

THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE MANITOBA  
SCHOOL QUESTION, 1890-96

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"...if there be a subject which has been discussed to the very limit of human patience it is truly this everlasting question of the Manitoba separate schools. How many speeches have been made about it, both in the arena of Parliament and at public meetings? How many pages cast by the press to the wind of publicity? It has been said of the learned Origen that to read the works of him alone, one would require more than the ordinary life of man. To read everything that has been said and written on what we have agreed to call the school question, two Methuselans juxtaposited-- according to the original expression of a writer -- would not suffice. Therefore, I have no idea of inflicting on you the detailed story of the varying phases which have marked this question any more than I have of giving you an estimate of each of them."

--Mr. Jeannotte, in the  
Dominion House of Commons,  
March 10, 1896--

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ABBREVIATIONS

- Can.S.P.....Canada: Sessional Papers
- C.Martin, C.&P., Vol.XIX.Chester Martin, 'Political History of Manitoba, 1870-1912', Canada and Its Provinces, Vol.XIX
- D.H.C. ....Debates of the House of Commons
- D.H.C.,R.A.,I .....The Remedial Act (Manitoba), Debate in the House of Commons, Part I, On the Second Reading of the Bill
- D.N'W. ....Daily Nor' Wester (Winnipeg)
- F.P. ....Manitoba Free Press (Daily unless otherwise stated)
- J.W.Dafoe,C.&P.,Vol.XX...J.W.Dafoe, 'Economic History of the Prairie Provinces, 1870-1913', Canada and Its Provinces, Vol.XX
- Man.J.L.A. ....Manitoba: Journals of the Legislative Assembly and Sessional Papers
- Man.Stat. ....Manitoba: Statutes
- R.D. ....Report of Debate in the Manitoba Legislature (e.g. R.D.Mar.16, F.P.,Mar.17 is read as follows: Report of debate in the Manitoba Legislature on Mar.16, published in the Free Press of Mar.17 )
- Trib. ....Tribune (Winnipeg)

## CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

One of the most characteristic features of Canadian politics during the last two decades of the nineteenth century was the frequent use by political parties of racial and religious appeals as a means of winning the support of the electorate and of embarrassing their opponents. Following Riel's execution:

"...there came a succession of race and creed issues which bedevilled Canadian politics for more than a decade, dividing and dissipating national energies at the very time when unity and energy were most needed. An air of bitterness, that at times approached despair, settled upon the country. The tone of public life seemed to be distinctly lowered. It was no mauve decade but a muddy grey decade." (1)

Not only in the arena of federal politics, where success was dependent on a skilful balancing of sectional appeals, but also in the sphere of provincial politics, where racial and religious groups were less evenly balanced, did such appeals begin to assume increasing importance. During the late eighties and early nineties, the emergence of local issues of this sort became increasingly prevalent. Such was the Jesuits Estates legislation of the Mercier Government in Quebec; such was the anti-Catholic campaign of the local Conservative leader, Mr. Meredith, in Ontario; such also was the attack

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(1) Fred Landon, 'Dalton McCarthy and the Politics of the Later 'Eighties', Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, 1932, p. 44.

upon separate schools in the North-West Territories. It is not surprising, therefore, that a similar issue should have arisen in Manitoba, and that for more than six years the Manitoba school question should have stirred the political life of this Province.

This thesis is an attempt to show how the Greenway Government deliberately created, and then employed, this issue as a means of remaining in office. Such is the nature of the topic, however, that the treatment of the issue cannot be confined entirely to the years 1890 to 1896, nor to the sphere of Manitoba politics. Thus, on the one hand, it will be necessary to examine the political developments within the Province between 1870 and 1890, which not only made possible, but also made necessary the adoption of some sectarian policy such as an attack on separate schools. On the other hand, since the provisions in the constitution designed to safeguard the existence of separate schools brought the issue before the Dominion Parliament, it will be necessary to indicate briefly the effect of the school question on the federal political situation.

## I

The full significance of the Greenway Government's action in abolishing separate schools in 1890, cannot be understood without some reference to the educational system in force prior to that year. This was known as the dual system, since it was so organized as to permit Protestants and Roman Catholics to establish state-supported separate schools wherever it was feasible to do so.

Prior to the entry of Manitoba, as a province, into Confederation, such schools as existed were of a denominational character. Since they did not receive public grants, and were not controlled by public officials, they did not exist by law. The civil authorities, however, out of recognition of their usefulness, occasionally gave them grants and exemptions. Thus, prior to Confederation, denominational schools existed by practice only. (1)

Separate schools, therefore, did not legally come into being in Manitoba until after union with Canada was effected in 1870. Their existence in the new Province was made possible by section 22

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(1) Archbishop Tache, 'A Page of the History of Separate Schools in Manitoba during 75 Years', Schultz Pamphlets, Vol. 14, No. 46, (1893), pp. 2-6. (Hereafter referred to as Tache, 'A Page...'.) Also E.H. Oliver, 'The Winning of the Frontier', (Toronto, 1930), p. 220.



of the Manitoba Act, which provided that the  
Manitoba Legislature:

"...may exclusively make laws in relation to  
Education, subject and according to the following  
provisions:-

(1) Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially  
affect any right or privilege with respect to  
Denominational schools which any class of persons  
have by law or practice in the Province at union."(1)

The inclusion of the words "or practice" was made  
owing to the fact that no separate schools existed  
"by law" in the area constituting the new Province  
at the time of union.(2)

The two decades of Manitoba history which  
followed, saw the inauguration and harmonious  
operation of a dual educational system. By an Act  
passed by the Legislature in 1871, a school  
system patterned after the Quebec model was  
established. It was governed by a Board of Education  
composed of two sections, one Roman Catholic and  
the other Protestant. Originally the Board consisted  
of twelve members, half being Protestant and half  
Catholic. Later, however, owing to changes in the  
Province's population, the number of Protestant  
members was increased to twelve, and that of the  
Catholic members to nine. Each section was given  
control of those matters closely related to the

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(1) 33 Vic., c.3, s.22.

(2) Tache, 'A Page...', pp.2, & 7-15; and G.M.Weir,  
'The Separate School Question in Canada', (Toronto,  
1934), p.35.

management of its own schools, including the standards of inspection, examination, and licensing of teachers. This principle of division also extended to the legislative grant, which was divided between the two sections of the Board of Education "...in proportion to the number of children of school age in Protestant and Roman Catholic districts respectively."(1)

Such a system was highly satisfactory to the Catholic Church, both from the standpoint of education and of general policy. For, as Archbishop Tache wrote in his Pastoral Letter of August 1890:

"The Church...does not allow that in the human intellect there should be space or time for the division between sacred science and what is called secular teaching... All knowledge being from God, all secular teaching, even reading, writing, grammar and arithmetic ought to harmonize with the divine teaching..."(2)

Moreover, separate schools were of particular importance in the Canadian West, since they served to erect a barrier around the Church's French Catholic adherents against the secularizing forces of a Protestant and English-speaking civilization.(3)

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(1) Tache, 'A Page...', pp.16-24, and Weir, op.cit., p.36. A list of the educational statutes of Manitoba between the years 1870-90, may be found in 22 Can.S.C., p.624.

(2) "Pastoral Letter of His Grace the Archbishop of St. Boniface, on the New School Laws of Manitoba", Manitoba Pamphlets, August, 1890, p.10.

(3) C.A. Dawson, 'Group Settlement--Ethnic Communities in Western Canada', (Toronto, 1936), pp.373-4. (Hereafter referred to as Dawson, 'Group Settlement'.) See also A.G. Morice, 'Vie de Mgr. Langevin', (Saint-Boniface, 1916), p.139.

The two largest Protestant bodies in the Province, the Presbyterians and the Anglicans, on the other hand, resented the privileges which the Catholics, whom they outnumbered, enjoyed under this system. (1) Prior to the attack on the dual system by the Greenway Government during early August of 1889, there does not appear to have been any serious criticism arising from any of the Protestant groups on this score. (2) The proposal for separate schools being replaced by a non-sectarian public school system, however, by putting the Catholics on the defensive, served to unite the Protestant groups in support of the new plan, for in this way, the advantage enjoyed by the Catholics would be eliminated.

The fact that non-sectarian religious exercises constituted a small sacrifice on the part of the Protestant groups, to whom religion was a matter of the church, the Sunday-school and the home, while they imposed a great hardship upon the Catholics, to whom the school was the "church of the children", did not cause the Protestant element any serious

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(1) See the lecture entitled "Education: Not Secular, Nor Sectarian, But Religious", delivered by the Rev. J.M. King at the opening of the Theological Department of Manitoba College, Winnipeg, October 29th, 1889. (Reprinted in J.S. Ewart, 'The Manitoba School Case', (Toronto, 1894), pp. 179-95.) The Anglican viewpoint is embodied in a letter from the Archbishop of Rupert's Land to Sir Mackenzie Bowell, dated Feb. 22nd, 1895. (Can. S.P. (No. 20b), Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, 1895, pp. 333-5.) At times, however, the Church of England seems to have expressed approval of sectarian instruction of a modified type. (See, for example, Archbishop Machray's affidavit in the Logan case (vide infra, pp. 15-6) which may be located in 8 Man., 9-11, also Robert Machray, 'Life of Robert Machray', (Toronto, 1909), p. 400.)

(2) A letter to the 'Free Press' from the Rev. George Bryce on January 31st, 1874, professing to represent Presbyterian opinion in the Province as being in favour of non-denominational schools, appears to be the only important evidence to the contrary. (Vide infra, p. 92, n. 1.)

concern. (1) If, it was argued, the Roman Catholics did not deem public non-denominational schools to be satisfactory, it was because:

"...no...schools can be satisfactory to them that are not taught by teachers of their own communion, and that do not give religious teaching according to the requirements of their church..." (2)

Moreover, such non-denominational exercises as were conducted in these schools imposed no hardship upon the minority, since:

"...the majority has no right to compel the minority to conform in any attitude of mind or heart contrary to its conscience; nor does the majority wish them to conform. Members of Congress have the right to stay away from prayer, so in our schools those who wish can be excused." (3)

This close relationship which existed between education and religion in Manitoba during the last half of the nineteenth century, provides a valuable clue to the understanding of certain important aspects of the Manitoba school question. From the standpoint of local politics, the school legislation of 1890, by catering to the sense of injustice aroused among an influential group of the Protestant clergy, was an important factor

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(1) Hon. Mr. Smart, R.D. Mar. 7, F.P., Mar. 8, 1890; Archbishop Tache's letter to the 'Free Press', Aug. 14, 1889; see also "Pamphlet by Archbishop Tache Answering the Question: Are the Public Schools of Manitoba the Continuation of the Protestant Schools of the same Province". (Ewart, op. cit., pp. 139-59.)

(2) Archbishop of Rupert's Land in Can. S.P. (No. 20b), Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, 1895, p. 535.

(3) Sermon by the Rev. Dr. Duval, preached on November 25th, 1889. (Ewart, op. cit., pp. 200-1.)

in determining the popularity and success, not only of the new public school system, but also of the Government which had sponsored it. For the present, however, it is more important to note the effects of the Catholic minority's efforts to obtain a restoration of the separate school system which this legislation had destroyed. It was largely because of the persistency of these efforts, that what had originally been a local issue, became one of national importance.

## II

The most important result of the abolition of separate schools from the standpoint of Dominion politics as a whole, was the inauguration by the minority affected of a six-year lego-political struggle for their restoration. Beginning in August 1889, with a letter from Archbishop Tache to the press, the movement continued until after the visit of the papal delegate, Mgr. Merry del Val, in 1897. (1)

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(1) F.P., Aug. 14, 1889; O.D. Skelton, 'Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier', (Toronto, 1921), Vol. II, pp. 39 et seq.. (Hereafter referred to as Skelton, 'Laurier'.)

Both the appeals to the Courts and to Parliament made during these years, proved unsuccessful, and ended with the defeat of the Government whose aid they had sought.

The agitation for the restoration of these schools developed along two main lines: one lay, and the other ecclesiastical. The indignation of the lay members of the community was expressed in numerous petitions as well as through the medium of the leading religious newspapers. Thus no sooner had the Greenway Government introduced its new school legislation, than it received a large number of petitions from members of Catholic communities throughout the Province. (1) Further evidence of the resentment of the lay element was revealed by the strong support which the Catholic community in general gave to the petitions, in many cases instigated by the hierarchy, requesting the Dominion Government to grant some measure of relief for their grievances. (2) At the same time a vigorous campaign was carried on in Catholic newspapers such as Le Manitoba (French) and the North-West Review (English), between the years 1890 and 1896 for the restoration of the rights of the minority. Better known is the work of the two Catholic prelates of St. Boniface towards this same end.

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(1) These petitions, numbering over a hundred, are listed in the Journals of the Legislative Assembly for 1890. The originals may be found among the Records of the Clerk of the Executive Council for 1890. (In the Manitoba Provincial Library.)

(2) e.g. Can. S.P. (No. 63), Vol. XXIV, No. 17, 1891, pp. 69-74; Ibid., (No. 33), Vol. XXVI, No. 11, 1893, pp. 7-9, & 15.

The strenuous efforts of Archbishop Tache and his successor, Archbishop Langevin, to obtain some measure of redress, have been narrated at length by their biographers.(1)

The theme of this section, however, is not concerned with the details of the minority's campaign, but rather centers around the constitutional and political machinery which the struggle set in operation.

The efforts of the Catholic minority to obtain some redress for its grievances by constitutional means proceeded along two lines. The minority first had recourse to the general provisions of the British North America Act: the withholding of bills by the Lieutenant-Governor, and the exercise of the powers of disallowance by the Dominion Government. It was only when these first efforts appeared to have failed, that action was taken along the second line, seeking relief under the educational clauses of Manitoba Act and the British North America Act.(2)

The endeavours to have the new school legislation withheld by the Lieutenant-Governor were made in March 1890. Two representations, one dated March 27th, dealing with the use of French as an official language of the Province, and the other, dated March 28th, dealing with separate schools,

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(1) Dom Benoit, 'Vie de Mgr. Tache', (Montreal, 1904), t. II, pp. 639-90 & 779-831, (hereafter referred to as Dom Benoit, 'Tache'); A. G. Morice, 'Vie de Mgr. Langevin', pp. 127-49.

(2) 30 & 31 Vic., c. 3, s. 55; 30 & 31 Vic., c. 3, ss. 56 & 90; 33 Vic., c. 3, s. 22; 30 & 31 Vic., c. 3, s. 93.

were made to Lieutenant-Governor Schultz by Mr. James E.P. Prendergast, M.P.P. for Woodlands, on behalf of the French Catholic members of the Legislature. (1) To each of these representations was attached a memorandum stating that for reasons set forth therein the legislation referred to was ultra vires. Reference was made in one memorandum to the refusal of an earlier Lieutenant-Governor (Cauchon) to sanction similar legislation passed in 1879 for the abolition of French as an official language.

Views similar to these were expressed by Archbishop Tache in an interview with Lieutenant-Governor Schultz, which took place about the same time. (2) His Grace was of the opinion that the reservation of these Bills would prevent many misfortunes and spare great annoyances. The futility of these protests of the minority was revealed a few days later, however, when on March 31st, the Lieutenant-Governor accorded royal assent to the Bills.

Relief was then sought through the provisions in the constitution for the disallowing of provincial legislation. Accordingly, on April 7th, 1890, the Catholic section of the Board of Education forwarded to the Secretary of State at Ottawa a petition requesting disallowance of the legislation affecting separate schools. The petition claimed

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(1) Can. S.P. (No. 63), Vol. XXIV, No. 17, 1891, pp. 6-10.

(2) Tache, 'A Page...', p. 42.



that the Acts referred to:

"...prejudicially affected the rights and privileges of the Catholic minority of the province with respect to Catholic schools inasmuch as by said acts the Catholic schools of this province are wiped out." (1)

This attempt to obtain disallowance was thwarted by several serious obstacles. One of these was the unpopularity of disallowance in Manitoba following its application against Manitoba's railroad enterprises in the eighties. (2) A second was the proximity of the Dominion general elections. Disallowance of a provincial act at such a time would provide the Opposition with a powerful political weapon. (3)

But the greatest single obstacle was a resolution moved by the Hon. Mr. Blake, one of the Liberal leaders, in the Dominion House of Commons in 1890, stating that:

"...it is expedient to provide means whereby on solemn occasions touching the exercise of the power of disallowance, or of the appellate power as to educational legislation, important questions of law or fact may be referred by the Executive to a high judicial tribunal for hearing and consideration, in such a mode that the authorities interested may be represented and that a reasoned opinion may be obtained for the information of the Executive." (4)

This was unanimously passed by the House.

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(1) Can. S. P. (No. 63), Vol. XXIV, No. 17, 1891, p. 6.

(2) Tache, 'A Page...', p. 44. For fuller treatment, vide infra, p. 229; regarding the question of disallowance, vide infra, pp. 63-4.

(3) Dom Benoit, 'Tache', t. 11, pp. 681-2.

(4) D. H. C., 1890, Apr. 29, p. 4084.

Three general conclusions emerged from the brief discussions centering around the Blake motion of 1890, and the second reading of the subsequent amendment to the Supreme and Exchequer Courts Act during the 1891 session, whereby the motion became law. (1) The first of these was that the amending Bill was not intended "...in any way to limit the power of disallowance which is conferred by the British North America Act." The second was that the main object of the Bill would be "...to provide greater facilities in investigating constitutional questions..." than the Government had previously possessed. (2) And thirdly, as Sir John Macdonald had pointed out in expressing his approval of the motion:

"The Executive is not relieved from any responsibility because of any answer given by the tribunal. ...the answer of the tribunal will simply be for the information of the Government. The Government may dissent from that decision, and it may be their duty to do so if they differ from the conclusion to which the court has come." (3)

Since the Blake resolution could not become law, nor be applied for twelve months, the time fixed by the constitution would by that time have expired, thereby relieving the Government of a difficult problem. (4) In the face of such difficulties, therefore, the minority abandoned

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(1) D.H.C., 1890, Apr. 29, pp. 4084 et seq.; Ibid., Aug. 7, 1891, pp. 3584 et seq.

(2) Ibid., Sir John Thompson, p. 3586.

(3) Ibid., 1890, Apr. 29, p. 4094.

(4) Tache, 'A Page...', p. 44.

hope of obtaining disallowance ~~hope of obtaining~~  
~~disallowance~~, and sought relief under the educational  
 clauses of the constitution provided for this specific  
 purpose.

The effort to obtain redress in the courts, was based  
 upon sub-section (1) of section 22 of the Manitoba Act,  
 which stated:

"Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect  
 any right or privilege with respect to Denominational  
 Schools which any class of persons have by law or  
 practice in the Province at the union."(1)

On this ground it was sought to establish that the school  
 legislation was ultra vires.

An application argued before Mr. Justice Killam of the  
 Court of Queen's Bench to quash two assessment by-laws  
 of the City of Winnipeg which were passed in pursuance  
 of the Public Schools Act, resulted in an adverse decision  
 for the minority. The application was made by Mr. J.K. Barrett,  
 a Roman Catholic ratepayer of the City of Winnipeg. It  
 asked that the by-law be quashed on the ground that:

"...by the said by-laws the amounts to be levied for  
 school purposes for the Protestant and Roman Catholic  
 Schools were united, and one rate levied upon Protestants  
 and Roman Catholics for the whole sum."(2)

On October 27th, 1890, the case was argued and the application  
 refused. This decision was confirmed by an appeal to the  
 Full Bench, heard on December 13th 1890, judgment being

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(1) 33 Vic., c.3, s.22.

(2) 7 Man. 275.

rendered on February 2nd, of the following year.(1)  
 The Court held, Justice Dubuc dissenting , that the  
 Public Schools Act passed by the Province was intra vires.

On appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada, the  
 judgment given by the Court of Queen's Bench for Manitoba  
 was reversed. Argument was heard on May 27th and 29th,  
 1891, and judgment delivered on October 28th of the same  
 year. In the opinion of the Court, the Act referred to,  
 53 Vic., 2.38 :

"...prejudicially affected rights and privileges  
 with respect to their schools (i.e. schools of the  
 Roman Catholic minority) which they had by practice  
 in the province at union, and was ultra vires of  
 the legislature of the province."(2)

The Logan case was a direct result of this decision,  
 which threatened with disaster the newly established  
 school system of the province. Accordingly, "with the  
 consent and practical assistance" (3) of the Manitoba  
 Government, Mr. Alexander Logan, a ratepayer and a  
 member of the Church of England, made application to the  
 Court of Queen's Bench for Manitoba to quash a by-law  
 of the City of Winnipeg "...levying a rate for schools  
 upon all religious denominations alike."(4) The case

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(1) 7 Man. 274

(2) 19 Can.S.C.R., 375.

(3) See statement by the Hon. Mr. Sifton in the Manitoba  
 legislature on April 14th, reported in the 'Free Press'  
 of April 15, 1892.

(4) 8 Man., 4.

was argued and decided on December 14th, 1891. It was held in accordance with the judgment of the Supreme Court in the case of Barrett v. The City of Winnipeg, reversing the judgment of the Court of Queen's Bench for Manitoba, that the act in question was ultra vires.

The judgment of the Supreme Court was in turn reversed by the finding of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council following an appeal by the City of Winnipeg. This appeal was heard on July 12th, 13th, and 14th, 1892, and the judgment of their Lordships was delivered on July 30th, by Lord MacNaghten. Their Lordships held that the Public Schools Act of 1890, abolishing the state-supported separate school system established by law subsequent to the union, was not ultra vires. (1)

Meanwhile, efforts to obtain relief under sub-sections (2) and (3) of section 22 of the Manitoba Act, had preceded the action in the courts. (2) In accordance with these

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(1) (1892) A.C., 193.

(2) The sub-sections referred to stated:

"(2) An appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any Act or decision of the Legislature of the Province, or any Provincial Authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to Education.

(3) In case any such Provincial Law, as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section, is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council in any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial Authorities on that behalf, then, and in every such case, and only so far as the circumstances may require,

provisions, the Roman Catholics of Manitoba, during the month of August 1890, forwarded to the Dominion Government a petition asking:

"That it may be declared that such a Provincial law does prejudicially affect the rights and privileges with regard to denominational schools which Roman Catholics had by law or practice in the Province at the union."

and further requesting:

"That such direction may be given and provision made for the relief of the Roman Catholics of the Province as... may seem fit."(1)

The Dominion Government, however, decided not to take any action in the matter until the Courts had arrived at a decision as to the validity of the law. The petition was dealt with by an Order in Council of April 4th, 1891.(2) Annexed to the Order was a Report of the Minister of Justice, Sir John Thompson, dated March 21st. In the Report, the grievances set forth by the minority and the judgments delivered in the various cases heard before the courts, were reviewed. The Report referred to the case then before the Supreme Court of Canada, and stated that should this appeal to the courts be successful, the acts in question would be annulled by judicial decision and the Roman Catholic minority of Manitoba would receive protection

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the Parliament of Canada may make such remedial laws for the due execution of the provision of this section, and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section."  
( 33 Vic, c.3, s.88. )

(1) Can.S.P.(No.63),Vol.XXIV,No.17,1891,p.76.

(2) Ibid., p.3.

and redress. But:

"If the legal controversy should result in the decision of the Court of Queen's Bench being sustained, the time will come...to consider the petitions which have been presented by and<sup>9</sup>behalf of the Roman Catholics of Manitoba for redress under subsections 2 and 3 of section 22 of the "Manitoba Act". (1)

Following the decision of the Courts the Roman Catholic minority in Manitoba again sought relief from the Dominion Government. The petition of October 1892 consequently came as a logical consequence of the Report of the Minister of Justice. It asked that the statutes in force prior to 1890 be re-enacted in so far as might be necessary to secure to the Roman Catholics of the Province their system of state-supported separate schools, or at least that the Acts of 1890 be so modified or amended as to produce the same effect. (2) Their counsel, Mr. J. S. Ewart, in forwarding the petition, requested that it be considered as supplementary to certain other petitions forwarded during the preceding months. (3)

A Sub-committee of the Canadian Privy Council was then appointed to hear the petitions and to decide the right of the minority to have the appeal heard. On November 26th, 1892, the Sub-committee heard the case for the petitioners presented by Mr. J. S. Ewart, Q. C. of Winnipeg. His report was made known by an Order in Council of December 29th. (4)

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(1) Ibid., pp. 4-5.

(2) Can. S. P. (No. 33), Vol. XXVI, No. 11, 1893, p. 17.

(3) Ibid., p. 15.

(4) J. S. Ewart, op. cit., p. 42; Can. S. P. (No. 33), Vol. XXVI, No. 11, 1893, pp. 1 et seq.

In granting a hearing of the appeal, the Sub-committee expressed the opinion that:

"...the application is not to be dealt with at present as a matter of political character or involving political action on the part of Your Excellency's advisers. It is to be dealt with by Your Excellency in Council, regardless of the personal views which Your Excellency's advisers may hold with regard to denominational schools and without the political action of any of the members of Your Excellency's Council being considered as pledged by the fact of the appeal being entertained and heard. If the contention of the petitioners be correct, that such an appeal can be sustained, the inquiry will be rather of a judicial than political character. The Sub-committee have so treated it in hearing counsel, and in permitting their only meeting to be open to the public." (1)

The Report also recommended that the Manitoba Government be duly notified, that it be given an opportunity to appear at the hearing, and that it be fully supplied with copies of the petitions and minutes referring to the case. In conclusion, several preliminary questions of law were set forth, to which, in the opinion of the Sub-committee, the attention of the representatives of the petitioners and the Manitoba Government should be drawn. (2)

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(1) Ibid., p.6.

(2) Among the legal points upon which the Dominion Government sought information before taking further action, were the following:

"1. Is the appeal referred to in the said memorials and petitions and asserted thereby, such an appeal as is admissible by sub-section 3 of section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, or by sub-section 22 of the Manitoba Act, 33 Victoria (1870), chapter 3, Canada?

2. Are the grounds set forth in the petitions and memorials such as may be the subject of appeal under the authority of the sub-sections above referred to, or either of them?

3. Does the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the cases of Barrett v. the City of



On January 21st, 1893, the appeal was heard by the Privy Council of Canada. Mr. Ewart again appeared on behalf of the minority, but the Manitoba Government did not consider it necessary to be represented. (1) The proceedings, like those of the Sub-committee, were again open to the public.

After hearing the appeal, the Government decided, in order to clarify its position before carrying the proceedings further, to prepare a case for submission to the Supreme

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Winnipeg, dispose of, or conclude, the application for redress based on the contention that the rights of the Roman Catholic minority which accrued to them after the Union, under the statutes of the province, have been interfered with by the two statutes of 1890, complained of in the said petitions and memorials?

4. Does sub-section 3 of section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, apply to Manitoba?

5. Has His Excellency the Governor-General in Council power to make the declarations or remedial orders which are asked for in the said memorials and petitions, assuming the material facts to be stated therein, or has His Excellency the Governor-General in Council any other jurisdiction in the premises?

6. Did the Acts of Manitoba relating to education, passed prior to the session of 1890, confer on or continue to the minority, a "right or privilege in relation to education", within the meaning of sub-section 2 of section 22 of the Manitoba Act, or to establish a system of "separate or dissentient schools" within the meaning of sub-section 3 of section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, if said section 93 be found to be applicable to Manitoba; and, if so, did the two acts complained of, or either of them, affect any right or privilege of the minority in such a manner that an appeal will be thereunder to the Governor-General in Council?"

(Can. S.P. (No. 40d), Vol. XXVII, No. 17, 1894, p. 5.)

(1) J.S. Ewart, op. cit., pp. 51-68; Can. S.P. (No. 33), Vol. XXVI, No. 11, 1893, p. 20.

Court. (1) Offers to, participate in the framing of such a case were declined by the Government of Manitoba, although the Province desired to receive a copy of the case when settled and to be informed of the date fixed for the hearing. By an Order in Council of July 21st, the case was referred to the Supreme Court for hearing, and argument was heard on October 17th, 1893. (2)

The Court delivered judgment on February 20th, 1894, holding ( Justices Fournier and King dissenting ) that neither under subsection 2 of section 22 of the Manitoba Act, nor under sub-section 3 of section 93 of the British North America Act did any right of appeal lay. Upon each of the questions of law submitted the Court was divided in opinion, but all the questions were answered in the negative by a majority of three judges out of five. (3)

An appeal was then carried to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the name of Brophy and other citizens of the minority in Manitoba. The Privy Council heard the appeal on December 11th, 12th, and 13th, 1894, and delivered judgment on January 29th, 1895. In reversing the judgment of the Supreme Court, their Lordships held that an appeal lay to the Governor-General in Council under section 22,

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(1) Can. S. P. (No. 33c), Vol. XXVI, No. 11, 1893, p. 1.

(2) Can. S. P. (No. 40d), Vol. XXVII, No. 17, 1894, p. 2; ibid., pp. 5-6.

(3) 22 Can. S. C. R. 577-721, see also 1895 A. C. 212.

sub-section 2 of the Manitoba Act, which applied to "rights and privileges acquired by legislation in the province of Manitoba" subsequent to union. (1)

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(1) 1895, A.C., 56. The questions of law submitted were answered in an Imperial Order in Council dated February 2nd, 1895, as follows:

"(1)...That the appeal referred to...is such an appeal as is admissible under sub-section 2 of section 22 of the Manitoba Act, 33 Vict.(1870), c.3, Canada.

(2)...That grounds are not set forth in the petitions and memorials, such as may be the subject of appeal under the authority of the sub-section of the Manitoba Act immediately above referred to.

(3)...That the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the cases of Barrett v. the City of Winnipeg does not dispose of, nor conclude, the application for redress based on the contention that the rights of the Roman Catholic minority, which accrued to them after the union under the Statutes of the Province, have been interfered with by the two Statutes of 1890 complained of in the said petitions and memorials.

(4)...That sub-section 3 of section 23 of the British North America Act, 1867, does not apply to Manitoba.

(5)...That the Governor-General has jurisdiction and the appeal is well founded, but that the particular course to be pursued must be determined by the authorities to whom it has been committed by Statute; that the general character of the steps to be taken is sufficiently defined by sub-section 3 of section 22 of the Manitoba Act, 1870.

(6)...That the Acts of Manitoba relating to education passed prior to the session of 1890 did confer on the minority a right or privilege in relation to education within the meaning of sub-section 22 of section 22 of the Manitoba Act, which alone applies; that the two Acts of 1890 complained of did affect a right or privilege of the minority in such a manner that an appeal will be thereunder to the Governor-General in Council."  
(Can. S.P. (No. 20), Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, 1895, pp. 14-5.)

The minority then made application for a hearing before the Privy Council for Canada. The proceedings took place on February 26th and March 5th, 6th, and 7th, 1895. A report of the Council dated March 19th, announced the decision at which it had arrived.<sup>(1)</sup> It was upon this decision that the Remedial Order of March 21st to the Manitoba Government was based.

The Remedial Order reviewed briefly the steps leading to the appeal, and the reasons for allowing it, and concluded as follows:

"...His Excellency the Governor-General in Council was pleased to adjudge and declare, and it is hereby adjudged and declared that by the two Acts passed by the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba, on the first day of May, 1890, intituled respectively "An Act respecting the Department of Education," and "An Act respecting Public Schools," the rights and privileges of the Roman Catholic of the said province, in relation to education, prior to the 1st day of May, 1890, have been affected by depriving the Roman Catholic minority of the following ~~right~~ rights and privileges, which, previous to and until the 1st day of May, 1890, such minority had, viz.:-

- (a) The right to build, maintain, equip, manage, conduct and support Roman Catholic schools, in the manner provided for by the said statutes which were repealed by the two Acts of 1890, aforesaid.
- (b) The right to share proportionately in any grant made out of the public funds for the purposes of education.
- (c) The right of exemption of such Roman Catholics as contribute to Roman Catholic schools, from all payment or contribution to the support of any other schools.

And His Excellency the Governor-General was further pleased to declare and decide, and it is hereby declared

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(1) Can. S. P. (No. 20b), Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, 1895, p. 331; Can. S. P. (No. 20), Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, 1895, pp. 14-177; ibid., pp. 179-85.

that it seems requisite that the system of education embodied in the two Acts of 1890, aforesaid, shall be supplemented by a Provincial Act or Acts which will restore to the Roman Catholic minority the said rights and privileges of which such minority has been so far deprived as aforesaid, and which will modify the said acts of 1890, so far and so far only as may be necessary to give effect to the provisions restoring the rights and privileges in paragraphs (a), (b), (c), herein before mentioned.

Whereof the Lieutenant Governor of the province of Manitoba for the time being, and the legislature of the said province, and all persons whom it may concern, are to take notice and govern themselves accordingly."(1)

During the early summer of 1895 negotiations took place between the Dominion and the Province in the hopes of arriving at an amicable settlement. Communications took place at Ottawa between the Governor-General and the Hon. Messrs. Greenway and Sifton, Premier and Attorney-General, respectively, of the Province of Manitoba. The nature of these discussions was not disclosed, however, inasmuch as the Governor-General was not acting on the advice of the Dominion Government.(2)

On June 24th, 1895, the Manitoba Government issued its reply.(3) In a memorial adopted by the Manitoba Legislature were set forth the reasons for which the Government considered it impossible to comply with the Remedial Order. "Compliance

(1) Ibid., p. 189.

(2) D.H.C., 1895, June 13, Mr. Foster (Government leader in the House of Commons), p. 2572.

(3) Can. S.F. (No. 20c), Vol. LVIII, No. 10, 1895, pp. 351-4.

with the terms of the order", it was stated, "would restore Catholic separate schools with no more satisfactory guarantees of their efficiency than existed prior to the said date." The educational policy embodied in the present system had been adopted "...after an examination of the results of the policy theretofore followed under which Roman Catholic schools, (now sought to be restored) had existed for a period upwards of 19 years." So far as the Government was aware there had never been an attempt made to defend these separate schools on their merit. Nor was the Government aware of any ground upon which might be justified the support of such schools at the public expense.

Apart from objections upon principle which would be taken to any attempt to modify the educational statutes of the Province so as to re-establish separate schools, other serious objections existed. The sparsity of settlement, together with the large amount of land exempt from school taxation rendered difficult the Province's task of maintaining an efficient system of primary schools. Moreover, the restoration of a set of Roman Catholic schools would be followed by the establishment of sets of schools by the Anglicans, and perhaps the Icelanders, Mennonites and other groups. The Government believed that when the Remedial Order was passed the Dominion Government had not been fully informed as to the working of the former school system. It therefore proposed a full

and deliberate investigation of the subject and urged the exercise of the greatest care and deliberation.

Certain legal aspects of the matter were also referred to in the memorial. Reference was made to the opinion of certain authorities that any action taken upon the subject by the Parliament of Canada might be irrevocable. Any attempt at a restoration of separate schools by federal legislation would be illusory, since such schools could not be carried on without the right to levy school taxes and the right to participate in the municipal grant, and these privileges could be conferred only by provincial legislation. Hence any action taken by the Parliament of Canada with a view to the restoration of the privileges of the Roman Catholic minority would need to be supplemented by the voluntary support of the Provincial Legislature. If this were the case:

"...nothing could be more unfortunate from the standpoint of the Roman Catholic people themselves, than any hasty or peremptory action on the part of the Parliament of Canada, because such action would probably produce strained relations and tend to prevent the possibility of restoring harmony."

Reference was also made to the fact that prior to the recent decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba had "...either expressly or impliedly given pledges to their constituents which they feel in honour bound loyally to fulfil." The memorial concluded with a profession of loyalty to the Queen and to the laws enacted for the good government of Canada by

the Parliament of Great Britain.

In a further attempt to persuade the Government of Manitoba to pass remedial legislation, the Dominion Government issued a second Order in Council, on July 27th. (1) Attached to the Order in Council was the report of a Sub-committee of the Privy Council which had been appointed to consider the report of the Manitoba Government. The report reviewed certain objections set forth by the Manitoba Government, and manifested a desire to have the matter settled by the Local Legislature despite the fact that "...the Remedial Order coupled with the answer of the Manitoba Government vested the Federal Legislature with complete jurisdiction in the premises..." Provincial legislation in order to be satisfactory did not necessarily have to follow the exact lines of the Remedial Order. Such amendments could be made by the Legislature of Manitoba without impairing the efficiency or control of the public schools. An expression of the opinion of the Manitoba Government was desired concerning such changes, and the report indicated a desire for friendly negotiations on the subject. At the same time, however, attention was drawn to an announcement made by the Federal Government at the last session of the Dominion Parliament intimating that if the Manitoba Government failed to make satisfactory arrangements for the relief of the minority, a special session of the Federal

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(1) Can. S.P. (No. 39), Vol. XXIX, No. 11, 1896, pp. 1-3.



Parliament would be summoned not later than the first Thursday of January 1896, for the introduction of remedial legislation. Further communications with the Manitoba Government were therefore desired in order to discover upon what lines they would be willing to make amendments to the school act, and whether an arrangement were possible whereby federal action in the matter would not be necessary.

Again the Manitoba Government refused to comply with the Order. Its reply was given in a report of the Attorney-General, Clifford Sifton, dated December 20th, 1895. (1) The report was approved by a provincial Order in Council of the 21st. In the report, the Order on Council of July 27th was interpreted as a demand for the restoration of state-aided separate schools. If such were the case, the consideration of concessions was irrelevant to the issue. The educational statutes in force in the province had been held valid by the courts and had received the support of the Legislative Assembly and the electors. In many quarters the nature of the decision given by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (in the Brophy case) was misunderstood:

"Its entire scope and effect, so far as the Parliament or Government of Canada is concerned...is to declare and define the power of the Governor-General in Council and the Parliament of Canada in the exercise of the appellate powers."

It was not a mandate requiring the Dominion Government to act. For this reason the question of relief came before

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(1) Can.S.P.(no.39), Vol. XXIX, No. 11, 1896, pp. 4-7.

the Governor-General in Council as a matter of policy, and would come before Parliament in a similar manner.

The application of such a remedy threatened the principle of provincial autonomy. Coercion of a province was only justified by "...clear and unmistakable proof of flagrant wrong-doing on the part of the Provincial Authority." Since the reasons for seeking to re-establish the separate school system were not clear, Manitoba was obliged to reject the proposal.

In addition there were doubts as to certain legal aspects of the question, whether, for example a remedial order, once issued, could be amended or rescinded. The failure of the Government to investigate the matter before submitting it to Parliament was viewed with regret. Such a course seemed unjustified, and must:

"...create the conviction that the educational interests of the people of Manitoba are being dealt with in a hostile and peremptory way by a tribunal whose members have not approached the subject in a judicial spirit or taken the proceedings necessary to enable them to form a proper opinion upon the merits of the question."

Investigation was advised as a desirable course. The efforts of the Province to increase the efficiency of its educational system were referred to. The willingness of the Manitoba Government to remedy any grievances was revealed by the constant amendments to its educational legislation. In conclusion it was observed that by leaving the question to be so dealt with, the interests of the minority would be best served.

The way was now clear for the introduction of remedial legislation by the Dominion Government. On February 11th, 1896, the Remedial Bill received first reading in the Dominion House of Commons. (1) The debate on the second reading was bitter and protracted, lasting from March 3rd to 20th. (2)

Meanwhile the Dominion Government, fearing that the term of Parliament would expire before the passage of the legislation could be effected, opened negotiations with the Manitoba Government in hopes of obtaining a settlement of the question. The Hon. Alphonse Desjardins and Sir Donald Smith, representing the Dominion Government, and Clifford Sifton and J. D. Cameron, on behalf of the Province, met at a conference in Winnipeg. (3) Negotiations lasted from March 28th to April 1st, but failed to settle the issue. Efforts to pass the bill through the Committee of the Whole were then resumed by the Dominion Government. (4) By April 15th it became evident that it would be impossible to pass remedial legislation before Parliament expired by the effluxion of time, and the

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(1) D.H.C., 1896, Feb. 11, pp. 1511-4.

(2) Remedial Act (Manitoba), D.H.C., Part I, On the Second Reading of the Bill, March 3 to March 20, 1896, From the Revised Edition of the Official Hansard, Ottawa, 1896.

(3) Can. S.P. (No. 39c), Vol. XXIX, No. 11, 1896, pp. 1-11.

(4) Remedial Act (Manitoba), D.H.C., Part II, Proceedings Subsequent to Second Reading, March 20 to April 15, 1896, From the Revised Edition of the Official, Hansard, Ottawa, 1896.

Remedial Bill was dropped.

The defeat of the Government in the election campaign of 1896 blasted the hopes entertained by the minority of obtaining relief under the educational provisions of the constitution. The question ended as it began, a purely political issue. On November 16th, 1896, a compromise was arranged between the new Laurier Liberal administration at Ottawa, and the Greenway Liberal administration in Manitoba. (1)

The Provincial Government agreed to amend the "Public Schools Act" so as to make provision for religious teaching under certain conditions. Such teaching would be granted if authorized by the majority of the school trustees, or if the board of school trustees were petitioned by the parents or guardians of at least ten school children in a rural district or of twenty-five in a city, town or village. Provision was made for the setting aside of certain hours in the day for such exercises, and the appointment of clergymen or duly authorized persons to conduct the exercises. In villages and rural districts where the children of the Roman Catholic or Protestant group numbered twenty-five or more, and in towns and cities where they numbered forty or more, the school board would, if so petitioned, provide one teacher of the faith desired. Schools lacking accomodation for the separation of pupils for religious exercises would conduct exercises on alternate days. The Department of Education was empowered to

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(1) Can.S.P.(No.35),Vol.XXVI,No. 13, 1897,pp. 1-2.

make regulations for the carrying out of the act. Pupils were not to be separated by religious denomination during secular work. Wherever accomodation permitted, pupils were to be placed in separate rooms for religious teaching. Provision was to be made for instruction upon the bi-lingual system wherever the native language of the people was other than English. And lastly, by a conscience clause, the pupils were allowed <sup>to</sup> absent themselves from religious exercises at the request of their parents.

## CHAPTER II. THE ROOTS OF THE SCHOOL ISSUE.

Between the years 1870 and 1890, there occurred in the realm of Manitoba politics three important developments which paved the way for the emergence of the school question of 1889. The first of these was the decline in the political influence of the French element among the population. The second may be described as the rise of provincialism. The third, which in its widest application embraces the first two, was the maturing of party politics within the province. An examination of the first of these movements will serve to show how the issue became possible; an examination of the second will serve to show how by 1890 the adoption of such an issue became necessary, while an account of the third will serve to set the school question in its proper perspective with regard to the development of parties within the province. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to attempt to discover what, from the political standpoint, constituted the main roots of the Manitoba school question.

### I.

The first two decades of Manitoba's history as a province witnessed the decline of the French element of the

population from a position of security and independence to one of vacillating opportunism. The cause of this <sup>decline</sup> must be sought in the change in the racial character of the Province's population. In 1870, when the Province entered Confederation, the French and French Metis constituted more than half of its total population. (1) In addition to the strength derived from its numerical superiority, the political security of the French Catholic group at that time was still further increased by the fact that it possessed a unity of outlook and identity of interests which contrasted strongly with the divisions which marked the English-speaking population at that time. (2) By 1890, however, the Province had become overwhelmingly English-speaking and Protestant, with the French element reduced to less than one seventh of the total population. (3) It was this change that made possible <sup>the abolition of</sup> many of the privileges won by the French in 1870. The agitation led by Riel in 1869, on behalf of the French half-breeds, had resulted, among other things, in the granting of a system of separate schools and the establishment of the official use of the French language in 1870. (4) Twenty years later, the agitation stirred up by the Hon. Messrs. Greenway and Martin, was to result in the passage of legislation depriving

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(1) Census returns, 1871: Canada Sessional Papers, 1871, Vol. V, No. 20, pp. 92, 94 & 95.

(2) C. Martin, 'The Red River Settlement', C. & P., Vol. XIX, pp. 63 et seq..

(3) Although the Census for 1891 does not distinguish between French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians, the number of French Canadians and Metis may be considered as less than 20,571, ('Census of Canada', D, Vol. IV, 1890-91, pp. 386-7) which represents the total number of Roman Catholics (French and English) in the Province. The Province's population at that time was 152,506. ('Census of Canada', Vol. I, 1893, p. 10.)

(4) Manitoba Act, 1870, 33 Victoria, c. 3, ss. 22 & 23; and G. F. G. Stanley, 'The Birth of Western Canada', (London, 1936), pp. 111-3, & 114.

the French of separate schools and of the official use of their language.<sup>(1)</sup> In the events responsible for the decline of the political power of the French between 1870 and 1890, and the effect of this decline on the political policy and security of this group, may be found one of the most important roots of the Manitoba School Question.

Prior to 1870 there existed in the Red River colony three important bodies, whose well-being depended on the continued pursuit of certain common policies. In order of chronological sequence these bodies were: The French Metis or half-breeds, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Roman Catholic Church. All three possessed two interests in common: the continuance of the colony's isolation and the maintenance of the British connection, since while the former served to check the advance of the whiteman's civilization, the latter prevented the north-westerly movement of American territorial expansion.<sup>(2)</sup>

The pursuit of these policies was a vital necessity to the Hudson's Bay which was at that time the governing power in the Colony. An organization whose existence depended on trade in furs and whose charter had been granted by the British Crown, could not readily countenance

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(1) Manitoba Statutes, 1890, 53 Victoriae, c.37, c.38 & c.14: also Vide infra, pp.133etseq.

(2) Stanley, op.cit., pp.10, 17, & 24-5.



either the advent of an agricultural population, the presence of which would exterminate the fur-bearing animals or at least push back the fur frontier,<sup>(1)</sup> or the prospects of absorption by a foreign power which would automatically extinguish the Company's title.

The retention of these policies was equally important to the French Metis, although for different motives. But since they possessed neither chroniclers nor records such as the Hudson's Bay Company and the Roman Catholic church possessed, their attitude towards isolation and the British connection has been somewhat obscure. The recent study by Mr. G.F.G. Stanley has at last made clear their stand on the question of isolation. (2) The half-breeds were greatly concerned about the danger of settlement by the whites, whom they feared would steal their country. The pursuit of such a policy of isolation was closely bound up with adherence to the British connection, since the latter served to keep out the flood of American immigration. Apart, however, from the valuable contribution of Father A.G. Morice in showing the loyalty of the French Metis in 1870, (3) there is little beyond negative evidence to show their attachment to the British cause prior to that date.

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(1) Ibid., pp. 10, 17, 20, & 23.

(2) Ibid., pp. 48-9.

(3) A.G. Morice, 'A History of the Red River Insurrection after official Documents and Non-Catholic Sources', (Winnipeg, 1935), pp. 92-7.

Their attitude throughout this period might thus be defined as one of passive neutrality. The Metis accepted the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company, they showed neither marked pre-British nor pre-American tendencies, nor yet did they evince any desire for independence. It was not until 1869, when obliged to choose between the prospects of British protection through union with Canada or American absorption that, after resisting both alternatives as long as they were able, their stand on the matter was made clear.

The last of these bodies, the Roman Catholic Church, in favouring isolation and the British bond, was merely carrying out its traditional policy. During the century which had elapsed since the Conquest, it had seen in the British connection the firmest bulwark against the assimilating forces exerted by American civilization over the racial minorities in the United States. (1) In Canada, where the Church's position had been strengthened by the constitutional guarantees conceded to the French Canadians respecting their language, laws, and educational institutions, it was able to combat the forces of assimilation by associating itself with the cause of French Canadian nationalism. (2) It will be observed that

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(1) In particular, the fate of the French in Louisiana. Regarding the policy of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada see: C. Martin, C. & P., Vol. XIX, (Toronto, 1911), pp. 77-8, & C. A. Dawson, 'Group Settlement', pp. 373-4.

(2) Stanley, op.cit., p. 60, also Dawson, 'Group Settlement', Introd., p. xv.

The situation in R d River, however, differed considerably from that existing in Canada. For here the Church's protection against the secularizing forces of the progressive nineteenth-century civilization lay not in constitutional safeguards, but in the surrounding stretches of wilderness and in the isolationist policy of the Hudson's Bay Company.

With the acquisition of Rupert's Land and the North-western Territory by the Dominion of Canada, the protection which the Church and the Metis had enjoyed was threatened. Although the country was to remain British the period of isolation was at an end. Thus while the change wrought by union with Canada, was primarily of economic importance, marking a transition from fur economy to agriculture, politically it was of no less significance. The insurrection of 1870 which followed, was the result of the fears of the two bodies referred to, the Metis and the Church, concerning their position under the new order. The former sought to secure protection against the land-fever of the flood of immigrants; the latter endeavoured to obtain a guarantee under the new regime of the privileges it had enjoyed under the old.(I)

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(I) This dual nature of the 1870 rising has been explained by Stanley as follows: "The French half-breeds could never have carried out their successful resistance had they not had the advice and tacit assistance of their clergy.---The Roman Catholic clergy saw that unless some definite guarantee was received from the Canadian Government, unless some breakwater could be raised against the

The negotiations at Ottawa following the insurrection had two results. The claims of the Metis were to be satisfied by an issue of scrip, while the rights which the Church deemed vital to the protection of the Metis colony, which Quebec viewed with especial interest, including separate schools, official use of the French language, and the additional safeguard of a Legislative Council were guaranteed by the Manitoba Act (1) Thus, the effect of the transfer from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Canadian Government was to substitute for the natural barriers and the isolationist policy of the Company, what Mr. Ewart later described as " the doubtful blessings of a written constitution." (2)

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~~The~~ tide of Protestant English immigration, the French Catholic Metis would suffer the same fate as the French Catholic Louisianian. Bishop Tache had returned from Canada in 1857 full of apprehension for the future of his race and religion in the North-west, and expressed his fears in a letter to Sir George Cartier: "J'ai toujours redouté l'entrée du Nord-Ouest dans la Confédération parce que j'ai toujours cru que l'élément français catholique serait sacrifié. . . Le nouveau système me semble de nature à amener la ruine de ce qui a coûté si cher!"

Accordingly, certain members of the French Catholic clergy particularly the Abbé Ritchet, identifying the cause of the metis with that of the French Canadian, threw the weight of their influence on the side of the half-breeds rather than upon that of Canada. Thus the Red River Rebellion, which was fundamentally the revolt of a semi-primitive society against the importation of a more progressive, alien culture, assumed a religious and racial aspect..." (Stanley, *op.cit.*, p.60-1.) See also A.G. Morice 'History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada', (Toronto, 1910), Vol.II, p.2.

(1) Stanley, *op.cit.*, pp.119-20, 189 and Manitoba Act, 1870, 33 Victoriae, c.3, ss.22&23, & 9, 10.

(2) Mr. J.S. Ewart before the Canadian Privy Council, Ottawa, Mar. 4, 1895. (Can.S.P. (No.20), Vol.XXVIII, No.10, 1895, p.18.)

From 1870 onwards, the attitude of the French-speaking Catholic element in the Province was one of defence. Henceforth the interests of the clergy and of the people were almost identical. (I) Politically their policy was to reinforce their constitutional safeguards through the use of their political power. Such added protection they sought, partly through the attempt to prevent their race from being outnumbered by the English-speaking Protestant group and partly through a clear-sighted use of party politics. Culturally they sought to resist assimilation by a policy of segregation. Of these two policies, the latter encountered greater success.

Since strength of numbers was the basis of political power, strenuous efforts were made <sup>by the French</sup> to maintain their relative voting power in the Province. At first an attempt was made to follow a policy of exclusion, thus endeavouring to continue as long as possible the state of affairs existing in the Red River Colony, but "...the guardians of French interests urged in vain the advisability of 'measures to retard immigration'....."(2)

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(I) About the year 1871, "...The Bishop of St. Boniface had the forethought of bringing from Quebec a little phalanx of young men, able and true, who almost immediately had a not inconsiderable share in the government of their adopted land." These included Joseph Dubuc, Marc A. Girard, Joseph Royal, and Alphonse C. Lariviere. (A.G. Morice, 'History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada', Vol. II. pp. 64-5.)

(2) C. Martin, C.&P., Vol. XIX, p. 100.

This failing, efforts were commenced at an early date by prominent ecclesiastical and lay leaders of the community to foster a policy of French-Canadian immigration. (1)

A combination of population movements, however, thwarted these attempts. In Manitoba the coming of a competitive white man's civilization had deprived the French Metis of their livelihood. With the passing of the buffalo hunt and the day of the freighters, they retreated to the banks of the Saskatchewan River. On the other hand, the export of manpower from Quebec was determined less by the political and cultural needs of the French element in Manitoba than by the economic opportunities afforded by the adjacent New England states. (2) As a result, the French group in Manitoba was rapidly outnumbered by the English-speaking Protestant immigrants. (3)

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(1) C.A. Dawson, 'Group Settlement', pp. 343 & 373; Alexander Begg and Walter R. Nursey, 'Ten years in Winnipeg', p. 28, (hereafter cited as Begg and Nursey, 'Ten Years in Winnipeg'); and A.G. Morice, 'History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada', Vol. II, pp. 96-8, 110-1, 121, 144-5, & 151: also Katherine Hughes, 'Father Lacombe, the Black Robe Voyageur', (Toronto, 1920), pp. 230-2.

(2) Georges Langlois, 'Histoire de la Population Canadienne-Francaise', pp. 171 et seq. (Montreal, 1934), also Morice, 'History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada', Vol. II, pp. 96-7.

(3) Dom Benoit, 'Tache', t. II, P. 283. It may be observed that the effect of the Metis emigration to the Saskatchewan was to change the character of the French-speaking group within the Province. In 1870 this consisted mainly of French Metis; by 1890, partly because of the influx of French-Canadian settlers, (Morice, 'History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada', Vol. II, p. 151.) The French Canadian element was predominant.

Before the first decade of the young Province's history had drawn to a close the French-speaking Catholics had ceased to constitute the larger part of the Province's population, and had become a minority.

Such a change was bound to affect the position of the French with relation to political parties within the Province. Until 1878, political parties within the Province had been drawn along the lines of race and religion. Prior to that year, the French, if not possessing a majority in the Legislative Assembly, at least held the balance. But following the elections of 1878, they were for the first time in a decided minority.

(I) As long as they had possessed a controlling vote in the Legislature, their hard-earned concessions of 1870 were doubly secure. But now as a minority, a partisan attack within the Local House would place them at the mercy of the courts and the Dominion Government, To meet the altered circumstances a new policy was necessary.

It was this feeling of insecurity that underlay the political opportunism displayed by the French during the following eleven years. The first result was an attempt to force the adoption of government through a double majority. (2)

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(1) C. Martin, C.&P., Vol. XIX, p. 109,. See also Tache, 'A Page...', p.20, regarding the changes in electoral divisions in 1874.

(2) C.Martin, C.&P., Vol.XIX, p.109, also Begg and Nursey, 'Ten Years in Winnipeg', pp.219-20.

Failing in this attempt to regain a controlling voice in the government, they then sought to safeguard their position through a policy of political alliances. (1) Until 1888, they identified their fortunes with those of the Norquay Conservative administration. (2) In that year, however, popular agitation against the surrender of Manitoba's interests by the local Conservative Government to the federal Conservative Government at Ottawa, combined with the exposure of irregularities in the local Government's financial record, resulted in the defeat of the Norquay administration. The French, fearing the accession to power of their Liberal opponents might lead to an attack on their privileges, after exacting pledges for the security of their institutions, transferred their allegiance to the Liberals. (3) Despite the numerical weakness of the French at the time, the parties were so closely balanced, that this readiness of the French to come to terms with the

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(1) "Ici à Manitoba plus qu'ailleurs dans l'ouest, il est de la plus haute importance pour nous de rester unis si nous voulons conserver l'influence que nous ont acquise ceux qui marchent à la tête de la nationalité, et surtout en présence des élections qui auront lieu par toute la province dans quelques semaines." (Edit. "16eme Année", 'Le Manitoba', jeudi, 14 octobre, 1886.)

(2) See 'The Canadian Parliamentary Companion', 1877-1887. The majority of French members elected were Conservatives; the remainder, with few exceptions, independent or avowedly "non-party" men.

(3) Vide infra, pp. 126-32.



Liberals was in part the cause of the Conservative collapse that followed. (I).

To this shift of allegiance may be attributed in no small part the ultimate defeat of the political policy of the French group in the following year, 1889. Their desertion of their friends in 1888, had not only revealed their political weakness, but had revealed them as unreliable allies in the hour of need. To such party men in 1890 as were able to view political affairs objectively, the mixture of opportunism and self-preservation which characterized the attack of the Liberals on their French allies (2) by legislating away their cherished institutions must have appeared more justifiable than the mixture of self-preservation and opportunism which led the French to abandon their allies in the hour of need, for while the action of the Liberals in 1889 was undertaken in order to build up party at the expense of a minority, the action of the French in 1888 was such as would sacrifice party in order to benefit a minority. Thus in the long run the policy of the French had been sacrificed to the requirements of party politics.

But if the political policies of the French had encountered a series of reversals, the cultural policy of their ecclesiastical <sup>leaders</sup> had not. No longer protected against

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(I) Vide infra, pp 126-7 .

(2) Vide infra, pp 143 et seq.

the forces of secularism by the old isolationist policy, they had sought protection in a policy of segregation. This line of conduct, which has not been confined to the French Catholics in Western Canada, has been described as follows:

"...the Catholic Church is associated with French-Canadian nationalism in facing Anglicization and the marked secularization which accompanies it. In situations where cultural invasion threatens, religious and nationalistic minorities manifest a sectarian tinge and seek to retain their identity by isolating themselves in some measure from their neighbours. This is done by settling in homogeneous groups and maintaining their own language and institutions.

Such congregate settlement is known as segregation... separate schools enable the members of a given ethnic group to limit the outside contacts of their children, and to hold back in some measure the forces of secularization and "denationalization" which operate so freely in public schools." (I)

Until the passage in 1890 of several pieces of legislation hostile to their race and religion, this cultural policy of the French Catholics met with unqualified success.

The intensity of feeling aroused by the attack of 1890 on the French language and institutions was due to the fact that both the political and cultural policies of the French were profoundly affected thereby. Politically it wounded the feelings of the laity by bringing to an abrupt conclusion the third phase of French political policy within the Province--safety through alliance with

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(1) Dawson, <sup>'Group Settlement'</sup> ~~op-cit.~~, Introd., p. xv., & pp. 369-70.

political parties, thereby proving the folly of attempting to adapt the realistic course pursued by the Quebec representatives in the federal sphere to the local political situation. (1).

Culturally it offended the ecclesiastical authorities by cutting deeply into the policy of segregation, particularly in the educational field,

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(1) "Quebec's representatives have always sat in the party caucuses more as ambassadors from an independent power than as associates in a partnership. They have usually been able to get what they wanted, partly because of the solidarity of the group which they represent and partly because of the realistic manner in which their group has been accustomed to shift its alliance from one party to the other according to the cold calculations of its own interests. Quebec politicians have never been either Liberal or Conservative; they have always been simply and whole-heartedly French. In this respect, no doubt, they have differed from the politicians of other groups and sections chiefly in the clearness with which they have envisaged their own interest and the frankness with which they have pursued it." (F.H. Underhill, 'The Party System in Canada', 'Papers and Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association', Vol. IV, Toronto, May 1932), p. 205.)

where schools in the less prosperous districts and children of poorer parents of the Roman Catholic faith in all districts were exposed to the secularizing influence of a type of education which professed to be non-sectarian. It is not without significance that the outstanding leader of French political policy and the foremost exponent of their cultural policy replied simultaneously to the attack upon their separate schools. On the very day that the Hon. Mr. J.E.P. Prendergast, leader of the French Liberals in the local Legislature, announced his resignation from the Greenway Cabinet, Archbishop Tache commenced his long and arduous campaign in defence of the dual system. (1)

At one blow the barriers erected by the French around the privileges won in 1870 were destroyed; at one blow they were deprived of the institutions guaranteed them by the constitution. Thus the year 1890 marked the twilight of French hopes in a territory that had once bid fair to be a second Quebec. Henceforth their only means of obtaining secular aid lay in an appeal to the courts or to the federal Parliament. (2).

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(1) F.P., Aug. 14, 1889.

(2) Vide supra, pp. 13 et seq..

## II

A second development which affected Manitoba politics during the period 1870-90 was the growth of a spirit of provincialism. The term provincialism as here employed may be considered as the granting of first place to local interests, and the supporting or opposing of the federal government according to the effect of its policies upon such interests. There is, however, an important distinction between Manitoba's provincialism and that of the original provinces of Confederation. In the older provinces, provincialism bore the stamp of sectional interests of the pre-Confederation era. In Manitoba, however, the movement arose at first out of circumstances attendant on the entry of the Province into the Dominion, and later developed out of issues arising between the Province and the Dominion vital to the Province's development.

Provincialism in Manitoba, during this period, had <sup>two</sup> distinct phases. The first phase of the movement was directed by the leaders of the French group when at the height of their political power, and was in essence racial and religious. The second phase was directed by Liberals and Conservatives alike during the days of the Province's rapid economic expansion, and was by nature economic and political. These two phases of the movement possess several characteristics in common. Both were the result of what appeared to be an encroachment on the interests of the smaller political unit by the Dominion. In both cases the representatives of the politically effective part of the Province's population acted in defiance of con-

stituted authority: The French in 1869-70 by usurping the role of the governing body, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the local Legislature during the late eighties by the re-enacting of legislation already disallowed by the Federal Government. And lastly, the success of the French in wresting concessions from the Dominion in 1870, finds a parallel in the successful conclusion of the disallowance issue obtained in 1888 by the Province. Moreover, these two phases, dissimilar in aim, but alike in method and result, were not entirely unrelated. Presently it will be seen how the success of the first rendered easier the success of the second, just as the success of the second subsequently rendered easier the success of the school policy of the Greenway Government.

Provincialism in its first phase paradoxically preceded the existence of a province. It arose from the desire of the leaders of the French Metis movement in 1870 to safeguard their religious and racial institutions by the constitutional safeguards which provincial status would confer. The movement for provincial status at the time of union has been described by Prof. Chester Martin as follows:

"...there can be no doubt that very early in the movement, provincial as distinct from territorial status came to be the avowed purpose of the Riel Insurrection. It was proposed by Riel and his party in the Convention of February, 1870, and though defeated on the open vote it was stipulated in the first section of the third "list of rights" published in French at the settlement in March, 1870. It was the basis of the secret "list of rights" which Father Ritchot used at Ottawa in the discussion of the Manitoba Bill. It seems to have been the basis of the "terms accorded to himself and his Church" with which Bishop Tache, on his return to Ottawa from Rome in April, 1870, "expressed himself quite satisfied". A statute, particularly if con-

firmed by an Imperial Act, was naturally regarded as the most enduring of all safeguards for the French language, for separate schools "according to the system of the Province of Quebec" and for the interests of a primitive community which was at no distant date<sup>x</sup> find itself on the defensive.

Not only was provincial status the immediate purpose of the Riel Insurrection but this was beyond question the immediate result. It would be absurd to regard the Riel Insurrection as a "fight for responsible government" since there was much less concern for governing themselves than for "some breacwater" against domination by Canada." (1)

The first phase of provincialism accordingly came to fruition when Manitoba entered Confederation as a Province, thereby escaping the fate (of territorial status) that befell the North-West Territories.

The agitation of 1870 had saved Manitoba from the political fate of the North-West by enabling it to enter the Dominion with provincial status and responsible government. That in a way this victory contributed towards the friction between the Province and Dominion in as much as: "The animosities of the Riel Insurrection and the motives under which provincial status was sought and secured in the Manitoba Act long inspired an unenviable and rather indiscriminating prejudice against this province", (2) thereby strengthening provincialism in the eighties cannot be denied. Yet this influence was far outweighed by the contribution which provincial status made towards the victory over disallowance in 1898. During the years of

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(1) C. Martin, 'The Colonial Policy of the Dominion', R. S. C. Trans., 1922, 3rd series, Vol. XVI, Sect. II, p.69; also Stanley, op. cit., pp.53,95,110,113.

(2) C. Martin, '"The Natural Resources Question",--The Historical Basis of Provincial Claims', (Winnipeg, 1920), p.50.

rapid expansion and settlement that followed, the new province and the western territories were faced by many problems of a similar nature. Both political units, for example, were faced with the problem of relating rapidly mounting governmental expenditures to the parsimonious subsidies of the Federal Government.<sup>(1)</sup> But while Manitoba was free to agitate against the treatment received from the Dominion Government, the Territorial Governments, confronted by the constitutional problems of achieving responsible government and provincial status, were obliged to divide their energies. Consequently Manitoba, particularly during the eighties, became the spear-head of Western opposition against such policies pursued by the Federal Government as seemed detrimental to the best interests of the West. Thus viewed, the triumph of the second outbreak of provincialism which freed the West from the bonds of monopoly, was due in no small part to the efforts of Riel and his party in 1870.

Provincialism during the second phase of its development was a movement economic in origin but of far reaching political implications. As such it possessed two main aspects. The first was positive, seeking the pursuit of those constructive policies, which, as seen below, were common to all pioneer communities. The second was negative, finding its origin in the conflict of interests between the Dominion Government and the Province peculiarly characteristic of this period.

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(1) For Manitoba see Alexander Begg, 'History of the North-West' (Toronto, 1894), Vol. II, pp. 142-3, 157-8; for the Territories E. H. Oliver, *ibid.*, pp. 248 et seq.



The pursuit of those policies which are common to all pioneer countries and communities and which are calculated to promote the outflow of a staple product and the inflow of capital (1) represents provincialism in its positive aspect. In order to sell the Province's products to outside markets some means of communication were vital. Thus during the first thirty years of Manitoba's history the acquisition of an adequate transportation system provided its most prominent problem, just as the acquisition of a satisfactory marketing system proved the foremost problem of the next thirty years.(2) Accordingly, the prime pioneer policy pursued during the period 1870-90 was the development of railway facilities, and, to a lesser extent, the reduction of railway rates.(3) Of secondary importance only was the task of organizing and improving public works and institutions and of pursuing such local policies as would serve to attract immigrants and capital as well as meeting the needs of the producers of the Province's staple product. It was out of the thwarting of these two main types of pioneer policy that the conflict between Manitoba and the Dominion over disallowance and the 'better terms' issue was subsequently to arise.

Provincialism in its negative aspect may be defined as a spirit of criticism and opposition arising out of and directed

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(1) W. A. Mackintosh, 'Economic Problems of the Prairie Provinces', (Toronto, 1935), p.4.

(2) Ibid., Ch. III & IV.

(3) Ibid., pp.33-4, 35-6, & 39-40.

against such administrative actions and political policies of the Federal Government as served to hamper the pursuit of the Province's pioneer policies. Throughout this period friction between the Province and the Dominion was developing along three main lines. The first source of friction was inefficiency of administration. The second lay in the nation-building policy of the Conservative Government at Ottawa. The third was the colonial policy of the Dominion. When the struggle over 'Better terms' and railway disallowance arose during the eighties these sources of discontent served to intensify it.(1)

In the administrative field, criticism was levelled against the inefficiency of the Federal Government. Examples of this were not lacking during these years. Following the creation of Manitoba as a Province, the failure of the Dominion to supplement the Manitoba Act by such regulations or legislation as would make effective its terms, deprived the Province of the services of several of the federal departments, thereby causing both its inhabitants and its government considerable embarrassment.(2) To such inefficiency also must be attributed the inconvenience occasioned by the delays in the granting of land patents (3) and the censure directed against the Dominion

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(1) Begg, op.cit., Vol. II, Ch. XXV, & Vol. III, Ch. IV & VI, passim.

(2) See the account of the pro-Conservative historian Alexander Begg, who can scarcely be accused of hostility to Sir John A. Macdonald's government, ibid., Vol. II, pp. 92-3.

(3) Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 60-1.

for its responsibility for the North-West troubles during the next decade.(1)

A second source of friction between the Dominion and the Province is found in the nation-building policy of the Conservative Government at Ottawa. During the first two decades of Manitoba's history, with the exception of the four year Mackenzie administration, this Government controlled Canada's destiny. The problems confronting the Macdonald administration were tremendous. Confederation had given Canada a federal constitution; a few years later the acquisition of the North-West extended its area from sea to sea. The first had provided bones; the second, flesh. One task further remained: the endowing with national life of this newly-born political giant. Such was the task to which Sir John A. Macdonald set himself: the creation within this constitutional framework and geographical area of a Canadian nation.

The obstacles confronting such a policy rivalled in magnitude the extent of its scope. The physical barriers dividing the country into semi-isolated areas; the danger of trade lines developing along a north-south direction to the detriment of a national economy; the inherited sectional interests and narrowness of outlook of the component parts, and the deeply-seated

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(1) Editorials: "The Riel Uprising", F.P., Mar. 23, & "The Riel Affair", F.P., Mar. 24, 1885, and Stanley, op.cit., Ch. XII-XIV, passim.

prejudices of race and religion, all threatened to disunite the young Dominion. It was against these real and potential forces of disintegration, and towards this ideal of nationhood, that the major political policies of the Macdonald regime were directed.

If the aim of Macdonald's governments was the development of a Canadian nation, the means by which this end was arrived at sought to obscure that aim. On the one hand, the policy of nation-building was achieved indirectly through several separate policies, each designed to meet some particular phase of the problem. Such, for example, was the Government's railway policy, the linking together of the various geographic regions making up the country; such was its tariff policy, an effort to prevent Canada's becoming a mere economic appendage of the United States, or yet again the repeated efforts to strengthen the power of the central government, thus curbing the growing sectional forces of the local governments. On the other hand, the means by which Macdonald sought and attained political power have served to distort posterity's estimate of that statesman's greatness. His contemporaries, blinded by the immediacy of events, saw only the specific policies pursued, and the opportunism displayed. As a result Macdonald has appeared as the type of politician who sought power for power's sake. It is only recently that the discovery of the unity of purpose that underlay the policies he pursued while in office and the devices he

employed in order to gain office has revealed a more accurate portrait of Macdonald. In this revised estimate of the statesman and his work will be found the explanation of much of the friction which developed between Manitoba and the Dominion during this period. (1)

It was but natural that the policies adopted by Macdonald to aid him in his work of nation-building, should have appeared to his contemporaries, who were for the most part unable to see beyond the temporary disadvantages incurred, to have imposed unduly heavy burdens upon certain portions of the country. This was particularly the case in Western Canada, where the problems of organizing, establishing communications and populating a new area (2) already provided ample difficulties. Illustrations of the grievances claimed by the West against Macdonald's various policies are numerous. Contemporaries, rightly or wrongly, believed that the tariff bore heavily upon a young agricultural community, dependent for many of its supplies upon the American States to the South. (3) Another source of discontent was the Federal Government's railway policy, designed

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(1) R.O. MacFarlane, 'Canada: One Country or Nine Provinces?', Dalhousie Review, April, 1938, pp.13-4.

(2) J.W. Daffoe, C.&P., Vol.IX, pp.286, et seq.

(3) R.O. Macfarlane, 'Manitoba: A Free Trade Area', F.P., Aug. 3, 1938. The objection to the Dominion tariffs was based largely on the fact that the revenue collected by the Dominion on local imports exceeded the Dominion subsidy to the Province. Manitoba's claims for 'Better Terms' are supported in the 'Manitoban' of Jan.18 & 25, 1873; the Dominion's case is defended in the F.P. for Jan.18, 1873 and Mar.8, 1875.

to ensure the success of Canada's first transcontinental railroad. Because of the monopoly granted to the C.P.R. in order to protect it from the competition of American railroads, Manitoba was deprived not only of the benefits of competition, but also of the advantages of additional rail outlets. (1) To these sources of discontent may be added the "Dominion Lands" policy of the Ottawa Government. Whatever justification may be made for the administration of Manitoba's public lands by the Federal Government "for the purposes of the Dominion" it was a policy which gave rise to friction in more ways than one. Financially it served to deprive the Province of an important source of revenue. (2) Nor was this all. In the opinion of prairie dwellers, certain particular features of federal land policy seemed no less burdensome. Thus the constant changes and restrictions in the land regulations were censured for tending to check settlement. (3) For similar reasons also, the locking up of land by the issue of scrip to the Metis, and the extensive land grants to C.P.R. were condemned. (4) And lastly, the policy of

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(1) Begg, op.cit., Vols. II & III, passim., but especially Vol. III, p. 148.

(2) Some indication of the extent of the Province's immediate loss may be gathered from the fact that the cost of the construction of the C.P.R. was to be met with from the proceeds of land sales in Western Canada. (C. Martin, in A.S. Morton & C. Martin, 'History of Prairie Settlement and "Dominion Lands" Policy', (Toronto, 1938), pp. 299 et seq.)

(3) Ibid., p. 405, also J.W. Daffoe, C.&P., Vol. XX, pp. 292 et seq.

(4) Edit. "The Half-breed Land Question Again", F.P., Aug. 12, 1874, also C. Martin in A.S. Morton & C. Martin, op.cit., pp. 292 et seq.

strengthening the central authority, which, unlike these other policies, did not affect the Province's purse, on one occasion at least, dealt a severe blow to its pride. The use of Manitoba as a pawn of the Dominion in the Ontario boundary dispute, and the ultimate victory of the larger province, was for its younger opponent one of the most humiliating experiences through which it had ever had occasion to pass.<sup>(1)</sup> Whatever the soundness of such nation-building policies in the long run, their success depended on the temporary sacrifices of the smaller political units. For the time being, however, Sir John Macdonald's political contemporaries in Western Canada were blinded to the benefits which would accrue from the former by the inconveniences which resulted from the latter.

The third source of friction between Province and Dominion is to be located in the colonial policy of the Dominion. This colonial policy employed by the Dominion in the treatment of the territories acquired in 1870, was a corollary of its nation-building policy. The magnitude of the task facing the Federal Government compelled it to observe an economy of effort wherever possible. To build a nation required first the obtaining of political power, and, this accomplished, to undertake the dual task of carrying on the normal work of government while at the same time striving to knit closer to-

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p.237; ibid., Part II, Ch. III.

(1) C. Martin, C. & P., Vol. XIX, pp. 116-7.

gether the loosely integrated elements in Confederation. But if the newly acquired territory were to enter Confederation upon an equal footing with the older provinces, the Federal Government would by permitting this, simply be increasing the difficulties which lay before it. Accordingly the Dominion embarked on a colonial policy which deliberately sought to weaken the position of the new territory. This policy assumed two main forms. On the one hand it sought to impose on the Canadian West territorial instead of provincial status: on the other hand, it established Dominion control of Crown lands, within this area. In Manitoba, as has been seen, owing to the Riel agitation, the design to attempt to impose territorial status was unsuccessful. But if Manitoba was able to acquire provincial status, it was, like the North-West Territories deprived of the control of its public domain.

Such a policy served the Dominion well. Opposition to federal policies emanating from the North-West Territories was hampered by the internal constitutional struggle. Equally valuable was the withholding of control of natural resources by the Dominion, thereby depriving the Province and the Territories of an important source of revenue and focussing Western interests even more intensely on the local problems attendant on the rapid growth of population. It is not without significance that, apart from the petty squabbles of the Ontario



element in Manitoba, the two decades of western history following the enlargement of Canada's boundaries were unruffled by sectarian strife and free from the type of opportunism which is usually associated therewith. Moreover the imposition of artificial obstacles to western development was a clever piece of political strategy, since it determined the ground upon which the major issues between Ottawa and the newly acquired territories should be fought -- the constitutional issue and financial relations. In the case of a serious agitation arising over either of these matters, the fact that the Dominion held the whip hand would act as a restraining influence. Whatever friction colonial policy might thus create, the bargaining power which it conferred on Ottawa was considerable. Later it will be seen how this factor served to limit the success of provincialism over the 'better terms' issue. For present purposes, however, it is sufficient to observe that colonial policy constitutes a second link between the nation-building policy of the Federal Government and the provincialism of Manitoba, since by removing the obstacles in the way of the former, it served to create grievances conducive to the latter. (1)

Chronologically, provincialism in its second phase passed through two periods. The first roughly approximates

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(1) C. Martin, 'The Colonial Policy of the Dominion', R.S.C. Trans., 1922, 3rd. series, Vol. XVI, Sect. II, pp. 35-48.

those years of Manitoba's history associated with the establishment of railway communications. The second extends over the greater part of the eighties, and centred around the 'better terms' and disallowance agitations.

The pioneer policy which outweighed all others during the seventies was that directed towards the establishment of railway facilities. Such connections were vital to the export of <sup>Western</sup> Canada's staple product, wheat. Moreover, lack of adequate means of communication would hamper the inflow of capital. (1) At first Manitoba's interests were in danger of being sacrificed to the racial animosity existing between the French and Ontario elements in the Province. The pursuit of a pioneer policy dictated by the needs of a new country:

"...did not triumph in Manitoba without a struggle against the partisan political attitudes of the Ontario settlers. The struggle was short and not severe. The economic necessities of the present triumphed over the political institutions of the past." (2)

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(1) One of the reasons for the collapse of the boom of 1881-2 was the temporary interruption of railway communications by railway blockade and floods. (Begg, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 70.)

(2) Escott M. Reid, 'The Rise of National Parties in Canada', 'Papers and Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association', Vol. IV, Toronto, May 1932, p. 198, and following F.P. (Weekly) Editorials: "The Dominion Election", Jan. 10, "Manitoba First", Jan. 17, and "Joseph Ryan", Feb. 3, 1874. See also Skelton, 'Laurier', Vol. I, p. 196.

As a result, the Province, throughout this period sold its support to whatever government ruled at Ottawa in return for the railway. It was not until 1882 that opposition candidates appeared in Manitoba. (1) The explanation of such harmonious relations lies in the fact that Province and Dominion while working towards different ends, found in the railway policy a common denominator, and for the time, the nation-building policy of the federal Conservatives and Manitoba provincialism served to reinforce each other. The importance of constructing the C.P.R. overshadowed the burdensome features of administration, and of the nation-building and colonial policies of the Dominion. (2) As long as Manitoba's prime pioneer policy was being undertaken by Ottawa itself, the docility of the Province was assured.

But if the support of a common railway policy served to unite the Province and the Dominion during the seventies, the very success of that policy led to violent conflict during the eighties. For the arrival of the C.P.R. did not solve the major problem of the West; it merely solved the first step. Previously the Province's progress had been hindered by isolation; now its advance was hampered by a railway monopoly, rivetted on the

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(1) E.M. Reid, op.cit., p. 198.

(2) Prior to the arrival of the C.P.R., of course, the railway policy of the Dominion could not be included among those nation-building policies which bore heavily upon the West.

Province by the Dominion Government.

At the same time, the Province's financial position was becoming increasingly difficult. In order to attract settlers and capital, the Province was obliged to assume a large share of the cost of providing public works and institutions. Moreover, the sparsity of the Province's population, due in part to the agricultural technique required by a wheat economy, and in part to the scattered nature of settlement at this stage of the Province's development, made such undertakings seem all the more burdensome at the time. Meanwhile the financial treatment received from the Federal Government served to aggravate still further Manitoba's position. For not only was the federal subsidy inadequate, but Dominion colonial policy deprived the Province of an important source of revenue. (1)

In two agitations, one seeking the overthrow of monopoly, and the other seeking the granting of 'better terms', these issues came to a head. On the one hand, federal disallowance of legislation chartering local railways was restricting the outflow of the Province's staple product. For seven years Manitoba sought to obtain the benefits of competition and additional rail outlets to the South both by petitioning the Dominion Government and by the passage of local legislation. For seven years the Dominion blocked such efforts and enforced the C.P.R.

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(1) C. Martin, 'The Natural Resources Question'--The Historical Basis of Provincial Claims', Ch. VII, passim. Also C. Martin, in A. S. Morton & C. Martin, op. cit., pp. 472 et seq.

monopoly on the Province. (1) Parrallelling the movement against disallowance was a sustained agitatin to obtain more satisfactory financial arrangements with the Dominion. During the early eighties, provincial pilgrimages to Ottawa in order to obtain 'better terms' assumed a perennial character. In these two movements may be seen the expression not only of anger against the Federal Government for thwarting the Province's two main types of pioneer policy but also of the accumulated resentment of more than a decade against certain features of federal administretion, against the nation-building policy of the Macdonald Administration, and against Dominion colonial policy. Provincialism in its second phase was fast approaching a climax.

The outcome was a partial success for provincialism, The defeat of the Norquay administration in Manitoba due in no small part to its enforced surrenders to its allies in the federal Parliament on the monopoly question, (2)

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(1) The demand for the enlargement of the boundaries (Begg, op. cit., Vol. II, Ch. XXV, passim) may be considered to ascertain extent as an aspect of the anti-disallowance movement, since one of the main reasons underlying it was the desire to obtain access to a port on Hudson Bay, which connected by rail with the interior, thereby solving the questions of competition and additional outlets, and by constitutional means, circumventing the monopoly clause of the C.P.R. charter. (Ibid., Vol. II, p. 382.)

(2) Perhaps this might more accurately be described as the betrayal of Norquay by his federal allies. See M.E. McBeth, 'The Life and Works of the Hon. John Norquay', (unpublished Master's thesis (Manitoba), presented in May, 1925), Ch. II, 'Mr. Norquay and the Dominion Government', p.18.

together with a harvest of unprecedented dimensions, forced the Dominion to abandon its stand on disallowance. Less successful were the Province's efforts to obtain 'better terms'. Here the gains were small, and concessions difficult to obtain. Despite several modifications obtained in the financial arrangements between the Province and the Dominion, by the time of Norquay's resignation, no arrangement had been arrived at which the Province could consider adequate. (1) The triumph of provincialism, despite the gains made, was not yet entire.

The impact of provincialism upon political parties within the Province was bound to be considerable. The Conservatives were divided between yielding to the demands of their federal allies or alienating votes in Manitoba by ignoring the Province's needs. At first they trimmed, veering first to meet the demands of the Province and next to meet the dictates of their colleagues at Ottawa. Thus in order to satisfy their constituents, delegation

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(1) In 1885 the Dominion Government in pursuance of its colonial policy had gagged and bound this agitation by an increased subsidy of \$100,000 contingent upon a 'finality clause'. (C. Martin, 'The Natural Resources Question'--the Historical Basis of Provincial Claims', pp. 84-5.)

after delegation was dispatched to the East to place before the Dominion Premier the claims of the Province, while in order to accede to the wishes of Macdonald, inadequate concessions were accepted, the meagre nature of which incurred ever-increasing odium on the Norquay Government.

The intensity of public feeling on the matter, however, soon forced the local Government to adopt a more definite stand. To persist in the course which it had been pursuing would provide the Manitoba Liberals with further ammunition against the local Government. Nor were the local Liberals unaware of the tactic of their political opponents. At first they had pledged their support to the Local Government in its struggle against Ottawa. By 1886, however, they had lost faith in the sincerity of their opponents. This stiffening of the Liberal attitude was rapidly reflected in the course pursued by the Conservatives. It is not surprising therefore that in the local elections of 1886 all the candidates running were opposed to disallowance. (1) Whether or not this was a mere vote-catching device for election purposes is a matter of indifference. The gains made by the Liberals in that contest were sufficient to assure the Government's adherence to its new course. In 1887 legislation was passed in defiance of the Federal Government and the

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(1) Begg, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 142.

work of railway construction begun.(1)

The adoption of the new policy came too late. Two factors militated against its success. To begin with, Macdonald failed to realize the seriousness of the situation. Long established precedent had convinced him that Norquay would surrender as before. Even more damaging was the effect of the exposure of the Government's financial record. This, together with the tardiness of the Conservatives in giving whole-hearted support to the provincialist movement, was largely instrumental in the defeat in 1888 of the newly formed Harrison Administration which had taken office following the defeat of Norquay. Too long had they dallied between the leadership of the federal Conservatives and the way of provincialism. As a result they had ended by falling between two stools, while their Liberal rivals reaped the benefits of Norquay's efforts and defeat. Thus had provincialism made and unmade parties: to oppose it seemed political suicide.(2)

Presently it will be seen why the denouement of provincialism in its second phase does not run true to form but merges in the Manitoba school issue. In the light of the fate which overtook the local Conservative party, the logical course for the new Liberal

(1) Ibid., Vol.III, pp.143-6, & 151-2.

(2) Ibid., Vol.III, pp.138-9, & 155.



Administration to pursue, would have been to exploit its victory over Ottawa on the monopoly issue by pushing to a similar conclusion the demand for 'better terms'. For present purposes it is sufficient to state that factors both political and economic set stringent limitations to the extent to which the cause of provincialism could be effectively pursued. In these limitations and in the strength of provincialism in the Province during the eighties is to be found the connecting link between provincialism and the Manitoba school issue, for while the first rendered necessary the adoption of the school policy of the Greenway Government, the second, as will later be seen, greatly facilitated its success.

### III

The third root of the Manitoba school question is to be found, not in a progressive political movement, but in the structure of Manitoba politics as it existed during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. As has already been seen

the decline of French power and the growth of provincialism were two fundamental factors leading to the school policy of the Greenway Government. No attempt to treat the origins of the Manitoba school question however, would be complete, which did not endeavour to relate so important an issue to the general pattern of provincial parties and policies.

Political parties in Manitoba first began to develop along modern lines between 1879 and 1883. (1) Prior to this parties had been divided along lines of race and religion. Henceforth they were known as Conservative and Liberal. The only important difference between these newly aligned groups lay in their relation to the policies of the federal parties. With regard to local policies there appears to have been no significant distinction between the platforms of the two parties. Policies of development, such as the drainage of marsh lands, or the acquisition of local railway facilities, were not distinctive policies of either party, but rather were they the inevitable task of the particular party in power, acting in response to the needs of the day. Nor would it be possible to consider the charges of extravagance and corruption levelled by a Government against its predecessor, or the accusations of unnecessary expenditure made by the Opposition against the party in power as anything more than political ammunition for election purposes.

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(1) Begg, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, P. 60, C. Martin, C.&P., Vol. XIX, p. 109, also Benoit, 'Tache', t.II, p.641. This transition is the subject of an unpublished Master's Thesis, (Manitoba), entitled, 'A Study of the Provincial Election Returns in Manitoba, 1870-1900', by J.A.L. Holmes, (presented in May, 1937).

A check of the newspaper accounts of the seven election campaigns between 1878 and 1896 reveals no fundamental difference between the platforms of the two parties in so far as local policies, as such, are concerned.

The first effect of this similarity between the two parties was to attach increased importance to the technique of winning elections. The cruder methods of attempting to obtain power which had occasionally characterized politics during the earlier years of the province's history, (1) were rapidly displaced by the development of devices of a more refined but none the less effective type. Such devices were three in number. The first was comprised of those which sought to influence public opinion by legitimate methods. The second consisted of those which sought the same ends by dishonest means. The third, a special category of the second, was composed of those devices employed by a Government in power to remain in office through interference with the machinery of elections.

But while these various devices constituted an important factor in the winning of elections, many of the methods employed have received scant attention in the histories of the period.

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(1) An incident related by Begg and Nursey concerning the Winnipeg civic elections of 1876 throws an interesting light on political methods employed on more than one occasion during the first years of the province's history. "The civic elections for 1876 took place on Mon., January 3, and ended up by a scrimmage at the East Ward...In the East Ward, about five minutes before the close of the polls, on Mr. Macaulay's voting for his partner, E.W. Jarvis, several of the persons present raised a disturbance, during which the lamp was blown out, the stove-pipe knocked down, and the pollbook stolen." ('Ten Years in Winnipeg', pp. 133-4. See also p. 71, for an account of the disturbances at the federal elections of 1872.)

This may be attributed in part to discretion, in part to partisan considerations, and in part to the fact that such things seemed too commonplace to merit recording. The examples which follow are selected for the purpose of illustrating rather than of exhausting the various methods employed by parties to remain in, or drive their opponents from office. Owing to the restricted and scattered nature of the sources, these examples have for the most part been selected from the years 1889 to 1896, during which the Greenway Government was engaged in the defence and exploitation of its school policy. (1)

Legitimate methods of influencing public opinion were of two main types. One was through the agency of the spoken word, in the campaign address and in the personal canvass. Of the former little need be said; of the latter little can be said. The other was through the use of the printed word. The chief agent towards this end was the newspaper. During this period, the press, employed as an instrument for influencing public opinion may be classified not only according to party affiliation, but also according to area served or circulation. Newspapers were thus capable of being grouped as either Liberal or Conservative, and Winnipeg dailies or rural weeklies. Typical Winnipeg dailies were the The Sun and the Free Press, both of Liberal sympathies, (1) and the Morning Call and the Nor'Wester, Conservative, (2)

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(1) 'The Sun', ceased publication in 1889. The Free Press, which because of the attitude of its editor Mr. Luxton, broke with the local Liberals (ed. F.P. Edit. "The School Question", Aug. 19, 1889) See also Tache 'A Page...', p. 35.) became an independent paper supporting the federal Liberals

(2) The former passed out of existence about the time of the Norquay Government's collapse, while the latter began publication about 1894 (the original 'Nor'Wester' came to an end in 1875).

all of which served not only Winnipeg, but the rest of the Province as well. Examples of the local weeklies were the Portage la Prairie Liberal, and the Conservative Brandon Times. Standing somewhat apart from these papers was the French paper Le Manitoba, which although nominally Conservative, was primarily French Canadian. (1) Yet despite the fact that the press constituted the most effective single agency for influencing the elector, pamphlet literature began to assume an increasing volume throughout the Greenway era. During the 1896 elections the Manitoba Government spent \$750 employing Mr. F. C. Wade to turn out this type of campaign literature. (2)

A more costly, although not necessarily more effective, method of influencing the vote was by purchasing the support of the electors. An outstanding example of this was the use of railway construction as a means of gaining the support of the constituencies. Such was the purpose of the negotiations entered into prior to the 1892 elections between the Manitoba Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway, an attempt to draw the votes of the south-western constituencies. (3) A less costly means of buying support was through the purchase of individual votes.

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(1) Some years before this (in 1871), Archbishop Tache had instigated the founding of 'Le Metis' to protect French interests in the Province. (Morice, 'History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada', Vol. II, pp. 89-90.)

(2) Roblin, R. D. Mar. 3, F. P., Mar. 4, also reply of Hon. Mr. Sifton, R. D. Mar. 5, F. P., Mar. 6, 1896.

(3) Editorials: "An "Election Dodge" It Is", F. P., Apr. 20, and "The C. P. R. Current Report", F. P., May 13, 1892.

Records of corrupt practices of this type, apart from occasional accounts in the press are exceedingly scarce, since few inhabitants of frontier communities have either the leisure or the inclination to produce memoirs, and of those who do fewer still are prepared to sacrifice their prejudices for the benefit of posterity. The following anonymous article which appeared during the heat of the 1896 provincial elections, is, in view of the rarity of such an account, reproduced in toto, and may be taken for what it is worth.

"IN BYE-GONE DAYS."

"'Lectons 'aint what they used to be", said an old settler to the writer to-day. "It used to cost as much to carry Kildonan -- mighty near -- as it does now to carry the province. Why I remember about ten years ago, in my home up the river, in one night \$1,000 was paid for votes."

"What was the F.O.B. prices for plumpers then?" was asked.

"Oh, mostly ten; some went as high as fifteen or twenty. One year our man set out to Carman for eleven votes. We got them off the train at Murray Park station, and brought them down to St. James. 'Now its one thing to fix a man to vote right, and its a different thing to keep him fixed. The old way was to keep him full from the time the bargain closed till the goods were delivered. Well, we filled up the gentlemen from the Boyne and put them in an outhouse with a demijohn -- likewise full. This was about 10 in the morning. At 2 in the afternoon we brought a rig round for a load of free and independent, but the outhouse was empty -- likewise the demijohn. About an hour later the hotel keeper, well known even yet in the city -- came down to our headquarters and offered thirteen votes for \$800. Our manager offered him \$500. He returned to consult with his "committee", and in a short time came back with an offer of \$650. It was getting near the time for the poll to close, so we bargained with him, after thè manner of the Hebrews; and at last withdrew all our bids. He made a mad rush with his teams and voters for St. Charles, but arrived ten minutes too late. We found out later that eleven of the thirteen voters were our men from Carman. They had taken them out through the window without making too much muss."

"In the same election, down in St. Andrew's, there were two old votes that had been bought by both sides daily for at least a week. On polling day the agent of the government candidate took the two citizens and a black bottle out to the woods, at the four-mile limit, and chained them up to trees -- within easy reach of the bottle. At night they were released."

"I suppose there's more of that sort of thing going on this year", I said.

"Oh, they don't go at it the same way now. They don't buy them so soon. Both sides keep off till just the day before voting, and then they fill the electorate up out of a black bottle."

"What was the accepted method of canvassing such voters?"

"Well, I mostly took a demijohn in my cutter and went down into the settlement. I called at a likely home and named my man, and started to 'load' the household. Then I left a bottle full, and started out to establish a new colony. When I had a dozen or so flourishing political colonies in hand I just made my rounds with the demijohn two or three times daily. The strain is very intense the fourth or fifth day, especially if the bottom of the demijohn is in sight."

"Well, I must be going. Yes, I think Hector has a pretty good show, but Bird is popular." (1)

A third such method employed to obtain political power, was by interfering with machinery of elections in such a way as to favour the return to office of the party in power. The critical elections of 1892 were rich in illustrations of such devices. Opportunities for this were latent in the legislation governing elections. By the adoption of an amendment to the election act, the Greenway Government relieved candidates of responsibility for any illegal action committed during the campaign by their agents,

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(1) F.P., Jan. 15, 1896.

providing the latter had not been acting under the direction of the candidate. (1) A further attempt to strengthen the Government's position was the passage of a redistribution measure designed to weaken the position of the Opposition. (2) Among the changes effected by this legislation was the disappearance of the constituency of North Dufferin, the seat of Mr. R. P. Roblin, leader of the Opposition, and one of the Government's most dangerous critics. (3) During the elections which followed, an attempt was made to leave 750 names off the voters' list in Winnipeg Centre. The Government's plans were thwarted, however, by the action of the Free Press, which published a list of the missing names. (4) Another sharp practice indulged in by the Government concerned the placing of polling booths. One of the members, Mr. A. F. Martin, later related in the Legislature how:

"...in his constituency the electors of Fannysville had to go 18 miles through swamps to cast their votes, some having to go into three feet of water; yet his opponent, who had raised the Catholic and Orange cry, had been defeated by a majority of 36." (5)

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(1) Edit, "To Win At Any Cost", F.P., Apr. 16, 1892, also Dafoe, 'Sifton', p. 34.

(2) Ibid., also see Edit. "Misrepresentation by Population", F.P., Apr. 28, 1892.

(3) Edit. "A Happy Riddance" , F. P., Apr. 21, 1892.

(4) F.P., June 15, 1892, Also Mr. A.F. Martin, R.D. Feb. 6, F.P., Feb. 7, 1893.

(5) A.F. Martin, R.D. Feb. 6, F. P., Feb. 7, 1893.



By such devices as these, did Manitoba's Governments clutch at the reins of power in the hour of peril.

A second effect of the similarity between the policies of the parties may be seen in the attempts to increase the flexibility of such policies at the expense of their constitutionality. Since the parties so closely resembled each other in local issues, it became necessary for a party to out-manoeuve its opponent in order to obtain any substantial measure of success. In one respect, such tactics were better adapted to local than to federal parties. The relative homogeneity of the population, the geographical unity of the province, and the community of interests of its inhabitants, all tended to permit local parties to alter their policies, or the support given to particular policies, with greater facility, when the need arose, than was possible in the case of federal parties dependent on the support of diverse and occasionally conflicting sectional interests.

Thus it was that the Norquay Government, after having wavered for so long between the interests of the Province and those of the Dominion Conservatives, was able to swing over in 1896 so easily and so whole-heartedly to the cause of provincialism. This explains likewise the ease with which the Liberals, in little over a year, could shift the interest of the majority of the electorate

from issues vital to the economic progress of the province to the sectarian issue of separate schools. Yet the efforts of these parties to steal a march on their rivals, owed whatever measure of success they obtained to the unconstitutionality of the measures adopted. Both in the legislation enacted by the Norquay administration in 1886 and 1887 to break the C.P. R. monopoly, and in the legislation passed by the Greenway Government in 1890 abolishing state-supported separate schools, may be observed the efforts of the local parties to win the support of the electorate through the adoption of legislative action infringing on the jurisdiction of the federal Government.

The effects of the differences between the policies of the two local parties, as determined by the policies of the federal parties, may, on the other hand, be disposed of briefly. The Manitoba Liberals derived greater benefits from supporting the policies of their federal allies than did their opponents. This was largely due to the fact that until 1896 a Conservative Administration was in office at Ottawa. Negatively, the attempt of Norquay's Government to compromise with the burdensome policies of the Dominion Government, above referred to, (1)

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(1) Vide Supra, pp. 65-6.

had provided the local Liberals with ample fuel for agitation. Positively, the Liberal doctrine of 'Provincial Rights' proved a useful weapon with which to attack the Norquay Government prior to 1888, and with which to resist the attacks of the Conservative Opposition during the six years following the introduction of the legislation abolishing separate schools in 1890.

Both parties, whether in office or out, used provincialism whenever possible as a means of embarrassing their opponents. When the same parties were in power at Ottawa and Winnipeg, the Government in power in Manitoba was placed at a slight disadvantage. For while the local Government's party machine might benefit by such a state of affairs, this gain was more than offset by the fact that the local administration could not afford to embarrass its federal ally. Under such conditions, the party in power in the Province tended to become, insofar as provincial-dominion relations were concerned, the party in favour of the status quo. At the same time, the local Opposition was able to take full advantage of the limitations imposed upon the Government, by allying itself with the cause of provincialism. To this must be attributed in no small part the Liberal victory of 1888. But when, <sup>(1)</sup> on the other hand, opposing

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(1) An Edit. "Manitoba's Call" (F.P., Mar. 3, 1885), referring to a Winnipeg bye-election, serves to illustrate the type of appeal employed by the Liberals:

"It will be a triumph for the rights

Governments ruled at Winnipeg and in Ottawa, the position of the local Government and Opposition was reversed. Hence, from 1889-1896, the Liberals were able to identify themselves with the cause of provincialism, albeit in a perverted form. (1)

The adroit use of provincialism was thus an effective means of both defeating and preserving Governments, depending on whether the same party organization was in power at Ottawa and Winnipeg, or not.

And lastly, it may be observed that the complete subordination of policy by the Liberal Government after 1888, not the vital needs of the Province, but to the most effective means of catering to popular prejudice in order to retain the party in office, marked the maturing of party politics in Manitoba.

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of this Province...the machinations of self-seeking traitors, in league with Eastern foes will have been defeated, if only the electors of South Winnipeg are true to themselves and true to their country." (The Government candidate was nevertheless elected.)

(1) Vide infra, pp. 155-6.

With the collapse of the short-lived Harrison administration,  
 ... "The control of public affairs passed to a generation  
 that knew not the Red River Settlement." (1)

Not in vain had their Liberal opponents wandered in the  
 political wilderness for almost a decade. Nor <sup>was</sup> it likely  
 that they would lightly relinquish the sweets of office,  
 once tasted. They therefore set about with all the means  
 at their disposal to remain in office.

Two factors in particular favoured these efforts. Un-  
 like their predecessors, who had depended on the support  
 of the older constituencies as an important source of  
 political strength, Mr. Greenway and his followers saw  
 in the new and more rapidly expanding parts of the province,  
 populated by men of their own race and religion, a  
 potentially profitable field for political support. (2)  
 It was not unlikely, therefore, that if the occasion arose,  
 they would be willing to sacrifice the interests of the  
 older inhabitants, particularly of those of a different  
 tongue and creed to the dislikes of the newcomers. More-  
 over, the lack of a strong Opposition after the elections  
 of 1888, (3)

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(1) "Chester Martin, C. & P., Vol. XLX, p. 121."

(2) The stand taken by the two parties on the matter is  
 made amply clear by an examination of the account given in  
 the Free Press of the critical election meeting held at  
 St. Francis Xavier on January 7th, 1888. (F.P., Jan. 9, 1888.)

(3) Vide infra, p. 176, n. 3.

tended to increase the lack of restraint shown by the Government, and was, as Archbishop Tache wrote:

"...a dangerous success for men who were not accustomed to triumph and power; the completeness of the first inspired the absolutism of the second."(1)

Hence it is not surprising that while the Dominion Liberals had accepted the principle of separate schools, the Manitoba Liberals showed no hesitation in abolishing them when it seemed profitable to do so.(2)

Yet the Liberals were not content to sacrifice merely the privileges of a minority nor the principles (as distinguished from the policies) of party to the political well-being of their group. Presently, it will be seen how, when faced by a lengthy and uncertain conflict with the Dominion Government, they chose to sacrifice the interests of the Province to those of the party.(3) The realistic manner in which the Greenway Government in 1890 selected a more advantageous ground for conflict between Province and Dominion, marked the coming of age of Manitoban political parties. Thus by the subordination

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(1) Tache, 'A Page...', p.29. Cf. Trevelyan: "Where there are no effective Tories there can be no proper Whigs." (G.M. Trevelyan, 'England Under Queen Anne -- The Peace and the Protestant Succession', (London, 1934), p.317.)

(2) Wood (Cons.), R.D. Feb. 18, F.P., Feb. 19, 1890.

(3) Vide infra, pp. 133-8.

of minority privileges, party principles, and provincial interests to the immediate requirements of party, the school legislation of 1890 opened the era of modern party politics, characterized by the transcendence of local party interests, over all other matters, should circumstances so require.

## CHAPTER 111. THE EMERGENCE OF THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION.

It has long been the accepted view that the Manitoba School Question of 1890, was politically not a new issue, but merely marked the successful conclusion of an agitation which dated back to the early seventies. Such an interpretation seems first to have been advanced by the Rev. Dr. Bryce, a Presbyterian clergyman prominent in Manitoba's public affairs for more than thirty years following Confederation. In his biography of the Rev. John Black, he speaks of the agitation which arose against separate schools during the seventies, as having passed underground to re-emerge in the late eighties:

"...the crisis was thus postponed...for several years the question slumbered...on the incoming of a new government in a few years, the educational change took place (1890), giving rise to what has been known throughout the world as the "Manitoba School Question". (1).

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(1) George Bryce, 'John Black, the Apostle of the Red River', (Toronto, 1898), pp. 140-1, also Rev. Prof. George Bryce, 'Educational Reminiscences of One-third of a Century in Winnipeg, 1874 to 1904', (Winnipeg, Nov. 18, 1904), p. 9. (Located among Bryce Pamphlets (No. 29) and hereafter referred to as 'Educational Reminiscences'.) It may be observed here that Dr. Bryce's interpretation is open to question on more than one ground. In the first place the reverend gentleman was a prominent opponent of separate schools during both agitations. Moreover, in a work published during the years which elapsed between the two agitations, reference is made to the satisfactory working of the dual system, and no mention made of any discontent arising therefrom. (Vide infra, p. 111.) Such inconsistency is best explained by the dates of the accounts. In those written subsequent to 1890, the author, partly due to sectarian bias, has read back into the harmony of the intervening period, a fixity of purpose and a continuity of opposition which does not seem to have existed.



More recently this view has been accepted and expanded by so eminent and impartial authority as Prof. Chester Martin. Referring to the origin of the issue, he has written as follows:

"An agitation for non-sectarian public schools and a government department of Education to replace the cumbersome dual board of 1871 had been organized in 1876 under inspiration from Ontario... Immigration from Ontario...added reinforcements steadily to the agitation against the system of separate schools...After the defeat of the Norquay administration and the withdrawal of 'disallowance', the predominantly Protestant party, led by Premier Greenway, found themselves unfettered by an urgent conflict with the federal government, and supported by a determined element in favour of a decisive settlement of the 'school question'. Reinforcements from Ontario, through immigration, through the powerful alliance of the liberal press, and through forensic support upon the public platform in Manitoba, wielded the agitation into an avowedly political movement." (1)

This chapter proposes to show that between 1870 and 1890 there occurred in Manitoba two distinct movements against the separate school system, and that these agitations differed as greatly in their origins as in their results. These movements resembled each other only in that both possessed the same immediate objective: abolition of the separate school system. The striking resemblance between the sectarian appeals made during both periods of agitation was due to the realistic appropriation by the political leaders of the nineties of the arguments advanced by the sectarians and would-be secularizers of the seventies. Apart from this, the contrast between the movements is marked. The first developed slowly from below, and ended in defeat; the second originated rapidly from above, and resulted in success.

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(1) C.Martin, C.&P., Vol. XIX, pp. 125-6.

An attempt will be made to show that while the former arose mainly from the perverted idealism of the anti-French and anti-Catholic element from Ontario, burning for revenge, the latter revealed the political opportunism of a new generation of party politicians, lusting for power. Particularly significant are the dates of the two school agitations. The first, of 1875-77, occurred when the English-speaking Protestant element of the population outnumbered for the first time the French-speaking Catholic group. The second, beginning in 1890, took place when the Manitoba Liberal party first came into office. And lastly, it may be observed that while the first, which arose out of the heritage of racial and religious animosities from the Province's past, was defeated largely because of the political requirements of the moment, the second, which was a spontaneous movement resulting from the political requirements of a later day, owed its success in no small part to these same antipathies of religion and race.

## I

The first agitation against Manitoba's separate school system, was in the main, an outgrowth of the traditional hostility of French Catholic Quebec, and English Protestant Ontario. As such, it drew its strength from two main sources, corresponding approximately to the two periods of immigration from Ontario into the Province. The first source of friction, therefore, lay in the rivalry which existed between the French Metis of the Red River, and the aggressive element among the 'Canadian' settlers who had entered the Province from Ontario during the sixties. The second may be found in the growing stream of immigration which poured into Manitoba from the neighbouring Province following Manitoba's entry into Confederation, and which wished to remodel this "colony" of Quebec to resemble more closely the Ontario pattern. During the middle of the first decade of the new Province's history, the racial and religious antagonism which drew its strength from these two sources gave rise to a series of attacks upon certain privileges enjoyed by the French inhabitants of the Province.

The struggle between the 'Canadian' settlers and the French (and French Metis) may be traced through three distinct steps.

The first, which continued until 1870, was characterized by the security of the French and the fulminations of the Ontario element. The second, which lasted from 1870 until the middle of the decade, was marked by the victory of the French and the humiliation of their opponents. The third, which followed immediately, saw the numerical decline of the French-speaking

group together with the renewed assaults of their antagonists.

For a number of years prior to the union, the conflict between these two groups was assuming increasing importance. In part it may be attributed to the fears of the French Metis that that these newcomers intended to steal their lands. But the main source of trouble lay in the aggressive attitude of a turbulent element among the Ontario minority. This group strongly resented the static society which existed in Red River Colony under the paternal rule of the Hudson's Bay Company. Through its organ, the Nor'Wester, it did not hesitate to express its distaste of the status quo, nor to appeal for union with Canada as a remedy.

(1)

But when at last the long-sought remedy of Confederation was granted, its application passed into the hands of its proposed victims. In 1870, the Ontario element, by its attempt to overthrow Riel's government, sought to make effective its opposition to the political and economic stagnation of Red River. Weight of numbers, together with the attitude of passive acceptance adopted by the Hudson's Bay Company officials, the Roman Catholic Church, and the older English-speaking Protestant portion of the community combined to defeat the Ontario-inspired agitation and assured the success of the French Metis. As already related, (2) during the negotiations which ensued between the colony's

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(1) C. Martin, 'The Red River Settlement', C.&P., Vol. XLX, Sections V & VI passim.

(2) Vide supra, pp. 49-50.

representatives and Ottawa, Riel's followers managed to secure certain concessions vital to the members of their race and religion. This success of the Metis served to increase the conflict. On the one hand the amnesty question projected the issue into the sphere of federal politics. On the other hand the shooting of Scott led the Protestant sectarians in Ontario into a course of action which was to have unfortunate repercussions in Manitoba. (1) Friction within the Province was in this way further intensified.

Moreover, the indignation which the Ontario element so openly manifested against the race whose leader had been responsible for the fate of Scott, served to express a more deeply seated form of resentment, which shame alone prevented it from publicly displaying. Not only did it smart under the humiliation which it had brought upon itself (2) by its vain efforts to overthrow Riel, but the success of the rising of 1870 so determined the conditions of union as to defeat the purpose of the agitators from Ontario. Union with Canada, the very instrument for which the Ontario element had agitated for years as means of bringing to an end the economic stagnation and geographical isolation of Red River Colony and of establishing the domination of the English-speaking Protestants from Ontario, had passed into the hands of their French Metis opponents, to be

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(1) Begg, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 73-5.

(2) O'Donnell, 'Manitoba as I saw It', (Toronto, 1910), pp. 33-4, C. Martin, 'The Red River Settlement', C.&F., Vol. XIX, pp. 75-7, and Stanley, op. cit., Ch. IV & V, *passim*.

used to safeguard constitutionally within the orbit of Confederation, the privileges which that group had enjoyed under the old regime. Thus during the years which immediately followed Manitoba's entry into Confederation, the security of the French element of the population may be said to have been exceeded only by the humiliation of their enemies.

The third step in the conflict began during the middle of the seventies, and was due to the change in the nature of the Province's population. In 1870 the French-speaking Catholic group was slightly larger than the English-speaking Protestant group; (1) by 1876 the reverse was the case. (2) Such a change was bound to cause repercussions in the political sphere. As long as the French were in the majority their privileges were immune from attack and their enemies impotent. But with this transition in the composition of the Province's population their position became precarious. Now for the first time they were outnumbered by the fellow-countrymen of the Ontario element. Now for the first time the Ontario agitators of 1870 felt free to destroy the gains of their opponents. The hour of retribution had arrived.

Even more important than this heritage of local hatred, however, was the conflict between the cultural backgrounds of the older settlers of the Province--this was particularly

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(1) Vide supra, p.34.

(2) Edit. "Shall We Have A General Election", F.P., Oct. 26, 1875, also Dom Benoit, 'Tache', t. II, p. 283.

true of the French Catholic group--and the newcomers from Ontario. This conflict the Rev. George Bryce has described as follows:

"The influx of new settlers was great in the first half decade of the life of the young Province. The growth of Winnipeg and settlement of new Western points soon began to change the outlook of the people. Being largely from Ontario, the new settlers clamoured for laws and institutions such as they had left behind them, and even sought after more radical measures than their native Province would accept. Three newspapers in Winnipeg represented the several elements: "The Manitoban", the old settlers; "The Liberal", the Canadian extremists; and the "Free Press", the more moderate Canadian element. Their comments upon each other partook at times the nature of a prairie blizzard, at other times of a southern sirocco. At all times the editors were more emphatic than polite." (1)

The campaign against the French, which followed, was brief, vigorous, and unsuccessful. It assumed, in the main, two forms. Between 1876 and 1877, there occurred a series of attacks upon the separate school system existing in the Province. (2) Later, in 1879, under the guise of economy, an unsuccessful attack was made on the official use of the French language. (3) While neither of these attacks achieved its objective, the former, as the fore-runner of the 1889 attack on separate schools, merits particular attention. (4)

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(1) Bryce, 'Educational Reminiscences', pp. 3-4.

(2) Ibid., pp.4-5, Begg, op.cit., Vol. II, pp.201-2, and F. H. Schofield, 'The Story of Manitoba', (Winnipeg, 1913), Vol. I, pp.365-6.

(3) Tache, 'A Page...', pp.21-2.

(4) Unfortunately such files of the local press covering this period as are accessible, are incomplete. Apart from the 'Free Press', the only other important newspaper of the time

Indications of the approaching storm were evident even before 1875. Between November, 1873, and February, 1874, a series of five letters signed "Argus", appeared in the Free Press. (1) This correspondence condemned the inefficiency of the Province's educational system, and stressed the evils attendant on denominational control of education. (2) The changes proposed by the writer included the selection of a more vigorous Board of Education, and the appointment of one Superintendent, as in Quebec. (3) Even more revolutionary was the advocacy of the establishment of a non-denominational system of education, as follows:

"There should not be a single regret for the special advantage of our own denomination. We are laying the foundation of systems of laws, systems of education and

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to be found in the files of the Manitoba Provincial Library, is the 'Standard' (Winnipeg). (The Library contains one volume of this, covering the period Nov. 28, 1874 to Nov. 25, 1875.) The main sources of information for the following narrative, therefore, are the F.P. files, and the writings of the Rev. Dr. Bryce. Neither of these constitutes the best type of witness. The former, owing to the views expressed by its Editor, may be suspected of suppressing information in the interest of moderation. The latter, written by a man who was an ardent champion of non-denominational schools in 1877, and later in 1889, require to be read with caution.

(1) F.P. (Weekly), Nov. 22, & Dec. 6, 1873, Jan. 10 & 31, & Feb. 14, 1874.

(2) Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Wesleyans were alike subjected to censure on this score. (Letter No. 3, Jan. 10, 1874.)

(3) Letter No. 2, Dec. 6, 1873.



and modes of life suited to our great North-Western Canada. Let us be firm and ~~an~~ the alert. Whatever our denominational connections, let us forget them, and refuse to be led into a course which must end in religious quarrels, in general oppression, and in the destruction of efforts already made to form a united system of common school education."(1)

The agitation against separate schools which occurred during the middle of the seventies may be traced through two channels. On the <sup>one</sup> ~~other~~ hand there was a lone-handed campaign conducted by Mr. W. F. Luxton, who, in addition to being editor of the Free Press, represented Rockwood in the Manitoba Legislature. On the other hand there was an Ontario-inspired movement to abolish the Province's dual educational system. The first approached the issue mainly on the grounds of efficiency; the second from the sectarian standpoint. While the stand of the former remained steadfast throughout, in support of secular education, the latter was progressive, commencing with an appeal for departmental re-organization and culminating in an overt attack on the dual system. Identical in aim, but dissimilar in approach, these two movements tended to strengthen each other. Thus Luxton's bid for a secular system in 1875,

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(1) Letter No. 3, Jan. 10, 1874. It is interesting to observe that George Bryce, who replied to these letters in the 'Free Press' of January 31st, professedly on behalf of the Presbyterian members of the community, endorsed many of the arguments set forth by "Argus", particularly those relating to non-denominational education. Beyond this, apart from occasional references to separate schools made during the course of election campaigns, (e.g. Letter of Elie Tasse, Superintendent of Roman Catholic Schools, in F.P., Nov. 13, 1874.) separate schools appear to have been free from any serious attack during the remainder of 1874.

elicited support from certain of the Ontario group, while the efforts of the latter in that direction during 1876 and 1877 were not without influence upon the Free Press editorials. Partly because of this inter-relationship, and partly because of the power of the Free Press in moulding public opinion, it will be necessary to discuss not only the sectarian-inspired attack, but also the independent campaign waged simultaneously by Mr. Luxton.

A perusal of the files of the Free Press during these years makes amply clear Mr. Luxton's grounds for objecting to separate schools. His opposition was based largely on considerations of efficiency. (1) Sectarianism in the Schools, he believed, interfered with a good secular education, <sup>Let the children be provided with an adequate secular education</sup> (2) and let their religious education be furnished by their church rather than at the public expense. (3) The dual system then in existence he considered unjust since it compelled some to support creeds which they did not profess, and unnecessarily expensive, because it involved the support of two public school systems instead of one. (4)

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(1) See article "Separate Schools" (from the 'London Advertiser') in F.P., Mar. 8, 1876; see also Edit. "Denominational vs. Sectarian Education", F.P., Jan. 13, 1877. These seem to be the only places where a direct attack is made on the ground of inefficiency, although elsewhere it is implied, as indicated by the references given below.

(2) Editorials entitled "Unsectarian Public Education", F.P., Sept. 29 and Oct. 27, 1876.

(3) Edit. "Unsectarian Public Schools", F.P., Sept. 6, 1876.

(4) Edit. "Secular Education", F.P., Aug. 19, 1876.

Two features of Luxton's opposition to religious teaching in the schools deserve particular attention. His attack on the dual system as conducive to inefficiency was not an attempt to clothe religious bigotry in terms of altruism, but arose from a genuine interest in things educational. (1) The attitude which he adopted here was consistent with the tone of his editorials dealing with other aspects of educational efficiency. (2) Such, too were his references to the educational system of Ontario, (3) indicative of a genuine interest in educational advance beyond the boundaries of the province, (4) and not as might be imagined, in view of the attitude of the Ontario settlers in the Province, an expression of blind loyalty to the institutions of Ontario. (5)

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(1) Luxton during his first years in Winnipeg had been the community's first public school teacher. Bryce, 'Educational Reminiscences', p. 3.

(2) An examination of these over a three year period, 1874-76, clearly indicates this, and in doing so, incidentally throws much light on the condition of education in the Province at the time. Thus, for example, in 1874, he urged the improvement of training facilities for teachers, in 1875, he attacked the inadequacy of the Winnipeg Public Schools, and advocated revision of the curriculum, while in 1876 he pointed out the need of systematizing the Province's educational system from the elementary schools to the university, urged the election of the best qualified candidates as Winnipeg's first school trustees, and censured the unsatisfactory condition of the Winnipeg school buildings. (See following F.P. Editorials: "Secular Education," Oct. 12, and "Who are To Be Our Educators," Dec. 10, 1874; "The Winnipeg Public Schools," Jan. 13, and "Educational Reform," Dec. 14, 1875; and "Educational," Jan. 31, "The New Educational Act," Feb. 11, "The New School Law," Feb. 18, "School Teachers, Etc.," Aug. 12, and "Winnipeg School Buildings," Sept. 13, 1876.

(3) Editorials: "The School Act," F.P. (Weekly), Jan. 19, 1873, and "Ontario Public Schools," F.P. (Weekly), Jan. 18, 1876.

(4) In particular Edit. "Secular Education" in F.P. of Oct. 12, 1874; also "The New Brunswick and North-West School Question," F.P. May 3, 1875, and "The North-West Separate School Act Clause," F.P. April 5, 1876. The first of these is of wider scope than its title would imply; the second and third deal with the separate school question in other parts of Canada.

(5) With the exception of an early editorial appearing in the

Not only was his attitude towards secular education as an aspect of educational progress sincere, but his attitude towards his opponents was just. He opposed separate schools not in order to depress Roman Catholicism, but in order to elevate secularism. In one of his editorials which appeared in February, 1875, several months before his attack on the dual system, he wrote as follows:

"The Free Press needs scarcely apprehend any accusation of being partial to Catholic schools, or for that matter to Protestant schools either. An absolutely secular system of education is our ideal in that way. But so long as the Catholic and Protestant system obtains, we contend for justice between them."(1)

Whatever attacks Luxton might make on the dual system, he was, in matters of education, free from the taint of Ontario sectarianism.(2)

During the 1875 session of the local Legislature, Mr. Luxton's vigorous attack on separate schools marked the culmination of a campaign intermittently conducted through the editorial columns of the Free Press for more than a year. The occasion was the second reading of an Act amending the Act to establish a system<sup>of</sup> education in the Province.(3)

F.P. (Weekly) of Mar. 15, 1873, entitled "The Third Session", wherein the educational system of Ontario is described as one "...than which, it is universally admitted, the world cannot produce a superior..."

(1) Edit. "Be Just", Feb. 2; see also Edit. "Separate or Dissident Schools", Feb. 5, defending the right of Catholics to separate schools, in reply to a letter published Feb. 4, and signed 'Enquirer' (objecting to the enjoyment of separate schools by the Catholics); and Edit. "Unsectarian Public Schools", Aug. 25, 1876.

(2) Luxton, it may be observed, was one of the few English members of the Legislature who in 1876, when the Legislative Council was abolished, pledged the French group that its rights would not be interfered with, and who, in 1889, when the Greenway Government commenced its attack upon these privileges, was courageous enough to stand by the promises which he had made. (Tache, 'A Page...', p. 20.)

(3) Man. Stat., 1875, 38 Vic., c. 27; Man. J.L.A., May 3, pp. 100-1, also R.D. May 3, F.P., May 4, 1875.

In making the motion, Mr. Norquay referred briefly to certain features of the Bill. The Board Education was to undergo certain changes. Henceforth the term of office of its members was to be three years, although they might be retained on the recommendation of the other members. The Board was to consist of twelve Protestant and nine Roman Catholic members, or less in the same proportion. (1) Nothing, however, was to be done about the separate school system. The Board, stated Mr. Norquay, would:

"...continue to recognize the principle of separate schools, nothing else can be done in the meantime. The Dominion Government has recognized and it has been recognized heretofore and we must continue ~~it for the~~ present."

But while the principle of separation was to be untouched, a change in the distribution of the school moneys was to be effected. Previously the division had been made between the two sections of the Board "in accordance with the aggregate attendance". By the amending Bill, the apportionment of the grant was to be made in proportion to the number of children between the ages of 5 and 12 as enumerated by the trustees in the several districts, a certain fixed amount being given to each school and "the remainder in proportion to the attendance of pupils". (2)

Mr. Luxton readily availed himself of this opportunity to protest against the dual system. Although he intended to support the Bill, he wished that it had gone further. Personally he favoured non-sectarian schools. Whether or not certain rights protected by the Dominion Government actually existed was a constitutional question. He regretted particularly that the Dominion Government, which <sup>while</sup>

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(1) Such changes, as will shortly be seen, were concessions to the Ontario group.

(2) R.D. May 3, F.P., May 4, 1875.

in Opposition had opposed the principle of such schools, had permitted it to be introduced into the law respecting the North-West Territories. Such a course he considered to be a mistake, and one very liable to end in disaster. Complete separation of Church and State ought to be the ideal in all British countries. To follow out the principle of separate schools to a logical conclusion would lead to a system of denominational schools. The stumbling-block in the way of non-sectarian schools was the determination of Protestants to have some points of religion taught in the schools. Religion would not suffer if it were not taught in the schools. If it must be taught let it be taught in religious schools rather than at the expense of the state.

Under conditions such as then existed, however, he was prepared to accept the continuation of separate schools until "Absolutely secular schools" were attainable. Turning to the question of language, he expressed hope of seeing a provision made when the bill went into a committee for a limited amount of compulsory instruction in the English language in all schools. After discussing at length other features of the bill, his speech concluded as follows: "He would support the reading of the bill, as for the moment he would have to let his ideas of a national system remain in abeyance. In the committee of the whole, he would endeavor to incorporate the amendments he had mentioned." (1)

This speech of Mr. Luxton drew a varied response from the members. Mr. Martin, one of the French representatives, regretted the

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(1) Ibid...

stand he had adopted on the language question. Mr. Brown, who represented Westbourne, while prepared to make some concessions to the feelings of the minority, supported Mr. Luxton's attitude on the non-sectarian issue, adding that he believed it the duty of the Government to enforce the teaching of the English language, and that he favoured the idea of one superintendent for the whole Board. (1)

Mr. Sutherland, M.P.P. for Kildonan, expressed surprise at the acceptance of the bill by the member for Rockwood. Personally he regretted the recognition of the principle of separate schools by the Dominion Government. He advocated the adoption of a uniform standard in the training of teachers, and urged the distribution of school grants according to the average attendance. The Board of Education he believed to be too large, for while it contained twenty-one members, that of Ontario possessed only seven. A Board elected by the trustees would be preferable to the existing one. In concluding he stated that while he had nothing against some of the members of the old Board, he favoured one Board, as he was a believer in secular education.

The last speaker in the debate, the Hon. Mr. Davis stated that the bill was a compromise. "It did not," he said, "Go so far as some of the members of the Government, or this House, would like, but they had to get it as near as they could; some wanted more and some wanted less." Regarding the abolition of the Board of Education and the appointment of a minister, he believed that the desired result would be achieved "through the infusion of new blood in the Board." His

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(1) See George Bryce's letter No. 1, vide infra, p. 100.

speech concluded with a reference to the provisions of the British North America and Manitoba Acts granting the minority the right to appeal in the case of interference with their privileges.

On the following day, May 4, the bill passed into committee of the whole. (1) Several unsuccessful attempts were then made to achieve the desired modifications. (2) Mr. Sutherland moved an amendment to limit the powers of the sections of the Board to the selection of books having reverence to religion and morals, to be used in their respective sections. (3) Mr. Luxton then moved the adoption of a new clause regarding the compulsory teaching of English. (4) A similar motion by Dr. Cowan proposing the teaching of English in French schools encountered a like fate. (5) When the House arose, it was evident that the first attempt to modify the dual system through the agency of the local Legislature had met with little success. What had been achieved was a compromise; what was yet to be achieved remained a pious hope. (6)

Meanwhile the attack of the Ontario group of Manitoba's dual educational system had already begun. In a series of four letters addressed to the Editor of the Winnipeg Free Press, George Bryce delivered a somewhat petulant attack on the Province's educational

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(1) F.P. May 5, R.D. May 4, 1875.

(2) Only those which deal more or less directly with separate schools will be discussed here.

(3) Royal, Davis and Brown voted against, Luxton, Cornish and Sutherland for the amendment.

(4) Against--Royal, Davis & Martin: For--Cornish, Cowan, Luxton, MacKenzie and Sutherland.

(5) Cornish, Cowan and Luxton voting in its favour.

(6) Edit. "The School Bill," F.P. May 5, 1875.



system. He stated at the outset that in view of the great importance attached to the public school question, and of the fact that it would undoubtedly be a subject of legislation at the coming session of the Legislature, he had been requested to give his views on this matter, and now proposed to do so. In Letter No. 1, which appeared on March 12, he condemned the dual Board as conducive to inefficiency, and proposed that it be replaced by a single elective Board. (1) Letter No. 2. appeared on April 8, and attacked the existing system on the ground that it resulted in inadequate supervision. (2)

This was followed on April 26 by a third containing a summary of the arguments in favour of the remodelling of the Board of Education. In addition to the proposal for the creation of a single Board, it advocated that certain regulations governing the membership and operation of the Board be revised. It concluded with a plea for the establishment of an elective and responsible Board which would represent all classes, localities, and interests. (3) Between the third and fourth epistles, legislation embodying a few of Bryce's less important recommendations, was passed by the local Legislature. (4) On May 5, Letter No. 4, was published, summarizing the advances made under the amending Act. With this, the first outburst of Ontario sectarianism drew to a close.

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(1) F.P., Mar. 12, 1875.

(2) F.P., Apr. 8, 1875.

(3) F.P., Apr. 26, 1875.

(4) F.P. Vide supra, pp. 95 et seq..

The contents of these letters, together with the replies which they drew from other correspondents, make abundantly clear the quarter from which they emanated as well as the purpose which underlay them. The first correspondent did not hesitate to brand Bryce as an Ontario sectarian, declaring that

"...The question then naturally arises is G.B. merely the self-elected Corypheus of a political clique or the interpreter of public opinion? All things considered the chances seem to me in favour of the former view." (1)

Such a charge Bryce found difficult to refute, excusing himself rather lamely: "Please excuse my references to Ontario as I am most familiar with its school matters." (2) A second correspondent, Daniel McAuley of St. Boniface, in a series of letters demonstrated that the majority, if not all of the desired changes, would effect no real improvement. (3)

The significance of these proposed alterations, and of Bryce's role as the unofficial interpreter of the Ontario settlers in the matter no longer remained in doubt after the publication of the last of his letters. In the final letter Bryce expressed the opinion that:

"We cannot look upon the present Bill as final. The management of all the Schools by the Board, the ascertaining that the teachers are capable and that all the schools are deserving of the grants given from the public funds along with a uniform system of inspection is the only ultimate (sic) towards which we can move. Probably the advance made is as great as the sentiment of the province would at present warrant, but the advance of the last four years leaves little room to doubt that a united board will not control all the schools, those points ~~only~~

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- (1) Letter to the Editor from George C. Whyte, F.P. Mar. 29, 1875.  
(2) Letter No. 2, April 8.  
(3) F.P., April 16, Apr. 20 and May 6, 1875.

being reserved from their jurisdiction which have to do with religion." (1)

Thus, criticism of the dual Board of Education was merely a prelude to the attack on separate schools.

The effect of the opposition to the dual Board of Education which had found expression in Bryce's letters, immediately made itself felt in three different ways. The first indication of this was seen in the modifications of the existing systems embodied in the educational amendment of 1875; amendments which as Messrs. Norquay and Davis implied were made in an effort to appease the ultra-Protestant group. (2) A second such indication was the granting of educational autonomy to the City of Winnipeg. (3) Still a third may be seen in the criticism of the dual Board embodied in the Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools for the year 1874-75. After having suggested a number of valuable improvements that might be made in the school system, the Report indicated a conviction on the part of the Superintendent that in the sectionalism of the system lay its weakness:

"The sections of the Board of Education ought to be done away with, and one Board organized which should fairly represent all sections of the country...Whatever arguments may be advanced in favour of the sections at the time when Protestants

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(1) Bryce, Letter No. 4.

(2) Vide supra, pp. 13-9. The attack on the separate system by certain members of the Legislature, it will be observed, followed by a less than a year the legislation of July 1874, whereby the limits of the local electoral districts were altered. (Tache, 'A Page...', p. 20).

(3) 'Educational Reminiscences,' pp. 5-6. C. Martin, C&P., Vol. XIX, p. 125.

and Roman Catholics were nearly equal in the Province, they are of no value now." (1)

Whether Mr. Pinkham was personally in favour of the change, or whether he was afraid to resist the tide, was uncertain. But one thing is clear, that the influence of the Ontario clique was present, for this was the only occasion upon which one of his reports expressed disapproval of the dual system.

The infusion of new blood into the Board of Education effected by the 1875 amendment did not make itself felt until towards the close of the following year. For almost a year and a half the question slumbered. When the issue re-emerged, it assumed a different form. By the adoption of the stand taken by Luxton in the Legislature in 1875 it was possible to broaden the basis of attack. This enabled on the one hand the conducting of an overt campaign in the name of educational progress against the separate school system, and on the other, of confusing the attack with, and the drawing the support of, the Free Press's pro-secular policy. Ontario Sectarianism was thus able to parade under the guise of educational secularism. (2)

At the same time, the abolition of the Legislative Council in 1876 for reasons of economy, had deprived the French of one of the

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(1) Report of the Superintendent of Education of Protestant Schools in the Province of Manitoba, for the year ending 1874, and part of the year 1875, p. 10. Edit. "The School Reports," F.P. June 16, 1875.

(2) The position of Luxton is a special one, for while he could be classed as an Ontario sectarian on most issues, his wider background in educational matters seems to be responsible for his more tolerant stand on that subject.

safeguards of their institutions and language, and by so doing had encouraged the Ontario clique along their aggressive course. The latter, by thus appropriating the philosophy of their allies and availing themselves of the weakness of their foes, were able to conduct two further attacks on the separate school system during the winter of 1876-77.

The main attack developed within the Protestant section of the Board of Education. While this was taking form, a minor attack developed within the Board of Winnipeg Public School Trustees. The latter, as the less important of the two, will be treated first.

It is not surprising that in view of the role he had played in 1875, George Bryce should be found at the head of one of these movements. On December 5, 1876, he introduced before the Winnipeg Board of School Trustees, a resolution with respect to non-sectarian schools. The resolution, which was unanimously accepted, stated that the existing system of education failed to meet the educational needs of the Province, and proposed that it be replaced by a non-sectarian system. The establishment of such a system, it was contended, would not impose any particular hardship upon Catholics, since thousands of strict Catholics have been educated under that system elsewhere, while the retention of the dual system conferred upon one Church a privilege which five or six others were denied. Moreover, the continuation of the existing system increased needlessly the expense of education, while at the same time it provided an education inferior in character to that which a single system might provide. And lastly, it was urged, that in

view of the diversity of the racial groups comprising Manitoba's population:

"...the establishment of one system of public English Schools is the only means of fitting the people for conducting business efficiently, for fulfilling the duties of social life, for preserving the rights of all, and for carrying on successfully the affairs of State." (1)

Meanwhile, the main attack, of which this was but a local outgrowth, had already been underway for several weeks. On December 4th, the Free Press made reference to an article which had appeared in the Toronto Globe, dealing with the educational system of Manitoba. (2) Among the changes which the Globe report considered necessary in Manitoba's educational system, were proposals for the replacement of the dual Board of Education by a single Board, the establishment of a system of non-sectarian public schools, and the compulsory use of English text books in all public schools. (3)

Inquiries conducted by the Free Press indicated that these demands were consented to by "at least a majority" of the members in the Protestant section of the Board. With the exception of the first of the above changes, which it would have preferred to read: "The abolition of the Board of Education, and the creation of a Department of Education having a Cabinet Minister for a head," Mr. Luxton's paper expressed itself in accord with these proposals not because of their adoption would please the Ontario group, but because their approval would foster the advance of secularism.

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(1) F.P. Dec. 6, 1876. See <sup>No. I</sup> Appendix<sub>1</sub> for complete resolution.

(2) Edit. "The School Question," F.P., Dec. 4, 1876.

(3) See <sup>No. I</sup> Appendix<sub>1</sub>, for a complete list of the changes proposed.

The editorial, in concluding, expressed readiness to accept a proposal referred to in the Globe's article to the effect that:

"While the regular and uniform programme of studies be adhered to during school hours, there shall be no objection to the teacher or any one else having the use of the school premises to give sectarian instruction to any of the pupils who may choose to attend at extra hours, when the proper work of the school cannot be interfered with."

It was not until the meeting of the Protestant section of the Board of Education on January 19, 1877, that the attack materialized. (1) At this meeting the executive committee submitted a draft of a Bill which they had been instructed to prepared for submission to the Legislature by a resolution passed on October 14th. The provisions of this Bill were substantially the same as the changes that had been advocated by the Globe. (2) After a mild preliminary skirmish, it was moved that in view of there being little more than a quorum present that the Board adjourn until February 2, and that meanwhile the draft of the bill be revised and printed, and copies thereof sent to the members. (3)

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(1) Present: Rev. Dr. Black (in the chair), Rev. Mr. Robertson, Rev. Mr. Pinkham, Mr. Stewart Mulvey, and Mr. W. H. Ross. According to Bryce ('Educational Reminiscences,' p. 5), certain members purposely absented themselves from both this and the subsequent meeting.

(2) F.P. Jan. 20, 1877. See Appendix No. I.

(3) Before the occurrence of the second meeting, there appeared in the Free Press an important editorial in defence of non-sectarian education. (Edit. "The School Question," F.P., Jan. 31, 1877.) The value of this editorial lay not so much in its influence on the first school agitation, as in the use to which it was put during the second. It pointed out that separate schools, although established by provincial statute subsequent to Confederation, were constitutionally secure, that no injustice was intended towards any group in the community by the adoption of a secular system of education, and that to accept the existing system without employing the means of appeal at the disposal of the Legislature, would encourage the supporters of schools in other parts of the Dominion. Less than two decades later, these

When, on February 2nd, the adjourned meeting of the Protestant section of the Board of Education reassembled, it became evident that the views of certain of the members had become more moderate. (1) The views of the opponents of the separate system were advanced by the Rev. Mr. Robertson and Mr. Ross, while the Rev. Dr. Black was the chief defender of the existing system. According to the Superintendent, the Bishop of Rupert's Land had expressed disapproval of the proposed changes. Personally, the Superintendent regretted that the people themselves had not been able to express their opinion on the matter before the dual system had been adopted. The main features of the meeting were the verbal duel between the Rev. Dr. Black and the Rev. Mr. Robertson and Ross, and the discussion of the constitutional aspects of the abolition of the separate system. Regarding the latter issue, Mr. Hall, the Chairman, expressed an opinion that "the constitutional point was dead against the reform proposed." Thus the even balance established between the two opposing groups, together with the doubtful constitutionality of the proposed measure, combined to defeat the movement, and in the end "the matter was dropped."

The attack by the Protestant section of the Board of Education brought to an end the Ontario-inspired attack on the separate school system. The Government, as seen, had by its 1875 amend-

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same arguments were to be advanced in a more successful attack on the separate school system.

(1) F.P., Feb. 3, 1877, Present: Mr. Thomas Hall, of Headingley, (in the chair), Rev. Dr. Black, Rev. Mr. Robertson, Mr. W. H. Ross, and the Superintendent, Mr. Pinkham.



ment sought to infuse new life into the Board. "The experiment," as Bryce later wrote, "can hardly be said to have been successful." (1) The Provincial Government "alarmed at the action of the Protestant section of the Board," took measures at the time of the next appointments to prevent a recurrence of the incident. "Some of the more aggressive members were replaced by others of more pacific character." (2) Deprived of the footing gained in 1875, the opponents of the separate system quickly vanished from the stage of public affairs.

The failure of the agitation of 1875-77 may be attributed to a number of factors. It did not follow, for example, that because the French were numerically a minority, that politically they were a negligible factor. The Davis Government holding office during this period drew its support for the most part from the French element. (3) The moderation which had characterized the stand of this Government at the time of the 1875 amendment, and later by its purging the Protestant section of the Board of Education of its more violent members, was thus an indication of its political wisdom and ability to strike a balance between the demands of the aggressive new settlers from Ontario and the older inhabitants of the Province.

Contributory to the unfavourable political situation may be considered the opposition offered by the outstanding ecclesiastical

(1) 'Educational Reminiscences', p. 5.

(2) Bryce, John Black, the Apostle of the Red River, p. 141, also see, Bryce's 'Educational Reminiscences', p. 5.

(3) Begg, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 193.

tical leaders in the Province. The Roman Catholics under the leadership of Archbishop Tache quickly rallied to the defence of their institutions; at the meeting at the Diocesan Synod in May 1877, the Anglican Bishop of Rupert's Land came forth in defence of religious instruction in the schools, and even the Rev. Dr. Black, the pioneer Presbyterian clergyman in Manitoba, despite the pro-secular stand of two other prominent church leaders of that body, Mr. Bryce and the Rev. Mr. Robertson, was strongly opposed to the desired secularization, resigning from the Board of Education as a mark of protest. (1) Moreover the opposition shown by the Rev. Dr. Black, was indicative of the attitude of a number of the older settlers in the Province, who had dwelt in peace and harmony with their Catholic neighbours prior to the union, and saw no reason for destroying their friendship in order to curry favour with a small knot of troublesome 'Canadians' from Ontario. (2)

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(1) Manitoba Pamphlets, Tache, 'Denominational or Free Christian Schools in Manitoba,' (Winnipeg, 1877), *passim*, Dom Benoit, 'Tache,' t.II, pp. 308-11; "Report of Anglican Synod Proceedings" F.P., May 28, 1877, Edit. "Religion in State Schools," F.P., May 29, 1877, and Robert Machray, 'Life of Robert Machray,' (Toronto, 1909), pp. 269-70; and Bryce, 'John Black, the Apostle of the Red River,' p. 140.

(2) The stand taken by the older settlers (for the most part those were descended from the Selkirk Settlers, and those English speaking Protestants like the Rev. Dr. Black who arrived later but were rapidly assimilated by them) is well indicated by an anecdote related by Bryce, as follows: "Shortly after the transfer the writer remembers Mr. Black when speaking of the disturbed and clamorous times through which we were passing, sighing for "the peaceful days of the old Red River." "Oh!" but responded the writer, in his youthful Canadian enthusiasm, "Surely you would not have the broad acres of Red River locked up from cultivation! Life is hardly worth living without progress. "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle in Cathay." "Well, perhaps so," said Mr. Black, "but there are animals that like to lie at the bottom of the pool and bask in the peace and quiet."

There was, however, one common element which was related to all these factors. The basic reason for the failure of the movement was the fact that it was premature. Although the French had become a minority, the Ontario element could not yet command a majority of the votes in the Province. (1) But at the same time to delay the attack on separate schools might prevent all hopes of its success, for while on the one hand the dual system would each year become more firmly entrenched, on the other hand, the steadily increasing problems of expansion facing the local Government threatened to sacrifice the ambitions of the Protestant sectarians to the political and economic exigencies of a new era. Obligated thus to choose between the unpreparedness of the present and the uncertainty of the future, the ultra-Protestants from Ontario had chosen the former, and had failed.

The abortive attack on the separate school system in 1877 was followed by more than a decade of peace and harmony. With the removal from high place of certain of the Ontario-inspired

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(Ibid., pp. 105-6) Yet Bryce seems to have been either unwilling or unable to recognize the obvious neutrality of Dr. Black, as is indicated by a later passage in the same book: "Dr. Black in this matter (the school issue of 1876) felt that he could not be a party to interfere with the amity between Protestants and Roman Catholics, which had been a feature of the days of the Red River Settlement. While he probably differed little from the other members of the Board as to what should be done, yet his strongly expressed desire to be freed from the personal turmoil and discussion of this difficult expression was regarded, and the burden thrown on younger men." (Ibid., p. 141.)

(1) See, for example, Morice's 'History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada,' Vol. II, pp. 91-2, 110, and 124, regarding the strength of the Catholic group in the Province between 1874 and 1878.

sectarians the issue passed rapidly from sight. Once again the reports of the Protestant Superintendent were free from criticism of the dual system. And whatever Bryce thought concerning the efficiency of the separate schools of the French, or whatever different interpretation he may later have read into this period, his writings during these years testify to the harmony which existed under the dual system. (1) The petty struggles of race and religion which had bedevilled the years of the Province's organization were pushed aside by the growing spirit of provincialism which marked the opening years of the Province's expansion. (2) The half-breed rising of 1885 removes any doubts that may be entertained concerning the fate of the sectarian agitation of the seventies. Had the attack on separate schools in particular, and on the French Catholics in general, in 1889, been a continuation of the struggle of 1876, it would have occurred some four years earlier. Despite the similarity between the half-breed rising of 1885 and the earlier one of 1870, the files of the local papers

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(1) His descriptions of the educational system which were written during this period failed to indicate any great desire on the part of the members of the Protestant community, (during the years which followed the 1876 affair), to do away with the dual system. (Bryce Pamphlets, No. 4, 'The History and Condition of Education in Winnipeg', and 'Manitoba: Its Infancy, Growth, and Present Condition', (London, 1882), pp. 354-5. Cf. however, 'John Black, the Apostle of the Red River', pp. 140-1, published in 1898, and 'Educational Reminiscences', p. 5, published in 1904.)

(2) C. Martin, C. & P., Vol. XIX, p. 109. Also vide supra, p. 61.

reveal no attempts to revive the old cries of race and religion, or to utilize the occasion as a pretext for taking advantage of the numerical weakness of the French. Thus it is evident that by 1885 that the movement against French Catholics during the seventies, of which the separate school issue was merely one phase, had long since ceased to exist in fact, and had become history.

The year 1888 is one of the most important dates in the political history of Manitoba. It saw great changes in the fortunes of leaders, of parties, and of movements. It saw the ruin of Norquay, and the rise of Greenway's political star. It saw the collapse of the local Conservative party, and the accession to power of the first provincial Liberal administration in Manitoba. It saw too, and this is more important, the betrayal by the French of their political allies in the hour of danger, and the triumph of provincialism over the Dominion Government's policy of monopoly. In the separate school issue, and in the concomitant issues of language and the representation of the French constituencies in the local house may be found an important factor in the Liberal victory of 1888, as well as the connecting link between the French transfer of party allegiance in that year and the Government's abandonment of provincialism for the adoption of its school policy in 1889.

When the question of separate schools was again brought into the political arena, it was as a means of gaining, or more accurately stated, it appeared at the time as a means of gaining, the political support of the firmest adherents of that system, namely the French Roman Catholics. The Liberals were alleged to have used the issue in such a manner on more than one occasion during the fateful month of January 1888. Before the elections of July 1888, indeed if not before the critical bye-election of St. Francis Xavier, separate schools were an important factor in the formation of what in the light of subsequent events may well be termed an "unholy alliance" between the Liberals and the

politically effective French-speaking Catholics in the Province.

The position of the newly formed Harrison Conservative administration at the opening of 1888 was a most precarious one. As already stated, the efforts of the Norquay Government which had preceded it to serve two masters, one at Ottawa and one in Manitoba, had resulted in the stiffening of the attitude of the Liberal Opposition. (1) Profiting by the divided allegiance of the Government, and, it may be added, unhampered by the duties of office, the Liberals had been able to more closely identify their fortunes with the cause of provincialism.

To counter these moves the Conservatives had followed suit, commencing their first serious efforts to free the Province from the bonds of monopoly. But the unshaken adhesion of Ottawa to the policy of railway monopoly together with the exposure of the local Government's financial record, combined to nullify the popularity which the Government sought to obtain by its new line of action. The resignation of Premier Norquay on December 22, 1887, was largely the result of the financial exposures already mentioned. (2) In January the succeeding Harrison administration faced two bye-elections, one of which had been necessitated by the reconstruction of the Cabinet under Dr. Harrison's premiership. The political contests preceding these bye-elections were of more than ordinary importance, for the parties were so evenly balanced in the Legislature at the time,

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(1) Vide supra, p.66.

(2) Vide supra, p.67.

that the verdict there passed upon the record of the Government of Mr. Norquay would vitally affect the success or collapse of the newly formed Harrison Government. (1)

The new cabinet member seeking to be returned at one of these bye-elections was the Hon. Joseph Burke, Provincial Secretary, who represented the constituency of St. Francis-Xavier. The support given the Conservative party by the majority of French electoral districts in the past, together with certain phases of the policy of the Liberals, tended to strengthen Mr. Burke's position. In the election of 1886, the latter had been returned from this constituency as a supporter of Mr. Norquay. Out of the five remaining French electoral districts, four others had also returned Conservative candidates.

Moreover, it was not likely that certain of the criticisms levelled against the Government by Liberals at the time of the 1888 campaign would enhance the popularity of the latter among the French electors. The Government was condemned for permitting wasteful expenditure in the matter of public printing in the French language, and Mr. Norquay was censured for having failed to bring before the House a fair scheme for a redistribution of seats such as would give the more newly settled parts

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(1) The narrative of events here, is based largely upon Mr. Fisher's affidavit, which apart from the details concerning the St. Francis-Xavier bye-election meeting provides a generally accepted summary of the events leading up to, and resulting from that election. (Can. S.P.(No. 20), Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, 1895, pp.129 - 132.)



of the province, which, it was claimed were being sacrificed to the older settlements, adequate representation. (1)

At the same time, however, the Liberals were of the opinion that success although difficult <sup>to achieve</sup> was not impossible, despite the fact that their candidate, Mr. F. H. Francis was, unlike his opponent, neither French nor Catholic. To them it seemed that the Conservative party in the district had been weakened. If only the prejudice which existed among the French-speaking and Roman Catholic electors against the Liberals, who had condemned the French language and advocated redistribution, could be overcome, there appeared to exist a fair chance of electing Mr. Francis. (2) When it is remembered that one of the French Catholic constituencies was already represented by a Liberal, and that members of the same race and religion were working for the election of a Liberal candidate in St. Francis-Xavier, the hopes of the Liberals did not seem to be without foundation.

It is at this moment that the school issue once more entered, or is believed to have entered, the political scene. The Conservatives in St. Francis-Xavier, fearing a Liberal victory, attempted to discredit Mr. Francis and to bring about his defeat by causing to be circulated rumors to the effect that the Liberals would interfere with the privileges of the French. What

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(1) Ibid., p.130

(2) Ibid., p.130.

followed is uncertain. (1)

It has, however, been stated, and that by eye-witnesses, that Mr. Joseph Martin, Liberal representative for Portage la Prairie in the local House, went out from Winnipeg to refute these charges, and that at two political meetings, on the 7th and the 11th of January, pledged that the Liberal party would not interfere with the privileges of the French. These promises were alleged to have been two in number, dealing specifically with separate schools and the use of the French language. An examination of the accounts given by those present will help to explain the confusion which exists concerning the pledges, even if it will not solve the problem of their having been made.

The evidence concerning the alleged pledges is of two main types: positive evidence, in the form of accounts given by eye-witnesses, and negative evidence, provided by the failure of the political party, and in particular, by the failure of the individual implicated to dispute successfully the veracity of these accounts.

The positive evidence falls into three main groups. The first consists of contemporary accounts, appearing in the newspapers, which contain no reference to the making of any such promises. The second group includes a number of letters, statements and affidavits made over a period of from three to eight years after the event in question, all of which positively assert that such

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(1) R.G. McBeth "The Romance of Western Canada", (Toronto, 1918), p.195.

pledges actually were made. Finally, there is an account written some forty years later by one who had reported this meeting for a Winnipeg newspaper, who bases his version of the pledges upon this report, and who categorically denies that such were ever made.

The first group, consisting of the newspaper accounts, may be classified as neutral, inasmuch as these accounts make no reference to the alleged pledges. Only two newspapers, the Free Press and The Sun, reported the meeting of January 7th. (1) The accounts given in these differ only in length, that appearing in The Sun appearing to be a condensation of the Free Press account.

Among the issues discussed was the Liberal proposal for a redistribution of the constituencies, which ex-Premier Norquay and Premier Harrison, who were among the speakers present, denounced as the "anti-French policy" of the Liberals. Mr. Joseph Martin also addressed the meeting. He denied the charges that the Opposition was anti-French, and challenged the Government to indicate any plank in the Liberal platform or any speech by any member of the Opposition which expressed such sentiments as Mr. Norquay had ascribed to it, pointing to the presence of Mr. A. F. Martin, a French-speaking Roman Catholic member of the Legislature, whose presence in the Liberal ranks amply refuted the accusations made. He vigorously repudiated a charge levelled

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(1) F.P., Jan. 9, and 'The Sun', Jan. 9, 1888.

against him by the Premier, of having stumped the latter's constituency (West Minnedosa) during the election campaign of 1886, crying "Down with the French!" (1) The remainder of the discussions were devoted to other political issues of the day. Reports of the second meeting, given in the Free Press and the Morning Call, are brief, and give no account of the issues discussed. (2)

The only doubt arising with regard to the newspaper accounts, concerns their completeness. Reports of the second meeting, published too late to influence the outcome of the election, are of little value, owing to their extreme brevity. The accounts of the first meeting both appeared in Liberal newspapers. The Free Press account in particular is marked by a distinct political bias in tone. (3) To what extent, if any, this political bias may have influenced the completeness of these reports must remain unanswered. It would appear, however, that the evidence provided

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- (1) A check of newspaper accounts of political meetings addressed by Mr. Martin during the election campaign of 1886 does not substantiate the Premier's charge. Had the accusation been true, the silence of the newspapers on the matter, would not, assuming Mr. Martin to have been guilty, <sup>have</sup> protected him from criticism on that score after his introduction of the school legislation of 1890.
- (2) F. P., Jan. 12, and 'Morning Call', Jan. 12, 1886.
- (3) e.g. "The new Provincial Secretary is not very bright, but even he could see that it would be a material advantage to him to capture his opponent's meeting...."

by the newspapers does not preclude the possibility of pledges having been made at either of the meetings in question.

The second group, on the other hand, seems to indicate that such pledges had been made by Mr. Martin. The accounts included in this group were given on various occasions during the eight years which followed the election. They may in turn be divided into two sub-groups: statements made by Messrs. Roblin and Fisher, members of the local Legislature, (1) and a number of affidavits

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- (1) A marked contrast may be observed between the accounts given by Messrs. Fisher and Roblin. While those of the former became more positive, those of the latter became less specific and definite. Thus Mr. Fisher, in his first account given in the Legislature on March 2nd, 1893, stated that in August 1889, and later during the session of 1890, when he voted for the new school legislation, he had forgotten about the pledges, and that he had only remembered them when he saw or heard them mentioned. (R.D. Mar. 2, F.P., Mar. 16, 1893.) Two years later, however, Mr. Fisher was able to forget about this hiatus and state positively that he had heard the pledges made. (R.D. Feb. 27, F.P., Feb. 28, 1895. See also his affidavit in Can. S.P. (No. 20), Vol. XLVIII, No. 10, pp. 129-132.) On the other hand, the statements made by Mr. Roblin, who had broken with the Liberals in 1888 over the Northern Pacific deal, (see for example Edit. "A Humiliating Spectacle", F.P., Sept. 1, 1888.) are characterized by a shift of interpretation from the claim that specific pledges were made to a statement that nothing more than a general promise had been given. According to the first one of these statements, Mr. Roblin had driven to the St. Francis-Xavier meeting in the same rig as the former Attorney-General, and had heard the latter pledge that the Liberals would not interfere with the privileges of the French. (R.D. Mar. 15, F.P., Mar. 16, 1892.) In the course of an interview given some three years later, Mr. Roblin stated that he had accompanied Mr. Joseph Martin and J.W. Dafoe, then of the 'Free Press' staff, to this meeting, and that there he had heard the former promise that the Liberals would not interfere with separate schools. (F.P., Mar. 23, 1895.) A year later, he stated

and a letter, presented at the appeal of the minority before the Privy Council of Canada for remedial legislation. (1) Although certain of these accounts refer only to one meeting, and others fail to assign a definite date, they all positively assert that pledges were made.

One feature is common to the evidence provided by the press and that given at a later date by other eye-witnesses. Both groups of accounts are open to the suspicion of subjective or wishful thinking on the part of their narrators. The newspaper accounts, as already stated, admit of doubt because they appear in a party press. Similarly, the testimony of the second group is not strengthened by the fact that it was made several years after the events had occurred, and in every case, was made by individuals interested in the school issue for reasons political, religious, or personal.

The third and most recent account denies that the pledges were made. This account appears in Mr. J.W. Dafoe's biography of Sir Clifford Sifton. (2) "In that issue", he writes,

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in the Legislature that Mr. Greenway had given Mr. Joseph Martin and himself instructions to assure the French concerning the intentions of the Liberals (R.D. Feb. 26, D.N.W., Feb. 27, 1896.) and read statements from the 'Free Press' of the time in support of his contention. (R.D. Feb. 26, F.P., Feb. 27, 1896.)

- (1) See Exhibits C to L in Can.S.P.(No.20), Vol. XXVIII, No.10, 1895, p.p. 129 - 140,
- (2) J.W. Dafoe, 'Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Time' (Toronto, 1931), pp. 37-40 (Hereafter referred to as Dafoe, 'Sifton'.)

"there is no reference to the schools or the French language, for the very good reason that no speaker mentioned them." This denial, however, covers only the meeting held on the 7th and does not account for the second meeting on the 11th.

The question of whether pledges were given is not settled by this third account. At the most it merely fixes the date upon which pledges might have been made. But the problem to be solved is not so much when the pledges were made, as to establish whether they were actually made at all.

What the positive evidence disagrees upon, the negative evidence appears to establish. This negative evidence is based upon two facts: the failure of the Manitoba Liberals to face the issue squarely and deny the charges, and the failure of the individual alleged to have made the promises to deny having done so.

When the Liberal party was in power it was on more than one occasion afforded the opportunity of repudiating the charges. Instead, whenever the question arose in the Legislature, it evaded the issue. Thus, Mr. Sifton, representative for North Brandon, speaking in the Legislature on February 11th, 1890, held that the Liberal party was not bound for all time by the statement of Mr. Martin at the St. Francis-Xavier bye-election, and moreover, that the policy of the Government had been fairly stated at the subsequent general elections of 1888. (1)

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(1) R.D. Feb.10,F.P.,Feb.11,1890.

In 1895, the Attorney-General produced another explanation. No individual member of the assembly, he stated, could bind the Government by a verbal promise or expression of opinion. (1) Later on in the same day the Hon. Mr. Watson advanced a further argument concerning the alleged pledges. Since, he argued, the Hon. Joseph Martin was not a member of any Government at the time, he could not bind any Government by any expression of opinion he might have made. The evasive nature of these later arguments in particular, it will be noted, tends to draw attention away from the question of whether pledges were actually made, to the issue of whether pledges if made would have been binding. The failure of the party to profit from these opportunities to make a straightforward denial seems to indicate, if anything, that in 1888 it had been committed to the support of separate schools. (2)

Such a conclusion seems to be supported by the discreet silence maintained by Mr. Joseph Martin concerning the statements that he made in 1888. On no occasion during his term of office as Attorney

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(1) R.D. Feb.27,F.P.,Feb.28,1895.

(2) Otherwise it is difficult to understand how, for example, any Government could permit to pass unnoticed so serious an accusation as was implied in the following statement of Mr. Roblin in the Legislature: "...He (Mr. Roblin) was astounded to hear that witnesses had already been approached by the Government and had been told that if they gave evidence against the first minister they would be forced to leave the country." (R.D.Mar.29,F.P.,Mar.30, 1892. Cf. remarks by Mr.A.F. Martin on the same day.)



General of Manitoba did Mr. Martin deny the charges levelled against him. Later, in 1896, during the debates in the House of Commons on the Remedial Bill, he was provided with a further opportunity of vindicating himself. But instead of denying these promises, he denied the truthfulness of the affidavits made concerning them, (1) and claimed that because these affidavits had been withdrawn as evidence at the appeal of the minority before the Privy Council of Canada (2) he had never had the opportunity of contradicting them. (3) Only when his turn to speak was past, thus relieving him of the opportunity of relating what had actually occurred, and of the responsibility of explaining his conduct, did he make a belated denial of ever "...getting or seeking the support of the Roman Catholic minority in Manitoba by promises and afterwards going back upon those promises." (4) This failure to explain away these promises, or at least to offer an alternative version of what had occurred, constitutes the most convincing evidence of their having been made.

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(1) (Vide supra, pp. 120-1.)

(2) (Vide supra, p. 23. ) These affidavits were withdrawn only because Liberals, through Manitoba's counsel, Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, were seeking to use them as a means of delaying the possibility of Dominion intervention for another year. (Vide infra, p. 218, n. 1.) After their withdrawal the Dominion Liberals found it more convenient to question the value of these affidavits on the grounds that no opportunity had been afforded of answering them, than to attempt to deny them or to endeavour to explain them away. (e.g. D.H.C., R.A., I, <sup>1896</sup>Monet Mar. 12, p.p. 226 - 227.)

(3) (D.H.C., R.A., Vol. I, Mar. 6, 1896, p. 155.)

(4) Ibid., Mar. 11, p. 249.

But if the reluctance of the Manitoba Liberals and Mr. Joseph Martin to break their silence concerning the St. Francis-Xavier affair appears strongly indicative of the guilt of Mr. Martin, it is nevertheless open to another explanation. The history of political corruption in Manitoba has yet to be written. As a factor in local political histories, it is conspicuous only because of its absence. Even the references in the local press concerning the subject are exceedingly limited, owing on the one hand to considerations of partisan political attachment, and on the other to the restraining influence of the laws respecting libel. Yet it would be difficult, during this period, to isolate a particular election, and state that this factor was absent, especially in the case of an election as significant as that conducted in St. Francis-Xavier during the month of January 1888. (1) Viewed in this light, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that the Liberals had made, or permitted to be made, no such promises as were subsequently claimed. Their reluctance at a later date to take the opportunity to deny these pledges would then have arisen not from a desire to repudiate commitments allegedly made in 1888, but rather from the fact that any explanation which might be advanced concerning what had actually occurred, would involve the exposure of details of campaign technique that would do more damage to the reputation of the party than would be compensated for by explaining away the existing obloquy. It is therefore impossible to state with absolute certainty that the pledges, which the negative evidence seemed so strongly to indicate, were ever made.

(1) See in this connection the editorial "The Case Being Altered Alters the Case", (F.P., May 27, 1892), charging that there had been corruption in St. Francis-Xavier to the extent of \$12,500. Cf. James Bryce, 'Modern Democracies', (New York, 1921), Vol. I, pp. 477-8 & 497-8.

Whatever promises may or may not have been made, the result of the election which followed contributed materially towards the introduction to office of the Liberals. On January 10th the Conservative candidate in Assiniboia met with defeat. Two days later, a similar fate befell the Hon. Mr. Burke in St. Francis-Xavier. The newly formed Harrison administration considered the outcome of the bye-elections to be an indication of popular disapproval. Moreover, the Government's majority in the House, already small, was now still further reduced. Accordingly, on January 19th, Dr. Harrison's administration resigned, and Mr. Greenway, leader of the Opposition, was called upon to form a Government.

Before forming an administration, Mr. Greenway, in view of his slight majority in the Legislature, sought to arrive at some understanding with the French members. If such could be achieved, it would be mutually advantageous. It would provide the Liberals with a valuable increase to their slight majority in the Legislature. The French, on the other hand, viewing with alarm the collapse of their Conservative allies, saw in the formation of a Franco-Liberal entente, the surest means of obtaining protection against any possible attack from their former political foes. (1)

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(1) The constant support which the greater part of the French voters had accorded the Conservative party prior to 1888 was responsible for the outburst of Liberal criticism

Indeed, even before the resignation of the Harrison administration Le Manitoba, the local organ of the French Conservatives, made reference to an announcement in the Quebec newspaper L'Electeur, to the effect that the French representatives in the Manitoba Legislature would join forces with the Liberals unless they were given a representative in the Cabinet. (1) Although Le Manitoba ridiculed the idea, it was evidently one which would be of real advantage to the French members, and of potential value to the Liberals.

Premier Greenway accordingly set about to strengthen his Cabinet by the inclusion of one of the French members of the Legislature. Before selecting the new minister, he decided to seek the approval of his choice by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Boniface, Tache. With this purpose in mind, Mr. Greenway, accompanied by Mr. W.F. Alloway, a prominent Winnipeg banker, called upon His Grace.

It was during the course of the discussions that ensued, that

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against the latter in 1886. See the attack upon the French in general, and the Hon. Mr. Lariviere in particular, made in the F.P. Editorials during October and November of 1886. An Editorial headed "Mr. Lariviere's Bid", (F.P., Oct. 23, 1886, makes abundantly clear the ground for Liberal opposition. "Our remarks," it stated, "have all been directed against him (Mr. Lariviere) for attempting to set the French against the English by asking them to remain a unit in order that they might preserve their influence."

(1) 'Le Manitoba', jeudi 12, janvier, 1888.

according to the reports of two out of the three individuals there present, Mr. Greenway committed himself to the support of separate schools and other privileges of the French minority. Upon these statements is based the following account of the interviews. (1) Owing to the illness of Archbishop Tache at the time of the visit, the interview was conducted on his behalf by the Vicar-General, Rev. J. Allard. The latter informed Mr. Greenway that before it would be possible for His Grace to favour any French member joining the new Government, it would be necessary to obtain assurances upon certain matters relative to the rights of the French Roman Catholics in Manitoba. These matters were three in number. The first referred to the existence of separate schools. The second related to the official use of the French language. The third dealt with the safeguarding of the number of French electoral districts in the Province. Upon all these matters Mr. Greenway gave favourable assurances. On the following morning, they met again in Mr. Alloway's office. There, Mr. Greenway repeated his assurances and the Vicar-General reported that the Archbishop had expressed satisfaction concerning the promises and would have no objection to the inclusion of Mr. Prendergast in the Cabinet.

The nature of these interviews only became known to the public a few years later as a result of certain statements made by Mr. Greenway in the local House. In conducting the interview, the Rev. Allard had pledged himself to secrecy. When in 1890

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(1) Affidavits of Mr. W. F. Alloway and Father Allard. For references Vide infra, p. 129, n. 2.

the legislation abolishing the separate schools was passed, the Vicar-General, rather than break his promise remained silent. For the same reason, when Archbishop Tache interviewed the Premier in 1890, urging him not to allow the abolition of separate schools, he made no reference to these pledges. (1) Not until Premier Greenway, on the floor of the local Legislature, denied having made any promises, was the nature of these interviews disclosed.

The evidence may again be divided into two groups, positive and negative. The positive evidence consists of affidavits and statements made by the three individuals who participated in the interviews. The negative evidence is provided by the refusal of the Greenway Government to conduct an investigation as to whether these promises had been given.

The positive evidence falls into two sub-groups, one asserting and one denying the making of the pledges. Two affidavits sworn by Mr. Alloway, dated April 1st, 1892, and February, (n.d.), 1895, together with a third deposition by the Rev. Allard, dated April 1st, 1892, (3) assert that Mr. Greenway had committed himself to the support of separate schools as well as other privileges of the French. A fourth account was given in the Legislature by Premier Greenway on March 15th, 1892. (4) In it the Premier rejected

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(1) Tache, 'A Page...', pp. 41-2.

(2) F.P., Apr. 2, 1892, and Can. S.P. (No. 20), Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, 1895, pp. 142-3.

(3) F.P., Apr. 2, 1892. (4) F.P., Mar. 16, 1892.

the contention that he had made any promises relating to these matters. The purpose of his visit, he claimed, was to settle a dispute as to which of two members were to be appointed to the Cabinet. Thus, the positive evidence, considered alone, leaves the question unsettled. (1)

The Negative evidence again appears to decide the issue. On March 29th, 1892, Mr. A. F. Martin, the French Catholic member for Morris (2) in the Manitoba Legislature, moved a resolution for a Committee of the House to enquire into the truthfulness of a certain charge made against the Premier by a member of the House, regarding the interview with Archbishop Tache. (3) Mr. Sifton, the Attorney-General, took up the Government's defence, arguing at considerable length that it was very improbable that Premier Greenway should have made any such pledges. In concluding, Mr. Sifton did not admit the charge made by the Opposition that the Government was afraid to conduct an investigation, but stated that the Government was afraid of trusting

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(1) A fifth piece of evidence, relating not to the interview between the Premier and the Vicar-General, but to the existence of pledges by the Premier to the French members, was given by Mr. A. F. Martin in the local Legislature as follows:

"Mr. Greenway stated to me and to Mr. Marion before taking office that he was not going to abolish separate schools. He has come into power on false pretences."

(R.D. Mar. 15, F.P., Mar. 16, 1892.)

(2) (Who had supported the Liberals in the St. Francis Xavier election. Vide supra, p. 118.

(3) Man. J. L. A., Vol. XXIV, Mar. 29, 1892, pp. 24-25.

itself to the memory of certain gentlemen. The story, he claimed, was got up for election purposes. (1) By a vote of 22 to 12, the motion was defeated. If Premier Greenway was innocent of the charges, he would have had no reason to fear an investigation. The Government's conduct in this matter would seem to indicate that the pledges had been made.

Yet quite apart from the evidence discussed concerning the interviews, it was but natural that separate schools would be a matter vital to any understanding arrived at between the French and the Liberals. Were the French to accord their political support to their former critics (2) without demanding a price in return, such a change in the bestowal of their political sympathies would serve to draw attention to the weakness of their position. Even if they had been unable to strike a bargain with the Liberals, it is more than likely that they would have transferred their political allegiance. Moreover, as members of the Conservative party, and, therefore, possessing the confidence of the party, they realized much better than did the Liberals, the imminence of the Conservative collapse. The French were

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(1) F.P., Mar. 30, 1892.

(2) (Vide supra, pp. 126-7.)



therefore all the more ready to demand concessions, the Liberals to make them. Only when the elections of July revealed the extent of defection within the ranks of the old Conservative party, did the Liberal leaders realize how they had been induced to make unnecessary concessions during the discussions of the preceding January. To this humiliation which Mr. Greenway, as a novice in the art of political negotiations, had suffered at the hands of the more experienced Tache, may be attributed a good deal of the bitterness which characterized the attack on the French Roman Catholics in 1889, as well as the strenuous efforts of the Liberals in 1892 to gloss over the allegations concerning the pledges of 1888. Conversely, it is because of the realistic manner in which the French element in Manitoba sought to subordinate the interests of party to those of race and religion, that their historians and chroniclers have been unable to render adequate justice to the brilliant political victory of the Archbishop in wresting concessions from the triumphant Liberals for and on behalf of a group which had long since become politically impotent.

If the victory of the Liberals in 1888 was due mainly to the growth of provincialism, the limited success of provincialism in 1888, and its abandonment in 1889, was due in large part to the victory of the Liberals. Ignoring for the moment the economic aspects of the situation, the fact that rival parties ruled at Ottawa and Winnipeg seriously limited the possibility of a complete victory for provincialism. This fact, as will shortly be seen, constitutes one of the basic reasons for the adoption of the school policy of the Greenway Government in 1889. Impelled onwards by the weight of accumulated resentment against the Dominion Government from the past, barred from advancing by newly discovered obstacles of the present, the Liberals took the only course open to them at the time, and moved laterally.

The position occupied by the Liberals in 1888-89 was by no means as advantageous as would at first appear. That they had benefitted by the efforts of their predecessors to free the province from monopoly cannot be denied. (1) Yet the victory of provincialism was incomplete since the agitation for "better terms" had not yet resulted in the establishment of adequate financial arrangements between the Dominion and the Province. A movement which had resulted in such intensity of feeling as had provincialism during its second phase could neither be abandoned nor neglected at will. Moreover, the fact that the Liberals had come into power in Manitoba meant that

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1C. Martin, C.&P., Vol. XIX, p. 1224

The economic limitation to the success of provincialism related to the primary pioneer policy of the Province. As already stated, (1) Manitoba had long awaited the establishment of railway communications, and when these were obtained, had struggled strenuously to obtain additional railway outlets. Thus the victory over monopoly in 1888 had seemed to open the way for a new era in railway development. But for reasons largely beyond the Province's control, the success proved to be nominal rather than real. At first, it was believed that the Province would henceforth enjoy the benefits of competition. With this in view, the Northern Pacific contract of 1888 had been undertaken. A year later, however, it was evident that the advantages expected by the public, if not by the Government, had not materialized. (2)

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(1) Vide supra, pp. 61 et seq..

(2) According to Begg: "At the close of 1889, the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway Company had 266 miles of road in operation within the Province, but the great advantages of competition, and cheapening of rates, promised by the Company, scarcely fulfilled the hopes of those who had so longed for its event. It was found that the rates were not materially reduced, and that although the small section of the country served by the system derived the benefit of rail communication, the country at large was not benefitted at all. But this fact seemed to be overlooked by the majority of the mercurial people of Manitoba, whose minds were now completely given up to the discussion of the school question." (Op. cit., Vol. III, p. 330.) Three years later the Greenway Government was able to argue that it had effected a reduction in the freight rate on grain exports from the Province "...from all points on the N.P.&M. Railway, and all points upon the C.P.R. and its connections, directly or indirectly brought into competition with the N.P.&M. has been reduced three cents per hundred pounds.. and that "The rate of freight upon any incoming merchandise has been greatly reduced." (Manitoba Pamphlets, 'Record of the Greenway Government, 1888 to 1892', (Anon.), n.p., n.d., p. 86.) The point to be noticed, however, is that the Greenway Government had not been able to effect this change rapidly enough following the breaking of monopoly, and had accordingly been obliged to formulate some type of policy which would effectively and instantaneously divert public

Thus the smashing of monopoly did not provide a cure-all for the economic difficulties of the province. The explanation is to be found not in the local political situation but in world economic conditions. Throughout this period the downward trend of wheat prices served to offset the decline in transportation costs. (1)

Such conditions were not favourable to rapid expansion, still less were they conducive to railway construction or the benefits of competition. Although the Government could not predict the duration of these trends, it dared not ignore their existence nor the unrest which would arise therefrom. By 1889, if indeed not earlier, it was becoming increasingly obvious to the Liberal leaders, at least, that the collapse of their Government between the demand for reduced rates and the adverse trends in world economic conditions as affecting the export of Manitoba's staple crop, was becoming imminent, if not inevitable.

If then the policies based on provincialism were no longer tenable, it was necessary to replace them by others more effective. It is at this point that the factor of racial and religious prejudice again enters the political arena. To those conversant with the political history of the young Dominion, examples of such were both numerous and instructive.

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attention from the economic requirements of the Province, to an issue which would arouse the racial and religious prejudices of an overwhelmingly Protestant and English electorate. (Edit. "As to Competition", F.P., May 17, 1892.)

(1) W.A. MacKintosh, 'Economic Problems of the Prairie Provinces', (Toronto, 1935), pp. 9-10.

Four particular instances must have appealed strongly to the Liberal leaders in Manitoba. The first of these was the use to which Riel's execution had been put by Quebec politicians, amply illustrating the effectiveness of the religious and racial appeal as a means of destroying party allegiance. (1) The second was the fruitless campaign of the leader of the Ontario Conservative ~~leader of the~~ Opposition, Mr. Meredith, against the French Catholics and their schools, which attack, despite its failure, served to draw attention to the potential political capital to be derived from a similar attack when made under more favourable circumstances. (2) The third was the unintended agitation stirred up by the Jesuits Estates Act of Mercier's Liberal Government in Quebec. Neither the constitutionality of this measure, nor the generous treatment accorded the Quebec Protestant minority on the occasion, served to check the storm of sectarian violence which followed. (3) It was therefore obvious that if religious and racial prejudice could be commanded with such effect to jeopardize an act clearly within the legislative jurisdiction of a province, it might be employed with still greater effect to force the success of an issue the constitutionality of which might be considered in certain respects debateable. The fourth was the premature attack

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(1) Skelton, 'Laurier', Vol. I, pp 311-5 & 327.

(2) C.R.W. Biggar, 'Sir Oliver Mowat', (Toronto, 1905), Vol. II, pp. 466 et seq.

(3) Skelton, 'Laurier', Vol. I, pp. 363-7.

of the Ontario element in Manitoba itself, little more than a decade earlier, against the system of separate schools. From the examples provided by Quebec and Ontario, the Greenway Government received the incentive to adopt a similar method of seeking power in Manitoba; from that provided by the history of their own province, they inherited a plan of campaign.

In addition to the factors making necessary the adoption of some sectarian <sup>policy</sup> such as that opposed to separate schools must be considered those factors making such a policy possible. These latter were three in number. The first of these was the constitutional situation. The second was the local political situation. The third related to forces and parties engaged in federal politics.

The constitutional situation possessed more than one factor favouring the adoption of the school issue. It was evident from the speech of Attorney-General Martin on introducing the school legislation in 1890 (1) as well as from the fears entertained by the Liberals in 1892 concerning the success of that issue before the Privy Council (2) that there was doubts concerning the extent to which the B.N.A. and Manitoba Acts limited the province's control of its educational system. The effect of this uncertainty would be to throw the onus on the <sup>(3)</sup> the

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(1) R.D. Mar. 4, F.P., Mar. 5, 1890, Man. J.L.A., Vol. XXI, 1890, Mar. 4, p. 66.

(2) Vide infra. pp. 178 ; et seq.

(3) Hon. Mr. Martin, R.D. Mar. 4, F.P., Mar. 5, 1890.

Dominion Government, in the hope that results comparable to those arising over the Jesuits "states Act would ensue. But the fundamental constitutional factor concerned the question of finances. The attempt of the Dominion to protect separate schools in the Province had failed in one respect: control of the school grants was vested in the local Legislature. This constitutional trump card the Liberals held in reserve until the threat of Dominion intervention arose in 1895. (1)

The local political situation likewise appeared to favour the adoption of such a policy. As the Opposition was weak, the loss of a few French supporters in the House was a matter of indifference. (2) Such losses would be more than compensated for by the support gained from the ultra-Protestant wing of the Conservatives at the next provincial elections. Indeed, the weak position of the French numerically favoured any such appeal to the religious and racial bigotry of the English-speaking Protestant voters. "To-day the French from point of numbers, need not be consulted", stated the Brandon Sun of October 17th, with brutal frankness. (3)

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(1) Vide supra, p. 26. It was not completely ignored during the 1892 election campaign, however; see for example, Manitoba Pamphlets, 'Record of the Greenway Government, 1888 to 1892', p. 36.

(2) The Opposition numbered six out of a House of thirty-eight. ('The Canadian Parliamentary Companion', (Ottawa, 1889), pp. 335-45.) There were six French members in the House, five of whom were Liberals, and one Conservative. Despite the Liberal "revolt" over the Manitoba and Northern Pacific deal, (See Edit. "A Humiliating Spectacle", F.P., Sept. 1, 1888.) only one Liberal member, R.F. Roblin, transferred allegiance to the Conservatives. (Vide infra, p. 176, n. 3.)

(3) 1889.

Moreover, such appeals could readily be reinforced and disguised by the skilful use of other aspects of the question. In introducing the new policy, it would be easy to identify it with the economy measures of the new Government. (1) Later, in sustaining it against federal intervention, great effectiveness could be derived by linking the issue in general with those features of federal policies which had been responsible for the growth of provincialism, and in particular with the disallowance issue of the eighties.

Similarly, conditions in the realm of federal politics seemed to indicate a favourable outcome. The unhappy experiences of Liberals and Conservatives alike following the North-West rising and the execution of Riel, as well as the repercussions of the Jesuits Estates Act, would naturally result in an attempt to keep issues of race and religion out of federal politics, if at all possible. This desire was heightened in 1890 by the imminence of a general election, for quite apart from the unhappy experiences of the past with respect to sectarian issues, the introduction of a question of this sort at the eleventh hour, would seriously upset campaign plans by increasing the element of uncertainty. Disallowance was therefore exceedingly unlikely.

Federal intervention at any time would harm the Dominion Government, since on the one hand it would provide their opponents with an opportunity of raising the 'Provincial Rights' cry, and on the other hand would alienate the ultra-Protestant wing of the federal Conservative party by supplying the Equal Rights Association with

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(1) Vide infra, pp. 172 et seq.



with further fuel for agitation. This factor of restraint, together with the fact that the Dominion Liberals were led by the French Catholic Laruiet, would tend to compensate for the damage done to the Liberals in Quebec by the action of the Manitoba Liberals in adopting such legislation. On the whole, therefore, the attack on separate schools appeared sound from the standpoint of Dominion politics, partly because of the reluctance of either of the two parties to become entangled with the issue before the elections, partly because of the use to which it could be put in splitting the federal Conservatives, and partly because of the manner in which it could be strengthened by the Liberal doctrine of 'Provincial Rights'.

During the years 1888 and 1889 there were at least three indications of an approaching storm. The first of these was a rumour discussed by the Free Press concerning the Government's plan to abolish the existing Board of Education and replace it by a Department of Education as in Ontario. In an editorial entitled "The Board of Education" this newspaper condemned the proposed change in the following prophetic words:

"As it is, the management of educational matters is kept apart from the seething cauldron of politics. If it were placed in the hands of a Minister, we know well enough from the furious agitations which have succeeded one another in Ontario during the last few years where Catholics and Protestants have been carrying on a bitter, endless, and generally senseless fight over the action or alleged omissions of the Mowat Government just what we might expect in Manitoba." (1)

The appointment of a Minister of Education in Ontario, it was pointed out, had been an experiment. For several years, the editorial concluded, the Board of Education had been subject to

(1) Sep. 4, 1888.

attack, but never seriously.

Two months later there were further rumours current concerning the local Government's intention of interfering with the system of education. According to a second editorial in the Free Press, headed "The Government and Education", the Government was preparing to interfere with the estimates of the Board of Education by reducing the salaries of the superintendents and the heads of the normal schools, a line of action which the Free Press strongly resented. (1)

A third indication of an approach to the sectarian policy embodied in the legislation against separate schools appeared during the 1889 session of the Legislature. In 1890, during the debate on the abolition of the official use of the French language, one of the Liberal members, Mr. S.J. Thompson, revealed that it had been the intention of several members during the preceding session to introduce a resolution favouring the abolition of the official use of French in the Province. The Attorney-General, he stated, advised that in view of it being so late in the session, the matter be left over until the following session. (2)

The foregoing evidence, however imperfect and incomplete, when read in the light of subsequent events, makes clear that the dual attack against the separate schools and privileges of the French, was being formulated gradually during this period.

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(1) Nov. 26, 1888.

(2) R.D. Feb. 11, F.P., Feb. 12, 1890.

The confiscation of the Catholic section of the Board of Education's reserve fund during the month of July was the first intimation of the changes soon to take place in the educational system of the Province. As early as July 11th, 1889, the Brandon Sun, which was the outstanding Liberal organ in the western part of the Province, had condemned not only the existence of separate schools, but also the possession by the Catholic section of the Board of Education of a reserve fund of some \$13,900. (1) This reserve fund had been allowed to accumulate in accordance with the provisions of the Manitoba Public Schools Act of 1881, which permitted each section of the Board after having provided for its departmental expenses, to reserve for unforeseen circumstances a sum not exceeding ten per cent of its share of the educational grant. (2) On the following day, July 12th, Mr. Prendergast, the Provincial Secretary, in a letter to Mr. T. A. Bernier, Superintendent for the Catholic Schools, requested that the reserve fund of the Catholic section be remitted to the Government. The Provincial Secretary, in his letter, explained the request as follows:

"...this demand refers only to a detail of internal administration, and in no way to the property of the amount indicated, the amount is decidedly a vested right and will not admit of doubt at any time." (3)

Several days later, on the 20th, the sum of \$13,879.47 was forwarded to the Provincial Treasurer. (4)

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(1) Edit. "The Separate Schools", 'Brandon Sun', July 11, 1889.

(2) Man. Stat., 44 Vic., 3rd Session, 1881, c. 4, s. 90.

(3) Can. S. P. (No. 20), Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, 1895, p. 144.

(4) Man. J. L. A. & S. P., Vol. XXI, 1890, S. P. No. 18, pp. 45-6.

This brief episode marked the end of the Catholic section's reserve fund. It marked also the beginning of the Manitoba school question.

A few weeks later the Government's intention to make alterations in the school system was first made known to the public. Statements made in the Government press and by cabinet ministers at public meetings indicated the changes to be made. These included reform in administration, elimination of duplication, and secularization of the public school system.

The announcement in the Government's newspaper, The Sun, appeared on August 1st. Under the heading "They Both Must Go", it was stated that the Government had resolved to introduce legislation at the next session of the Legislature abolishing the use of French as an official language. The re-organization of the educational system was to include among other things, the abolition of the Board of Education and the creation of a Government Department under a Minister. "The Government", stated the article, "had also decided to grapple with the separate school question, and means will be devised to knock them out despite the reading of the law."(1)

On the same day the Minister of Public works, Mr. Smart, was examining the dual system from the standpoint of economy. Speaking before a large gathering at Souris, he announced, in the presence of Premier Greenway, the Government's intention

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(1) 'The Sun' (Winnipeg), Thurs., Aug. 1, 1889.

to frame a new school act. (1) He condemned the dual language system as resulting in unnecessary duplication and expenditure. He also condemned the apportionment of the school grant between the Roman Catholic and Protestant Boards being made on the basis of school population, since under this arrangement the fact that the number of pupils contained in the average Catholic school exceeded that contained in the average Protestant School, made the grant per school received by the former exceed that received by the latter. His remarks, he contended, were not meant to advocate the abolition of separate schools, but rather to point out the unfairness of the existing legislation. On the following day, again in the presence of the Premier, he made statements of a similar nature in an address to a Liberal convention at Clearwater. (2)

The first Minister to announce publicly his intention of abolishing the separate school system was Mr. Joseph Martin, the Attorney General. The occasion which he chose to present his views upon the matter was a most appropriate one. At the invitation of the Orangemen, Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, M.P. for North Simcoe, and leader of the semi-independent wing of the Dominion Conservative party, delivered an address on the Jesuits Estates Question at Portage la Prairie on August 5th. (3)

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(1) 'The Sun', Fri., Aug. 9, & Mon., Aug. 12, 1889.

(2) F.P., Sat., Aug. 3, 1889.

(3) F.P., Wed., Aug. 7, 1889.

In concluding his address, he urged his listeners to deal with the local aspects of the French question, such as separate schools in Manitoba, before seeking to deal with the problem of French aggression in its larger aspects.

Mr. Joseph Martin, who represented Portage la Prairie in the local legislature, was present, and spoke following Mr. McCarthy. He referred to the danger of vested interests accumulating in Manitoba, and expressed the belief that they should be dealt with while it was still possible. The Government had not made clear its stand concerning separate schools and the use of the French language, but his own feelings on the matter had long been known. He assured his audience that he would put forth every effort during the next session of the Legislature to have abolished the official use of the French language and to have the public school system secularized.

The effect of this joint attack on the French Catholics of the Province by Mr. D'Alton McCarthy and the Manitoba Liberals, resulted in the action of the latter being attributed in large part to the influence of the former. (1) Whether the Manitoba Liberals had been indirectly responsible for Mr. McCarthy's visit to Portage la Prairie is uncertain. It is evident, however, that they allowed the impression to be made that the impetuous Attorney-

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(1) Benoit, 'Tache', t. 11, pp. 644-5, Dafoe, 'Sifton', p.38, and Sir John Willison, 'Sir Wilfrid Laurier', (Toronto, 1926), Part 11, p. 201.

General, carried away by Mr. McCarthy's eloquent appeal (1) had dragged the Government into this course. (2) In this manner the Government was able to divert attention from its real reasons for introducing the school issue.

The only definite indications of the Government's intentions at the time were contained in the statements of the above two Ministers. Hon. Messrs. Prendergast (Provincial Secretary) and McMillan (Provincial Treasurer) as late as August 7th, professed ignorance of the Government's intentions. (3) Later, on August 10th, the Premier was reported as having both denied and affirmed rumours that the Government intended to interfere with the existence of the state-supported separate school system. (4)

The hesitancy which the Government had thus far manifested in enunciating its policy was particularly characteristic of its treatment of the French Liberal members. According to accounts given by Mr. A. F. Martin during the 1892 session of the Legislature, the Premier had during August 1889 been attempting to retain the support of the French while at the same time preparing

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(1) This was Mr. Fisher's (Ind.Lib.) interpretation, and it was not contradicted by the Government. (R.D. Mar. 2, F.P., Mar. 16, 1893.)

(2) Dom Benoit, 'Tache', t. 11, p. 643.

(3) F.P., Aug. 7, 1889.

(4) F.P., Aug. 10, 1889 and 'The Sun' (Winnipeg), Aug. 10, 1889.

to betray them. The interview reported in the Free Press of August 10th, took place between a delegation of French members and the Premier, to whom the latter described Mr. Joseph Martin's statements as "bosh". Yet within twenty-four hours Greenway had denied that such an interview had ever taken place. (1)

If however, the Government was reluctant to terminate its alliance with the French, the latter showed no hesitation in precipitating the breach. Not for long were the leaders of the French Catholic minority deceived by such evasions and duplicity. All doubts concerning the Government's aims were removed by two announcements appearing in the Free Press of August 14th. One of these announced the resignation of Mr. Prendergast from the Cabinet; the other indicated the resolution of Archbishop Tache to protect the interests of his flock. The long campaign of the political and religious leaders of the minority to protect their privileges and institutions as symbolized in their schools, had begun.

The seeds of sectarian strife sown during early August soon began to strike root, (2)

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(1) 'The Sun', (Winnipeg), Aug. 10, 1889.

(2) See F. P. and 'Sun' for August and September of 1888. On Sunday, August 11th, the Rev. Dr. Bryce chose as the text of his evening sermon to the congregation of Knox Church, Eccles. IX, 10: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." His topic was: "...the wants of the Province at the present time in reference to religious, moral, civil and material things", and the sermon was reported in part as follows:

"...Now to-day we seemed to be threatened by a hostile and aggressive papacy in our own country. ...Here by one plan and



The inflated prejudices of the frontier together with the racial and religious bigotry which characterized this era of Canadian history had well prepared the subsoil of local politics. The movement grew rapidly, gaining the support of religious bodies and Orange lodges. The ultra-Protestant clergy in the Province, desirous of finding the most effective means of doing injury to their Catholic neighbours under the guise of religious equality and educational progress, were divided into two groups, one of which advocated secularization, while the other proposed the continuation of religious instruction along lines satisfactory to Protestants. (1) In the end it was the latter group which was to predominate. (2) During the seven years of agitation that followed, the school issue proved mutually beneficial to the militant Protestants as well as to the Greenway Government. For while it provided the former with ample occasions upon which to demonstrate their Protestant orthodoxy, it provided the latter with the

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another upwards of \$2 has been given to every Catholic school for \$1 to every Protestant school. In this very city one fifth of the revenue from the Protestant corporations goes to the separate schools. In our country this agency, threatening our liberties, is connected with a national idea. When men deliberately state as they have done that they aim at building up a French Canadian nationality, what is this but a blow at our hopes as one Canadian people? Language and separate schools are being used to build up what is really destructive to our hopes as a people, and we should be unworthy of our name if we permitted such aggression. Our civil and religious liberties are invaded, and while I should never be one to take one jot or tittle of a right away from a minority, or to transgress wantonly the bonds of good feeling and good neighborhood, yet I would not be worthy of the covenanting blood in my veins if I submitted to aggression and the destruction of equal rights, or say other in this matter than: "Whatsoever thine right hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." ('The Sun', (Winnipeg), Aug. 12, 1889.)

(1) 'The Sun', (Winnipeg), Aug. 22 & 23, 1889; see also F.P., Edit., "Misrepresenting the Clergy", Aug. 28, 1889.

(2) Vide infra, p. 170, n. 2.

cheapest and most efficacious means of gaining the support of the electorate of the Province.

With the introduction of legislation at the 1890 session of the Legislature abolishing separate schools and establishing a provincial Department of Education, the Greenway Government's school policy hardened into fact. Two Bills, one entitled "An Act Respecting Public Schools", and a second, entitled "An Act Respecting the Department of Education", were introduced simultaneously by the Attorney-General on March 4th. (1) The attack which for more than a year had been developing within the innermost councils of party, and which for more than half a year had been gaining public interest and support, had at last materialized.

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(1) Man. Stat., 53 Vic., 1890, c. 38 & 37, also R.D. Mar. 4, F.P., Mar. 5, 1890.

## CHAPTER. IV. THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION IN MANITOBA POLITICS

The same realism which characterized the Greenway Government's adoption of the school issue in 1889 marked also its use of that policy during the years that followed. Through seven sessions of the Legislature and two elections campaigns, the question served to carry the Government safely. Within the Province, the issue proved highly successful as a means of obtaining the support of the electorate and of dividing the local Opposition. In the sphere of federal politics, the tactics employed by the Manitoba Government in defence of its school legislation were to cause the Dominion Government considerable embarrassment. In two respects, therefore, was the successful manipulation of the school issue during these years significant. On the one hand, the realistic use of the issue within the Province as a means of remaining in power, confirmed the ascendancy of party interests over all other matters. On the other hand, in the sphere of dominion-provincial relations, the repeated success<sup>s</sup> achieved by the Province in sustaining its educational legislation, and the contribution made by Manitoba to the downfall of the Conservative Government at Ottawa, marked Manitoba's coming of age politically.

## I

The tactical measures by which the Greenway Government sought to secure political support through its new school legislation, were of much more importance to it than any consideration of educational policy. (1) The attempt of the Government to secure political support in this manner was made in two ways. The first was by the use of a series of clever tactical devices and manoeuvres, designed not only to baffle the local Opposition, but to thwart any attempts of the federal Government to intervene on behalf of the French Catholic minority. The second was through the development and skilful use of a political "philosophy" relating to this new school policy, in an attempt to render palatable to the electorate the attack on separate schools, as well as to provide a thin but effective veneer for certain of the tactics employed. Throughout this chapter, for purposes of convenience, and to prevent confusion between these two main types of tactics employed, the second group, consisting of three main types of appeal, will be termed the "school philosophy" of the Greenway Government.

This "school philosophy" of the Liberals rested on a

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(1) It is a rather ironical commentary on the Greenway Government's school legislation of 1890, adopted, according to Bryce, in order to prevent "...whole masses of the population growing up illiterate...", (Bryce, 'The Manitoba School Question', The Canadian Magazine, Sept. 1893, p. 515), that under the new system, by 1910, "...the illiteracy of Manitoba became a by word throughout Canada...", (C.B. Sissons, 'Bi-Lingual Schools in Canada', (Toronto, 1917), pp. 119-20.)

threefold basis. It was based partly on appeal to prejudices of race and religion; partly on an appeal to provincialism and the Liberal doctrine of 'Provincial Rights', and partly on the frontier desire for equality, and progress.

The appeal to racial and religious prejudice was an attempt to utilize the distrust entertained by the English-speaking Protestant majority for the small French-speaking Catholic group in the Province. After 1870, the older inhabitants of the Province had been rapidly outnumbered by the newcomers. This change in the character of the population was bound to affect the relationship between the members of the two chief races and religions. Prior to 1870, the members of these two groups, with the exception of a small number of Ontario settlers who had entered the Red River Colony during the sixties, (1) had lived together in harmony.

But the new settlers, arriving after the union, imported with them the prejudices and outlooks derived from their racial and religious background. Professor Martin claims that because <sup>most</sup> of the immigration into the Province during the seventies came through American territory that this was indicative of the ultra-British outlook of many of the new settlers. (2) Moreover, the majority of settlers coming into Manitoba before 1890 came from Ontario, (3)

(1) Vide supra, p.109.

(2) C. Martin, C.&P., Vol. XIX, p. 110.

(3) A. S. Morton, in A. S. Morton and C. Martin, op. cit., p.77.

where, but a generation before, George Brown had won the support of many of the Protestants by his attacks on the French Catholics. At the same time, migration, in many instances, served to increase the attachment of the settlers to the outlook and attitudes of their cultural background. In the case of racial and religious minorities, this tendency had been particularly pronounced, partly for linguistic reasons, and partly because of the numerical inferiority of the groups concerned, (1)

Nor was this tendency confined to minorities. In Manitoba during the seventies and eighties, the more pressing problems of rapid economic expansion characteristic of frontier development, served to thrust such petty issues from the political scene. While the Province was engaged in a struggle for its economic existence it could not afford the luxury of sectarian crusades. (2) Only when circumstances arose which for the time retarded progress was any attempt made by a Government of the Province to utilize the strongly religious and racial prejudices of the British and Protestant majority. (3) By thus appealing to the dislike of <sup>another</sup> man's race and religion the Greenway Government hoped to obtain the support of the

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(1) C. A. Dawson, 'Group Settlement', p. 373.

(2) Vide supra, p ~~59-61~~ 59

(3) Vide supra, pp. 33 et seq. Mr. F. Martin pointed out, by the attack on separate schools and the other privileges of the French, the Government hoped to ride the Protestant horse as a means of obtaining office. (R.D. Mar. 11, F.P., M r. 12, 1890.

majority of the electorate.

The second appeal of the Liberal "school philosophy" was partly to the provincialism of the preceding decade and partly to the doctrine of 'Provincial Rights'. It has been seen in an earlier chapter how the rise of provincialism during the eighties had been fostered by the burdensome policies of the federal Government, and how this movement had partially succeeded in modifying Ottawa's programme of national development. Both these developments tended to contribute to the popularity of the school issue, for while the humiliations which the Province had experienced prior to 1888 stiffened the Province's resistance to any attempt to interfere with its newly created school system, the success which it had attained in that year over the issue of monopoly rendered the attitude of the local Government still less conciliatory.

At the same time, the fact that the Dominion Government was competent to intervene when the Province interfered with the educational rights of the minority did not greatly interest, much less disturb, the majority of the electors. (1) Neither

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(1) This is illustrated in a most pointed manner by a rather amusing anecdote related in the 'Tribune' concerning Mr. Fisher's (Independent Liberal. Vide infra, p.187. ) campaign in Russell during the 1896 elections, when he opposed the Government on its school policy. Mr. Fisher, it may be remarked, was the legal partner of Mr. Ewart, counsel for the Roman Catholic minority. and consequently well versed in the constitutional aspects of the question. "...at the meeting at Russell a farmer got up and said words to this effect: "Mr. Fisher, you have talked to us an hour and a half to-day and two hours yesterday, and I'll guarantee there is not a man in the room who knows what you mean." "(Trib., Jan. 3, 1896.)

did the fact that while the struggle against the disallowance of local railway legislation had been waged in the interests of the Province as a whole, the conflict over separate schools was not. For in the school question of 1890-96 the electorate of Manitoba had found an effective means of voicing its protest against the rough treatment which the young Province had received at the hands of the Dominion Government during the preceding decade.

At the same time, by raising the Liberal cry of 'Provincial Rights', it would be possible for the Government to slur over the constitutional aspects of the question, as well as to draw attention away from the deliberate manner in which the Provincial Government was making political capital out of the issue. Through this perverted use of the provincialism of the preceding decade, reinforced by the doctrine of 'Provincial Rights', the Liberals sought to make doubly certain the political success of their school policy.

The third type of appeal, made in the name of equality, unity, and progress, while vaguer and more elusive, was none the less potent. Unlike the first two aspects of the "school philosophy", it looked not to the struggles and prejudices of the past, but to the idealism of the present and the potentialities of the future. In places it conflicted with these other aspects, and in places reinforced them. Because of the neglect which this phase of the "school philosophy" has suffered, it will require a somewhat more extensive treatment than have the other two.



In order to appreciate the third type of appeal it is necessary to examine briefly the character of the Province's population, noting in particular the stage of development at which it had arrived. With the advent of railways immigration had increased rapidly, and as elsewhere observed, the population became overwhelmingly Protestant and British. (1) To this relative homogeneity of race and religion may be added the unity of geography. No physical barriers divided the Province internally. Moreover it formed an economic unit possessing a unity of outlook, since the well-being of the entire community depended on the successful and profitable export of its staple product -- wheat, a situation contrasting strongly with the conflict between fur and wheat in 1870. (2)

Blessed with internal unity, and isolated from the feuds which yet stirred the older parts of the Dominion, this new community became intolerant of the sectional jealousies of Eastern Canada. Hence there developed a high idealism, characterized not only by a belief in the great future of the Province but also by a desire to cut loose from the narrow restraints of the past and build up institutions free from petty outlook. (3)

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(1) Vide supra, p.34.

(2) Vide supra, p.38.

(3) This development was most effectively expressed by the Brandon Sun during November 1889, three months after the emergence of the school question, and three months before

If however, this ideal were to be achieved, immediate action was necessary. The relative homogeneity of the

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the passage of the new school legislation. Despite the exaggerated tone of the editorial, it serves to illustrate much better than do those of the Winnipeg dailies, conducted as they were, along the more restrained lines of the great metropolitan dailies elsewhere, not only the exuberant optimism which characterized this period of rapid material expansion, but, what was more important, the consciousness of high purpose which marks this phase of the "school philosophy." (See for example, the pamphlet 'Western Civilization and the Manitoba School Question -- An Address Delivered in Central Congregational Church, By the Rev. Hugh Pedley, B. A. -- April 18, 1895', (The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 'North West Pamphlets', Vo. 19.) The editorial, entitled "Our Own Province and Its Future", read in part as follows:

"We may not now be able to foresee all that is in store for us as a province. It is conceded that we have plenty of room for a population that may completely change the Dominion in all its relations -- religious, commercial and political. That we will have such a population in the very near future is more than probable. Without the gift of prophecy, we may at least speculate on the changes that will result. May we not have the ability and the power to direct the policy of the Dominion, with its growing influence and importance, with our national character fully established, with our people accustomed to one language only, having all our institutions nationalized, we shall be in a position to exert the most beneficial influence on all the affairs of the Dominion. Thus situated we could quickly reduce such disgusting conditions as now prevail in the eastern provinces to order and regularity, and loyal respect for the welfare of the State. No longer would the French of Quebec hold such a relation as would enable them to dictate terms to the rest of the Dominion. No longer would we see our money squandered to purchase a province or to bust a religious denomination or class. The possibilities involved in the future of Manitoba are so varied and so multiplied that we cannot foresee what may yet result to the Dominion as a whole from them. It behooves us, therefore, to see to it that our institutions have a proper foundation in order that the superstructures we rear may be lasting, and capable of resisting all the stress that may arise. We dare not allow ourselves to be controlled by narrow ideas or unworthy prejudices. We should aim to see that our province is rightly started in her course, and we shall have in this assurance of her future, and of having loyally served the Dominion as a whole." ('Brandon Sun', Nov. 14, 1889.)

Province's population at this time did not promise to permanent, for the period during which the school issue occurred was a transition period. It had been preceded by the old Anglo-French duality of race; it was to be followed by a heterogeneity of race resulting from mixed immigration. As early as 1876, this fact had been apparent to Bryce. (1) Now the cause of unity could be urged with increased significance. For it now appeared that the unity of the Province's institutions was menaced on the one hand by the sectional outlook of the older settlers of French origin, and on the other by the new immigrants of non-British stock. If the institutions of the former were to become too firmly rooted, the latter, in future years, might agitate for similar privileges. (2)

Only, therefore, by cutting away from the institutions of the past would the province be able to build unhampered for the future. To such considerations as these must be attributed the appeal for "unity" among the various groups in the community, for "equality" between the major religious bodies in the Province, and to a lesser extent the appeal to that cry which characterized the nineteenth century in general, and the frontier in particular, of "progress".

Two questions immediately arise with respect to this third

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(1) Vide supra, pp. 104-5.

(2) See Manitoba's reply to the Remedial Order of March 21st, vide supra, p. 25.

phase of the "school philosophy". How is it possible to reconcile the apparent conflict between this and the appeal to racial and religious prejudices? Were the Liberals sincere in their use of it? In reply to the first, it may be observed that appeals to an electorate, particularly when they depend on their emotional qualities as in the school issue, need not constitute closely integrated systems of philosophy. Moreover, much of this appeal for equality, unity, and progress in the educational institutions of the Province, was merely a refined manner of seeking to arouse the racial and religious antipathies of the voters against a small minority of differing race and religion, who might thus, by their desire to adhere to the old system, be represented as attempting to thwart the aims of the majority. This, in addition, partly answers the second question. The motives underlying the Government's use of this phase of the school philosophy were less disinterested than would it seem at first glance. (1) Yet, on the other hand, it would be a grave injustice to many of the electorate of those years to brand them as religious bigots, or as the dupes of the Government because of their support of its school policy. One thing, however, seems certain; not all the electorate saw clearly the distinction between what have herein been described as the first and third phases of the "school philosophy". Thus, the Government could, as

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(1) Edit. "Making Us A Homogeneous People," 'North West Review' (Catholic), Winnipeg, July 20, 1892.

occasion demanded, by a careful arrangement of its "philosophy" employ this third type of appeal not only as a separate appeal in itself, but also as a means of strengthening the cry of race and creed.

But while the "school philosophy" was important as a means of popularizing the school policy of the Government and of concealing the tactics by which it sought to ensure the success of this policy, it is of little value in explaining the origin of the issue. That this was so must be attributed to the fact that its development followed rather than preceded the Government's attack on the separate school system. For this reason, readers of the pamphlet literature on the subject, in which may be found the most extensive use of the "school philosophy", must constantly be on guard against the temptation of using the arguments therein developed, to explain the abolition of the dual system.

The cumulative nature of the arguments advanced against separate schools provides the best indication that the "school philosophy" was an after product, designed in part to conceal the real reasons for the introduction of the school issue, (2) and in part to render palatable to the electorate the high-handed actions of the Government. Such criticisms of the dual system as were made prior to the attack of

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(1) Vide supra, pp. 134-8.

Attorney-General Martin at Portage la Prairie in 1889 (1) were mainly on the grounds of economy. Once however, the Government had resolved on its course, the arguments against separate schools began to multiply, slowly at first, but rapidly later. The arguments by which they sought to justify their actions included the fact that the list of rights prepared by Hiel's Provisional Government for Ottawa, was not the list upon which the negotiations between the representatives of the Colony and the Dominion were based, nor did the former contain any demand for separate schools,<sup>(2)</sup> that an agreement entered into at the union by the Province's few thousand inhabitants should not be binding for all time upon the hundreds of thousands of inhabitants to follow, and that while separate schools anywhere were inefficient, Manitoba provided no exception. The honesty of such arguments, the question of minority rights, the fact that the integrity of these institutions was guaranteed by the constitution, or that the proper remedy for inefficiency was not necessarily total suppression, and other such matters as these were glossed over. The main objective of the Liberals was to draw attention away from the

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(1) Vide supra, pp. 144 et seq..

(2) Can. S.P. (No. 53d), Vol. XXVI, No. 11, 1895, pp. 2-4; Manitoba Pamphlet 'National Schools for Manitoba', (Anon.), Winnipeg, 1892, pp. 23 et seq.; cf. Can. S.P. (No. 20), Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, 1895, pp. 126-9, and Stanley, op. cit., pp. 114, & 423 n. 27.

Government and focus it on the French Catholic scape-goat. Similarly, the more general appeal to religious and racial antipathies, to provincialism and 'Provincial Rights', and for unity, equality, and progress, which will be traced throughout the following two sections of this chapter, commenced after the opening attack of August, 1889. Both the arguments against separate schools, and those in favour of the Government's school policy, were factors contributing to the success of that policy, and not factors responsible for its adoption.

One particular instance of the manner in which these arguments may easily be read back into the Government's action in abolishing separate schools deserves particular attention. This concerns the charges of inefficiency levelled against the separate schools. It is a remarkable fact that when the Greenway Government introduced its legislation establishing a uniform system of schools, it made no attack on the old system on the grounds of inefficiency, although Archbishop Tache and Mr. Prendergast had taken great pains to defend their schools on this score. (1) In the defence of the efficiency of these schools, it was argued that the curriculum of these schools compared favourably with that of the Protestant schools, (2) and that at the Colonial Exhibition in

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(1) Letter to Editor by Archbishop Tache, F.P., Aug. 14, 1889, and Mr. Prendergast, R.D.Mar. 7, F.P., Mar. 8, 1890.

(2) Tache, 'A Page...', pp. 34-5

England in 1885 they had received high praises for the quality of their work displayed. (1) At the same time, the Archbishop admitted that such high standards were not always attainable:

"This programme and its developments were printed and put in the hands of the teachers, of the trustees and of the inspectors. I do not pretend to say that it was fully carried out in small localities or in the most elementary schools, but it was followed in the schools more numerous and more regularly attended; for all it was the object to be aimed at." (2)

It was not, however, until 1895, five years after the establishment of the uniform school system, and one year after the death of Archbishop Tache, that any serious attempt was made by the Liberals to prove that the separate schools of the minority had been inefficient. (3) While an examination of the two major attempts to prove this charge would be of little value in any attempt to determine the degree of efficiency which these schools had attained, it will nevertheless be of value in demonstrating the paucity and weakness of the Government's evidence.

The first of these attempts occurred at the hearing of the appeal of the minority before the Privy Council at Ottawa in 1895. It was based mainly on evidence provided by Mr. O'Donohue, a member of the Roman Catholic Church, resident in

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(1) Dom Benoit, 'Tache', t. II, pp. 566-8.

(2) Tache, 'A Page...', p. 35.

(3) Criticism of a mild nature, charging the Roman Catholic schools with general inefficiency was made in a pamphlet appearing before the elections of 1892. (Manitoba Pamphlets, 'Record of the Greenway Government, 1888 to 1892', (Anon.), p. 35.)



Winnipeg. His desire, he stated, was to express the views of a large portion of the Catholic Church. In his opinion, such schools of the minority as he had visited in the French parishes where his business took him, were not as progressive as those of the Protestants. Of this inferiority he was convicted, despite the fact that he had no knowledge of the language in which instruction was given. (1) Meanwhile, Mr. Sifton, speaking in the Manitoba Legislature on February 27th, was able to deny Mr. Ewart's claim to represent the Roman Catholic people of Manitoba, and to state that he had always maintained that a large number of Roman Catholics had preferred public schools. (2) But when questioned on the following day by Mr. Prendergast as to whether Mr. O'Donohue was appearing in Ottawa on behalf of the Manitoba Government, Mr. Sifton replied that he had nothing to say. (3) And when Mr. Ewart on March 6th read before the Privy Council a telegram from a meeting of prominent Catholic citizens of Winnipeg repudiating Mr. O'Donohue's claim to represent any considerable element of the Catholic community, (4) the attack on separate schools for their inefficiency prior to 1890 collapsed like a balloon that had been pricked.

The other important attempt to discredit separate schools on

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(1) Can.S.P. (No. 20), Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, 1895, pp. 33-4 & 36. (March 4th.)

(2) R.D. Feb. 27, F.P., Feb. 28, 1895.

(3) R.D. Feb. 28, F.P., Mar. 1, 1895.

(4) Can.S.P. (No. 20), Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, 1895, pp. 104-5.

the grounds of efficiency occurred during the election campaign of 1895-96. At Douglas, in the opening speech of his campaign, Attorney-General Sifton contended that separate schools were so absolutely useless that the Government was amply justified in abolishing them. In support of this claim he quoted a report made by a teacher under the old system, and chosen as being "a fair sample of all the reports sent in", as follows:

"Here is a statement of what the teacher says is taught in the school:

1. CATECHISM
2. RELIGION
3. THE GOLDEN PRIMER
4. WRITING AND READING
5. SPELING
6. ARITHMETIC
7. GEOGRAFY AND HISTORY." (1)

But whether this report constituted "a fair example of what had been sent in", and was therefore indicative of the inefficiency of these schools, is a matter open to some doubts. For one thing, Mr. Sifton, during the course of this speech, had stated as an illustration of the illiteracy existing in the French Catholic communities, that, "Even nowadays when you get a petition from these sections there are more crosses than names". (2) Yet a check of almost a hundred such petitions

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(1) Report of speech made at Douglas on Dec. 31, 1895. (Trib., Jan. 3, 1896.) According to the report, "This list was received with roars of laughter."

(2) A summary of the illiteracy revealed in several such petitions may be found in F. C. Wade's pamphlet, 'The Manitoba School Question', (Winnipeg, 1895), pp. 18-9. Two objections immediately arise against this evidence. In the first place, it takes no account of the ages of the petitioners, many of

sent in to the Legislature six years earlier, does not reveal a single cross in place of a signature. (1) It is difficult therefore to repose any great confidence in the assurance that this example was indicative of the quality of work produced by the separate schools prior to 1890. Moreover, if this constituted a fair example of the efforts of these schools, it is somewhat remarkable that Mr. Sifton's evidence was confined to Mr. F. C. Wade's pamphlet written in defence of the new school system, where this example is employed to illustrate the inferior results achieved under the old system.(2)

Significant also were the time and place of the attack. By choosing to make such statements, not before a vigilant Opposition in the Legislature, but before the uninformed but highly susceptible electors, the danger of such accusations being carefully examined, still less of them being refuted, was reduced to a minimum. Likewise, by delaying the attack on this score until the separate school system had been out

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whom would at least be in their late thirties, and were not, consequently, products of the state-supported separate school system established after 1870. It likewise overlooks the nationality of the petitioners, many of whom -- unfortunately there seems to be no means of obtaining the exact proportion-- were halfbreeds (with French names) and therefore could not be considered representative of the French element in Manitoba. This was the sort of evidence upon which Mr. McCarthy based his charges of inefficiency made before the House of Commons during the Remedial Debates of 1896. (D.H.C., R.A., I, 1896, Mar. 17, p. 424.)

(1) Originals may be found in the Records of the Clerk of the Executive Council, petitions for session of 1890.

(2) Manitoba Pamphlets, F.C.Wade, 'The Manitoba School Question' (Winnipeg, 1895), p. 31.

of existence for almost five years, the difficulty of obtaining reliable information on the matter was greatly increased. Paranthetically, it may be observed at this point, that for similar reasons the Government's proposal for an investigation, (1) which had not been considered necessary before abolishing the schools of the minority, was not advanced until 1895. It is abundantly clear, therefore, that whatever inefficiency may have characterized separate schools, the meagreness of the Government's evidence against them, and its delay in condemning them on such grounds, is the best indication that their inefficiency was not as great as the Hon. Mr. Sifton desired the electors of Douglas, or the readers of the Winnipeg dailies which reported his speech, to believe.

And lastly, before proceeding to trace the development of the school issue in local politics between 1890 and 1896, one further matter remains for consideration. It has been seen that the "school philosophy" was deliberately cultivated following the adoption of the new school policy of the Liberals. But if its form was new, its contents were old. The greater part of it had been appropriated wholesale from the agitation of 1876-77. (2) An examination of the arguments

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(1) Vide supra, pp. 25-6.

(2) It is mainly because of this that the section on the earlier school agitation has received such extensive treatment. Vide supra, Ch. III, Sect. I. Moreover certain tactical features of the 1889-90 attack, such as the linking of the attack on separate schools with the economy issue, were derived from the same source.

then advanced against separate schools will readily confirm this.

In addition to their debt to their less successful predecessors, the Liberals derived their "philosophy" from two other sources, neither of which will require further explanation at this point. These were provincialism and the Liberal doctrine of 'Provincial Rights'. By selecting their arguments from these three sources, and arranging them along the lines indicated, they were able to build up a highly attractive case for the new public school system. During the six year struggle that followed, the Government manipulated this "philosophy" with consummate skill, and like a musician playing upon some instrument, varied its tune in such a manner as to produce in its provincial audience whatever response the needs of the hour required.

The Government's confidence in the popularity of its policy was indicated by the remarks of the Attorney-General Martin on introducing the bills affecting education. Mr. Martin stated that the Government would stand or fall by its new public school system. Nine-tenths of the people of the Province, he believed, favoured the abolition of separate schools. (1).

During this session of 1890, the foundations of the Liberals' school policy was being laid. By the use of certain tactical devices together with a political "philosophy" calculated to win the support of the majority of the electorate, the Government sought to ensure the success of its educational programme. (2).

One of the tactics employed by the Liberals when introducing their school legislation, was to accompany it by other measures designed to antagonize the French Catholic minority, in order that the Government might profit by the resulting agitation. Even before the session of 1890, the Government had commenced its anti-French campaign by abolishing the printing of the Manitoba Gazette in French. (3)

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(1) R.D.Mar.4,F.P.,Mar.5,1890; see also statement by Hon. Mr. Smart, R.D.Mar.5,F.P.,Mar.6,1890.

(2) The Government's original plan, it was alleged by Hon. Messrs. Greenway and Martin, had been to inaugurate a secular system of education. The reason given for the adoption of religious teaching was the stand taken by the Protestant clergy. (Greenway, R.D. Feb.5,F.P.,Feb.6, and Martin,R.D.Mar.4,F.P.,Mar5,1890.)

(3) The first issue published exclusively in English appeared on September 7, 1889. (Manitoba Gazette, Vol.XVlll, No.36, Sept.7,1889.)

This was followed up during the 1890 session by the passage of legislation abolishing the use of French as an official language of the Province. (1). In the course of the debates that arose in Legislature over this measure, the Attorney-General announced that it was the Government's intention to place French on an equal footing with any other foreign language. (2).

Nor were these the only privileges of which the French were deprived. Another Act passed at this time abolished as public holidays several of the Roman Catholic fete days. (3). During the same session also, legislation was passed depriving the French of the right to have at least half their juries composed of members of their own race in trials where one of the litigants was of the French race and the other of the English. (4).

Further evidence of this desire to humiliate the French was shown by the immigration policy of the Government. While the Estimates revealed that an item of \$20,000 had been devoted to immigration during the previous year, only \$450 had been spent in Quebec. (5). As Mr. A. F. Martin aptly summed up the situation:

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(1) Man. Stat., 1890, 53 Vic., c.14.

(2) R.D.Mar.19, F.P., Mar.20, 1890. Cf. terms of the Laurier-Greenway agreement. (Vide supra, pp.131-2)

(3) Man.Stat.1890, 53 Vic., c.2, s.1. These were "...la Circonsion, l'Epiphane, l'Ascension, la Toussaint et l'Immaculée Conception." (Dom Benoit, 'Tache', t.11, p.656.)

(4) Man. Stat., 1890, 53 Vic., c.3, ss.8-10.

(5) Prendergast, R.D.Feb.25, F.P., Feb.26, 1890.

"This Parliament might well be called the anti-French parliament." (1)

The protest of the offended minority found vigorous expression during the years that followed in the agitation for the restoration of the separate school system. And this was exactly what the Greenway Government desired, for by adopting a defensive attitude, it was able to place the blame for the agitation upon the Roman Catholics and upon the Dominion Government for its attempts to aid the latter. (2)

The linking of the school issue and other measures offensive to the minority with the economy plank of the Liberal platform, (3) was a second tactic employed by the Manitoba Government during the years 1889 and 1890.

This device had been used with considerable success during the summer of 1889 when the new school policy was being introduced. In August of that year, the Brandon Sun (Lib.), in an editorial entitled "Separate Schools" commended the Government for its action regarding the Catholic reserve fund on the grounds of economy and efficient administration (4)

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(1) R.D. Mar. 13, F.P., Mar. 14, 1890. See also Prendergast, R.D. Mar. 7, F.P., Mar. 8, 1890, who described the whole thing as an insult to the Catholic population.

(2) Hon. Mr. Cameron, R.D. Mar. 14, F.P., Mar. 15, 1892. See also account of an interview given by the former Attorney-General, Joseph Martin in the 'Tribune' of Jan. 29, 1895, wherein the latter stated: "I must say... that I admire the persistency and pluck with which the Roman Catholics have fought out this question." -- a comment of ironical significance in view of the advantage to which the Greenway Government had turned the school issue by that year.

(3) Begg, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 302.

(4) 'The Brandon Sun', Aug. 8, 1889.



At Souris during the same month the Hon. Mr. Smart, Minister of Public Works had condemned the dual system as entailing unnecessary expense. He condemned also the apportionment of the Government grant between the Protestant and Catholic schools being made on the basis of school population instead of on the number of schools, since on this basis the average grant received by a Roman Catholic school exceeded that received by a Protestant school. (1).

Further use was made of this device during the session of 1890. In the debate on the second reading of the Public Schools Bill, the Hon. Mr. Smart reiterated his opposition to the maintenance of separate schools at the public expense. (2). On the basis of economy also, Attorney-General Martin and Mr. Fisher favoured the abolition of the French portion of the Manitoba Gazette. (3). Similar reasons were advanced in support of the abolition of French as an official language and the abolition of the provision concerning French juries. (4). By thus associating the school issue and the other measures directed against the French minority with the economy issue, the Government rendered doubly certain the popularity of its policy.

Two aspects of the political "philosophy" accompanying the

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(1) "The Sun", (Winnipeg), Aug.9,1889.

(2) R.D.Mar.5, F.P. Mar. 6,1890.

(3) R.D. Feb.11,F.P.,Feb.12,1890.

(4) Campbell,(Lib.S.Wpg.),R.D.Mar.19,F.P.,Mar.20,1890; Attorney-General Martin, R.D.Mar.13,F.P., Mar.14,1890.

school legislation were stressed by the Government during the 1890 session. The appeal was made largely to the racial and religious prejudices of the English-speaking Protestant majority, and to the progressive outlook and the desire for equality characteristic of this phase of the Province's development. (1)

Evidence of the former is provided not only by the anti-French and anti-Catholic measures of the Government, but also by statements made in the Legislature by its members and supporters. The Hon. Mr. Smart condemned the separate school system as a means of perpetuating the union of Church and State. The Roman Catholic Church, he contended, had no right to any particular privileges. (2) Similar sentiments were expressed by Mr. Sifton, who condemned the separate school system as amounting to an alliance between a particular church and the State, and as being detrimental to the rights of other denominations. He opposed the existing system on the ground that it increased the political power of the priesthood, (3) and attributed the opposition which the Government's school legislation was encountering in the House to the educational policy of the Roman Catholic Church. (4)

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(1) A belligerent Methodist and Orange element was a potential factor in the raising of such cries of race and creed, although there is little evidence of this before 1895.

(2) R.D. Mar. 7, F.P., Mar. 8, 1890.

(3) "A Protestant gentleman who had lived in Quebec for thirty years, a strong Conservative in politics had told him that the Government of this province only existed to register the decrees of the pope. A proof of this was the Jesuits Estates Act."--Sifton, (Clifford, later Attorney-General), R.D. Mar. 10, F.P., Mar. 11, 1890.

(4) Not all the Government's supporters were as moderate in the expression of their sympathies. Cf. Harrower's statement that the first bloodshed in the country had been caused by adherents of the

Later in the session, the Attorney-General, in referring to the abolition of certain Catholic holidays, stated that he was opposed to the House legislating in the interests of particular denominations. (1). Other criticisms made were calculated to wound the pride of the French, not only in the part that their race had played in the early history of the Province, but also in the educational standards of their Church. (2).

The appeal in the name of equality, unity and progress, is also to be observed in the remarks made by members on the Government side of the House. Under the new system of public schools, it was pointed out, all classes would be treated equally well, and unity and goodwill be fostered among the school children. (3) In all other countries at all advanced in education, stated the Hon. Mr. Smart, there existed a system similar to that proposed by the Government. (4).

No attempt seems to have been made when introducing the school legislation to appeal to the Liberal doctrine of "Provincial Rights" or to raise the cry of provincialism. This aspect of the school "philosophy" was held in reserve. At the same time, however, the Government did not fail to make clear the strength that such an

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Roman Catholic Church, and his attempt to prove Archbishop Tache a liar. (R.D.Mar.10,F.P.,Mar.11,1890.)

(1) R.D.Mar.28,F.P.,Mar.29,1890.

(2) Sifton and Harrower,R.D.Feb.11,F.P.,Feb.12,1890; Hon. Mr. Smart, R.D. Mar.7,F.P.,Mar.8,1890.

(3) Hon. Mr. Martin,R.D.Mar.4,F.P.,Mar.5,1890 and Campbell (S.Wpg.), R.D.Mar.12,F.P.,Mar.13,1890; Lawrence,R.D.Mar.10,F.P.,Mar.11, 1890.

(4) R.D.Mar.7,F.P.,Mar.8,1890<sup>2</sup>

appeal would possess. The Government, stated the Attorney-General, was not unaware of the successful struggle of the Province over political issues in the past. (1). Moreover, the stand taken by the Dominion Liberals with regard to the doctrine of "Provincial Rights", gave the Government, according to Mr. Sifton, little fear of any strenuous opposition to its legislation arising from that quarter. (2).

The weak position of the Opposition in 1890 was a further source of strength to the Government. The Opposition was composed of two main groups (3) the regular Opposition, numerically weak following the 1888 elections, and the five French Liberal members who joined with it 1890, in opposition to the Government's school policy and other measures detrimental to French and Catholic interests. (4) Yet at its best showing on the school issue, the joint Opposition could summon but 11 votes to the Government's 25. (5).

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(1) R.D.Mar.4,F.P.,Mar.5,1890.

(2) R.D.Mar.9,F.P.,Mar.10,1890.

(3) Cf. Dafoe, "Sifton", p.27, where reference is made to a third group, "the anti-Greenway Liberals", evidently those members of the Liberal party who broke with the Premier over the railway policy of his Government. (Ibid., pp.20,23.) They included Messrs. Roblin, Fisher, I. Campbell and McMillan. (E.B. Edit. "A Happy Riddance", Apr. 21, 1892.) <sup>A check of divisions</sup> in the House arising over the measures affecting the French Catholics, shows that only one of these "anti-Greenway Liberals"--Mr. R. P. Roblin--opposed the Government on any of these measures. (Man. J.L.A., Vol. XXI, 1890, Mar. 11, & 18, pp. 86, 107-8. Also Vide supra, pp. 139. )

(4) On Jan. 29, the French members left the Liberal party caucus, (F.P. Jan. 30, 1890) and a few days later one of the members, Mr. Prendergast, announced their intention of opposing the Government, should it exceed its powers. (R.D. Feb. 4, F.P. Feb. 5, 1890. See also Jerome, R.D. Feb. 21, F.P. Feb. 22, 1893.)

(5) Man. J.L.A., Vol. XXI, 1890, Mar. 18, pp. 108-9.

The chief force of the attack in 1890 came from the French members and from Mr. Roblin, both of whom contended that the changes made were unnecessary, and that amendments could have been made to the existing system. (1). The former in condemning the Government's action referred to the principle of minority rights, the abolition of the Legislative Council in 1876, the stand taken by leaders of the Federal Liberal party in the past, and the failure of the religious instruction to be given under the new public school system to provide an adequate substitute for religious teaching. (2). Mr. Roblin's opposition to the Government's action was on the ground that it introduced politics into education. (3).

Apart from this, the chief criticism of the Opposition was directed against the Government's method of introducing the new system. Alternative courses which Opposition members proposed included the amendment of the constitution so as to give the province complete jurisdiction over separate schools, a reference to the Supreme Court to test the validity of the Act, and the submission of the issue to the electorate. (4)

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(1) Prendergast, R.D. Feb. 5, F.P. Feb. 6, 1890; Roblin, R.D. Feb. 3, F.P. Feb 4, 1890.

(2) Prendergast, R.D. Feb. 5, F.P. Feb. 6, 1890, Gelley, R.D. Mar. 12, F.P. Mar. 13, 1890; Prendergast R.D. Feb. 11, F.P. Feb. 12, 1890; A.F. Martin, R.D. Feb. 4, F.P. Feb. 5, 1890, Gelley, R.D. Mar. 12, F.P. Mar. 13, 1890; and Prendergast R.D. Feb. 5, F.P. Feb. 6, 1890.

(3) R.D. Mar. 5, F.P. Mar. 6, 1890, also Man. J.L.A., Vol. XXI, 1890, Mar. 5, pp. 70-1.

(4) Roblin, R.D. Feb. 3, F.P. Feb. 4, 1890, Wood, R.D. Mar. 12, F.P. Mar. 13, 1890; A.F. Martin, R.D. Mar. 19, F.P. Mar. 20, 1890; A.F. Martin, R.D. Feb. 11, F.P. Feb. 12, 1890, also Man. J.L.A., Vol. XXI, 1890, Mar. 11, pp. 88, 91-2.

During the two years which followed, the Government remained on the defensive, The minority, reacting to the Government's offensive of 1890, attacked the school legislation in the Courts. (1). While the validity of these laws remained in dispute, both the Government's tactics and political philosophy were directed towards the defence of the newly established system.

The outstanding tactic employed by the Government during this period was the delaying of the appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Following the Supreme Court decision holding that the Acts of 1890 were ultra vires, (2) the logical course for the Manitoba Government to pursue, would have been to appeal the case immediately. But in view of the approaching provincial elections such a course was fraught with danger. Should the Supreme Court judgment be sustained, the effect on the Greenway Government would be disastrous. If, on the other hand, the appeal could be delayed sufficiently to reduce the possibility of a judgment being delivered in time to affect the elections, the likelihood of another Liberal victory at the polls would be increased.

The first step taken towards this end was the Logan case. (3) In the session of 1892, the new Attorney-General, Mr. Sifton, explained the Government's conduct in bringing about this case as

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(1) Vide supra, pp. 14 et seq.

(2) Vide supra, p. 15.

(3) Vide supra, pp. 15-6.

being due to a desire to discover what the rights of the Government were. Only by arguing the point with other denominations, he claimed, could the Government know what the law was. (1). The real object of the Local Government in the matter, seems to have been more accurately interpreted by the Free Press, as being an effort ". . . to prevent the final settlement of the whole school question before the approaching general elections." (2).

The second step consisted in the actual delaying of the appeal. Charges were made by the Opposition during the session of 1892, that the Government was delaying the appeal in order that it might go to the country on the cry of race and creed. (3). The Premier, in reply, stated that he saw no reason why a decision might not be reached before July 24th when the elections were to be held. (4). But the only serious argument which the Government was able to advance in its defence was, that adequate time was necessary for the consideration of all the details in a case of such importance, and that the Supreme Court in making its decision had required several months to consider the matter. (5).

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(1) R.D. Apr. 14, F.P. Apr. 15, 1892.

(2) Edit., "A Pretence--A Farce--A Fraud", F.P., Dec. 14, 1891, See also F.P. Edit., "More Prevarications", Apr. 16, 1892, quoted in Dafoe, 'Sifton', pp. 44-5.

(3) Roblin, R.D. Mar. 15, F.P. Mar. 16, 1892, and Wood, R.D. Mar. 15, F.P. Mar. 16, 1892.

(4) R.D. Mar. 15, F.P. Mar. 16, 1892.

(5) Hon. Mr. Cameron, R.D. Mar. 14, F.P. Mar. 15, 1892. Cf. Dafoe, 'Sifton', p. 45, where this <sup>stand taken by the Opposition</sup> is interpreted in a very different way. Mr. Dafoe interprets the desire that the Government hasten the appeal as an indication of the zeal of the Opposition for the new public school system.

The third step was the Government's camouflaging of its intentions as to the date of elections. As late as June 7th, its Winnipeg organ the Tribune, had bluffed its antagonist the Free Press into the belief that the Government was "afraid to face the country in the present temper of the people" by announcing the Government's intention of delaying elections until the fall. (1). Three weeks further elapsed before the Government's intentions were known. Then, on June 28th, the dissolution of the Legislature was announced, nominations being set for July 16th, and polling July 23rd. Taken together, these three steps constituted one tactical device, by means of which the Greenway Government sought further to ensure the support of the electors for the new school system, while the validity of the law under which this system operated still trembled in the balance.

Corresponding to this change from aggressive to defensive in the Government's tactics, was the shift in the aspect of their "philosophy" stressed. During the session of 1891, the reverses sustained by the minority in the Courts, had enabled the Government to shelve for the time being political "philosophy". With the decision of the Supreme Court it was necessary to employ it once more. The attack was now directed against the minority for having revived the question <sup>of the</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>Dominion</sup> Government for having aided the minority in their assault on the Province. (2).

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(1) Edit. "The General Election", June 7, 1892.

(2) Hon. Mr. Cameron, Mar. 14, F.P. Mar. 15, 1892, R.D. Apr. 14, F.P. Apr. 15, 1892.



Any interference from Ottawa was not to be tolerated. (1). For the first time the appeal to provincialism and the doctrine of provincial rights was beginning to make itself felt.

Meanwhile the Opposition was continuing its attacks from every possible standpoint. It was contended that the school grants should have been continued and the acts in force prior to 1890 allowed to stand until their legality had been tested in the Courts. (2) Other criticisms dealt with details of administration, and in particular with the refusal of municipal councils to enforce the new school law. (3) The most serious attack on the Government for its school policy occurred during the session of 1891, when the Opposition sought to obtain an investigation of promises allegedly made to Archbishop Tache by Premier Greenway in 1889, concerning among other things, the maintaining of a system of separate schools in the Province. The motion, already referred to in a previous chapter, (4) was voted down. Mr. Sifton, in defending the Government, claimed that the story was concocted for election purposes. (5) Perhaps a more accurate, although less politically effective interpretation, would have been that it was reserved for election purposes.

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(1) Cameron, R.D. Mar. 14, F.P. Mar. 15, 1892.

(2) Wood, R.D. Mar. 20, F.P. Mar. 21, 1891, also Man. J.L.A., Vol. XXIII, 1891, Mar. 24, p. 24; Roblin, R.D. Mar. 15, F.P. Mar. 16, 1892.

(3) Roblin and A.F. Martin, R.D. Mar. 24, F.P. Mar. 25, 1891.

(4) Vide supra, pp. 130-1.

(5) R.D. Mar. 29, F.P., Mar. 30, 1892.

When the Greenway Government faced the first general election following the inauguration of the new school policy, it announced its intention of standing by the system which it had created. That system, promised Mr. Greenway, would be maintained even if the province was unable to tax those members of the community who supported separate schools. (1) Moreover, even should the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decide in favour of the Catholic minority, the latter would receive no share of the provincial revenue for the support of its schools. (2) As for the proposals of the Opposition to make education a matter of exclusively provincial jurisdiction, these were condemned as impracticable, on the ground that Quebec would obstruct such a plan. (3)

But despite the Government's determination to stand by its new school system, the political "philosophy" of the school issue was used with moderation during the campaign which preceded the 1892 elections. Much greater attention appears to have been devoted to the Government's record regarding such matters as railways, finances and the Franchise Act. (4) Editorials of the Greenway Government's Winnipeg organ were more concerned with denying the charges of corruption levelled against the Government than with the defense of the new school system. (5) The Free Press, on the other hand, at-

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(1) Greenway (at Mountain), Trib., June 9, 1892.

(2) Greenway (at Winnipeg), Trib., July 9, 1892.

(3) Sifton (at Virden), Trib., June 15, 1892.

(4) e.g. Sifton (at Norfolk), Trib., May 6, and Greenway (at Winnipeg), July 9, 1892.

(5) See 'Tribune' editorials, May to July (23rd), 1892.

tacked the Government's school policy as an attempt to cover up t. deal with the Northern Pacific Railway in 1888. (1)

This slight use of the "philosophy" of the school issue may be attributed largely to the fear and the discretion of the Government. Afraid of an adverse decision by the Privy Council concerning the 1890 legislation being handed down before the date set for the elections, Mr. Greenway and his followers held the "school philosophy" in reserve. In the case of such an emergency arising, the Government could then derive the utmost value from such an appeal. This accounts for the fact that such use as was made of the "philosophy"<sup>of the</sup> school issue was irregular, varying from place to place in accordance with the temperament of the audience and the strength of the Government party. According to reports appearing in the Free Press and Tribune, little use was made by the Government leaders of such appeals beyond urging support of the new policy as a means of fostering unity among the province's population. (2)

It is doubtful, however, whether similar restraint was exercised in the more recently settled parts of the province, where the population was almost entirely Protestant. According to Mr. Dafoe, "... a well known Liberal in an appeal issued

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(1) e.g. Edit. "Let Us Reason Together", F.P., May 12, 1892.

(2) Regarding this appeal for unity, see Premier Greenway's Address to the Electors of Mountain, Trib., July 13, and Greenway (at Winnipeg), Trib., July 9, 1892. Regarding the moderation displayed by Sifton during this campaign, see Dafoe, "Sifton", pp. 46-7.

over his own name wanted to know whether Manitoba was to be controlled by the Vatican, or by her own people." (1). Even more bitterly sectarian was the attack made on the Free Press by one of the local weeklies because of the former's criticism of the Government's school policy. One of its editorials read as follows:

"Judging by the diabolical articles which have appeared in the scavenger journal since the frantic editor-in-chief was burked in his designs, there seems to be good reasons for the belief that the Jesuit organ is controlled by a veritable Beelzebub and that its editorials are forwarded from Sheol." (2)

Insofar, however, as those in charge of the campaign were concerned, the only attempt to make any extensive use of the philosophy of the school question was confined to the pamphlet literature of the election. (3)

But if less use than might be expected was made by the Liberals of their school philosophy, great attention was devoted to their technique for winning elections. The success achieved by the Liberals in 1892 was due in no small part to the somewhat questionable practices indulged in by them during the preceding (4) campaign in order to ensure their re-election.

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(1) Ibid., pp. 46-7.

(2) "The Manitou Mercury, and Rock Lake & Dufferin Advertiser", Manitow, Sat., May 14, 1892.

(3) See for example, "National Schools for Manitoba", (Anon.), Winnipeg, 1892, passim. The type of appeal used throughout is to religious prejudice and educational progress.

(4) Vide supra, pp. 74-5 for a fuller treatment, including references for following.

At the last sessions of the Legislature, they had begun to prepare the way for their success by the passage of legislation redistributing the electoral constituencies to the disadvantage of their opponents and granting the immunity of candidates from the illegal actions of agents not acting on their instructions. Another means by which they attempted to assure their success was the contract entered into with the C.F.R. for the construction of branch lines south of Brandon, in an attempt to obtain the support of the south-western constituencies. Not content with such devices, however, the Government sought during the campaign to strengthen its position still further by the omission of the names of a larger number of voters from the lists, and whenever possible to locate the polling booths to the disadvantage of the Opposition supporters. Indeed, at a time so critical as that of the 1892 elections, when the validity of the school legislation still lacked the support of the courts, (1) it would appear that no Government, and least of all the Liberal Government of Mr. Greenway, which had so clearly envisaged its needs in 1889 and so realistically sought to satisfy them in 1890, could afford to rely upon the easily aroused emotions of the electorate as a reliable means of remaining in power.

The dual nature of the Opposition was revealed not only by what was included in its platform but also by what was excluded from it. At its Convention in Winnipeg on May 30th,

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(1) Vide supra, p. 16.

1892, the Opposition declared itself in favour of a uniform system of schools for the province and expressed its willingness to support the existing school legislation in the case of its being upheld by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Should, however, the legislation be declared ultra vires, it pledged itself to strive to secure such amendments to the Manitoba and B.N.A. Acts as would make education a matter entirely within the jurisdiction of the province. (1) Such a programme, however, while appealing to the English-speaking Protestant electorate, was designed to capture the vote of the French element, since it gave no indication that the Opposition, if elected, would refuse to comply with a remedial order from the Dominion Government. (2)

This dual nature of the Opposition, together with its conduct during the previous sessions of the Legislature proved a source of additional strength to the Government. During the three preceding sessions the Conservatives had sought to exploit the discontent of the French members by allying with them in their attacks on the Government's school policy. Now, in 1892, the Opposition was going back on its previous stand by coming out in favour of a uniform system of schools for the province. Moreover, by seeking to exploit the discontent of the French, it enabled the Liberals to point out that if the

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(1) F. P., June 1, 1892.

(2) Edit. "The Two School Policies Briefly Stated", Trib., July 6, 1892.

Opposition were elected it would be unable to carry out its pledges since the French would demand the restoration of separate schools, (1) thus drawing away Protestant support, while the presence of French Catholic candidates among the Liberal ranks deprived the Opposition of a further source of support.

With the sustaining of the Greenway Government at the polls on July 23rd, the hopes of the Government and the fears of the Opposition were realized. The Liberals elected twenty-eight of their candidates, the Conservatives eleven. Mr. Fisher, the remaining candidate, was an Independent Liberal. Thus while the Liberals had experienced a slight loss, the Conservatives had almost doubled their strength in the House. (2) Seats won by acclamation numbered four; two Conservatives, one Liberal, and one Independent. (3)

Of the four French candidates elected, two ran as Conservatives, and two as Liberals. (4) The course taken by the French at this, the first election following the introduction of the school policy, is of particular interest. The fact that

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(1) Sifton and S. J. Thompson (at Norfolk), Trib., May 6 and Greenway (at Mountain), Trib., June 9, 1892.

(2) Vide supra, p. 139, n. 3.

(3) Record of Election Returns, pp. 24-30.

(4) Cons. A.F. Martin (Morris) and Pare (La Verandrye)  
Lib.: Jerome (Carillon) and Prendergast (St Boniface)

the French group did not swing back to the Conservative fold (1) is indicative of the realistic attitude which characterized their political activities after 1870. (2) Realizing that all hopes of protecting their privileges through the continuance of a policy of political alliances with the local parties was shattered, it seemed futile to many of the supporters of the Liberals to go into a voluntary and useless political exile by linking their fortunes once more with a broken Conservative party. Consequently the policy adopted by the French Liberals was to make the best of a bad situation, by supporting the Liberals on all issues save that

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(1) A.F.Martin was a notable exception. A prominent Liberal prior to the adoption of the Greenway school policy, (Vide supra, p. 118.) he thereafter moved over into the Conservative camp. The vote in the four constituencies where the French constituted an important group was as follows:

Morris-

Cons.	A.F.Martin	465
Lib.	Stewart Mulvey	440
	(Orange Prot.)	

Tot. voters	1055
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Carillon-

Lib.	Jerome	199
Cons.	Bernier	173

Tot. voters	652
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La Verandrye-

Cons.	Pare	257
Lib.	Lagimodiere	287

Tot. voters	958
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(Record of Election Returns, pp. 24-30.)

St. Boniface-

Lib.	Prendergast	313
Cons.	Marion	312
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Tot. voters	847
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(2) Vide supra, pp. 42 et seq.



of separate schools.(1)

The elections of 1892, therefore, marked an important step in the development of political parties in Manitoba. For with the abandonment by the French of their attempts to utilize politics as a means of protecting their privileges, the period of party based on political alliance came to an end. Henceforth, in the sphere of local politics, party, and not considerations of race and religion, was to be supreme.

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(1) e.g. See stand taken by Prendergast in the Legislature in 1894 (R.D. Feb. 7, F.P., Feb. 8, 1894); also statement made by J.B. Lauzon, Cons. candidate during the 1896 campaign, in the 'Daily Nor'Wester', of Jan. 9, 1896, that it was strange that many Conservatives were left off the lists in St. Boniface but in no case had a Liberal been so treated.

The year 1893 marked an important stage in the development of the Manitoba school question as a political issue within the Province. During the two years following the introduction of the school legislation of 1890, the fate of the Province's uniform school system remained uncertain. But in 1892, the validity of the Province's legislation was sustained by the decision of the Privy Council on the Barrett case, as the existence of the Greenway Government had been sustained by the general election. With the subsequent appeal of the minority to the Dominion Government for remedial legislation, the problem entered its second phase. The story of the Manitoba school question during the years that followed centres about the growing struggle between the Federal Government and the Manitoba Government, the former seeking to redress the grievances of the minority, the latter, by every possible means to uphold its school policy.

Throughout the year 1893, the Manitoba Government allowed the Dominion to take the initiative. Invitations to appear before the Privy Council for Canada and to aid in the preparation of a case for reference to the Supreme Court, were declined by the Province. (1) The Manitoba Government's stand was revealed by a statement of Attorney-General Sifton before the Manitoba Legislature on February 24th. (2)

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(1) Vide supra, p. 21.

(2) R.D.Feb.24, F.P.Feb.25, 1893.

The Government, it was announced, would take no steps to get into the fight, but would refrain from taking any active part until the Province's position was considered to be threatened.

In 1894 the Greenway Administration in turn assumed the offensive. Provision was made in an act amending the Public Schools Act, that no school might continue to receive the municipal grant if it failed to comply with the regulations concerning religious instruction set forth in the said act.

(1) The effect of the amendment would be to close a number of schools which had been foregoing the Government grant and continuing to exist by municipal support alone. (2) The Government's action was explained by the Attorney-General as arising from certain defects in the law. If this Act were not sufficient, further amendments would follow. (3)

A marked resemblance is to be observed between the use made by the Liberals of their "political philosophy"

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(1) Man.Stat., 57, Vic., 1894, c.28, s.4.

(2) Prendergast (Fr.Lib.), R.D.Feb.7, F.P.Feb.8, 1894.

(3) R.D.Feb.7, F.P.Feb.8, 1894. A series of petitions and communications arising from this legislation, continued until March of the following year, but in the end proved fruitless. Inasmuch as they fail to advance the main sequence of events, no attempt has been made to treat them here. They may be located in the following Sessional Papers: Can.S.P.(No.40d.), Vol.XXVII, No.17, 1894, pp.6-7; Can.S.P.(No.20b.), Vol.XXVIII, No.10, 1895, pp.329-31, 335, 336-347; Can.S.P.(No.20f.), Vol.XXVIII, No.10, 1895, p.355.

in 1890 and in 1893-94. Again the attack was directed against the French Catholic minority, who were condemned for reviving the issue in the Legislature. (1) The new public school system was commended as a means of fostering unity and equality, by discouraging group settlement, and for treating all sections of the people alike. (2) One member expressed his conviction that progressive legislation such as the Public Schools Act, was evidence of the progressiveness of the Province, and would serve to attract more settlers. (3)

The Opposition during these years remained weak and divided. Following the elections of 1892, it was split into four groups. These were: the Conservatives, numbering 10, the French Liberals, numbering 2, 1 Independent Liberal and 1 Patron. (4)

This lack of unity was reflected in the nature of their attack on the Government's school policy. Aware of the price that their alliance with the French group in the legislature had cost them in the 1892 elections, and realizing the popularity of the Government's school policy, the English Conservatives were less ready to join forces with the French in any important attack upon it. Thus while French

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(1) McFadden, R.D. Mar. 8, F.P. Mar. 9, 1893; Hon. Mr. Sifton, R.D. Feb. 7, F.P. Feb. 8, 1894.

(2) Hon. Mr. Sifton, R.D. Feb. 7, F.P. Feb. 8, 1894.

(3) Duncan, R.D. Jan. 15, F.P. Jan. 16, 1894.

(4) Mr. James Fisher (Russell) was the Independent Liberal. He differed with the Government on certain features of its programme. (R.D. Feb. 21, F.P. Feb. 22, 1893.) See Record of Election Returns, p. 30, et seq. The Patron Forsyth (Beautiful Plains) did not enter the Legislature until 1895, having been elected at a bye-election on August 23, 1894. (Ibid., p. 32.)

Conservatives and French Liberals joined in an attempt to defeat the Government measure of 1894 amending the Public Schools Act, the English Conservatives gave their support to the Government. The French, on the other hand, refused to support a motion by Mr. Fisher in favour of a school system similar to that existing in Ontario, (1) although for a brief period during 1894, two of them, Martin and Prendergast, joined with Conservative members Armstrong and O'Malley in favour of a system of secular schools. (2) More consistent in their stand were Messrs. Armstrong and O'Malley, who favoured secularisation, and Mr. Fisher, who advocated a system modelled after that of Ontario. (3)

Open hostilities between the Greenway Administration in Manitoba and the Bowell Administration at Ottawa, commenced with the hearing of the appeal of the minority before the Canadian Privy Council in February and March of 1895. Following the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Brophy case, the Dominion Government considered the way open for federal intervention for the relief of the minority. The Manitoba Government, however, while regretting

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(1) Man.J.L.A., Vol. XXVI, 1894, Feb. 15, pp. 67-8, Ibid., Vol. XXV, 1893, Mar. 2, pp. 74-6; R.D. Mar. 2, F.P. Mar. 3, 1893.

(2) R.D. Feb. 27, F.P. Feb. 28, 1894, Man. J.L.A., Vol. XXVI, 1894, pp. 100-1.

(3) Armstrong, R.D. Mar. 6, F.P. Mar. 7, 1893, & O'Malley, R.D. Mar. 8, F.P. Mar. 9, 1893, also Armstrong & O'Malley, R.D. Feb. 27, F.P. Feb. 28, 1894; Fisher, R.D. Mar. 2, F.P. Mar. 3 & 16, & Man. J.L.A., Vol. XXV, 1893, Mar. 2, p. 74 et seq., also Fisher, R.D. Feb. 12, F.P. Feb. 13, 1894.

the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, was prepared to stand by the legislation of 1890, and denied that any injustice had been done. (1)

At the hearing of the appeal, the Province, through its counsel Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, attacked the action of the Dominion Government in hearing the appeal. Mr. McCarthy, in his argument, sought to prove that the Privy Council was not assembled to obey a mandate of the Court (i.e. the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council),<sup>but</sup> could, at its discretion, either hear the appeal or refuse to do so, (2) and further, that the (Dominion) Government in hearing the appeal was acting in a political rather than a judicial capacity, and consequently its decision would be made as a matter of policy. (3)

Meanwhile by a change in the use of its "political philosophy", the Manitoba Government was seeking to rally the electors of the Province to resist any attempts at federal intervention. During the early part of the session of 1895, the Provincial Government continued a similar type of appeal to that made during 1893 and 1894. The French

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(1) Hon. Mr. Cameron, R.D. Feb. 19, F.P. Feb. 20, 1895.

(2) Can. S.P. (No. 20), Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, 1895, p. 50 et seq.

(3) Ibid., p. 55 et seq.

were blamed for having brought the school question into politics, and the Roman Catholics censured for having permitted inefficiency in their schools. (1) The education of the children together was considered to be of particular importance, and the danger of other denominations demanding separate schools was pointed out. (2)

The Remedial Order of March 21st marked a transition in the type of appeals employed. Before the issuing of the Remedial Order, little reference was made to Dominion intervention, beyond the contention put forth by the Attorney-General that although the Dominion Government had power to entertain the appeal of the minority, yet:

"...they had no more right to exercise it than they had to exercise their legal power to disallow a provincial railway charter." (3)

But when the House re-assembled in June, after an adjournment of six weeks to consider the Remedial Order, the Government's political philosophy is observed to be moving in the direction of Provincial rights. The Dominion Government's action in issuing the Remedial Order, was condemned as being a hasty and uncalled for attempt, political in purpose, to impose the old system of separate schools upon the Province. (4)

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(1) Hon. Mr. Sifton, R.D. Feb. 27, F.P. Feb. 28, 1895, & R.D. Feb. 18, F.P. Feb. 19, 1895.

(2) Hon. Mr. Watson, R.D. Feb. 27, F.P. Feb. 28, 1895.

(3) Hon. Mr. Sifton, R.D. Feb. 18, F.P. Feb. 19, 1895.

(4) Hon. Messrs. Sifton & Greenway, R.D. June 17, F.P. June 18, 1895.

Such interference, it was argued, could not succeed, since the Federal Government could not restore to these schools the right to levy taxes nor to the right to share in the legislative grant, which were matters of entirely provincial jurisdiction. (1) Moreover, any measure aiming to re-establish the system existing prior to 1890, would exceed the wishes of those seeking remedial legislation, since they merely desired legislation of a supplementary nature. (2) The liberality of the existing law, which permitted the establishment of a school wherever there were ten children of school age, was considered much superior to this dual system that the Dominion Government was seeking to re-establish. (3).

A slight improvement in the condition of the Opposition on the school issue is noted during the session of 1895. It was still split into four groups -- Conservative, French Liberal, Independent Liberal, and Patron -- as it had been during the two preceding sessions. Of these, the lone Patron member supported the Government on its school policy, agreeing with it in its interpretation of the Remedial Order, and announcing himself in favour of one national school system for the Province. (4)

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(1) Hon.Mr.Sifton,R.D.June 17,F.P.June 18,1895.

(2) Ibid...For desire shown for supplementary legislation vide infra,p.197.

(3) Hon.Mr.Greenway,R.D.June 17,F.P.June 18,1895.

(4) Forsyth,R.D.June 19,F.P.June 20,1895.



The three remaining groups were unable to agree upon any alternative policy. Yet despite this lack of unity, the Opposition attack on the Government was gaining in strength.

Various proposals were made by the three groups of the Opposition. Mr. Fisher continued to advocate a system modelled after that existing in Ontario. (1) Mr. Prendergast proposed supplementary legislation to amend the Public Schools Act of 1890 in accordance with the terms of the Remedial Order. (2) A proposal made by the regular Opposition, in favour of the secularisation of the school system, was voted down by the Government and the French Liberals combined. (3)

But although the Opposition was unable to agree upon a common alternative to the school system established by the Government, it lacked neither unity nor insight in its attacks on the Government's school policy. This unity was illustrated by the Opposition's support of a motion by Mr. Fisher, made before the hearing of the minority appeal before the Privy Council for Canada had occurred, proposing that the Province pass remedial legislation of such a nature as would remove the grievances claimed by the minority. (4)

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(1) R.D. June 18, F.P., June 19, 1895.

(2) R.D. June 18, F.P. June 19, 1895, and Man. J.L.A., Vol. XXVII, 1895, June 18, p. 147.

(3) O'Malley, R.D. June 19, F.P., June 20, 1895, also Man. J.L.A., Vol. XXVII, 1895, June 19, pp. 149-155.

(4) Ibid., Feb. 27, pp. 27-30.

Later, a further indication of this was provided by the solid stand taken by the Opposition against the Government's reply to the Remedial Order. (1) At the same time, efforts were being made to penetrate the Government's use -- or misuse -- of the provincial rights doctrine. Mr. Fisher sought to explain the difference between the position and powers of the Federal Government in the case of disallowance and in matters relating to education. (2) Several of the French and English members attempted to refute the Government's interpretation of the Remedial Order as having been an attempt to restore the <sup>old</sup> dual school system. (3)

Meanwhile Mr. A. F. Martin sought to reveal the Government's dilatory tactics. (4) He pointed out the superfluity of a second adjournment of the Legislature to further consider the Remedial Order, when one of the members of the Government had already announced at an Ontario bye-election meeting a few days after the first adjournment, that his Government would not comply with the Order. (5)

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(1) Ibid., June 19, pp. 155-6.

(2) Fisher, R.D. Feb. 19, F.P., Feb. 20, 1895.

(3) Martin & Prendergast, R.D. May 9, F.P., May 10, 1895, Armstrong, R.D. June 17, F.P., June 18, 1895, & McFadden, R.D. June 19, F.P., June 20, 1895.

(4) Vide infra, pp. 216 et seq.

(5) R.D. May 9, F.P., May 10, 1895.

The Manitoba Government had two reasons for prematurely dissolving the Legislature in December 1895. One reason was fear; the other was opportunism.

At the close of 1895, the Manitoba Government was in a dangerous position. The Dominion Government was prepared to introduce remedial legislation early in the new year should the Province fail to grant an adequate measure of relief to the Roman Catholic minority. Such action would result in the discussion and airing before the country of the school question unvarnished by the political philosophy of the Manitoba Liberals. Each month that passed before the dissolution of the Legislature scheduled for mid-summer of 1896, would provide the Opposition with material and time to build up a case against the Government.

On the other hand the Government would derive several advantages from an immediate dissolution. It would take the Opposition by surprise before the latter had an opportunity to consolidate its position. Moreover, the Government in so doing could select the ground upon which the election would be fought. And at the same time it could profit by the lack of adequate discussion of, and the feeling of resentment against, the Order in Council of July 27th of the Dominion Government and so interpret it in such a manner as to serve its own ends.

The Government's action caught the Opposition off its guard. At the close of the session of 1895, the Premier

had announced that the Government was of the opinion that the question of the Remedial Order could be better discussed outside of a political campaign. (1) The silence of the Government during the months following the Dominion Government's Order in Council of July 27th tended to confirm this impression. Then suddenly, on December 21st, the Province issued its reply to the Order, and dissolved the Legislature. (2) The Opposition, taken unaware, was unable to evolve a policy before the contest began, and its candidates were consequently each obliged to fight his campaign as best he could, (3) some favouring the new school system, (4) and others condemning it. (5)

A further advantage derived from this unexpected dissolution lay in the potentialities of the Order in Council of July for election purposes during the campaign to follow. Five days after the reply had been made to the Dominion Government, it was printed in the Winnipeg Tribune, organ of the local Government. (6) Throughout the campaign that followed, the Liberals sought to create the impression that

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(1) R.D. June 17, F.P. June 18, 1895.

(2) For reply to Remedial Order, vide supra, pp. 24 et seq.. Announcement of dissolution of the Legislature may be found in Man. J.L.A., Vol. XXVIII, 1896, Dec. 21, p. xiii.

(3) F.P. Jan. 11, 1896, Editorial "Opposition Prospects".

(4) e.g. Kelly (Brandon City), F.P., Jan. 11, 1896.

(5) e.g. Cooper (Portage la Prairie), F.P., Jan. 8, 1896.

(6) Trib., Dec. 26, 1895.

the Federal Government had in its second request demanded compliance with the Remedial Order of March 21st, and that what was required was a return to the system which had existed prior to 1890. (1) At Douglas, on December 31st, Mr. Sifton, in the course of a campaign speech, announced the Government's intention to resist such efforts as follows:

"The dominion government has stated its intention of forcing separate schools upon us and we are determined that it shall not. That is our stand and it is to ascertain if it is also the stand of the people that we are now before you. Of course everybody says that it is the mind of the people, that Manitoba is a unit on the question, but the way to ascertain this truly, and properly, and constitutionally is to do as we do now, place it before the electors and let them state it at the polls." (2)

Such considerations as these had not greatly influenced the Government's conduct in 1890, when certain of the Opposition members had challenged it to adopt a similar course before abolishing separate schools. (3) But now, the popularity of the issue assured, temporarily at least, the Government would be able to ride back into power on its school policy before the electors were able to examine thoroughly the facts concerned.

In order to strengthen their position still further, full use was made by the Liberals of those aspects of their

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(1) Hon. J. D. Cameron (in Winnipeg), F.P., Jan. 8, 1896, also Edit. "The Government's Reply", F.P., Dec. 27, 1895.

(2) Trib., Jan. 3, 1896.

(3) Vide supra; p. 177.

"school philosophy" which could be directed against those who sought to interfere with the new school system. Nothing short of a state-aided separate school system, it was argued, would satisfy the minority or the Dominion Government. (1) The attack was thus directed against the Catholic hierarchy and Dominion Government. (2) Against the influence of the former, the Tribune exhorted the electors to cast their votes:

"Our fathers wrested nobly and manfully against the arrogance and injustice of that great religious organization whose existence has been a barrier to national advancement, and the great obstacle in the way of national unity. It now rests with us to give the final blow, to free ourselves forever from the tyranny to which we have been too long subjected." (3)

But the main force of the attack was reserved for the Dominion Government. Here, the cry was to rally to the support of provincial autonomy, (4) and thereby save the province from further humiliations such as it had suffered in the past. This appeal to resist federal intervention as a means of upholding the doctrine of 'Provincial Rights' and protecting the prestige of the Province, was most effectively stated by Mr. Sifton during the opening speech of his campaign:

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(1) Premier's address to his constituents, F.P., Dec. 24, 1895 and also Hon. Mr. Cameron (in Winnipeg), F.P., Jan. 8, 1896.

(2) "It is the Quebec hierarchy, and not the respectable Catholic laymen of the province, that have made all the trouble", stated the 'Tribune' in an editorial ("Mr. Greenway's Election Address") of Dec. 24, 1895. For the condemnation of the Dominion Conservatives, see the Premier's address to his constituents in the electoral division of Mountain. (F.P., Dec. 24, 1895.)

(3) Edit. "Quit Yourselves Like Men", Trib., Jan. 9, 1896.

(4) Premier's Address to his constituents, Trib., Dec. 23, 1895.

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"The Dominion Government has declared always that it is only following out the constitution. But we say since we began we have followed out the constitution, and it is they who have acted unconstitutionally. I say this because the spirit of confederation is that as far as possible a province is not to be interfered with in managing those affairs entrusted to it by the constitution. The provincial autonomy must be served...

"I want to ask you this: If we had 65 members in Manitoba, and Quebec had five, would this order ever have been made? (Laughter and no, no.) Well then, just because we are small and young are we going to submit to an injustice done to gain over a section of the community? (Applause and no, no.)." (1)

On the other hand, correspondingly little use was made of the appeal to unity, equality and progress, beyond a rather extensive defense on the grounds of equality and efficiency made by Mr. Sifton in the course of the speech above cited.

(2)

The vituperative tone of the Government press throughout the campaign reflected the defensive purposes to which the Government was directing its "school philosophy." In an editorial of December 24th, reference was made to the traitorous action of six of the English members of the Local House who during the last session had voted in favour of separate schools. (3) A few days later, referring to Mr. Luxton, (4)

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(1) Sifton (at Douglas) on Dec. 31st, 1895, as reported in Trib., Jan. 3, 1896.

(2) See also reference by Mr. McIntyre (in Winnipeg North), F.P., Jan. 15, 1896. An examination of the charges of inefficiency levelled against the Catholic schools will be found elsewhere. (Vide supra, pp. 163 et seq.)

(3) Edit. "Mr. Greenway's Address", Trib., Dec. 24, 1895.

(4) Vide supra, pp. 176, n. 3. . Until 1893 Mr. Luxton had been editor of the 'Free Press'. (Trib., Sept. 23, 1893. Reprinted in pamphlet form under title "Mr. W. F. Luxton Is Retired", n.d., n.p. This pamphlet (4pp.) is located at the end of the 1893 scrap-book of the Local Legislature compiled by the Manitoba Provincial Library.)

who for a time had run as an independent Opposition candidate in South Winnipeg, and whose opposition to the Government's school policy, <sup>was well known,</sup> the Tribune expressed the opinion that "...A pretty representative for South Winnipeg such a traitor would make." (1)

Nor did this acrimonious attack cease with the victory at the polls. The return of Mr. Roblin to the Legislature was the cause of an outburst of contempt for the French half-breed electors of Woodlands who were described as an "interesting and amiable but primitive people." (2)

Two days after this, the 'Tribune' outdid itself in the use of invective. An editorial entitled "Mr. Daly", read in part as follows:

"And now we have Mr. Daly, our representative in the Cabinet, wholly ignoring the verdict of the people of Manitoba in the school question last week, standing up in Parliament and traitorously accusing us for not yielding meekly to the bidding of the Quebec hierarchy, and restoring separate schools in the province...He would be dangerous were it not for the fact that he is an intellectual imbecile, so thoroughly discredited in this country that it makes little difference what he may say, or what side he may take in parliament." (3)

Indeed it would seem that while success at the polls had calmed the apprehensions of the Government supporters, it had at the same time increased their audacity.

The position of the Opposition during the brief campaign

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- (1) Edit. "What Mr. Luxton is Doing Now", Trib., Jan 6, 1896.  
 (2) Edit. "Monsieur Roblin", Trib., Jan. 21, 1896.  
 (3) Trib., Jan. 23, 1896.



of less than a month, was hopeless. The various groups of which it was composed lacked a common policy on the school question. Mr. Fisher again ran as an Independent Liberal. (1) Mr. Prendergast, although opposed to the Government on its school policy, ran as a Liberal, receiving no opposition from Government quarters. (2) The Patrons stood by the Government in the defense of a uniform system of public schools. (3) Even the regular Conservative opposition was divided among itself. Some of its candidates like Taylor and Sargent were in favour of the uniform system, others, like Cooper, were opposed to it, while still others like Roblin sought to exploit the discontent of the minority although they personally were in favour of the secular system. (4)

In view of the confusion existing within the Opposition ranks, together with the strength of the Government's position, it is not surprising that ex-premier Harrison advised that the Conservatives allow the provincial election to go by default and thus show the strength of Manitoba's opposition to the Remedial Order. (5) Indeed there was more

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(1) F.P., Jan. 9, 1896. See also interesting anecdote in Hugh R. Ross, 'Thirty-Five Years in the Limelight -- Sir Rodmond P. Roblin and His Times', (Winnipeg, 1936), pp. 68-70. (Hereafter referred to as Ross, 'Roblin'.)

(2) D.N.W., Jan. 9, 1896.

(3) Patrons' Platform, F.P., Dec. 27, 1895.

(4) Taylor (North Winnipeg), F.P., Jan. 6, 1896 and Sargent (North Brandon), F.P., Jan. 11, 1896; Cooper (Portage la Prairie), F.P., Jan. 8, 1896; and F.P. article entitled "Roblin's Attitude", and headed "St. Francis-Xavier, Jan. 10.", Jan. 13, 1896.

(5) Edit. "Hon. Dr. Harrison's Advice", Trib., Jan. 11, 1896.

in such a proposal than met the eye, for had the local Conservative party been willing to make a temporary sacrifice of the handful of members it was able to elect, the Dominion Conservatives might have been prevented from blundering into remedial legislation.

The value of the Government's political "philosophy" and of its tactical devices was amply demonstrated in the elections of January 15, 1896. The Government returned thirty-two members. Opposition members returned, Conservatives and Independent together, numbered eight in all. (1) The Government polled 12,706 votes, the Opposition 10,610, and the Independent candidates 2,297. (2) Two changes occurred in the French constituencies. In Morris the French Conservative member, A.F. Martin, was defeated by the Liberal candidate, Mr. Stewart Mulvey, a prominent Orangeman. In Carillon, Mr. M. Jerome, the former Liberal representative, was defeated by R. Marion, a Conservative candidate, also of the French race. (3) Thus while the number of Conservative and Liberal representatives remained evenly divided amongst the four constituencies, the number of French representatives in the Legislature was reduced to three.

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(1) Five Conservatives, one Independent, <sup>Liberal</sup> and two Patrons. (Record of Election Returns, pp. 32-48.)

(2) Ibid., p. 48.

(3) Ibid., pp. 32-48.

In the new Legislature, the Opposition was marked by the same divisions as in the old. The French members, while opposed to a secular system of education, now proposed a voluntary system under which the minority would forego the grant of the provincial Government if only it were exempted from taxation for the support of other schools. (1) The Patron member, <sup>Crosby,</sup> in accordance with his party's platform, expressed himself in favour of non-sectarian schools. (2) But the English-speaking Conservatives members, awaiting the outcome of events at Ottawa, failed to produce any positive alternative policy.

If, however, the constructive criticism of the Opposition was weak, its destructive criticism amply compensated for this fact. Roblin, the most dangerous of the Government's critics, veering toward the appeal to provincialism, attacked the Government's school policy as detrimental to immigration and conducive to expensive litigation which the Province could ill afford. (3) He further charged the Government with making concessions in the administration of the law by permitting religious teaching

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(1) Pare, R.D. Feb. 19, F.P., Feb. 20, 1896; Prendergast, R.D. Feb. 26, F.P., Feb. 27, 1896.

(2) Crosby, R.D. Feb. 19, F.P., Feb. 20, 1896.

(3) R.D. Feb. 11, F.P., Feb. 12, and R.D. Feb. 26, F.P., Feb. 27, 1896.

to be carried on during school hours, and quoted affidavits from St. Laurent and St. Eustache to corroborate his statements. (1) Apart from this the attacks of the Opposition consisted in belated and futile attempts to expose the Government's misinterpretation of the Remedial Order and its deliberate confusion of the disallowance issue with remedial legislation. (2)

During the session of 1896, the Government was able once more to shelve its "political philosophy." Throughout the entire session, only one attack of any importance was made upon the Dominion Government for seeking to interfere with the Province's educational system. (3) The success of the Liberals at the polls in January, together with the differences existing between the federal parties at Ottawa on the subject of Remedial legislation had lifted the Manitoba school issue out of the sphere of local politics into the heated debates of the Dominion Parliament.

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(1) R.D.Feb.11,F.P.,Feb.12,1896.

(2) Prendergast,R.D.Feb.26, F.P.,Feb.27, and Fisher, R.D. Feb.13,F.P.,Feb.14,1896; Fisher,R.D.Feb.26,F.P.,Feb.27,1896.

(3) Hon. Messrs. Sifton and Cameron, also Mr. Stewart Mulvey, R.D.Feb.26,F.P.,Feb.27,1896.

## IV

The successful manipulation of the school issue by the Greenway Government was not limited to its efforts to remain in office. During the years 1895-96, the issue was put to work against the federal Government as a means of removing the Conservatives from power. Both the Manitoba and the Dominion Liberals co-operated closely in a joint attack. The plan of campaign employed was to manoeuvre the Dominion Government into such a course of action as would cause the defection from its ranks of the ultra-Protestants in Ontario and of the ultra-Catholics in Quebec. This, as will be seen later, was the main object<sup>ive</sup> of the Dominion Liberals in their attacks in the Dominion House of Commons. (1).

Before proceeding to a discussion of the tactical devices employed towards this end by the Manitoba Government, it is necessary to make reference to the constitutional weakness in the Dominion Government's case. The fact that neither the B.N.A. nor Manitoba Acts bound the Dominion to act in the protection of the minority, provided the province with a satisfactory pretext for resisting any attempts at federal intervention, (2) and at the same time provided the Opposition at Ottawa with grounds for attacking the Government's actions on that score.

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(1) Vide infra, pp. 257 et seq.

(2) Vide supra, p. 194.

Thus the Manitoba Liberals, under the pretense of defending their national system of public schools against what they denounced as politically-inspired federal intervention, (1) were able to conceal the manner in which they were exploiting the school issue as a means of weakening the federal Conservative Government.

Two tactical devices were employed with considerable effect by the Liberal Government towards this end. One of these was defiance; the other was delay. Through the former it was sought to split the heterogeneous Conservative administration at Ottawa by driving the French Catholic remedialist members of the party to demand the adoption of strenuous measures for the relief of the minority, and by so doing cause the defection of the Orange and ultra-Protestant members of the party in the Cabinet and the Commons. Through the latter, it was hoped to postpone the introduction of remedial legislation, and thus not only antagonize the French Catholic members of the party, but at the same time, if possible, prevent the passage of such legislation before the Dominion Parliament would be dissolved by the effluxion of time.

Yet this aid given by the Manitoba Liberals to their federal allies has in the past been overshadowed by their open-faced and seemingly unsuccessful attempts to strengthen the cause of the Dominion Liberals outside the province.

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(1) Vide supra. p. 202-3.

At Haldimand (Ont.) Attorney-General Sifton had spoken on behalf of the Liberal candidate in the bye-election of May 1895. (1) His purpose, he later stated, was to give a little information to the people of the East, and to show how the Privy Council decision had been misrepresented by the Conservatives. (2) Although the Liberal candidate at Haldimand met with defeat, Mr. Sifton's speeches elsewhere in the province served to reinforce the rising tide of Orange and Protestant opposition which was to manifest itself later in the vote on the Remedial Bill. (3) But while this attempt to help the Dominion Liberals directly was less effective than might have been expected, it has, in the long run, served to draw attention away from the less conspicuous but more successful tactics employed to the same end.

The attempts of the Province to drive the Dominion Government into the adoption of an extreme course of action commenced even before the issuing of the Remedial Order. At the opening of the 1895 session of the local Legislature, it was announced in the Speech from the Throne that the Manitoba Government would uphold the existing school system whether or not the Dominion Government would demand any modification of the Public Schools Act of 1890. (4)

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(1) Dafoe, 'Sifton', p. 77.

(2) Sifton, R.D., June 17, F.P., June 18, 1895

(3) Cf. Dafoe, 'Sifton' pp. 77-8. Regarding the ultra-Protestant wing of the Ontario Conservatives, vide infra, p. 243

(4) Man. J.L.A., Vol. XXVII, 1895, Feb. 14, pp. 4-5.

During the session that followed, the Hon. Mr. Cameron, Minister of Public Works, stated that any demand made by the Dominion Government for the passing of legislation to redress the grievances of the minority would constitute a political action, and that to resist such an order would not be to attack the constitution nor to break into open rebellion. If the Government at Ottawa wished to end the agitation, it could do so by declaring that it had no intention of interfering with the legislation of the province. (1)

After the issuing of the Remedial Order, the statements of the Manitoba Government concerning its intention to resist federal intervention became progressively more defiant. In March, before the adjournment of the Legislature to consider the Dominion Government's demand, the Premier announced that the Government saw no reason for changing its position with regard to the school system of the province. (2)

Several weeks later, on June 24th, the Manitoba Government's reply was issued. (3) Neither the proposals embodied therein for an investigation, nor the reference made

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(1) R.D.Feb.19,F.P.,Feb.20,1895.

(2) Hon.Mr.Greenway,R.D.Mar.28,F.P.,Mar.29,1895.

(3) Vide supra, p.24.



to the need for unity and to the legal, financial, and educational obstacles in the way, could conceal the fact that the provincial Government would not comply with the Remedial Order. When the short session of June came to an end, approval of the Government's refusal to comply with the Order was expressed in the Speech from the Throne. (1)

With the issuing of the Dominion Government's Order in Council of July 27th, Manitoba's tactical defiance scored its first success. This Order informed the Province that failure to provide supplementary legislation along the lines indicated in the first Order in Council before the January following, would result in the summoning of Parliament for the passing of remedial legislation. (2) From such a position as this the Dominion Government could not retreat. The only problem which now faced the Manitoba Liberals, was to make certain that the Dominion Government would continue to advance along the course which it had adopted, and not succeed in postponing by the crisis by dissolving Parliament and appealing to the electors.

Accordingly, the Greenway Government set about to compel the Conservative Government to pursue the course it had chosen to its threatened conclusion -- remedial legislation.

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(1) Man. J. L. A., Vol. XXVII, 1895, June 28, pp. 173-4.

(2) Vide supra, pp. 27-8.

For five months the local Government refrained from replying to the Order in Council and from making any attempt to pass the supplementary legislation requested. Then, on December 21st, the Province replied in a manner even less conciliatory than it had assumed in its reply of June.(1) The report adopted by the Manitoba Government interpreted the Order in Council of July as an attempt to reimpose the old system of separate schools upon the Province, adding:

"...such a course seems to be quite incapable of reasonable justification and must create the conviction that the educational interests of the people of Manitoba are being dealt with in a hostile and peremptory way by a tribunal whose members have not approached the subject in a judicial spirit or taken the proceedings necessary to enable them to form a proper opinion upon the merits of the question."(2)

This reply, together with the action of the local Government in dissolving the Legislature and calling a general election, left no doubt as to the opposition of the Greenway Government to any attempt at intervention.

The success of the Province's efforts soon became apparent. Dissensions had arisen within the Dominion Cabinet. When the remedial session assembled the Bowell Administration was passing through a Ministerial crisis.(3) For several weeks no attempt was made to approach the question of remedial legislation.

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(1) Vide supra, pp. 28 et seq..

(2) Can. S. P. (No. 39), Vol. XXIX, No. 11, 1896, p. 6.

(3) Vide infra, p. 249.

Then, as the prospects of such action increased, the Manitoba Ministers made a vigorous protest against any attempt at intervention. The Manitoba Government, it was declared, would not accept the proposed legislation as final. Intervention would result in endless legal contests in the courts. (1) The Hon. Mr. Cameron defended the Government's action in appealing to the electorate on the ground that it was hoped to thus acquaint the East with the feelings of the people of Manitoba. (2) The Hon. Mr. Sifton sought to justify the Government's action in employing Mr. Wade for the production of a pamphlet on the school question for similar reasons. (3) By thus seeking to make known the opposition of the voters of Manitoba to remedial action by the Dominion, the Dominion Liberals and the ultra-Protestant Conservatives from Ontario would be provided with additional ammunition in their attack upon the Bowell Administration, while by indicating the resolution of the Manitoba Government to stand by the new school system which it had created, the local Liberals would further antagonize the extreme French Catholics, and thereby drive the Dominion Government further along the road to intervention -- and internal crisis

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(1) Man.J.L.A., Vol. XXVIII, 1896, Feb. 26, pp. 31-4, 36-7; Hon. Mr. Cameron, R.D. Feb. 26, F.P., Feb. 27, 1896; and Hon. Mr. Sifton, R.D. Feb. 26, F.P., Feb. 27, 1896.

(2) R.D. Feb. 13, F.P., Feb. 14, 1896.

(3) R.D. Mar. 5, F.P., Mar. 6, 1896.

With the conclusion of the second reading of the Remedial Bill, this line of attack came to a successful conclusion. In the division on Mr. Laurier's amendment to the second reading of the Remedial Bill, proposing that the measure be given a six months hoist, eighteen members of the Conservative party voted against the Dominion Government. (1) While this creation of a split within the ranks of the federally-constituted Conservative party must be attributed to other causes than the defiance shown by the Manitoba Government, (2) the contribution of the latter because of its influence on the French Catholic wing of the Conservative party and its close cooperation with the Dominion Liberals, was by no means insignificant.

At the same time the Greenway Government was endeavouring by the use of a number of devices to postpone the introduction of remedial measures by the federal Government. These efforts commenced before the issuing of the Remedial Order of March 1895, and continued until the middle of the debates on the Remedial Act during the 1896 session of Parliament. Their purpose was twofold. On the one hand, it was hoped that even if they proved no more than temporarily successful they would by further aggravating the

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(1) D.H.C., R.A., I, 1896, Mar. 20, p. 675, and 'The Globe', Toronto, Mar. 21, 1896.

(2) Vide infra, pp. 240 et seq.

French Catholic members of the Conservative party, serve to drive that group to adopt a still more resolute position, and thereby re-inforce the efforts of the first Liberal tactic, defiance. On the other hand if it were possible to succeed in delaying the introduction of remedial legislation until the time would be too late for its successful completion before Parliament expired, the Dominion Government's strength would be considerably weakened at the impending elections, since it would be exposed to attack on the one hand for having attempted coercive measures, and on the other, for having after repeated delays, failed to implement its promises.

The first attempt by the Province to stave off remedial measures by the Dominion occurred at the preliminary hearing of the Privy Council of Canada to set a date for the hearing of the appeal of the minority. (1) On February 26th, Mr. Dalton McCarthy, representing the Provincial Government, sought to have the hearing of the appeal deferred until after the prorogation of the Manitoba Legislature, on the pretext that the Manitoba Government would require adequate time to prepare its case, and desired to be represented by the Attorney General. The counsel for the minority, however, was not deceived by this device, and pointed out that the granting of such a delay was not simply a matter of days or weeks, but would defer the introduction of remedial legislation for a whole year.

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(1) Vide supra, p. 23.

Accordingly, the Privy Council limited the time given the Province to prepare its case to eight days. (1)

A second measure employed towards this same end, was the Province's delay in replying to the Remedial Order of March, and the Order in Council of July. Following the receipt of the former, the Legislature was adjourned for six weeks, in order, as the Premier stated:

"...that ample time may be given to full and deliberate consideration of the whole matter."

Yet in the same speech he announced that the Government saw no reason for changing "its position or opinion in regard to the school system" of the Province. (2)

Three days later, at the Haldimand bye-election, similar opinions were advanced by the Attorney General. (3)

When, on May 9th, the Government re-assembled, Mr. Greenway proposed a further adjournment until June 13th. In order to cover up the Government's tactics Mr. Sifton sought to explain this further delay as resulting from a difference of opinion on the Government side as to the meaning of the Remedial Order. (4)

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(1) Can.S.P. (No.20), Vol.XXVIII, No.10, 1895, pp.13-8. Later McCarthy attempted to achieve the same result by requesting additional time to reply to Mr. Ewart's affidavits. Ibid., pp.37-9

(2) R.D.Mar.28, F.P., Mar.29, 1895.

(3) A.F.Martin, R.D., May 9, F.P., May.10, 1895.

(4) Man.J.L.A., Vol.XXVII, 1895, May9, pp.134-5, & R.D.May9, F.P., May 10, 1895.

At the same time, the Premier sought to represent the Government's course as evidence of its moderation and its desire to avoid rushing hurriedly into the discussion of so important a subject -- qualities which had not figured prominently in the Government's conduct at the time of the introduction of the school legislation in 1890. (1)

The real motives for the Government's conduct were suggested by the Attorney-General during the brief May session. Discussion of this problem had lasted five years in this province, and four times that length of time in other provinces, he stated, adding:

"...a few weeks or a few months in dealing with a question of this magnitude was of no importance whatever."  
(2).

By thus delaying its replies to the Dominion Government, the Greenway Administration would be aiding ~~its~~ federal allies at the expense of the Dominion Conservatives.

In view, therefore, of Sifton's statement, ~~and the fact that~~ ~~advice~~, it was not surprising that Manitoba should have delayed its reply to the Order in Council of July for several months. (3)

A third attempt towards the same end may be observed in the proposals of the Manitoba Government for an investigation.

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(1) R. D. June, 17, F.P., June 18, 1895.

(2) R. D. May 9, F.P., May 10, 1895.

(3) Vide supra, p. 28.

In its replies<sup>of</sup> June 24th and December 21st to the Dominion Government, suggestions of this nature had been made. (1) Similar suggestions were voiced by members of the Government during the sessions of 1895 and 1896. (2) The anxiety of the Greenway Administration to obtain an investigation is explained readily by a statement of the Attorney-General during June 1895, in which he stated that several months of patient work would be necessary to collect the information required. (3) Such a delay would be a matter of little importance to the Government in power at Winnipeg at that time; but to the Administration in office at Ottawa, threatened constantly from within by racial and religious rivalries, a delay of this nature would mean the difference between life and death. Moreover, even if the Bowell Administration refused to accept these proposals, its very action in so doing would provide the Dominion Liberals with ammunition for their attack.

The fourth and final effort at a postponement occurred in March 1896, after the Remedial Act had entered the

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(1) Vide supra, pp. 24 et seq.

(2) Hon. Mr. Greenway, R.D. June 17, F.P., June 18, 1895; Myers, R.D. June 19, F.P., June 20, 1895; and Hon. Mr. Sifton, R.D. Feb. 26, F.P., Feb. 27, 1896.

(3) R.D. June 17, F.P., June 18, 1895.



Debate on the Second Reading, when the Dominion Government was induced to participate in a conference with the representatives of the Manitoba Government at Winnipeg. (1) In a written communication to the Dominion Commissioners, the Province's representatives stated:

"...we thought it necessary before proceeding with the discussion of the question involved, to stipulate ...that while the Conference was proceeding, the Remedial Bill now before Parliament should be held in abeyance." (2)

Such, however, did not appear to be the intention of the Dominion Government, for during the conference the Bill was advanced by a stage in the House. (3)

Further negotiations were therefore useless, and the conference drew rapidly to a close. Like the third attempt, this last effort to obtain a further postponement failed to achieve its immediate objective. Yet despite its failure in this respect, it served to weaken the Government's position in Quebec by revealing the readiness of the latter to evade the responsibility which a remedial measure would involve, at the very moment that it was endeavouring to force so difficult an issue upon Parliament.

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(1) Vide supra, p.30. Can. S.P.(No.39c), Vol.XXIX, No.11, 1896, pp.1-11

(2) Ibid., p.2.

(3) Ibid., p.7.

The dilatory tactics of the Manitoba Government had two main results. One only of the four tactical devices employed in order to delay action on the part of the Dominion Government succeeded in its professed purpose. This was the delaying of the replies to the Remedial Order of March and the Order in Council of July, which served on the one hand to increase the apprehensions of the French and thus to increase their pressure on the Government, and on the other, to induce the Government to delay action until the special session of 1896, lest its conduct prove offensive to the ultra-Protestant wing of the Dominion Government.

The second result was of an indirect nature, and was attributable to those tactics which had failed to lure the Ottawa Administration into further delays. Thus the refusal to grant the Manitoba Government time to prepare a case for its defence before the Canadian Privy Council hearing of the appeal of the minority, gave the Opposition justification for attacking the Bowell Government for having proceeded with undue haste in the matter, after having so long delayed action. (1) Similarly, the refusal of the Conservatives to conduct an investigation, enabled the Liberals to condemn the Government for adopting an immoderate and coercive policy, (2) while the negotiations entered into

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(1) D.H.C., R.A., I, 1896, Sir Richard Cartwright, Mar. 11, p. 232.

(2) Ibid., Laurier, Mar. 3, pp. 10 et seq.

in March 1896, at the very moment when the Government was endeavouring to push its Remedial Bill through Parliament, could scarcely serve in any way to strengthen the belief of the Quebec Catholic electorate in the sincerity of its promises or conduct.

The Manitoba school question, as has been seen in the earlier chapters, was in its origin a purely provincial issue. The safeguards embodied in the constitution regarding the educational rights of religious minorities, however, were bound to draw the Dominion Government into the dispute.

In view of the widespread religious and racial agitations which threatened the harmony of Canadian political life, following Confederation, it is not surprising that the issue should have produced even greater strife in the realm of federal politics than it had created in the local political sphere. When the Manitoba school question first loomed on the western horizon, the federal Conservative party was securely in power at Ottawa; before the issue had been settled, it was responsible for the breaking of the Conservative party and the accession to power of the Liberals. Equally significant in itself was the reversal of party fortunes in Quebec. In 1891 the majority of candidates returned from that province in the Dominion elections were Conservatives, and therefore allies or supporters of the ultramontane element in that French Catholic community; five years later, by a strange irony of fate, Quebec was to bestow its pol-

itical favours on the candidates of the federal Liberal party, to whose local ally in Manitoba, the attack on a minority of the same race and faith as Quebec was due. It is the purpose of this chapter to explain how these changes were brought about, largely as the outcome of adroit party manoeuvring determined externally by the fixed constitutional factors and internally by the heterogeneous composition of the parties.

The school question as a federal issue developed along the lines of a well constructed drama. It had a short prologue; it had a central theme, gradually developing towards an intense crisis; and it concluded with a brief epilogue. The prologue was characterized by the attempt of both parties to avoid, for a time at least, the introduction of the issue into federal politics. If the motives which underlay this plan were not entirely disinterested, they did not prevent its successful operation prior to the decision of the Privy Council in the Barrett case in July 1892. The main action of the plot commenced in 1892 and did not conclude until 1896. At first it moved slowly, and was characterized by evasions and delays. But when the life of Parliament began to draw towards a close, the tempo

increased rapidly. With the introduction of remedial legislation by the Government, the period of preliminary skirmishes came to an end, and the two federal parties engaged in open conflict over the issue. The denouement came at the general elections of June 1896; the defeat of the Conservative party at the polls marked the conclusion of the school question as a federal issue. Five months later, the Laurier-Greenway agreement provided the brief epilogue.

It is interesting to observe in passing, the similarity which exists between the first and third periods of the question, and the contrast between these and the second. Both the prologue and epilogue possessed one predominating characteristic: in both the element of moderation played an important part. In a country such as Canada, where the existence of political parties is dependent on the support of diverse sectional interests, moderation and the spirit of compromise is essential in the solution of any great issues which tend to divide the country, especially if the issue be one of religion and race. (1) For this reason,

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(1) F.H. Underhill, 'The Party System in Canada', 'Papers and Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association', Vol. IV, Toronto, 1932, p. 202.

both parties agreed between 1890 and 1892 to remove from, or at least to postpone the introduction of so thorny a question into the federal political arena. For this reason, likewise, the measure of relief accorded to the minority by the Laurier-Sifton Agreement was by no means as satisfactory as either the Manitoba minority or many of the French Liberals from Quebec had hoped it would be. On the other hand, the conflict over the school issue between 1892 and 1896, arising largely from the desperate efforts of the Opposition to exploit the occasion as a means of rising to power, was marked not only by overt appeals to sectional interests at the expense of party solidarity, but by the use of subtle tactical devices calculated to promote similar ends.

The prologue opened with the petition of the minority of April 7th, 1890, for the disallowance of the Manitoba statutes; it closed with the Privy Council decision of July 30th, 1892, whereby these same statutes were held valid.

(1) Its main features were the united opposition of the two federal parties to disallowance, and the refusal of the Government to intervene in the matter pending the Privy Council decision. During this initial stage of the question, Liberals and Conservatives alike showed themselves averse to any attempt at a hasty solution of a question which so vitally affected the divergent racial and religious groups of which their parties were composed.

It has already been shown how, by the adoption of the Blake resolution of April 29th, 1890, Parliament had been relieved of the necessity of coming to grips with a difficult problem. (2) Political considerations were mainly responsible for the support given by Government and Opposition alike to the Blake resolution and <sup>the</sup> virtual denial of disallowance which it implied. Both parties found it to their immediate as well as their ultimate interests to agree for the time at least to keep so dangerous an issue out of federal politics.

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(1) Vide supra, pp. 12 et seq.

(2) Vide supra, pp. 12, & 13 & 14.



The stand adopted by the Government on this occasion may be attributed, insofar as the immediate interests of the Conservative party were concerned, to the oncoming general elections. Quite apart from considerations of party policies and the demands of sectional groups, the introduction of such an issue so soon before the elections, would, by increasing the element of uncertainty, possess too disturbing an effect on the plan of campaign. The main objection to disallowance, however, was that, in view of the past conduct and experiences of the Government, it would destroy all party unity. It has been seen elsewhere, (1) how, in order to ensure the success of its nation-building policy the Macdonald Government had employed the constitutional weapon of disallowance to protect the C. P. R. from competition in Manitoba. (2) To repeat such coercive measures now, however, unjustifiable Manitoba's conduct might be would provide the Dominion Liberals with further ammunition against the Government. (3)

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(1) Vide supra, pp. 57-8.

(2) Vide supra, pp. 61-3.

(3) See letter from Sir John Macdonald to the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, 8th, January, 1890, and from same to N. Chevrier, 25th, March, 1890. (Sir Joseph Pope, 'Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald', (Toronto, 1921.) pp. 464-5 & 466.)

The possibility of Manitoba re-enacting the legislation, as it had done in connection with the disallowance affair, would render even more unpalatable such a course . . . (1)

Moreover, without taking into account the Government's previous conduct with respect to Manitoba, and the additional strength which disallowance would give to the cause of 'Provincial Rights', disallowance by the Government of the legislation of 1890, would, in view of the stand taken by the Government's Jesuit Estates Act, be little short of political suicide. Only a year previously a number of Conservative members had joined with McCarthy and O'Brien in attacking the Government for its stand. (2) Nor was the agitation which arose over the Jesuits Estates Act confined to federal politics. For a number of years before this Mr. W. R. Meredith, the leader of the Ontario Conservatives had been conducting a violent anti-Catholic campaign in an attempt to overthrow the Mowat Administration. (3) Under such circumstances should the Dominion Government sacrifice the legislation of Protestant Manitoba to appease the indignation of Catholic Quebec, it would inflict irreparable injuries upon the ranks of its followers in the province where the shades of King William yet hovered, and the ghost of George Brown still stalked in the land.

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(1) D. H. C., R. A. , I, 1896, Frechette, Mar. 11, pp. 255-6, Grandbois, Mar. 12, pp. 315-6, & Girouard, Mar. 12, p. 319. (All three of whom were Conservatives.)

(2) D. H. C., 1889, Mar. 28, p. 910.

(3) Vide supra, p. 137.

Rather than expose itself to the risks which such a course would entail, it chose the middle path. By acquiescing to the Blake resolution and refusing to take any action regarding Manitoba prior to the Privy Council's decision, it sought to allay Ontario's fears. At the same time the provision in the Blake resolution for an appeal to the courts, together with the financial aid granted by the Dominion to the minority enabling the latter to continue its fight in the courts, (1) would serve to pacify the Quebec Conservatives.

But the inertia of the Government was not attributable alone to its perception of its immediate interests. A clearly envisaged view of its long-term interests likewise favoured the adoption of the stand which it took. Any one of four possible situations might develop from the position as it existed in 1890. The most favourable of these would be a Privy Council decision holding the Manitoba school laws to be ultra vires. If, however, the validity of these laws was indicated by the judgment of the courts, the question would once more become a political one. In such a case, a change of Government either at Ottawa or at Winnipeg would effectively settle the issue. Thus, at best, a Conservative success in Manitoba at the next provincial elections would open the way for an agreement between the two Governments,

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(1) See statements by Mr. Watson and Sir John Thompson in D.H.C., 1892, May 4, p. 2068.

while if the worst came to the worst, a Conservative defeat in the approaching federal elections would relieve the Dominion Government of the necessity of dealing with the problem. Only in the case of the parties then in office at Winnipeg and at Ottawa remaining in power, would the Dominion Government be faced with necessity of deciding whether or not to intervene on behalf of the minority. It was but logical, therefore, that the Government should avoid anticipating the judgment of the Courts and the electors.

The resolution moved by Mr. Blake, the former leader of the Dominion Liberals, was as beneficial to the Opposition as it was to the Government. Reference has already been made to its contribution to party welfare by averting the incalculable mischief which the introduction of this issue so near to a general election would inflict upon the campaign plans of the parties. More important to the Liberals, however, was the fact that the joint refusal by the parties to interfere with the Manitoba school legislation through the use of the constitutional weapon of disallowance, not only constituted a moral victory for the Liberal doctrine of 'Provincial Rights', but served to strengthen the determination of the ultra-Protestant electors of and members from Ontario, to resist any attempt to interfere with Manitoba at a later date. At the same time, the proposal by a prominent member of the Liberal party for providing means whereby matters relating to the

to the educational rights of minorities might be appealed to the Privy Council, might to some extent tend to compensate in Quebec for any losses which the action of the Greenway Government in abolishing separate schools might have occasioned his party.

Whatever disinterested attachment to constitutional questions may have characterized Mr. Blake's career, it was significant that the resolution which he moved in 1890, helpful though it may have been to the Government, was in no way detrimental to the long-term interests of the Liberal party. In supporting the Blake resolution the Opposition had nothing to lose and much to gain. As in the case of the Government, one of four possible situations might develop. If the courts held the legislation to be ultra vires, the Manitoba Government only would suffer. But should the reverse occur, and the legislation be declared intra vires, then one of three possible situations would arise. A Liberal victory at the approaching general elections would be followed in 1892 either by a return of the Manitoba Liberals to office, or their defeat at the hands of the local Conservatives. In the former case a settlement would be easily effected. Only a victory of the local Conservatives, followed up by an attempt to exploit the policy inaugurated by the Greenway Government at the expense of the Dominion Liberals would

cause the latter any considerable uneasiness. In the event of such circumstances as this arising, the Blake resolution might help to protect the Liberal party against the attacks of the extreme Protestants and Catholics, since <sup>the party</sup> ~~it~~ would be able to point out the moderate stand which it had adopted on this question from the outset. And lastly, if the same governments remained in power at Ottawa and Winnipeg following the elections of 1891 and 1892, the Dominion Liberals and their allies in Manitoba would be free to adopt such offensive tactics as would be most damaging to the Dominion Government in the performance of the task imposed upon it by the Constitution. In short, despite the identical stand adopted by the two parties, the position of the Liberals, in the light of the foregoing considerations, appeared the more favourable.

The success of the Conservative party at the polls in March 5th, 1894, did not alter its policy nor that of the Opposition. On April 4th, the Dominion Government issued an Order in Council making public a Report of the Minister of Justice, dated March 21st. This Report, dealing with a petition of the minority for relief made during the previous August, recommended that the consideration of such petitions be deferred until the settlement of the case then before the courts. If the decision of

the latter failed to relieve the minority, then only would the necessity for intervention arise. (1) Four months later, on August 7th, the second reading of an amendment to the Supreme and Exchequer Courts Act in accordance with the Blake Resolution, received the undivided support of the Commons. (2) Moderation, for a time at least, had triumphed.

But when in July 1892, the Manitoba Government was sustained at the polls, (3) and the Manitoba school legislation was upheld by the Privy Council, this period of moderation and false security was terminated abruptly. Almost overnight, the position of the Dominion Government became a most difficult one. It was bound by the constitution to deal with the petitions of the minority; at the same time political expediency required that any course of action it might adopt would not offend the extreme wings of the party. These two factors, the responsibility of the Government, and the sectional tendencies within its ranks, gave to the period that followed its underlying unity. To these factors also must be attributed the embarrassment and ultimate defeat of the Government and the success of its Liberal opponents.

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(1) Vide supra, pp. 17-8.

(2) Vide supra, p. 13.

(3) Vide supra, p. 187.

The verdicts of the electorate of Manitoba and that of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, therefore, were of double significance: not only did they mark the end of the prelude, but they opened to the Dominion Liberal party new prospects of political success. Moderation was to give way to partisan strife; mutual evasion to aggressive opportunism.



## II

The Manitoba School question, as an issue between the two major parties, began with the minority petition for relief of October 1892, and concluded with the June elections of 1896. The lego-political steps by which the question advanced, culminating in the defeat of the Remedial Bill and the downfall of the Conservative Government have been traced in outline elsewhere. (1) It remains now to attempt to explain those forces responsible for the fate of that measure and the Government which had sponsored it.

The treatment of the school issue during these five eventful years may be conveniently divided into two more or less distinct periods, differing in duration and content. The first of these lasted for more than four years, and ended with the solution of the Cabinet crisis of January, 1896. The second lasted for five months, and resulted in the defeat of the Government at the polls in June of the same year.

The first period was characterized by delays, preparations, and preliminary skirmishes. Throughout these years the Government sought to evade the issue by deferring action as long as possible. At the same time, the Opposition sought, first, by its silence, to encourage, and later, by its attacks, to embarrass the Government with regard to its dilatory tactics. One feature, however, was common to the conduct of both Liberals and Conservatives. The policies which they adopted in the dealing with the school

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(1) Vide supra, pp. 8 et seq.

issue were almost entirely tactical, and were determined largely by the close interrelation between the composite structure of parties and the obligations imposed by the constitution.

The second period was characterized by the crystallizing into definite political action of the Government's policy. The period of guerilla warfare between parties came to an end; Government and Opposition now engaged in open conflict. The problem now facing the parties was <sup>how</sup> to effectively integrate their general policies with the basic constitutional and political factors which had governed the earlier period and which remained unaltered. When the climax came in June 1896, the Conservative Government ~~was~~ removed from office by an issue for which half a decade had baffled and threatened with disunity the cabinets of four Premiers, and from which neither judicial appeal nor political ingenuity could save it. The obligations of the Government, together with the tactical devices which the Liberals designed to increase <sup>its</sup> internal dissension, ended finally in its undoing.

Two basic factors determined the strategic position of the parties and the nature of the policies which they pursued during the years 1892 to 1896. The first of these was constitutional. The second, which arose out of it, was political. Both of these factors worked to the advantage of the Opposition. While singly neither constituted a serious threat to the Government, together they were to inflict irreparable damage in its ranks.

The constitutional problem arose from the efforts of the minority to obtain redress for their grievances in accordance with the

educational clauses of the British North America and Manitoba Acts. (1). These clauses, by conferring upon the minority the right to petition the Dominion Government for the redress of such grievances, at the same time imposed upon the Government the duty of dealing with these requests. But, unfortunately, through what appears to have been a defect in the framing of these clauses, the power conferred upon the Dominion to pass remedial legislation in the case of a Province refusing to redress grievances of this sort, was not mandatory. According to sub-section four of section ninety-three of the B.N.A. Act, it had been enacted that "...the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws...", while in sub-section three of section twenty-two of the Manitoba Act, it was set forth that "...the Parliament of Canada may make...remedial laws..." (2).

Under these circumstances Parliament's power was of a discretionary nature. Thus, while the Government was obliged to assume judicial functions, whatever action it might take in carrying them out would be subject to attack as being of a political nature.(3). The Opposition was therefore possessed of a dual advantage over the Government. On the one hand it could remain discretely silent while the Government performed the task imposed upon it by the constitution; on the other hand, by attacking any decision at which the Government might arrive on the ground that it was politically inspired, it could foment strife within the Conservative ranks.

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(1) Vide Supra, pp. 16-7.

(2) Vide Supra, pp. 4, & 16-17; 30 & 34 Victoria, c. 3, s. 93, ss. 4.

(3) This constituted one of the main points in McCarthy's attacks on the Dominion Government at the minority hearing before the Privy Council for Canada in March 1895. (Vide supra, p 194)

The political problem may be considered as a direct outgrowth of the constitutional situation. Sectional rivalries there had been within the Conservative party prior to the emergence of the school issue, and the loss of the skilled leadership of Sir John Macdonald in 1891 had removed an important bond cementing together groups of diverse faiths and races. The duty now imposed upon the Government would serve to intensify such differences even further. As seen above, whether or not the Government chose to intervene, it would be held politically responsible for its conduct. Nor was this all. To act or not to act was equally dangerous. A refusal to aid the minority in Manitoba would weaken the Government's position in Quebec, while intervention on their behalf would drive the ultra-Protestants from Ontario into the arms of the insurgent McCarthy and O'Brien, who had already separated over the Jesuit Estates affair. (1). Consequently, while the efforts of the Conservatives were directed towards minimizing the internal dissensions to which the issue would give rise, those of their opponents, aided by their local allies in Manitoba, sought to foster such disunity.

Indications of such sectional conflicts within the ranks of the Government were not wanting during these years. Despite a certain amount of overlapping, they may readily be classified into four general types. The first of these was the choice of premiers of widely different talents and outlook. The second was the maturing of the breach between O'Brien and McCarthy on the one hand, and the Government on the other, resulting in a pronounced moral vic-

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(1) Vide infra, p. 242.

tory for the former, when the Hon. N. C. Wallace and a number of his Ontario followers broke with the Government over its school policy. The third was the growing dissatisfaction with the Government's handling of the school issue revealed in divisions arising in the Commons upon that subject. The fourth, and possibly the most important, were the cabinet crises and ministerial resignations which occurred towards the close of this first period.

Because of the lack of suitable material for leadership following the death of Sir John Macdonald, together with the inflammable nature of the school issue, there may be observed an interesting parallel between the type of Premier selected to lead the Government, and the particular policy or phase of policy being pursued at the time. It is a well established fact that Sir John's immediate successor, Sir John Abbott, had not been selected on account of his ability, but on account of his inoffensiveness to all concerned. (1).

Abbott's tenure of office corresponded to the initial period of mutual evasion. On November 24th, 1892, however, two days before the Sub-committee of the Privy Council for Canada heard the petition of the minority for the right to have <sup>its appeal</sup> heard, Abbott resigned. His place was taken by Sir John Thompson, a Roman Catholic convert from Methodism. Two years later, in December 1894, Thompson died while in England, and was succeeded by Sir Mackenzie Bowell, a former Grand Master of the Orange Order. It was not without significance that during the two years that the Government sought strenuously to

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(1) Skelton, 'Laurier', Vol. I, p. 430.

evade or postpone action, its leader should have been a Roman Catholic, and that when all its efforts to this end seemed doomed to failure, it should have continued its advance towards remedial legislation under the leadership of an Orange Premier. And lastly, it was only when the effort to pass a remedial measure through Parliament had failed and a large pro-Orange group from Ontario had split with the Government, that the Orangeman Bowell was discarded in favour of one of the Fathers of Confederation, Sir Charles Tupper.

At the same time the breach which had slowly been developing between McCarthy and O'Brien, on the one hand, and the Government, on the other, along racial lines, had finally come to completion. McCarthy's growing resentment may be traced back into the later eighties:

"In the years before 1886 he is said to have held the view that Macdonald paid too high a price for his traditional Quebec support, but there were others who took a <sup>like</sup> view and like McCarthy at that time stayed within the party lines. In 1886, however, he gave public expression to the belief that exclusive emphasis on French-Canadian nationality was a threat to Confederation. This idea came to dominate his political thinking, leading him to the advocacy of measures which few of his associates could support and eventually brought complete separation from his colleagues who did not share his views." (1)

O'Brien's motion to disallow the Jesuits Estates Act during the 1889 session marked the opening of the breach; by the time that Thompson was appointed Premier, it was complete. (2).

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(1) Fred Landon, D'Alton McCarthy and the Politics of the Later "Eighties", Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, 1932, p. 49.

(2) Ibid, pp. 47 & 49.

The emergence of the school issue in the sphere of federal politics resulted in further efforts of McCarthy to detach Ontario members of his own sympathies from the Conservative ranks. Until the resignation from the Cabinet in December 1895, of the Hon. N. C. Wallace, who represented the Orange wing of the Ontario Conservatives, these efforts met with little success. Nevertheless, the extreme position adopted by McCarthy and O'Brien enabled them to express openly what many who continued to support the Government held as a matter of deep conviction (1) and since they not only remained outside the party but acted in close cooperation with the Opposition they constituted for the Conservative party a vague but potentially effective threat to party solidarity in Ontario. Their steadfast opposition from 1893 to 1895, therefore, was by no means a negligible factor in the determining of Conservative policy.

A third indication of internal conflict in the Government's ranks may be observed in the divisions of the House of Commons relating to the school question. Four such divisions occurred during this period, one at the session of 1893, and three during the session of 1895. In March, 1893, a motion of the leader of the Quebec Liberals, Mr. J. I. Tarte, resulted in three French and two Ontario Conservatives voting against the Government. (2).

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(1) D.H.C., 1895, McCarthy, July 11, p.4195.

(2) Tarte's motion read as follows:

"That all the words after "That" in the main motion be erased, and the following be substituted:--"That this House desires to express its disapproval of the action of the Government in dealing with the Manitoba School question, and

Similar results may be observed twice during July 1895, following motions by the Opposition leader for adjournment. The first of these resulted on July 9th in three Conservatives, two from Ontario and one from Quebec voting with the Opposition, while a second motion of July 11th ended in seven French and two Ontario Conservatives voting against the Government. (1). The two Ontario members involved on all three occasions were McCarthy and O'Brien. After a third motion by Laurier on July 15th, regretting the failure of the Government to deal with the question in a manner demanded by the best interests of the country, and expressing belief that the declarations of the Ministers (2) would result in a dangerous agitation, six French Conservatives cast their votes against the Government, while two others, along with the two Ontario Conservatives above mentioned, withheld their votes. (3) On the following day

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in assuming to be possessed of the judicial functions conflicting with their duty as constitutional advisers of the Crown, which assumption is wholly unknown to the law, and, if persevered in, would be entirely subversive to the principle of ministerial responsibility."

(Ibid., March. 6, 1893, p. 1778.) Division on amendment: yeas, 71, nays, 121. (Ibid., pp. 2090-1). The three French Conservatives who supported Tarte's motion were: Dugas, Jeannotte, and Pelletier; the Conservatives from Ontario: McCarthy, and O'Brien. (Toronto 'Globe', Mar. 10, 1893.) The Liberals voted for the amendment in a body. ('The Daily Mail', Toronto, Mar. 10, 1893.)

(1) D.H.C., 1895, July 9, pp. 4061-2. The two Ontario Conservatives were O'Brien and McCarthy; the only French 'bolter' was Lepin. (Toronto 'Globe', July 10, 1895.) D.H.C., 1895, July 11, pp. 4251-2. Ontario 'bolters' were the same; French were as follows: Lepin, Joncas, Jeannotte, Dugas, Dupont, Turcotte, and Belley. (Toronto 'Globe', July 12, 1895.)

(2) Caron and Ouimet, who had just returned to the ministry following their resignations. Vide infra, p. 246.

(3) Laurier's motion read as follows:

"That all the words after the word "That" be left out, and the following words inserted instead thereof:--"This House



a motion by McCarthy proposing that the Government State that it would not by its silence allow the impression to be made that remedial legislation would be passed at the next session of Parliament, was negatived. (1).

The fact that, apart from the two Equal Rights leaders from Ontario, the 'bolters' came from the Province of Quebec, pointed to that section of the party as more likely to provide the more immediate source of danger. The Ontario discontents, on the other hand, by their support of the Government on these divisions, preferred not to anticipate a conflict by opposing the Government prior to its adoption of positive remedial action.

The fourth and most serious indication of strife within the Government's ranks made itself manifest during the last few months of this period. On no less than four occasions such dissatisfaction with the policy of the Government led to the resignation of members of Ministry. (2).

The first two instances arose over the conduct of the Government concerning the Remedial Order of March. In March 1895, Sir

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regrets the failure of the Government to deal with the Manitoba School Question in a manner demanded by the best interests of the country, and is of opinion that the ministerial declarations in regard to the question are calculated to promote a dangerous agitation among the Canadian People."

(D.H.C., July 15, 1895, p. 4392.) The French 'bolters' were: Belley, Dupont, Turcotte, Jeannotte, Lepine, and Dugas. The two French members not voting were Lariviere and Joncas. (Ibid., July 15, pp. 4457-9 and the Toronto 'Globe', July 16, 1895. See also D.H.C., 1895, McCarthy, July 15, pp. 4437 et seq.)

(1) Ibid., McCarthy, July 16, p. 4545, also p. 4707.

(2) There were eleven resignations altogether with ten of the ministers involved.

Charles Hibbert Tupper temporarily deserted the Government, supposedly over the question of the advisability of an immediate dissolution. (1). A few months later, in July, following the reply of the Manitoba Government, a cabinet crisis developed over the question of continuing negotiations with Manitoba. Three of the Quebec-Ministers, Caron, Ouimet, and Angers resigned. The explanation given by Mr. Foster, Government leader in the House of Commons, (2) was that the differences had arisen over matters of detail rather than principles involved, and that the Ministers concerned had favoured immediate action instead of continuing the negotiations. The crisis ended with the return of Caron and Ouimet; Angers remained without, sceptical of the Government's sincerity until it would give some more tangible demonstration of its sincerity than it had already shown. (3)

The last two occasions upon which members of the Ministry resigned came during the months immediately preceding the introduction of a remedial measure. Events during these weeks centred about the Government's loss of a considerable body of Orange supporters in Ontario, together with the efforts of a number of the Ministers to save the party from further losses by seeking for its leadership the services of the aged but yet vigorous Canadian High Commissioner in London, Sir Charles Tupper.

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- (1) Ibid., McCarthy, Apr.23, p.157; see also Laurier, Apr.19,p.22.
- (2) Sir Mackenzie Bowell was a member of the Senate.
- (3) Ibid., Foster, July 11, pp.4187-8; Caron, July 11, pp.4189,-90; & Debates of the Senate, 1895, Angers, July 11, pp. 660 et seq.

The loss of the ultra-Protestant and pro-Orange supporters of the Government in Ontario was occasioned by the resignation from the Ministry on December 14th, 1895, of the Hon. N. Clarke Wallace. For some time previously, this prominent Orange leader from Ontario had been protesting against Government's treatment of the school issue.(1) This withdrawal of his support now exercised a profound influence upon the interests of the Conservative party in that province. In order to realize the full significance of his action it is only necessary to compare the attitude taken by the group whose allegiance he held in that province during the Parliamentary sessions of 1893 and 1895, with the stand that it adopted during the debates on the Remedial Bill in 1896. It has been seen already how during those first two sessions, McCarthy and O'Brien alone among the Ontario Conservatives, had voted against the Government's handling of the school issue. At the remedial session which followed, Wallace, along with fifteen of his <sup>Protestant</sup> ultra-followers, joined with McCarthy, O'Brien, and the Liberal Opposition in condemning the Government's school policy. (2) As long, therefore, as Wallace remained in the Government, the extreme Protestant wing of the Conservative party continued to yield its support; when Wallace resigned, in so far at least as the Government's school policy was concerned, the withdrawal of this group's allegiance was inevitable.

While the Cabinet crisis of January 1896 may be considered as a direct outgrowth of the resignation of Wallace in December, it

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(1) D.H.C., R.A., I. 1896, McCarthy, Mar. 17, p.408.

(2) Vide infra, pp. 278-80.

was in addition, part and parcel of a larger scheme which had not only provided Wallace with an occasion for his conduct, but opened the way for the removal of Sir Mackenzie Bowell from office and the promotion of Sir Charles Tupper to the Premiership. The explanation of this plan lies in the sequence of events.

From London, Sir Charles Tupper had been watching with increasing apprehension and, perhaps also with unabated ambition the growing dissension within the ranks of the Conservative party. On November 14th, 1895, Sir Charles despatched a telegram to Sir Mackenzie Bowell, proposing that he might pay a visit to Ottawa for a consultation with regard to the establishment of certain trans-atlantic steamship communications. On December 2nd, Bowell forwarded his reply, authorizing Tupper's return. Whatever Bowell may have thought of the matter personally, and whether at the time he accepted Tupper's proposal at its face value is uncertain. To the Hon. Clarke Wallace, however, Tupper's return meant but one thing--coercion--and to any attempt to appease Quebec by inflicting upon Manitoba the sort of treatment which that statesman had at one time inflicted upon Nova Scotia in the name of Confederation, Wallace would never submit. With him, as with the French Catholic members of the Government, the question of separate schools was a matter of conscience, but while the introduction of a mild measure of relief would be acceptable to the former on the ground that it might be considered<sup>a</sup> a beginning that might later be brought to perfection, to Wallace, this very consideration made the measure appear all the more abnoxious. (1)

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<sup>a</sup> R.A.I., 1896,  
 (1) D.H.C., Wallace, Mar. 4, p. 22; Amyot, Mar. 4, p. 73; Wallace, Mar. 4, pp. 23-4.

Moreover, the elder Tupper, despite his absence from Ottawa, was, owing to the presence of his son, Sir Charles Hibbert, in the Ministry, not entirely unaware of the delicate nature of the political situation. His success in obtaining permission to return to Ottawa at this critical moment, and the subsequent resignation of Clarke Wallace, served to precipitate the crisis which the introduction of remedial legislation would doubtless entail.

Circumstances now favoured Tupper's accession to power. On the one hand, the secession of the pro-Orange Conservative group led by Wallace, rendered futile the continuation in office of an Orange Premier, whose presence was no longer of value in Ontario, while it would constitute a positive drawback in Quebec. On the other hand, the defection of a number of ultra-Protestants from the Government's ranks which Wallace's resignation would entail, together with the fresh dangers latent in remedial legislation, pointed to the need of a strong leader.

In January occurred the third step, and the plot was complete. Six members of the Ministry resigned, giving (1) as the reason for their conduct the urgent need for the formation of the strongest Government possible, but at the same time denying that their conduct was motivated either by "personal dislike or personal ambition." (2)

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(1) These were: The Hon. George E. Foster, Minister of Finance; the Hon. John Haggart, Minister of Railways and Canals; the Hon. Charles Hibbert Tupper, Minister of Justice; the Hon. William Bullock Ives, Minister of Trade and Commerce; the Hon. Walter H. Montague, Minister of Agriculture; and the Hon. John F. Wood, Controller of Customs. (D.H.C., 1896, Sir Adolphe Caron, Jan. 7, p.6.)

(2) IBId., 1896, Mr. Foster, Jan. 7, p. 10.

The remainder of the narrative may best be related by Sir Charles himself:

"...It was not until all efforts on his part (Bowell's) at reconstruction had failed that he requested me to become leader of the party. I told him that I would do so if he was prepared to receive back all of his colleagues, to which he assented.

The Government was then reconstructed by my appointment as Secretary of State and leader of the party in the House of Commons until after the session was over, when, by arrangement, I was to succeed Sir Mackenzie Bowell as Prime Minister." (1)

By this clever series of political manoeuvres, Sir Charles had turned the weakness of the party and his own ambition to the mutual advantage of both; once again the political star of Tupper had arisen out of the East, and this time it promised to be of first magnitude.

Whatever indications of unrest may have characterized the Liberal ranks, however, the Opposition during these years held together with a remarkable degree of tenacity. No threat to party solidarity such as menaced the Conservatives from ultra-Protestant quarters, arose to trouble the Liberals. Although a few of the French members indicated their intention of supporting remedial legislation, no breach opened in the Liberal ranks on any of the divisions to which reverence had been made. United by a common desire for office, and unfettered by the responsibility of finding a solution for this difficult problem which would prove satisfactory to members of widely differing outlooks, ultra-Protestants and extreme Catholics worked together

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(1) Sir Charles Tupper, 'Recollections of Sixty Years,' (London, 1914 p. 309. It is important to note, however, that Sir Mackenzie Bowell possibly because of considerations of party well-being, on two occasions informed the Senate that no understanding existed between Sir Charles Tupper and himself, and that in the negotiations leading to

in harmony. (1)

It will now be possible to examine the policies of the parties in their proper perspective. These policies, as already observed, were the result of two factors, one constitutional, the other political. In their selection of policies one problem was common to Government and Opposition alike: how these two factors might be utilized to the advantage of the party concerned and the confusion of <sup>its</sup> rivals.

Government policy accordingly had two main objectives. The first was to discover some means whereby it would be possible to avoid disaster over the constitutional issue. The second was to meet the political situation by a dual policy of compromise and procrastination.

Efforts to solve the problem of judicial obligations without judicial immunity and of constitutional duties coupled with political responsibility proceeded along three lines.

It was first sought to treat the matter in a judicial manner. This had been the course advocated by the Sub-Committee of the Privy Council for Canada in 1892 when granting the minority permission for a hearing of its appeal, and it had been carried out by the Privy Council at the hearing. (2)

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the return of the Ministers, there were no stipulations or conditions. (Debates of the Senate, 1896, Jan. 15 and 17, pp. 28 and 72-3.)

(2) D.H.C., 1893, Delvin, Mar. 7, pp. 1886 et seq., & ibid., 1895, Beausoleil, July 11, pp. 4249-50; & ibid., Foster, July 15, pp. 4414-7.

(3) Vide supra, p. 20.

The opposition to which this attempt to veil thinly the Government's responsibility gave rise led quickly to its abandonment, and the denial by the Premier, Sir John Thompson, that the Government had entertained any such intention. (1)

This was followed shortly after by a reference to the Courts as to whether the Government had power to entertain an appeal. In this manner, the Government by seeking the opinion of the Courts, would be able to act in accordance with their decision and so defend the course which it adopted by contending that it was carrying out the duties imposed upon it as interpreted by the highest judicial authorities. (2) Thus, while the decision arrived at by the Courts did not relieve it of the necessity of taking remedial action, added weight was given thereby to the case for intervention on behalf of the minority.

A few months after the Privy Council decision had returned the issue to the political arena, two further attempts were made to attain the same objective. These were in the nature of political negotiations.

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(1) D.H.C., 1893, Sir John Thompson, Mar. 6, pp. 1814 et seq., & Curran, Mar. 7, p. 1885; Tarte (Lib.), Mar. 6, p. 1773, & Laurier, Mar. 8, pp. 2000-1.

(2) Ibid., 1895, Foster, Apr. 19, pp. 50-2; see also D.H.C., R.A., I, 1896, Dickey, Mar. 3, p. 33, & Lachapelle, Mar. 10, p. 219.



The first of these may be seen in the informal negotiations between the Governor-General and two representatives from Manitoba during the early summer of 1895. (1) The second consisted in the proposals embodied in the Order in Council to the Manitoba Government of July 27th in which the desire was expressed that a solution might be arrived at by friendly negotiations between the two Governments. While the former were short-lived and ended in failure, the latter, owing to the discrete silence maintained by the Manitoba Government, (2) failed even to materialize. However desirable a compromise of this sort might be to the Dominion Government, the value of the school issue to both the Manitoba and Dominion Liberals rendered prospects for its success small. The efforts of the Dominion Government to solve the constitutional issue, therefore, cannot be credited with having achieved more than a moderate degree of success.

Meanwhile the Government at Ottawa was seeking by other methods to solve the political problem occasioned by the <sup>quest</sup> of the minority for relief. This difficulty it encountered with a dual policy. On the one hand, it sought to reduce internal dissent by postponing the fulfilment of its constitutional duties as long as possible.

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(1) Vide supra, p.30.

(2) Vide supra, pp.30 & 218.

On the other, when action could no longer be deferred, it followed a policy of internal appeasement, carefully balancing the concessions made to its French Catholic supporters by those made to its Protestant adherents.

The Government's efforts to avoid disaster by the delaying of action, proved eminently successful upon at least two occasions. The first instance of this was provided by the reference to the courts concerning the Government's power to intervene on the minority's behalf. Thus while the Brophy Case was being fought, the Government enjoyed a respite of a year and a half from the sectional strife which lay dormant in the school issue. (1) Greater opposition was encountered, however, when the Government during July, 1895, sought once more to avoid the dangers to party unity involved by remedial action, by according the Manitoba Government six months more during which to reconsider its refusal and settle the issue which it had itself created. (2) Before the Government succeeded in obtaining this second delay, it had been obliged to solve a ministerial crisis involving three of Quebec's representatives. (3) For a time, at least, the Government's dilatory policy served to cure the party's ills.

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(1) Vide supra, pp. 20 et seq.

(2) Vide supra, pp. 27-8

(3) Vide supra, p. 246.

When, however, a policy of inaction and delay became untenable, the Government was obliged to resort to a policy of compromise. Thus, following the prolonged postponement occasioned by the reference to the Courts, the Government, in order to carry out its constitutional duty and fulfil the pledge given to the Manitoba minority in 1891, issued its Remedial Order. (1) This Order, however, was so devised, as to enable the Government to use it as a means of winning support both in Protestant Ontario and Catholic Quebec. (2) The Opposition leader, Mr. Laurier, readily seized upon this strategy to bridge the cleavage within the Conservative ranks, charging that:

"The order has one meaning in one section, and another meaning in another section; the order has one meaning in Catholic constituencies, and another meaning in Protestant constituencies. In Vercheres and Antigonish it was a pledge to the people that the Government had determined upon interference; in the Protestant constituency of Haldimand the order was simply the first and last of the action to be taken by the Government, and the Government had thereby exhausted their intention."  
(3)

while McCarthy accused the Government of taking responsibility for the Remedial Order in Quebec and at the same time refusing to do so in Ontario. (4)

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(1) Vide supra, pp. 17-18 & 23

(2) D.H.C., 1895, Tarte, July 15, p. 4426.

(3) D.H.C., 1895, Apr. 19, p. 35.

(4) H.L.C., 1895, July 16, p. 4501.

Further attempts to maintain harmony between the extreme party factions occurred during the session of 1895. One of the reasons for the informal negotiations with Manitoba during the early summer was to allay the fears of the ultra-Protestants concerning the Government's intentions with regard to remedial legislation. Another was the fear that a defiant reply by Manitoba to the Remedial Order would drive the French members of the Government into demanding more effective action for the relief of the minority. Following the failure of these discussions and the receipt of the Manitoba Government's reply, these fears concerning the resentment of the French members resulting in a crisis soon materialized. (1) Accordingly, in order to appease the seceding French Catholic Ministers, the Government on July 8th, announced its intention of introducing remedial legislation during a session of Parliament to be summoned for that purpose in January 1896, should Manitoba fail to settle the question itself before that date. (2)

Having thus pacified the recalcitrant French members, it then set about to calm the apprehensions of the Protestant extremists from Ontario. The instrument employed towards

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(1) Vide supra, p. 246.

(2) D.H.C., 1895, July 8, Mr. Foster, p. 3997. See also reply by Foster in reply to a question by Girouard (Cons.), (Ibid., July 11, p. 4187.)

this end was the Order in Council of July 27th, (1) which not only forestalled the danger of immediate intervention, but proposed an alternative solution through friendly negotiation instead of coercion. Despite signs of growing discontent among a small group of extreme Protestants, <sup>chiefly</sup> from Ontario, and a small number of dissatisfied Catholics from Quebec, (2) the policy of compromise had enabled the Conservative party to weather the storms which had menaced it before and during the session of 1895.

The policy of the Opposition, like that of the Government, was of a dual nature. It sought, on the one hand, to take advantage of the constitutional difficulty perplexing the Conservatives, and on the other, to intensify the sectional forces at work within their ranks.

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(1) Vide supra, p.27.

(2) D.H.C., 1893, Macdonald (Winnipeg), Mar. 6, p.1823, McNeill, Mar. 8, p.2088, & McLean (E.York), Mar. 8, p.2030. McCarthy's motion of July 16, 1895 served as an acid-test of party solidarity. Craig and McLean (E.York), joined with McCarthy and O'Brien in openly opposing the Government. (Ibid., 1895, Craig, July 17, p.4680, McLean, July 17, pp.4683 et seq.) McNeill, Wallace, Weldon, Cockburn, Hughes, and Bennett, while remaining with the Government clearly indicated their opposition to remedial legislation. (Ibid., McNeill, July 17, p.4605, Wallace, July 17, p.4631, Weldon, July 17, p.4658, Cockburn, July 17, p.4679, Hughes, p.4688, & Bennett, July 17, pp.4698-9.) Concerning Hon. Clarke Wallace's position, see ibid., July 18, pp.4709 et seq. At the same time there were indications among certain of the French members of dissatisfaction with the policy of the Government; Dupont, July 11, pp.4197-4208, Joncas, July 11, p.4213, Jeannotte, July 11, p.4214, & Belley, July 11, p.4243.

The policy of the Liberal party in dealing with the constitutional issue, was to exploit its own irresponsibility at the expense of the Government. Since the Liberals were not in power, they were under no obligation to advance a solution for this knotty problem. (1) Their leader, Laurier, who remained silent, refused to commit his party to a definite course of action, stating that if the Government handled the issue in a satisfactory manner the Liberals would then accord it their full support. In this way the Opposition was free to attack the Administration of the issue, condemning it for its repeated delays, and denouncing its treatment of the issue as being of a political nature. (2)

Simultaneously, by a number of skilfully designed tactics, the Opposition was endeavouring to increase the sectional strife within the Government's ranks. In these attacks, the two extreme wings of the Conservative party -- the ultra-Protestants from Ontario and the ultramontane Catholics from Quebec played an important part. Because of the close relationship between the latter and the Conservative party in Quebec politics, (3) little success might be expected in that quarter, as long at least as any

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(1) Skelton, 'Laurier', Vol. I, pp. 463-4.

p.H.C., 1895, Laurier, Apr. 19, pp. 35-6; Laurier, May 18, p. 2004, Lavergne, May 2  
 (2) p. 2886. & Tarte, July 15, pp. 4426-7.

(3) A. Brady, 'Canada', E(London, 1932), pp. 99, & 124-5.

possibility of adequate remedial legislation remained.

(1) Such aid as the Liberals were to receive from the French Catholic members of the Government was, as will shortly be seen, of an indirect nature. It was therefore among the pro-Orange and ultra-Protestant members from Ontario, that the Opposition saw any immediate hope of success.

One way in which the Liberals sought to accomplish their objective was by co-operating directly with the two dissenting Conservatives from Ontario. Four motions moved by Liberal members in the House of Commons during the sessions of 1893 and 1895 make abundantly clear the manner in which the regular Opposition sought to join forces with the Conservative rebels, and thereby further encourage the growing resistance among those Ontario members of the Government of like sympathies, to resist any attempt at remedial action against Manitoba. Each of these motions was so designed as to enable such ultra-Protestant members to identify themselves with the regular Opposition in its attack upon the Government's handling of the school issue. (2)

Nor were these attempts to widen the growing breach in the Conservative ranks confined to the efforts of the Dominion Liberals in the House of Commons. During the

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(1) D.H.C., <sup>1895,</sup> Girouard, July 11, p.4195, & Lachapelle, July 11, p.4212.

(2) Vide supra, pp. 243 et seq.

critical session of 1895, the Liberals at Ottawa were aided directly by the Manitoba Government, whose Attorney-General Sifton, following the issuing of the Remedial Order, conducted a brief but vigorous campaign in certain pro-Orange and ultra-Protestant sections of Ontario against intervention in Manitoba. (1)

More effective, although less apparent at the time, were the indirect methods employed by the Liberals to arrive at the same objective. The tactical devices of defiance and delay, employed by their allies in Manitoba, have already been discussed. (2) Meanwhile, at Ottawa, the federal Liberals were seeking to reinforce these efforts by other tactics devised to produce the same result.

The purpose of these tactics employed by the Manitoba and Dominion Liberals was to create fear and discontent among the French Conservative members, thereby causing the latter to demand that the Government adopt firmer measures against Manitoba. Consequently, even the moderate policy of compromise which the Government was pursuing, could easily be misrepresented as indicative of clerical domination.

The advantages which the Liberals derived from this situation were twofold. On the one hand, they were provided

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(1) Vide supra, p. 211.

(2) Vide supra, pp. 210 et seq.



with further ammunition against the Government, while on the other, the growing opposition of the extreme Protestant members of the Conservative party to the Government's treatment of the school issue was further intensified.

Whether or not the Government's conduct in dealing with the school question was the price paid for the support of the Catholic hierarchy in Quebec was to the Liberals a matter of indifference. The mere charge of clerical intervention was a sufficient pretext for the raising of the Rouge standard among the Quebec members of the Opposition, as well as for an appeal to the ultra-Protestants from Ontario. Meanwhile, Laurier, on the same charge, was able to accuse the Government of having treated the issue in such a way as to cause racial and religious animosities. (1)

More important, however, than the Liberal attacks which the demands of the ultramontane Catholics occasioned, were the fears which such demands engendered among the ultra-Protestant members of the Conservative party. Although, as has already been noted, these members throughout the session of 1895, remained within the ranks of the party, their increasing apprehensions were made abundantly

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(1) D.H.C., 1893, Tarte, Apr. 6, p.1754, & ibid., 1895, July 15, pp.4425-6, & 4434; McCarthy, July 11, p.4196; Laurier, July 15, p.4391.

clear by repeated declarations of their determination to resist remedial legislation of any sort whatsoever. (1)

One way in which the Liberals sought to achieve their purpose was through close co-operation with McCarthy. As seen, this served to strengthen the growing resistance among Protestants from Ontario to any attempt at remedial legislation by giving the movement direct support. Indirectly it was no less effective in producing the same result, since by increasing the apprehensions, and therefore, demands of the French members, (2) it provided the extreme Protestant members from Ontario with further grievance.

The second tactic employed by the Liberals to the same end, sought directly to create doubt and dissatisfaction among the Quebec members. Not only did the Opposition censure the Government for its repeated delays, (3) but it accused it of hypocrisy in dealing with the issue, charging that it was following a double policy designed to please both Ontario and Quebec instead of granting the relief desired by the minority. At the same time, the Opposition made direct appeals to the French Conservative

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(1) Vide Supra, p.257.

(2) D.H.C., <sup>1895,</sup> Curran, Mar. 7, p.1886.

(3) Vide supra, pp-253 et seq.

members to join with it if they desired to obtain a satisfactory solution of the school issue. (1) While these efforts did not succeed in detaching any French members from the ranks of the Government, they did, nevertheless, result in a number of the French Conservatives taking advantage of the skilfully designed Liberal motions censuring the Government's handling of the question, (2) as a means of registering their disapproval of its record.

A direct measure of the success of the Opposition's ~~success~~ may be seen in the growing dissension among the ranks of the Government, already mentioned, as well as in the counter-offensive which the latter developed. Responsible for its conduct, and exposed to the attacks of the Liberals irrespective of whatever course it might adopt, the Government strongly censured the silence of the Opposition, and attacked the latter for its vague declarations of policy. Simultaneously, it attacked the unholy alliance between McCarthy and the Liberal party, in an unsuccessful attempt to shatter the entente existing between them, (3) or,

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(1) D.H.C., <sup>1895</sup> Laurier, July 15, pp.4379 et seq.; ibid., 1893, Brodeur, Mar.8, p.2056, & Fauvel, Mar.8, pp.2088-9.

(2) Vide supra, pp.243 et seq.

(3) D.H.C., 1895, Sir C.E. Tupper, Apr.22, p.75, Davin, Apr.22, p.132, Sir C. Tupper, July 11, pp.4193-4 & Foster, July 15, p.4420; ibid., 1893, Langevin, Mar.7, pp.1862-3, & Davin, Mar.8, pp.2014, & 2023; see also ibid., 1895, pp.4548 et seq., for an account of Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper's unsuccessful attempt to muzzle McCarthy on the ground that the latter was the paid counsel of the Manitoba Government.

better still, if possible, to detach some of the French Liberals from the support a party which was co-operating with the anti-Catholic McCarthy.

Yet for more than three years, the Government was able to hold together despite the growing signs of internal dissent and in the face of the repeated onslaughts of the Opposition. Not until this period of preliminary skirmishes was drawing to a close did the Government sustain any serious loss of support over its treatment of the school issue. Then, almost on the eve of the remedial session, the resignation of the Hon. N. Clarke Wallace from the Cabinet, released the bond attaching a number of the Ontario members to the Government, and thereby granted a further increase in strength to the entente already in existence between McCarthy and the Liberals. What the Liberals had been attempting to accomplish for three years was thus finally achieved by Wallace's action: at last the long awaited revolt had occurred among the Ontario Conservatives. Partly because of the conscientious convictions of the Ontario dissenters, partly because of the inability of the Government to resist any longer French demands for remedial legislation, and partly because of the effectiveness of their own tactics, the Liberals had won their first success.

III

The introduction of remedial legislation during the parliamentary session of 1896, marked the beginning of open and wide-spread conflict between the two federal parties. The attempt of the Government to carry out in part at least, the measure of relief which it had promised at the beginning of its term of office, together with the short time remaining before Parliament's legal existence came to an end, combined to bring matters rapidly to a crisis. The four years of protracted struggle which had preceded the remedial session had brought the Liberals but one victory over their opponents. Two months after the introduction of the Remedial Bill, the Liberals were to bring about its defeat by obstruction; two months after that they were to defeat at the polls the Government which had sponsored the legislation.

The position of the Liberals during this critical period was further strengthened by the effect of the introduction of remedial legislation on the political situation. It has already been seen how, during the preceding years, two problems, one constitutional, and the other political, had served to embarrass the Government to the Opposition's advantage. It has been seen too, how during December 1895, owing to the Government's resolution to introduce remedial legislation, the position of the Conservatives was further weakened by Wallace's resignation. Now, the introduction of remedial legislation resulted in so modifying party tactics as to confer upon the Liberals a third advantage over their

opponents. Thus while the Liberals were able to reinforce their attack on the Government by an appeal to the Provincial Rights doctrine, the Conservatives, on the other hand, dared not reply by resorting to their traditional policy of strengthening the central Government, lest they lay themselves open to the charge that they were trying to coerce Manitoba in order to please Quebec. Moreover, once the Remedial Bill had been introduced, the Government could no longer find shelter in its former dilatory devices, thus being deprived of one of its most useful means of maintaining harmony within the ranks of the party.

This clash between the federal parties, which lasted for four months had two theatres of action. From February to April the struggle centred within the House of Commons; during May and June it divided the electorate from coast to coast.

The tactics employed by the Government while attempting to pass the Remedial Bill had three main objectives. One was to find some solution for the problem of responsibility. Another was to prevent the situation in Ontario from becoming worse. The third was to find compensation for the losses which it had encountered, elsewhere, if possible.

Attempts of the Government to evade responsibility for the issue proved no more successful than they had done during the preceding four years. On more than one occasion during the debate on the second reading of the Remedial Bill, members of the Government expressed hopes that the school issue might be

settled on a non-partisan basis, similar to the manner in which the two parties had agreed to settle the problem created by the Jesuit Estates Act some seven years earlier. (1) The advantageous position now occupied by the Opposition, however, precluded the possibility of any so easy a solution.

Equally unsuccessful was the attempt to arrive at an understanding with the local allies of the Dominion Liberals, whereby the Manitoba Government would provide a remedy for the minority. From March 28th to April 1st, while the Bill was proceeding through Parliament, negotiations between the Dominion and Manitoba took place at Winnipeg, in a last desperate attempt to avoid the dangers latent in intervention. (2). The failure of these negotiations, however, deprived the Government of all means of escape. Not only was it obliged to stand by the course it had adopted, but, what was still more important, it was compelled both to defend its conduct against the criticisms of the Opposition in Parliament, and to render it palatable to the electorate after Parliament expired.

Meanwhile, the Government, aware that once remedial legislation had been introduced, it could no longer safely rely on evasion as a means of solving the problem of responsibility, had set about to build up a defence for the

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(1) D.H.C., R.A., I, 1896, Taylor, Mar. 12, p. 308, & Powell, Mar. 13, pp. 378-9.

(2) Vide supra, p. 30.

course of action it was adopting. In justification of its conduct, the Government contended that although it considered itself the victim of circumstances, it nevertheless considered itself obliged to intervene on the minority's behalf.

Although the Government admitted that it was responsible for its treatment of the issue, it did not hold itself responsible for the emergence of the issue. The issue had been forced upon the Government and the responsibility for this lay with Manitoba. For its part, the Government claimed to be entirely disinterested, holding that the issue was a constitutional one and not a party question. (1)

While the Government did not consider itself legally bound to intervene, it sought to justify the introduction of remedial legislation on the ground that such action was essential to national well-being. Fundamentally, the problem confronting Parliament had arisen because of the failure of an earlier Parliament to make clear its intentions concerning the educational rights of religious minorities. It seemed but logical therefore, that this Parliament should carry out the spirit of the law. Without the inclusion of these clauses for the protection of minority rights in the B.N.A. Act, Confederation would have been an impossibility. Apart,

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R.A., I, 1896.

(1) DINIC., Sir C. Tupper, Mar. 3, p. 9; McLeod, Mar. 11, pp. 240-1; Sir A. Caron, Mar. 4, pp. 49 et seq., & Foster, Mar. 13, p. 337; Dickey, Mar. 3, p. 39, Joncas, Mar. 10, p. 207, Foster, Mar. 13, p. 326, & Masson, Mar. 4, p. 81.



therefore, from the question of the just treatment of minorities, the granting of redress to the grievances of the minority affected, was vital to the maintenance of national unity. (1).

Not less difficult than the problem of responsibility confronting the Government, was the political issue which faced it. Prior to Wallace's resignation, the Conservative party had managed to maintain its unity, despite growing signs of discontent. But now the defection of a number of ultra-Protestants from Ontario, which this had occasioned, threatened to make religious and racial attachments transcend the claims of party solidarity. Consequently, the path which lay before the Government became even more precarious, since on the one hand it was obliged to satisfy the demands of Quebec by pushing through Parliament a remedial bill, while on the other hand, it was obliged to prevent the revolt of the dissenting Conservatives in Protestant Ontario from assuming even more serious proportions.

The policy of delay, which in the past had provided a useful, if temporary remedy for internal conflict, could now only be put to a limited use. For several weeks after the opening of the session of 1896, no attempt was made to introduce

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(1) *Ibid.*, Sir C. Tupper, Mar. 3, p. 7, & Dickey, Mar. 3, p. 32; Sir C. Tupper, Mar. 3, p. 9; Dickey, Mar. 3, pp. 29-30, & Powell, Mar. 13, pp. 374-5; Sir C. Tupper, Mar. 3, pp. 1-3, Dickey, Mar. 3, p. 28, & Powell, Mar. 13, p. 378; Sir A. Caron, Mar. 4, p. 49-50, & Moncrieff, Mar. 6, p. 147.

remedial legislation. The ministerial crisis which had marked the opening of the session, (1) together with the election campaign then being waged in Manitoba, provided the Government with ample pretext for delaying action. Yet the Government manifested no desire to hasten this measure of relief even after the crisis had been settled, and the Greenway Government safely returned to power in Manitoba. As long, therefore, as it was safe to do so, no attempt was made to carry out the pledge made during the previous July, since once remedial legislation was adopted there could be no further halting or turning back, regardless of consequences.

But when at length, the long awaited measure came before the House of Commons, the reliance which the Government placed upon compromise as <sup>a</sup> means of appeasing the diametrically opposed elements within its ranks, soon became evident, not only from what the Bill provided, but also from what it promised. It has already been seen how the control of educational grants was vested in the provincial Government. (2). Because of this, the separate school system for which the Bill sought to make provision, was deprived of one of its most important means of financial support. If, however, the Bill failed to provide a full measure of relief for the aggrieved minority, it did at the same time contain a clause whereby such further amendments as were deemed desirable, might be made. In this

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(1) Vide supra, p. 243. .

(2) Vide supra, p. 139. .

way, the Government could represent the Act to the Ontario electorate as a necessary measure of a moderate nature, while to the Quebec electors it might depict the Act as merely the first step towards the restoration of the dual system in force in Manitoba prior to 1890. (1)

Somewhat less successful were the attempts of the Government to compensate for the losses which it had experienced in Ontario. This objective it sought to achieve in at least three different ways. One of the methods which it employed, was to attempt to split the entente between McCarthy and his newly found supporters and the Liberals. A second method was by seeking to reduce, or at least check any further increase in, the number of Ontario Conservatives abandoning the party. A third was to endeavour to detach from the Liberal ranks such of the French Catholic members who favoured the Bill in principle.

Aware of the futility of attempting to prevent McCarthy from lending his fullest support to the Liberals, the Government did its best to discredit McCarthy among the latter. It denounced the understanding between the two groups as a "monstrous alliance", and referred to the close co-operation between Laurier and McCarthy over the Manitoba

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(1) D.H.C., R.A., I, 1896, Geffrion (Lib.), Mar. 4, p. 65, & Rinfret (Lib.), Mar. 10, p. 192; Sir C. Tupper, Mar. 3, p. 9, & Powell, Mar. 13, p. 379.

School question as contrasted with the hostility characterizing their relationships over similar matters of race and religion in 1890. McCarthy, it was argued, was the man who had done more than any other person in Canadian political life to cause disunity in the Dominion by fomenting racial and religious strife. Moreover, McCarthy was the paid counsel of the Manitoba Government. Yet the leader of the Opposition, unconcerned by these facts, had so framed his amendment (by proposing a six months hoist) as to suit McCarthy's convictions. Under such circumstances, Mr. McCarthy might be considered as the leader of the leader of the Opposition. Such efforts, however, were doomed to failure. Apart from a mild criticism of McCarthy's extreme antagonism towards the French Catholics, made chiefly to reassure the French Liberals, the regular Opposition was quite prepared to ignore such matters if by so doing they could keep the Conservative party divided against itself in Ontario. (1).

Efforts of the Government to prevent a further loss of strength from among its Protestant supporters were more successful. Disturbances arising from racial and religious prejudice were of no less concern to party well-being than to national

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(1) *Ibid.*, Joncas, Mar.10, p.195; concerning hostility existing between Laurier and McCarthy in 1890, see Skelton, 'Laurier', Vol.I, pp.396 *et seq.* Concerning McCarthy's bill introduced during the session of that year to abolish the use of the French language in the courts and legislature of the North West Territories; D.H.C., R.A., I, 1896, Sir C.H.Tupper, Mar.17, p.396; Moncrieff, Mar.6, p.136, & Sir C.H.Tupper, Mar.17, p.388; Sir A. Caron, Mar.4, p.64, Kenny, Mar.12, p.291, & Taylor, Mar.12, p.308; Sir C.H.Tupper, Mar.17, pp.396-7; Carroll (Lib.), Mar.10, pp.212-3.

unity. Menaced by the spectre of a breakdown of the principal of party solidarity, the Government appealed desperately to self-interest and political tradition, in order to prevent the catastrophe from becoming general. Surely, it was argued, there were other sections of Conservative policy of importance as well as this. The Liberals, lacking a policy upon which they might rely to obtain the support of the electorate, were hoping to get into power on the strength of Conservative desertions. Moreover, to support the Government on this issue would be to act in accordance with the stand taken by Sir John Macdonald, who, although personally opposed to separate schools, sought to justify their existence on the ground that it was one thing to grant a franchise but another thing to take it away. (1) Yet for the time, the effectiveness of these appeals was not noticeable being overshadowed by the defection of the eighteen <sup>Protestant</sup> ultra- members on the vote on the second reading of the Remedial Bill. (2). It was not until the general elections in June, when the Conservative candidates elected from Ontario numbered but five fewer than in 1891, that the ability of the Government to curb the general debacle became apparent. (3)

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(1) Ibid., Foster, Mar. 13, p. 345; Sir C.H. Tupper, Mar. 17, p. 405. A further appeal was made to the ideal of tolerance which underlies the British Empire, in an attempt to offset McCarthy's influence in Ontario by seeking the support of the adherents of Imperial Federation. (Sir C.H. Tupper, Mar. 17, p. 405, also see Fred Landon, op.cit., pp. 46-7.)

(2) Vide infra, pp. 279-80 .

(3) Vide infra, p. 281 .

While Parliament continued to sit, however, greater success appeared to attend the Government's efforts to win support among the French Liberals. Not only did the Government attack their leader and party for insincerity, but at the same time, appealed to their national consciousness. Laurier was condemned for the vague stand which he had adopted on the issue during the preceding years, as well as for his refusal to support a measure for the relief of members of his own religion. The main force of the attack however was delivered against the dual policy which the Liberals were attempting to pursue. Among those opposed to the Bill were men of diametrically opposed opinions. On the one hand there were those who were opposed to any remedial legislation whatsoever. On the other, there were those who condemned the Remedial Act because it failed to grant the aggrieved minority an adequate remedy. Both Laurier's motion for a six months hoist and his proposal for an investigation had thus been designed to win the support of these two widely differing groups. Had Laurier been sincere in his desire to aid the minority, he would have pledged himself to a stronger measure of remedial legislation, or would at least have made his motion one for an investigation of the matter. Under such circumstances, it was the duty of those who favoured remedial legislation, to support in principle the measure which the representatives of the minority had deemed satisfactory, and to seek to obtain such amendments as they desired once the Bill passed into the Committee of the Whole. When, on March 20th, the

Commons voted on the second reading of the Remedial Act, the effect of these appeals was made plain. Allowing for the fact that certain of the French Liberals such as Beausoleil, Berthier, Quebec, had pledged themselves during earlier sessions to the support of remedial legislation, it is not without significance that six out of seven of the Liberals who supported the Act were French Catholic members from Quebec. (1)

Meanwhile, the Opposition had altered its line of attack to meet with the new situation. Throughout the preceding years it had taken advantage of its irresponsibility to attack the Government for its repeated delays in the handling of the issue. Now, when the time for introducing remedial legislation had at length arrived, and the Government dared not attempt to postpone the introduction such a measure any further, it reversed its tactics, and assailed the Government for attempting to handle the question with undue haste. As evidence of this, it pointed to the refusal of the Privy Council of Canada to grant McCarthy adequate time in which to prepare Manitoba's argument at the hearing. of the minority appeal, and to the Government's intention of pushing

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(1) D.H.C., R.A., I, Daly, Mar. 10, p. 183, Kenny, Mar. 12, p. 292, & Sir C.H. Tupper, Mar. 17, 391; Daly, Mar. 10, p. 183, McLeod, Mar. 11, p. 239, & Kenny, Mar. 12, p. 293; Taylor, Mar. 12, p. 308; Kenny, Mar. 12, p. 293 & Girouard, Mar. 12, p. 321; Joncas, Mar. 10, p. 205, Jeannotte, Mar. 10, p. 224, & Frechette, Mar. 11, p. 256.

through Parliament so soon before a general election legislation which it had sought for more than three years to avoid. (1)

Instead of the immediate introduction of remedial legislation, the Opposition urged that the Government adopt one of three alternative courses. The first of these was that the Government in its interpretation of the duties imposed upon it by the educational clauses of the Manitoba Act, bear in mind the sanctity of Provincial Rights, and avoid the use of coercive measures save as a last resort. In this way no attempt would be made to introduce remedial legislation until investigation followed by negotiations had failed. A second, already mentioned, was that in view of the proximity of the general elections the Government appeal to the country before taking further action. A third was that if the issue were dropped entirely the Opposition would be quite satisfied. (2)

However pleasing such proposals may have appeared to those who politically opposed the Conservative party and those who conscientiously objected to separate schools, the adoption of any one of them would have meant disaster for

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(1) Ibid., Lavergne, Mar.4,p.78, & Sir Richard Cartwright, Mar.11,p.234; Charlton, Mar.12,p.268, & Davies (P.E.I.), Mar.13,p.358; Edgar, Mar.4,p.48, Sir R.Cartwright, Mar.11, p.235, & Charlton, Mar.12,p.276.

(2) Ibid., Laurier, Mar.3,pp.11-2, Edgar, Mar.4,p.41, & Sir R.Cartwright, Mar.11,pp.228-9; Forbes, Mar.12,p.285, & Davies (P.E.I.), Mar.13,p.367.



the Government. To have accepted either the first or the second would not have satisfied the ultra-Protestants of Ontario who were opposed to the restoration of separate schools, while by violating the promise made during the session of 1895 pledging the introduction of remedial legislation at a special session in 1896, it would have destroyed all confidence among its Quebec supporters. Conversely, were the Government to adopt the third alternative, it would at best win a temporary victory in Ontario at the price of political suicide in Quebec.

More dangerous from the standpoint of the Government, however, were the efforts of the Liberals to increase the dissent existing within the Conservative ranks, and at the same time, if possible, to detach the more extreme Protestant and Roman Catholic members. This was sought partly through close co-operation with McCarthy, and partly through attacking the Government's policy of compromise, which, the Opposition charged, was an attempt to make political capital out of the issue, and thereby deceive Protestants and Catholics alike. (1)

The Opposition, in its appeal to the French Conservative members, attacked the Government's insincerity for promising what it could not perform. Certain of the French Liberals demanded as proof of the Government's sincerity that it pledge itself to further action. The failure of the Ministers to

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(1) Ibid., Martin, Mar.6,p.163, Forbes, Mar.12,p.287, & Casey, Mar.12,p.306.

accept this challenge, enabled the Opposition members to condemn the Government for attempting to deceive the minority affected. The Government's purpose in bringing up the Bill, <sup>they charged,</sup> was to satisfy the Roman Catholics by providing a measure which would later be invalidated by the Privy Council, and thus no Government would ever dare to bring the matter up in Parliament again. (1)

If, it was contended, adequate remedial legislation was desired, this could only be secured by supporting the Liberals. Surely, no coercive measure to be carried out by a hostile Government could be as satisfactory as one designed by Manitoba itself; surely no party was so well fitted to solve this question as one led by a French Canadian. (2)

The line of appeal made to the Protestant members of the Conservative party, however, was of a different nature. The Remedial Bill instead of drawing the matter to a close, would merely constitute the prelude to a greater and more prolonged struggle. The contention of the Conservatives that the measure satisfied the clergy, was declared to be unfounded.

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(1) Ibid., Casey, Mar.12,p.306; Langelier, Mar.5,p.132; Forbes, Mar.12,p.276; Casey, Mar.12,p.304;

(2) Ibid., Edgar, Mar.4,p.47; Davies (P.E.I.), Mar.13, p.364; Monet, Mar.12,p.261, & Forbes, Mar.12,p.281.

Instead of the Bill providing a remedy, therefore, it would give rise to endless litigation. (1)

At the same time the Bill was condemned as an unnecessary attempt to coerce Manitoba. The Government, it was argued, was seeking to have the Bill passed in order that it might be able to use it as a club in the negotiations with the Greenway Government. In view of Manitoba's conciliatory replies to the demands of the Dominion Government, such attempts at coercion could lead only to further resistance. (2).

Such, briefly, were the main lines along which the Parliamentary combat was fought. For over two weeks the struggle continued, increasing in volume and bitterness. After several days continued sitting, the Debate <sup>finally</sup> came to a close.

With the vote on the second reading of the Remedial Bill, the first phase of the conflict between the two parties came to a close. The division ending this debate served to

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(1) Ibid., Monet, Mar.12,p.263; Sir R.Cartwright, Mar.11, p.230, & Charlton, Mar.12,p.274.

(2) Other appeals against coercion were directed to the Nova Scotia where Tupper had produced such bitterness over the dragooning of Nova Scotia into Confederation, and to the Irish Catholics of the Dominion, who had long suffered the effects of such policies in the land of their birth. (Ibid., Laurier, Mar.3,pp.10-11, Davies (P.E.I.), Mar.13, pp.364-6; Martin, Mar.6,p.162, & Cartwright, Mar.11,p.235; Edgar, Mar.4,p.48, & Casey, Mar.12,p.306.)

demonstrate the extent of the Conservative revolt in Ontario. Sixteen Conservative members joined with McCarthy and O'Brien in support of the Opposition leader's motion for a six months hoist. (1) Neither the majority of twenty-four votes by which the Government was sustained, nor the support which it received from seven members of the Liberal party, was able to conceal the fact that the Opposition had won an important moral victory. At length the influence of Wallace's resignation had made itself apparent; the first breach had opened in the Government's defences.

Three weeks later, the Liberals scored a second success. After the Remedial Act had been before the Committee of the Whole for more than two weeks, and discussion had reached the fifteenth clause, the Government, unable to get the measure passed before Parliament's legal term expired, withdrew the Bill. The Government's delay in introducing the measure, together with the obstructive tactics of the Opposition, <sup>had thus</sup> combined to bring about the defeat of the measure.

Following the defeat of the Remedial Bill the Government proceeded to put its house in order. On May 1st, seven days after the dissolution of Parliament, the long-awaited cabinet re-organization took place. The elder Tupper, now replaced Bowell as Premier. Among the Quebec Ministers, Caron and

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(1) D.H.C., R.A., I, 1896, Laurier, Mar.3, p.21; for division see Mar.20, pp.675-6, & the Toronto 'Globe', for Mar.21, 1896. See also Appendix No 2.

Ouimet were dropped, while Angers, who had broken with the Government during the previous July was returned. The latter was joined by two other Catholic ultramontanes, Taillon, Premier of Quebec, and J.J.Ross. (1) In Ontario, however, few changes of any importance were made.

When the election campaign drew to a close on June 23rd, the Liberals scored a third and final success. The Conservatives, who in 1891, had returned one hundred and twenty-three candidates, now returned eighty-eight. The Liberals, who in 1891 had elected ninety-two members, now had increased that number by thirty. In the central provinces, the Liberals had a majority of twenty-eight; in the Maritimes, of five; and in the West, of one.

The unexpected results of the elections in three provinces merit particular attention. Protestant Manitoba, where the Greenway Administration had used the school issue to carry it through two general elections, the province which was to be coerced by the Remedial Act, returned two Liberals and four Conservatives. Ontario, from among whose members the Government had experienced its greatest losses during the 1896 session of Parliament, elected forty-three Conservatives and forty-eight Liberals. Ultramontane Quebec whose representatives had stood by the Government throughout the

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(1) Skelton, 'Laurier', Vol. I, p.480.

critical remedial session, provided the greatest surprise of all; Conservatives elected numbered sixteen, Liberals, forty-nine.

In addition to the strength given to the Opposition by its raising of the Provincial Rights cry, a number of factors combined to favour the Liberal cause in Ontario. Foremost among these was the announcement that Sir Oliver Mowat would enter Laurier's cabinet, and the fact that a Liberal administration was at the time in power in Ontario. The Liberal cause derived added strength too from the Conservative revolt and the defeat of the Remedial Bill in Parliament, as well as from the threat of clerical interference contained in Father Lacombe's letter to Laurier. (1)

Yet despite the losses which the Conservatives had sustained in Parliament during the session of 1896, their losses at the polls in Ontario were less than might have been expected. This may be explained in part as the result of Conservative campaign strategy, and in part as a result of the strength they derived from other planks in their platform. The ability they had shown to retain the support of their Quebec followers during the remedial session, together with the danger that by pursuing too vigorous a campaign in that province they might expose themselves to the

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(1) Katherine Hughes, 'Father Lacombe, the Black Robe Voyageur', pp.360-2.

charge that they were under the domination of the Quebec ultramontanes, led them to devote greater efforts to the province from which they had sustained their parliamentary losses. At the same time, other factors of an economic nature must be taken into account. The trade policy of protection advocated by the Conservatives derived much of its support from the young industrial sections in Ontario. (1)

The phenomenal success of the Liberals in Quebec has been attributed to a number of causes. (1) The death of Sir John Macdonald, and the refusal of Chapleau to enter the contest, deprived the Conservatives of the leadership of those best fitted to wage a successful campaign against Laurier. Moreover, these years witnessed the last phase of Rouge success in Quebec; a few years later, the ultramontane clergy of that province were to cripple the movement by the silencing of its press. (2) At the same time Laurier's leadership of the Liberals and the prospects of a French Catholic Premier appealed strongly to the national pride of the French-Canadian electors.

These factors alone, however, do not explain the Liberal success in its entirety. Laurier's support in 1896, came not only from Rouge quarters, but obviously, in view of the strong stand taken by the clergy, from ultramontane quarters as well.

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(1) Hector Charlesworth, 'The Canadian Scene', (Toronto, 1927), pp.90-1.

(2) Skelton, 'Laurier', Vol. II, pp.25-7.

The explanation of this lies in the preceding three decades of Dominion political history. Quebec's position in the Dominion during these years had steadily declined in importance, not only from the standpoint of area but from the standpoint of population. (1) At the same time, the federal party to which Quebec had given almost unbroken allegiance during that time, had scarcely more than a decade before, submitted that province to the humiliating spectacle of Riel's execution. Despite this sacrifice of Quebec's interests to Conservative party welfare in Ontario, the Government under Sir John's leadership had managed to weather the storm which had followed. Now the Conservative chieftains were preparing again to subordinate the demands of Quebec to the indignation of Ontario. The fact that such a compromise was vital to the continued existence of federal parties in Canada, and that the Liberals, when in power would be obliged to treat the matter in a similar manner, was a matter which bitter experience had not yet taught the Quebec electorate. Accordingly, a good many of the ultramontane Catholics transferred their allegiance to the party led by a member of their own race and faith. In this way the Liberal victory in Quebec was in no small part the result of the transcendence of sectional interests over party loyalty.

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(1) G. Langlois, 'Histoire de la Population Canadienne-Française', (Montreal, 1934), pp. 186 et seq.



The election results in Manitoba were due in part to the reaction from the premature election campaign of the Greenway Government in January, and in part to the effects of Conservative campaign strategy. It has been seen elsewhere how the success of the Greenway Government at the polls in January 1896 was attributable in large part to the advanced dissolution of the Legislature whereby the Government might misrepresent the Dominion Government's Order in Council of July before the matter had been fully aired in Parliament. (1). By June, however, the electors were much better informed, and therefore much better prepared to judge the issue than they had been six months earlier.

In another way also, reaction had set in. From the time of the monopoly issue and the 'Better Terms' agitation, there had been constant friction between Manitoba and the Conservative Government at Ottawa. Prior to 1889 this friction had been responsible for the growth of provincialism. From 1890 to 1896, the local Liberals had deliberately sought to cultivate friction through the use of <sup>their</sup> ~~its~~ school policy. Now, in 1896, the head of the Dominion Government had selected this province in which to open his campaign. Unconcerned by the fact that Tupper's action was not less the result of necessity than of political discretion, since he dared not select either Ontario or Quebec to fire the opening shot, the Manitoba voters were all the more inclined to generosity.

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(1) Vide Supra, p. 199 et seq.

Six months before this Attorney-General Sifton had been assuring the electorate of Manitoba that the Dominion Government which was seeking to coerce the small province of Manitoba, would never dare to attempt the coercion of a great province such as Quebec. And now Sir Charles Tupper, one of the most vigorous Premiers the Conservative party had ever possessed, had passed over the great provinces of Quebec and Ontario, to do Manitoba the **honour** of selecting it as the place where his first appeal for the support of the Remedial Act was made.

#### IV

The Laurier-Greenway Agreement of November ended the issue in the same spirit of moderation and compromise which had characterized its inception in the sphere of federal politics. From 1890 to 1892 both parties had found refuge in evasion. From this latter date until the June elections of 1896, Liberals and Conservatives alike, came to rely increasingly upon their skilful balancing of partisan appeals. Now, in view of the success of the Liberals in Ontario and Quebec, the usefulness of such appeals had come to an end. Any attempts by the Conservatives to continue these appeals any further would be futile; while for the Liberals to ignore

the fate that had befallen their rivals in attempting to pass strong remedial legislation would be the height of folly. Thus it was that the solution arrived at by the Liberals, was in the nature of an agreement between the Governments at Ottawa and Winnipeg, so designed as to avoid giving offence to the ultra-Protestant supporters of the newly elected Government, while at the same time providing the French Catholic minority with a nominal measure of relief.

## CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSION.

The first thirty years of the history of the young Canadian Dominion witnessed frequent racial and religious agitations. Beginning with the Red River disturbances of 1870, a series of issues of this sort arose to disturb the tranquility of the federal political parties. Local and federal politics alike were marred by such agitations. Some of these issues, such as the execution of Kiel, began as federal issues and spread downwards; others, such as the Jesuits Estates controversy, began first as local issues, and developed into conflicts of nationwide importance. Of the latter type was the Manitoba school question of 1890.

At the time of their abolition in 1890, state-supported separate schools in Manitoba had been in existence for almost twenty years. Their existence had been made possible, and -- it was believed at the same time -- immune from attack, by the inclusion of a special educational clause in the Manitoba Act. During the years which followed, the dual system had functioned with a marked degree of success. Apart from the abortive attempts of Mr. Luxton, and of certain <sup>of the more aggressive newcomers from Ontario, during</sup> the middle of the seventies to establish a non-sectarian system of public schools, the system

then in existence encountered little serious opposition. Throughout this period Protestants and Roman Catholics worked harmoniously together. To the latter group in particular, separate schools were of great importance, since not only did they enable the Catholic Church to educate the children of that faith in accordance with the precepts of the Catholic religion, but they at the same time served to erect a barrier around the Church's adherents against the secularizing forces of a Protestant and English-speaking civilization.

The action of the Greenway Government in abolishing separate schools in 1890, exercised a profound influence upon Dominion politics in general, and Manitoba politics in particular, during the years which followed. On the one hand, the Manitoba Government was able to utilize the prejudices of the Protestant electorate of the Province, by attacking a privilege which the Catholics, as a single religious body, possessed. (i.e. the right to establish and maintain separate schools) On the other hand, when the efforts of the Catholic minority to obtain redress for its grievance in the courts, had failed, the minority, in accordance with the provisions of the Manitoba Act, petitioned the Dominion Government for relief. The effect of the school legislation upon these two groups was therefore a vital factor in determining the course of events which followed. Thus by catering to the prejudices of the Protestant majority

in Manitoba, it served to strengthen the position of the local Government, while by depriving the French Catholic minority of its rights, it caused what was essentially a local issue to become one of national importance.

In order to appreciate the significance of the Manitoba Government's conduct in 1890, and to understand the reasons which underlay it, it is necessary to turn back to 1870, and trace the general trend of political development during the intervening period.

One general movement which may be observed during these years was the decline of the French element in Manitoba from a position of political equality to one of dependence upon whatever political party was in office at that time in the Province. For a number of years prior to 1890, the position of this group had gradually been growing weaker. About the beginning of the eighties, therefore, when the local parties were first beginning to line up with the federal parties, the French embarked upon a policy of political alliances, linking their fortunes with those of whatever party was in office at the time.

Meanwhile a spirit of provincialism was developing within the Province, fostered by the ill-treatment which Manitoba had experienced at the hands of the Dominion Government. In the agitations for "Better Terms" and against disallowance, this movement came to a head. It was the inadequate agreement arrived at in 1885, concerning

the former, together with the failure of the Province's victory over disallowance to effect the immediate reduction of freight rates, that had been in large part responsible for the measures taken against the French Catholics in general and separate schools in particular. Thus the decline of the French had made possible, while the growth of provincialism had made necessary the action taken by the Manitoba Government in 1890.

The third change occurring during these years may be described as the maturing of party politics within the Province. The re-organization of political parties within the Province under the names of Conservatives and Liberals at the beginning of the eighties had constituted the first step in this direction. The decade which followed saw the maturing of these parties. With the accession to power of the Greenway Government in 1888, there arrived a new generation of politicians, unacquainted with the moderation and tolerance of the Red River Colony, but concerned above all with the problem of remaining in office. To them such matters as party principles, party alliances, or the genuine interests of the Province were of secondary importance. Not even the promises allegedly made by the Liberals at the bye-election of St. Francis Xavier, or to the representative of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Boniface, concerning the privileges of the

French, served to restrain their conduct when party interests were at stake. Yet it was not until the provincial elections of 1892 that the full significance of the accession to power of this group which played the game of politics with no other purpose than to keep their party organization in office, became apparent. The even division which then marked the French constituencies, two of which supported one party, and two the other, signified the end of party based on political alliance and the establishment of party supremacy over considerations of race and religion.

The school issue of 1890, then, does not appear to have been a culmination of the pro-secularism of Mr. Luxton, nor of the strong sectarianism of the more aggressive settlers from Ontario, who had marred the peace of the Province during the middle seventies by their campaign against separate schools. Rather it would seem that the issue developed out of the political requirements of the moment as an emergency policy adopted by the Greenway Government in an effort to tide it over an evil hour.

The same realism and ability to protect its own interests which had prompted the Government to adopt its school policy in 1889, characterized its manipulation of the issue during the years which followed. The tactical devices which the Liberals employed throughout this period had three objectives. One was to popularize the issue with the electorate. Another was to baffle the local Opposition. A third sought to embarrass the



embarrass the Dominion Government.

The type of tactic employed in the pursuit of the first of these objectives was the development of a political "philosophy" which would render the Government's school policy palatable to the majority of the electorate. This the Government sought to achieve in part by using the school issue as a means of arousing the racial and religious prejudices of the Protestant and English-speaking population of the Province to its support. At the same time by arraying the Province against the Dominion it was able to strengthen its position by an appeal to the Liberal doctrine of 'Provincial Rights'. Still a third feature of the "school philosophy" was the appeal to the frontier desire for progress, equality, and unity.

Simultaneously by the use of a number of tactics devised to meet circumstances as they arose, the Government was able to paralyze the local Opposition, the position of which was already weak owing to the diversity of opinion which it manifested upon the issue of separate schools.

Nor was the local Government content with merely using the issue as a means of remaining in office. As the prospects of federal intervention increased, the Liberal Government in Winnipeg and the Liberal Opposition at Ottawa commenced to co-operate closely in order to harass the Dominion Government. The two chief tactical

devices of defiance and delay which the Manitoba Government adopted for this purpose thus served to increase the difficulties confronting the Conservative Government at Ottawa. In this way the Manitoba Government was able to exploit the issue to the advantage of its federal ally.

Meanwhile the appeal of the minority for relief had brought this troublesome problem into the realm of federal politics. Faced by the prospects of a general election in 1891, and undesirous of stirring up the old animosities of the eighties, the Government and the Opposition agreed upon a policy of mutual evasion. Thus the petition of the minority for disallowance passed unheeded, although provision was made whereby the Government might seek the opinion of the courts on the matter, and at the same time, aid was granted to the Manitoba minority to fight its case in the courts.

With the Privy Council decision of 1892 (in the Barrett case) the school question in federal politics entered a second phase. The petition of the minority for relief in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, placed the Government at Ottawa in a difficult position. On the one hand it was compelled to assume responsibility for its conduct whether or not it chose to intervene on the minority's behalf. On the other hand, owing to the conflicting sectional

interests upon which it relied for support, intervention would serve to antagonize its ultra-Protestant supporters, while non-intervention would antagonize its extreme Catholic supporters. Accordingly it set about to delay action as long as it was possible to do so. When, however, it was compelled to act, it took refuge in political compromises designed to pacify both groups as much as possible. The Opposition, on the other hand, sought to exploit its irresponsibility by attacking the Government for refusing to act more promptly and effectively, and by maintaining a discrete silence as to alternative courses which it considered advisable.

Signs of growing dissension among its Quebec members, however, together with with the short time left for action before Parliament's term of office expired, compelled the Government to adopt remedial legislation. Following the failure of the Remedial Order of March, and the Order in Council of July to take the desired effect upon the Manitoba Government, the Dominion Government summoned a special session of Parliament to meet in January, 1896, for the introduction of remedial legislation. Now the two parties engaged in open conflict. The debates on the Remedial Bill lasted for several weeks, and ended in the measure being dropped. The obstructionist tactics of the Opposition together with the Government's delay in adopting the measure combined to defeat the passage of such legislation before

Parliament's legal term of office came to an end. The appeal to the country which followed effectively sealed the doom not only of remedial legislation, but likewise of the Government which had introduced it.

In view of the fate suffered by the outgoing Government following its attempt to pass a remedial measure, it is not surprising that the newly elected Liberal Administration should have settled the matter in the way in which it did. Moreover, the weak measure of relief embodied in the Laurier-Greenway agreement of November 1896, conformed with the Liberals' attitude towards the minority during the years which had gone before. Throughout these years, they had been concerned with the minority's grievance largely as a means of embarrassing the Conservative Government; now that they were safely in office, they were quite prepared to sacrifice the minority's interests to the demands of the Manitoba Government in payment of the assistance which the latter had given them during their years in Opposition. Thus did the Manitoba school question end even as it had begun: the interests of the minority were to be sacrificed to those of the political party.

APPENDIX I

Changes Proposed in the Province's Educational  
System during the Years 1876-77

Resolution introduced before Winnipeg Board of School Trustees on Dec. 5, 1876:--

"1. That the present Acts of Education of the Province of Manitoba do not meet the requirements of the Province, and that it is important that as soon as possible a system of education be established capable of meeting the increasing wants of the old settlements; and of reaching the newer settlements, as soon as they attain any consideration.

2. That a non-sectarian system of education has been shown by experience to be better adapted than any other for the wants of mixed communities such as are found in this Province.

3. That the plea of conscience sometimes urged against non-sectarian schools is fallacious; since such schools only fail by defeat to teach religion, and do not interpose obstacles to religious instruction out of school hours, but prepare the mind for the reception of Christian truth; and that there are thousands of strict Catholics who have been educated in such schools and are advocates of them.

4. That the division line in the present Acts of Education between Catholics and Protestants should be obliterated, as the manifest injustice of the State electing one of the five or six different churches in the Province, and expending its revenue to teach the doctrines of one Church must continue to awaken and foster hostile feelings between such Church and all others, and will so prevent our people from becoming one homogeneous whole.

5. That the fact that this division line existing increases the expense of education very materially; that as settlement advances this will be increasingly so; that the crippled resources of our Province demand the utmost economy in education as in all departments of government; and that by a common system of education the government grant may be better distributed to better advantage.

6. That the education given to our people is much inferior in character to that which might be given were the whole people heartily united in the support of one system.

7. That at present in localities where but a few families of Catholics live in a Protestant neighborhood the fact of the school being Protestant in name deters Catholic parents, otherwise desirous of sending their children to

such schools from so doing; and that the Catholic Church authorities also are compelled as matters now stand to forbid such attendance, and that such children are growing up in the densest ignorance.

8. That in localities where but a few families of Protestants live in a Catholic neighborhood, the Protestant children are growing up in a pitiable ignorance, their parents having to choose between that alternative, and their being taught doctrines which they cannot receive.

9. That it is a crime for the state to allow the members of its future governing body to come into the possession of these rights unfit to use them; that the State is bound to establish such a system of education as will best prepare its citizens for the intelligence use of the franchise so liberally bestowed upon them; that in a Province where the elements of the population are so diverse, comprising those who speak English, French, German, and Icelandic, the establishment of one system of public English schools is the only means of fitting the people for conducting business efficiently, for fulfilling the duties of social life, for preserving the rights of all, irrespective of clan or creed distinctions, and for carrying on successfully the affairs of the State."

(F.P., Dec. 6, 1876.)

Changes proposed in Manitoba's educational system  
by the Toronto Globe:--

- "1st. The abolition of the Board of Education in its present sectional character, and the appointment of a new Board, without sections.
- "2nd. The establishment of a purely non-sectarian system of public schools.
- "3rd. The compulsory use of English textbooks in all public schools.
- "4th. All Public Schools to be subject to the same rules and regulations.
- "5th. The appointment of one or more Inspectors.
- "6th. The establishment, as soon as practicable, of a Training School for teachers.
- "7th. The examining, grading, and licensing of all Public School teachers by one Board of Examiners, with all subject to the same rules and regulations.
- "8th. The division of school moneys among the Public Schools of the Province in a certain way -- so much per cent to be divided equally, so much according to the average attendance, and so much to be placed at the disposal of the Board of Education, to be used by it as may be thought most conducive to the public interests."

(F.P., Dec. 4, 1876.)



Draft of Bill prepared for the Protestant section of the Board of Education by the Board's executive committee and submitted to Board on January 19, 1877:--

1. The establishment of a purely non-sectarian system of public schools.
2. The appointment of one or more inspectors for said schools.
3. The compulsory use of English text-books in all public schools.
4. All public schools to be subject to the same rules and regulations.
5. The establishment as soon as possible of a training school for teachers.
6. The examining, grading, and licensing of all public teachers by one board of examiners, and subject to the same rules and regulations.
7. The abolition of the Board of Education in its present sectional character, and the appointment of a new Board without sections.
8. The division of school moneys amongst public schools as follows:
  - § per cent. (Sic) to be divided equally amongst all
  - § per cent. (Sic) to be divided according to the average attendance, and the remainder to be placed at the disposal of the Board of Education to be used as they see fit in the interests of education.
9. Provision for taking a poll whenever the same may be required."

(F.P., Jan. 20, 1877.)

APPENDIX II

Vote on the Second Reading of the Remedial Bill

CONSERVATIVE members voting for second reading of R. A. on  
Mar. 20, 1890 (R.A., I, pp. 675-6):

Anyot  
Baird  
Barnard  
Belley  
Bergeron  
Bergin  
Blanchard  
Boyd  
Boyle  
Burnham  
Cameron (Iverness)  
Cargill  
Carignan  
Carling (Sir John)  
Carpenter  
Caron (Sir Adolphe)  
Chesley  
Cleveland  
Coatsworth  
Cochrane  
Corbould  
Costigen  
Daly  
Davin  
Davis  
Desaulniers  
Dickey  
Dugas  
Dupont  
Dyer  
Earle  
Fairbairn  
Ferguson (Leeds and  
Grenville)  
Ferguson (Renfrew)  
Foster  
Frechette  
Gillies  
Girouard  
Grandbois  
Grant (Sir James)  
Haggart  
Haslam  
Hazen  
Hutchins  
Ingram  
Ives  
Jeannotte  
Joncas  
Kaulbach  
Kenny  
Lachapelle  
Langevin (Sir Hector)  
LaRiviere

Leclair  
Lepine  
Lippe  
Macdonald (King's)  
Macdonell (Algoma)  
Macdowall  
McAlister  
McDonald (Assiniboia)  
McDonald (Victoria)  
McDougald (Pictou)  
McDougall (Cape Breton)  
McGreegy  
McInerney  
McKay  
McLean (King's)  
McLennan  
McLeod  
Mara  
Marshall  
Masson  
Metcalf  
Miller  
Mills (Annapolis)  
Moncrieff  
Northrup  
Guimet  
Patterson (Colchester)  
Pelletire  
Pope  
Powell  
Pridham  
Prior  
Putnam  
  
Reid  
Robillard  
Robinson  
Roone  
Ross (Lisgar)  
Ryckman  
Smith (Ontario)  
Stairs  
Stevenson  
Taylor  
Temple  
Tisdale  
Tupper (Sir Charles)  
Tupper (Sir Charles Hibbert)  
Turcotte  
White (Shelburne)  
Wilmot  
Wood

CONSERVATIVE members voting against second reading of R.A.  
on Mar.20, 1890 (R.A.,I,p.676.):

Bennett	McNeill
Calvin	O'Brien
Carscallen	Rosamond
Cockburn	Sproule
Craig	Stubbs
Henderson	Tyrwhitt
Hodgins	Wallace
Maclean(York)	Weldon
McCarthy	Wilson

## PAIRS

Ministerial	Opposition
Smith(Sir Donald)	Rowand
Montague	Denison

LIBERAL members voting against second reading of R.A.  
on Mar.20, 1896 (R.A.,I, p. 676.):

Allan	Harwood
Bain	Hughes
Bechard	Innes
Beith	Landerkin
Bernier	Langelier
Borden	Laurier
Boston	Lavergne
Bourassa	Leduc
Bowers	Legris
Bowman	Lister
Brodeur	Livingston
Brown	Lowell
Bruneau	Macdonald(Huron)
Cameron(Huron)	McGillivray
Campbell	McGregor
Carroll	McMillan
Cartwright(Sir Rich'd)	McMullen
Casey	McShane
Charbonneau	Martin
Charlton	Mignault
Choquette	Mills(Bothwell)
Christie	Monet
Colter	Mulock
Davies	Paterson(Brant)
Dawson	Perry
Edger	Prefontaine
Edwards	Proulx
Fauvel	Rider
Featherston	Rinfret
Flint	Ross(Dundas)
Forbes	Sanborn
Fraser	Scriver
Geoffrion	Semple
Gibson	Somerville
Gillmor	Sutherland
Godbout	Tarte
Grieve	Welsh
Guay	Yeo

LIBERAL members voting for second reading of R.A. on  
Mar. 20, 1896 (R.A., I, pp. 675-6.)

Angers	Devlin
Beausoleil	Fremont
Delisle	McIsaac
Vaillancourt	

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The chief primary sources of this thesis are the reports of the debates in the Manitoba Legislature during the years 1890 to 1896 and the Debates of the House of Commons and the Senate at Ottawa during the same period. References to the latter have been of a limited nature since discussions of the school question in the Senate followed in the main, although on a smaller scale, those which took place in the House of Commons. It may be observed also that the fifth chapter, dealing with the school question in federal politics, contains few direct quotations from the Commons Debates. This is due to the fact that while debates in Parliament are recorded verbatim in the official Hansard, the only reports given of the debates in the Manitoba Legislature -- which for the purpose of this thesis are the more important -- are those appearing in the local press, and in these latter there is not always a clear division between those parts of the reports which are a summarized account and those which are direct quotations. This limitation upon the amount of direct quotation possible in the fourth chapter, therefore, automatically limits the amount possible in the fifth chapter.

Of less value from the purely political standpoint, but nevertheless vital to the understanding of the school issue as a whole, are the Sessional Papers of the Dominion and Manitoba Governments, as are also the court reports of the Barrett and Brophy cases. The former constitute a valuable source of information with regard to the negotiations between the Governments at Ottawa and Winnipeg, as well as an account of the minority's efforts to obtain relief, while the latter cover in full the legal aspects of the case.

The main sources of newspaper material are the files of the Free Press,<sup>and</sup> the Tribune,<sup>of Winnipeg</sup> and the Globe and Mail,<sup>of Toronto</sup>. Valuable also in this connection are the volumes of newspaper clippings on the Manitoba School Case compiled by the Manitoba Provincial Library from newspapers across the Dominion.

The pamphlet material used is based on four pamphlet collections to be found in the Manitoba Provincial Library. The first of these is a bound volume of pamphlets written by the Rev. Dr. Bryce, and presented to the Library by the author. ('Canadian

Pamphlets', 1871-1913) The second is that of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba. (North-West Pamphlets) The third, known as the 'Manitoba Pamphlets', is the most extensive, having been accumulated by the Library over a long period of years. The fourth, a recent acquisition, is known as the 'Schultz Pamphlets', and was collected by Lieutenant-Governor Schultz who in 1890 had sanctioned the school legislation of the Greenway Government.

Such secondary material as has been used may be classified into three main groups. The first consists of works relating to the political, economic, educational and religious history of the Province. The second is composed of works dealing with Dominion politics, with special reference to Dominion political parties and political biography. The third includes those works which deal specifically with the Manitoba school question.

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