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THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

BY

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BRING A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT  
OF HISTORY <sup>7</sup> THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA, IN PARTIAL  
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS.

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

APRIL 1926.

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## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA.

### PREFACE.

The Manitoba Act passed the Dominion House on March 12th, 1870. Being the child of the Insurrection it bore all the traces of the thought which had inspired and dominated that movement, and was considered a complete safe-guard to the special privileges granted the French element at Red River. But defeat was rooted in this victory, as the sympathy of the British natives had been lost, and the seeds of determined opposition firmly planted in the thought of Ontario which was soon to send its thousands of settlers to the prairie lands of the West. This new body of opinion eventually dominated in Manitoba, and in the uncompromising strife of 1890 it swept away almost every trace of special privilege and left the minority embittered, yet solidly united in the hour of defeat.

The Laurier-Sifton Agreement of 1897 though intended as a settlement was never accepted by the French element. The multitudes from central Europe with their varied languages, customs and ideals, streamed into western Canada during the earlier years of the present century. Several of these nationalities proceeded to avail themselves of the language privilege of the above Agreement. The French element had not only neglected in a measure the teaching of English in their own schools, but as well, were sympathetic to the pretensions of the other nationalities. Another crisis was precipitated in 1916, and the French element lost the legal right to teach its language in the public schools of the province. There the matter rests, and will continue to rest, until public opinion asserts itself in some other direction.

In this essay the writer has endeavored to trace the history of the meeting of the two races in Manitoba from the period of the Insurrection until the present time. Owing to the recent occurrence of many of the events it has been necessary to consult the Press and pamphlets for considerable information, and still further to draw from personal experiences.

Because of the controversial nature of the subject, and the delicacy of certain phases of the question evidence has been quoted in the original. The attention of the reader is directed to the foot-notes and also to the appendices at the end of the essay.

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## CHAPTER 1

## EVENTS LEADING TO THE PASSING OF THE MANITOBA ACT

## (1). Conditions at Red River Previous To The Insurrection

A thesis which purports to trace the influence of the English and French nationalities in the province of Manitoba must of necessity review a portion of the history of the two races which were brought together in the newly organized territory. The old days of Company rule had gone forever, and the conditions which had made it possible for two peoples to live side by side, yet almost entirely apart, had vanished. The new era forced upon them the need for united action in the unfolding of legislation which would protect their interests and promote development within the Dominion of Canada.

It is the purpose of the writer in the opening chapter of this essay, very briefly, to survey the relations existing between the two half-breed elements living in the Red River Settlement previous to the insurrection of the Metis; to note some of the conditions and tendencies which provided fuel for suspicion and strife; and to recall some of the events which fostered a spirit of racial animosity; all of which have been factors in the various racial controversies that have marred the history of the Province for more than half a century.

The Settlement was supposed, roughly speaking, to include a fifty mile circuit from the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. (1) The population at the time of the insurrection numbered 11963, of whom 5757 were Metis, 4053 English speaking half-breeds and 1565 pure whites. (2) The colony of English half-breeds stretched for about thirty miles below Fort Garry. There was also another settlement at Portage. The Metis were located for the most part at St. Boniface, St. Vital, St. Norbert, St. Charles, St. Agathe and Baie St. Paul.

(1). Gunn and Tuttle, History of Manitoba, p. 317.

Bryce, Manitoba Pamphlets, Legislative Library.  
From an address delivered Jan. 9th, 1890, p. 2.

(2). Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 11, p. 31.

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The Selkirk colony after years of sacrifice and struggle under varying conditions had established a community which gave its attention almost entirely to agriculture. This settled life contributed to stability of character and uniformity of habits and customs not far removed from that of eastern Canada. They were devoted to their churches, and gave such attention to education as circumstances permitted. The home life, though one of toil, was also one of happiness and contentment. The prevailing spirit of hospitality and helpfulness made the social life of the community so congenial that, in spite of their isolation, they found peace and happiness in their limited circle.

The Metis, born in the lap of the hunter of the plains and voyager of far away waters, had little time or love for the agricultural pursuits of their neighbors. (3) Theirs was the free, happy, adventurous life of plain and river. For months during the summer the whole family deserted its log cabin by the Red river, and living on the trail of the buffalo, procured its supply of pemmican for food and hides for the trade. (4) This was not in its own way a disorderly mode of existence, as each hunting camp was governed by chosen leaders. (5) Their methods of obtaining a living contributed neither to servile habits nor to privation or want. "No one could fail to see that he was a person in exceedingly comfortable circumstances ... he was as independent as a feudal baron in the brave days of old!" (6) The winter was spent by the fireside in a community of log cabins where there were few wants and certainly few extravagant comforts. One writer has aptly said that "their real education was in scenes of travel and adventure ... reproducing by the winter fireside or summer camp pictures so graphic as to commend themselves to every ear." (7) Under the guidance of the Catholic missionaries whom they esteemed very highly the former stirring dispositions and immoral

(3). Morice, *Histoire Abrégée de L'Ouest Canadien*, p. 46.

(4). Katherine Hughes, *Father Lacombe*, pages 22-23.

(5). *Ibid.*

(6). *McBeth, The Romance of Western Canada*, p. 91.

(7). Bryce, *Lord Selkirk's Colonists*, p. 250.

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habits of the Bois-Brûlés had given place to higher standards of living. Their nomadic life made adjustment difficult, but they were gradually adopting some of the habits of a more settled mode of existence. Though not thrifty, as we understand that term today, nevertheless, they were a kindly disposed and honest people, wishing to go their own way under the direction of their leaders and the guidance of the Catholic Church.

The one community, through half a century of settled habits and customs, was unconsciously being prepared for the new era; the other was but on the way. We can readily understand why Bishop Tache dreaded the coming of the new day, and feared for his flock when the old habits of industry must give way to that for which they had little desire, and for which they were unprepared.

All writers of note attest to the spirit of good-will and harmony existing between the two half-breed colonies previous to the unfortunate happenings of 1869-70. The blood relationship, the almost complete isolation of the colony, and the interdependence upon one another in times of sickness and distress established a common bond of friendship. "Il ne règne une plus grand harmonie entre peuples de différentes origines" (8) "It seems a needless thing for me to say that, because the relations between the French speaking families and the rest of us in Red River were always of friendliness and good-will" (9) "Indeed a number of children of French families attended the Anglican school at St. John's" (10)

What a pity that such relations must give way before the clash of growing ideals and ambitions for the Metis on the one hand, and those other aims and ambitions that came in the onrush of events, leading up to the raising of this territory to the status of a province within the Dominion of Canada; and give way before a clash of such heat, that the echoes still live, and the fires of hate, augmented by a continuous chain of disturbing events, have not by any means been extinguished.

(8). Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Tache, Vol. 11, p. 1.

(9). W. J. Healy, Women of Red River, p. 88.

(10). Ibid, p. 89.

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## (2). The National Movement Among the Métis.

From the earliest days of the North-West Trading Company certain factors contributed to the development of the spirit of nationality among the Métis. Back of them lay the traditions of old Quebec with its language, Catholic Church, Habitant customs, Coursurs de Bois tendencies, and decades of struggle with the English. Even though the influence of these traditions was minimized by the life on the plains, and the association with English leaders, it was ever present to some extent as future events have proven. The common language, mode of securing a livelihood, and customs of living peculiar to these people, drew them together and with suitable conditions made it easy to bring them under the influences of the past. During the early years of the struggle between the two companies the Nor'Westers depended largely upon these people for their influence and for the development of their trade. As early as 1815 the idea of prior rights of ownership of the country had been sown in their minds and the thought of nationality cultivated by Alex MacDonnell when he was successful in uniting many of them against the Selkirk colony. (11) This was possibly the first attempt at united action, under a Company leader and against an incoming danger. By 1829 we find the Métis, this time under their own leadership, in conflict with the Company over the question of Free Trade in furs. That movement ended in victory for the Métis in 1849, (12) and during the conflict we find them advancing the plea of prior rights. In a petition to the Governor they state, "likewise having a doubt that natives of this country can be prevented from trading and trafficking with one another." (13)

Prior to this time the Catholic Church, though exceedingly active and persevering in christianizing the Indians and Métis, had taken little outward interest in the affairs of government. Some of the clergy stood by the Métis during the Free Trade movement. Father Belcourt advised them "that if the pensioners were called to arms to force a decision based on that Charter, it should be lawful to repulse force with force." (14) Shortly after this Bishop Tache by adopting

(11). Hill, History of Manitoba, p. 47.

Pambrun's testimony, "These people have been spoiling fair lands which belong to you and the Bois-Brûlés".  
 Prof. Chester Martin, Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada, pp. 105 - 109. "The new nation under their leaders ... are coming forward to clear their native soil of intruders and assassins" p. 108.

(12). Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, Vol. 1, p. 225.

(13). Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 1, p. 261.

(14). Morice, History of the Catholic Church, Vol. 1, p. 221.



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## (2). The National Movement Among the Metis.

a policy of segregation substituted Church leadership for that of the Company, and at that point planted the seed of the policy that would make the Métis the soil from which would grow and develop a tree with all the ear markings of a little Quebec. (15) The factors of language, religion and economics were fused into an ideal of nationality not far removed from that of Quebec and the Church hoped to make that ideal even more secure by safe-guarding it by law. With that in view Bishop Tache had undertaken to pave the way for a union with Canada. (16)

## (3). Suspicion and Fear Caused by New Settlers and Officials of the Dominion Government.

Though the Métis were the aggressors in the resort to arms we cannot charge to their account all the causes of racial distrust and suspicion that grew out of the insurrection. The attitude and actions of a few settlers who had come from Ontario during the early sixties brought little credit to their native province. Headed by the injudicious Doctor Schultz (17) they assumed an attitude of superiority to the natives (19) that made them exceedingly unpopular with both French and English half-breeds. Embued with the idea that the ideals of Ontario should triumph they soon placed themselves in opposition to the ruling Company and to the ideal of the French element. Among their several acts of hostility toward conditions as they found them existing at Red River was their refusal to submit to the criminal courts of the Company, (20) thereby weakening still further the authority of that body. With the advent of the survey parties some of these people staked large areas of land for speculative purposes, and gave rise to the thought among

(15). Ibid, p. 224.

"All of which goes to demonstrate the growth of the Catholic element in the colony of Assiniboia." Braaq, The Evolution of French Canada, p. 257.

"The policy of segregation and group cohesion has been followed with marked success in all French settlements."

(16). Benoit, Vie de Mgr Taché, Vol. 11, p. 6.

"Il s'était formé, à la Rivière-Rouge un parti qui désirait l'union de la colonie d'Assiniboia au Canada."

(17). Beckles Willson, The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, p. 161.

(18). Begg, Creation of Manitoba, p. 20.

(19). Ibid, p. 5.

(20). Ibid, pp. 25-26.

Recent Disturbances at the Red River Settlement, p. 44.

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## (3). Suspicion and Fear Caused by the New Settlers and the Officials of the Dominion Government.

the Metis that if they were to hold their privileges they might be forced to take action on their own behalf. In the local paper, the *North-West*, which at times was under the control of the new party attacks made upon the Company and conditions did much to foster a spirit of unrest. (20) We can readily understand the growth of that spirit when the Ontario party "did not hesitate to say that the Metis should soon be driven from the country." (21) The latter were not only irritated and angered, but, not being in a position to understand the full meaning of it all, became exceedingly suspicious of any person coming from Ontario, (22) more particularly, when negotiations were under way for the transfer of the territory to Canada without their being consulted. (23)

A series of blunders by the Canadian Government and her Officials served to confirm this fear. She acted before the transfer of the territory, all of which was well known to the leaders of the Metis. Her aims in building the Dawson Road were philanthropic rather than aggressive, but the manner in which Snow and Hair dealt with the workmen caused dissatisfaction. (24) The sending of survey parties might well be considered an act of aggression, but the refusal of the surveyors to take thought of the river lot arrangement really caused the trouble from that source. (25) The association of both groups with the "Canada Party" (26) brought the Dominion Government under suspicion. The appointment of McDougall as Governor with only one French man among his advisers still further confirmed that impression.

- (21) Begg, *Creation of Manitoba*, pp. 25-26.
  - (22) Benoit, *Vie de Mgr. Taché*, Vol. 11, p. 13.
  - (23) Begg, *Creation of Manitoba*, p. 84.
  - (24) Begg, *History of the North-West*, Vol. 1, p. 377.
  - (25) *Ibid* p. 374.
  - (26) Begg, *Creation of Manitoba*, p. 19.
  - (27) *Ibid*, p. 20.
- Benoit, *Vie de Mgr. Taché*, Vol. 11, p. 15.

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## (3). Suspicion and Fear Caused by the New Settlers and the Officials of the Dominion Government.

If the Dominion Government through the want of proper appreciation of the situation at Red River made a series of blunders, the designing leaders of the Metis were not slow in taking advantage of those mistakes to fasten the conviction in the minds of the mis-understanding Metis that it was all done with a purpose, and that they were justified in resorting to force and open insurrection if necessary. (28) By the time McDougall reached Pembina excitement ran high. The insurrection movement was taking root and he was warned by its agents not to attempt to enter the territory. As the purpose of this section is to show the reaction of the racial and national spirit to circumstances which appeared to endanger existing conditions it is not necessary to trace the series of blunders made by McDougall. Suffice it to state that his prolific proclamations made him a laughing stock in the Settlement, and the attempt of his emissary, Col. Dennis, to stir up the English half-breeds (29) played still further into the hands of the unscrupulous insurgent leaders. Influenced and forced (30) by the racial appeal the Metis gradually responded to the call to arms, and December 1869 found them almost a unit behind Riel and his advisers.

(28). Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, Vol. 11, pp. 9-10.

"When that expropriation is attempted by an outside government which has absolutely no jurisdiction over them, the right of resistance is doubly clear. . . One of their chief religious advisers, Rev. Mr. Ritchot, of St. Norbert, was not of a different opinion." p. 10.

(29). Recent Disturbances in the Red River Settlement, p. 95.

(30). Begg, Creation of Manitoba, pp. 260-261.

Riel speaking of the defeated clause said that "was a shame to have lost it, and it was a greater shame, because it was lost by those traitors."

Note, - This attitude toward independence of opinion has not been uncommon in recent times.

Trial of Lepine, p. 64.

Francis Charette swore that he "was told if he did not stay at the Fort, he would be taken prisoner."

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## EVENTS LEADING TO THE PASSING OF THE MANITOBA ACT.

## (4). The Injudicious Acts of Riel Consolidate the English as a Party in Opposition to French Ideals and Aims.

The events of the insurrection are so well known that it is not necessary to dwell on them at further length than will demonstrate how, by a series of arbitrary acts, the leaders headed their cause straight to disaster, and not only alienated and sympathy the English half-breeds might have had for their aims, but completely united all English speaking peoples into a determined if silent opposition.

The lawful Government of Red River until May 12th, 1870, without any doubt whatever, was that of the Hudson's Bay Company. (31) The Company, the Canadian Government and the Imperial Government all considered this to be the true state of affairs, (32) and did not at any time recognize the rule of the insurrectionists as a de facto government. Nor did they give Commissioner Smith or any one else the authority to confer powers of government upon any one or any body of persons. (33) Therefore, no action of the said Provisional Government could be considered legal, no matter how some may endeavor to distort technicalities. But it is

(31). Chief Justice Wood, Trial of Lepine, p. 112.

"I tell you ~~that~~ in this connection that Governor McTavish had no power... to divest himself of his legal authority"

Recent Disturbances, pp. 170-172.

Granville to Young, Nov. 30th, 1869.

"Unless therefore it be so transferred it must remain under the jurisdiction of the Company"

Ibid, p. 169, Stafford to Northcote.

Sessional Paper No. 11, 1875, p. 38.

Stafford to Northcote.

(32). Recent Disturbances, p. 30.

Howe to McDougall, Nov. 29th, 1869.

"The insurrection ... an open violation of Imperial Legislation and defiance of the Crown".

The Manitoba School Case, 1895, p. 33.

Father Ritchot stated that the Ministers refused to present to Parliament a List of Rights from the would be government, and dealt with them as representatives of the North-West.

Sessional Paper No. 11, quoted above.

(33). Recent Disturbances, p. 111.

Howe to Tashe, Feb. 16th, 1870.

Ibid, Young to Granville, March 23rd, 1870. p. 105.

"only empowered to make enquiries and report the result"

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with the autocratic methods and unnecessarily harsh treatment of individuals that we have to deal at this point. I simply state the foregoing to show that such action cannot be justified on the ground of legality. Such being the true situation the greatest measure of moderation should have been practised by those who for the time being had seized power.

The English speaking half-breeds went their way believing that all would come out right when the territory would be transferred to Canada. Not until the mails were seized and the free movement of individuals interfered with (34) did they realize the true state of things. Riel's seizure of the Fort and later the Company's supplies; (35) the capture, prolonged imprisonment and suffering of the Schultz party; (36) the virtual imprisonment and harsh treatment of Governor McTavish who was ill and helpless; (37) the attempt to keep from his followers the truth concerning the real attitude of the Dominion Government; (38) his domineering opposition to freedom of thought (39) are but examples of his arbitrary acts. They had the effect of completely alienating the sympathies of the English half-breeds, and of driving them toward unity with the ideals of the party from Ontario.

The murder of Thomas Scott came as the crowning act of a long series of misdeeds. It was both illegal and unnecessary. The question of legality I have already partially treated, but, even had the so called Provisional Government been recognized by the Company and the Crown it would still have been illegal. Riel's body of elected delegates had not given to him or to any other authority the power of life and death over the settlers. The trial was tyrannical and

- (34) .Begg, Creation of Manitoba, p. 51.  
 (35) .Ibid, p. 98.  
 (36) .Ibid, p. 264.  
 (37) .Ibid, p. 263.  
 (38) .~~Riel~~ Recent Disturbances, p. 104.  
 (39) .Begg, Creation, p. 260.

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and the method of execution barbarous. (40) Chief Justice Wood in passing sentence on Lepine said, "indeed I do not believe twenty respectable French Metis can be found in the whole Red River Settlement who would not have come to the same conclusion! It is worthy of note in this connection that half of the Grand Jury which indicted Lepine were Metis, (41) while more than half of the Jurors in the trial before Chief Justice Wood were also of that nationality. (42) To contend that the murder of Scott was necessary is absurd. The Settlement was under a military dictatorship of which Riel was the head. His organization was the only one in existence at Red River, and had complete control of all military equipment: while those from whom he might expect worthy opposition were either confined to jail or had fled the country.

(40). Chief Justice Wood, Trial of Lepine, pages 113-115.

Hon. G. Cartier, Trial of Lepine, p. 126.

"The killing of Scott was an excessive abuse of power and cruel brutality!"

Chapleau, Quoted by Prof. Chester Martin, Canada and Its Provinces, Vol. XIX, p. 88.

"he knew that Riel was guilty of murder!"

John Bruce, Trial of Lepine, p. 59.

"We will release the prisoners before long, but we will put a couple to death!"

Nolin, Trial of Lepine, p. 59.

Nolin swore that Scott was not brought in until after the sentence of death was passed.

Dufferin, Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 11, p. 301.

"an inhuman slaughter of an innocent man!"

Garrioch, First Furrows, p. 237.

"a vile and blood-thirsty deed!"

(41). Trial of Lepine, p. 11.

(42). Ibid, p. 35.

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- (4). The Injudicious Acts of Riel Unite the English as a Party in Opposition to the French Ideals and Aims.

However, the writer is not so much concerned with the actual event as with the effect upon the public mind, both at the time and in the years that followed. Begg, a very fair minded writer, tells us that one can hardly imagine the degree of indignation which swept over the Settlement when news of the deed spread abroad. (43) "To kill him as was done in cold blood, was a wanton act of cruelty, and one that made every honest heart in Red River shudder at the thought of it." (44) All hope of union between the two branches of Half-Breeds was gone, and French leadership received a blow, and passed under a cloud of suspicion from which it has never recovered. It was not only Red River that suffered. Canada was stirred from end to end; while part of French Quebec sought to excuse the deed, Protestant Ontario was swept with anger. Nor has half a century served to still the feeling of dissension created by this act. A. H. Tremaudan as recently as September, 1925 writes that "the expeditionary force... was the direct result; the indirect and more costly result was a widening of the gulf between the two races through-out the Dominion." (45) On that severed rock of public opinion the Province of Manitoba was formed and set upon her way, a way certain to be marked with controversy unless the spirit of toleration and compromise should triumph.

(43). Begg, Creation of Manitoba, p. 304.

(44). Ibid, p. 302.

(45). A. H. Tremaudan, The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. VI, Sept, 25th., 1925.

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## (5). The Catholic Church and the Insurrection.

The whole Catholic cause in Manitoba has suffered through the attitude of the Church to the insurrection of 1869-70. That she was in sympathy with the movement is beyond doubt; that some of the clergy were closely associated with it is also beyond doubt. (46) We could expect her to be sympathetic to a movement which was in keeping with her policy for extension. (47) That sympathy is very frankly admitted. "We cannot without forfeiting claims to truth and honesty conceal the fact that Catholics were the mainspring of the whole movement, and we will admit without the least difficulty that in this they had the sympathy of the clergy." (48) The English half-breeds and other English speaking residents were fully aware of this attitude. (49)

We cannot criticise the Catholic Church for being in sympathy with the cause of the Métis, but to be in sympathy with a resort to arms belongs to another age and to countries with less democratic constitutions than ours; to be associated with the movement is a still more serious matter. Yet, it would appear that at least one of the clergy was in that position. Father Ritchot appears both in the shadow and in the open. The earliest meetings of the disaffected Métis were held at his house; (50) there the National Council of the Métis was formed; (51) there Mr. Fovenger spent some hours with Riel and others; (52) there Charles Tupper spent the night with

(46). Prof. Chester Martin, *The Canadian Historical Review*, Dec. 1920.

"The brains of the movement, however, were not those of Louis Riel; and it would not be unjust perhaps either to the French Métis or to their guardians in all that was well-ordered and sustained in the Riel Insurrection, to regard the Métis as the secular

(47). Bracq, *How the Church was Backed*.

(47). Bracq, *The Evolution of French Canada*, p. 214.

"She asserts the policy of Canon Law which cannot be enforced in Canada, nor in the province, but with a serene patience she is attempting to extend its scope."

(48). Morice, *History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada*, Vol. 11, p. 2.

(49). Begg, *Creation of Manitoba*, p. 38, Dennis to McDougall. "backed up, as they would be, by the Roman Catholic Church, which appears probable by the course at present being taken by the priests?"

(50). *Ibid.*, p. 34.

(51). Benoit, *Vie de Mgr. Tache*, Vol. 11, p. 19.

(52). Begg, *Creation*, p. 43.



## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER I

## EVENTS LEADING TO THE PASSING OF THE MANITOBA ACT.

## (5). The Catholic Church and the Insurrection.

with the same persons; (53) in fact, it appeared to be the head-quarters of the movement. Nor was that all. Father Ritchot refused to use his influence to appease the Métis when appealed to by Governor ~~McTavish~~ McTavish, on the ground that he might lose his influence with them. (54) Tupper found him at Riel's council table in Fort Garry. (55) Charles Garret gave evidence that he saw Father Ritchot, very active, directing the actions of the insurgents at Dr. Schultz's house. (56) We find him interposing on behalf of Riel when Hardisty and his Métis guard were bringing Commissioner Smith's papers to the Fort. (57) It is worthy of note that at a later date he was one of the delegates chosen to go to Ottawa, and the one around whom centres the controversy over the secret Bill of Rights.

Bishop Taché who had given years of his life and made great sacrifices for his Church in Western Canada was very much attached to the Métis. He was fully aware of the rising tide of fear and feeling before leaving for Rome, (58) and was justly disappointed at the scant attention paid his plea at Ottawa. He does not appear to have been on unfriendly terms with Riel (59) even though the latter placed a guard at the church door on the first Sunday after his return. He now did everything possible to adjust the difficulty. However, the association of some of the priests with the Insurrection, and the evident ability of the Church to control the Métis during its later stages, caused an unfavorable reaction toward Her among the English Protestants, not only at that time but for years afterwards. English speaking Protestants have persisted in believing that the Church with Her own interests to serve stands behind every effort on behalf of the French element, and that thought and fear has been detrimental to French interests and ambitions even to the present day.

(53) Tupper, Recollections of Sixty Years in Canada, p. 115.

(54) Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Tache, Vol. 11, p. 32.

(55) Tupper, Recollections, p. 113.

(56) Recent Disturbances in the Red River Settlement, p. 119.

(57) Begg, History of the North-West, 494

Smith's Report.

(58) Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Tache, Vol. 11, pp. 10-12.

(59) Huyshe, The Red River Expedition, p. 222.

Taché to Riel, Hamilton, July 24th, 1870.

"Il (Archibald) desire poubtant arriver eu milieu de nous, et ce, avant les troupes:.. afin d'obtenir le résultat qui nous étions propose .. le temps et la confiance nous apportiront ce que nous desirons tous... nous avens des amis sincere, devoués et puissants"

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 11

## THE MANITOBA ACT.

## (1).List of Rights Number Two.

The drafting of the Manitoba Act forms a very interesting page in the history of the North-West and of the Dominion of Canada. Acting on the suggestion of Mr. Donald A. Smith an equal number of delegates from the English and Metis parishes met at Fort Garry in January and February 1870. These delegates drew up a List of Rights now known as Number Two, as a basis of negotiation with the Dominion Government. (1) The majority of the delegates preferred uniting with the Dominion as a territory rather than as a province, though Riel pressed the claims of the latter. (2) No direct claim was put forward for separate schools nor was any mention made of protection for those who had taken part in the disturbances. (3) This was the only Bill of Rights passed by the representatives of the people at Red River. A copy of it was telegraphed to Bishop Tache at St. Louis and he had further communication with Mr. Howe concerning it. (4) This list, however, was not presented to the delegates to Ottawa, nor was it made use of during the negotiations.

On February 12th, three delegates were elected to undertake negotiations with the Government at Ottawa, but for some reason their departure was delayed. (5) Bishop Tache after his arrival took an active part in the commission of the delegates, and the words of his own biographer (6) furnish additional explanation for the delay as well as the discarding of List of Rights Number Two.

- (1). Begg, Creation of Manitoba, pages 255-261.  
Recent Disturbances in the Red River Settlement, p. 158.
- (2). Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 1. p. 454.
- (3). Ibid, pages 452-454.
- (4). The New Nation, March 18th, 1870.
- (5). Ibid, March 11th, 1870.  
"The departure of the delegates ... was deferred until the arrival of His Lordship Bishop Tache, in the expectation of some additional powers ... having been delegated to him."  
Prof. Chester Martin, The First "New Province" of the Dominion, p. 17.
- (6). Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Taché, Vol. 11 p. 65.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 11

## THE MANITOBA ACT.

## (2). List of Rights Number Three.

Two of the delegates, Mr. Scott and Father Ritchot left for Ottawa on March 22nd, and the third, Mr. Black, on the day following. Begg states that "Riel had been busy for some days preparing the necessary papers." (7) The List of Rights signed by the Secretary, Thomas Bunn, and given to at least one of the delegates, is known as List Number Three. It differed from Number Two in that it demanded definite organization as a province, and also protection for those taking part in the insurrection, but made no mention of separate schools. (8) This List was not the work of the delegates assembled in convention, but was generally thought to be the one used at Ottawa; even the Governor-General was of that opinion. (9) At a later date when its authenticity was challenged, Mr. Taylor, during his paper controversy with Archbishop Tache stated, "It happens that this Bill of Rights was issued from Government House, Fort Garry, in March 1870." (10) Further, in reference to Premier Norquay's use of this Bill of Rights, found in Thomas Bunn's papers, and later placed in the Legislative Library, "Your Grace did not condemn the language of the documents used by Mr. Norquay on that occasion." (11) This List of Rights was published in the British Blue Book. (12) Begg, in his book, The Creation of Manitoba, published in 1871, quoted in full List of Rights Number Three as that given to the delegates over the signature of the Secretary, Thomas Bunn. (13) There can be no doubt as to this being the List presented to the English speaking delegates, neither can there be any doubt but that the impression given to the English speaking people was to that effect.

(7). Begg, Creation of Manitoba, p. 323.

(8). Ibid, pages 325-329.

(9). Prof. Chester Martin, The First "New Province" of the Dominion, p. 17.

Free Press, Jan. 16th, 1890, Tache,

"I know perfectly well that the ~~last~~ general impression was that the last bill of rights  
..... Lord Dufferin, himself was under that impression"

(10). Taylor, Free Press, Jan. 18th, 1890.

(11). Ibid.

(12). Prof. Chester Martin, Canada and Its Provinces, Vol. XIX, p. 90.

(13). Begg, Creation of Manitoba, pages 325-329.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 11

## THE MANITOBA ACT.

## (3). List of Rights Number Four.

Then comes List of Rights Number Four with clause seven, which states, "That the schools be separate, and that the public money for schools be distributed among the different religious denominations in proportion to their respective populations, according to the system of the Province of Quebec." It still further demanded provincial status, the formation of a senate, and protection for those who had taken part in the insurrection. (14)

The origin and reason for this List of Rights is quite apparent. Riel and the leaders of the Catholic party favored the organization of the territory into a province for the purpose of "safeguarding by statute the official use of the French language, separate schools .. were more enduring claims than the most explicit declaration of policy" (15) One author writes thus, "Mgr. Taché insistait pour l'organisation définitive de la Province. Réflexion faite... je crois qu'il vaut mieux que nous entrons de suite dans la Confédération comme province parce qu'il y aurait un nouveau danger à courir au moment d'un nouveau changement" (16) At a later date speaking of the List of Rights Taché said, "non pas ... que nous avions télégraphiée à l'hon. M. Howe, mais bien une nouvelle Liste, formulée par l'exécutif du Gouvernement Provisoire" (17) This List was drawn up at the Bishop's Place, (18) and Chief Justice Wood commenting on it during the Trial of Lepine said, "Father Ritchot would rather lead us to believe that some adviser of Riel and Riel together framed a new Bill of Rights" (19) There is but to conclude that some one, acting without the authority of the ~~peoples~~ peoples' delegates, framed two Bills of Rights, one for the English speaking delegates and one for Father Ritchot.

(14). Ewart, The Manitoba School Question, p. 365.

(15). Prof. Martin, The First "New Province" of The Dominion, p. 17.

(16). Bencit, Vie de Mgr. Taché, Vol. 11, p. 65.

(17). Ibid, p. 66.

(18). Prof. Martin, The First "New Province" of the Dominion, p. 13.

(19). Chief Justice Wood, Trial of Lepine, p. 115.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 11

## THE MANITOBA ACT.

## (3). List of Rights Number Four.

This List of Rights first came to light in Manitoba in 1874, during the Trial of Lepine, when Father Ritchot submitted it as evidence of the promise of amnesty, claiming it "to be similar to that given the other delegates" (20) It was forwarded to Ottawa and a copy of it certified to during the Manitoba School Case in 1895. (21) Archbishop Tache published a copy of it in the Free Press in the issue of Dec. 27th, 1889, claiming it to be the one and only List given the delegates. (22) This was the first occasion on which the people as a whole learned of its existence. (23) Writing on this question in 1894, Mr. Ewart says, "whether List No. 4 is authentic or not, it is clear that it was the one used by the Rev. Ritchot; that it was that gentleman who took the leading part in the negotiations; ... Canada thought at all events that separate schools had been demanded." (24)

The situation at Ottawa is equally interesting. Cartier and MacDonalld were the leaders of the Conservative party then in power. MacDonalld was present during the negotiations but was ill during the time the Bill was before the House. I can best describe the situation by quoting from Decelles and Parkin who wrote the lives of Cartier and MacDonalld respectively. Decelles, writing of Cartier states, "he caused it to be enacted that all schools existing by law or practice previous to the union... would have the right to exist conjointly with other schools to be established hereafter, to share equally... public monies." (25) Parkin says "the leadership of the House devolved on Sir Georges Cartier, who had determined that the key to the whole Province, as he justly termed Manitoba, should be as far as possible in French and Catholic hands." (26) On the return of Father Ritchot from Ottawa he reported to the delegates that "they drew up another list, quite different from that sent by the people of the North-West." (27)

(20). Manitoba School Case, Remedial Order in Council, p. 112.

(21). Ibid, p. 7.

(22). The Manitoba Free Press, Dec. 27th, 1889.

(23). Bryce, Manitoba Pamphlets, Legislative Library,  
From an address given before the Historical and  
Scientific Society of Manitoba, Jan. 9th, 1890.

(24). Ewart, The Manitoba School Question, p. 371.

(25). Decelles, Sir Georges Cartier, The Makers of Canada,  
Vol. IX, p. 161. 72.

(26). Parkin, Sir John A. MacDonalld, Ibid, Vol. IX, p. 161.

(27). Manitoba School Case, Remedial Order in Council, p. 33.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 11

## THE MANITOBA ACT.

## (3). List of Rights Number Four.

The setting was complete with Cartier in control at Ottawa; Riel and his advisers at Red River; and Father Ritchot the only delegate who remained throughout the proceedings. Circumstances appeared to favor the aims and farsighted policy of the leaders of the French element at Red River.

## (4). Special Privileges Granted.

The Manitoba Act passed the House of Commons by a large majority on May 12th, 1870. The only serious objection raised to the school clause was that "it appeared to give the minority more security than was accorded by the British North American Act." (28) In so far as the French element at Red River was concerned every precaution had been taken to protect their economic, language and religious interests. Titles to lands were guaranteed, and in addition 1400000 acres were set aside for the families of the Metis, nor could lands be taken by settlers until the allotments had been made. The French language could be used either in the Legislature or the Courts. The debates of both houses, proceedings of courts, statutes and public notices must be printed in both languages. All rights and privileges relating to denominational schools were safe guarded. One writer has stated that "it ~~maintained~~ embodied practically all the demands contained in the Bill of Rights, and is to this day the greatest monument to the wisdom which prompted the resistance of 1869." (29) And again the same writer says that "the double right to Separate Schools and the official use of the French language, seemed therefore guaranteed by as solemn and explicit a ~~promise~~ compact as men could possibly devise." (30) Truly the French leaders made use of every circumstance to give effect to their ideal, a western Quebec, and to fasten their opinion upon the new Province. It is a clear example of the triumph by various methods of one body of opinion, but it was a triumph won not with the good-will and consent of the minority.

(28). Manitoba School Case, Remedial Order in Council, p. 5.

(29). Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, Vol. 11, p. 59.

(30). Ibid, p. 224.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 11

## THE MANITOBA ACT.

## (4). Special Priveleges Granted.

Fortunes won by force, by the undue use of power and position, and not by the ballot which represents liberty of thought and decision, create an opposing body of opinion that is certain to express itself with violence when the opportunity arrives. The result of force can only be immediate unless existing conditions be maintained. The struggle of 1890 is a direct result of the methods of 1870. The circumstances that made it possible for the French leaders to go the whole length in 1870 did not continue. Changing conditions gave rise to needs and to the development of a body of opinion present in Red River before and at the time of the passing of the Manitoba Act. And as we found elements of discord growing with the events leading up to and through the insurrection, so we find still further seeds of racial strife sown in the Manitoba Act, and more particularly in the methods by which its passage was obtained.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 111

MANITOBA, 1870 TO 1887.

## (1). The Province Under Way.

## (A). The Red River Expedition.

Neither British nor Canadian Governments desired to resort to force in bringing to a peaceful issue the conflict at Red River, (1) and not until it became apparent that some protection must be given to bring about the new order of things was definite action taken in that direction. Nor was the Scott murder responsible for the Wolseley expedition as plans were well under way previous to that unfortunate happening. (2) It had been the intention of the Government at Ottawa to send Governor Archibald in advance of the troops, but that plan gave way before rumours of further treachery. (3) Shortly before the arrival of the troops at Fort Garry on August 24th, 1870, Riel fearing reprisals fled to St. Boniface and thence to the United States. Everything was more or less in a state of chaos, and Wolseley having no authority to set up civil institutions asked Mr. Donald A. Smith, as the representative of the Hudson's Bay Company to take charge temporarily. Shortly after Governor Archibald's arrival Wolseley with the regular troops returned East leaving the volunteers to guard Fort Garry. Though there was considerable hostility among this body toward the French, and more particularly toward Riel and his close associates, the majority of contemporary writers agree that after the first outburst they conducted themselves in a very creditable manner. (4)

(1). Recent Disturbances in the Red River Settlement, p. 173.  
Granville to Young.

(2). Ibid, p. 114. Young to Granville.

(3). Mayshe, The Red River Expedition, p. 222.

C. R. Parkin, Sir John A. MacDonald,  
The Makers of Canada, p. 161.

(4). Steele, Forty Years in Canada, p. 45.

Begg, History of The North-West, Vol. 11, p. 51.



## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 111

## MANITOBA, 1870 TO 1887.

## (2). The Province Under Way.

## (B). Governor Archibald's Policy of Conciliation.

Governor Archibald arrived in his canoe on Sept. 23rd. 1870 and immediately proceeded to set up institutions of government. One from each race formed his first advisory committee; the first police force was representative of both nationalities; and the distribution of seats for the Legislature was so arranged that there should be twelve English and Twelve French members. His policy was one of moderation and toleration, and was marked at every stage by the desire to deal fairly with all parties so as "to unite the different sections of the province" (5) His position was rendered very difficult indeed owing to the spirit of animosity between the two peoples, which in turn was augmented by the return of some of the Canadians who had previously fled the country, and also by the attitude of some of the Ontario volunteers who had enlisted with a view to avenging the death of Scott. There was a tendency "to throw discredit on the feelings and intentions of our French neighbors" (6) The presence of Riel and Lepine in the neighboring parish, without any official attempt being made to bring them to justice, brought much criticism on the Governor and led to bitter attacks upon all his efforts. (7) At times the racial feelings led to serious clashes when innocent Metis suffered for the wrongs of others. (8) On one occasion Elzear Goulet, who through mistaken rumour was supposed to have been implicated in Scott's murder, was stoned and drowned while attempting to escape his pursuers by swimming the Red River. (9) Governor Archibald fearing further disturbances allowed the matter to drop after a lukewarm investigation. The affair of "Riviere aux Islets de Bois" is but another instance of the difficulties with which he had to contend. His thoughtless acknowledgement of Riel and Lepine ~~was~~ during the Fenian scare marred what was in the main a very manly attempt to smooth the way for the new regime in Manitoba.

(5). Begg, Ten Years in Winnipeg, p. 60.

(6). Ibid, p. 43.

(7). Gunn and Tuttle, History of Manitoba, p. 477.

(8). Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 11, p. 133.

(9). Ibid, p. 31.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 111

MANITOBA, 1870 TO 1887.

## (1). The Province Under Way.

## (B). Legislation of 1871.

The first Legislature of Manitoba was equally divided on racial lines, parties were formed on that basis, and legislation was therefore in complete harmony with the racial ideals emphasized in the Manitoba Act. This is particularly true of legislation pertaining to education and court procedure. Provision was made for the formation of a Board of Education, equally divided between Protestants and Catholics, acting in separate sections in all matters pertaining to each class. (10) Text books, supervision and expenditures of grants rested with each, the grant being equally divided. Each section organized its districts, and provision was made whereby a child of one denomination residing in an area where there was no school of his faith might attend ~~another~~ the school in a neighboring district, and the parent had the privilege of paying his taxes to the latter. Every care was taken to protect the minority. The same was true of legislation pertaining to law enforcement. Either language might be used in pleading; the Jury was to be of the nationality of the plaintiff and defendant if both were the same, or six of each if different. (11) In establishing a system of police it was provided that "the Sergeants and Corporals must be able to read and write either the English or the French language." (12) In an Act relating to medical practitioners clause XI stated that "a general knowledge of the French and English languages shall be indispensable." (13) Either language might be used in legislative debates and all reports of proceedings of the House as well as legal documents were printed in both languages.

(10). 34 Vic. 1871, Chap. XI.

(11). Ibid, Chap. 11

(12). Ibid, Chap. XI, p. 31.

(13). Ibid, Chap. XXVI, Sec. 11.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 111

MANITOBA, 1870 TO 1887.

## (2). The Amnesty Question.

## (A). Tache's Promise of Amnesty.

Manitoba emerged from the vortex of strife with an acute racial problem for adjustment; a problem intensified by the presence of the leaders of the insurrection and the question of their future. Bishop Taché had returned from Rome in February 1870, and after consultation with the Dominion Government left for Red River on a mission of peace. He had an understanding with both the Canadian (14) and Imperial Governments (15). He arrived at Red River on March 8th, addressed the representatives of the people on March 15th, and assured them "that there was no further need for anxiety" (16). The delegates left for Ottawa, and after the trial and acquittal of two of them on a charge of being implicated in the Scott murder, they proceeded with the deliberations which led up to the passing of the Manitoba Act. Father Ritchot pressed for a general pardon but was assured that this was a matter for the Imperial authorities. (17) Before his return and after the Act had passed the House, Bishop Taché issued a complete pardon, and that, in the name of the Dominion Government. (18) On June 9th, in a rather apologetic letter (19) to the Dominion Government he sought their approval of his action, but in his own words, "was warned without delay that they repudiated the responsibility" (20). Then began a controversy that served to keep dissension rife for over four years.

(14). Recent Disturbances in the Red River Settlement, p. 111.  
Howe to Tache, Feb. 16th, 1870.

(15). Ibid, p. 173.

Granville to Young, Jan. 8th, 1870.

Ibid, p. 106.

Young to Tache, Feb. 16th, 1870.

(16). The New Nation, March 18th, 1870.

(17). Correspondence of Sir John A. MacDonal, 1840-1891, p. 206.

Cartier to MacDonal, Feb. 15th, 1873.

"we stated that the amnesty was not a question for us, but for the Queen at . . ."

(18). Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 11, p. 12.

(19). Ibid, pages 22-23.

Tache to Howe. "It is the privilege of His Excellency to forgive, and if forgiveness is considered necessary, I earnestly pray for it"

(20). Tache, The Amnesty, p. 7.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 111

MANITOBA, 1870 TO 1887.

## (2). The Amnesty Question.

Bishop Taché at a later date attempted to justify his action because of the necessity for giving this assurance to the Métis, both at the time of his return in March, (21) and also, when it was learned that the Manitoba Act had been passed without pardon granted, and that troops were on the way. (22) He based his right to give this promise on the intent of his former instructions from the Dominion Government, (23) and though not claiming the powers of a plenipotentiary he felt that the right of pardon was already contained in the Queen's Proclamation of Dec. 6th, 1869. (24) He further claimed that the impression given him had not been withdrawn after the death of Scott, but on the contrary, that Father Ritchot had been assured by Cartier that the matter would be adjusted before the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor in the territory. (25)

On the other hand both the Queen's Proclamation and Sir John A. MacDonald's letter of Feb. 16th, 1870 made the terms of pardon conditional "on the immediate and peaceful dispersal of the insurgents" and "on the restoration of the Company's Government." (26) During the debates in the Dominion House on the Manitoba Act the question of Amnesty was fully discussed and the Ministers had assured the House that it was a matter for the attention of Her Majesty's Government. (27) Father Ritchot had been ~~was~~ so informed. There is little doubt but that Bishop Taché was aware of all this.

(21). Taché, The Amnesty, p. 3.

"Had I taken upon myself not to fulfill the mission I had accepted I would certainly have prevented conciliation and drawn new disasters on the colony"

(22). Report of Select Committee, Sessional Paper No. 11, 1875. Enclosure b. Governor Archibald's Evidence.

(23). Taché, The Amnesty, p. 6.

"It had not been told me that in case of any unlooked for event having occurred I should not deliver the message"

Ibid, p. 9.

"The impression conveyed to my mind was quite different from that given by him before the Committee of the North-West, page 107"

(24). Ibid, p. 5.

(25). Report of Select Committee, 1875.

(26). Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 11, p. 290. Lord Dufferin's Report.

(27). Report of Select Committee, 1875. Howe to Taché, July 4th, 1874.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 111

MANITOBA, 1870 TO 1887.

## (2). The Amnesty Question.

Previous to the murder of Scott there does not appear to have been any hesitation on the part of both Imperial and Canadian authorities with regard to granting a complete amnesty even though conditions were naturally attached to proclamations. The event of March 4th, created an entirely new situation in so far as any political party was concerned. The action of the Mackenzie Government four years later (28) when the fire of 1870 was somewhat tempered is a clear indication that even at that time the Government of the day hesitated to grant an amnesty in full. In the face of all this, neither the Conservative Ministry nor any member of it was justified in giving private assurances and at the same time publicly shifting responsibility for action onto the Crown; nor was Bishop Tache justified in basing what amounted to a proclamation on assurances so given. However, Bishop Tache, fully aware of the unrest and anxiety among many of the Métis because of delay in this matter, (29) and the effect it might have upon the position of the Church among them, assumed an authority in the hope that beneficial results might come where dilatory action of governments had formerly proven so disastrous.

## (B). The Fenian Scare.

O'Donohue who had fled to and remained in the United States, relying on the support of the Metis and the aid of a few Americans, hoped to annex Manitoba to the Republic to the south. Had the Métis answered his call to arms in any considerable numbers during Octobre 1871 the situation would have been serious. (30) Though for a time the French element held back, unbiased opinion credits a considerable number of them with rallying to the Proclamation of Governor Archibald. (31) Riel and Lepine acting in good faith (32) after assurances for their own protection had been given.

(28). Government Blue Book, 1875, p. 303.

Debates in the House of Commons.

(29). Report of Select Committee, Sessional Paper No. 11, 1875, Enclosure B, Address to Archibald at St. Norbert,

"an essential feature is still wanting".

(30). Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 11, p. 71.

Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, Vol. 11, p. 74.

(31). The Manitoban, Oct. 14th, 1871.

"The population whom he would have misled have repudiated all such alliances"

Governor Archibald, "I was assured on unquestionable authority, that my proclamation would meet with a loyal response"

(32). Morice, History of the Catholic Church, Vol. 11, p. 74.

Prof. Chester Martin, Canada and Its Provinces, Vol. XIX, p. 71.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 111

MANITOBA, 1870 TO 1887.

## (2). The Amnesty Question.

## (B). The Fenian Scare.

raised a fore of Métis in response to the Governor's call to arms. This body of men assembled at St. Boniface on Oct. 8th, shortly after the capture of O'Donohue, and was reviewed by the Governor on invitation from Mr. Royal and others. The Governor invoked severe criticism from a portion of the English population by shaking hands with and accepting the services of Lepine and Riel. (33) Their response was a tribute to his policy of moderation and conciliation, but it was unfortunate that he should have compromised the Government in relation to the amnesty question by this unnecessary display of friendship. It was even more unfortunate in that it gave critics of the French a still further opportunity to charge them with duplicity and insincerity.

## (C). Amnesty to All but Riel, O'Donohue and Lepine.

What to do with Riel and Lepine caused both the Dominion and Provincial Governments endless anxiety during several years: not only that, the question gave boundless opportunity for the critics of the French to sow strife and dissension, while on their part the French element seeing in it an attack upon their nationality took sides with the defendants and gradually came to look upon them as heroes. Riel himself displayed brazen audacity. He was determined to enter the Dominion elections for the constituency of Provencher in 1872, but Sir John A. MacDonald acting through Bishop Tache had him withdraw (34) in favor of Sir George Cartier who had been defeated in Quebec. In order to relieve the tense situation Sir John A. MacDonald acting through Governor Archibald and Bishop Tache induced Riel and Lepine to leave

(33). Begg, History of The North-West, Vol. 11, p. 71.

(34). Sessional Paper No. 11, 1875. Enclosure A, p. 25.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 111

## MANITOBA, 1870 TO 1887.

## (2). The Amnesty Question.

## (C). Amnesty to All but Riel, O'Donohue and Lepine.

the country for a consideration. (35) Riel returned at a later date, contested the constituency of Provencher in the Dominion election of 1874, and that, in spite of an attempt which had been made by the MacKenzie Government to have him withdraw. (36) He was elected, went to Ottawa and signed the register but was prevented from taking his seat in the House. He evidently did not find the environment at Ottawa congenial, but he left a trail of discord that assisted in bringing matters to a head.

The Orange Society in Ontario had never ceased to press for legal action against those implicated in the murder of Scott, (37) and no doubt were responsible for the body of opinion that led the Blake Government of Ontario to offer a reward of \$5000 for the apprehension of the guilty parties, and also that led the county of Middlesex to offer a similar reward. (38) The whole question came up for discussion in the Manitoba House in 1872, and Attorney General Clarke voiced the opinion of a large majority when he said that "we claim the right to manage our own affairs in our own way." (39) ~~But~~ The Provincial authorities had persistently maintained that the matter was beyond their jurisdiction, and the resolution of Mr. Donald A. Smith was adopted asking the proper authorities to take action "with a view of satisfying justice and the best interests of the country." (40)

## (35). Ibid, p. 25.

note, -The Dominion Government paid Riel and Lepine \$1000, and when that was not sufficient the Hudson's Bay Company advanced Governor Archibald another 600. Riel and Lepine left the province under police protection.

## (36). Blue Book, Debates in the Dominion House, 1875, p. 52.

Dorion to Morris, Jan. 2nd, 1874.

"Will you communicate confidentially to Bishop Tache that I am particularly desirous, in the interest of his people, in order to avoid excitement, that Riel should not be a candidate."

Morris to Dorion, Jan. 5th, 1874.

"Have seen Archbishop. He thinks matters can be arranged if amnesty granted, or written promise of it within a short time or definite period,

(37). ~~Manitoba and Saskatchewan~~ ~~1872~~, but not otherwise."

~~The~~ The Manitoban, March 11th, and 25th, 1872.

Quotes Toronto Globe and Ottawa Times.

## (38). Ibid, Feb. 26, 1872.

## (39). Ibid, Feb. 5th, 1872.

## (40). Ibid, Feb. 12, 1872.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 111

MANITOBA, 1870 TO 1887.

## (2). The Amnesty Question.

## (C). Amnesty to All but Riel, O'Donohue and Lepine.

From the very beginning a group of English speaking residents in Manitoba determined that justice should be done. The Ontario volunteers added to this number, and not a little of Archibald's difficulty was due to his stand in the matter. Various attempts had been made to arrest Riel and Lepine and each had resulted in adding to the racial bitterness. (41) Finally in Sept. 1873 Lepine was placed under arrest. The Grand Jury brought in a True Bill, and he appeared for trial before Chief Justice Wood in October 1874. The trial lasted twenty one days, and was conducted fairly in every respect before a Jury the majority of whom were Metis. (42) He was found guilty of murder and sentenced to be hanged.

The Dominion Government could no longer evade Her responsibility. A Committee of the House compiled all the correspondence relative to the insurrection but settled nothing. (43) A Select Committee made a still further investigation and presented its report. Lord Dufferin presented a very able review of the case to the Imperial Government. Lord Carnarvon accepted his view and recommended that amnesty should be granted to all but Riel, O'Donohue and Lepine, (44) nor did he concur with the view that Archbishop Taché was justified in promulgating a general pardon. (45) On Feb. 24th. 1875 a resolution passed the Dominion House granting pardon to all but the three named. Riel and O'Donohue were banished for five years, and Lepine was given the option of five years banishment or the privilege of completing the two years in jail to which his former sentence had been commuted by Lord Dufferin. Thus ended a question that gave rise to continuous racial feeling, and could not but have its effect on future questions concerning the ideals of the two nationalities.

(41). Gunn and Tuttle, p. 478.

"The feeling of the French half-breeds was most intense"

(42). Trial of Lepine, 1874, p. 21.

Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 11, pages 141-142.

(43). Prof. Chester Martin, Canada and Its Provinces, Vol. XIX, p. 106.

(44). Sessional Paper No. 11, Journal VIII, 1875,

(45). Ibid.

Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 11, p. 306.



## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER III

MANITOBA, 1870 TO 1887.

## (3). Changing Conditions in Manitoba.

## (A). The Metis and Immigration.

The Métis upon whom Archbishop Tache had first staked the fortunes of his Church and national ideal of a little Quebec quickly proved an unstable and uncertain factor. The headlong rush of immigration from Ontario soon decked the prairie with rapidly spreading groups of tillers of the soil, and pressed the hunter and trapper to northern stream and lake while the buffalo moved several hundred miles westward and disappeared almost entirely in 1879. Large numbers of the Metis realizing that their fears had been only too well founded, and that changing conditions left them no longer the rulers of the plains, but inferior under the new economic conditions, followed the trail westward, and when similar conditions began to prevail many of them sank to "the squalid splendor of the city's fringe." (46) Those remaining in ~~Manitoba~~ Manitoba endeavored to adjust to changing conditions but for many years could not be considered a success. (47) The land grants could not be considered a success as many of the recipients sold their quarter section and squandered the proceeds.

Archbishop Taché feared the coming of the new day. (48) He does not appear to have been anxious for a large influx of French Canadians, (49) and at a later date was reminded of this advice by his own people in Quebec: "~~il~~ prétendirent que dans le passé il avait, dans ses discours, dans ses écrits, spécialement dans son Esquisse du Nord-Ouest, déprécié singulièrement les terres ou il appelait maintenant les colons, et qu'il avait longtemps découragé l'immigration qu'il recommandait maintenant." (50) He quite evidently had little confidence in the qualifications of the Metis for leadership under the new conditions, as he brought with him in 1871 some educated persons from the Province of Quebec.

(46). Katherine Hughes, Father Lacombe, p. 357.

(47). Begg, 1877, A Practical Handbook and Guide, p. 59.

"They only cultivate a sufficient area of land to provide themselves with the necessaries of life. There are, however, exceptions to the rule."

Ewart, Manitoba School Case, Remedial Order in Council, p. 91.

"Those restless individuals who until within the last few years hardly owned more than a wigwam or a tent. They have now settled down to some extent."

MacDonald to Landdowne, August 12, 1884.

Correspondence 1840-1891, p. 318.

(48). Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Taché, Vol. 1, p. 532.

(49). Ibid, p. 533.

(50). Ibid, Vol. 11, p. 198.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 111

MANITOBA, 1870 TO 1887.

## (3). Changing Conditions in Manitoba.

During 1871 and for the remainder of his life he earnestly pleaded for immigrants from Quebec, France and Belgium to counteract the ever increasing English population and to protect for his people the privileges obtained by the Manitoba Act. He fully realized the effect of population on legislation, as he wrote "Le nombre va nous faire défaut... et comme sous notre système constitutionnel les nombres sont la force, nous allons trouver à la merci de ceux qui ni nous aiment pas!" (51) This is a clear admission that, under our constitution, the voice of the majority rules, and that no legislation concerning special privileges or of any other nature can be considered permanent. In his efforts to secure French speaking and Catholic immigrants he did not hesitate to make public appeals on the grounds of patriotism to race and religion. (52) Though the English speaking immigration from Ontario was largely without direction and due to over crowding on the fifty and hundred acre farms, leadership from various places had a similar aim for the immigrants of their own nationality and religion. (53) Circumstances favored the English policy while Archbishop Taché's pleadings fell on almost barren ground. The latter though never forgetting the Métis was forced to shift his emphasis from that ground and to adopt a paternal attitude toward all French and Catholic adherents no matter what their origin or place of birth. At a later date this policy and attitude provided food for still further controversy.

(51). Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Taché, Vol. 11, pages 195-196.

(52). Ibid, p. 197.

"que c'est un devoir de religion et de patriotisme pour les Canadiens-Français de la province de Quebec eté ni point laisser ces immenses régions passer en la possession exclusive d'une autre race?"

(53). Recent Disturbances in the Red River Settlement, p. 122. Toronto Globe, April 16, 1870.

"The people of Ontario desire and are determined ..... Ontario desires to see Red River with the same popular institutions as she herself possesses."

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 111

## MANITOBA, 1870 TO 1887.

## (3). Changing Conditions in Manitoba.

The passing of the Metis, in so far as Manitoba is concerned, is very clearly shown by the various census returns. As before stated they numbered 5757 in 1870. In 1881 out of a total population of 65954 the combined Catholic population numbered only 12246. In 1885 out of a total French Catholic population of 11190 there were but 4869 Metis. At no time during the first thirty years of the history of the Province was the Catholic immigration encouraging to the leaders of the Church, as the census of 1891 showed a total population of 152506, of whom only 20571 were Catholics and of that number 9949 were of French or Metis extraction. (54) Archbishop Tache had reason to be more than disappointed. His aims and ideals were face to face with a condition of public opinion which he had hoped to avoid when he said "sous notre système constitutionnel les nombres sont la force".

## (B). The Effect of Changing Population on Legislation.

The transition in population was slow to make itself felt in the field of racial legislation. This may have been due to several reasons. In the first place the two races were evenly divided in the Legislature for a number of years making it difficult to pass any measure of a contentious nature. Secondly, there had been so much ill feeling aroused during the insurrection that the old settlers who were still a majority in the House hesitated to disturb matters by stirring up further controversy. Thirdly the whole truth was still untold and the futility of passing what might be considered illegal legislation caused matters to stand as they were. Lastly, and most important of all, the great body of opinion which had come with the new settlers, and was still continuing to pour in, had been so completely occupied with economic questions of home prosperity, and later with the Dominion Government, that it had little time to concentrate on purely racial matters.

The first effect is shown in the Education Act of 1873 (55) when the Protestant Section of the Board of Education was enlarged over that of the Catholic Section, but without loss of power for the latter in its own field: also when the same Act divided the grants pro rata to the population instead of one moiety to each as in 1871. The second effect

(54). Manitoba School Case, Remedial Order in Council, p. 59.  
Quoted by Mr. Dalton McCarthy, Jan. 1895.

(55). 36 Vic. 1873.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 111

MANITOBA, 1870 TO 1887.

## (3). Changing Conditions in Manitoba.

## (B). The Effect of Changing Population on Legislation.

was shown in the Education Act of 1876, (56) when the Winnipeg School Board was given a large measure of local control in educational matters. The Act of 1881 shifted the burden of levying and collecting taxes on to the municipalities, without however, limiting the control of the Sections. (57)

The effect was about equally noticeable in the realm of court procedure. In the session of 1876 the law relating to petit jurors was amended, so that, of the forty eight jurors summoned, two thirds must be English speaking; (58) and further, in civil cases, that the court might order that the jurors be exclusively of English speaking persons, or if demanded an equal number of English and French.

Owing to financial difficulties the Legislature in 1875 passed a resolution to abolish the Senate, but the Upper House defeated the Bill on the vote of the chairman. The measure again passed the Legislature in 1876 and was carried in the Senate by one of a majority after those favoring the Bill had been assured of other appointments. (59) The French element considered this institution one of the safe-guards of their privileges, and while the Act was before the Legislature they questioned the move on that ground. Premier Davis, Mr. Luxton and others assured them that no attack upon their privileges was intended. Mr. Cornish stated that "he believed the old settlers and the French would make common cause if their rights were infringed upon;" (60) Future events were to prove that this was but the taking down of the first line of defences.

The first effective result, and the one that made it possible for public opinion to express itself through legislation came in with the change in representation in the Legislature. A Redistribution Bill intended to give the English a larger representation was passed in 1874, but no great change took place until 1878 when sixteen English and eight French were elected.

(56): 39 Vic. 1876, Chap. 1.

(57): 44 Vic. 1881, Chap. XXXIV.

(58): 39 Vic. 1876, Chap. XXXVII.

(59): Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 11, pages 197-198.

(60): Ewart, in The Manitoba School Case, p. 8.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 111

MANITOBA, 1870 TO 1887.

## (3). Changing Conditions in Manitoba.

## (B). The Effect of Changing Population on Legislation.

Though the French element had given some ground in the matter of Court procedure, the control of education in Winnipeg and were decidedly in the minority in the Legislature they had really made separate school legislation more effective in other parts of the Province. Archbishop Taché and his advisers never lost sight of possibilities in that direction, and step by step the interests of the minority were protected. The Act was amended in 1873 giving five rate-payers or the parents of fifteen children the right to establish a separate school; or the children in one district the privilege of attending another of their own faith, and the parents the right to transfer their taxes. The Act of 1875 gave either Protestants or Catholic Catholics the right to have schools within the same area. The Act of 1877 partially protected Catholic interests in Winnipeg by guaranteeing the position of so many trustees of their faith on the Winnipeg School Board. The Act of 1882 made provision for separate Normal Schools. "Certes, la perfection absolue ne se rencontre nulle part sur la terre" (61)

(61). Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Taché, Vol. 11, p. 131.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 111

MANITOBA, 1870 TO 1887.

## (4). The Rising Tide of Opposition to Special Privileges.

It would be erroneous to infer, that for any considerable period of time, during the history of the first five Governments of Manitoba, that the Province was free from racial controversy, or attacks upon the privileges held by the French element. From the very beginning there was agitation and unrest. During the earlier years of the Province meetings were held at which the Manitoba Act and the Acts of the Legislature were severely criticised. (62) This was particularly true of the Acts relating to Education. During the session of 1871 Sutherland and Hay sponsored a Bill which if accepted would have prevented the establishing of denominational schools. (63) In the session of 1874 Mr. Hay suggested "that a School Bill should be introduced, doing away with the denominational system. (64) In 1874 Luxton spoke "strongly against separate schools," (65) while in the Free Press Editorial we read that "the school law requires more radical change than any other. If we cannot for constitutional reasons, divest the system of its sectarianism entirely, we can, and should, so amend it." (66) In 1876 the school question was again to the fore, a school party was formed and a platform drawn up which advocated that Separate Schools should be abolished; that a non-sectarian system of schools under a Minister of Education should be established; that the programme of the schools should be conducted in English. (67) The agitation reached such a height that Archbishop Tache took up the pen in defence of the French and Catholic side of the question. It was in response to this burst of public opinion that Winnipeg was granted a system of schools that might be termed Public Schools. While speaking on the School Act of 1881 Premier Norquay said, "I am free to say that were I to be guided by my own individual convictions in the matter... I would ask the House for different legislation" (68) Mr. Hay in reply said that "the time must arrive when the whole school question must be dealt with differently" (69) The atmosphere was never entirely free of the question, and the ever increasing English population, meeting with an element that insisted on its rights in every detail could have but one effect.

(62). Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 11, p. 9.

Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Tache, Vol. 11, p. 160.

(63). Hill, History of Manitoba, p. 601.

McBeth, The Romance of Western Canada, p. 174.

(64). Hill, History of Manitoba, p. 606.

(65). Joseph Martin, Legislative Debates 1890,  
Free Press, Mar. 5th, 1890.

(66). Free Press, July 15th, 1874.

(67). Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Tache, Vol. 11, p. 310.

(68). Manitoba Weekly Free Press, May 20th, 1881.

(69). Ibid.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 111

MANITOBA, 1870 TO 1887.

## (4). The Rising Tide of Opposition to Special Privileges.

The first real clash, precipitated by the French under the leadership of Mr. Royal, came in 1879, when that gentleman endeavored to undermine Mr. Norquay in order that he might gain advantage for the declining fortunes of his own people. (70) Mr. Norquay in self defence appealed to the English speaking members of the House on a platform, one plank of which was "to secure the passage of a measure to dispense with the printing of the public documents of the Province in the French language." (71) It is remarkable that on the very first occasion when a Government adopted a platform of attack on French privileges that every English speaking member of the House lined up in support of the policy. It is a very clear indication of the strong under-current of thought which had never ceased to exist since the days of the insurrection. The Royal intrigue proved another strategic blunder and left the French party an ineffective minority in the House. A Bill passed the House to dispense with the printing of public documents in the French language, but was reserved by Lieutenant Governor Cauchon "for the decision of the Governor General in Council, as to its constitutionality." (72) A new Redistribution Act was passed, and on appealing to the country the Government was sustained by a large majority. The French representation was reduced to six, all of whom were Government supporters.

The year 1881 ushered in the land boom, with its era of speculation, heavy immigration from Ontario, and railway expansion. The controversy with the Dominion Government over "Provincial Rights"; the ~~many~~ speculative whirl; the attention of the new-comers to home building, and the adjustments of this period of transition and development left little time for thought of racial differences. But with the Dominion controversy removed, economic conditions gradually adjusting, the calm in racial controversy seemed like the forerunner of the coming storm. The old question of the inequality of division of school grants, and the waste of money on the dual printing of ~~debates and~~ public documents were under fire when the Norquay Government resigned in Dec. 1887. The under current which had been fanned by the Rebellion of 1885 was appearing on the surface and needed but a leader to stir its smoking embers into flame.

(70). Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 11, p. 343.

(71). Ibid.

(72). Ibid., p. 348.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER IV

## THE GREENWAY ADMINISTRATION.

## (1). The Trend of Opinion in 1888 and 1889.

The French element had sensed the rising danger, and it would appear that on at least two occasions they had received assurances from prominent Liberal partisans; first during the St. Francois Xavier election in January 1888 (1); and again on the admission of Mr. Prendergast to the Cabinet in February of the same year. (2) In the election of July 1888 the Greenway Government was returned with thirty three out of thirty eight seats, and of the total number six seats were represented by French members. Had the Liberal Party adopted the policy of 1890 during the St. Francois Xavier election its entrance to power would have been postponed for a short time only, as future events clearly indicated the trend of the great body of opinion among the English speaking people.

The first indication of Government policy came on July 12th. 1889 when the Catholic Section of the Board of Education was instructed to turn over to the Provincial Treasurer their reserve of \$13879.47. The first public statement indicating possible action was made at Portage La Prairie in August of the same year. Mr. Dalton McCarthy representing the "Equal Rights Association", while attacking the Dominion Government for refusing to disallow the "Clergy Reserves Act" urged united action against Catholic privileges in both Ontario and Manitoba. The Hon. Joseph Martin who followed him on the platform, though not committing the Government, clearly indicated that he was in complete sympathy with the views of Mr. McCarthy. (3) About the same time, Mr. Smart, the Minister of Public Works, speaking at Clearwater said that "it was the Government's intention to overhaul the whole educational machine" (4); later at Wawanesa he again expressed himself in a similar manner. The fire once kindled could not be extinguished; the racial wounds of former days opened with the touch; the ghosts of Scott and Riel stalked forth, and the two bodies of opinion began to surge forward en masse. Press and Pulpit, educational and political leaders entered the lists. Archbishop Tache' now

- (1). The Manitoba School Case, Remedial Order in Council, 1895.  
Mr. Fisher's Affidavit, p. 115.  
Mr. Francis Letter to the Free Press, Feb. 21, 1891, p. 119.
- (2). Ibid.  
Rev. Allard's Affidavit, p. 126.  
Mr. Alloway's Affidavit, pages 128-129.
- (3). Beggs, History of the North-West, Vol. 111, p. 326.
- (4). The Manitoba School Case, 1895, p. 106.



## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER IV

## THE GREENWAY ADMINISTRATION.

## (1). The Trend of Opinion in 1888 and 1889.

worn with half a century of noble service and sacrifice for the cause of his people, bravely yet sadly, returned to the struggle, and with all the strength of his powerful intellect and forceful personality endeavored to ~~stay~~ stay the tide. But times and conditions had changed. Population was not the only factor that told for their rise from the English speaking ranks a body of determined leaders, well educated; strong personalities, capable on the platform and aided by an influential Press. Better wisdom might have told the determined French leaders that all they could hope for was compromise; but they stood to their guns with a courage based on the faith in constitutional rights that proved their undoing and left them without a vestige of their former privileges.

On August 29th, the Manitoba Teacher's Association passed a resolution opposing any definite change. The Hon. Mr. Prendergast resigned from the Ministry early in September, and in October the first blow fell when the Government by Order in Council ceased publication of the Official Gazette in French. (5) On Dec. 27th Archbishop Tache published the famous Bill of Rights No. 4, and this led to a paper controversy with Mr. Taylor and Mr. Hay, all of which still further discredited the French cause in the minds of the English people. The leading representative of the various religious denominations expressed their attitude, and by the opening of the Legislature on January 30th, 1890 public opinion had been definitely arrayed on either side, so that, the Government without having definitely committed itself to an extreme policy found the weight of English opinion pointing strongly in that direction.

## (2). Racial Legislation of 1890, 1892 and 1894.

The Manitoba School Question forms such a large page in the history of the Greenway Administration that it is the intention of the writer to deal with it separately, simply introducing it in this section in the chronological order of racial measures passed during the various sessions.

(5). Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 111, pages 327-328.

## THE TWO FACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER IV

## THE GREENWAY ADMINISTRATION.

## (2). Racial Legislation of 1890, 1892 and 1894.

The Speech from the Throne forecast contentious legislation, and the French members, ably led by Mr. Prendergast and supported on several measures by five English speaking members of the House (6) immediately opened the attack in defence of the use of the French language. On February 5th, it was moved "that proceedings of the House be not printed in French during the present session" (7) and the struggle closed in earnest. (8) On February 12th, Premier Greenway introduced a motion to amend the Rules of the House, "so as to make it unnecessary to use the French language in conducting the business of the House" (9) This was carried by a vote of 27 to 6, and the final blow was dealt the recognition of French as an Official language. On Feb. 18th, the Hon. Joseph Martin introduced two Bills, the one, "An Act Respecting the Department of Education", the other, "An Act Respecting Public Schools" (10) both to take effect May 1st, 1890. On March 14th, "The Bill to Amend the Administration of Justice Act of 1885, and Amendments", received its second reading, (11) and passed at a later date. The effect of this was to do away with the provisions relating to French Jurors. On March 18th, the six Catholic Holidays which had formerly been recognized by law were reduced to two. Such a swift succession of blows forces one to the conclusion, that in the heat of bitterness, the Government and public opinion had reached the point where they were prepared to extract the last pound of flesh.

Nor was thought of compromise any more in evidence in 1892. On March 10th. of that year a Redistribution Bill passed the House enlarging its membership to forty, but so arranging the electoral districts that the number of French constituencies was reduced to three. (12) During the session of 1894 the Department of Education was empowered to cancel municipal grants to schools not complying with the Act. This forced a double tax burden upon Catholics wishing to maintain private schools.

(6). Begg, History of the North-West, p. 335.

(7). Manitoba Free Press, Feb. 5th, 1890.

(8). Ibid, Feb. 6th. Prendergast, "It had been used since 1870"  
Ibid, Feb. 12th. Roblin, "Nothing had been heard about the impropriety of printing in French until the visit of Dalton McCarthy"

(9). The Winnipeg Tribune, Feb. 12th, 1890.

(10). Ibid, Feb. 18th, 1890.

(11). Ibid, March 14th, 1890.

(12). Begg, History of the North-West, pages 343-345.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER IV

## THE GREENWAY ADMINISTRATION.

## (3). The Manitoba School Question.

## (A). The Education Acts of 1890.

On February 18th. copies of the Acts relating to education were presented to the House, the one, "An Act Respecting the Department of Education and Advisory Board"; the other, "An Act Respecting Public Schools". The former abolished the Board of Education and the office of the Superintendent; it replaced them by a Department of Education under the direction of a Minister of the Crown and an Advisory Board, composed of seven members, four appointed by the Lieutenant -Governor in Council, two by the teachers and one by the University Council. (13) The latter repealed all former statutes relating to education; made all Catholic and Protestant schools subject to its provisions; eliminated all Separate schools and took over their property; made all schools free and non-sectarian; left the matter of religious exercises to the board of trustees; definitely stated the time when such exercises might be taken and left their further regulation to the Advisory Board. (14) The first Act abolished denominational administration of the schools and substituted that of the Government. The second Act established a system of local administration, free from denominational control, and subject to the provisions of the Act. The two Acts completely transferred the control and direction of the schools from the denominations to the rate-payers, and they reduced the opportunity for religious instruction to a ~~minimum~~ minimum.

## (B) \*The Debates in the House.

It is doubtful if in the history of Canadian parliaments, such extremely contentious matters, promising such a harvest of racial discord and bitterness, have been approached so abruptly and with so little of the spirit of compromise as was in evidence during the Legislative debates on the School Acts of 1890. Racial feeling ran riot, and words better unspoken, stirred both parties to the point where no quarter was either asked or given (15) The Hon. Mr. Martin was the chief exponent of a purely non-sectarian type (16) of school. He consistently advocated that policy from the (13). Manitoba Statutes, 1890, 53 Vic. Chap. XXXVII.

(14). Ibid, Chap. XXXVIII.

(15). Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. III, p. 333.

"The debate on the School Bill was the most prolonged and bitter ever witnessed in the Manitoba Legislature"

(16). Free Press, March 5th, 1890.

"allow no approach in the schools of any kind of religious beliefs or religious exercises"

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER IV

## THE GREENWAY ADMINISTRATION.

## (3). The Manitoba School Question.

## (B). The Debates in the House.

the beginning, (17) and for years after the passing of the Acts of 1890. (18) He stoutly denied that any treaty or bargain had been made with the Catholics regarding Separate Schools (19), or that the Act was unconstitutional in any way. The Government evidently were not sure on this point as they voted \$1000 for school litigation during the same session in which the Acts were passed. Mr. Prendergast closed a masterly address with the statement that "the essential thing is religious instruction... They would submit, sad and resigned, only after every legal expedient had been tried." (20) Mr. A. F. Martin of Morris was particularly vindictive, and charged the Minister with endeavoring to establish "Godless schools." Mr. Roblin, afterwards Premier of the Province opposed both Acts. (21) Amendment after amendment was made, but the Bills finally passed the House on March 19th. by a vote of 25 to 11 and came into effect on May 1st.

(17). Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 111, p. 326.

Martin at Portage La Prairie, August 1889.

"A great argument in favor of Separate Schools was the pertinacity with which the Protestant element had insisted upon the teaching of religion in the schools."

(18). Ewart, The Manitoba School Question,

Hon. Joseph Martin before the Liberal Club, Winnipeg, Feb. 20th, 1894.

"He had made a strong effort to have the schools controlled by the Government really made national schools, with religion obliterated."

(19). Tribune, March 5th, 1890.

(20). Winnipeg Tribune, March 8th, 1890.

(21). Ibid, March 6th, 1890.

"On account of the administration of the schools under a responsible Minister of the Crown there was through the whole of Canada such a war of creed and race as was threatening the very foundation of the country."

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER IV

## THE GREYBAY ADMINISTRATION.

## (3). The Manitoba School Question.

## (C). Criticisms of the Catholic, Separate Schools.

The impression appears to have prevailed that the secular instruction in these schools was not up to the standard of that in the schools under the Protestant Section. Mr. Prendergast made a partial admission of this during the debates of 1890. (22) Katherine Hughes, in confirms this impression when she writes that "Manitoba politicians seized upon defects in the training and qualifications of separate school teachers to condemn the whole system. Archbishop Tache and his school boards growing aware of the defects, had resolved to improve conditions, but their opportunity was gone." (23) Inspector Young in his report on these schools in 1894 says that "as a rule the teachers have the ability and energy to do good work, but they lack Normal School training. The different subjects are taken up and taught in the same manner that was done in the Province of Quebec twenty years ago." (24) Mr. Dalton McCarthy's reply to Ewart, "Let them remain Catholic but not French", is significant. (25) The chief criticism, however, is found in a resolution passed at a meeting of the Anglican Synod on Feb. 2nd, 1895, and which reads as follows, - "That system failed to give the state a proper security for good secular instruction in the Roman Catholic Schools, while it gave that body an unfair advantage over other denominations." (26) Archbishop Tache justified this latter criticism when he said that "the Church has always insisted upon its children receiving their education in schools conducted under the supervision of the Church, and upon them being trained in the doctrines and faith of the Church." (27) The Catholic Church demands complete control in order that the supervision, teaching and text-books, and the whole atmosphere and outlook may tend to produce good Catholics. Unfortunately, ~~was~~ this has dwarfed the secular instruction and repeatedly left their schools, justly, open to the criticism that the secular training was inefficient. It is remarkable how slow French Catholics have been in realizing the detrimental effect this neglect has had upon their cause in Manitoba.

(22). Manitoba Free Press, March 6th, 1890.

Prendergast, "He did not say that certain abuses might not have crept in."

(23). Katherine Hughes, Father Lucombe, p. 339.

(24). Manitoba School Case, 1895, Exhibit J.

(25). Ibid, p. 74.

(26). Ibid, p. 334.

(27). Ewart, <sup>Question</sup> The Manitoba School Case, pages 7-8.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER IV

## THE CROWTHER ADMINISTRATION.

## (3). The Manitoba School Question.

## (D). The Attitude of the Protestant Clergy.

Though the leaders in the Presbyterian and Anglican Churches gave a large measure of support to the School Acts of 1839, they do not appear to have been in hearty accord with Martin's ideal of a purely secular system of education. In fact, Bishop Machray frankly stated that he would prefer Separate Schools to schools entirely devoid of religion. There is no doubt but that they would have been willing to effect a compromise with the Catholic Church, (28) if that had been at all possible. There is no doubt that their attitude prevented Mr. Martin going as far as he would have wished. It has been stated that they could not agree among themselves as to what measure of religious teaching might be undertaken in the schools, but that statement is not entirely just, as we do find Bishop Machray placing himself on record as being in agreement with the stand taken by Dr. King, Principal of Manitoba College. (29) The views generally subscribed to by Protestant denominations were clearly and concisely expressed by Dr. King on Oct. 29th. 1839, and may be summed up as follows, -(30)

1. The aim of the state is good citizenship, and good citizenship depends on moral as well as secular instruction.
2. To exclude moral teaching from the schools would defeat the very end the state has in view.
3. Protestants and Catholics agree on the necessity of religion permeating the school.
4. The state cannot concede to any private organization the full control of education if it would preserve its independence.
5. The principle of the separation of the church and state is violated when state aid is given to institutions which use that aid to foster distinctive doctrines and creeds.
6. The principle of separate schools operates injuriously to the well being of the state in that it perpetuates distinctions and results in mutual ignorance and misconception.

(28). Ewart, The Manitoba School Question, p. 202.

Dr. Duval, Address. Nov. 15th. 1839.

Ibid, Dr. King, Oct. 29th. 1839.

"The final settlement of the question may be remote  
 ... Let us cherish the hope, that, when it is reached,  
 it may be one which will not signalize the triumph  
 of any political or ecclesiastical party, but one  
 in which good men of all parties will take pride"

(29). Ibid, p. 161.

(30). Ibid, pages 161 -190.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER IV

## THE GREENWAY ADMINISTRATION.

## (3). The Manitoba School Question.

## (E). French Objections to the School Acts of 1890.

The French raised three main objections to the School Acts of 1890. In the first place the new system afforded little opportunity for the Church to give effect to her educational ideals. Secondly, the new system deprived them of privileges which they considered to have been guaranteed by a treaty. Thirdly, the new system was but a continuation of the Protestant system in practice previous to 1890.

In the first of these objections there is a direct conflict between the Catholic Church ideal of Quebec and the English ideal as expressed by Dr. King in relation to the position of the Church and State in the education of the young. The English ideal is expressed on the previous page. The French ideal is to be found in the thought expressed by Archbishop Tache when he said, "pour garder men allegiance a ma patrie du ciel, a l'Eglise catholique, au Canada francais!" (31) At a later date Bishop Langevin expressed a similar thought when he said, "is our law not the best safe-guard of our national liberties? It is a question of being Catholic first and Canadians afterwards!" (32) The complete French Catholic ideal could never be acceptable to a Province so dominately English as was Manitoba in 1890, or during the years following. To grant complete control of texts, programme, training of teachers and supervision without any state direction is more than any minority nationality or creed has a right to expect. The English system which seems to work admirably has separate schools to the extent that the teachers are ~~separate~~ Catholic, religious instruction is given and the Church ~~has~~ is closely in touch with the ~~the~~ school; but all schools are under the one Board of Education, all make use of one programme of secular studies, all are under a Government system of inspection, and there is a common system for the training of teachers. (33) If it is important that the Catholic Church should have the opportunity ~~to~~ through the school to train the young in her ideals, it is surely equally important that the state which gives her protection should have the same right. Herein lies the ground for compromise. However, the chasm between the two

(31). Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Tache, Vol. 11, p. 806.

(32). Langevin, Winnipeg Tribune, Nov. 26, 1896.

(33). Ewart, The Manitoba School Question, p. 162.  
Bishop Machray, Dec. 1889.

## THE TWO FACTS IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER IV

## THE CATHOLIC ADMINISTRATION.

## (3). The Manitoba School Question.

## (1). French Objections to the School Acts of 1890.

racés could not be abridged in 1890 by the few who sought moderation and compromise. The Hon. Mr. Martin stood for a complete secular ideal, and the French for a complete Catholic ideal, (34) and neither triumphed.

Previous to 1870 two systems, if they might be called systems, of denominational schools were in existence, neither of which were under state direction. (35) The French contended that it was the intention of Clause 32 of the Manitoba Act to continue that condition. The Privy Council decided that that condition was not removed by the Acts of 1890. (36) The French still further contended that their privileges under the Manitoba Act rested on a bargain or treaty. This was dealt with in Chapter 11 and the view taken that a result obtained through advantage of position, force of arms, and without mutual consent (37) could not be considered either as a bargain or as a treaty.

The third objection, that the school system after 1890 was but a continuation of the Protestant system, was very ably defended by Archbishop Taché in a pamphlet issued in 1893, and quoted in full in by Mr. Ewart in "The Manitoba School Question". (38) There is great difference of opinion on this point, (39) but whether it be right or wrong the attitude of the French element contributed to the growth of that condition of affairs. When copies of the proposed Bills were given to the Catholic Section of the Board of Education the members met and unanimously decided to have nothing to do with them. (40) The same spirit was shown throughout the time when the measures were before the House and during the years when the question was before the Courts. (41)

(34). Hor'Wester, Nov. 9, 1896.

Bishop Langevin, "would never cease demanding the full and complete rights guaranteed by the constitution to the Catholics of Manitoba."

(35). Archbishop Taché, Une page de L'Histoire des Ecoles de Manitoba, p. 18.

(36). Ewart, The Manitoba School Question, p. 21.

(37). Manitoba Free Press, Jan. 15, 1890.

Archbishop Tache, "I know perfectly well that the general impression was that the last Bill of Rights was the one given to the delegates"

(38). Ewart, The Manitoba School Question, pages 139-159.

(39). O. D. Skelton, The Language Issue in Canada, p. 16.

Ewart, The Manitoba School Question, p. 27.

Decision of the Privy Council in 1892.

(40). Winnipeg Tribune, March 5th, 1890.

(41). 34 above.



## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## Chapter IV

## THE GREENWAY ADMINISTRATION.

## (3). The Manitoba School Question.

## (F). Public Opinion Remains Firm.

Never in the history of Manitoba or the Dominion has public opinion been so thoroughly stirred, or the different attitudes so persistently sustained over a number of years as on this question. Every organization in the Province kept its weight in the struggle; while the Orange Lodges and many of the Protestant clergy stirred the fight on one hand; the St. Jean Baptiste Society, and after 1892 the Catholic Truth Society, aided by the Catholic clergy led the opposition forces. The echoes of the struggle rang from end to end of Canada and found voice in Press and on platform. A rather unique reflection of public opinion was seen at the meeting of the Conservative Association in Winnipeg in 1892. That body pledged its support to the School Acts providing they were found *intra vires* by the Privy Council. The Provincial elections of 1892 and 1896 were fought on the school issue, and the Greenway Government was sustained on each occasion. The unequal struggle was telling on the rank and file of the Catholic forces as in 1894 Inspector Young was able to report that, "from my intercourse with the French and Half-breed Catholics of the province I have no hesitation in saying that the vast majority of them are prepared to abide by the final decision of the authorities in regard to the school question" (42)

(42). The Manitoba School Case, Remedial Order in Council, Exhibit J, p. 161.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER IV

## THE GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION.

## (4) The School Question in the Courts.

The French did not hesitate to carry their case to the Courts. Several courts were open to them, and step by step the case was fought until a partial agreement was reached in 1896. They first appealed to the Lieutenant-Governor, but, unfortunately for the French, Doctor Schultz had recently been appointed to that position and he refused to reserve the Acts for Royal sanction. (43) The Dominion Government refused to disallow them on the ground that their legality should first be tested in the courts. (44) Mr. Laurier and Mr. Blake, then in opposition, moved a resolution to that effect while Sir John A. Macdonald, the master strategist, smiled his approval, and the House unanimously rid itself for the time being of a troublesome child.

On Nov. 24th. 1890 Mr. Barrett took action against the City of Winnipeg to quash a by-law concerning the levying of taxes on Catholics under the new School Act. The case was dismissed by Mr. Justice Killam who declared the law *intra vires*. This decision was sustained by a majority of the judges of the Court of the Queen's Bench on Feb. 2nd. 1891. On October 28th. of the same year the Supreme Court of Canada reversed the decision. The case was heard before the Privy Council and on July 30th. 1892 that Court reversed the former decision and declared that the Acts of 1890 did not deprive the Catholics of Manitoba of any privilege or right held previous to the passing of the Manitoba Act in 1870. (45) The case of Logan versus Winnipeg was dealt with similarly.

The former cases were no sooner concluded than another was begun. Petitions largely signed were presented to the Governor-General-in-Council asking for remedial legislation under Section 92 of the Manitoba Act and Section 93 of the British North American Act of 1867, on the ground that the School Acts of 1890 did deprive the Catholics of Manitoba of rights and privileges enjoyed since 1870. The Dominion Government could no longer refuse to act, but again they proceeded by way of the courts. A case was made out by the Judicial Committee of the Canadian Privy Council and submitted to the Supreme Court of Canada.

(43) Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 111, p. 403.

(44) Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Taché, Vol. 11, p. 679.

(45) Ewart, The Manitoba School Question, p. 11.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER IV

## THE GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION.

## (4). The School Question in the Courts.

The two principal questions concerned the effect of the School Acts on the rights and privileges enjoyed by Catholics since 1870, and also the right of the Dominion Government to pass Remedial Legislation. The Supreme Court gave an adverse decision and once more it was carried to the Privy Council. On Feb. 22nd. 1895 the Privy Council, though not deciding on the right of the Legislature of Manitoba to pass such legislation came to the conclusion that the rights and privileges enjoyed by Catholics since 1870 had been affected, and further that the Dominion Government had the right to pass Remedial Legislation. (46)

Previous to this decision, and acting in response to a petition from the Catholic Bishops of Canada requesting the Government to disallow the Education Act of 1894, the Governor-General-in-Council, had forwarded the said petition to the Manitoba Government recommending that they endeavor to adjust the difficulty. (47) The Manitoba Government replied on Oct. 20th. 1894, stating that, "the laws make no distinction between Catholics and Protestants, or denominations of any kind," and refused to act on the recommendation. (48)

The Governor-General-in-Council heard the case now returned from the Privy Council on Feb. 26th. 1895, and on March 13th. agreed with the finding of that Court. Again the Government of Manitoba was appealed to but still no action was taken. They took the stand that both the Government and Assembly would resist "by every constitutional means any such attempt to interfere with their provincial autonomy." (49) The Hon. Clifford Sifton who since the retirement of Mr. Martin had become the defender of the School Acts stated on Jan. 4th. 1895 that, "there will be a deadlock between the Dominion and Provincial Governments if the former decides to interfere with our existing School Acts." (50) Again he said that "the people

(46). <sup>The</sup> ~~Manitoba~~ <sup>Manitoba</sup> School Case, Remedial Order in Council, p. 12.

(47). Swart, The Manitoba School Question, pages 118-120.

(48). Manitoba School Case, Archives, Legislative Library, pages 346-347.

(49). Ibid, p. 347.

(50). The Winnipeg Tribune, Jan. 4th. 1895.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 17

## THE GREENWAY ADMINISTRATION.

## (4). The School Question in the Courts.

of Manitoba know what kind of schools they want and will see to it that they get them." (51) The Conservative Government at Ottawa grown moribund and rent with factional disputes since the death of Sir John A. MacDonald refused to enforce the decision of its own Privy Council, and there the matter stood until the session of 1896 when Sir Charles Tupper endeavored to have the Remedial Bill passed. The life of the Dominion Parliament was near its close, and the opposition talked both the Government and Remedial Bill out of existence. Sir Charles Tupper came to the country on the issue, but his party went down to defeat. The party that had framed the Manitoba Act in 1870, and had been worried with the difficulties of the little Province from that day on, passed to defeat on an issue that might well trace its origin to the stirring days of the parent legislation.

The chang  
(52). The Montreal Gazette, Jan. 17th. 1895.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER LV

## THE O'BRIENWAY ADMINISTRATION.

## (5). The Laurier Sifton Agreement.

The change of Government at Ottawa gave promise of compromise where formerly both attempt at compromise and compulsion had failed. Laurier and Sifton met in conference in 1896 and decided upon what is known as the Laurier-Sifton Agreement. This gave recognition to the French language in the schools and to their right to have teachers in schools where ~~thair~~ Catholic children were in considerable numbers but it fell far short of Catholic expectations. It but touched the fringe of Catholic complaint, and though Protestants were in the main pleased with the settlement, (52) the Catholics were far from being satisfied: (53) this was particularly

(52). Winnipeg Tribune, Nov. 21, 1896.

Mr. Dalton McCarthy, Toronto,

"I look upon the settlement as a very satisfactory one."

Mr. E. T. Clarke, Editor of the Orange Sentinel,

"The settlement is remarkably reasonable"

Mr. Goldwin Smith, Toronto,

"The terms were evidently dictated by a spirit of fairness and toleration"

Dr. Bryce,

"It ought to settle the matter"

Archbishop of Rupert's Land,

"I think it is about the best arrangement that can be made under the circumstances"

Dr. King,

"It is to be hoped that it will be accepted by the Roman Catholic Minority"

(53). La Minerve, Montreal,

"It is not even a compromise. It is a regular capitulation made by a Catholic Minister, betraying Catholics"

The Nor'Wester, Nov. 9, 1896.

Bishop Langevin,

"Would never cease demanding the full and complete rights guaranteed by the constitution"

Ibid, Nov. 21st, 1896,

"I characterize it as a farce"

Ibid, Nov. 23, 1896.

Father Cherrier, "Let it cost what it will we must ~~have~~ have Catholic schools"

The Northwest Review, Nov. 25, 1896.

note, -It demanded a complete return to conditions before 1890.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER IV

## THE GREENWAY ADMINISTRATION.

## (5). The Laurier Sifton Agreement.

true of the English speaking Catholics (54) who had not sought for and were not concerned about the French language. As a matter of fact very little had been heard concerning the French language after the debates in the early portion of the session of 1890. From the date of the introduction of the School Acts the whole struggle had centred around the School Question. The Laurier Sifton Agreement was made law during the session of 1897, and the struggle in so far as political parties was concerned shifted to the under ground channels of diplomacy where it simmered, healthy and vigorous, in the minds of both races. The majority of the Catholic districts accepted the arrangement as a temporary one while others continued to operate private schools. The condition was anything but settled when the Greenway Government was defeated by the Conservatives under Mr. Hugh John MacDonal in 1899.

## (54). Nor'Wester, Nov, 23rd. 1896.

Mr. A. C. Kennedy, President of the Catholic Truth Society.

"No intelligent Catholic can approve of the terms of the school settlement!"

The Winnipeg Tribune, Nov. 21st. 1896.

Bishop O'Brien of Halifax,

"I can scarcely believe that any Government of Canada could possibly have, would be a party to such a transaction!"

The Manitoba Free Press, Nov. 16th. 1896.

From La Presse, Quebec, Nov. 14th. 1896.

"The English speaking portion of the minority are not desirous of having the French language used in the schools... a more complete and humiliating surrender of principle by a public man and a Premier has never been witnessed in Canada."

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER V

## THE BORDEN ADMINISTRATION.

## (1). The Racial Problem Intensified by Immigration.

## (A). Changes in Population.

The closing years of the nineteenth and the first two decades of the twentieth centuries were marked by a rapid increase in the population of Manitoba. The various census since 1891 indicate the relative increase of the two nationalities. From 152506 in 1891 the total population increased to 255211 in 1901; 461394 in 1911 and 610118 in 1921. During that period the French element increased as follows, -1891, 11002 or 7%; 1901, 16021 or 6%; 1911, 30952 or 6½%; 1921, 40638 or 6½% of the total population; while the English speaking peoples numbered in 1901, 164239 or 64%; 1911, 266562 or 58%; 1921, 350992 or 57%. During the same period large numbers of Mid-Europeans made their homes within our borders. We might note the influx of the Polish and Ruthenians more particularly, as they concern the matter of this essay, the Polish people being almost entirely Roman Catholic and the Ruthenians, Galicians and Ukrainians adherents of the Greek Catholic Church. The Polish immigrants numbered as follows; 1901, none; 1911 10602, 1921, 15787. The Galicians, Ruthenians and Ukrainians numbered 43937 in 1921. (1) The three named above immigrated largely during the Laurier administration and were segregated in large groups in the northern and eastern portions of the Province. (2) In addition to the Polish and Ruthenians many other Europeans located in Manitoba. This influx of foreigners, speaking many languages, each with its national customs and ideals, grouped in large bodies, adhering to the Protestant or Catholic religions, intensified the religious jealousies of the English and French races, and created an entirely new language and educational problem into which each of the old Canadian races proceeded to project their influence.

As difference of religious ideals played an important part in the racial controversy since the formation of the Province, and has continued to do so until the present time, it is important to note the relative change of numbers in that field. (3) In 22371 there were 20571 or 13½% of the population of the Roman Catholic faith; in 1901, 35672 or 14%; in 1911, 74480 or 16%; and in 1921, 105394 or 15½%.

(1). Information concerning population since 1891 is taken from the Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Vol. 1, Population, p. 355.

(2). The Hon. Clifford Sifton instructed the Government agent Mr. Preston to distribute these people in blocks so that their voting strength might make itself felt in various constituencies.

(3). Ibid, (1) above, p. 569.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER V

## THE ROBLIN ADMINISTRATION.

## (1). The Racial Problem Intensified by Immigration.

In addition to this the adherents of the Greek Catholic Church numbered as follows, - 1891, none; 1901, 7899 or 2½%; 1911, 31042 or 7%; 1921, 56670 or 5% of the total population. The Greek Catholic Church has become so closely allied through its Bishop, and at times direction by French clergy, (4) to Roman Catholic interests in the Province, that it might well be classed as a semi-independent branch of that denomination. Viewed in that light the combined Catholic strength would read as follows, - 1891, 13½%; 1901, 16½%; 1911, 23%; 1921, 20½% of the total population. When we consider the influence of the French Catholic clergy over this whole field we can readily appreciate the fact that the French element exercises an influence far in excess of its own numbers.

The problem of national assimilation became a serious one, and we find two attempts made during the years 1901 to 1921 to apply at different periods two distinct ideals and methods to its solution. The first ideal, that of the French Catholic element was prominent during the period of the Roblin Government and ceased to be effective with the defeat of the Conservative Party in 1915. The second ideal, largely that of the English Protestants with adherents among the English speaking Catholics came into effect through the policy adopted by the Morris Government in 1916, and has prevailed until the present time. In the present and following Chapter of this essay the writer shall endeavor to trace the progress of both policies in so far as it affects the relations of the two Canadian races. Had the atmosphere been free from racial controversy at the beginning of the period in question the new situation might have been approached with greater ease, and a solution reached without another climax of racial strife. Unhappily, that was not the case, and because of the English ideal of national development on the one hand, and on the other, the French Catholic thought of determining national ideals through religious teaching, we find the racial controversy of the nineties projected into the twentieth century, and blash projected into the field of multi-nationalities, and briskly headed toward another clash.

## (4). Morice, Vie de Mgr. Langevin, pp. 204, 259, 292.

Note, - A number of French Canadian priests were sent among these people. Father Lacombe was sent to Austria to secure priests of their own tongue. Bishop Budka, appointed head of the Greek Catholic Church, has been closely associated with St. Boniface.



## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER V

## THE ROBLIN ADMINISTRATION.

## (1). The Racial Problem Intensified by Immigration.

It is of importance to observe that the conflict during the nineties centred largely around the school. The failure of the French element to contest the loss of their language privileges in the Courts removed that phase of the difficulty from the field of conflict. The racial issue became a school and religious issue. The Laurier-Sifton agreement of 1897 officially replaced the French language in the schools. Further, apparently with a view to satisfying the Mennonites, clause 10 of the agreement extended the language privilege to nationalities without distinction as to race or place of birth. The French element seized upon that condition to extend its influence among the New Canadians; the school law favored such a policy; the school became the medium through which Church ambitions might be given effect, and the struggle of the two races, now aggravated by the desire to control the many nationalities, became centred more than ever in the schools of the Province. The racial issue became more than ever a religious issue, the school the fighting ground, and the language privilege the immediate bone for contention.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER V

## THE ROBLIN ADMINISTRATION.

## (2). The Attitude of the French Element toward Bi-Lingualism among the New Cadadians.

Bi-lingualism found its strongest advocates among the French element. (5) The defenders of that policy maintained that the foreigner had a valuable civilization of his own which for the time being sustained his moral character; that "sauver le francais, c'est sauver une grande force catholique;" (6) might be applied equally to these other nationalities; that they had a natural right to use their mother tongue, indeed must use it, to preserve that which was valuable in their former civilization; that through it they should receive instruction in our ideals and become acquainted with our customs, laws and institutions; that the learning of the language of the country should be a gradual process. To follow this policy to its logical

## (5). Morice, Vie de Mgr. Langevin, p. 267.

"Langue et nationalite se confondent, en effet, ou plutot l'une depend de l'autre"

Daly, Catholic Problems in Western Canada, p. 47.

"They can perfectly admire British institutions and love England without speaking English"

Ibid, p. 87.

"the right of a man to his language is an incontestable right; the free use of it is a primary human liberty"

Ibid, p. 168.

"Uniformity in education as a source of efficiency, is one of the fallacies of our materialistic age"

Un Sauvage, Les Langues et les Nationalities au Canada.

p. 50. "Le bilinguisme et le trilinguisme sont les principaux garants de l'indpendence de la Belgique et de la Suisse"

## (6). Morice, Vie de Mgr. Langevin, p. 248.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER V

## THE ROBLIN ADMINISTRATION.

## (2). The Attitude of the French Element Toward Bi-Lingualism Among the New Canadians.

conclusion as desired by the French leaders would have meant that for years large numbers of these people would have seen British institutions through the eyes of the French Catholic clergy or clergy very much under the influence of that body, (7) in fact, the idea that this country was French Canadian might have made some headway. (8)

It is only fair to the Catholic Church, however, to state very frankly that Protestant denominations, particularly the Presbyterians and Methodists, were establishing missions among the Ruthenian people, and following a policy of proselytizing among those claimed by the Catholic Church. During the first decade the Presbyterians alone had established thirty churches in Ruthenian settlements, and had twenty five Ruthenian students in training for the ministry in Manitoba College. (9) An independent Greek Church of Canada with a new creed was organized, and the method of church government adopted was that of the Presbyterian Church. In 1912 these churches became a part of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

The European peoples had immigrated to Canada without many spiritual advisers of their own, and this created a new problem for the Catholic Church in Canada: a problem aggravated by the encroachment of Protestant denominations. (10) Its solution in so far as Catholicism in Manitoba was concerned fell to the lot of the French Catholic clergy, and they endeavored to meet it in the only way for which their policy of segregation and Quebec ideals had equipped them. Bi-lingualism was a safe-guard to what they considered to be their interests, and they stood solidly behind that school policy.

(7). Morice, Vie de Mgr. Langevin, p. 259.

(8). Ibid, p. 267.

Conversation in a Ruthenian school.

"De quelle nationalité es-tu mon enfant?"

"Canadien-français, répond le garconnet."

(9). Gordon, Canada and Its Provinces, Vol. 11, p. 293.

(10). Daly, Catholic Problems in Western Canada, p. 87.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER V

## THE ROBLIN ADMINISTRATION.

## (3). The Bi-Lingual Policy of the Roblin Government.

The policy of the Roblin Government was stamped with moderation and leniency toward the French and Catholic elements. Almost from the beginning they set about to give full effect to clause 10 of the Laurier-Sifton agreement. A French Inspector of schools was appointed in February of 1900. (11) His commission was a *roving* one as he concerned himself only with schools the population of which was wholly or partially French. Other French Inspectors with similar duties were appointed at a later date. With the exception of schools of mixed population the schools under their direction were free from inspection by English speaking Inspectors. A Normal school for the training of French teachers, and under the direction of one of the French Inspectors was established in St. Boniface in 1902. Their schools were conducted on the bi-lingual system, and were largely influenced and directed from the Archbishop's Palace in St. Boniface, (12) with the result that the French members of the Manitoba Legislature, in an address to Armand Lavergne in 1913 were able truthfully to say that "thanks to the man you have come to honor by your presence, one of the most cruel griefs, the most crying injustice of the Laurier-Greenway settlement has been removed." (13) One writer still further claimed that "le courageux Archeveque avait encore pour objectif les ecoles catholique qui, nien qu'existant de fait, sinon de nom, a la campagne" (14)

(11). Records, Dept. of Education, Winnipeg.

(12). Morice, Vie de Mgr. Langevin, p. 237.

"Roblin, chef du gouvernement conservateur, fermait bien les yeux sur les scrocs a la loi nefaste que la conscience publique imposait dans les compagnes, mais cette latitude n'était consacrée par aucun texte legal."

(13). Sissons, Bi-lingual Schools in Canada, p. 124.

(14). Morice, Vie de Mgr. Langevin, p. 305.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER V

## THE ROBLIN ADMINISTRATION.

## (3). The Bi-Lingual Policy of the Roblin Government.

Such being the case it behooved the French element to put forth every effort to place the work of their schools beyond criticism, and further, not to create an opposition body of public opinion by following a policy of aggression that would be certain to bring calamity in its train. The Union Point Case of Oct. 19th, 1911 (15) and the Special Inspection of Bi-lingual schools in Dec. of 1915 went to show that they did not have a sufficiently well trained staff of teachers to meet the bi-lingual problem, or to teach English efficiently in many of the 126 schools under their direction. This weakness may be charged to the suddenness of the problem; to the weakness of administration under a policy of non-interference by the Department of Education; or to want of vision on the part of the Church leaders. No doubt all three contributed their part to the conditions revealed in December 1915. The Union Point Case also the possibility for confusion under clause 10 of the Laurier-Sifton agreement; and it still further revealed the want of appreciation of the need of cultivating a favorable attitude among English speaking people. It is but one of several examples of imprudent aggressiveness that brought tragedy to the cause of the French element.

(15). Sissons, Bi-lingual Schools in Canada, pp. 120-122.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER V

## THE ROBLIN ADMINISTRATION.

## (4). Bi-Lingual Schools a Provincial Issue.

The bi-lingual situation among other nationalities throughout the Province and the prominent part taken by the French leaders in defence of the system militated against their cause. The Menonites had taken advantage of certain promises made by Dominion agents in 1871. (16) The Polish and Ruthenians were demanding and receiving their rights under the bi-lingual clause, so that on June 30th, 1916, out of sixteen hundred and eighty five one-room schools, four hundred and twenty one were bi-lingual schools of different kinds... and one child in every six in the Province was receiving its education in a bi-lingual school. (17) Bi-lingual Normal Schools had been established for the Menonites, Bolanders and Ruthenians, but the Special Report of 1915 showed many of the teachers from these schools to be deficient both in English and general knowledge. (18)

Several factors tended to force the bi-lingual question into the open. The controversy over English-French schools in Ontario opened in earnest with the passing of Regulation 17 in 1912, (19) and caused considerable racial feeling in Ontario and Quebec. That reacted on the developing situation in Manitoba. Again, the extension of the boundaries of Manitoba in 1912, to include Keewatin; the demand of the French that separate schools should be continued as formerly in the added territory; the refusal of the Dominion Government to protect their claims, and the resulting controversy in

(16). Sissons, Bi-lingual Schools in Canada, p. 129.

(17). Thornton, Address in the Legislature, Jan. 30th, 1919.  
Printed by Order of the Legislature.

(18). Newcombe, Special Report on Bilingual Schools in  
~~Manitoba~~ Manitoba, p. 17.

(19). Sissons, Bi-lingual Schools in Canada, p. 112.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER V

## THE ROBLIN ADMINISTRATION.

## (4). Bi-Lingual Schools a Provincial Issue.

Manitoba added to the rising current of opinion. (20) The local controversies becoming more common every day were gradually having their effect. A combination of all these occurrences in the thoughts of the people gradually led to a closer scrutiny of the policy of the Government, and Protestant opinion began to realize that the Province was once more heading toward a condition of separate schools. The Coldwell Amendments of 1912, which no one, not even the Minister responsible, appeared able to explain, (21) added to that fear. By 1914 bi-lingual schools had become an issue in Provincial politics and was one of the questions keenly debated during the election of that year. (22) No doubt it contributed to the defeat of several Conservative candidates, and was responsible for considerable of the reduction in the majority of the Roblin Government.

(20). Morice, Vie de Mgr. Langevin, p. 284.

(21). Manitoba Free Press, January 23, 1914. Report of Debates in the Legislature.

Coldwell, "I don't know any other effect outside the grants"

"It may affect some other things but I cannot tell what they are just at present"

Roblin, "to enable Winnipeg to take over separate and private schools"

Bernier, "Bernier says Coldwell favors the kind of separate schools it was the intention to introduce under the Amendments"

Morice, Vie de Mgr. Langevin, p. 284.

(22). Manitoba Free Press, June 18, 1914.

"Mr. Norris stated at Dauphin that Mr. Roblin had asked him to join hands in an effort to re-establish Separate Schools. Both had been consulted by Archbishop Langevin"

Ibid, June 19, 1914.

Mr. J. M. Thompson's Letter to Orangemen.

Ibid, June 20, 1914.

Mr. Roblin speaking at Morris denied the statement made by Mr. Norris at Dauphin.

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER VI

## THE NORRIS ADMINISTRATION.

## (1). The Attitude of the Norris Government Toward the Problem of the Nationalities.

The Norris Government came into power in 1915 pledged to deal in a different manner with the question of the bi-lingual schools. The Conservative Party had been completely routed as a result of the Parliament Buildings Scandal, and the new Government found itself not only strongly intrenched, but supported by a following many of whom demanded that the school problem be given immediate attention. The Hon. Mr. Thornton, Minister of Education, ordered a special inspection to be made of all bi-lingual schools in the Province by the regular staff of Inspectors. That was done during November and December of 1915, and the Special Report compiled by the Superintendent of Education, was tabled in the House in January 1916. The Special Report showed conditions in many of these schools to be (1) unsatisfactory, and the national effect of the training being given in many instances was very ably summed up by the Minister at a later date, in these words, "the result of this policy was the emphasising and maintaining of all the divergent factors composing our national life. Instead of the school being the agency for uniting our differences, it was becoming an agency for emphasising and increasing divisions." (2) The writer knows from personal experiences, in the northern portion of the Province, that among the Ruthenians nationalistic ideals were being preached and taught. The Ruthenian Training School at Brandon was a hot-bed for nationalistic ideas. The French ideal had spread to other nationalities, and if at times they found themselves placed in the same category as those non-Canadian elements that had taken advantage of clause 10 to foster their respective national ideals, they must remember that the blame can in part at least be placed at their own door step.

The second ideal, that adopted by the Norris Government, recognized the English language as the dominating language of the Province, and that language an absolute necessity as a common medium for social and business intercourse among all classes and races. It did not deny the right of peoples from other countries to the use of their mother tongue, but it recognized that as a private right only and one if it were to be maintained must be supported by private means. The Minister of Education expressed this view very

(1). Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba, 1916, pp. 2-4.

(2). Thornton, Address in the Legislature, Jan. 30, 1919, p. 4.



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forcibly during the debates in the Legislature in 1916 and again in 1919. (3) English speaking people generally and rightly adhere to it in so far as non-English and non-French races are concerned. It has proven and always will prove under present conditions an ill-advised policy on the part of the French element to endeavor to sustain their own claims by basing them on <sup>similar</sup> equal claims for other non-Canadian nationalities. Where is the individual since the Great War who would be bold enough to claim that the dual language system was a source of strength to Belgium? What advantage would it be to this Province to have all the diversity of language and also of racial jealousy of Austria perpetuated in our land? English speaking opinion expressed itself in 1916 as being determined that such a condition of affairs should not be permitted to develop in the Province of Manitoba.

## (2). The School Policy of the Norris Government.

Previous to the session of 1916 the condition of public opinion on the language question was similar though more moderately expressed to that existing before the session of 1890. Though there was no thought of consideration for non-Canadian nationalities in so far as public support for their languages was concerned, there were many English speaking people who felt for the French element and were prepared to give them recognition. At no time were they placed on the same footing as other nationalities though they have persisted in believing and stating that their cause was so considered. In the Press of the day we read that "the only language other than English which has a moral right to consideration is French .. .. This is their country quite as much as it is the country of the English speaking Canadians." (4) It had not been the intention of the Liberal Party to interfere with the French language (5) until actual conditions were revealed by the

## (3). Thornton, Address in the Legislature, Jan. 30, 1919, pp. 4-5. Printed by Order of the Legislature.

"It is necessary to deal with the law both in our own interests and in the interests of those who have come to make their homes with us with the purpose of becoming a part of this nation. The first essential to individual progress in any land is to know the language of the country. .. A knowledge of English is more essential than a knowledge of arithmetic."

## (4). Manitoba Free Press Editorial, Jan. 24, 1916.

## (5). Le Manitoba, March 8, 1916, referring to the 1914 election. "Je crois dit M. Parent, que les chefs du parti liberal étaient sinceres a cette date".

## THE TWO FACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER VI

## THE NORRIS ADMINISTRATION.

## (2). The School Policy of the Norris Government.

Special Report, conditions which were accepted as being true by many English speaking Catholics as well as Protestants. (6) Nor was it the intention of the Government even then to go as far as it did in dealing with the French bilingual schools. Once again we find the French who had never accepted the Laurier-Sifton agreement as a complete settlement refusing to accept anything short of the full privileges acquired through the Roblin policy of administration. (7) This produced a situation similar to that of 1890, and the Government was practically forced to treat the whole bilingual situation in common.

On Jan. 18th, 1916 the Caldwell Amendments were repealed and the Government set about to re-adjust the language question, not with a view to immediately forcing English upon the non-English as some would have us believe, but in the spirit of the statement made by Dr. Thornton at the time that "the transition toward new conditions must of necessity be accomplished gradually, but we can set our faces in the right direction, and patiently, steadily, and consistently travel towards the goal." (8) On Feb. 18th, the Minister introduced a Bill repealing clause 258 of the Public Schools Act, being clause 10 of the Laurier-Sifton agreement. None of the clauses relating to religious exercises were interfered with in any way. The Public Schools Act was still further amended so that school boards refusing to comply with the law might be dismissed and an Official Trustee appointed in their stead. As the latter was applied in a very limited degree to French districts it is unnecessary to comment on it further in this essay. In addition to the above Acts an Act was passed

## (6). The North-West Review, March 4th, 1916.

"The English speaking electorate may feel aggrieved because the provisions calling for the teaching of English in the schools has been flouted or seriously ignored in certain districts."

## (7). Manitoba Free Press, Editorial, Feb. 19th, 1916.

"The question has been the chief subject for discussion among the members for the past fortnight and there has been a complete interchange of views... there was a movement supported by some influential liberals, which aimed at retaining on the statute books certain privileges for the French... The French members... declared that they and their compatriots would be satisfied with nothing less than the continuance unimpaired of the existing privileges."

## (8). Thornton, Address in the Legislature, Jan. 30th, 1919, p. 4.

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## THE NORRIS ADMINISTRATION.

## (2). The School Policy of the Norris Government.

making education compulsory. Similar legislation had been included in the School Act of 1890 and deleted owing to the question of its legality. (9) A test case bearing on the Act of 1916 was taken before the Manitoba Court of Appeal in 1918 and the Act found *intra vires* by that Court. (10)

The Government realized that the success of the legislation passed depended on the teaching and inspection of the schools. Accordingly they abolished the four bi-lingual training schools and made it compulsory for all teachers to attend the regular Normal sessions. The inspectorial divisions were re-organized so that each inspector of schools should supervise all schools within his district.

## (3). Public Opinion on the Legislation of 1916.

The legislation reflects the main current of English speaking opinion immediately before and after the School Acts of 1916. The expressions from that side during the debates were moderate. The whole case was rested upon the necessity for national union and the importance of all children learning the predominating language in the schools of the Province, without at the same time burdening that institution with what was considered a purely private matter. (11)

(9). *Sissons, Bi-Lingualism in Canada*, p. 119.

(10). *Thornton, Address before the Legislature, Jan. 30th, 1920*, p. 13

(11). *Free Press Editorial, Jan. 24th, 1916*.

"It is all but unanimously accepted that in every school in the Province English must be, in the future, the language of instruction."

*Ibid*, Feb. 24, 1916.

*Armstrong, Manitou*.

"The state should be relieved of the burden of being compelled by law to equip and maintain teaching in the mother tongue of every language which may come to us."

*Thornton*,

"The step has not been taken in the spirit of hostility to other languages. The action does not interfere in any way with the liberty of the individual to speak in his own tongue or to teach that tongue to his children."

## THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA

## CHAPTER VI

## THE NORRIS ADMINISTRATION.

## (3). Public Opinion on the Legislation of 1916.

Though the French element suffered loss of privileges through the legislation of 1916 and felt very keenly what they considered to be an attack upon their race we do not find the statements on their side, with exceptions of course, as extreme as in the nineties. Mr. Prefontaine who had sat in the gallery during the fierce debates of 1890 said that "the Laurier-Sifton agreement of 1890 was never accepted by the French speaking people of the Province as satisfactory.... We waited twenty six years, and now even the privileges that we have are to be repealed" (12) Mr. Talbot, on the occasion of his first speech in the House, read himself out of the party exclaiming that it was "criminal treatment of the minority" (13) Le Manitoba fell back upon the old expedient to refuse to accept the Thornton law. (14)

But there was another body of French opinion which appeared to realize the weakness of the old policy of segregation that had brought disaster to their cause on two occasions. Speaking before the Canadian French Educational Association in St. Boniface on May 7th. 1916, Mr. Tremaudau said, "Pour nous, Canadian-français, notre décision est prise et bien prise: nous continuerons à apprendre l'Anglais. Et si dans le passé nos écoles n'ont pas donné entière satisfaction, nous y pourvoirons: ... nous n'aurons aucune difficulté à établir bon nombre d'autres Ecoles provencher, ou l'anglais sera si bien parlé que les inspecteurs devront répéter qu'elles sont les meilleures écoles de la Province" (15) Archbishop Mathieu speaking before the Canadian Club of Regina on Nov. 16th. 1916 said, "I am convinced that the better we become acquainted, the more we shall love one another, the more we shall esteem one another, and the more shall we unite to work together for the welfare of a country which has received from the Creator the most admirable gifts of which a people can dream" (16) The opinions expressed by these two speakers may not have been common among French people in 1916 but they represent the beginning of a new body of thought which I shall dwell upon for a short time in the closing chapter.

(12). Manitoba Free Press, Feb. 24th. 1916.

(13). Ibid.

(14). Le Manitoba, March 15th. 1916.

(15). Tremaudau, Pourquoi nous parlons Français, p. 31.

(16). Mathieu, Education in the Province of Quebec, p. 29.

## CHAPTER VII.

## The Outlook.

## (1). Social Coherence of the French Element.

"The great wonder of French Canadian life is the strength of its expansive vitality and its social coherence"(1). This has been almost as true of Manitoba as of Quebec. The Metis settlements formed the centre for future colonization plans, and became the pivot for westward expansion. During the early seventies parishes were established at St. Agathe, St. Jean Baptiste, St. Joseph etc. During the later seventies and the eighties further parishes were founded at St. Leon, St. Alphonse, La Broquerie and St. Anne. (2) During the nineties, in addition to immigrants from Quebec and Belgium, 2283 arrived from France (3) and formed still further colonies at Bruxelles, Notre Dame de Lourdes and St. Claude. (4) Almost without exception both old and new parishes have remained intact and have shown a natural increase as may be seen from the following comparisons of population in six typical rural municipalities. (5)

<u>Municipality</u>	<u>Population in 1901,</u>	<u>1921.</u>
La Broquerie	1153	856
Tache	775	1097
De Salaberry	1358	1936
Montcalm	1886	2127
Ritchot	922	1121
Lerne	1359	2023
	<u>7553</u>	<u>9160</u>

The census returns for 1921 show the following distribution of the French element in the Province and is a clear indication of the tendency to group and to remain distinct from other nationalities.

1. Winnipeg, St. Boniface and seven suburban municipalities have a French population of 11000; so that one quarter of that element is still at the junction of the two rivers. In spite of its proximity to the preponderating English speaking population this group is still as French in language and religion as ever.
2. The rural municipalities bordering on the Red river from the boundary to its mouth, and the adjacent municipalities of Cartier, St. Anne, and La Broquerie have a French population of 12000. Twenty three thousand or almost five eighths of their total population in the province is still upon the first sod or very close at hand. Their leadership is in St. Boniface and they think and act as a nationality. The proximity of this large block to the very pivot of provincial opinion adds to their influence; their social coherence adds to that influence.

- (1). Bracy, The Evolution of French Canada, p. 245.
- (2). Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Tache, pp. 592-594. Vol. 11.
- (3). Census of Canada, Vol. 1, p. 453.
- (4). Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Tache, Vol. 11, pp. 747-748.
- (5). Census of Canada, 1901, 1921.

## CHAPTER VII

## THE OUTLOOK.

## (1). Social coherence of the French Element.

3. A third group numbering 4805 is found in the arm of municipalities including MacDonald, Grey, Dufferin, South Norfolk and Lorne. This is a particularly effective grouping in that it has a considerable voting strength in the provincial constituencies of South Cypress, Manitou, Dufferin and Mountain, and also in the Dominion constituency of MacDonald.
4. A fourth series of connected groups with a population of 2545 is located in the municipalities of McCreary, Laurier, Ochre River and St. Rose.
5. A fifth series of scattered groups numbering in all 2064 people is to be found in the area between lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba, while other isolated settlements are to be found in the municipalities of Cameron, The Pas, Ellis, Sifton and Riverside.
6. During the past twenty years there has been a slight tendency for individual families to take up their residence in small business centres or on farms not too far removed from some of the groupings referred to above. About 3000 are so located and are to be found in numbers ranging from 1 to 98 in 125 rural municipalities, towns and villages not included in the above mentioned centres. (6)

From the beginning this element remained close to the water highways, but during the past forty years they have been settling in the more wooded sections of the interior of the province. Their settlements have been very self-centred; their social wants satisfied within the parish, and interchange of thought has been largely confined to their own groups. The home has been the centre of their private life and the Church that of the community life. They loved both and have not strayed in any numbers from that attachment.

## (2). Development within the group.

The Métis as we have already seen found it difficult to adjust to the life of the farm. Immigration brought the small farmer from Quebec and later from France and Belgium. Many of these have been fairly successful and are adopting up to date methods. During the last two decades an increasing number of them, like those of the habitant class of Quebec, (7) have been seeking and successfully filling positions in many vocations. Each rural community of any size has its village and business firms. Many of these country stores are just as up to date as those of English speaking centres. The tendency to move to the centres though not so pronounced as in English communities is becoming more common. Nor does this element find it difficult to adjust to such conditions. Their alert mentality and courteous manners are an asset of value and they could without difficulty win the confidence of

(6). Sixth Census of Canada, Vol. 1, pp. 490-496.  
 (7). Bracq, The Evolution of French Canada, p. 256.

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## THE OUTLOOK.

## (2). Development within the group.

the English element. Unfortunately, the internal strength of the race, social coherence, has proven one of its greatest drawbacks in dealing with the English element.

Economic conditions are leading the French people to see the necessity of learning the English language. The break down of their former policy has also led them to see their error in this respect. Though many give way slowly there is abundant evidence of change of attitude and attempt to rectify the weakness. Their young people are entering the profession in great numbers, and are striving to secure the best possible training, where formerly quite a different attitude was in evidence. This improvement in standing is borne out by a comparison of the standing of teachers in the municipalities of Lorne and Grey in which it has been my privilege to work during recent years. A comparison of this standing between the years 1915 and 1925 and in twenty two schools shows the following improvement.

Non-Professional standing, grades	X	XI	XII		
For the year 1915	14	22	0	36	(8)
For the year 1925	0	36	5	41	(9)

Professional standing,	Normal,	Third	Second	First	
For the year 1915.	21	15	0	36	(8)
For the year 1925.	11	25	5	41	(9)

Where a percentage of the teachers were deficient and many more not very strong in English in 1915, all have from a very fair to a good average command of that language today. The outlook of the teachers is broader and their fear and suspicion of English speaking Inspectors and visitors is disappearing. Their schools are gradually approaching the standards set, indeed a number of them are doing excellent work. Marked progress has been made in the improvement of school buildings and equipment, and teachers' salaries are quite up to the average of those paid in English settlements.

The French element still clings to the thought that they are entitled to teach their own language in the schools. It is rather remarkable that during the struggles of 1890 and 1916 they did not contest the withdrawal of language privileges in the courts. In that they would at least have had moral right on their side, as during every stage of the negotiations for the union of Red River with the Dominion the English speaking delegates, without compulsion, agreed to recognize the French language. (10) It was recognized by law until 1870 and administrative oversight until 1916 neither of which however constitute a moral right. But they are Canadians and have made a valuable contribution. They are endeavoring to overcome the effects of their

(8). Records, Dept. of Education, Winnipeg, 1915.

(9). Ibid, 1925.

(10). See Appendix, Bill of Rights No. 1 and No. 11.

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## THE OUTLOOK.

(2). Erring policy in this matter that has cost them so dearly in the past. Whatever progress has been made and whatever progress shall be made in this matter have been and must continue in a large measure to be the result of internal effort. Progressive conditions will continue to have their effect, but sympathy and patience on the part of the English element are essential to the continued development of progressive thought in the French group in so far as the language issue is concerned.

(3). The Church and the French Element.

In all this tendency toward group coherence the Roman Catholic Church has played a very important part. We have seen her transplant the Quebec policy of segregation among the Metis settlements at Red River. We have seen her continue that policy with the new settlers of French extraction. This policy was made easy by the natural tendency of the people themselves and cannot all be laid at the door of the Church. The events of 1870 and again of 1890 made her position supreme among her people, and they have continued to look to her as the centre of their social life and the saviour of their racial ideals. But the policy that kept a whole body of people aloof from their neighbors though effective within the group was weak abroad. (11) When the great test came in 1890 the wall of self centered ideas had no arms extending that might neutralize the force of the oncoming wave of public opinion. The second weakness of her policy has been her unfailing opposition to a compromise of any kind. In 1890 and again in 1916 she met approaches with complete refusal. This uncompromising and retiring attitude of the Catholic clergy may in no small measure have been due to the critical attitude of Protestant public opinion toward them. No attempt has been made to understand their view point, and certainly they have not been made welcome in English speaking communities or gatherings. They have remained happy in their enforced isolation among their own people, but somewhat timid, suspicious and embittered toward outsiders, and only very recently have they shown a desire take their part as citizens in the larger community. That is a hopeful sign and English speaking people should welcome that attitude on the part of some of the Catholic clergy.

(11). Daly, Catholic Problems in Western Canada, p. 227.

"How many efforts our bigoted provincialism has neutralized in the past".

Ibid, p. 247. "Too long have we stood aloof from movements that aim at the social welfare of the community. A false timidity and an erroneous conception of our responsibilities have estranged us, to a great extent, from the various activities of national life."



## CHAPTER VII

## THE OUTLOOK.

## (4). The English Element and the French Policy of Segregation.

The outstanding characteristics of the English element throughout the world have been, first, tremendous energy and inventive capacity in the field of industry and commerce; secondly, liberty of the individual in thought, speech and effort; thirdly, the right of the mass to express itself freely through leadership that has not been selected through Church domination or design. These national characteristics have too often led English speaking people to overlook the good in other nationalities and to despise those who did not see eye to eye with them. At Red River we saw English speaking people in two entirely different aspects; the Hudson's Bay Company Officials exemplifying the above ideal but because of a full understanding of the Métis being quite sympathetic toward their outlook; the Kildonan settlers, the British habitant also quite in sympathy with and fully understanding their neighbors; the Ontario party with the ideals above stated but entirely out of sympathy with this people whom they had met for the first time. During the years that followed immigrants from Ontario spread in thousands over the prairie districts of the province without any thought of systematic colonization. Their natural tendency to intermingle and interchange opinions; their tendency to grasp at every progressive idea; their universal adherence to the democratic ideas of the day quickly formed a united and dominating body of opinion. The methods of 1869-70 lost to the French element the sympathy of the Kildonan and Hudson's Bay group who might have interpreted their ideals and won at least a sympathetic hearing from the new comers. That opportunity was gone, and the policy of segregation, (12) coupled with the unprogressive habits of the Métis and even of the early French settlers under the new conditions, left little or no means for interchange of ideals between the two races and corresponding bodies of opinion. The English despised the French and the French feared the aggressiveness of the English, so that, for almost half a century there has been no real attempt made to understand one another, to try to forget the past and work in harmony.

On their part segregation rendered French public opinion a negligible quantity among English speaking people and prevented them from seeing anything but prejudice and bigotry in the other party. Right up until 1916 they have seemed unable to grasp the thought expressed but not practised

(12). Daly, Catholic Problems in Western Canada, p. 132.

"Does not our aloofness confirm our separated brethren in their false ideas, wrong impressions and bitter prejudices?"

## CHAPTER VII

## THE OUTLOOK.

## (4). The English Element and the French Policy of Segregation.

by Archbishop Taché, and very clearly expounded by one of Britain's ablest writers on legislation and opinion, that "no where have changes in conviction or wishes found anything like such rapid and immediate expression in alteration of law as they have in Great Britain during the nineteenth century, and more especially during the last half thereof." (13) This attitude was brought to our shores by the large immigration from the old land during that period and has become equally true of Canada. We might well in this connection take a page from the history of the Established Church in England during that period. The tide of English opinion had set very strongly against special privilege. For nearly three quarters of a century the waves of liberalizing thought beat against the long recognized privileges of the Church. Slowly she gave ground, but it was a retreat to victory by the road of concession and compromise without sacrificing the real strength of her position. (14) Had she rushed to battle, claiming all the rights of law, what might the result have been? It is a striking example of the ability of a weakening institution to revitalize itself in the hour of attack, and to inject its ideas into the opposing body of opinion. For fifty years the French element in Manitoba has failed to grasp the true significance of the outbursts of English speaking opinion that have swept over its law encircled barriers with such calamity. On each occasion they found themselves estranged from the dominant body of thought and unable to create a counter force within the movement. It is indeed encouraging to find one of their clergy as recently as 1921 expressing the same truth as quoted above when he says that "participation in public life develops conviction; conviction repeatedly asserts itself; continued assertion creates opinion; and public opinion is without doubt one of the most universal powers at work in the world." (15)

(13) Dacey, *Legislation and Opinion in England*, p. 7.

(14) *Ibid*, p. 356.

(15) Daly, *Catholic Problems in Western Canada*, p. 250.

## CHAPTER VII

## THE OUTLOOK.

## (4). The English Element and the Policy of Segregation.

Partially because of this tendency to remain apart English speaking people have failed to appreciate the view point of the French element. They have failed to grasp the fact that these people were not only content but exceedingly happy under the system to which they have clung so faithfully. They have mistaken the simple life, free and easy customs, natural timidity and aloofness for inferiority. In spite of the fact that the leaders of the French element have filled with distinction the highest places in the public life of the province their opponents have failed to realize as one writer states that they are "not inferior but different".<sup>(16)</sup> English speaking people have not been backward in expressing this feeling of superiority from the very earliest days of the history of this country, with the result that they have driven the other element still further into the life of their own society.

The mistakes of both elements and the mis-understandings due to continued separation have had the unfortunate effect of giving undue influence to the extreme wings of both races. The tendency of this leadership has been to emphasise the weaker characteristics of the other side,<sup>(17)</sup> to overlook the stronger traits of character, and any attempt at a solution of racial issues has been negatived in a sea of uncompromising strife.

(16). Moore, *The Clash; A Study in Nationalities*, p. 125.

(17). *Ibid.*, pp. 304-305.

## CHAPTER VII

## THE OUTLOOK.

## (5). Moderating Opinion.

To attempt any lengthy discussion as to the possibilities of the future is beyond the scope of this essay, but there are certain indications that point to the continued development of a body of moderate opinion in both elements, and on that alone can we hope for the dawn of a better understanding between the two great races in this province.

Eastern opinion which has in the past injected its viewpoint into our problems and racial difficulties is diminishing in effect. This is due not only to the decrease in immigration from that quarter but as well to the fact that the West is developing a very strong body of opinion peculiar to its own area. Racial differences in the East will have a decreasing effect upon our own problem. Secondly, the upheavals of thought caused by Regulation 17 in Ontario during the years following 1912, the repeal of Bi-lingualism in Manitoba in 1916, and the Conscription issue of 1917 have shed new light in many hidden places and produced a frank interchange of views and study of one another that has led to real attempt to grasp the other fellows point of view. The ease of travel and communication and the gradual entry of numbers of the French element into the wider commercial life of the country will have a tremendous effect on the barriers of prejudice and suspicion that have held both nationalities apart.

Under such conditions the spirit of democracy cannot long be held in check. One writer tells us that in the province of Quebec that "spirit has penetrated the clergy and that of the clergy the people" (13). A similar condition has slowly been developing in Manitoba even though the Church at the centre still holds largely to the old school of thought. At a recent Provincial Trustees Convention where the great majority were English a French Canadian occupied the chair, a parish priest led the community singing, and no one appeared to be disturbed over a condition that could scarcely have existed twenty years ago. Nor would the parish priest have appeared there twenty years ago. In the rural parishes the clergy are showing a disposition to more and more take part in mixed educational meetings. At least the policy of aloofness is giving ground and the effect of this alone will be tremendous.

(13). Bragg, The Evolution of French Canada, p. 261.

## CHAPTER VII

## THE OUTLOOK.

## (5). Moderating Opinion.

Among English speaking people there has always been a body of opinion sympathetic toward the French element. That is decidedly on the increase, but its growth to a healthy size will depend not only on a real attempt on their part to understand the other element but also on the continued growth of a like body of opinion among the French people. Many barriers will have to be crossed, and much educational work done within each element before we can have a central body of moderate opinion sufficiently strong that it can persistently stand by and sympathetically co-operate when waves of public opinion are being stirred by the extremes of either nationality.

THE END.

THE TWO RACES IN MANITOBA.

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APPENDIX

1. Some Clauses from Bill of Rights Number Two.
2. Some Clauses from Bill of Rights Number Three.
3. Some Clauses from Bill of Rights Number Four.
4. Sub-Section 3 of Section 93 of the British North American Act, 1867.
5. Some Clauses of the Manitoba Act, 1870.
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APPENDIX.

## No. 1.

Some Clauses from Bill of Rights Number Two,  
Passed February 3rd, 1870.

- Clause 3. That during this time this country shall remain a territory in the Dominion of Canada, all military, civil, and other public expenses in connection with the general government of the country or that have hitherto been borne by the public funds of the settlement, beyond the receipt of the above mentioned duties, shall be met by the Dominion of Canada.
5. That after the expiration of this exceptional period, the country shall be governed, as regards its local affairs, as the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec are governed, by a Legislature by the people, and a Ministry responsible to it, under a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Governor-General of Canada.
6. That there shall be no interference by the Dominion Parliament in the local affairs of this territory, other than is allowed in the provinces, and that this territory shall have and enjoy, in all respects, the same privileges, advantages and aids in meeting the public expenses of this territory, as the provinces have enjoyed.
7. That, while the North-West remains a territory, the Legislature have a right to pass all laws, local to the territory, over the veto of the Lieutenant-Governor, by a two-thirds vote.
8. That while the North-West remains a territory, the sum of \$25000 a year be appropriated for schools, roads and bridges.
13. That the English and French languages be common in the Legislature and Courts, and that all public documents and Acts of the Legislature be published in both languages.
14. That the Judge of the Supreme Court speak the French and English languages.
17. That all properties, rights and privileges, as hitherto enjoyed by us, be respected, and that the recognition and arrangement of local customs, usages and privileges be made under the control of the Local Legislature.

## Defeated Clauses.

1. That the military force required in this country be composed of natives of the country during four years.
2. That all bargains with the Hudson's Bay Company, for the transfer of this territory, be considered null and void; and that any arrangements, with reference to the transfer of this country, shall be carried on only with the people of this country.
3. Note, -Riel's suggestion that the country enter the Dominion as a Province was defeated.

Begg, Creation of Manitoba, pp. 256-259.

APPENDIX

## No 2.

## Some Clauses from Bill of Rights Number Three.

- Clause 1. That the territories heretofore known as Rupert's Land and North-West shall not enter into the Confederation except as a province, to be styled and known as the Province of Assiniboia, and with all the rights and privileges common to the different Provinces of the Dominion.
8. That all properties, rights and privileges enjoyed by the people of this province up to the date of our entering into the Confederation be respected, and even that the arrangement and confirmation of customs, usages and privileges be left exclusively to the Local Legislature.
10. That the bargain of the Hudson's Bay Company in the respect to the transfer of the government of this country to the Dominion of Canada be annulled so far as it interferes with the people of Assiniboia, and so far as it would affect our future relations with Canada.
16. That the English and French languages be common in the Legislature, and in the courts, and that all public documents, as well as all Acts of the Legislature be published in both languages.
17. That whereas the French and English speaking people of Assiniboia are so equally divided in numbers, yet so united in their interests, and so connected by commerce, family connections, . . . etc  
That the Lieutenant-Governor, who may be appointed for the Province of Assiniboia, should be familiar with both the English and French languages.
18. That the Judge of the Supreme Court speak the English and French languages.
19. That all debts contracted by the Provisional Government of the Territory of the North-West, now called Assiniboia, in consequence of the illegal and inconsiderate measures adopted by the Canadian officials to bring about a civil war in our midst, be paid out of the Dominion Treasury, and that none of the members of the Provisional Government, or any of those acting under them, be in any way held liable, or responsible, with regard to the movement, or any of the actions which led to the present negotiations.
7. That a sum equal to eighty cents per head of the population of this province be paid annually by the Canadian Government to the Local Legislature of the said province, until such time as the said population shall have increased to 600000.

Ewart, The Manitoba School Question, pages 365-369.

Appendix.

## No. 3.

## Some Clauses from Bill of Rights Number Four.

- Clause 1. That the territory of the North-West enter into the Confederation of the Dominion of Canada as a province, with all the privileges common with all the different Provinces in the Dominion.
- That this province be governed:
1. By the Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Governor General of Canada.
  2. By a Senate.
  3. By a Legislature chosen by the people with a responsible Ministry.
5. That all properties, rights and privileges enjoyed by us up to this day be respected, and that the recognition and settlement of customs, usages and privileges be left exclusively to the decision of the Local Legislature.
7. That the schools be separate, and that the public money for schools be distributed among the different religious denominations in proportion to their respective population according to the system of the Province of Quebec.
10. That the bargain of the Hudson's Bay Company with respect to the transfer of government of this country to the Dominion of Canada, never have in any case an effect prejudicial to the rights of the North-West.
16. That both the English and French languages be common in the Legislature, and in the courts; and that all public documents, as well as Acts of the Legislature, be published in both languages.
17. That the Lieutenant Governor to be appointed for the Province of the North-West be familiar with both the English and French languages.
18. That the Judge of the Supreme Court speak the English and French languages.
19. The same as in Bill Number 3.

Ewart, The Manitoba School Question, pages 365-369.

## APPENDIX.

## No 4.

## Sub-Section 3 of Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act.

In and for the Province the 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 in the Province at the Union.
- (2) All powers, privileges and duties at the Union, by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the separate schools and school trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects, shall be and the same are hereby extended to the dissentient schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec.
- (3) Where in any Province a system of separate or dissentient schools exists by law at the Union, or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any act or decision of any Provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education.
- (4) In case any such Provincial law as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council, on any appeal under this section, is not duly executed by the proper Provincial authority in that behalf, then, and in every such case, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section, and any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section.

Ewart, The Manitoba School Question, pages 1-2.

## Appendix.

## No. 5.

## Some Clauses of The Manitoba Act.

- (2) On, and from the said day on which the Order of the Queen in Council shall take effect as aforesaid, the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, shall, except those parts thereof which are inapplicable in terms made, or by reasonable intendment may be held, to be specially applicable to, or only to effect, one or more, but not the whole of the Provinces now composing the Dominion, and except so far as the same may be varied by this Act, be applicable to the Province of Manitoba, in the same way, and to the like extent, as they apply to the several Provinces of Canada, and as if the Province of Manitoba had been one of the Provinces originally united by this Act.
- (9) There shall be a Legislature for the Province, consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor and of two Houses, styled respectively the Legislative Council of Manitoba, and the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.
- (22) In and for the Province the said Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions:
1. Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools, which any class of persons have by law or practice in the Province at the Union.
  2. An appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any Act or decision of the Legislature of the Province, or of any Provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education.
  3. In case any such Provincial Law, as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made; or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council, or any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial authority in that behalf, then and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section, and of any decision of the Governor-General-in-Council under this section.

## APPENDIX.

## No. 5.

## Some Clauses from The Manitoba Act.

- (28) Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the House of the Legislature, and both those languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses, and either of those languages may be used by any person, or in pleading or process, or in issuing from any Court of Canada, established under the British North America Act, 1867, or in or from all or any of the Courts of the Province. The Acts of the Legislature shall be printed and published in both those languages.
- (31) And whereas it is expedient, towards the extinguishment of the Indian Title to the lands in the Province, to appropriate a portion of such ungranted lands to the extent of one million four hundred thousand acres thereof for the benefit of the families of the half-breeds residents, it is hereby enacted that under regulations to be from time to time made by the Governor-General-in-Council, the Lieutenant-Governor shall select such lots or tracts in such parts of the Province as he may deem expedient to the extent aforesaid, and divide the same among the children of the half-breed heads of families residing in the Province at the time of the said transfer to Canada, and the same shall be granted to the said children respectively in such mode and on such conditions as to settlement and otherwise as the Governor-General-in-Council may from time to time determine.

Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 1. Appendix.



## APPENDIX.

No. 6.

Statutes of Manitoba, 34 Vic. 1871, Chapter XII.  
An Act to Establish a System of Education in  
This Province.

- Section 1. The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may appoint not less than ten and not more than fourteen persons to be a Board of Education for the Province of Manitoba, of whom one-half shall be Protestants and the other half Catholics.
2. The Lieutenant-Governor may appoint one of the Protestant members of the Board to be Superintendent of Protestant Schools, and one of the Catholic members to be Superintendent of Catholic Schools, and the two Superintendents shall be joint Secretaries of the Board.
3. It shall be the duty of the Board:
1. To make, from time to time, such regulations as they may think fit for the general organization of the Common Schools.
  2. To select books, maps and globes to be used in the Common Schools, due regard being had in such selections to the choice of English books, maps and globes for the English Schools, and French, for the French schools; but the authority hereby given is not to extend to the selection of books having reference to religion or morals, the selection of such books being regulated by a subsequent clause to this Act.
10. Each section shall have under its control and management the discipline of the schools of the section.
11. It shall make rules and regulations for the examination, grading and licensing of Teachers, and for the withdrawal of licenses on sufficient cause.
12. It shall prescribe such books to be used in the section as have reference to religion or morals.
13. From the sum appropriated ~~from the~~ by the Legislature for Common School Education there shall first be paid the incidental expenses of the Board and of the Sections, and such sum for the services of the Superintendents of Education, not exceeding \$100 each, as the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council shall deem just, and the residue then remaining shall be appropriated to the support and maintenance of Common Schools, one moiety thereof to the support of Protestant Schools, the other moiety to the support of the Catholic Schools.

## APPENDIX.

## No. 6.

Statutes of Manitoba, 34 Vic. 1891, Chapter XII.  
An Act to Establish a System of Education in  
This Province.

Section 27. In case the father or guardian of a school-child shall be a Protestant in a Catholic District, or a Catholic in a Protestant School District, he may send the child to the nearest District of the other Section, and in case he contribute to the school which the child shall attend a sum equal to what he would have been bound to pay if he had belonged to that district, he shall be exempt from payment to the school of the District in which he lives.

## Chapter 11.

An Act to Establish a Supreme Court in the Province  
of Manitoba, and for other Purposes.

Section 19. When the plaintiff and the defendant speak different languages, the plaintiff being English and the defendant French or vice versa, either party may claim a mixed jury by notice to the Prothonotary before the jury is impanelled. In such case the Jurors shall be called in the order in which they appear on the venire, but after six of one language shall have appeared, others of the same language shall be set aside till there shall be found six Jurors of each language, who shall be the jury to try the cause.

Statutes of Manitoba, Legislative Library, Winnipeg.

## APPENDIX.

No. 7

A Portion of Archbishop Taché's Affidavit, November 1890.

- (6) In the matter of education, therefore, during the period referred to, Roman Catholics were, as a matter of custom and practice, separate from the rest of the community, and their schools were all conducted according to the distinctive views and beliefs of Roman Catholics as herein set forth.
- (7) Roman Catholic Schools have always formed an integral part of the work of the Roman Catholic Church. The Church has always considered the education of the children of Roman Catholic parents as coming peculiarly within its jurisdiction. The school, in the view of the Roman Catholics, is in a large measure the "children's church", and wholly incomplete and largely abortive if religious exercises be excluded from it. The Church has always insisted upon its children receiving their education in schools conducted under the supervision of the Church, and upon them being trained in the doctrines and faith of the Church. In education the Roman Catholic Church attaches very great importance to the spiritual culture of the child, and regards all education unaccompanied by instruction in its religious aspects as possibly detrimental and not beneficial to children. With this regard the Church requires that all teachers of children shall not only be members of the Church, but shall be thoroughly imbued with its principles and faith; shall recognize its spiritual authority and conform to its directions. It also requires that such books be used in the schools, with regard to certain subjects, as shall combine religious instruction with those subjects, and this applies peculiarly to all history and philosophy.
- (8) The Church regards the schools provided by the "Public Schools Act", and being Chapter 38 of the Statutes passed in the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, in the fifty-third year of her reign, as unfit for the purpose of educating their children, and the children of Roman Catholic parents will not attend such schools. Rather than countenance such schools, Roman Catholics will revert to the system of operation previous to the Manitoba Act, and will establish, support and maintain schools in accordance with their principles and faith as aforementioned.

Swart, The Manitoba School Question pages 7-8.

## APPENDIX

## No. 7.

A Portion of the Affidavit of Archbishop Taché, November 1890  
Continued.

- (9) Protestants are satisfied with the system of education provided for by the said Act, "The Public Schools Act", and are perfectly willing to send their children to the schools established and provided for by the said Act. Such schools are, in fact, similar in all respects to the schools maintained by the Protestants under the legislation in force immediately prior to the passage of the said Act. The main and fundamental difference between Protestants and Catholics, with reference to education, is that while many Protestants would like education to be of a more distinctly religious character than that provided for by the said Act, yet they are content with that which is so provided and have no conscientious scruples against such a system; the Catholics, on the other hand, insist and always have insisted upon education being thoroughly permeated with religion and religious aspects; that causes and effects in science, history, philosophy and aught else should be constantly attributed to the Deity and not taught merely as causes and effects.
- (10) The effect of the "Public Schools Act" will be to establish schools in every part of Manitoba where the population is sufficient for the purpose of a school, and to supply in this manner education to children free of charge to them or their parents further than their share, in common with other members of the community, of the amount levied under and by virtue of the provisions contained in the Act.
- (11) In case Roman Catholics revert to the system in operation previous to the Manitoba Act, they will be brought in direct competition with the said Public Schools. Owing to the fact that the public schools will be maintained at public expense, and the Roman Catholic schools by school fees and private subscription, the latter will labor under serious disadvantage. They will be unable to afford inducements afforded by public schools, although they would be perfectly able to compete with any or all schools unaided by law-enforced support.

Ewart, The Manitoba School Question, pages 7-8.

## APPENDIX

No. 8.

The Laurier-Sifton Agreement.  
Statutes of Manitoba, 60 Vic, Chapter XXVI, 1897.

- Section 1. Religious teaching, to be conducted as hereinafter provided shall take place in any public school in Manitoba;
- (a). If authorized by a resolution passed by the majority of the school trustees of the district in which the school is carried on, or,
  - (b). If a petition be presented to the said school trustees asking for religious teaching and signed by the parents or guardians of at least ten children attending the school in the case of a rural school district, or by the parents or guardians of at least twenty five children attending the school in the case of a city, town or village school.
2. Such religious teaching shall take place between the hours of 3.50 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and shall be conducted by a Christian clergyman whose charge includes any portion of the school district, or by any person duly authorized by such clergyman, or by a teacher when authorized.
4. In any school in towns and cities where the average attendance of Roman Catholic children is forty or upwards, and in villages and rural districts where the average attendance of such children is twenty-five or upwards, the trustees shall, if required by a petition of the parents or guardians of such numbers of Roman Catholic children, respectively, employ at least one duly certified Roman Catholic teacher in such school. In any school in towns and cities where the average attendance of non-Roman Catholic children is forty or upwards, and in villages or rural districts where the average attendance of such children is twenty five or upwards, the trustees shall, if required by the petition of parents or guardians of such children, employ at least one duly certified non-Roman Catholic teacher.
6. The Department of Education shall have the power to make regulations not inconsistent with the principles of this Act, for carrying into effect the provisions of this Act.
7. No separation of pupils by religious denominations shall take place during the secular work of the school.
8. Where the school room accommodation at the disposal of the trustees permits, instead of allotting different days of the week to different denominations for the purpose of religious teaching, the pupils may be separated when the hour for religious teaching arrives, and placed in separate rooms.

## APPENDIX.

## No. 8.

## The Laurier-Sifton Agreement.

9. No pupil shall be permitted to be present at any religious teaching unless the parents or guardians do not desire the attendance of pupils during such religious teaching, when such pupils shall be dismissed before the religious exercises are begun, or shall remain in another room.
10. When ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language, or any language other than English, as their native ~~language~~ language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French or such other language, and English upon the bi-lingual system.

## APPENDIX

## No. 9.

The Coldwell Amendments,  
Statutes of Manitoba, 2 Geo. V, 1912, Chap. 65.  
Section 2 amended by additions (r), (s), (t).

- (r). The word "school" wherever it occurs in this Act, shall mean and include any and every school building, school room or department in a school building owned by a public school district, presided over by a teacher or teachers.
- (s). It shall be the duty of every public school board in this province to provide school accommodation according to the requirements of "the Public Schools Act" when so requested by the parents or guardians of children of school age under "the Public Schools Act."
- (t). Section 218, chapter 143, revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1902, was intended to mean and does mean a teacher for the children of the petitioners and of the same religious denomination as the petitioners.

Statutes of Manitoba, Legislative Library, Winnipeg.