledge to implement compulsory school attendance without paying heed to the Catholics' predicament in Winnipeg served to provoke Langevin into an outright denunciation



of the Liberal programme.<sup>91</sup>

The election results reaffirmed the Archbishop's precarious dependency on Roblin:

Croire que le Gouvernement Roblin agit par pur principe... serait une naïveté, mais nous bénéficions de ses dispositions favorables, et c'est tout ce que nous pouvons espérer pour le moment.  
Espérons que demain le pays, les Catholiques surtout, rendra justice à la loyauté et à l'esprit juste de l'Hon. Roblin  
...<sup>92</sup>

Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface interpreted the outcome of the 1907 election as the Catholic reaction to Edward Brown's commitment, if elected, to administer the Public School Act impartially and without favour. The Conservative victories in the four French constituencies spoke for themselves.<sup>93</sup> The Tribune's assessment of the results was much more blunt. It attributed the return of the Roblin Government, as "Another Church Victory" since the Archbishop "...is opposed to compulsory education...hostile to...National Schools...[and]...firmly believes that schools supported at public expense should be under the direction of his church, where the majority of the students belong to his church." The Archbishop's programme, the Tribune concluded, had been sanctioned by the Roblin Government which permitted Langevin "...to direct such schools as he may please - to decorate them with the crucifix, to bless them as church institutions and to have them conducted by nuns..."<sup>94</sup> Les Cloches thanked the Tribune for pointing out that the denunciations brought against Roblin for not rigidly enforcing the school laws meant an unresolved school question.<sup>95</sup>

Unlike the Tribune's observations, the Manitoba Free Press

attacked Langevin and his clergy for throwing "...the whole organized weight of the Church against the French Liberal candidates" in order to bring about their defeat. They did this, editorialized J. W. Dafoe, because when the Roblin Government granted the minority illegal educational privileges, "...a political bargain was struck by which Archbishop Langevin undertook to deliver such political support as he could control to the Roblin Government." The Free Press warned Langevin of the eventual consequences of such a strategy:

The participation of [the] Archbishop...in the late election creates a situation which may yet have serious effects. Last Thursday's election is not the last in the history of Manitoba...If the question which the Archbishop Langevin made the issue in four or five constituencies should become four years hence the issue in every constituency in the Province with all that this would mean, the responsibility for this unfortunate state of affairs would rest entirely upon Archbishop Langevin and Mr. Roblin.<sup>96</sup>

Roblin responded by accusing the Tribune and Free Press of stirring up religious strife over the school question, claiming that the Conservatives were doing more for the Roman Catholic Church than the law warranted. The Premier regretted this the more so because "the Roman Catholics to-day only enjoy what might be called a limited interpretation of the statute." But he also seized the opportunity to point out to Langevin "how wicked and malicious the Grit party is and how they will use every opportunity of antagonizing public sentiment so as to prevent the Roman Catholics getting even the small measure of fair play provided under the settlement of 1897." Nonetheless, Roblin assured the Archbishop that he would "hold the scales of justice even and mete

out to all the citizens of this country, irrespective of class and creed, justice and fair play."<sup>97</sup> Langevin replied that he found "all this clamour" quite disturbing as it "shows...what we have to expect from the other party, and how far party spirit and spite can bring people to."<sup>98</sup>

Although the election had revealed mounting opposition to the Archbishop's programme, its results nevertheless gave Langevin increased confidence. In mid-March he sounded out Roblin on the advisability of having a representative of the Catholic community appointed to the cabinet. Roblin showed little enthusiasm for the proposal. The Premier argued that any concessions granted to the minority would become subject to close examination by the opposition and attributed to the Catholic minister. The Government's position in regard to the question of compulsory education and the concessions granted to Catholic schools, Roblin added, would not have been conceivable with a representative of the minority sitting in his cabinet. Langevin admitted that Roblin's arguments were valid: "Le danger est que nous donnions, en échange d'un honneur à peu près stérile des avantages réels. Les Orangistes battus dans plusieurs comtés verraient avec rage M. McFadden<sup>99</sup> remplacé par un catholique."<sup>100</sup>

A further element had come into play preventing the appointment of a Catholic minister. Joseph Bernier, J.-B. Lauzon, Aimé Bérard and Albert Préfontaine had seemingly failed to reach a consensus as to who should be the recipient of this honour. This dispute had not amused Langevin who reprimanded them for their inability to come to an understanding "...alors que nous pouvions obtenir de

Roblin un ministre français. Si l'on avait parlé du porte-feuille de Procureur Général et si vous m'aviez proposé Bernier qui est avocat, j'aurais certainement obtenu de Roblin sa nomination."<sup>101</sup>

This setback nevertheless did not deter Langevin from pressing the four French-Canadian MLA's to oppose compulsory education "... comme question de principe...parce que nous avons des droits acquis, et que nos écoles libres de Winnipeg et de Brandon constituent le grand obstacle."<sup>102</sup> When the issue erupted in the Legislature, in January of 1908, Bernier and his French-Canadian colleagues threw their support behind Roblin's contention that the measure was unconstitutional. Bernier's address to the Legislature was particularly noteworthy as it became the basis for a widely distributed thirty-six page pamphlet entitled L'Instruction obligatoire au Manitoba. The publication denounced compulsory education and "neutral" or national schools; and accused their proponents of fostering another school question in Manitoba.<sup>103</sup> A similar charge was levelled at Dafoe for trying to foment public opinion on the issue of compulsory secular education.

Dafoe's campaign had not escaped Langevin's attention. In early 1909 he once again reminded Bernier, Lauzon, Bénéard and Préfontaine of his position on this issue. The government, he admitted, had the right to seize truants and make it compulsory for their parents to send them to school. But he maintained that responsible parents had the right to decide whether or not their children should attend secular or neutral schools: "Être sans instruction séculière ne signifie pas nécessairement être ignorant

... "104

Roblin's assurances that circumstances made the introduction of compulsory education unlikely,<sup>105</sup> demonstrated the success of Langevin's campaign. But after a decade of Conservative rule, the Archbishop's effort to obtain financial assistance for the private schools in mixed centres appeared to have been fruitless. Even the 1910 provincial election failed to provide him with the opportunity of furthering the Catholic cause. The only episcopal pronouncement made during the campaign came from Les Cloches which deplored Horace Chevrier's decision to support compulsory education. The fact that he claimed to speak on behalf of all Catholics, particularly annoyed the official organ of the Archdiocese of St. Boniface: "Nous n'avons pas besoin d'insister longuement pour démontrer que M. Chevrier n'a pas mission de parler au nom de la minorité catholique...et que cette minorité est opposée à l'instruction obligatoire."<sup>106</sup> When the results of the election became known Les Cloches suggested that the electorate had simply done its duty:

Le gouvernement Roblin est maintenu au pouvoir par 28 membres contre 13...C'est le triomphe de l'esprit de fair play dans l'application des lois éducationnelles injustes. C'est aussi la condamnation de la politique de l'instruction obligatoire...<sup>107</sup>

The election of a Liberal candidate in LaVérendrye in part accounted for this subdued rejoicing. The defeat of a French-Canadian Conservative at the hands of William Molloy,<sup>108</sup> an Irish Catholic, could not have enthused Langevin.

During the first decade of the Roblin administration Langevin

orchestrated a campaign to keep the Manitoba School Question a burning issue in provincial politics. The success of his crusade, however, hinged on the extent to which he could implicate the French-Canadian electorate in this matter. With the French-Canadian community having already secured its educational rights, Langevin met with opposition when he attempted to embroil it in another schools question. But Langevin was not to be deterred. Through repeated interventions in consecutive provincial elections he sought to convince French Canadians that their faith and language would be more secure under a Conservative Government. The basis of his claim rested upon the premise that it was the Roblin Government which had permitted French-Canadian Catholic schools to operate at the outside limits of the law.<sup>109</sup> Yet, because Manitoba's French-Canadian community had managed to secure its basic educational rights well before the accession of the Conservatives to power, it was the Conservatives who ultimately benefited most from Langevin's claim. Without the Archbishop's interventions it is doubtful that the Roblin administration would have made as much headway as it did in capturing a successively greater share of the French-Canadian vote.<sup>110</sup>

The fact that French Canadians gradually shifted their support to the Conservatives could have been inconsequential. But Langevin had a mandate to fulfill. As a Catholic bishop he was responsible for the preservation of the Catholic faith of both the children of the East European immigrants and of the English-speaking Catholics. From the outset, with the exception of three

schools in Winnipeg,<sup>111</sup> the salvation of the foreigners' children was assured through a publicly financed bilingual school system.<sup>112</sup> Langevin nevertheless met with strong opposition when he attempted to secure public financing for private schools attended for the most part by English-speaking Catholic children.<sup>113</sup> Determined as he was to protect the bilingual schools and to secure public monies for the private schools, Langevin remained adamant about keeping the schools question alive. That he would seek to mobilize the political force of the French-Canadian community to safeguard and fashion a recovery of the rights of other racial minorities was therefore inevitable. The consequences of such a strategy were unfortunately not realized.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, pp. 2-11.

<sup>2</sup> Langevin did not make any official pronouncements during this campaign. T.-A. Rochon reported that "Mgr. était résolu à faire tout en son pouvoir auprès de son clergé pour nous aider à faire élire des hommes capables de continuer les négociations avec...Greenway." P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Rochon to Laurier, April 30, 1899. S.-A.-D. Bertrand, however, claimed that Langevin was discreetly making his views known. He was also convinced that Langevin's parish priests "feront tout ce qu'ils pourront sans toutefois le faire ouvertement." Ibid., Bertrand to Laurier, July 19, 1899.

<sup>3</sup> Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1903.

<sup>4</sup> L'Echo de Manitoba, December 14, 1899.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., December 21, 1899.

<sup>6</sup> North West Review, January 2, 1900.

<sup>7</sup> L'Echo de Manitoba, December 21, 1899.

<sup>8</sup> North West Review, January 2, 1900. Father Jean Gaire of Grande Clarière expressed similar sentiments when he wrote Langevin that "Nous ne pouvons permettre qu'on abuse du vote de ceux de la Rivière Rouge. L'Echo...les a trompés en bonne partie, le reste sont des brebis galeuses." Jean Gaire to Langevin, December 29, 1899; cited in Pénisson, "Un Hebdomaire Liberal: L'Echo de Manitoba ..." 381.

<sup>9</sup> North West Review, January 2, 1900.

<sup>10</sup> A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, T.-A. Bernier to Hugh John Macdonald, January 22, 1900.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., Langevin to D. Falconio, December 17, 1899.

<sup>12</sup> Morning Telegram, December 11, 1899; cited in Turenne, "The Minority and the Ballot Box...", p. 53.

<sup>13</sup> His biographer notes that Macdonald had a "marked antipathy toward Roman Catholics and French Canadians," as well as an "aversion for separate schools." Henry James Guest, "Reluctant Politicians: A Biography of Sir Hugh John Macdonald" (unpublished



M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1973), p. 389. See also Prunican, Priests and Politicians..., p. 238.

<sup>14</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Bruchési to Langevin, February 27, 1900.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., Macdonald to Langevin, March 15, 1900.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Macdonald, June 2, 1900.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., Macdonald to Langevin, June 4, 1900. Langevin had also asked Macdonald to consider the remittance of \$13,879.00 which Mgr. A.-A. Taché had handed over to the Provincial Government in 1889. Macdonald refused to give immediate consideration to the matter as "the estimates have already been passed" and "our supporters would not consent to this course being adopted in the present session, as they are anxious to get home as soon as possible... Besides nearly every one of them expects to have a by-election fight during the present year, as there are protests against thirty out of the forty members, and this knowledge renders them unwilling to vote for or in any way support expenditures which will not be popular with the majority of the Electors of the country." Idem.

<sup>18</sup>Evidence for this supposition can be found in a letter Langevin wrote to Mgr. Falconio on April 4, 1900. Macdonald's letter of March 15 so angered the Archbishop that he considered retaliation: "Tant pis si l'hon. Macdonald ne comprend pas son devoir!... A un moment donné, de nouvelles complications forceront un partie politique à venir à nous et c'est alors que les Catholiques pourront poser leurs conditions." Ibid., Langevin to Falconio, April 4, 1900.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Macdonald, September 24, 1900.

<sup>20</sup>For a discussion regarding Roblin's opposition to the 1890 Public Schools Act, see Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba," p. 224.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., F.D. Monk to Langevin, April 3, 1900; cited in Dupasquier, "Dom Paul Benoit et le Nouveau Monde...", p. 227.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Bertrand, November 16, 1900.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Bertrand, November 15, 1900.

<sup>24</sup>Langevin claimed Mager was being incited by the Liberals. Ibid., Langevin to Joseph Sénécal, November 19, 1900.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., Langevin to J.-B. Lauzon, November 15, 1900; Langevin to Mager, November 16, 1900.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Rev. Adolphe Bourret, November 16, 1900; also Langevin to Rev. Félix Turcotte, November 16, 1900.

<sup>27</sup>Le Manitoba, November 21, 1900.

<sup>28</sup>Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1901.

<sup>29</sup>Manitoba Free Press, November 24, 1900.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., November 26, 1900.

<sup>31</sup>Morning Telegram, November 29, 1900.

<sup>32</sup>D'Hellencourt and Bernier had not very much in common. Pénisson writes that d'Hellencourt "était l'étranger qui avait échoué au Manitoba, faute de mieux, après avoir quitté l'armée française dans des circonstances obscures. Bernier était le fils de l'honorable sénateur Thomas-Alfred, Québécois d'origine, ancien surintendant de l'Education, ancien maire de Saint-Boniface, conseiller auprès de l'Université du Manitoba. D'Hellencourt se comportait comme un franc mécréant; il avait épousé une divorcée; il n'allait pas à la messe; il dénonçait les interventions de l'archevêque et de ses curés. Bernier, lui, était inattaquables sur le plan religieux... Bref, pour paraphraser André Marois, "d'Hellencourt était sûr que Bernier n'était pas un Saint, mais Bernier n'était pas sûr que d'Hellencourt ne fût pas le Diable." Pénisson, "Un Hebdomadaire Libéral: L'Echo de Manitoba," 27.

<sup>33</sup>L'Echo de Manitoba, November 29, 1900. The Liberals tried to contest the results of the by-election in the courts. In a pastoral letter read on January 12, 1900, Langevin challenged d'Hellencourt to prove that irregularities had indeed taken place.

<sup>34</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Bertrand to Laurier, January 27, 1901.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., R.P. Roblin to Laurier, November 26, 1900.

<sup>36</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Falconio, November 29, 1900.

<sup>37</sup>Idem. On December 3, Langevin encouraged Roblin to become Mowat of Manitoba by granting Catholics their own school taxes, as in Ontario. The Archbishop also assured Roblin that the Apostolic Delegate "could be of great service to bring Laurier to satisfy your Government by remitting the school lands to Manitoba. The immense advantage derived from this concession would help to reconcile the hostile element opposing your act of justice and equity and the small number of those who will refuse to be reconciled is not worth consideration. I feel confident that the Hon. M. Campbell who received such a strong support from our people and Mr. McFadden who is a good friend of ours together with your other colleagues will

support you firmly and frankly on this particular point...I need not add that I am greatly pleased over the victory of the new member for St.Boniface. It will be his mission to approach you on matters of vital importance for us...Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, December 3, 1900.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Mgr. Cornelius O'Brien, December 19, 1900; Langevin to Mgr. C.H. Gauthier, December 19, 1900.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Bruchési, December 19, 1900.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, January 23, 1901. On the same day Langevin wrote a second letter to Roblin on the question of bringing "relief to our Catholic people of Winnipeg." Langevin pointed out that "In the country, or rural districts...any series of French books can be used with the bilingual books; but in Winnipeg and other mixed centers English Catholic books cannot be used according to law." He therefore suggested that the Advisory Board approve the series of Readers used in Ontario's separate schools and "a mountain would be removed and the road would remain clear for an agreement that all well-thinking people desire without any distinction of creed or race." Roblin agreed that "the changes suggested would simplify matters very much" and promised to look into the matter. Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, January 23, 1901; and Roblin to Langevin, January 26, 1901.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., Roblin to Langevin, January 24, 1901.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Bruchési, March 22, 1901.

<sup>43</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Colin H. Campbell to Laurier, April 18, 1901.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., Laurier to Campbell, April 22, 1901.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., Campbell to Laurier, April 26, 1901.

<sup>46</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Memorandum of Langevin, August 12, 1901.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Falconio, September 28, 1901.

<sup>48</sup>Idem.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Robert Rogers, June 18, 1902.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, July 28, 1902.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Rogers, September 9, 1902.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Drummond, December 18, 1902.

<sup>53</sup>LCSB, II (April, 1903), 226-227. In 1889 the Greenway Administration had requested that the Catholic section of the Board of Education remit \$13,900 to the Government. This reserve fund had been accumulated in accordance with the provisions of the 1881 Public Schools Act which stipulated that "each section of the board [Protestant and Catholic] may reserve for unforeseen contingencies a sum not exceeding ten percent of its share of the appropriation." Manitoba Statutes, 44 Vict., v. 4.

<sup>54</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Roblin, September 9, 1902.

<sup>55</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, d'Hellencourt to Laurier, January 20, 1903.

<sup>56</sup>Idem.

<sup>57</sup>L'Echo de Manitoba, June 4, 1903.

<sup>58</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Horace Chevrier to Laurier, July 14, 1903.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., Laurier to Sbarette, July 15, 1903.

<sup>60</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Sbarette à Langevin, July 15, 1903.

<sup>61</sup>Roger Turenne, "The Minority and the Ballot Box...", pp. 65-66. In the constituency of Morris, Le Manitoba asked the electors to vote for Colin Campbell rather than the French-Canadian candidate Napoléon Comeault. L'Echo de Manitoba took objection to this recommendation and accused Le Manitoba of being "a traitor to its race." In its issue of July 30th, 1903, L'Echo found it scandalous that the local clergy had supported Campbell, a Free Mason.

<sup>62</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Chevrier to Laurier, August 1, 1903. In a subsequent letter to Laurier, Chevrier proposed that legal charges be laid against Mgr. J.-N. Ritchot and Father F. Dugas "and once and for all the actions of the clergy in our elections would be laid bare." Chevrier also mentioned to the prime minister that his father Noé Chevrier was to have recourse to the courts in an attempt to demonstrate that Senator T.A. Bernier did not qualify for a Senate seat... "because the property by which he apparently qualified...is not his, but belongs to the archbishopric of St.Boniface. The transfer of the property being simply to give him the colour of solvency." Ibid., Chevrier to Laurier, October 31, 1903. In a previous letter, Chevrier asked that Father Gabriel Cloutier's position as chaplain of the Stony Mountain Penitentiary be examined. Apparently Father Cloutier had "...directed electors to the voting booths in St.Boniface..." on July 20th. Ibid., Chevrier to Laurier, August 24, 1903.

<sup>63</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, "Entrevue de Sa Grandeur Mgr. l'Archevêque et de...Deegan et Russell avec...Roblin, Rogers et McFadden," October 1, 1903.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, August 6, 1903.

<sup>65</sup>LCSB, II (September, 1903), 485-486.

<sup>66</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Gauthier, December 19, 1900; and Langevin to Bruchési, December 19, 1900.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Rev. Lewis Drummond, November 23, 1905.

<sup>68</sup>For a discussion regarding the efforts of the Winnipeg School Board to "Canadianize" the City's student population see Alan F.J. Artibise, "Patterns of Population Growth and Ethnic Relationships in Winnipeg, 1874-1974," Histoire Sociale - Social History, IX (November, 1976), 312.

<sup>69</sup>North West Review, December 2, 1905.

<sup>70</sup>In its issue of February 28, 1906 the Ottawa Free Press carried an article originally published in the Review and which further illustrated the Catholic organ's position on the question of compulsory education: "The Winnipeg Public School Board is clamoring for compulsory education on the ostensible plea that it will save the children of the shiftless poor from the disastrous effects of lazy and ignorant childhood spent amid the debasing influences of the street. Taught by long experience in other countries, similar protestations of pure motives, followed as soon as the compulsory clauses become law by astute measures tending to force Catholic children into godless schools, we have no great faith in the much-lauded benefit of compulsory education.

At its best, even in a Catholic country, compulsory education would be an invasion of parental rights. But compulsory education in this Protestant province, suggested and inspired, as it undoubtedly is, by Masonic and Orange lodges, would be a direct menace to Catholic schools. Its ultimate purpose, however skillfully disguised, is to de-Catholicize all our children." A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Alfred A. Sinnot to Langevin, March 1, 1906.

<sup>71</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Louis Hacault, January 5, 1906.

<sup>72</sup>LCSB, II (February, 1906), 28.

<sup>73</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Hacault, January 20, 1906.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, February 5, 1906.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Hacault, February 4, 1906.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, February 5, 1906.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., J.T. Gordon to A.M. McPherson, Solicitor, Winnipeg Public School Board, February 12, 1906.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Bégin, February 7, 1906.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Rev. D. Cherrier, February 13, 1906.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., Sbaretti to Langevin, February 13, 1906.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Sbaretti, February 16, 1906. Sbaretti responded by pointing out to Laurier that the Free Press and the Liberal party were trying to "make political capital" out of the compulsory school attendance issue and "if anything can be done to keep these quiet or to make them support the idea of an arrangement it would be a good thing for us." P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Sbaretti to Laurier, February 21, 1906.

<sup>82</sup>Roblin was assuredly weighing other factors militating against the introduction of compulsory school attendance, namely the problem of providing adequate school facilities and teaching personnel.

<sup>83</sup>One hundred and five was the number of schools given in 1902. A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Ecoles du diocèse de Saint-Boniface, January 1902.

<sup>84</sup>Manitoba Free Press, February 19, 1907.

<sup>85</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Rogers, December 27, 1906. Rogers had also offered to arrange a private railway car for Langevin to make the Archbishop's trip to Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes more pleasant.

<sup>86</sup>Manitoba Free Press, February 19, 1907.

<sup>87</sup>Idem.

<sup>88</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Rev. Jean-Baptiste Gaudin, February 18, 1907.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Rev. M.-A. Bastien, February 24, 1907.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Rev. M.-A. Martin, n.d. Molloy lost the election by one vote but ran in the constituency of Provencher in the 1908 federal election and defeated the incumbent Conservative candidate A.-C. LaRivière. Les Cloches reprimanded the French-Canadian electorate for having "oublié le pacte, fait lors de l'organisation des comtés du pays...qui assurait...l'élection d'un des leurs." Moreover, the archdiocesan review deplored the fact that the electorate had voted for the Liberals who were being

led by a man who, in 1896, had opposed the Remedial Bill; who, in 1897, had failed to give Catholics any measures of redress; and who, in 1905, had opposed the establishment of confessional schools in Saskatchewan and Alberta. LCSB, VII (November, 1908), 281-82.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Macaul, March 6, 1907.

<sup>92</sup>Idem.

<sup>93</sup>LCSB, VI (April, 1907), 83-84.

<sup>94</sup>Winnipeg Tribune, March 11, 1907.

<sup>95</sup>LCSB, VI (April, 1907), 85.

<sup>96</sup>Manitoba Free Press, March 13, 1907.

<sup>97</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Roblin to Langevin, March 13, 1907.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, March 18, 1907.

<sup>99</sup>David Henry McFadden, appointed Provincial Secretary in December of 1900, suffered defeat at the hands of George Walton, a Liberal in the provincial election of 1907. He had represented the constituency of Emerson; Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1907.

<sup>100</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Joseph Sénécal, March 13, 1907.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Albert Préfontaine, January 6, 1908.

<sup>102</sup>Idem.

<sup>103</sup>LCSB, VII (February, 1908), 26-27.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Lauzon, Bernier, Préfontaine and Bédard, January 14, 1909.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Macaul, February 7, 1909.

<sup>106</sup>LCSB, IX (May, 1909), 107.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., (August, 1910) 175.

<sup>108</sup>Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1912. The defeated French-Canadian Conservative candidate was J.-B. Lauzon.

<sup>109</sup>Langevin maintained that "grâce...au bon vouloir des Gouvernants actuels (Conservateurs), surtout de l'Hon. M. Roblin... on nous laisse en paix et l'on tolère bien des choses qui sont

contraires à la Loi, ou, du moins susceptibles d'être interprétées comme contraires à la Loi. C'est ce qu'on appelle le "Modus vivendi." He nevertheless argued that "La question est si peu réglée que si un Ministre mal disposé et fanatique succédait à celui de l'Hon. Roblin... nous serions obligés de renoncer aux allocations du Gouvernement, parce qu'il nous demanderait de sacrifier les Crucifix, les livres catholiques, les prières, le costume religieux, etc. etc." A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Cardinal Marien Rampolla del Tindaro, July 27, 1908. In short Langevin was crediting Roblin with having given the Catholic minority "[une] école normale bilingue, 3 inspecteurs catholiques, un représentant dans le conseil de l'Instruction publique (Advisory Board), et de la latitude pour les livres, et pratiquement la liberté de l'enseignement religieux, malgré la loi." Ibid., Langevin to Rev. Lionel Lindsay, December 13, 1911.

<sup>110</sup>In the 1899 provincial election the Conservatives had received 48.8% of the popular vote in the French-Canadian constituencies. It climbed to 51.5% in 1903; 53.2% in 1907; 54.3% in 1910; and 55.1% in 1914. Turenne, "The Minority and the Ballot Box..." p. 76.

<sup>111</sup>The schools in question were Holy Ghost School frequented by Polish students; St. Joseph's School attended by German students; and St. Nicholas School attended by Ruthenian students.

<sup>112</sup>See Chapter III.

<sup>113</sup>English-speaking students attended St. Mary's School, St. Mary's Academy, the Immaculate Conception School, St. Edward School and shared Sacred Heart School with their French-speaking classmates. See also Chapter II.



## CHAPTER V

### THE LANGEVIN-ROBLIN ALLIANCE: A COALITION BY NECESSITY

While prodding French Canadians to remain ever conscious of the educational problems facing other Catholic groups, Langevin had been actively engaged in intertwining the schools question with that of the extension of Manitoba's boundaries.<sup>1</sup> But as the negotiations for the extension of the province's territory involved two levels of government which did not trust each other, serious attempts to settle the schools question via this means did not take place until 1911.<sup>2</sup> In the fall of that year a federal election put an end to the partisan feud between Roblin and Laurier. During the election campaign, R.L. Borden, the leader of the national Conservative party, promised Manitoba a settlement of the boundary question if he received the province's support.<sup>3</sup> With Borden's victory and the election of eight Conservatives in Manitoba, R.P. Roblin hastened his emissaries to Ottawa. Claiming to have been "cabined, cribbed, confined" for nearly a decade by a wilfully unpleasant Liberal administration, the provincial premier expected to be richly rewarded. But, both he and the Borden Government were called upon by Langevin to safeguard the Catholic schools in any territory annexed to Manitoba. The Archbishop could be depended up on to firmly voice his demands for legislation guaranteeing the minority's rights throughout Manitoba.

Langevin's petition of January 29, 1912, demanding a guarantee for Catholic schools in Keewatin, subjected Canada's new prime

minister to political pressures previously unknown to him. The same could not be said of Roblin and his former provincial colleague Robert Rogers, now a member of Borden's cabinet. Both were seasoned observers of the Archbishop's attempts to interlock the question of separate schools with that of the extension of Manitoba's boundaries. In fact they had encouraged these attempts and used them to their advantage while avoiding their responsibility to the Catholic electorate. But their success was due to the Archbishop of St. Boniface. The Manitoba Government had been able to side-step the issue because of Langevin's insistence, over the past decade, that Laurier include legislation re-establishing separate schools in Manitoba in any bill providing for the extension of Manitoba's boundaries.

Langevin first adopted this stand in December 1904 when the Roblin Government first began to advocate an extension of the province's boundaries. The strategy called for the Apostolic Delegate to impress the federal government with the need to re-instate separate schools in Manitoba along with the extension of the province's boundaries. The reasons for exacting this from Ottawa were only too evident to Langevin: in 1896 Laurier had assured the Quebec electorate he would settle the school question "à la satisfaction de la minorité catholique." Another factor as well pushed the Archbishop into taking a firm stance on this issue late in 1904. With the Federal Government's intention of creating two new provinces in the North West Territories, Langevin, encouraged by Roblin, called upon Laurier to introduce school

legislation affecting not only the proposed provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta but the whole of western Canada.<sup>4</sup>

Sbaretti, however, realized the limitations of Langevin's simplistic approach. The Apostolic Delegate's overtures to Laurier suggesting that Manitoba's proposed boundary extension afforded Ottawa an opportunity to gain school rights for Catholics had already fallen on deaf ears.<sup>5</sup> Then again Sbaretti did not intend to inhibit the Manitoba Government from doing its fair share. Indeed, during the height of the controversy over the autonomy Bills, he intimated to Colin H. Campbell, Manitoba's Attorney-General, that a change in the Schools Act would expedite the province's request for boundary extension.<sup>6</sup> But his proposed amendments, which inferred the separation of pupils along denominational lines,<sup>7</sup> were leaked to the press by Robert Rogers who accused Laurier of being in league with Sbaretti in order to force separate schools upon Manitoba.<sup>8</sup> Taking advantage of the political climate, the Minister of Public Works had seized the opportunity to officially demonstrate Manitoba's apparent opposition to separate schools. Having openly indicated that it was not in league with Langevin, the Manitoba Government was now ready to let itself be coerced, though reluctantly, by Ottawa.

With the passing of this episode Roblin continued to use Manitoba's boundary issue to his political advantage. Standing as the champion of a mistreated province he had everything to gain by prolonging this dispute. Accordingly he left all initiative to settle this question in the hands of the Federal Govern-

ment. In 1908, when the impetus finally came from Ottawa, the financial terms were left unspecified. For this reason Manitoba thought the proposal unsatisfactory and refused to consider the matter.<sup>9</sup> In early 1909 Ottawa once again took the initiative and proposed definite legislation to terminate the dispute. Coincidentally an officious attempt to have the Manitoba Schools Act amended was initiated. On February 14th, Roblin was visited by the Liberal-Conservative MP for Hamilton East, Samuel Barker. His proposal to the premier again amounted to legislation providing for the separation of pupils along religious lines. Indeed, the proposal was a verbatim copy of the 1905 Sbaretti Memorandums.<sup>10</sup> Roblin sought an interview with Langevin. Though Langevin suspected Sbaretti of having initiated these steps, he nevertheless asked Roblin if he knew the individuals responsible for the wording of the proposed legislation. Roblin thought that it had probably been formulated by Charles Fitzpatrick and Father A.E. Burke, of the Church Extension Society, acting on behalf of the Apostolic Delegate. The premier expressed his amazement at learning that Langevin had not been consulted as to the advisability of such a proposal. He promised the Archbishop to keep him informed of any developments involving the school question.<sup>11</sup>

Barker's attempt to dissociate the connection between separate schools and the extension of Manitoba's boundaries fizzled when Roblin refused to act. The explanation the premier gave Langevin was that twelve of his colleagues would resign should the Manitoba Government implement such legislation prior to the

extension of Manitoba's boundaries.<sup>12</sup> Langevin did not press the issue. The Archbishop believed that he was already much indebted to Roblin for the Government's lenient administration of the Schools Act. Now he found himself having to thank the premier for the Government's stand on the issue of compulsory education.

At first glance Langevin's position may have appeared insecure. But with Ottawa proposing the extension of Manitoba's boundaries, Roblin could be counted upon not to introduce any measures inimical to Catholic interest, including the introduction of compulsory education:

Cette année encore, le projet de loi sur l'instruction obligatoire a été rejeté par un vote de 26 contre 12. Néanmoins l'honorable M. Coldwell, ministre de l'instruction publique, a formellement déclaré que le Gouvernement n'était pas opposé au principe de l'instruction obligatoire, mais que dans les circonstances, vu les négociations en voie pour l'extension des frontières et l'acquisition des fonds de réserves pour les écoles [school lands], cette mesure n'était pas opportune.<sup>13</sup>

The Archbishop's official statement emanating from Les Cloches pointed out the relationship between the educational rights of the Catholics in Manitoba and the extension of the province's boundaries. The declaration however did not please the Apostolic Delegate. Apparently afraid that it could only serve to arouse public opinion, Sbaretti requested Langevin "d'ordonner la suspension de toute discussion à ce sujet, sans en manifester la raison."<sup>14</sup> Though Langevin promised his submission, he warned Sbaretti that "...je suis bien certain que l'Honorable Roblin ne fera rien sans moi ..."<sup>15</sup>

Subsequent events substantiated Langevin's claims. On March

2nd, Roblin and Rogers arrived at the Archbishop's residence. They informed him that they had been called to Ottawa to discuss the extension of Manitoba's boundaries. Roblin then came to the crux of the matter. The prime minister had refrained from discussing the educational rights of the Catholics in Manitoba, in spite of being urged to do so. In view of this situation Roblin and Rogers pointed out to the Archbishop, that unless their demand for equal subsidies with Saskatchewan and Alberta were met, they could not politically afford to re-open the school question. While appreciating the validity of their claim, Langevin indicated to them that should their demands be met he would insist on the establishment of a separate schools system in Manitoba.<sup>16</sup> Both Roblin and Rogers responded positively. They asked Langevin to intimate to Laurier that a generous settlement would prompt the Manitoba Government into putting an end to the school question.<sup>17</sup>

The scene now shifted to the national capital as the negotiations pertaining to the extension of Manitoba's boundaries opened in Ottawa. But the suggestions made by Roblin and Rogers during their March 2nd meeting with Langevin, if they ever reached Laurier, evidently did not impress the prime minister. Following the meeting between Laurier, Rogers and Campbell in early March, Manitoba's Attorney-General met with Langevin in Montreal. He informed the Archbishop of Laurier's refusal to discuss the school question and to consider giving Manitoba the financial settlement granted to Alberta and Saskatchewan. At this point Campbell again indicated to Langevin that should Ottawa grant Manitoba the

subsidies requested, the Roblin administration could be counted upon to amend the Schools Act and remove the school question from the political arena altogether.<sup>18</sup> Failing this, Campbell warned the Archbishop that "we could not face the people...if we accept less money than the other provinces."<sup>19</sup>

Determined to achieve financial equality with Saskatchewan and Alberta, both Rogers and Campbell urged Langevin to get Sbarette to intervene. As proof of the Government of Manitoba's good will, Campbell intimated that "we could have a document signed and left in the hands of somebody."<sup>20</sup> Langevin, however, decided to approach Laurier directly. On April 23rd he wrote the prime minister that Roblin was quite willing to give the minority "what the Catholics have in Saskatchewan and Alberta, or what they have in Ontario or Quebec if we are put in the same position for the school lands..." This being the case he did not hesitate in letting Laurier know that:

le sort est entre vos mains...Il s'agit de rendre à l'Eglise ...un des plus grands services qu'elle puisse attendre de vous. Il me semble que la circonstance est exceptionnellement favorable. C'est peut-être la dernière planche de salut qui nous reste pour échapper à l'engloutissement qui nous menace, à l'heure où des milliers d'enfants galliciens vont nous échapper pour aller au Protestantisme...<sup>21</sup>

Laurier did not acknowledge Langevin's letter as he had "ceased to have any official relation with His Grace the Archbishop of St. Boniface."<sup>22</sup> Believing that a settlement could be reached, Langevin had, in the interim, written Roblin on the question of amending the Public Schools Act:

You have been so positive in your promise of amending the school law if the Province would get from Sir W. Laurier

what you justly ask so that it may be on a footing of equality with other provinces that I had the enclosed draft<sup>23</sup> prepared so that I may know what you think of it and how far you can go.

You understand that this would strengthen me with Laurier and with the Apostolic Delegate when I work in your favor.<sup>24</sup>

But until the demise of the Liberal administration in Ottawa, Roblin was not obliged to carry out his commitment to Langevin. With his demands "for the same equality of treatment as is enjoyed by our own sister province" being continuously rebuked by Laurier,<sup>25</sup> Manitoba's premier simply refused to consider the extension of the province's territory, and with it, the question of separate schools.

With the advent of the Conservative Government in Ottawa, in the fall of 1911, the two issues became viable again. But this time Langevin expected the Catholic grievances to be dealt with. Elated by the Conservative victory<sup>26</sup> he immediately wrote to Borden informing him of "...a real distress in Winnipeg, and in Brandon particularly, because we are handicapped for the support of our free schools on account of the school law of 1897." To remedy this situation he recommended that the novice prime minister seek F.D. Monk's advice "...and our friends the Hon. M. Roblin and the Hon. M. Rogers will, I am sure, concur in any action..."<sup>27</sup>

Once again the Papal Delegate, the recently appointed Mgr. Pellegrino Stagni, forbade any discussion of the school question in Quebec.<sup>28</sup> Langevin nevertheless urged all Catholics to remain interested in the issue. He also explained to Senator A.-A. Larivière the need for concerted action on the part of Borden's Catholic cabinet ministers:

...M. Roblin m'a promis que si on leur accordait la somme



d'argent qu'ils demandent comme allocation fédérale...il réglerait notre question et nous donnerait la même situation que dans la Saskatchewan et l'Alberta...Nos ministres catholiques dans le Cabinet ne permettront pas, j'espère, que l'on accorde ce que nos gens du Manitoba demandent à moins que ceux-ci ne règlent la question des écoles...<sup>29</sup>

By mid-November, Langevin was able to inform Joseph Bernier that he had received certain assurances from G.R. Coldwell.<sup>30</sup> Though the proposed amendments to the Schools Act had yet to be written, by January of 1912, Roblin, Rogers, Monk and C.J. Doherty, the Minister of Justice, were considering two propositions. One called for the creation of separate school districts while the other offered subsidies to the Catholic minority in mixed centres on the condition that its schools be administered by a public school board.<sup>31</sup> With the legislation providing for the transfer of Keewatin to Manitoba scheduled to be tabled in the spring of 1912, it became clear that the minority's parliamentary spokesmen would demand that certain guarantees be provided by both levels of government. But by now another factor had come into play which worried Langevin. Winnipeg's Irish Catholic community was threatening to launch a campaign against Roblin:

Je comprends qu'il faut y aller doucement, par degrés," he wrote to the Postmaster-General, L.-P. Pelletier. But [s] Roblin ne faisait rien pour les écoles, nos Irlandais de Winnipeg, commenceraient une campagne contre lui et voilà plusieurs années que je les retiens; mais bientôt, je ne pourrai plus les arrêter. Mais Roblin m'a assuré qu'il allait faire un pas en avant [à la prochaine session du Parlement.]<sup>32</sup>

Three weeks later, despite Rogers' assurances that he had convinced his colleagues and partisan friends to grant to the Catholic minority its fair share of the school subsidies, Langevin feared "que

quelques têtes chaudes parmi les Catholiques de Winnipeg ne compromettent la situation. Il ne faut pas demander trop, ou trop à la fois."<sup>33</sup>

This flexibility exhibited by the Archbishop towards the Manitoba Government was very much in evidence when Langevin met Roblin on January 8, 1912. The meeting at the Archbishop's residence was arranged to discuss the premier's proposal to amend the school legislation, a situation finally made necessary due to the imminent transfer of Keewatin to Manitoba. Roblin's proposal called for the employment of Catholic teachers in any schools where there was an average attendance of 40 or more Catholic students and in villages and rural districts where the average attendance was twenty-five or upwards. In addition the minority would be guaranteed its school grants. Langevin was convinced by Roblin that the electorate would not readily accept the creation of separate school districts. He viewed the premier's proposal as "...un pas en avant."<sup>34</sup>

Yet Langevin remained concerned that the Winnipeg School Board might find a loophole in the proposed amendments. He therefore remained undecided about omitting any reference to the educational question from the federal legislation providing for the territorial transfer of Keewatin.<sup>35</sup> As if to clear his conscience, he wrote Borden informing him that "...it is the wish of the Catholics whom I represent, that our constitutional rights to separate schools shall be safeguarded..." But he also asked the prime minister "...to give satisfaction to our 'Province', which

stands in such great need of this extension."<sup>36</sup>

In early February events began to move swiftly as the date for the territorial transfer of Keewatin grew nearer. By now Langevin was becoming increasingly apprehensive about letting the legislation allowing the transfer go through the House of Commons without restrictive clauses. Accordingly on February 9th, he met with Monk, Doherty and Pelletier. Langevin advised them he would ask Roblin to write to the Minister of Justice outlining his proposals concerning the modifications of the Public Schools Act.<sup>37</sup> The Archbishop, nevertheless, felt uneasy about the ambiguity of the proposed amendments, as is evident in a letter written to Roblin: "...I am yet of the opinion that nothing can be gained from the Public School Board of Winnipeg and what they would agree to now would not be satisfactory to our people and to myself. So we must think of something else..."<sup>38</sup>

Upon the Archbishop's return from Montreal, the premier requested a meeting. He suggested that a Catholic delegation approach the Manitoba Government with a view to seeking relief from the burden of having to pay a double tax in such centres as Winnipeg and Brandon. He would then ask the respective public school boards to rent the minority's schools and to hire Catholic teachers. Only then could the position adopted by the two school boards be assessed. Though Langevin had misgivings about the manoeuvre, he assured Roblin that a delegation would approach the Government. But members of Winnipeg's English-speaking Catholic community balked at these terms. Their proposals called for an understanding between Roblin's Conservatives and Manitoba's

Liberal Party to remove the issue from the political arena and amend the law to allow separate school districts to be subsidized by the state. On February 16th, Langevin summoned influential English and French-speaking Catholics belonging to both political parties to decide on a course of action. The consensus arrived at was that the transfer of Keewatin to Manitoba should be delayed until an understanding between both political parties could be arrived at. If this turned out to be impossible, Ottawa would then be asked to insert an educational clause in the bill providing for the territorial transfer.<sup>39</sup> Langevin immediately wrote Monk requesting a delay:

...Il vaut mieux remettre le bill du transfert à une autre session; autrement, la crise aura lieu à Ottawa; car ce que l'Hon. Roblin propose ici ne sera pas satisfaisant, et il sera peut-être possible d'amener le parti libéral à s'entendre avec Roblin pour nous donner au moins, ce qu'il y a dans la Saskatchewan et l'Alberta.<sup>40</sup>

On February 17th, Langevin advised Roblin that a delegation from Winnipeg's Catholic community would not be approaching the Government. The premier thought the decision regrettable and made it explicit that he did not favour a bi-partisan approach. Langevin countered by asking the premier to write Monk and Doherty declaring what he was prepared to do. Roblin objected arguing that he would be jeopardizing himself and that he could not act without first consulting his colleagues. However, were he to be approached by a Catholic delegation asking for relief for its private schools he would make a public statement on the issue. Furthermore, he would introduce an interpretive clause to the Public Schools Act permitting public school boards to administer

Catholic schools. Langevin was hesitant to risk everything in return for such minimal concessions. To strengthen his position Roblin warned Langevin that ten of his colleagues would resign should he propose to introduce legislation admitting to the official existence of separate schools. The premier also argued that Borden would be flirting with defeat should the Federal Government attempt to do the same. Roblin further pointed out to Langevin that Rogers' position was rapidly becoming untenable.<sup>41</sup>

Langevin resigned himself to the fact that the Roblin Government could not be counted upon to accept separate schools for what they were. Yet he was not disappointed in the premier: "You have done your best, I know, and I have tried to avoid dreadful complications; and it is a great relief to think that we cannot be held responsible if success did not crown our efforts."<sup>42</sup> Consequently Langevin called upon the Quebec members of Borden's cabinet to come to Roblin's assistance. He urged that the bill providing for the extension of Manitoba's boundaries include legislation guaranteeing the educational rights of the Catholic minority.<sup>43</sup> But there were a number of factors which made the success of this venture improbable. Already Langevin had been warned of a growing disinclination on the part of Catholic M.P.'s to consider such legislation because "cela aura pour effet d'amener une pression sur...Roblin qui l'empêchera de vous faire bénéficier de ses bonnes dispositions à l'égard des catholiques."<sup>44</sup> More importantly, Monk had informed the Archbishop that he did not believe "au système de l'exigence extérieure 'sumum jas,

summa injuria'. Instead, he preferred to rely "à la bonne volonté et aux bonnes dispositions de ceux qui traitent avec nous, les garanties légales pures et simples peuvent toujours être violées."<sup>45</sup>

When the bill was tabled in the House of Commons, it omitted any reference to the educational rights of the minority.<sup>46</sup> Senator Philippe Landy immediately dispatched a letter to Langevin informing him that this decision had been reached "afin de ne froisser en rien le fanatisme le plus exigeant [car] il est convenu entre les parties échangeant des garanties." The Speaker of the Senate also wrote that "nos ministres français et j'ajouterais, irlandais...promettent à leurs suivants de sortir du cabinet si Roblin...n'observe pas les conventions échangées ou ne réussit pas dans la tentative qu'il doit faire auprès de ses suivants dans la législature de Winnipeg."<sup>47</sup> This was disheartening news. Believing that he had been abandoned by the Catholic ministers in Borden's cabinet, Langevin was almost despondent: "nos droits...sont niés! J'en ai l'âme malade et je suis triste à en mourir!" He was, nevertheless, left with one consoling thought: "...puisque nous sommes abandonnés et sacrifiées, comme en 1896, nous demanderons aux Protestants du Manitoba d'améliorer notre sort..."<sup>48</sup> Shocked by the tone of the Archbishop's letter Monk retorted that it had been impossible "[d'] imposer des conditions restrictives au Manitoba purement et simplement parce que nous le voulons...nous accuser de lâcheté, de trahison, etc., c'est une injustice criante et qui me révolte."<sup>49</sup>

To salvage what he could Langevin changed his mind about not wanting a delegation of English-speaking Catholics to confront

Roblin.<sup>50</sup> On March 7, he urged J.E. O'Connor, a prominent member of the Manitoba Federation of Catholic Laymen, to lead a delegation which would petition the local government "...for relief in Winnipeg and Brandon where we pay a double-school tax...since we have only to deal with Mr. Roblin, and there must have been an understanding that he must do something in our favour before the law of transfer is proclaimed."<sup>51</sup> The petitioners went one step further. On March 13th, 1,200 Catholics met in Winnipeg and passed a resolution demanding "separate schools" throughout the province.<sup>52</sup> Two days later Joseph Bernier took up the challenge on behalf of the Roblin Government. He blamed those Catholics who had supported Laurier's Liberal Party in 1896 for the failure of the Catholic minority to obtain redress from the 1890 legislation. He made one point clear: "I do not believe Separate School legislation possible at present on account of the state of the public mind."<sup>53</sup> This did not please the Archbishop who immediately made his dissatisfaction known to Bernier: "...je suis indigné contre les conservateurs qui refusent de nous aider sérieusement en ce moment."<sup>54</sup>

The remark did not go unheeded. A week later Robert Rogers, Joseph Bernier, R.P. Roblin and Langevin met to discuss further possible amendments to the Public Schools Act. The suggested amendments defined the word "School" as meaning "school house ...school room, or a department, etc." Langevin thought the proposed changes advantageous as "[ils] semblent obliger le "Bureau des écoles publiques...à louer nos maisons d'écoles et

à payer nos maîtres diplômés." He therefore gave his written consent to the proposed law "dans l'intérêt des catholiques et croyant me conformer aux directions de...Léon XIII qui nous recommande dans l'encyclique Affari vos de profiter des concessions que l'on pourrait nous faire..."<sup>55</sup>

The proposed changes, however, did not get the Archbishop's full blessing as he regarded them to be "simplement un pas de l'avant."<sup>56</sup> To strengthen his position, Langevin met with the executive of the Manitoba Federation of Catholic Laymen and called upon all parish priests of Winnipeg to meet and discuss the necessary amendments which should be brought about. He was now giving serious consideration to the possibility of asking that separate schools be officially recognized, although he still considered the alternative of accepting partial redress. Langevin intended to make a final show of force to strengthen Roblin's position with regard to his colleagues: "Il faut aider ce bon vouloir en lui [Roblin] montrant une phalange catholique bien unie..."<sup>57</sup>

By March 23rd, however, Langevin was beginning to despair as Roblin had gone back on his commitment to allow the minority to raise its own school taxes. He also felt disappointed about Rogers in whom the Apostolic Delegate and the Church hierarchy in Quebec "...ont trop confiance [et] qui leur promettait plus qu'il ne pouvait obtenir." As a last recourse, Langevin requested that Clause 220 of the Public Schools Act be removed from the Statutes. But he wrote to Thomas Chapais that Roblin refused to consider his latest proposal permitting the separation of students



by religious denominations because twelve members of his party would resign. The only way now to obtain meaningful concessions was to delay the transfer of Keewatin to Manitoba or to have Doherty and Monk resign.<sup>58</sup>

Three days later Langevin again met with Rogers and Roblin. But the premier refused to go much beyond introducing an interpretive clause that would allow public school boards to administer the private schools of the minority. But Langevin, under considerable pressure from the Manitoba Federation of Catholic Laymen which was now demanding the repeal of Clause 220, insisted on further changes.<sup>59</sup> Roblin, however, did not waiver from his original position and by March 28th the Archbishop knew that the end results of the proposed amendments would be largely dependant upon the liberality of public school boards.

On April 1st, 1912, the Manitoba Legislature began debate on what became known as the Coldwell amendments. They were meant to validate Roblin's promises to the Catholic minority that its grievances would be dealt with following the annexation of Keewatin to Manitoba. Their primary purpose, though not directly spelled out, was to resolve the problems of the Catholic minority in areas where the Laurier-Greenway compromise had proven unworkable. The amendments called for the word 'School' wherever it occurs in this Act shall mean and include any and every school building, school room or department in a school building owned by a public school district, presided over by a teacher or teachers..." Of further significance to the Catholic minority, Section 218, Chapter 143,

Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1902, "...was intended to mean a teacher for the children of the petitioners and of the same religious denomination as the petitioners."<sup>60</sup> The amended Public Schools Act was designed to permit an individual room in a school to have a Catholic teacher.

Langevin remained skeptical about the practical effects of these amendments as the inserted clauses "...ne sont qu'une interprétation de la loi scélérate de 1896, et qui indique plutôt une orientation à notre faveur, qu'une concession sérieuse..."<sup>61</sup> He was right. Disagreement immediately broke out over the meaning of these amendments which "might have permitted the segregation of Catholic pupils, in the cities, as Sbarette had suggested in 1905."<sup>62</sup> Opposition to the new legislation came from the Orange Lodges who denounced the creation of state aided denominational schools. The Minister of Education replied to this denunciation by declaring that the "...Roman Catholics...were not endeavouring to get Separate Schools and did not expect to get them." The amendments, he went on, were designed primarily to relieve Catholic parents from their added financial burden by putting their eight schools, attended by about 2,000 children, under the control of the Winnipeg Public School Board.<sup>63</sup>

Public discussion persisted. L'Evénement of Quebec, a Conservative daily, stated that these amendments "define a school in such a manner as to recognize the rights of the Catholics in public schools..." Le Manitoba, Joseph Bernier's political mouthpiece, declared the Coldwell measure "...a great step

in the path of restitution, in the direction of a good understanding, in the direction of harmony such as should exist between all races and all religions. We accept this law as an appreciable payment on account." L'Action Sociale, the ecclesiastical review of the Archdiocese of Quebec, Le Devoir and Le Soleil de Quebec, the respective political organs of the Nationalists and the Liberals, minimized and doubted the worth of these concessions.<sup>64</sup> Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface, although stating that the amendments were an anodyne, announced the opening of a new phase in the Manitoba School Question:

Il est possible...que des négociations avec la commission scolaire de Winnipeg...entamées à l'occasion de l'adoption de ces amendements, aboutissent à la location de nos huit écoles paroissiales...Si ces démarches réussissent, la commission scolaire exclusivement protestante contrôlera absolument nos écoles qui deviendront des écoles publiques ...Ce sera un soulagement au point de vue du relèvement de la double taxe, mais ce ne sera pas un règlement...<sup>65</sup>

Although Langevin had discussed with Coldwell the application of the amendments "to the free catholic schools of Winnipeg," little progress had been made by mid-June when the Archbishop left for Eastern Canada. He wrote Roblin informing him that he was "...sorry to have no news to give to the friends who will inquire about our position."<sup>66</sup> The Premier replied that any attempts to implement the Coldwell amendments before the summer holidays were over would compromise the situation: "To have brought them into immediate effect would have made it appear as if we were forcing things, and you can understand that the delicate nature of the matter requires such diplomacy in the negotiations as would avoid anything of that kind." He nevertheless assured the Archbishop that "...Coldwell is working ...in a quiet way...so that...the matter will have been dealt with,

and it is a finished chapter by the time the schools open after the summer holidays."<sup>67</sup>

At this point Rogers re-appeared on the scene and suggested that a "Catholic Committee" approach the Winnipeg Public School Board. Langevin refused to act as "...we are bound by the positive understanding with the Honourable M. Roblin and Coldwell, that we would not move before they would tell us...or unless the "Board" signifies its disposition to receive them..." Subsequently Langevin advised Rogers that "...there is a missing link somewhere and your usual ability will find it I am sure."<sup>68</sup> The Minister of the Interior, no doubt wanting to win the esteem of Quebec's Conservative MP's, had acted hastily and without the sanction of the Manitoba Government.

Rogers' suggestion had not met with Langevin's approval because Coldwell hoped to quietly induce the Winnipeg Public School Board to take over the city's eight Catholic schools. Langevin had agreed to temporize,<sup>69</sup> although he was coming under increasing pressure from his parish priests, as well as Winnipeg's English-speaking Catholic community, to force the issue. Nonetheless, the tension was eased by Roblin's claim that the Winnipeg Public School Board now favoured an arrangement with the Catholic taxpayers. Langevin's hopes had been revived: "Ces détails donnés par Roblin ont ravivé mes espérances, car je croyais que tout était fini cette année."<sup>70</sup>

Langevin's expectations proved to be short-lived. On October 25th, Colin H. Campbell informed Langevin that the Board had unof-

ficially agreed to take over the Catholic schools by a vote of seven to six, with one member absent. The seven who had voted for the proposition were Conservative supporters; those opposing it were Liberal backers. Campbell asked that the results of the vote be kept secret. Langevin became furious: "Un secret à être gardé par treize hommes! C'est déplorable, et cela prouve qu'il aurait mieux valu lutter devant le public que de traiter avec les politiciens."<sup>71</sup> Yet, Roblin and Rogers again succeeded in appeasing the Archbishop by promising amendments to the law which would secure for the Catholic rate-payers in Winnipeg and Brandon their school taxes. Though Langevin regarded this measure a step in the right direction he became increasingly convinced that legislation guaranteeing the Catholic minority separate school districts was the only solution. He thought that pressure applied by Ottawa might be the answer and called upon F.D. Monk for support.<sup>72</sup>

Up to this point, despite certain reservations, Langevin believed that the Roblin Government would carry out its promises and indeed, had an obligation to do so: "Ils nous le doivent... après l'appui que nous leur avons donné depuis des années et aussi parce qu'ils ont reçu un immense accroissement de territoire avec l'entente au moins tacite qu'ils amélioreraient notre condition."<sup>73</sup> But events would now force him to realize that Roblin's colleagues, either because they opposed publicly funded Catholic schools, or had become nervous about stirring up controversy, were not prepared to coerce the Winnipeg Public School Board. The incident which precipitated this realization came about when, on December

10, 1912, a Roman Catholic Delegation, headed by Dr. J.E. McKenty, officially asked the School Board to take over the eight Catholic private schools in Winnipeg.<sup>74</sup> At this point Langevin must have expected Rogers to step in. But by the end of December it became only too apparent that he had been led on by the Minister of the Interior. "Vous voyez par l'exemple de l'Hon. Rogers," he wrote to an official of the Minister's Department, "que je n'ai pas de chance avec les hommes politiques auxquels j'ai peu de confiance au fond!"<sup>75</sup>

Langevin was painfully aware that his hopes hinged on a political decision. With the Conservatives refusing to take any further initiative in settling the issue, the Archbishop, already under pressure from Winnipeg's English-speaking Catholic community,<sup>76</sup> now saw the necessity of opting for a bi-partisan approach. In mid-January, 1913, Langevin informed Roblin that he would ask T.C. Norris to support a Government bill enacting school legislation akin to that presently in force in Saskatchewan.<sup>77</sup> On January 22, the Archbishop, accompanied by Msgr. F. Dugas, Father Cahill and Father J.C. Coffey, met with Norris and Lieutenant-Colonel C.D. McPherson.<sup>78</sup> Langevin left the meeting, convinced that he had gained the support of the Leader of the Liberal party.<sup>79</sup> He conveyed his optimism to Roblin the very next day:

I am satisfied with the interview of last night at St. Mary's Presbytery where Mr. Norris...accepted to meet you if you want him, but he prefers to see you alone in your private Cabinet. There, we have reason to hope that a school legislation acceptable by the Catholics will be passed, and Rev. Father Coffey will see you about the contemplated interview. Your sincerity and your loyalty so well known to me have deeply impressed my companions! Life and death, the life and death of our own school rights, are in your hands now,

and if...you have the sincere co-operation of Mr. Norris, you will bring justice and peace to our western land.<sup>80</sup>

The solution which Langevin hoped for proved to be far too simple. When Rogers and Norris met, the leader of the Liberal party indicated that he wanted a proposal in writing from Roblin, to be introduced as a Government measure backed by the opposition.<sup>81</sup> Roblin subsequently asked for an interview with Langevin. The meeting proved to be a great disappointment for the Archbishop. The premier informed Langevin that four of his cabinet ministers, G.R. Coldwell, James H. Howden, George Lawrence and Hugh Armstrong would resign if a bill, establishing separate schools in Manitoba, was introduced as a government measure. Roblin pointed out to Langevin that the measure could be introduced as a private member's bill, although he perceived this to be a trap designed by the opposition to bring down his government.<sup>82</sup>

Langevin was very much dismayed by this latest turn of events. Embittered by the long years of endless struggle, he urged Catholic politicians to take a few lessons from the opponents of separate schools:

Dix-huit ans de déception...Tout ceci prouve que les Orangistes tiennent bien leurs partisans, et que les catholiques auraient les leçons à apprendre d'eux dans l'ordre social. Ils obéissent à leurs chefs comme peu de catholiques politiques obéissent à l'Eglise.<sup>83</sup>

Langevin had, however, been able to draw a number of conclusions from the latest negotiations:

Elles nous ont donné une plus grande confiance en Roblin, mais non à son entourage...  
Elles ont tué notre confiance aux membres du Cabinet et aux députés conservateurs qui ont refusé de voter en faveur d'une loi nous rendant nos écoles séparées.

Elles ont prouvé que l'archevêque avait eu raison de croire à la loyauté de Roblin...<sup>84</sup>

Discouraged as he was, Langevin continued to press the issue. Roblin, seeing no immediate solution, decided to wait for the Winnipeg Public School Board's response to the December 10th petition before deciding on any further action. Weeks of inaction followed although both Wilfrid Laurier and J.W. Dafoe suspected that Robert Rogers was still manoeuvring. Laurier held little hope that he would succeed. But he knew its purpose:

It is difficult to surmise what he can do, except holding up promises to the Archbishop and feeding him on expectations as Roblin has done for so many years. Legislation by Manitoba is the only possible solution from the point of view of the Archbishop and, in the present temper of public opinion I presume that legislation is simply out of the question. But I know from a vast experience how easily men can be gulled, who would rather be gulled than to see their political opponents triumphant.<sup>85</sup>

Dafoe, however, had quite a different view of Rogers' scheming. In its issue of March 8, the Free Press charged that Rogers was ultimately going to seek the leadership of the national Conservative party. He would have to ride the Catholic horse to gain the support of the Quebec wing of the party. To achieve this, the Free Press added, he would have to make good the verbal agreement entered "... with the French Nationalists of Quebec...by which he undertook to see that in consideration of the French-Canadian Conservatives allowing the Manitoba boundaries bill being passed without any provisions safeguarding the rights of the minority, the Manitoba Legislature would enact legislation which would remove the grievances of the minority."<sup>86</sup>

On the heels of these allegations designed to embarrass the



Roblin Government, J.H. Munson, K.C., appointed by the Winnipeg Public School Board to examine the December 10th petition of the English-speaking Catholic ratepayers, handed down his report. He found one objection to the petitioners' demands: in as much as the garbs or costumes worn by Catholic teachers "...have a distinctive symbolism as pertaining to, and representative of one church... their use...would...be a breach of Section 214 [of the Public Schools Act] prohibiting anything that is not entirely non-sectarian..."<sup>87</sup> Thus, the Board had another pretext for refusing to take over the Catholic ratepayers eight private schools.

Catholic reaction to the Munson Report was swift. The North West Review in a cutting and sarcastic commentary declared that "decollette dresses, harem skirts, Salvation Army poke-bonnets, or a Spanish mantilla might be worn in Public schools but if the teacher, according to Mr. Munson, wears the decorous black and grey of a Catholic sisterhood, no matter what superior qualifications she may have, she debars herself from earning a livelihood as a teacher in Public Schools."<sup>88</sup> Le Manitoba, in an article reproduced in the Free Press pointed out that teachers wearing religious garbs were already employed by the St. Boniface School Board and all school boards in bi-lingual districts:

No one so far as we know has dared to attack the legality of this practice. As for the segregation of pupils in a Protestant and Catholic division we maintain, without the least hesitation, that it has become legally possible by the Coldwell law. It is true that Clause 220 of the School Act says that 'no separation of pupils by religious denominations shall take place during the secular school-work' but this clause must be considered as virtually repealed by the Coldwell amendment.<sup>89</sup>

Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface simply noted that "...notre situation

scolaire est exactement ce qu'elle était l'an dernier, comme elle était il y a vingt-deux ans."<sup>90</sup> Munson's report had seemingly united Manitoba's Catholic community.

This unity proved to be short-lived. As if to break the fragile coalition, Roblin invited Joseph Bernier into his cabinet. If this was indeed his objective, success crowned his efforts. When, on April 18th, the Premier announced the appointment of Bernier as Provincial Secretary, the Executive of the Manitoba Federation of Catholic Laymen vociferously expressed its displeasure:

We desire to express our disapproval of Mr. Bernier or any other Catholic accepting a portfolio in the Manitoba Government at the present time. We wish to be clearly understood that Mr. Bernier's acceptance of a portfolio shall be regarded as a direct violation of the principles for which we have stood united during the past twenty-two years and that he cannot, and shall not, be regarded as a representative of the Catholic minority.<sup>91</sup>

The Free Press made capital of this declaration by arguing that "the Catholics must either take the appointment as marking a closed School question or as indicating that the issue was to be entirely re-opened by new legislation."<sup>92</sup> Le Manitoba's arch-enemy also sardonically commented that Bernier's appointment to a cabinet post was long overdue owing to "...being made to pay the penalty for his too devoted service in the legislature as the champion of the view of Archbishop Langevin..."<sup>93</sup> A further Free Press commentary had:

...Bernier's appointment...engineered from Ottawa by Mr. Rogers to enable the Conservative forces in Quebec in the event of a Dominion election being held to point to Mr. Bernier's acceptance of a portfolio as evidence that the Coldwell amendments had been accepted by Catholics in

Manitoba as a settlement of the school question.<sup>94</sup>

Le Manitoba replied to its two adversaries by accusing the Free Press of allying itself with the Manitoba Federation of Catholic Laymen to wage war against Roblin.<sup>95</sup> Bernier's political mouth-piece also made it quite obvious that the appointment of a French Canadian to the cabinet was an act of justice towards that segment of the population.<sup>96</sup>

That Bernier viewed himself, first and foremost, as the representative of a French-Canadian community seeking to isolate itself from other Roman Catholic groups only added to Langevin's difficulties.<sup>97</sup> As might be expected, the Archbishop privately informed Bernier of his objections to the nomination. On April 19th he wrote Roblin enumerating his reason for refusing to endorse Bernier's ministerial appointment:

The Catholics, and myself, are disappointed since it has been proved that the "Coldwell School Amendments" amount to nothing to relieve our Catholic people of Winnipeg and Brandon from the double School tax.

Secondly, the Catholic would consider that our friend Bernier cared little for their interests, since he joined the "Cabinet," when nothing has been done to relieve them, since the addition of the "Keewatin" to the Province.

Thirdly...I [fail] to see how he could succeed in doing much for us.

Fourthly, I mentioned the fact that four of your colleagues had threatened to resign if there was question of restoring separate schools, and...we could not forget this, and I [resent] it very keenly. And I told him [Bernier] to be ready for opposition to the principle of his nomination under the present circumstances. Some already say that this appointment is a kind of admission on the part of the Catholics that the "Coldwell Amendments" means a great deal for us, what M. Coldwell himself will not admit, I am sure.<sup>98</sup>

But it was for the sake of Roblin that Langevin decided not to openly denounce Bernier's entry into the cabinet: "...it is on

account of you personally that I [do] not oppose what I [do] not approve."<sup>99</sup>

The Archbishop also refrained from publicly speaking out on this matter for "...les politiciens des deux côtés, et les francophones, et l'indiscipline de certains catholiques, gâtent tout et gênent ma liberté de venir carrément de l'avant comme je l'aurais aimés."<sup>100</sup> Consequently, Les Cloches' position on this issue could not have been more evasive:

La nomination d'un Catholique comme membre du cabinet provincial est un acte de justice dû aux Catholiques de la province, qui ont droit d'y être représentés alors que d'autres moins nombreux y ont plusieurs représentants...

Il faut bien avouer, cependant, que dans les circonstances actuelles cette nomination semble plutôt un don funeste et gênant fait pour apaiser les Catholiques mécontents de ce que, malgré les amendements Coldwell, par trop anodins, rien n'a encore été fait pour améliorer la situation si pénible des centres mixtes...

Néanmoins, il faut éviter que l'esprit de partie oublieux de ce qui a été fait déjà pour améliorer la condition des Catholiques à la campagne et pour défendre leurs droits menacés, ou un sentiment adverse à l'honorable Bernier et à ceux qu'ils représentent, ne diminue le mérite d'une juste réprobation de tout ce qui peut paraître un abandon de nos droits scolaires, bien qu'en réalité l'entrée d'un Catholique dans le ministère ne puisse être considérée comme un renoncement à ces droits. Les Catholiques continueront plus que jamais à réclamer, avec vigueur et calme...<sup>101</sup>

The statement was an attempt to appease English-speaking Catholics and to rally the French-Canadian community to the "Catholic cause."

Having made his position known, Langevin now called upon the Catholics of Manitoba to unite and to join forces through the Manitoba Federation of Catholic Laymen. He urged the Federation to remain a non-political organization which "...agira toujours fermement et avec prudence, afin d'unir nos catholiques dans une pensée de juste revendication de nos droits, surtout de nos droits

scolaires."<sup>102</sup> Langevin was nevertheless astute enough to come to grips with the difficulties in trying to unite the Catholic forces.

To have any hope of achieving independent action, Langevin knew that he would have to pacify Winnipeg's English-speaking Catholic population. To do this he would have to loosen his ties with Roblin's Conservatives. He could accomplish this by acting independently from Joseph Bernier, whose entry into the cabinet had brought about unprecedented Catholic disunity. Langevin sought to resolve this problem through the Catholic press.

That the first issue of La Liberté appeared on the heels of Bernier's nomination to the Roblin cabinet was no accident. Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface made it quite clear that "...l'apparition de La Liberté répond au désir exprimé depuis plusieurs années d'un journal catholique et français, libre de toutes attaques politiques."<sup>103</sup> The weekly's prospectus was as equally emphatic: "La Liberté n'est pas et ne sera jamais une feuille politique...La politique ne peut que nous diviser et faire avorter les plus louables et les plus généreux mouvement. Pour ces raisons La Liberté s'interdira absolument de combattre en faveur de questions purement politiques."<sup>104</sup>

In its first issue La Liberté emphasized Le Manitoba's assertion that Bernier's entry into the cabinet was not the result of a compromise "...et ne fait prescription d'aucun droit." The new Catholic weekly pointed out to its readers that the statement was simply "une déclaration de ce journal."<sup>105</sup> Bernier indirectly replied to these charges when he thanked the residents of St. Boniface for re-electing him by acclamation:

...malgré les attaques réitérés qui ont été faites contre moi par des groupes qui ont...des mentalités différentes... je déclare que mon entrée dans le gouvernement Roblin n'est le résultat d'aucun compromis. Mes idées et mes principes sont les mêmes qu'ils ont toujours été. Le gouvernement Roblin ne se compose pas d'esclaves; en m'invitant à faire partie de son cabinet Sir Rodmond Roblin ne m'a pas plus obligé à renoncer à mes idées qu'il n'a demandé à mes collègues de renoncer aux leurs.<sup>106</sup>

The newly appointed Provincial Secretary exposed himself to more criticism when he described the Coldwell amendments as being "good law." Bernier subjected himself to further disapproval when he insinuated that "the school troubles in this province could have been resolved...if everybody on both sides, Catholics and Protestant, English and French, had a sincere desire to use the strength of these amendments."<sup>107</sup> Bernier wanted Winnipeg's Catholic community to surrender their eight private schools to the Winnipeg Public School Board without any conditions being set. The proposal did not meet with Langevin's approval:

...il ne peut être question pour les catholiques de se livrer sans conditions au "Bureau des écoles Publiques de Winnipeg" ...Si cette attitude...rend la situation plus difficile pour le premier ministre ce n'est, certes, pas notre faute. Mieux vaut continuer à souffrir que tout compromettre et peut-être sans résultat.

...Nous voulons bien accepter la loi comme dans les centres catholiques; mais il y a cette différence essentielle qu'à Winnipeg les catholiques seront à la merci d'un "Bureau Protestant" dont plusieurs membres sont mal disposé, et c'est ce qui effraie avec raison même les curés qui ont le plus besoin de secours pour maintenir leurs écoles paroissiales.

J'espère que tu comprendras la situation comme nous la voyons et que tu n'insisteras pas.<sup>108</sup>

Langevin conveyed a similar view to Roblin, although his letter was more subdued:

...we are anxious to come to a result, and we do not intend to create you any trouble; but we cannot compromise the position after the stand taken by certain members of the

School Board of Winnipeg. And several parish priests... have said it is better to give up all hope than to throw ourselves in the hands of the Winnipeg School Board.<sup>109</sup>

The letter is important in that it was to be one of Langevin's last communications with Roblin on the school question. Apparently, Roblin was not prepared to go any further. His last proposal was a promise to abolish the double tax system on the condition that the minority's eight private schools be taken over unconditionally by the Winnipeg Public School Board. Langevin's reply was an emphatic no.<sup>110</sup>

His health now rapidly declining due to diabetes, Langevin withdrew from the public limelight. But the battle he had waged for eighteen years would still be carried on, mainly through Les Cloches and La Liberté. The two Catholic papers were not going to be at a loss for issues to comment on, especially when they involved Winnipeg's Catholic schools. Le Manitoba provoked the next round of controversy by accusing Winnipeg's English-speaking Catholics of being responsible for the situation they found themselves in:

"Grâce à cette mauvaise entente chez les catholiques, à cette désunion continuelle, à ce manque de confiance dans la bonne volonté de la Législature, les catholiques de Winnipeg payent encore la double taxe."<sup>111</sup>

Les Cloches, however, came to the defence of the English-speaking Catholics of Winnipeg by pointing out to Bernier's political mouthpiece that "...ceux-ci...ont proposé à la Commission scolaire tout ce qu'ils pouvaient raisonnablement lui proposer."<sup>112</sup>

Significantly enough, the archdiocesan review refrained from putting any blame on the Manitoba Government, and indeed on G.R.

Coldwell who, only a few weeks before, had told an Orange Grand Lodge meeting in Brandon that "...before any Separate Schools are introduced by any Legislature in this Province I shall resign my position."<sup>113</sup>

The July 12th incident, significantly overlooked by Les Cloches, did not escape the attention of Arthur Boutal, the editor of the newly formed Liberal weekly Le Soleil de l'Ouest. Quoting Coldwell's statement that Joseph Bernier was not expecting the re-establishment of separate schools, Boutal attacked the Provincial Secretary. He accused Bernier of having used the Quebec wing of the national Conservative party to deceive the Catholic electorate in Manitoba. A misrepresentation had been committed, Boutal argued, when at a celebration to honour Roblin for having settled the boundary question, Bernier had described the Coldwell amendments as having rendered justice to the minority. To add weight to his accusations, the editor of Le Soleil de l'Ouest claimed that Roblin had appointed the perpetrator of this falsehood to a cabinet position. Such being the case, Le Soleil asked its readers to revolt:

...les catholiques de cette province ne peuvent pas et ne doivent pas supporter plus longtemps ce fameux-gouvernement Roblin [qui] s'il avait voulu faire quelque chose pour améliorer notre sort, aurait dû le faire avant aujourd'hui...  
...D'ailleurs un changement ne peut pas nous être fatal et beaucoup de gens...prétendent avec raison que ce changement nous apporterait un soulagement au moins partiel.

Il serait certainement impossible de rencontrer dans un gouvernement libéral des hommes plus opposés à nous que ne sont les Roblin et les Coldwell.<sup>114</sup>

Boutal was correct when he stated that if Roblin had wanted to render justice to the English-speaking Catholic minority he



should have done so much earlier. Langevin would have agreed. But the alternative which Boutal proposed was, to the eyes of the Archbishop, not practical. Already Langevin was painfully aware of the predicament which the Catholic electorate found itself in. He made this quite clear to Albert Dubuc, a French-Canadian Liberal: "...je ne vois rien dans le programme du parti que tu as jugé bon de servir depuis quelques années, qui puisse justifier le vote des catholiques en ta faveur." The letter went on to explain why Langevin could not, at this time, turn against the Roblin Government outright:

...Il est certain que le modus vivendi des écoles de campagne et de Saint-Boniface, le refus de faire une loi sur l'instruction obligatoire, et le maintien de l'université plus ou moins confessionnelles de Manitoba sont des avantages appréciables que les catholiques ne peuvent oublier. Quel est le programme de ton parti sur ces points importants?<sup>115</sup>

Admittedly, Langevin found the Norris programme, which intended to make the adequate teaching of English obligatory, quite disturbing and a threat to bi-lingual schools. The Archbishop equally feared Norris' notion of national schools which would necessarily be non-confessional. He felt that such a school system, coupled with the Liberal proposal for the introduction of compulsory education in Manitoba, would remove any possibility of resolving the plight of Winnipeg's Catholic minority. This feeling, interestingly enough, found expression in La Liberté, two weeks prior to the November 1913 Kildonan-St. Andrew's by-election.<sup>116</sup> The view put forward by the Catholic weekly clearly indicated the predicament which the minority found itself in. La Liberté, while describing the Norris programme as being "assez radical," unenthusiasti-

cally commented that Roblin could at least be counted on not to introduce compulsory education, nor to repeal the Coldwell amendments:

Le premier ministre a sans ambages nié la nécessité d'une loi d'instruction obligatoire, réclamé par M. Norris et ses partisans...Quant aux amendments Coldwell...il s'est contenté de dire qu'ils furent votés par la législature afin de permettre au Bureau des Ecoles de Winnipeg de louer les écoles catholiques et de les administrer sous l'empire de la Loi des Ecoles Publiques...<sup>117</sup>

It was significant that the victory of the Conservative candidate in the November 29th by-election drew no comments from La Liberté. By contrast Le Manitoba was very much elated over the results which had crowned the campaign waged by Joseph Bernier and Albert Préfontaine on behalf of W.H. Montague:<sup>118</sup>

Ces quatre cent voix de majorité donnée au nouveau ministre constituent...surtout une approbation de la conduite du gouvernement au sujet de l'éducation. Car c'est cette question que M. Norris et ses amis ont mis au premier plan de leur campagne.

Ils ont parcouru le comté en essayant de faire croire aux gens que les enfants de cette province fréquentent mal l'école, n'y apprenant rien, croupissent dans l'ignorance et feront plus tard une génération de malheureux. Dans les centres anglais, ces messieurs ont dénoncé le système bilingue avec une malhonnêteté renversante et une pitoyable étroitesse de vue...

L'électorat de Kildonan-St.Andrews, composé d'anglais, de français, de métis, d'allemands, de galliciens, a mis dans un seul sac la pacotille venimeuse colportée par M. Norris et sa bande et il a jeté le tout à la rivière.<sup>119</sup>

The different reactions to the Kildonan-St.Andrew's by-election served to demonstrate the bias of the two weeklies. La Liberté, a Catholic newspaper first, expected the Roblin Government to intervene in the dispute between Winnipeg's Catholic ratepayers and the City's Public School Board. Le Manitoba, representing the interests of the French-Canadian Conservatives, argued that

the Coldwell amendments authorized the Public School Board to resolve the issue.<sup>120</sup>

Conceivably, the differences of opinion between the Catholic press in St. Boniface and the Conservative weekly Le Manitoba might have intensified. But events in 1914 were to demonstrate the need to unite against the Liberals in an effort to preserve the status quo. The 1914 Session of the Manitoba Legislature provided the initial warning when T.C. Norris introduced a bill calling for compulsory school attendance. Not discouraged by the rejection of his proposal, the leader of the Liberal party moved a further resolution demanding the repeal of the Coldwell amendments. G.R. Coldwell succeeded in quieting the issue by proposing that the motion be tabled for six months. His measure was carried by a vote of 24 to 8, with William Molloy voting with the Government.<sup>121</sup>

To Langevin, such incidents only corroborated his claim that the School Question in Manitoba was not yet settled:

Faut-il déclarer, encore...que la question des écoles du Manitoba n'est encore réglée, et que, s'il y a une amélioration notable dans les centres catholiques, il n'y en a aucune dans les centres mixtes, comme Winnipeg et Brandon ...où les catholiques paient la double taxe, comme en 1890, il y a 24 ans!<sup>122</sup>

His pastoral letter addressed to all the diocesan priests also revealed a growing concern for the French-Canadian minority:

Vous avez appris les déclarations catégoriques du chef du parti libéral, disant qu'il est en faveur de l'école publique neutre, de l'université d'Etat, qui ferait disparaître les collèges, en particulier celui de Saint-Boniface,...et il n'est rien moins que favorable aux écoles bilingues ainsi menacées dans leur existence. Nous nous ne nous attendions guère à une attitude si adverse aux catholiques...<sup>123</sup>

In an apparent reference to these remarks, an "observer,"

undoubtedly a French Canadian Liberal, charged Langevin with undue ecclesiastical interference "...en faveur d'un des parties politiques," a move which could only impede the settlement of the school question.<sup>124</sup> Admittedly the observer's accusation about the Archbishop causing dissension amidst the Catholic population was an attempt to divert attention away from the real issues. In an endeavour to tone down their party's educational programme, 150 French-speaking Liberals met in late March. In an obvious reply to Norris' declaration that English be made an essential part of education, the meeting, presided over by Horace Chevrier, endorsed "...the compulsory teaching, in an efficient manner, of the English language... But it also asked "...the Government of this Province to provide ways and means for the teaching of the French language, on an equal footing with the English language, in districts where the French bi-lingual schools are, or can be, legally established." The convention also endorsed the concept of compulsory education provided it did not infringe upon the religious beliefs of parents and children. The delegates refused to deal with the difficulties plaguing Winnipeg's eight Catholic schools. They declared the problem was non-political since both parties refused to concede to the Catholic minority their educational rights.<sup>125</sup> Norris' reply to the resolutions, though evasive, found partial acceptance:

We are in favour of a National School system as fixed by the Laurier-Greenway settlement of 1897, and we intend to respect any rights any set of people enjoyed as the result of that arrangement...Our Compulsory clause is wide and generous and while not interfering with the legitimate rights of any person will encourage the parent to take sufficient interest in his children that he will send them to

school or otherwise educate them. Because the child will be handicapped without the English language, we provide that every child shall be taught it.<sup>126</sup>

Norris' response to the resolutions formulated by the convention did not go unnoticed. Les Cloches pointed out to its readers that the Laurier-Greenway agreement would be a dead letter "... sans le modus vivendi établi depuis par le gouvernement Roblin..." As for a National School system, the archdiocesan review promised Norris its full support provided the religious beliefs of the individual students were respected. On the issue of bilingual schools Les Cloches described the Liberal programme as being less than reassuring:

Le passé du parti est bien sombre et les déclarations présentes de son chef ne sont rien moins que suspectes. M. Norris va-t-il exiger pour les diplômes de nos maîtres et maîtresses un ensemble de qualifications au sujet de l'anglais qui fermeront la porte de nos écoles à une partie du personnel enseignant actuel? C'est la conséquence logique de sa déclaration. Le français et les autres langues n'ont qu'une importance secondaire à ses yeux et il semble prêt à en faire le sacrifice complet au profit de l'anglais.<sup>127</sup>

Les Cloches also took objection to the [French-Canadian] Liberal claim that neither political party favored separate schools. On this issue the review came to the defense of the Roblin Government: "Sans doute ce gouvernement n'a pas rétabli les écoles séparées ...mais...il a donné aux Catholiques des centres catholiques, des écoles ressemblant au moins de fait à celles de la Saskatchewan ...et il a protégé les Catholiques des centres mixtes contre l'instruction obligatoire..."<sup>128</sup> The three page declaration spelled out Langevin's position with respect to the 1914 provincial election.

During the course of the previous two years, Langevin had, at

times, vacillated in his support of the Roblin Government. But any misgivings he may have had as a result of Roblin's reluctance to act in regard to the application of the Coldwell amendments were quickly dispelled by the provincial election campaign. The menacing stand adopted by the Orange Grand Lodge of Manitoba, the Free Press and Norris' Liberals vis-à-vis the Coldwell amendments, bilingual schools and compulsory education,<sup>129</sup> drove him back to the Conservative fold. The reasons were simple enough. In Catholic and French-Canadian centres notable progress had been achieved under Roblin's administration; in mixed centres such as Winnipeg conditions could only improve. La Liberté made this quite clear two weeks prior to election day:

...avec le maintien au pouvoir du gouvernement actuel, nous ne pourrons qu'aller de l'avant. Ce qui pourrait arriver de pire, ce serait de demeurer sur nos positions actuelles... Le simple instinct de conservation nous dit vers qui aller.<sup>130</sup>

The declaration followed on the heels of Norris' Manifesto of June 20th.<sup>131</sup>

The final results of the 1914 provincial election gave the Conservatives 28 seats and the Liberals 21 seats. The Government majority dropped from 15 to 7.<sup>132</sup> The bitter controversy over the educational issue had left its mark. Rodmond Roblin attributed the reduced majority of his Government to "...distrust that was created in the minds of our Orange friends regarding our policy in connection with the separation of Separate Schools."<sup>133</sup> R.L. Borden agreed with Roblin's claim: "The Manitoba elections were disappointing as the Liberals won about four more seats than anticipated. This was due to a variety of causes but principally due to the dis-

satisfaction of the Orangemen with regard to the amendments to the School legislation."<sup>134</sup> Hugh John Macdonald concurred:

I am very much disappointed at the result...as I feel it may have wide reaching effects. It was of course mainly through the Coldwell amendments. I very much feared that they would hurt us, for having been through the long fight on the school question, I dreaded its revival and felt sure that it could not be touched by the Government without doing immense harm ...<sup>135</sup>

If the results proved to be both a blow to the Conservatives and a bitter disappointment for the Liberals,<sup>136</sup> Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface, reacted favourably. The constituencies of Iberville, LaVérendrye, Morris, St.Boniface and Ste.Rose, had once again performed their duty by electing five French Canadians supporting the Roblin Government. The Catholic voters in Winnipeg North "A" were also congratulated for having elected a Conservative Roman Catholic, J.P. Foley. The defeat of a Conservative, Albert Préfontaine, by a young Irish Catholic Liberal, T.B. Molloy, was viewed as the only unfortunate outcome of the election.<sup>137</sup> All in all, the results seemed to have offered not only a sigh of relief but faith in the future:

Nous terminons en formulant l'espoir que les catholiques de la province, qui sont au moins cent mille, soit un cinquième de la population totale, sauront recueillir les leçons qui se dégagent du dernier scrutin et comprendront de mieux en mieux qui sont leurs véritables amis. La recrudescence de fanatisme, qui a marqué la dernière campagne ne saurait durer, si nous savons nous unir pour empêcher qu'on nous enlève les positions actuelles. Cette résistance aux envahissements de l'ennemi sera le meilleur gage de la victoire.<sup>138</sup>

Without doubt the Catholic population of Manitoba did not want to forego the possibility of the Government re-establishing separate schools, in fact if not in law, in Manitoba. But the 1914

provincial election sounded the death knell for any further Government intervention in this regard. To prominent members of the Roblin administration the results of the election could only lend substance to the Free Press' claims that

the die is cast and the Roblin Government has lost. With a large popular majority opposed to it; with National School majorities in Winnipeg larger than the total Conservative majorities throughout the Province; with one Minister defeated and another likely so if the ballots are not tampered with; the Roblin Government, even if it succeeds for a time in retaining power, will no more try to create Separate Schools in Winnipeg and Brandon than it will try to fly to the moon.<sup>139</sup>

Yet, to some Catholics, the results of the election contained one note of encouragement. Seven Catholic MLA's were elected, and with the Government's majority of seven, they held the balance of power. They were called to task by the North West Review.<sup>140</sup> The opportunity to use their power came at the 1915 Session of the Legislature when, on February 19th, the Liberals once again called for the repeal of the Coldwell amendments. The motion was defeated by 6 votes, with Molloy voting against the Government. The incident resulted in a new round of controversy. The Minister of Education explained to the House that the Coldwell amendments had been enacted to clarify some provisions of the Public Schools Act. However the North West Review argued that their aims were much more specific: they had been enacted by the Government to provide for the takeover of the minority's private schools by the Winnipeg Public School Board.<sup>141</sup> Noël Bernier, the editor of Le Manitoba, attempted to calm the dispute by asking both Catholics and Protestants to accept the amendments for what they were: "...un instrument destiné à supprimer la double-taxe pour les catholiques en faisant de leurs



écoles privées des écoles publiques, - comme celles de Saint-Boniface..." The Government had done its duty, the editorial maintained, and the Public School Board had now a moral obligation to respond to the demands of the Catholic ratepayers.<sup>142</sup>

Le Manitoba also took exception to Molloy's decision to vote with the Liberals on the repeal of the Coldwell amendments. The editor reminded the member for Carillon that because of the Liberals' consistent opposition to Catholic schools since 1890, French-Canadian members of the Legislature should continue to support the Roblin Government:

...tant que l'opposition continuera de hurler notre déchéance, et tant que le gouvernement Roblin - qui n'a pas créé la situation actuelle, mais l'a trouvée toute faite à son arrivée - suivra une politique d'apaisement, ces représentants n'ont pas le droit de provoquer une crise ministérielle, même s'ils trouvent que le progrès de la cause catholique n'est pas aussi rapide qu'ils le désiraient.<sup>143</sup>

Bernier attacked the North West Review for having falsely accused Le Manitoba "...d'avoir soutenu que la loi Coldwell rétablissait les écoles séparées." The editor of the Review was called upon to assume full responsibility:

pour avoir à dessein faussé notre attitude et avoir ainsi permis au Free Press et à tous nos adversaires de s'appuyer sur un journal catholique pour nous mettre dans la bouche des propos que nous n'avons pas tenus, et pour dresser devant le public protestant d'imaginaires obstacles à toute entente.<sup>144</sup>

In view of the increasing controversy and concerted opposition surrounding the amendments, La Liberté suggested to its readers that perhaps they should be repealed as "...en différents milieux, ils ont été une cause d'inquiétudes, de récriminations,

d'agitation...Il n'est pas bon de laisser à l'électorat, ou à une partie de l'électorat, des motifs d'agitations, de suspicion et de plainte."<sup>145</sup> A reference to this growing wave of opposition to Catholic schools in Manitoba appeared in one of Langevin's last pronouncements on the school question. On March 27, in the Cathedral at St. Boniface he alluded to the fact that if in Winnipeg and other mixed centres the double school tax still weighed heavily and unjustly upon Catholics, it was due to "...a growing recrudescence of fanaticism which would compromise the situation..."<sup>146</sup>

It is doubtful if the repeal of the Coldwell amendments would have completely appeased the opponents of "separate schools." Yet events indicate that Roblin himself played a prominent role in stemming the tide.<sup>147</sup> On the day of the demise of his administration over the Legislative Building scandal, Langevin recognized Roblin's efforts and thanked him accordingly:

You have always been loyal to me, and this souvenir I keep in my heart as my consolation and my happiness. You never made a promise that you could not fulfill. Why did not our fellow citizens have the same broadness of mind and the same goodwill?"<sup>148</sup>

Roblin's response was equally touching and sincere:

I shall carry into private life as one of my most cherished remembrances the happy and cordial relations with your good self. I hope being a private citizen will not in any way interfere with that friendship that has existed between us in the past and which I so highly value.

I am not sorry to be relieved of my official responsibility but am sorry that it should come in the way it did. We trusted certain officials and the result has been our undoing. Human nature apparently is the same as it was two thousand years ago.<sup>149</sup>

Langevin then wrote his brother Hermas informing him that "...un changement va nous valoir bien des ennuis...Roblin est sans

tache; mais ses partisans et peut-être ses collègues, ont les mains sales."<sup>150</sup> On July 15th, a month to the day after Langevin's death, Manitoba's Conservative party, in a vain attempt to enhance its chances of winning the provincial election called for August, voted for the repeal of the Coldwell amendments. By March of 1916, the Public Schools Act, except for the School Attendance clause, again mirrored the 1890 legislation.

From 1904 to 1912, Langevin had consistently maintained that the extension of Manitoba's boundaries afforded both levels of governments, federal and provincial, the means of providing financial assistance for Catholic schools in centres where the Laurier-Greenway agreement had failed to provide relief. Until 1911, his labour had been wasted away by the partisan feud between Ottawa and Manitoba. With the arrival of a Conservative administration on the federal scene Langevin became confident that a solution could be reached. But though Ottawa was prepared to meet Manitoba's financial demands, Borden's cabinet refused to become directly involved in formulating legislation which would see to the public financing of Catholic schools. Instead, it burdened Roblin with the unpleasant responsibility of finding a solution to this vexatious problem.

In April of 1912 the Coldwell amendments were enacted to facilitate the take-over of Winnipeg's Catholic schools by the local public school board. It soon became evident, however, that the long-suffering minority stood to gain little from the changes in the Public Schools Act. Consequently, Langevin's minimal demand

became the establishment of separate school districts. But his position was considerably weakened in 1913, when Joseph Bernier entered Roblin's cabinet. With the French-Canadian community officially acknowledging its acceptance of the existing schools legislation, Langevin found himself hard pressed to justify the need of implementing unpopular legislation benefitting only a small segment of the Catholic minority. Yet, as seen earlier, English-speaking Catholics viewed him as being too conciliatory towards the Roblin Government and too preoccupied with safeguarding the educational rights of other Catholic groups. In justice to the Archbishop, it should be stated that Langevin, not wanting to jeopardize the rights enjoyed by the whole of the Catholic population, refused to force Roblin into an untenable situation. An alternative to Roblin's leadership, and indeed to his Government, was to Langevin nothing less than perilous, as events in 1916 demonstrated.

In looking at the record of Manitoba's Conservative Government from 1900 to 1915, it may be said that Roblin's administration used Langevin and lured him into believing that eventual justice would be meted out to all Roman Catholics. In all fairness to R.P. Roblin, however, he appeared sensitive to the issues at hand and personally tolerant. Though he may have appeared to be without firm principles, he was at least without prejudice. He recognized that a segment of the Catholic minority enjoyed only a limited interpretation of the Public Schools Act, and to that extent, was prepared to accept the

repercussions of unpopular legislation. If he was unable to bring relief to Manitoba's English-speaking Catholic minority, blame must ultimately rest with his muted colleagues, obviously very much aware of public opposition to separate schools.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

<sup>1</sup>See Chapter II, pp. 72-73.

<sup>2</sup>For a discussion related to the negotiations which took place between Ottawa and Winnipeg during the Laurier administration, see Cook, "Church, Schools, and Politics in Manitoba, 1903", 5-18. In February of 1907, for example, Laurier wrote George Bryce stating that "our friends...should walk straight to Roblin, take him to task, challenge the record of the Conservative Government in this matter of the extension of the boundaries, and take the bold position that Brown could do more to settle that question than all the Roblins and the Rogers put together." P.A.M. Bryce Papers, Laurier to George Bryce, February 26, 1907.

<sup>3</sup>Manitoba Free Press, June 21, 1911; cited in Cook, "Church, Schools and Politics in Manitoba, 1903," 19.

<sup>4</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Sbarette, December 16, 1904.

<sup>5</sup>Cook, "Church, Schools and Politics in Manitoba, 1903," 11.

<sup>6</sup>P.A.C., Borden Papers, Ottawa Citizen, April 5 and April 6, 1905. See also L'Echo de Manitoba, April 6, 1905.

<sup>7</sup>The Papal Delegate's Memorandum was worded as follows: "And when in any city or town there shall be 30 or more Roman Catholic children and also 30 or more non-Roman Catholic children, or in any village more than 15 of each of such classes, the Trustees shall, if requested by a petition of parents or guardians, of such number of either of such classes, provide separate accommodation for each of such classes and employ for them respectively Roman Catholic and non-Roman Catholic teachers." C.A.R., 1905, p. 93. The "Sbarette Memorandum" was not a new proposal. In the fall of 1903 the premier of Manitoba had received a similar proposal from the Apostolic Delegate. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Sbarette to Laurier, December 26, 1903.

<sup>8</sup>Robert Rogers, Speech delivered in the Provincial Legislature, February 23, 1906 [on] Manitoba's Rights Ignored; Lands Withheld, Boundaries Restricted (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Telegram, 1906), pp. 9-15. Langevin made only a passing reference to this incident. In 1906 he wrote Dom Benoit that he did not wish to travel to Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes in the company of Rogers "qui a tant maltraité son Ex. le Délégué Apostolique." A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Benoit, July 2, 1906.

<sup>9</sup>Morton maintains that the greatest obstacle to the extension of Manitoba's boundaries involved the revision of the federal subsidies. Roblin wanted "equality of subsidies with Saskatchewan to the west, or control of public lands with Ontario to the east." But Laurier refused to consider Manitoba's demands and was only prepared to grant an additional subsidy for the added territory. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 292.

<sup>10</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Roblin to Langevin, February 23, 1909.

<sup>11</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Memorandum of Langevin regarding an interview with R.P. Roblin, February 20th, 1909.

<sup>12</sup>Idem..

<sup>13</sup>LCSB, VIII, (February 1, 1909), 76.

<sup>14</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Sbarette to Langevin, February 23, 1909.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Sbarette, February 27, 1909. The fact that he had not been briefed on the negotiations "commencées...à quelques pas de moi" had left Langevin furious: "Si deux laïques protestants, M. Roblin et M. Barker, et un laïque catholique, l'Honorable Fitzpatrick, et un simple prêtre vivant en dehors de son diocèse, pouvaient être dans les confidences de Monseigneur le Délégué, il me semble que l'Archevêque de Saint-Boniface ne devrait pas ignorer ce qui se passait dans son propre diocèse, à deux pas de son palais épiscopal, pour une question vitale qui lui a coûté tant de soucis depuis quatorze ans!" Ibid., "Communication de son Excellence Monseigneur Sbarette, Délégué Apostolique et ma réponse," n.d.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., Memorandum of Langevin; being an interview with Roblin and Rogers at the Archbishop's residence, March 2, 1909.

<sup>17</sup>Idem..

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., Memorandum of Langevin; being an interview with C.H. Campbell at his brother's residence in Montreal, Hermas Langevin, March 12, 1909.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Sbarette, March 13, 1909.

<sup>20</sup>Idem.. Langevin believed this person to be Sbarette.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Laurier, April 23, 1909.

<sup>22</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Laurier to Sbarette, May 10, 1909.

<sup>23</sup>Though a copy of the enclosed draft was not attached to the

copy of Langevin's letter to Roblin, it may have well been a variation or an exact duplicate of an act the main points of which were as follows: "1. The Minority of the ratepayers in any school district whether Protestant or Roman Catholic may establish a separate school district and in such a case the ratepayers...shall be liable only to assessments of such rate as they impose upon themselves in respect thereof.

2. The petition for the erection of a separate school district shall be signed by the parents or guardians of at least forty children of school age in cities and towns and ten children of school age in villages and rural municipalities...

6. No person who is legally assessed or assessable for any separate school district or separate union school district, shall be liable to assessment for any other school or school district.

7. In cities or towns the minority aforesaid may establish several separate school districts provided there is in each such separate school at least forty children attending as an average to such schools...

12. The said separate school districts or separate union school districts shall also receive from the Provincial legislature and Government the school grant in the same manner and in the same proportion as the other school districts and in the appropriation by the Legislature or distribution by the Government of the Province of any moneys for the support of schools, there shall be no discrimination against separate school districts." Ibid., "An Act to Amend 'The Public School Act'", February 22, 1909.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, April 26, 1909.

<sup>25</sup>P.A.C., Laurier Papers, Roblin to Laurier, October 17, 1910; Roblin to Laurier, March 27, 1911; Laurier to Roblin, April 5, 1911.

<sup>26</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Roblin, September 26, 1911.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Borden, October 3, 1911.

<sup>28</sup>Winnipeg Telegram, November 8, 1911.

<sup>29</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Senator A.-A. Larivière, November 19, 1911.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Joseph Bernier, November 19, 1911.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Mgr. Pellegrino Stagni, January 2, 1912. Naturally, Langevin favoured the first proposal. On January 3, 1912 he wrote Rogers, informing him that "the fact of giving us our school taxes by an amendment to the school law of Manitoba, at the next session, will mean an immense relief



for us in Winnipeg and Brandon and a boon in mixed centres...but if it were possible to do more without much more trouble by giving us separate school districts as they have them in Saskatchewan and Alberta, and as we have full right to separate denominational schools in the Keewatin District, it would mean liberty together with money, and your credit would be greater. Ibid., Langevin to Rogers, January 3, 1912.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., Langevin to L.-P. Pelletier, December 19, 1911.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Pelletier, January 3, 1912.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., Memorandum of Langevin, January 18, 1912. The "University Question" had also been discussed during the course of the meeting. Roblin indicated to Langevin that he did not like the concept of a State university. Instead, he favoured the adoption of the Cherrier-Aikins report.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, January 27, 1912.

<sup>36</sup>P.A.C., Borden Papers, Langevin to Borden, January 29, 1912.

<sup>37</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Stagni, February 11, 1912.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, February 11, 1912. The vagueness of the proposed amendments make Langevin uneasy because

1. How can we get our school taxes without separate school districts? Who will tell who are catholics and who will receive and administer this school money?
2. Even if we are exempted from paying a school tax to the Public Schools, and if we can dispose of our own school taxes, we will remain in the hands of non-catholic school trustees! Besides, there will remain the clause 'No separation of children by religious denominations.'
3. There will be just as much trouble with the Liberal and the fanatics in Ottawa and in Winnipeg, if we get our school taxes without separate districts as if the principle of these districts was conceded." Ibid., Memorandum on the Schools Question, January [ ], 1912.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., Memorandum of Langevin on the Keewatin School Question, February, 1912.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Monk, February 16, 1912; see also Langevin to Doherty, February 16, 1912.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., Memorandum of Langevin on the Keewatin School Issue, February 1912.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, February 23, 1912.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Jules Dorion, February 28, 1912.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., Albert Seigny to Langevin, February 17, 1912.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., Monk to Langevin, February 22, 1912.

<sup>46</sup>William Price, a Conservative who had represented Quebec West in the House of Commons from 1908 to 1911, gave Armand Laver-gne the following explanation as to why the legislation omitted any references to the educational issue: "...the Conservative Party had gone down in 1896 in defence of separate schools in Manitoba and that Laurier's policy was ratified in the elections of 1900 and 1904, and it was impossible to expect the present Conservative Government to reopen such a question with regard to Keewatin." P.A.C., Borden Papers, William Price to J.D. Reid, March 4, 1912.

<sup>47</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Senator Philippe Landry to Langevin, March 2, 1912.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Monk, March 6, 1912.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., Monk to Langevin, March 11, 1912.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Monk, March 7, 1912.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., Langevin to J.E. O'Connor, March 7, 1912.

<sup>52</sup>C.A.R., 1912, p. 522.

<sup>53</sup>Idem.

<sup>54</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Bernier, March 15, 1912.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., Memorandum, March 20, 1910.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Monk, March 21, 1912.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Stagni, March 22, 1912.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Thomas Chapais, March 23, 1912.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., Memorandum, March 27, 1912.

<sup>60</sup>Manitoba Statutes, 1912, 2 Geo.V, c.65.

<sup>61</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to A.-C. Larivière, April 5, 1912. Langevin meant to be sarcastic as he did not have a high regard for the Senator: "Le pauvre...Larivière n'a pas été courageux! Comme d'autres il a aimé son partie, d'abord, et il nous a souhaité bien du bonheur! Leurs abandons des leurs a été

coupables; mais la façon dont ils ont procédé est vraiment révoltante. Ils ont nié nos droits et déclaré la question des écoles réglée depuis 1896 après avoir dit le contraire durant quinze ans!" Ibid., Langevin to Georges Dugas, April 30, 1912.

<sup>62</sup>Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 325.

<sup>63</sup>C.A.R., 1912, p. 523.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., pp. 523-524.

<sup>65</sup>LCSB, XI (April, 1912), 93-94.

<sup>66</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Roblin, June 11, 1912; see also Langevin to Coldwell, June 4, 1912.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., Roblin to Langevin, June 13, 1912.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Rogers, July 29, 1912.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Stagni, September 15, 1912.

<sup>70</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Stagni, September 13, 1912.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Stagni, October 26, 1912.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Monk, December 3, 1912.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Stagni, December 3, 1912.

<sup>74</sup>C.A.R., 1912, p. 524.

<sup>75</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Eugène Secourt, December 24, 1912.

<sup>76</sup>See Chapter II, pp. 80-83.

<sup>77</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Stagni, January 21, 1913.

<sup>78</sup>The Liberal MLA for Lakeside.

<sup>79</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Stagni, January 22, 1913.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, January 23, 1913.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Stagni, January 24, 1913. Langevin was only aware that a meeting between the two had taken place.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Stagni, January 25, 1913.

<sup>83</sup>Idem.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Father [ ] Carron, February 7, 1913.

<sup>85</sup>University of Manitoba, Dafoe Papers, Laurier to Dafoe, February 25, 1913.

<sup>86</sup>Manitoba Free Press, March 8, 1913.

<sup>87</sup>A.A.W., Minutes of the M.F.C.L., March 26, 1913.

<sup>88</sup>C.A.R., 1913, p. 562.

<sup>89</sup>Winnipeg Free Press, March 25, 1913.

<sup>90</sup>LCSB, XII (February, 1913), 108.

<sup>91</sup>C.A.R., 1913, p. 539.

<sup>92</sup>Idem.

<sup>93</sup>Manitoba Free Press, April 18, 1913.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., April 24, 1913.

<sup>95</sup>Le Manitoba, April 23, 1913.

<sup>96</sup>Idem.

<sup>97</sup>Turnbull perceptively notes that when "Bernier was appointed, the French indicated that ethnic considerations were more important than alinement with non-French Roman Catholics. Rather than maintain this alinement as the political base for defending their rights in education, the French preferred to rely on their influence with the Conservative party. The appointment of Bernier represented French Roman Catholic identity with the Conservative party and their isolation from the remainder of the Roman Catholic community." Ian Turnbull, "Local Autonomy and Municipal Reorganization: A Study of Ethnic Influence on Local Politics of St. Boniface" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1967), pp. 64-65.

<sup>98</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Roblin, April 19, 1913.

<sup>99</sup>Idem.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Mgr. O.-E. Mathieu, April 22, 1913.

<sup>101</sup>LCSB, XII (May, 1913), 163.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., 190.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., 218.

<sup>104</sup>La Liberté, May 20, 1913.

<sup>105</sup>Idem..

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., May 27, 1913.

<sup>107</sup>North West Review, June 21, 1913.

<sup>108</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Bernier, July 1, 1913.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, July 1, 1913. By the summer of 1913 Langevin had agreed to what "...is said of the provisions of the Public Schools Act of the teaching of the same course as in the other elementary public schools in the city, and of the inspection." But to assure the integrity of the Catholic schools in Winnipeg, he was asking that the Public School Board lease [sic] our school houses; secondly, that they give us [certified] catholic teachers; thirdly, that our children remain in our schools." Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, June 17, 1913. A precedent providing for such arrangements could be found in the City of Halifax where the Public School Board rented "the schoolhouses owned by the Catholics." The selection of Catholic teachers for these schools was made by Catholic representatives sitting on the Board, although "all appointments are made by the whole board." Of equal interest, "the use of the robes characteristic of the Order to which the teacher belongs, and pictures distinctively Catholic, are not prohibited...in the so-called [sic] Catholic schools..." Nova Scotia's Superintendent of Education also noted that all "these arrangements (which do not conflict with the Education Act, nor with the Regulations of the Council of Public Instruction) are unwritten but distinctly understood and loyally observed by all classes of citizens, who instead of trying to over-reach each other, endeavour to establish a reputation for fairness." Ibid., A.H. MacKay to Joseph Troy, July 24, 1913.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Arthur Savaète, July 9, 1913.

<sup>111</sup>Le Manitoba, August 16, 1913.

<sup>112</sup>LCSB, XII (August, 1913) 362.

<sup>113</sup>C.A.R., 1913, p. 563.

<sup>114</sup>Le Soleil de l'Ouest, July 24, 1913.

<sup>115</sup>A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, Langevin to Albert Dubuc, April 21, 1913.

<sup>116</sup>D.A.L. Grain had resigned his seat to make way for W.H. Montague appointed to the cabinet following Colin H. Campbell's resignation.

<sup>117</sup>La Liberté, November 18, 1913.

<sup>118</sup>P.A.M., Campbell Papers, Roblin to Colin H. Campbell, December 1, 1913.

<sup>119</sup>Le Manitoba, December 2, 1913.

<sup>120</sup>Le Manitoba made this quite clear in its January 7, 1914 issue: "Nous avons toujours prétendu...que l'Acte des Ecoles Publiques en son état actuel, autorise la Commission à prendre à ses charges les écoles catholiques; et si l'arrangement ne se fait pas, il faut s'en prendre non pas à la loi, mais aux volontés qui sont d'une obstination stupéfiante dans l'injustice et l'illégalité."

<sup>121</sup>C.A.R., 1914, p. 582.

<sup>122</sup>Le Manitoba, March 25, 1914.

<sup>123</sup>Idem.

<sup>124</sup>La Liberté, March 31, 1914.

<sup>125</sup>C.A.R., 1914, pp. 593-594.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid., p. 594.

<sup>127</sup>LCSB, (April, 1914) 95-98.

<sup>128</sup>Idem.

<sup>129</sup>C.A.R., 1914, pp. 581-82, 589-96, 599-604.

<sup>130</sup>La Liberté, June 23, 1914.

<sup>131</sup>The position adopted by Norris as regard to the educational issue was as follows: "From the standpoint of the future welfare of the Province and its citizenship the School question is undoubtedly the main question at issue. The Roblin Government during its 14 years of office has persistently refused to create the necessary conditions either by law or regulation to ensure a proper education for all the children of the Province. As this problem has been before our people for many years and as the remedies required are thoroughly understood it is quite unnecessary to discuss them in detail. Suffice it to say that if entrusted with authority to do so, I shall see to it (1) that the School law is amended so as to make adequate provision for the attendance of children at school; (2) that properly qualified

teachers are employed in every school receiving State aid; (3) that all children attending public schools receive a sufficient training in English; (4) that all schools are thoroughly inspected by competent inspectors; (5) that the Coldwell amendments are repealed, and (6) that wherever there are children to be educated there will be schools in which to educate them." C.A.R., 1914, p. 591.

<sup>132</sup>Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1915.

<sup>133</sup>C.A.R., 1915, 607.

<sup>134</sup>P.A.C., Perley Papers, R.L. Borden to George Perley, July 17, 1914.

<sup>135</sup>P.A.M., Campbell Papers, Macdonald to C.H. Campbell, July 17, 1914. Macdonald also attributed the defeat of two Conservative candidates, Hugh Armstrong and Albert Préfontaine to over confidence. During the election campaign, the former premier feared that over-confidence could cost the party seats and that "compulsory education is another cry from which the opposition expect much, and the Orange Sentinel is doing its best to aid them, though for what reason I do not know, and this may cause a loss of a few votes..." Ibid., Macdonald to Campbell, April 9, 1914.

<sup>136</sup>W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 337. French-speaking Liberals were equally bitter. In the constituencies of St. Boniface and Dufferin Le Soleil de l'Ouest charged that "...le vote clérical qui, dans le poll central de St. Boniface ainsi que dans le poll de St. Norbert ajouté aux corrupteurs et aux bourreurs de boîtes de bulletins, au nombre de 150 qui ont donné la majorité à Joseph Bernier...c'est le vote du clergé ajouté à l'influence des faussaires politiques et aux trompés au nombre de 56 qui ont donné la majorité à M. Roblin, dans le comté de Dufferin." In its analysis of the election, Le Soleil described July 10th as "[un] jour mémorable à jamais pour les catholiques français...Roblin a marqué au fer rouge comme menteur Langevin au cours de sa campagne. Roblin a marqué du fer rouge Jos. Bernier comme traître en parlant à Roland. Roblin a ouvertement renié tous ses candidats Français et catholiques et a frappé de son poing fermé, entre les deux yeux, tous les électeurs catholiques de cette province à différentes reprises durant sa tournée électorale. Mais comme de malheureux caniches ils sont tous revenus caresser de leur langue le talon de la botte dont ils ils avaient reçu la pointe." La Liberté, August 11, 1914.

<sup>137</sup>The Conservative victories attributed to the French-Canadian vote had not escaped Dafoe's attention. He noted that "...four constituencies carried by the Conservatives are all chiefly French-Canadian in complexion...where our candidates were not French but Irish Catholics...the seats were lost because of a vigorous appeal to anti-Irish sentiment among the French."

University of Manitoba, Dafoe Papers, Dafoe to Sydney Fisher, August 20, 1915.

<sup>138</sup>LCSB, XIII (August, 1914), 180-181.

<sup>139</sup>Manitoba Free Press, July 13, 1914; cited in C.A.R., 607.

<sup>140</sup>North West Review, July 25, 1914.

<sup>141</sup>C.A.R., 1915, p. 618.

<sup>142</sup>Le Manitoba, March 3, 1915.

<sup>143</sup>Idem.

<sup>144</sup>Idem.

<sup>145</sup>La Liberté, February 23, 1915.

<sup>146</sup>C.A.R., 1915, p. 618. Langevin had just returned from a six months stay in Texas where he had been resting. LCSB, XIV (April, 1915), 73.

<sup>147</sup>Roblin's efforts to better the Catholic position in Manitoba had not gone unnoticed outside the province. In 1907 a resident of Regina wrote Langevin that Roblin, because of his "consistent goodwill in lending no countenance to the anti-Catholic agitation, had helped check "a gathering storm" in Saskatchewan. The writer also hoped that Roblin would eventually "lead the western Conservative party in Dominion politics as "under the influence of such a leader intolerance would largely disappear and the way would be smoothed for Catholics to enjoy their reasonable rights..." A.A.S.B., Langevin Papers, M. O'Brien to Langevin, February 18, 1907.

<sup>148</sup>Ibid., Langevin to Roblin, May 12, 1915.

<sup>149</sup>Ibid., Roblin to Langevin, [May 15], 1915.

<sup>150</sup>Langevin to Hermas Langevin, May 19, 1915; cited in Savaète, Voix canadiennes... XII, 512-13.



## CONCLUSION

Langevin was portrayed as "le grand blessé de l'Ouest" by those who realized that the Archbishop of St. Boniface had been severely wounded by the Manitoba School Question. But in all probability only a few were able to detect the full extent of his injury. Though the school question occurred as a result of the Anglo-Saxon Protestant majority's determination to establish its predominance in the province of Manitoba, Langevin found himself accused of perpetuating the controversy. With these accusations coming from within the Catholic fold, the pain was rendered almost intolerable.

An indictment to this effect had been advanced by Wilfrid Laurier who confidently believed that his conciliatory methods could readily overcome pro-secular and anti-Catholic sentiment in Manitoba. When the Laurier-Greenway agreement proved unworkable in centres where Catholics were a minority, the prime minister, little concerned with the intolerance exhibited by the public school authorities, held Langevin's "intransigent" demands responsible for preventing a compromise from being reached. Determined to vindicate a defective settlement, he showed little hesitation in accusing Langevin of antagonizing those opposed to the public funding of denominational schools. But it remains conjectural whether even Langevin's neutrality would have resulted in a more sympathetic attitude from the proponents of secular

education. After all, the majority did refuse to consider the establishment of a separate school system similar to that of Saskatchewan and Alberta. It was even unwilling to enter into a gentlemen's agreement which would see Winnipeg's Catholic schools administered by a public school board, as was the case in Halifax.

Langevin's persistent claim that Laurier's "sunny ways" were ineffective in providing a final solution to the Manitoba School Question also made him persona non grata at the Vatican. His imperious stand on this issue alienated two of his eminent episcopal colleagues, Bégin and Bruchési, who were bent on preventing Laurier from being injured over what had developed into a rather irritating issue. The appointment of a permanent Apostolic Delegate to Canada made Langevin's position even more uncomfortable. Falconio, Sbaretti and Stagni all attempted to keep the school question from erupting into federal politics, although they did try to persuade the federal government to establish a separate school system in Manitoba. Finally, they attempted to prevent Langevin from speaking out on the Manitoba School Question, denied him permission to launch a national subscription to support Winnipeg's Catholic schools, and agreed with Manitoba's English-speaking Catholic community that the Archbishop's French-Canadian nationalist tendencies were undermining the welfare of the Church.

The charge levelled by English-speaking Catholics that their faith had been sacrificed on the altar of French-Canadian nationalism was the result of a deep-seated resentment over the existence

of bilingual schools. Many felt that they existed at the expense of separate schools because Langevin used them to promote a narrow nationalism which was essentially anti-British. It was then argued that the Anglo-Protestants, presupposing that the Roman Catholic Church was at the roots of this movement, had countered by opposing the establishment of separate schools in Manitoba. Opposition to bilingual schools was also aroused because of Langevin's insistence that the children of Central European immigrants be taught in their mother tongue. To English-speaking Catholics this was yet another instance where Langevin's action had served to undermine the Church's welfare in a province destined to become English-speaking.

That Langevin used the bilingual school system to promote multi-lingual and multi-cultural policies was a misconception. The Archbishop readily admitted that Central European immigrants would some day speak the English language. Throughout his episcopate, however, he rejected anglicization for the new immigrants because Manitoba was without a separate school system which could guarantee the integrity of the Catholic school. He therefore urged these groups to retain their maternal languages to prevent them from being proselytized by the Protestant majority. By keeping them within the Catholic fold he hoped to fashion a complete recovery of the educational rights of Catholics in Manitoba through the force of numbers. But though his intentions were well-meaning, they served to generate strong opposition to the bilingual clause of the Laurier-Greenway agreement. Ultima-

tely, a simplistic solution was arrived at because French clerical leaders, notably the Archbishop of St. Boniface, were found guilty of having opposed the designs of the Anglo-Protestant majority. Langevin's strategy had inadvertently harmed the cause of French education in Manitoba.

There were other issues as well which created resentment against the French-Canadian community. It had been involved in the controversy which had developed over the establishment of separate schools and the implementation of compulsory school attendance legislation. This was rather unfortunate because the French-speaking minority had again been embroiled in a dispute in which its educational rights were not at issue. Indeed, following the implementation of the Laurier-Greenway agreement, the politics of the Manitoba School Question need not have concerned the French-Canadian community.

Langevin, however, had no intentions of letting the English-speaking minority fight its educational battles alone. He therefore sought to convince the French-Canadian community that its own educational rights hinged on the good will of R.P. Roblin's Conservative administration. With the French Canadians gradually shifting their support to the Conservatives, Langevin subsequently attempted to mobilize the political force of the electorate to pressure Roblin into relieving English-speaking Catholics from their burdensome double school tax. French-Canadian MLA's led by Joseph Bernier, although supporting Langevin's demands in principle, refused to pressure Roblin unduly. Indeed, an attempt

to disassociate the French-Canadian community from the meddlesome school question was made when Bernier accepted a cabinet post in Roblin's Government. But his support of the Coldwell amendments was not forgotten by the opponents of separate schools.

Joseph Bernier had not been the only one to be chastised for supporting the Coldwell amendments. They proved equally damaging to Roblin. After all, it was the premier who had found himself shackled with the thankless task of trying to implement and defend the ill-fated amendments. Of course, Roblin's opponents argued that his endorsement of the legislation was a political move to tighten his hold on the French-Canadian electorate. Whatever truth there may have been in the accusation, Roblin's motives appeared to have been more the result of a sincere commitment to Langevin than that he would use his best efforts to help bring redress to the Catholic minority. In the end his well-known sympathy for Langevin's cause helped convince his political adversaries that he had indeed been a corrupt premier.

When Langevin died on June 15, 1915, his desire to see the re-establishment of a viable Catholic educational system supported by public funds had not been met. Speculation persisted as to whether greater discretion and flexibility on his part would have given the Roman Catholic Church in Manitoba a more advantageous position in the field of education. Langevin's authoritarian tendencies and his overt concern for all matters related to the Manitoba School Question cannot be disproved. Yet, his episcopal right to give direction to the Catholic laity did grant him that prerogative and the circumstances in Manitoba were rather excep-

tional. It was, after all, the intolerance of the majority which made Langevin an opponent of compromise. He cannot be blamed for taking the initiative while politicians temporized. Langevin, however, did act hastily on many occasions. But he was caught by an endless stream of circumstances chief among which was the sudden influx of immigrants of different rites. The politics of the Manitoba School Question added to his difficulties. It was partly because of this issue that Catholic solidarity gave way to cultural and linguistic alignments. The existence of three Roman Catholic Archdioceses in Winnipeg is a reminder of this division and an indication of the complexities of the problems which confronted Langevin during his episcopate.

## APPENDIX I

TABLE I

Census of Catholic Population According  
to Nationality in the Diocese of Saint-Boniface  
April 20, 1911<sup>1</sup>

	French	English	Polish	German	Hungarian	Ruthenian	Others	Indian
St-Ant. d'Aubigny	290		3					
Austin	8	39						
St-Boniface	5333	391						
Beauséjour			243					
Brokenhead			599	127			102	
Brandon	92	250	392	138	16	526	75	
Souris	5	72		20				
Minnedosa	14	70						
Carberry	4	19	10					
Rivers	2	50	8			98	6	
Rapid City		26						
Fairfax	5							
Bruxelles	284						81	
Glenboro		10						
Swan Lake	6						49	
Holland		4						
Camperville	347							
Winnipegosis	116							
Cartier	26							
Dauphin	31	107						
Durban		16		11				
Swan River	12	22		21				
Barrows Junction	12	15		2				
Gilbert Plains		5						
Grand View		12						
Oak Nook	10	34						

<sup>1</sup>Langevin, Mémoire confidentiel sur la situation religieuse  
..., pp. 18-22.

	French	English	Polish	German	Hungarian	Ruthenian	Others	Indian
Dunrea	174	72	3					
Deloraine	18	28					199	
Lac Blanc	27							
Boissevain	9	9						
Helenfield		10		21				
Belmout		5						
Lena	2	2		1				
Elie	393	21						
Emerson	77	11						
Stonewall	24	26						
Fannystelle	283	21						
Fort Francis	54	104					10	
Ecole Ft. Francis	2							175
Banning		8						
Mine Center	4	1	2					
Atitokan	2	12						
Big Fork		25						
Bear's Pass	4							
Fort Alexandre	49	1						289
Beren's River	2							35
Roseau								68
Broken River								30
Peguis								55
Bad Throat	44	10						15
Black River								14
Balsam Bay	2	20						9
Jack Head	1							
Hole River								
Gimli & Missions			2100	150		1500		
Grande Clairière	289	6						
Deleau	113							
Hartney	29	10						
Napinka	10	15						
Melita	4	64						
Lander	6							
Belleview	30							
Hun's Valley				430				
Ile-des-Chênes	213	4					17	
Keewatin	158	39						
Kenora	352	340			150			
Norman	213	13						
Wabigoon	6	13					7	
Lac des Bois	104							



	French	English	Polish	German	Hungarian	Ruthenian	Others	Indian
Raleigh		1	-				7	
Butler	4						9	
Bigsby							7	
Dinorwie		7					3	
Barclay		11					8	
Dryden	8	10					7	
Superior Junction	7	8						
Graham	20	38	2				15	
Redditt	27	2					10	
Ingolf	5						5	
Rennie		8					3	
Oxdrift	7						2	
Hawk		4					77	
Eagle		1		6			6	
Ignace	2	20	3				30	
Parry							5	
LaBroquerie	712	2	70					
LaSalle	330	8						
Laurier	284	10						
McCreary & Tenty	158	23						
Ogilvie & Plumas		29						
Letellier	460	6						
Lorette	516		11			56		
Makinac	196	23						
Mariapolis	512							
Rock Lake	24							
Pilot Mound	6							
N.-D. Lourdes	1247							
Oak Lake	150	43						
Virden	15	15						
Alexander	16	15						
Lenora	2	20						
Pine Wood & Missions	245	214		7			17	1
Portage la Prairie & Missions	134	171		102				
Rainy River	271	157		49		19		
Saint-Adolphe	402	12	45					
Ste-Agathe	485					7		
St-Alphonse	164	5					57	
Ste-Amélie	266	13					130	

	French	English	Polish	German	Hungarian	Ruthenian	Others	Indian
Ste-Anne	919	58						
St-Charles	293	126	14					
St-Claude	362							
St-Daniel	113			26				
Haywood	170			1				
Ste-Elisabeth	290	12					2	
St-Eustache	877	62		12				
St-Frs-Xavier	512							
Ste-Geneviève	122							
St-Georges de								
Chateauguay	132							
St-Jean-Baptiste	1025	16		20				
Morris	102	14		21		45		
St-Joseph	263	4	12					
St-Laurent	751	53						
Ile de Pierre	109	46						
St-Lazare & Mis.	153	12						1
St-Léon	426	5		14				
Manitou	2	33						
St-Malo	375	13						
St-Norbert	774	24		15			5	
Trappists	46							
St-Pierre	1176	8						
Ste-Rose-du-Lac	705	31						40
Sandy-Bay	22							
Ebb & Flow	13							
Dog Creek	37							
Missions								700
Selkirk	95	56					16	
Lac du Bonnet	125	15						
Sifton						10000		
Somerset	276	33					12	
Starbuck	152	39						
Carman	48	14						
Elm Creek		22						
Thibeauville	451							
Vannes	146	32						
St. Mary's (Wpg.)		3500						
Immaculate-Conc.								
(Wpg.)	89	1087		20			154	
Holy Ghost (Wpg.)			5400	8			80	
St.Joseph (Wpg.)				1240				

	French	English	Polish	German	Hungarian	Ruthenian	Others	Indian
St. Nicholas (Wpg.)						8000		
Sacré Coeur (Wpg.)	1095							
St. Edward (Wpg.)		927						
St. Ignatius (Wpg.)	205	537		9			86	
Italians (Wpg.)							822	
Woodridge	175							
St-Labre	148							
Marchand	129							
Bedford	89							
Spurgrave	45							
Sandylands	20							
Pine Valley	65							
South Junction	47							
Vessar	215							
Stony Mountain	31	31		1			47	
Hungarians (Wpg.)					120			

Total population according to nationality

French.....	29,595	
English.....	9,485	
Poles.....	9,369	
Germans.....	2,062	
Hungarians.....	138	[sic]
Ruthenians.....	32,637	
Indians.....	2,000	
Others.....	<u>2,530</u>	
Total	87,816	

TABLE II

Catholic Population of the Cities of Saint-Boniface  
and Winnipeg According to Nationality  
November 1910<sup>2</sup>

## I. Saint-Boniface

French	5,333
English	80
Flemish	<u>391</u>
Total	5,804

## II. Winnipeg

English	6,051
French	1,389
Polish	5,400
German	1,277
Hungarian	120
Ruthenian	8,000
Italian	822
Others	<u>320</u>
Total	23,379

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

TABLE III

Clerical Population of the Diocese of Saint-Boniface  
According to Nationality  
April 20, 1911<sup>3</sup>

	French	English	German	Polish	Dutch	Hungarian	Ruthenian	Italian	Total
Diocesan Clergy	61	2		3	2				68
Regular Clergy									
Oblates	35	3	5	3				1	47
Jesuits	9	3							12
Chanoine réguliers de l'Imm. Conc.	10	1							11
Trappists	10								10
Redemptorists	4								4
Enfants de M.-Imm.	7								7
Basilians							2		2
Clercs de St-Viateur	2								2
Total	138	9	5	6	2		2	1	163

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

## TABLE IV

Catholic Press

April 20, 1911<sup>4</sup>

Newspapers published by the West Canada Publishing Co.

North West Review (English)The West Canada (German)Gazeta Katolicka (Polish)L'Ami du Foyer (French)Canadian Ruthenian (Ruthenian)

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

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Minnie Julia Beatrice Campbell Papers.  
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