

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF THOMAS GREENWAY

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the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
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## ABSTRACT

This political biography of Thomas Greenway covers his career from Liberal-Conservative organizer in Huron South, Ontario, through his appointment to the National Railway Commission in 1908. While his participation in municipal, provincial, and federal politics in Ontario, his switch from Liberal-Conservative to Liberal, and his land speculations and years as leader of the Liberal Opposition in Manitoba have been considered, the major concentration has been on the period from January, 1888, to January, 1900, when Greenway was Premier of Manitoba.

A detailed study of Greenway's Premiership revealed his key role in the issues of federal disallowance policy, breaking of the Canadian Pacific Railway monopoly clause, entry of the Northern Pacific Railway into Manitoba, and in precipitating the Manitoba School Question. Greenway's political views were oriented toward the agricultural community. This was evident in his advocacy of a revenue tariff, rigid economy in government expenditure, bonusing of railways to encourage the building of branch lines, and competitive freight rates. He also supported and enacted typical Reform legislation such as manhood suffrage and representation by population.

Thomas Greenway's political career illustrates that he was one of the dominant Provincial Rights Premiers of late 19th century Canadian politics. Consequently, he was instrumental in increasing provincial power at the expense of the federal government. While this was accomplished largely through the disallowance and monopoly issues, the Manitoba School Question has remained his major legacy to Manitoba.

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#### LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

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Photography by American Art Gallery.

Between pages 101 and 102, Thomas Greenway in 1888.

Between pages 104 and 105, the members of Greenway's first Cabinet.  
Seated, from left to right, James A. Smart, Minister of Public Works,  
Thomas Greenway, Premier and Minister of Agriculture, and Lyman Melvin  
Jones, Provincial Treasurer. Standing, from left to right, Joseph  
Martin, Attorney General, and James Emile Pierre Prendergast,  
Provincial Secretary. Photograph probably taken in early 1890.

Between pages 225 and 226, the members of Greenway's second Cabinet.  
Seated, from left to right, Joseph Martin, Attorney General, Thomas  
Greenway, Premier and Minister of Agriculture, and Daniel Hunter  
McMillan, Provincial Treasurer. Standing, from left to right, James  
A. Smart, Minister of Public Works, and Daniel McLean, Provincial  
Secretary. Photograph probably taken in early 1890 as McLean did  
not join the Cabinet until late September, 1889.

Between pages 353 and 354, Thomas Greenway in 1902.

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## INTRODUCTION

Thomas Greenway has been considered a peripheral figure in dissertations, theses, articles, and books dealing with aspects of Manitoba's history which bear on national issues. Consequently, the tendency has been to rely on J. W. Dafoe's Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times for an assessment of Greenway's position as Premier of Manitoba. Further studies, relying to a large extent on the Sifton Papers, have considered Greenway as a vacillating, weak-willed individual who was dominated first by Joseph Martin and then by Clifford Sifton. This study of Thomas Greenway's political career will determine if this assessment has been accurate.

Since little has been done on Greenway's Ontario apprenticeship, consideration of that period may indicate his political principles as well as to explain his conversion from the Liberal-Conservative to the Liberal party. His subsequent move to Manitoba and the primary motive for it will be examined along with his activities in Manitoba provincial politics.

The main emphasis of this political biography will involve a study of the period from January, 1888, to January, 1900, when Greenway was Premier of Manitoba. The major issues to be considered will be federal disallowance policy, the Canadian Pacific monopoly, entry of the Northern Pacific into Manitoba, and the Manitoba School Question. Greenway's role in disallowance and the Canadian Pacific Railway monopoly will be studied in some detail to determine whether he deserves credit for these achievements or would they have resulted had John Norquay and D. H. Garrison continued in power in Manitoba. The entry into Manitoba of the Northern Pacific has raised at least two related questions which this study will attempt to answer. Were Greenway and Martin bribed to permit the American road access

to the province and was there competition in freight rates between the Northern Pacific and the Canadian Pacific Railways? The answers to these questions will have a direct bearing on the origins of the Manitoba School Question.

While there are a number of studies on the Manitoba School Question, none have been able to clarify Greenway's position in the conflict. Consequently, Joseph Martin and D'Alton McCarthy have been regarded as the instigators in abolishing Manitoba's dual-structured educational system. This study of Greenway will explain his viewpoint in precipitating the Manitoba School Question. It will contend that the agitation and government decision to act had been determined before the well-known speeches of Martin and McCarthy at Portage la Prairie on August 5, 1889. The Greenway-Martin relationship will be considered as to its effect on the development of what became a national controversy.

Greenway's relationship with Clifford Sifton, who replaced Joseph Martin as Attorney General in 1891, will be considered primarily in connection with railway policy. This will reveal the basis for the rapprochement between Greenway and W. C. Van Horne as well as illustrate Sifton's dominant position within the Greenway government.

The defeat of Greenway's government in the December, 1899 provincial election will be considered in an attempt to determine its causes. Greenway's unsuccessful efforts as Opposition leader and his undistinguished years as M. P. for Lisgar will be given brief study, as well as his desire for a federal appointment and the collapse of his personal financial standing.

The ultimate objective of this study will be to present Greenway's political career in full, analyzing and explaining his actions and decisions.

Achievement of this aim should provide a better understanding of Manitoba's political history, in particular, and specifically, Manitoba's relation to national events, with an emphasis on Greenway's major role in these developments.

## CHAPTER I

### ONTARIO APPRENTICESHIP

Thomas Greenway began his political career in Stephen Township, Huron County, Ontario, as an organizer for the Liberal-Conservative party. His first elective office was that of non-partisan reeve for Stephen Township, a position he held until elected Member of Parliament for South Huron. Greenway opposed the concept of a protective tariff, broke with the Liberal-Conservatives, and joined the Reform party. He sold his mercantile interests in Crediton and Exeter, declined the Reform party's nomination in the 1878 election, and became involved in a Manitoba land speculation scheme with Malcolm Colin Cameron and Richard J. Cartwright. Greenway moved to Manitoba early in 1879 to carry out the business arrangement and to act as the Reform party's organizer, carrying with him the political principles gained in Ontario.

Thomas Greenway was born at Kilhampton, County of Cornwall, England, on March 25, 1838, the eldest in the family of Thomas Greenway and Elizabeth Heard. Thomas Jr. arrived in Canada West in 1844 after a six week voyage and the family settled in Stephen Township, Huron County, where Thomas Sr. had taken up land. Greenway's formal education ended at age eleven when his father died and his mother subsequently supported the family by teaching school. Reportedly, Thomas was apprenticed to a tinsmith in London, although no concrete evidence has been found to confirm or deny this. Little is known about Greenway between 1850 and 1860, but at twenty-two years of age he married Annie Hicks of Devon on January 25, 1860.<sup>1</sup> Shortly after their

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<sup>1</sup> Greenway to John M. Greenway, 2 April 1895. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook A, 476; W. Stewart Wallace (ed.), The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 3rd edition (Toronto, 1963), 282; Henry James Morgan (ed.), The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Hand-Book of Canadian Biography (Toronto, 1898), 407-408.

marriage they established themselves at Bervie, Bruce County, and sometime afterward, before 1866, they returned to Devon in Stephen Township where Greenway became a general merchant. He later became a post-master, a political appointment probably as a result of his assistance in the electoral campaigns of John Carling of London and Isaac Carling of Exeter, both Liberal-Conservatives. As Greenway's business prospered and the family expanded -- they were to have seven children -- he established stores in Crediton and Centralia. The latter store was built in the fall of 1873 and opened for business in early 1874. Construction of a new \$3500 home was started in April at Centralia and later that year the Greenway family left Devon.<sup>1</sup>

The Greenway stores at Crediton and Centralia were the typical, small town general merchandising businesses of that time. Along with dry goods and groceries Greenway handled occasional specials in stock obtained from bankrupt concerns. He was also the agent for "The Royal" sewing machine. Customers used cash, credit, or had butter and eggs accepted in payment. In October, 1875, Greenway sold his store in Centralia to John Parsons of Crediton.<sup>2</sup>

The liquidation of the Centralia property was precipitated by the death of Mrs. Greenway due to smallpox in May, 1875. Thomas Greenway himself had suffered a mild attack of the disease while in Ottawa as M.P.

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<sup>1</sup> "Exeter", The Huron Expositor, 12 September 1873, 8; "Centralia", The Exeter Times, 16 April 1874, 2; The Exeter Times, 20 and 28 [sic] November 1873, 4, and 16 April 1874, 3.

<sup>2</sup> The Exeter Times, 17 December 1874, 3; 24 December 1874 to 25 February 1875, 4; 1 April 1875 to 29 April 1875, 4; 20 May 1875 to 28 October 1875, 3, 4; "Centralia," Ibid., 28 October 1875, 2.

for South Huron. Absence due to illness was much in evidence among M. P.s in the Parliamentary session from early February to mid-April and Greenway was confined to his residence in Ottawa for the last half of March. Ten days after returning to the House, Parliament was prorogued and Greenway returned to Centralia. Less than two weeks after her husband's return home, Mrs. Greenway became ill. She died soon after, the smallpox being complicated by her eighth pregnancy.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway's Crediton store was still in operation and by February, 1876, he had opened another store in Exeter. Upon returning from Parliament in April he was faced with a "mercantile calamity", probably a fire. Although he was able to keep both stores operating, by January, 1877, he was in partnership with a Mr. Zwiker. By April they were operating only the Crediton store which continued at least until the summer of 1877<sup>2</sup> when all trace of Greenway as merchant ceases. Apparently Greenway and Zwiker sold out as Zwiker's name disappeared as well. What Greenway was doing for a living remains obscure until the fall of 1878 when he became involved in Manitoba land speculations.

During this period Greenway courted Emma Essery, organist for the Methodist Church in Exeter. On January 4, 1877, the thirty-eight year old Greenway married Miss Essery, a native of Stephen Township, and sixteen

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<sup>1</sup> "Ottawa," The Mail, 26 March 1875, 1; "Ottawa," Ibid., 1 April 1875, 1; "Small Pox," The Exeter Times, 29 April 1875, 2; The Huron Expositor, 7 May 1875, 8.

<sup>2</sup> The Exeter Times, 10 February 1876 to 30 March 1876, 3; "Centralia", Ibid., 20 April 1876, 2; Ibid., 15 June 1876 through 13 September 1877, 3.

years his junior.<sup>1</sup> Their first child, a son, was born September 30, that same year,<sup>2</sup> and they were to have six more children, born in Manitoba.

Thomas Greenway's first elective office was that of non-partisan reeve of Stephen Township in 1867. He was re-elected annually through 1874, usually by acclamations. When he was opposed by John Parsons in 1871, an editorial in The Huron Expositor supported Greenway as an "efficient and clever Reeve."<sup>3</sup> As reeve he also served as one of thirty-three members on the Huron County Council which met in Goderich. In addition to serving on various committees, he learned the value of municipal aid for railway construction, particularly for the London, Huron, and Bruce Railroad which commenced running through Exeter in 1876.<sup>4</sup> He would use similar techniques as Premier to assist railway development in Manitoba. Greenway retired from municipal and county government on being elected the M. P. for South Huron in February, 1875. Even though he served as a non-partisan reeve, Greenway was regarded as a Liberal-Conservative,<sup>1</sup> and promoted his political views at the party's gatherings. When a provincial election was called for March, 1871, the Liberal-Conservatives of South Huron held their

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<sup>1</sup> Information supplied by the Office of the Registrar General, Toronto, Ontario, 24 October 1973.

<sup>2</sup> Walter McRae (ed.), Pioneers and Prominent People in Manitoba (Winnipeg, 1925), 183.

<sup>3</sup> Editorial "The Municipal Elections," The Huron Expositor, 29 December 1871, 4.

<sup>4</sup> "The County Council," Ibid., 2 February 1872, 1, 4; "County Council for 1874," Ibid., 9 January 1874, 8.

<sup>5</sup> "The 'Disreputable Act' of the County Council," The Goderich Signal, 13 February 1868, 2.

nominating convention at Brucefield on March 14. In an outdoor meeting, hampered by a cold, miserable snowstorm, Greenway nominated Isaac Carling, M. P. P. and brother of John Carling, Minister of Agriculture and Public Works in the provincial government and President of the Carling Brewing and Malting Company. When called upon to speak, Greenway covered issues that would dominate his electoral appeals throughout his career. He claimed that the Sandfield Macdonald government would develop the resources of the country, placing agriculture first. The mechanics and merchants depended on the welfare and prosperity of the farmers for success, Greenway contended, and he concluded by praising the provincial government's free land grant policy and drainage of swamp lands.<sup>1</sup> Despite his efforts, Greenway's candidate lost the subsequent election to Robert Gibbons, the Reform nominee, by 207 votes.<sup>2</sup>

The Liberal-Conservatives, using what they had learned from the provincial election and taking advantage of their party's control of the federal government, prepared for the future. At a private meeting of the "representative men" of the Liberal-Conservative party at Clinton the week of December 22nd, 1871, it was decided to alter the constituencies of Huron County. Instead of the divisions of North and South Huron, the party's representatives pressed John A. Macdonald to divide the county into North, Centre, and South ridings.<sup>3</sup> The obvious purpose was to make Centre Huron a Reformer's haven, while North and South would provide at

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<sup>1</sup> "South Riding Nomination," The Huron Expositor, 17 March 1871, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Editorial, "The Contest in Huron," Ibid., 24 March 1871, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Editorial, "A New Dodge," Ibid., 22 December 1871, 4; editorial, "New Electoral Divisions," Ibid., 24 February 1872, 4.

least good fighting ground. Based on the 1871 provincial results, Centre Huron would be Reform by over 600, North Huron would be Reform by about 150, and South Huron would be Liberal-Conservative by approximately 75.<sup>1</sup> These calculations were upset by unforeseen factors, particularly the increased numbers added to the voters' lists from 1867. The requested division of Huron County was carried out before the federal election of July-August, 1872.

Sir John A. Macdonald had delayed calling a federal election before 1872 largely because he feared reaction to the disconcerting terms of the Treaty of Washington. After Parliament approved the Treaty, 121 to 55, Macdonald's administration proceeded along toward pre-election legislation with renewed confidence. A Trades Union Bill was passed creating the impression that Macdonald was more favourably inclined towards working men than the Reformer George Brown, owner and editor of the Toronto Globe. The duties on tea and coffee were repealed and a Redistribution Bill gave Ontario six new seats based on the 1871 census.<sup>2</sup> Huron County received one of the new seats in an effort at gerrymander<sup>3</sup> and the other five were also located on a similarly sympathetic basis. "We had a triumphant session, not having experienced a single check of any kind," Macdonald wrote to John Rose, "The opposition were completely demoralized and I am going to the country with good hopes of success in Ontario."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Editorial, "The Division of the County," Ibid., 1 March 1872, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Donald Creighton, John A. Macdonald: The Old Chieftain (Toronto, 1955), 129.

<sup>3</sup> Editorial, "The Representation Bill -- An Outrage," The Huron Expositor, 7 June 1872, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Private. Macdonald to John Rose, 5 March 1872, in Sir Joseph Pope (ed.), Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald (Toronto, 1921), 165.

Despite Macdonald's bravado in his letter to Rose, the Prime Minister expected a strong party fight in Ontario because of the Riel difficulty, the Manitoba settlement, the unfavourable terms of the Treaty of Washington, and the bargain with British Columbia. Macdonald hoped that pacification of Nova Scotia and incidental protection of home industry would offset these factors. He also believed the proposed transcontinental railway would prove an asset. Two organizations, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company headed by Sir Hugh Allan and the Interceanic Railway Company directed by David Lewis Macpherson, sought the contract. Allan's organization appeared to gain a favoured position by responding with approximately \$300,000 for the Liberal-Conservative campaign fund. Macdonald scattered at least \$45,000 of the amount across Ontario and his indiscretion later led to charges in Parliament by L. S. Huntington which culminated in the Pacific Scandal.<sup>1</sup>

The Liberal-Conservatives of South Huron selected Thomas Greenway as their candidate.<sup>2</sup> Upon getting the party's nod, Greenway resigned as postmaster of Devon. "Greenway is an excellent man," wrote John Carling to Alexander Campbell, Postmaster General in the Macdonald government, "and there is to be a strong party fight in which I think he has good hopes of success."<sup>3</sup> After some initial hesitation, the Reform party of South Huron renominated Malcolm Colin Cameron as Greenway's opponent. Cameron

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<sup>1</sup> J. Murray Beck, Pendulum of Power: Canada's Federal Elections (Scarborough, Ontario, 1968), 13-17; Creighton, op. cit., 130-133, 138-141.

<sup>2</sup> "Stanley", The Huron Expositor, 12 July 1872, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Private. John Carling to Alexander Campbell, 27 June 1872. P.A.O., Alexander Campbell Papers.

was a lawyer in Goderich and had won the riding of South Huron in the 1867 federal election. At one point in the 1872 campaign Cameron was running in both Centre and South Huron, but finally settled on the latter constituency.<sup>1</sup>

Long before the official nomination day of August 16, Greenway was in the field. While he did not publish an address to the electors and partisan press reports of speeches were sketchy at best, it is possible to piece together his public statements. They were general in nature, as Greenway trimmed his sails to meet the strong winds throughout the riding. He made the standard statements that he would support good measures and oppose bad ones, but would support the government which had given peace, plenty, and prosperity. Despite this general statement, Greenway was opposed to the proposed route and plan of the Intercolonial railway to which Macdonald was committed by the terms of the British North America Act. Greenway never gave a reason for his opposition, but he favoured the Inter-Pacific railway. According to him, it would cost the Canadian people only a trifle. He condemned the adverse clauses of the Treaty of Washington and praised those that appeared favourable, while castigating the British government for sacrificing Canadian interests in formulating the Treaty settlement.<sup>2</sup>

The zealousness of the Reform candidate and his supporters in this

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<sup>1</sup> Editorial, "Reform Conventions," The Huron Expositor, 14 June 1872, 4; "South Huron Reform Convention," Ibid., 21 June 1872, 4; editorial, "South Huron," Ibid., 19 July 1872, 4.

<sup>2</sup> "Political Meetings in South Huron," Ibid., 26 July 1872, 8; Letter to the editor, signed "Spectator" under heading "Cameron and Greenway on the Stump at Zurich," Ibid., 2 August 1872, 4.

election was exemplified in one particularly bizarre and, at that time, misinterpreted situation, which was claimed to have been suppression of the news. Mr. Holmes, the proprietor of the Clinton New Era (Reform), was approached by some Liberal-Conservatives who offered to pay the expenses involved in giving fair reports of Greenway's meetings. Holmes agreed, but was absent on other business when his foreman prepared and set in type an overly favourable report of a Greenway meeting. The New Era was printed on Wednesday and a few copies were circulated at Cameron's rally that evening. Local Reformers were incensed and demanded that Holmes suppress the remaining copies of the edition. Holmes claimed that while he had supervised the printing, he had not noticed that the article on Greenway's meeting was slanted. He agreed to delete the page containing the writeup, and only a half-issue of the paper appeared on Thursday. The Huron Expositor (Reform) condemned the entire affair and suggested that the story should have been published along with an explanation of the circumstances. This would have refuted the charges of The Mail (Liberal-Conservative) which was claiming that the news was being suppressed only because the account of Greenway's meeting was too favourable.<sup>1</sup>

For some unaccountable reason most of Greenway's friends and party supporters were allowing him to shift for himself.<sup>2</sup> He wrote Macdonald asking him to keep his promise to speak in South Huron and requested financial aid as "our opponents are working lavishly in that way in South Huron." Whatever the amount, Greenway added, it should be transmitted to

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<sup>1</sup> "The Clinton Newspaper Supression," Ibid., 2, 2 August 1872, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Editorial, "South Huron Election," Ibid., 26 July 1872, 4.

Isaac Carling of Exeter who handled the party's finances in the riding.<sup>1</sup>

As a result of this appeal, Greenway received \$2000 of what came to be known as Pacific Scandal funds.<sup>2</sup>

At that time prospective candidates of all parties had to be nominated in the presence of the returning officer on a designated day. Distances required that potential nominees come to the returning officer with the resulting conventions providing an excuse for social gatherings. Large crowds attended from all over the constituency to take part in the social activities as well as to hear the speeches. The official nominations for South Huron were held at Varna on August 16. Cameron was nominated by Archibald Bishop and seconded by James Fair, while Greenway was accorded the honours by David Patton and Isaac Carling. In the speeches which followed, Cameron defended his stand in the First Parliament, while Greenway refuted points made by Cameron and offered explanations of his own Liberal-Conservative stance. The meeting was biased in favour of Greenway as Edmund Burke Wood, former Provincial Treasurer under J. S. Macdonald and M. P. P. for Brant South, was able to speak on Cameron's behalf only after Greenway had requested the co-operation of the audience.<sup>3</sup>

Contemporary reports of this meeting do not support the statements made by John S. Willison in his Reminiscences. Willison's account was written forty-seven years after he had attended the event as a fourteen

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<sup>1</sup> Greenway to Macdonald, 9 August 1872. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 344, 157760-175561.

<sup>2</sup> Documented in Donald Wayne Swainson's "The Personnel of Politics: A Study of the Ontario Members of the Second Federal Parliament" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1969), 268.

<sup>3</sup> "Centre and South Huron Nominations," The Huron Expositor, 23 August 1872, 4.

year old. He has the candidates in the wrong order and later could have attributed the gist of the speeches to the wrong individuals. His journalistic flair for the dramatic is shown by his description of E. B. Wood's "thrilling" arrival, when in fact Wood was already on the platform. Willison's recollection of accusations made implying the buying of votes through excessive prices paid for cattle by Cameron, an important event if true, was not even mentioned by the contemporary press. If, as Willison said, "no other political event is so clear and vivid in my memory," then we cannot unquestioningly accept other incidents where he or others rely solely on memory in preference to contemporary evidence.<sup>1</sup>

Sir John A. Macdonald kept his promise to Greenway and spoke at Clinton on August 17. William McDougall originally was expected with Macdonald, but due to his previous involvement in North-West events it was decided to drop him from the program. Instead, Macdonald was accompanied by D. H. Ritchie and Greenway. The Prime Minister made a lengthy address in which he concentrated on pre-Confederation politics, limiting his remarks on current affairs to statements about the corruption prevalent in the American governmental system, the complete lack of corruption in Canadian politics, and his own personal honesty. He concluded by asking the electors to support Greenway.<sup>2</sup>

The voting in South Huron took place on August 23 and resulted in Cameron defeating Greenway by 85.<sup>3</sup> The gerrymander of Huron County failed

<sup>1</sup> John S. Willison, Reminiscences: Political and Personal (Toronto, 1919), 13-15.

<sup>2</sup> "Sir John at Clinton," The Huron Expositor, 16 August 1872, 4; "Sir John at Clinton", Ibid., 23 August 1872, 1.

<sup>3</sup> The final totals were 1393 to 1308 for Cameron with 81 per cent of the electorate registering their decision. See, Canada. Sessional Papers, 1873, vol. VI, No. 60, 23-24.

to meet the intended objective, as The Mail indicated "The two Hurons have followed their old loves, Mr. Cameron being elected in the South, and Mr. [Horace] Horton in the Centre. We gained the North, and that is about as much as we could have expected."<sup>1</sup> The Globe savoured the Huron results, stating "In South Huron Mr. M. C. Cameron has won a great victory in the defeat of Mr. Greenway."<sup>2</sup>

In analyzing the South Huron outcome, The Huron Expositor stated that his defeat was due to Greenway's support of Macdonald. Greenway was complimented for his strong personal canvass, but the Expositor could not see how he had the slightest chance of success.<sup>3</sup> Greenway's own analysis of the contest was equally simple, as he wrote Macdonald,

I am sorry we did not give a better account of ourselves in South Huron in the recent contest, the riding should have returned you a Supporter, but twas [sic] unavoidable the Grits had too much money for us - Some of our friends talk of a protest - I am not sure whether anything will be done or not, there is no doubt good grounds but my own part in the contest has nearly stopped me, I hope however <sup>4</sup> you will be strong in your position when the House meets....

When the returns for South Huron are studied, the close nature of the contest becomes obvious. Both candidates carried ten polls and both carried three subdivisions. Cameron's main weakness was Goderich where he trailed by 117. In Stephen he was fortunate to keep Greenway's majority to 65. A partial explanation for this result may be that as reeve of

<sup>1</sup> The Mail, 24 August 1872, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Editorial, "The Contest Yesterday," The Globe, 24 August 1872, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Editorial, "South Huron," The Huron Expositor, 30 August 1872, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Greenway to Macdonald, 17 September 1872. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 344, 157829-147831.

Stephen Township Greenway had made a number of decisions over six years and some of the antagonisms were working against him. Cameron carried Clinton by 28 despite Macdonald's speech there on Greenway's behalf. The key to Greenway's defeat was the subdivision of Hay where Cameron secured a 239 vote margin. The area was predominantly German and in 1867 the Liberal-Conservatives of Hay Township, led by the Carlings, had used the letter of the law to keep the Germans from voting. Many had voted for years even though they had not held citizenship papers.<sup>1</sup> There seems to be little doubt that Cameron and the Reformers made sure that all those entitled to vote by 1872 were put on the lists and that these voters expressed themselves as opposed to the Liberal-Conservative candidate in overwhelming numbers.

Greenway was left to follow Macdonald's advice to protest the election,<sup>2</sup> and the defeated candidate went through the formality of filing an election protest, but nothing came of it as it was used to offset a similar Reform protest in another riding. Greenway later corresponded with Macdonald concerning patronage recommendations in the three Huron ridings. He quickly learned that the major influence in these affairs belonged to Thomas Farrow, the only Liberal-Conservative elected in the three constituencies.<sup>3</sup> Greenway then turned his efforts toward provincial politics in South Huron.

<sup>1</sup> "Mr. Cameron in South Huron," The Globe, 6 August 1872, 2; "Election Intelligence," Ibid., 10 August 1872, 2; Canada Sessional Papers, 1873, vol. VI, No. 60. 23-24.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Macdonald to Greenway, 21 September 1872. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 521, Letterbook 18, 516.

<sup>3</sup> Private. Macdonald to Greenway, 8 October 1872. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 521, Letterbook 18, 660; Private. Greenway to Macdonald, 26 April 1873. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 345, 158157-158158.

When Robert Gibbons resigned as M.P.P.P. to accept the Shrievalty of Huron, a by-election was set for October 15, 1873. The Reformers nominated Archibald Bishop, the Liberal-Conservatives George Case. In his speech nominating Case, Greenway described Bishop as trying to be all things to all men and unworthy of trust. He characterized the Mowat government as corrupt, wasteful, and extravagant.<sup>1</sup> George Case did not speak at this or any other meeting. He published "An Address to the Electors of South Huron," a carefully prepared document which stated only that Case would support good measures, oppose the government, and truly represent the constituency.<sup>2</sup> The Liberal-Conservatives, under the direction of Greenway and Isaac Carling, conducted a vigorous door-to-door campaign in support of Case, but it was not enough as Bishop eeked out a victory, 1424 to 1410. An error at one poll had indicated a win for Case, but a recheck changed the final tally to a victory for Bishop.<sup>3</sup>

Shortly, after this, Sir John A. Macdonald's government resigned due to the Pacific Scandal revelations and Alexander Mackenzie was called upon to form a new government. After doing so, Mackenzie desired his own mandate and called a federal election for January-February, 1874.<sup>4</sup> The electoral struggle of eighteen months previous would begin anew in South Huron with M. C. Cameron as the Reformer's candidate and Thomas Greenway for the Liberal-Conservatives. The Huron Expositor (Reform)

<sup>1</sup> "The Nomination," The Huron Expositor, 10 October 1873, 4.

<sup>2</sup> "An Address to the Electors," Ibid., 10 October 1873, 8.

<sup>3</sup> "South Huron -- Mr. Bishop Elected," Ibid., 17 October 1873, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Creighton, op. cit., 176-180; Dale Thomson, Alexander Mackenzie: Clear Grit (Toronto, 1960), 169-178.

believed Greenway was "the strongest and best qualified candidate" the Liberal-Conservatives could select.<sup>1</sup> At a Liberal-Conservative meeting in Brucefield on January 9, Greenway gave the appearance of being a reluctant candidate as he refused the nomination when it was offered to him, but after "considerable persuasion" and a few moments thought he agreed to stand.<sup>2</sup>

In his speech, the candidate rebuked the Mackenzie government for hurrying on another general election, expressed the view that the tide was turning against the government, and praised the enthusiasm evident at the meeting. Perhaps Greenway's reluctance was caused by the delay in getting a written guarantee from prominent members of the party that his elections expenses would be paid.<sup>3</sup> It may also have been true reluctance, since Greenway's only electoral successes to this point had been in municipal politics, and most of these were by acclamation. In any event, there was no evidence to suggest that Greenway received any outside speaking assistance and he was forced to depend solely on the riding's Liberal-Conservative organization. Cameron, on the other hand, was supported in speeches by Prime Minister Mackenzie, Edward Blake, E. B. Wood, and others.

At the official meeting held at Varna on January 26, Cameron was nominated by Archibald Bishop and seconded by John Parsons, Greenway by Isaac Carling and C. W. Pickford. Formalities out of the way, charges of bribery were unleashed by both sides. Cameron stated he could prove that

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<sup>1</sup> Editorial, "Huron Politics", The Huron Expositor, 9 January, 1874, 4.

<sup>2</sup> "Conservative Association Convention at Brucefield," The Exeter Times, 15 January, 1874, 2; The Huron Expositor, 16 January 1874, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Loc. cit.

between \$1500 and \$3000 of Pacific Scandal funds had come into the constituency during the last election. Greenway, speaking with a sore throat which kept his address to an hour, denied the charge and asserted that the last election cost Cameron \$11,000 with \$10 to \$50 being spent per vote. Cameron refuted the claim and asked why Greenway had failed to issue an election address, setting forth his views on political issues being discussed. The Reform candidate declared his adherence to the Mackenzie government, while Greenway responded by walking a political tightrope. He promised he would not support corruption and would favour a stringent election law on campaign expenses. Greenway reiterated his claim that the elections had been brought on unnecessarily and then declared that he had always been a Liberal-Conservative.<sup>1</sup> The last remark was designed to counter oft-repeated comments in the Reform press that he had been a Reformer in 1861 when he had supported a Mr. Dickson, the Reform candidate at Bervie, Bruce County.<sup>2</sup> Accepting the Reform press allegation as true, it could be noted that Greenway was twenty-three at the time and his political convictions as well as opportunities may have undergone considerable change in the following thirteen years. With Ontario federal election results fluctuating from 1867 to 1878,<sup>3</sup> and with the two federal parties still groping for their policies, it would be reasonable to assume that Greenway would be involved in a personal transition. His consistent work for the Liberal-Conservatives after 1867

<sup>1</sup> "South Huron Nomination," The Huron Expositor, 30 January 1874, 5.

<sup>2</sup> "Political Meetings in South Huron," Ibid., 26 July 1872, 8, quoting with evident approval from The Goderich Signal of the previous week.

<sup>3</sup> D. G. G. Kerr, "The 1867 Election in Ontario: The Rules of the Game," Canadian Historical Review, LI (December, 1970), 369-385.

indicates that he was a strong and faithful party man.

In any event, the result in South Huron was a virtual repeat of the 1872 contest, as Cameron's majority in 1874 was 86.<sup>1</sup> Following the previous election there had been a number of changes in the constituency that affected the final tally in 1874. One major change was that Exeter Village was added to the subdivisions and voted for Greenway. Another was that Usborne's voters' list was reduced to 572 in 1874, whereas it had had 628 in 1872. It was the only subdivision to show a loss of voters, and the change seems obvious when compared to the 1878 list when Usborne had 655 voters. Cameron carried Usborne by 28 votes in 1874, but had trailed Greenway by the same number in 1872, a turnaround of 56 votes.<sup>2</sup>

While it would be easy to over-emphasize local conditions, it should be remembered that there was a general movement toward the Reform party in this campaign and it probably had its effect in South Huron. In Ontario the Reformers carried sixty-six of eighty-eight ridings and Alexander Mackenzie was returned to office with 138 supporters to the Liberal-Conservatives' 67.<sup>3</sup>

Shortly after the election Greenway's supporters filed a petition protesting Cameron's victory.<sup>4</sup> While the case slowly went through the legal machinery, Cameron sought both to assist himself in the event he was unseated and to restructure the South Huron riding for the next election.

<sup>1</sup> The count was 1522 to 1436 for Cameron with an 83 per cent turnout.

<sup>2</sup> Canada, Sessional Papers, 1874, vol. VI, No. 59, 24; Canada, Sessional Papers, 1879, vol. XII, No. 9, No. 88, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Beck, op. cit., 29.

<sup>4</sup> "Political," The Huron Expositor, 20 March 1874, 44.

His design was to put the township of Tuckersmith in South Huron, detaching it from Centre Huron. The Mackenzie government was reluctant to support Cameron's bill. Even though the administration preferred a comprehensive electoral redistribution carried out as one piece of legislation, the Tuckersmith Bill was proceeded with, passed, and sent to the Senate.<sup>1</sup>

While the Tuckersmith Bill was in the process of passage, Greenway wrote Macdonald to protest the evident intention of the measure, stating,

I notice my friend Cameron has a Bill before the House fixing South Huron to suit himself [...] I should think any person can see the impropriety of allowing such a Bill to become law at least until the next general Election, evidently he intends in case he is unseated that Tuckersmith shall have a vote in the South at once which would certainly be very unjust to say that the voters of a Township shall have a voice in sending two men to the same Parliament with a vote in the Centre and then in the South Riding [...]. I should say that even Grits would admit that such a proceeding would be altogether void of principle. Still I think such is Cameron's intention [...] I hope now that the people are beginning to see the incapability of the man in power that a reaction will set in and the men to whom belongs the credit of having brought our country to such a prosperous position will soon be restored to power [...].

Many of the same arguments were used in the Liberal-Conservative controlled Senate where the bill was rejected, 30 to 17.<sup>3</sup>

With the Tuckersmith Bill out of the way, attention returned to the petition against Cameron's election. The case was heard by Justice Galt at Goderich on October 20. Cameron's lawyer opened the trial by submitting that his client's agents had committed bribery. That was sufficient grounds

<sup>1</sup> Editorial, "South Huron and Tuckersmith," Ibid., 15 May 1874, 4; Canada, Journals of the House of Commons, 1874, 51, 101, 192, 211.

<sup>2</sup> Greenway to Macdonald, 29 April 1874. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 346, 158633-158635.

<sup>3</sup> "The Huron Representative Bill," The Huron Expositor, 22 May 1874, 1.

for voiding Cameron's election, but the petitioners wanted to "get" their opponent. The lawyer for the Liberal-Conservatives attempted, through a number of witnesses, to prove that Cameron was personally guilty of bribery. The Judge ordered that line of endeavour halted as the testimony from the witnesses failed to establish concrete evidence of wrong-doing by Cameron. With this pronouncement, the trial was brought to a quick conclusion, the election in South Huron was voided for bribery by Cameron's agents, but Cameron was cleared of any charges. The Liberal-Conservatives were not satisfied and continued to harrass Cameron by appealing Judge Galt's decision on Cameron's personal involvement in bribery.<sup>1</sup> The result of the appeal was never mentioned, but apparently was held over Cameron's head until near the end of 1874 when it was shelved quietly.

As nominations for the federal by-election in South Huron were progressing, it became evident that there would be a provincial election as well. This would create interest on both sides for an "arrangement" in South Huron. When the federal Liberal-Conservatives met at Brucefield on November 2, they were unable to find a candidate as first Greenway, then John Carling, declined the nomination. It was offered finally to Wharton Hodgson, who was given almost two weeks to think it over before a second meeting was held. Hodgson also declined to accept the nomination and the convention turned again to Thomas Greenway, who asked for and received two weeks "to consider the matter."<sup>2</sup> The proposed candidate wrote Macdonald shortly after the meeting, asking,

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<sup>1</sup> "South Huron Election Trial," Ibid., 23 October 1874, 4; Canada, Journals of the House of Commons, 1875, vol. IX, 30.

<sup>2</sup> Editorial, "Conservative Convention," The Huron Expositor, 6 November, 1874, 4.

Do you think there would be any chance of a little assistance in the way of speakers [?] [A]fter the experience of the last contest, I should like a little help if I went into it, then I was left almost alone . . . . I think with a little better organization and a little assistance in that way we could carry it [.]<sup>1</sup>

No record was found of Macdonald's response. It would be a reasonable assumption that the desired assurances were conveyed to Greenway, probably through the Carlings, since an apparently reluctant Greenway agreed to stand as the Liberal-Conservative candidate.<sup>2</sup> The Reformers nominated Cameron who withheld his acceptance until the appeal against him was cleared. A few weeks later, without having accepted or declined the nomination, Cameron and his family left for Florida where Cameron hoped that the climate would be beneficial to his health and that of his son.<sup>3</sup> While Greenway and his supporters canvassed the riding, the supporters of Cameron waited for their candidate's return from the South.

Meanwhile, the provincial election was imminent. The sitting member for South Huron, Archibald Bishop, was renominated but the Liberal-Conservatives had not selected a candidate. It was rumored that a "strong feeling exists among Conservative party members not to oppose Bishop but to reserve the entire strength of the party to aid Greenway."<sup>4</sup> When nominations were held one week before the provincial election, it was obvious that if there had been discussions concerning an "arrangement" they

<sup>1</sup> Greenway to Macdonald, 18 November 1874. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 346, 158689.

<sup>2</sup> Editorial, "South Huron Conservative Convention," The Huron Expositor, 20 November 1874, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Editorial, "Reform Meeting in South Huron," Ibid., 13 November 1874, 4; "South Huron Election," Ibid., 5 February 1875, 4.

<sup>4</sup> "Political Contest in Huron," Ibid., 8 January 1875, 4.

had ended in failure, as the Liberal-Conservatives brought out George Case. By actively canvassing, they were preparing for both contests.

At Case's nomination Greenway accused the Mowat government of gerrymandering the provincial ridings. While the charge probably was true, Greenway was too adept a practitioner of the art of constituency manipulation to have any reason for becoming upset over his opponents doing the same thing. He also attacked the provincial government for following an expensive and unproductive immigration policy. He declared that the reported monetary surplus existed only in the provincial treasurer's mind, and pointed a finger at the Reform party for not being the party of purity it professed to be. He used Cameron's unseating as evidence of what he meant.<sup>1</sup> Although the Liberal-Conservatives conducted a vigorous canvass in which "every Conservative vote was polled," Bishop defeated Case by 78 votes.<sup>2</sup> The Huron Expositor attributed the close result to indifference on the part of the Grits and believed the constituency should have had a sure Reform majority of 300. The Exeter Times commented that "The result of the recent election is considered satisfactory here, considering the complexion of the Riding after passing through Grit manipulation."<sup>3</sup> The Tory paper then turned its attention to the federal by-election.

As the February 12 nomination day came closer, the party press became

<sup>1</sup> "South Riding of Huron," Ibid., 15 January 1875, 1.

<sup>2</sup> The outcome was 1440 to 1362 for Bishop, an increase of 64 over Bishop's victory margin in the 1873 by-election.

<sup>3</sup> Editorial, "The Result in Huron," The Huron Expositor, 22 January 1875, 4; "The Figures," Ibid., 22 January 1875, 4; "Crediton," The Exeter Times, 28 January 1875, 2.

more vocal, particularly the Tory press. The Exeter Times predicted Greenway's election and denounced Cameron for corruption and slavish support of Mackenzie's government. It considered any faults Greenway had of a "trifling nature." The paper then commented on the prospective candidates' monetary habits at election time:

Some of Mr. Cameron's friends have already made the boast that he owns the riding. Of course, Mr. Greenway cannot set forth any claims to it in a monetary light, having been very miserly about election times, especially to churches, whilst Mr. Cameron was the very reverse. But in all sincerity, should these hypocritical offerings be looked upon as a pledge of adherence?<sup>1</sup>

The Reform press reported that ill health made it impossible for Cameron to campaign and it would be unfair to place another candidate in the field at this late date. To do so would be to court defeat. While rumors persisted that Cameron intended to be a candidate, he evidently had declined the opportunity as on nomination day Greenway was declared elected by acclamation.<sup>2</sup>

Expressing his appreciation of the honour, the newly elected M. P. stated he would support measures not men, compulsory voting, and extension of the franchise. Almost immediately both sides claimed a victory, with the Reform press regarding Greenway as a Liberal. The Huron Expositor referred to Greenway as "a person of large and liberal views" whose "political convictions are much more in sympathy with the Government than the Opposition." The Globe advised the Conservative press not to say too much about the South Huron outcome as "Mr. Greenway, not very long ago, was a member of the Reform Party, and in principle is so still." George

<sup>1</sup> Editorial, "Greenway or Cameron," The Exeter Times, 4 February 1875, 2.

<sup>2</sup> "South Huron Election," The Huron Expositor, 5 February 1875, 4.

Brown's sheet concluded, "It will astonish us much if he joins the sixty who follow Sir John's leadership in preference to the hundred and fifty who support Mr. Mackenzie." The Liberal-Conservative press complacently stated that Greenway was a Macdonald supporter. The Mail was moderate in tone, believing it was wise of the Reformers not to contest Greenway and adding, "Cameron's 'ill health' should not be of long duration." The Exeter Times claimed that the riding had shown its true Tory colours and praised Greenway for having withstood The Globe's abuse in the 1872 and 1874 campaigns.<sup>1</sup>

The M. P. for South Huron arrived in Ottawa on February 24, 1875, and entered discussions with Sir John Macdonald as to his introduction to Parliament. Greenway desired to be recognized as an Independent Conservative rather than a Liberal-Conservative. As Greenway explained two years later, "he desired to divest himself as much as possible of any party prejudices he might entertain." As "the interests of the people had been sacrificed to the interests of party" in the past, he continued, he preferred to commit himself to the interests of his constituents rather than to the party.<sup>2</sup> Greenway held the same viewpoint when he entered Manitoba provincial politics in 1879.<sup>3</sup> It seems more likely that he was prepared to support the party in power to further his own political interests. After a day of arrangements, the thirty-six year old Greenway was presented

<sup>1</sup> "South Huron Nomination," Ibid., 12 February 1875, 4; editorial, "The South Huron Nomination," Ibid., 12 February 1875, 4; "South Huron," The Globe, 15 February 1875, 2; "South Huron Redeemed," The Mail, 12 February 1875, 2; editorial, "By Acclamation," The Exeter Times, 18 February 1875, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1877, 434.

<sup>3</sup> "To the Electors of the Electoral Division of Mountain." Undated. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11929. From the context of the document, it was prepared for the provincial election of January, 1883.

to the House of Commons by Amor De Cosmos and Thomas Farrow, M.P.s for Victoria, British Columbia, and North Huron, respectively.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway's committee appointment was to the Standing Committee on Immigration and Colonization. He was a member of this committee through 1878. He also was appointed to the Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce in 1877, serving through 1878. Greenway made little impression on the proceedings of either committee and press reports on committee work did not indicate that he was an active member. The reports of the Immigration and Colonization committee covered immigration to Manitoba, the North West, and British Columbia; James J. Hill's testimony on transportation in Manitoba; crop potential in the west; and the granting of half-breed script.<sup>2</sup> The information gained probably shaped Greenway's concepts regarding immigration, Manitoba's need for railways, and the possibilities inherent in scrip for land speculation.

In his first session as an M. P., Greenway made no speeches and had few recorded votes. This was in part due to his illness from about March 19 through the end of the month and possibly the initial hesitancy of a new member to engage in debate. Also, as with most new members, he probably spent a good portion of his time learning Parliamentary procedure.

Greenway's meagre voting record indicated that he was more of a Liberal-Conservative than an Independent Conservative. He supported Charles

<sup>1</sup> "Latest from Ottawa," The Globe, 26 February 1875, 1; "Ottawa," The Mail, 26 February 1875, 1; Canada, Journals of the House of Commons, 1875, vol. IX, 136; Henry J. Morgan (ed.), The Canadian Parliamentary Companion (Ottawa, 1875), 226.

<sup>2</sup> Canada, Journals of the House of Commons, 1875, vol. IX, 205; Ibid., 1876, vol. X, 61, Appendix 8 for report; Ibid., 1877, vol. XI, 25, and Appendix to the Journal, House of Commons, 1877, No. 6 for report; Ibid., 1878, vol. XII, 29 and Appendix 2 for report.

Tupper's losing amendment which called for speedy construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and sided with the Liberal-Conservatives in opposing a resolution by David Mills calling for a change in the composition of the Senate. He apparently asserted independence by helping the Reformers defeat an amendment that would delay the grant of a \$12,000 per mile subsidy to the Canada Central Railway, although it was not of local concern to him. Perhaps this was because the Canada Central was considered by Greenway to be a link in the development of the Canadian Pacific Railway.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway also gave an indication of his position on the educational rights of Roman Catholics, when John Costigan, Liberal-Conservative representing Victoria, New Brunswick, moved a resolution requesting the British Parliament to pass an amendment to the British North America Act which would redress the grievances of Roman Catholics arising from New Brunswick's school legislation of 1871. Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie proposed an amendment which rejected any interference on the basis of provincial rights. Joseph E. Cauchon, Conservative for Quebec Centre, offered a further amendment asking the British Parliament to use its influence, rather than a constitutional amendment, to effect the desired result. When Costigan wanted an adjournment to study these proposals, Greenway voted with him in a losing division on party lines. Greenway then split with his party to support Cauchon's amendment which easily passed the House, but was not recorded on Mackenzie's altered amendment nor on

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<sup>1</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1875, 399-419, 687, 696-699, 802; for additional data on the Canada Central Railway, see 2<sup>4</sup> Victoria Cap. LXXX, Statutes of the Province of Canada (Quebec, 1861), 193-202 and G. P. de T. Glazebrook, A History of Transportation in Canada (Toronto, 1938), 253, 267, 269, 288, 294, and map between pages 292 and 293.

Costigan's main motion as now changed.<sup>1</sup> The implication, in the light of Greenway's later role in the Manitoba School Question, appears to be that he was not prejudiced towards Roman Catholics. Possibly it might be deduced that he was in favour of conciliation rather than legislation to alleviate the grievances complained of, although this may be straining the evidence too far.

When votes were recorded on the Supreme Court and North West Territories Acts, Greenway was absent due to his illness in March. On the basis of his voting pattern, he indicated support for railway construction and sympathy for the educational position of Roman Catholics in New Brunswick. It was only on the tariff issue that Greenway clearly defined his position.

The key issue in the sessions in 1876 through 1878 was tariff policy. Greenway's stand on this controversial subject determined his change from Liberal-Conservative to an outright supporter of the Alexander MacKenzie Liberals. The repercussions of Thomas Greenway's tariff views were to follow him throughout the remainder of his political career.

In an atmosphere of economic stagnation, if not depression, there were many M. P.s who believed that the cure was a protective tariff policy. Due to the Pacific Scandal revelations, the 1874 election disaster, and John A. Macdonald's personal problems, the Liberal-Conservative Opposition was led ineffectively. Despite Tupper's best efforts there was no issue on which to rally the party until the tariff became a prominent issue. In anticipation of Sir Richard Cartwright's Budget for 1876, the Liberal-

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<sup>1</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1875, 562, 610, 613, 614, 631-634; for Cauchon's designation as a Conservative, see Henry J. Morgan (ed.), op. cit., 189-190.

Conservative leadership prepared to be either low or high tariff advocates depending on the Finance Minister's position. Once positions were defined, the Liberal-Conservatives had an issue on which to unite. Efforts were made to whip all Party members into line. As the issue became more refined, so did Liberal-Conservative statements on it, eventually becoming the National Policy of 1878.

When Finance Minister Sir Richard Cartwright brought down the Reform Administration's budget in March, 1876, it was obvious it was not going to include a protective tariff. Duties, raised from 15 per cent to 17 1/2 per cent in 1874, remained at that level. The first challenge to Cartwright's Budget came from Thomas Workman, Liberal member for Montreal West and President of Molson's Bank, Sun Life Assurance Company, and Canada Shipping Company. Workman moved an amendment to the Budget, stating

This house deeply regrets that the Government has not proposed to Parliament a policy of increased protection to our various and important manufactures, the large amount of capital invested therein, and the present depressed condition of the country rendering such a policy necessary to restore them to a condition of prosperity.<sup>1</sup>

Workman objected to the failure to increase the tariff rates. He wanted an outright protective policy. John A. Macdonald indicated his support for Workman's amendment, but reserved the right to introduce a more comprehensive motion later in the session. Nevertheless the amendment was defeated, 119 to 64, with at least seven Reformers following Workman's lead in preferring a protective tariff while only one Liberal-Conservative, Greenway, broke party ranks to vote against the amendment.<sup>2</sup> There was no mention in the Liberal-

<sup>1</sup>Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1876, 472.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 488-504.

Conservative press concerning Greenway's failure to support his party.

Three days later, on March 10th, Sir John A. Macdonald made his first public move on tariff policy. After vague remarks concerning what opposition policy would be, he moved the following resolution:

that this House regrets His Excellency the Governor General has not been advised to recommend to Parliament a measure for the readjustment of the tariff, which would not only aid in alleviating the stagnation of business deplored in the gracious speech from the throne, but would also afford fitting encouragement and protection to the struggling manufactures and industries, as well as to the agricultural products of the country.

After lengthy discussion, debate was adjourned to be resumed on March 14, only to be adjourned again. The following day, Macdonald's resolution was brought to a vote, being defeated 116 to 70, with Greenway supporting the Liberals.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway's vote on this occasion earned him scathing denunciation from the Liberal-Conservative press which had ignored his earlier position on Workman's amendment. It was a concerted attempt to whip Liberal-Conservative M. P.s into line on tariff policy as the Tory press ignored any deviations by Liberals and concentrated on Greenway's defection to illustrate what would happen to any other Conservatives who voted against the party on this issue.

The first outburst was by the Ottawa correspondent of The Mail who wrote that,

Mr. Greenway has proved a traitor to all the professions made to them [the electors of South Huron] by him when he was elected by acclamation, and that he sits in the House a mere chattel of the Administration, deserving the contempt of all honourable men.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 568-577, 601, 626-651, 654-685

The Mail then viciously attacked South Huron's M. P. with an editorial entitled "The Traitor Greenway," an appellation he was to carry throughout the rest of his political career. This editorial refuted the claim of the Brantford Expositor that Greenway's vote had turned on the free trade question. As The Mail argued:

the fact that he was going to 'rat' was well known to numbers of people, both in and around the Commons Chamber and in his own constituency.

That the debate had the effect of convincing Greenway that Sir John's protectionist policy was all wrong, and that the free trade policy of Mr. Mackenzie was "the thing for Canada" was "all stuff" said The Mail.

The Mail stated that

what Mr. Greenway turned on was the promise of a Government appointment for himself expected to be in Manitoba. It sounds very fine to talk about a conscientious change of conviction, and so on, but it takes all the romance out of the affair when you know that the 'conscientious conviction,' so called, was a mere vulgar matter of bargain and sale[.]

The Mail regretted having recommended Greenway to the electors of South Huron, but was pleased to report that they had selected a gentleman to carry their banner when Greenway stepped down and out.<sup>1</sup> The Globe responded in Greenway's defence by arguing that Greenway had been elected as an independent, even though the Opposition claimed him as a supporter to swell their numbers. The Globe termed the attack "unfair" since Greenway had always been a free trade advocate opposed to protection.<sup>2</sup>

On March 23, Greenway rose in the House on a question of privilege.

<sup>1</sup> "Ottawa," The Mail, 16 March 1876, 1; editorial, "The Traitor Greenway," Ibid., 20 March 1876, 2; "Political Notes," Ibid., 22 March 1876, 3.

<sup>2</sup> "Notes From the Capital," The Globe, 17 March 1876, 1.

He regretted that the first occasion he addressed the House should be on a personal matter, but he went on to say that whenever the policy of the Government met his approval he would have no hesitation in supporting it. Greenway

denied most emphatically that anything had influenced his vote but this principle. There never had been such a consideration as the Mail intimated. There was not now such a consideration offered; he had not been approached by any member of the Government or any of their supporters in such a manner, and the charge was a pure fabrication, utterly without foundation. He was sure the Premier would do him the justice of contradicting a statement which was without a shadow of foundation. At the proper time he (Mr. Greenway) would explain his vote to the electors, but he would now inform the Conservative candidate who was out in his constituency that he would have about three years to wait before a chance would come to oppose him.<sup>1</sup>

Prime Minister Mackenzie emphatically denied that Greenway had asked for, received, or been offered a government position, by stating that

. . . I feel bound to say that on no occasion has he, . . . solicited anything whatever at the hands of the Government, . . . nor have I any knowledge of any kind whatever of a desire on the part of the hon. gentleman to seek or obtain any office under the Government, . . . nor had we anything to do with influencing the hon. gentleman on the vote to which he refers.

Mackenzie concluded by lampooning both the Liberal-Conservative party and its press,

I am glad to see that although the paper in question accused thee hon. gentleman of deserting his party, no Ministerial journal has accused the seven or eight ministerial members of doing anything of that kind, because they chose, regarding that particular measure, to vote according to their consciences with the Opposition. The Ministerial party could afford to divide upon many other matters where conscientious differences exist. I observe that there was no conscientious difference of opinion existing in this regard among the Opposition.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1876, 791-792.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 792.

The Reform press naturally sided with Greenway. The Ottawa correspondent of The Globe concentrated on the denials of Greenway and Mackenzie concerning an appointment in Manitoba and stated that Greenway "had acquitted himself in a way to create a very favourable impression in the minds of those who heard him." The Huron Expositor concerned itself with defending Greenway's stand and attacking the Liberal-Conservative press. The M. P. for South Huron "has ever been an ultra free trader" and "has declared openly for free trade in his elections," said the Expositor. It argued that the Conservatives would kick out of their party any one who did not accept a protective tariff and if Greenway left the party, the Conservatives should blame their own journals for driving him out. Any idea of a deal was refuted as the Expositor pointed out the Reformers had no candidate when the by-election was held. The Conservative party owed a debt to Greenway, said this paper, since he had been their candidate in South Huron in the face of heavy odds and his failure to be elected was not due to him.<sup>1</sup>

The reaction of the Tory press to Greenway's position was predictable. The Exeter Times caustically denied that Greenway was sent to the House as an Independent member. The Times argued that,

He was sent as a supporter of the Conservative portion of the House, but also with the understanding that he was to assist in defeating the present Government, and place in one which practised economy, . . . . Sir John's amendment to go into Committee gave him a direct opportunity to practise that requirement, and we all know how he used it.

The Mail agreed, noting that the Liberal-Conservative Association of Exeter

<sup>1</sup> "Notes From the Capital," The Globe, 24 March 1876, 1; "The Member for South Huron and the Conservative Party," The Huron Expositor, 24 March 1876, 4; editorial, "The Member for South Huron," Ibid., 31 March 1876, 4.

had adopted unanimously a resolution stating that Greenway had forfeited the confidence "placed in him by a majority of the electors of this riding." The Mail concluded that Greenway had obtained his seat under false pretences and should resign to test the opinion of the riding. The Goderich Star asserted that South Huron's M. P. had violated party fealty and was void of political honour. "That he has gone back on his professions to his friends," charged the Star, "we can state from our own knowledge."<sup>1</sup>

To understand Thomas Greenway's motivation for his vote on Macdonald's amendment and to comprehend the development of his future political career, it is necessary to consider his situation as a businessman, politician, and party member. These fields are not mutually exclusive, but react and interact upon each other. They caused him to join the Reform Party based on a pragmatic decision that was governed... by self-interest.

In his mercantile ventures, Greenway was dependent on purchases made by a rural population and he supported the view that the prosperity of a rural community and its business establishments was dependent upon prosperous farmers. If the goods they needed were raised in price by increased tariff duties, then the local business community would suffer. The individual consumer would be forced to bear the burden, since importers would add the bulk of their taxes to the cost of the goods, which in turn would reduce purchases. As a result, Greenway consistently opposed higher

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<sup>1</sup> Editorial, The Mail, 25 March 1876, 2; editorial, "Mr. Greenway's Treachery," Ibid., 27 March 1876, 2; "A Question of Privilege," The Exeter Times, 30 March 1876, 2, italics in original; editorial, "Greenway's Case," Ibid., 30 March 1876, 2.

tariffs and advocated free trade or a tariff for revenue only. When the Mackenzie Administration contemplated the imposition of increased duties in 1874, Greenway had warned his customers to "Lay in your supplies before the great rise in goods. The new tariff will increase the price of every article in dry goods and leading articles in groceries."<sup>1</sup> Higher duties would assist in the development of monopolies which in turn would cause higher prices for retailers. Such an instance was the tariff on refined petroleum from which coal oil was produced. An amendment to reduce the duty on refined petroleum was proposed by Charles C. Colby, Liberal-Conservative M. P. for Stanstead, on March 30, 1876. After Cartwright promised to take the request under consideration, the amendment was defeated on a party division, Greenway voting with the Liberal-Conservatives in favour of the amendment.<sup>2</sup> There was no press comment on Greenway's vote but it illustrated clearly that his business interests were a major factor in his decisions.

With the tariff as the most prominent issue in the 1877 session, Greenway used the resulting debate to put his views on record. Speaking on John A. Macdonald's amendment to Cartwright's tariff resolutions, Greenway "found it very difficult to understand how the hard times, which bore so heavily upon some people, were going to be improved by placing additional burdens on them." He let it be known that he would vote against this amendment since his constituency was agricultural and the farmers did not want the articles which they consumed increased in price. Although Greenway was consistently anti-tariff, he defended the additional

<sup>1</sup> The Exeter Times, 11 June 1874, 3; 15 July 1874, 3; and 23 [sic] July 1874, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1876, 935-941.

tax of two cents per pound on tea.<sup>1</sup> He expected that it might affect in a slight degree the profit of a retailer, but would not increase the price to the consumer any more than the one cent per pound duty upon malt would make a glass of beer more than five cents. Greenway concluded with a favourable comment about the reduction in duty on coal oil.<sup>2</sup> When the tariff votes were recorded Greenway voted for Cartwright's tariff resolutions to keep duties at minimal rates. He voted against George T. Orton's (Liberal-Conservative, Wellington Centre) amendment calling for reciprocity with the United States, and Macdonald's amendment requesting the adoption of a protective tariff to aid manufacturing, business, and agricultural interests.<sup>3</sup>

During the 1878 session, Greenway continued to pursue his course of opposition to protection. In March, Sir John A. Macdonald reintroduced his 1877 amendment to Cartwright's tariff resolution, now expanded and given the title of "National Policy". According to Macdonald's reasoning, this policy would protect manufacturing, business, and agricultural interests, create jobs to keep young Canadians at home, and provide a cure for the present economic depression. Later in the session when James Brown, Liberal-Conservative (Hastings West, Ontario), and partner in the G. and J. Brown agricultural implement manufacturing company, moved an amendment calling for a duty on wheat and flour to aid farmers, Greenway

<sup>1</sup> The duties on tea and coffee had been re-enacted in the session of 1874, varying from four to six cents per pound on tea and from two to three cents per pound on coffee. 37 Victoria, cap. 6, Statutes of Canada (Ottawa, 1874), 32; Canada, Journals of the House of Commons, 1874, vol. VIII, 56.

<sup>2</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1877, 401-405, 434-435.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 975-977.

spoke against it and used the occasion to attack Macdonald's "National Policy" amendment. Greenway failed to see how Protection would benefit farmers. He argued that as consumers farmers would have to buy in a restricted market when purchasing cut nails, axes, cutlery, and coal oil. The previously high duty on coal oil had led to monopoly, Greenway claimed, pointing to the fact that when a gallon sold for ten to seventeen cents in Cleveland, it cost forty to forty-five cents in Canada. The reduction in rates last session had lowered the price, Greenway said, and at twenty to twenty-five cents per gallon the monopoly was no longer effective. He argued from this that farmers would not support excessive protection.<sup>1</sup>

Even while Greenway was promoting and justifying his opposition to protection, he was also a politician who wanted to be re-elected. He requested an appropriation to protect and improve work on Bayfield Harbor, a short distance from Varna. No financial aid was given for the project, but Greenway continued to patronize constituency projects by voting against an effort to investigate the method of tender for the Goderich Harbor Works. He evidently considered riding sentiment when he supported the Liberal government's rejection of John Costigan's motion asking partial amnesty for W. B. O'Donoughue similar to that received by A. D. Lepine and Louis Riel. O'Donoughue's case was complicated by his alleged part in the Manitoba uprising and the abortive Fenian raid of 1871.<sup>2</sup> Greenway attempted, as well, to present the views of the temperance advocates in South Huron. At a temperance meeting in Clinton on October 24, 1876, Greenway was quoted to

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<sup>1</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1878, 854, 1071, 1627, 1729-1731, 1805.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 98, 1405-1429, 1541-1554.

the effect that although the Dunkin Act was not all that was wanted, it was all they had. "But," he said, "for the present the Dunkin Act is what we want to show the Government that we are in favor of prohibition by getting rid of the Manufacturers."<sup>1</sup> By the time that John C. Schultz moved in the session of 1877 that the Government submit a prohibition measure as soon as possible, Greenway's zeal for temperance had been diluted. He stated that he would support George William Ross's (Liberal, Middlesex West, Ontario) amendment which held that since legislative authority to act was unclear no measure should be submitted. The South Huron M. P. went so far as to argue that the Dunkin Act was unfair since if it was implemented in one county, this gave an advantage to dealers in other counties. While claiming the subject should be treated outside party interests to end the evils of the liquor traffic, Greenway doubted that public sentiment favoured prohibition. He asked that some means be found to give voters the option to express themselves on the issue.<sup>2</sup>

Greenway's situation as a Liberal-Conservative party member was obvious. Because of his stand on the tariff, he was unacceptable to the Liberal-Conservatives even with his self-styled label of "Independent Conservative." The local party organization had lost no time in selecting Robert Porter as its standard-bearer<sup>3</sup> shortly after "The Traitor Greenway" editorial of The Mail. Greenway had been subjected to intermittent

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<sup>1</sup> "The Dunkin Act," The Huron Expositor, 3 November 1876, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1877, 1875-1895.

<sup>3</sup> "Political Notes," The Mail, 22 March 1876, 2.

harassment by the Tory press since then.<sup>1</sup> As a politically ambitious man who had campaigned in every provincial and federal election since 1867, he was not about to abandon efforts for elective office. Indicative of his attitude was a remark quoted by the Goderich Signal in July, 1872: "Mr. Greenway said that a friend of his once said to him that he was ordained by Providence to be a public man and that he thought so himself."<sup>2</sup> With a personal electoral success behind him and the desire to run again, Greenway took the alternative suited to his ambitions -- he joined the Reform Party. Greenway had prepared his own defence in the 1877 session when he argued that he had been read out of the Liberal-Conservative party and denounced as a traitor.<sup>3</sup> His open declaration of Reform Party adherence was a pragmatic move which could be justified on a number of counts. He wanted to stand for re-election, he could not obtain the Liberal-Conservative nomination, an Independent in South Huron probably would finish third, so the only reasonable alternative was to join the Reformers and secure the party's nomination for the next election. This would require adept organization and a strong canvass to ward off a challenge by Malcolm C. Cameron. As for principles, the major issue was the tariff and Greenway was in agreement with the Reformers on that point. As a result, he attended the annual meeting of the Ontario Reform Association in Toronto on February 4-5, 1878, and as a Reform M. P. he was named to the Executive Committee, largely

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<sup>1</sup> Editorial, "Mr. Greenway's Treachery," Ibid., 27 March 1876, 2; "Affairs in Parliament," Ibid., 24 March 1877, 1; "The Anglin Scandal," Ibid., 10 April 1877, 1; "Affairs in Parliament," Ibid., 12 April 1877, 1; editorial, "Mr. Greenway as Free Trader," The Exeter Times, 8 March 1877, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Goderich Signal quoted in "Political Meetings in South Huron," The Huron Expositor, 26 July 1872, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1877, 434-435.

an honourary position.<sup>1</sup> All that remained was to convince the Party that he could be loyal on issues other than the tariff with the session of 1878 providing the opportunity.

Greenway's first chance to illustrate this new adherence was in voting for Timothy Warren Anglin as Speaker of the House.<sup>2</sup> When the action of Letellier de St. Just, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, in dismissing the De Boucherville government was censured by Sir John A. Macdonald, Greenway voted with the Reformers against Macdonald's resolution.<sup>3</sup> The M. P. for South Huron continued to patronize the needs of his constituents, which was exemplified by his criticism of the mail service between London and Exeter. His constituents believed it was ridiculous that a letter took ten hours by stage-coach to cover the thirty miles which were serviced by the London, Huron, and Bruce Railway.<sup>4</sup>

Speculation concerning Greenway's nomination as the Reform candidate for South Huron in the federal election was prevalent throughout the session, but by the end of May, Greenway had secured the nomination. Continuing its policy of abuse of Greenway, the Tory press declared that "the Benedict Arnold of South Huron, was chosen as Mr. Mackenzie's candidate."<sup>5</sup> Greenway would be opposed by Robert Porter of Usborne and throughout June, July, and August the two candidates met frequently in public debate, Greenway advocating free trade, as expected, while Porter was spokesman for the

<sup>1</sup> "The Reform Convention," The Globe, 6 February 1878, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1878, 1-12.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 1878-2000, 2013-2025.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 2150.

<sup>5</sup> "Reform Convention for South Huron," The Exeter Times, 30 May 1878, 4.

National Policy.

When Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie called the election for September 17, The Exeter Times advised hard work on behalf of Porter and paid grudging respect to the Reform candidate by saying Greenway was "working hard, and if he loses the election, . . . , it will not be through lack of effort on his part."<sup>1</sup> Greenway continued his energetic campaign until August 22 when a Reform Convention was held at Hensall with Malcolm C. Cameron in attendance. When the meeting reached nominations, Greenway unexpectedly retired and Cameron subsequently received the party's nod amidst wild enthusiasm and confident predictions of victory. Greenway's letter of resignation stated that he was stepping down because Cameron, who was best entitled to the honour and was the strongest candidate, had consented to run. It was done, according to this letter, in the best interests of the party.<sup>2</sup>

There has been a great deal of speculation as to what the arrangement was between Greenway and Cameron. John S. Willison has written that "In fact, there was an agreement before he [Greenway] was returned by acclamation that he would support the Administration."<sup>3</sup> As already illustrated, Greenway only became a supporter of the Government in 1878 and more on business and pragmatic grounds than on the basis of any deal. Willison was correct about an understanding, but he placed it at the wrong time period. While most of Willison's Reminiscences was based on his

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<sup>1</sup> Editorial, "The Elections," Ibid., 11 August 1878, 4.

<sup>2</sup> "Political Intelligence," The Globe, 23 August 1878, 1; editorial, "South Huron", The Huron Expositor, 23 August 1878, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Willison, op. cit., 16.

extensive collection of correspondence, particularly when he was editor of The Globe, he had no correspondence with Greenway and Cameron. As a result, he wrote the earlier sections of his book with his memory for reference. As shown, he was not accurate concerning his first political meeting and he was similarly incorrect concerning the date of the Greenway-Cameron understanding. That Willison was never made privy to the arrangement becomes clear from the fact that he was unable to state what it was. Greenway had more political ambition than to receive the acclamation, support the administration, and then obligingly step aside for Cameron after a strenuous four month campaign to obtain and hold the Reform nomination for South Huron.

The constituency Tory press, as exemplified by The Exeter Times, was as well informed as Willison. The press exhibited an intense interest in a possible arrangement. From the statements of the Times the alleged deal was chameleonic. At one moment it was that Greenway would be Collector of Customs at Goderich at \$1000 per year, then it was an undefined position at \$2000 yearly, and finally it was simply an arrangement with position and income unknown.<sup>1</sup> The Exeter Times was playing politically-inspired guesswork. Whenever it served the purpose of Greenway's opponents, reference would be made to the alleged deal, although no source was able to pinpoint any relation to a government position. The problem was that his adversaries were looking in the wrong place.

Then what kind of arrangement was made that would put a man who believed himself "ordained by Providence to be a public man" back into private life?

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<sup>1</sup> Editorial, The Exeter Times, 13 June 1878, 4; editorial, Ibid., 20 June 1878, 4; editorial, Ibid., 29 August 1878, 4.

It was a business deal that satisfied Greenway's pocket and appealed to his pride. The monetary aspect involved speculation in Manitoba lands, Greenway providing the knowledge of the area and Cameron the funds. Greenway's share of the proceeds could be as high as one-third of the profit realized on the sale of the land. The appeal to pride was irresistible. Greenway would organize emigration parties in Ontario to resettle in Manitoba, guide them to the available land, and assist them in becoming established. Finally, Greenway would be the one to lead in the building of stores, churches, homes, schools, and the creation of a local newspaper. That he would be the person controlling the destiny and much of the lands of the Rock Lake settlement appealed to his belief in his own greatness. This surpassed in scope the position of M. P. for South Huron and promised to be much more rewarding.<sup>1</sup>

There was no evidence to indicate that Greenway's arrangement with Cameron included politics, although it might be inferred from Greenway's activity on Cameron's behalf in South Huron. While John A. Macdonald's Liberal-Conservatives were winning the federal election 142 to 64 and sweeping 62 of Ontario's 88 seats, M. C. Cameron handily won South Huron for the Reform party, defeating Robert Porter by 165 votes.<sup>2</sup> Cameron assessed the overall campaign in a letter to Mackenzie on September 26, 1878:

No confidence and bad organization cost us. with [sic] half the organization and half the work done in South Huron we could have carried 20 of the constituencies lost --

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<sup>1</sup> M. C. Cameron to R. J. Cartwright, 18 November 1879. P.A.O., Cartwright Family Papers; M. C. Cameron to R. J. Cartwright, 25 November 1879. P.A.O., Ibid. These letters establish the land speculation arrangement between Greenway and Cameron and will be examined in depth in Chapter Two.

<sup>2</sup> Beck, op. cit., 30-37; Canada, Sessional Papers, 1879, vol. XII, No. 9, No. 88, 41. The result was 1874 to 1709.

Cameron also wanted Greenway remembered,

I would like if you could do something for Greenway in the north west. He rendered us great service. Try him there if you can . . . .<sup>1</sup>

Cameron's request on Greenway's behalf may have been to provide his business partner with a position to give him added status and prestige while making land speculation and settlement arrangements. Another possibility for the request was that Cameron thought the Liberals should show party appreciation for Greenway's action. Whatever the reason for the request it did not reach fruition and did not have an effect on the original arrangement.

In early October, Greenway departed for Manitoba.<sup>2</sup> After an extended tour he returned to Centralia to promote settlement in the prairie province, concentrating his efforts within Huron County. Through public lectures, and personal contacts, Greenway expected to create sufficient interest in the Rock Lake region of Manitoba to make up an excursion party for the spring of 1879. Nearly all of the prospective settlers of the first three groups that went out were personal friends and acquaintances of Greenway's.<sup>3</sup> The success of these people in locating suitable land was influential in inducing their friends and relatives to join Greenway's subsequent settlement excursions.

The fact that Greenway was popular among his former constituents is seen in the number of prospective settlers he was able to entice into

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<sup>1</sup> M. C. Cameron to Mackenzie, 26 September 1878. P.A.C., Alexander Mackenzie Papers, M-198, 1344-1345.

<sup>2</sup> "Crediton," The Exeter Times, 3 October 1878, 8.

<sup>3</sup> "Ho, for Manitoba!" Ibid., 27 March 1879, 4.

removing to Manitoba and in the fact that the Reform party requested his assistance in the re-election campaign of Archibald Bishop, M. P. P. for South Huron.<sup>1</sup> This popularity, record of public service, and political experience made it possible for Greenway to renew his political ambitions in Manitoba and fulfill his belief in his destiny as a public man. He would become the contact between the Manitoba Liberals and the Cartwright wing of the federal Liberal party.<sup>2</sup> While Greenway's Reform principles were restricted largely to the concept of a revenue tariff, he pragmatically adopted the views of Ontario's Premier Oliver Mowat and began to advocate Provincial Rights as opposed to federal authority. When the Manitoba Legislature in 1879 created the constituency of Mountain, which included the Rock Lake area, Greenway, as the most prominent and well-known person in the region, could expect to have an excellent opportunity of winning the riding. The next ten years would take him from a position of Rock Lake's most prominent citizen to Opposition leader to Liberal Premier of Manitoba.

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<sup>1</sup> Editorial, "The Reform Candidate," Ibid., 23 January 1879, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Greenway to R. J. Cartwright, 6 February 1882. P.A.O., Cartwright Family Papers.

## CHAPTER II

### PROMOTER AND POLITICIAN

Thomas Greenway moved to Manitoba in 1879 and became a farmer, but his primary activities were land speculation and politics. His land schemes involved sales to individuals, large scale purchases for business partners in Ontario, and participation in plans for prospective cities in southwestern Manitoba. At the same time, he entered provincial politics when Mountain constituency was created in 1879. After two sessions of ostensible non-party representation, Greenway openly took a Liberal stance and began to advocate party politics as a mean of gaining financial concessions from the Conservative federal government. He became the recognized leader of the provincial Liberals and promoted provincial rights issues, particularly the federal government's policy of disallowing Manitoba's charters for railways to the international boundary, to become Premier of Manitoba.

In the week of October 3, 1878, at the age of forty, Greenway left Centralia on an extended, intensive tour of Manitoba.<sup>1</sup> He was impressed with the Selkirk area, but rejected it as a settlement site because most of the lands already were held by speculators. Greenway did note that Dr. John Schultz, M. P., held some farm lands between Selkirk and Winnipeg and was offering them at reasonable prices. However, these were not contiguous pieces of land, so Greenway looked elsewhere. After passing through Winnipeg, Greenway took the stagecoach to Emerson on November 9 and witnessed the arrival of the first train at that centre. He expressed

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<sup>1</sup> "Crediton," The Exeter Times, 3 October 1878, 8.

the hope that it would soon branch out into western Manitoba. Going through the Mennonite Western Reserve, Greenway was able to obtain food from the settlers as he knew "a smattering of German." He indicated that a land office had been located at Nelsonville (Morden) where he acquired information on the area near the Pembina Mountains. Following a one day visit to the Rock Lake district, Greenway returned to Emerson by November 30, and expected to be back in Centralia before Christmas.<sup>1</sup>

While he wrote glowingly of the weather conditions, he suggested some drawbacks to settlement in Manitoba. The principal obstacle was the reserve system whereby townships had been set aside for various groups, particularly the Mennonites. He believed this retarded settlement, using as an example the fact that when one township had been thrown open it was snapped up completely in one day. There was a definite desire for land, he stated, and prospective settlers should be encouraged. Greenway's second objection was that 320 acres was too much land for one person. It was possible to obtain 160 acres through homestead regulations plus another adjacent quarter section by preemption. This created sparse settlements as there would be only one family on every area of one-half mile by one-half mile.<sup>2</sup>

Greenway did not take his own objections seriously. He already had filed on the N 1/2 of section 13 township 2 range 12W. which was located at the junction of the Boundary Commission Trail and Crystal Creek. He

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<sup>1</sup> "A Second Letter from Mr. Greenway on Manitoba," The Huron Expositor, 20 December 1878, 1. The letter is dated Emerson, 30 November 1878. A search for the first letter in The Huron Expositor was unsuccessful as was a similar search in The Exeter Times.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

went through the formal requirements of homesteading, breaking at least thirty acres and being resident for the required time of eighteen or thirty-six months. He applied for his Dominion land patent in May of 1881. It was dated February 3, 1882, and recorded February 14, 1882, at Ottawa. While it seems probable that Greenway intended to become a farmer, he turned to the development of Crystal City as a townsite as soon as he had applied for his Dominion land patent. He filed his first city plan on June 27, 1881, and followed that with two more on September 5, 1881, and February 27, 1882. These plans covered the 320 acres received under the Dominion patent.<sup>1</sup> It might be inferred that this was Greenway's original intention as his colonization efforts in 1879 and 1880 left little time for farming operations.

Returning from Manitoba in December, 1878, Greenway went throughout Huron County extolling the advantages of settling in the prairie province. Some of his promotional statements were romantically exaggerated, such as references to "the almost limitless expanse of its area, now occupied only by feathered songsters or trodden by the untamed buffalo or waked by the echo's [sic] of the prairie dog's howl." Greenway was usually more practical than poetic. He desired as settlers those who commanded the requisite funds and possessed brave hearts. He stated in his lectures that the proposed settlement would be in the Rock Lake region. Shortly before the first party departed on March 25, 1879, Greenway shrewdly let it be known that he had received information in the previous few weeks that the choice land he had selected had been taken up by earlier emigrants

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<sup>1</sup> NE 1/4 and NW 1/4 of 13-2-12W. as recorded in the Morden Land Titles Office.

going into the province all winter.<sup>1</sup> It was probably part of his promotional scheme to convince those who may have been wavering in their decision that the land was being taken up rapidly. This information probably was designed to allow Greenway to lead his settlers to the exact spot he wanted.

In organizing for the first party, Greenway had set up the Rock Lake Colonization Company consisting of himself, John J. Ring, William Herd Greenway, Thomas Sando, Arthur J. Rollins, James McNamee, James Baker, and William Parr.<sup>2</sup> The procedure for a colonization company was to acquire a township or more in return for settling a specified number of settlers on the odd or even sections. No record exists for the Rock Lake Colonization Company in the Dominion Lands division of the Public Archives at Ottawa, nor of Greenway being engaged in such a scheme. It is likely that Greenway intended that this would be the core of his settlement project. The idea was that this group would settle and work together the first season.

The advance party arrived in Emerson in the first week of April, 1879, and proceeded to the Crystal Creek area shortly afterward. Greenway's Rock Lake Colonization Company, although not formally registered, set up on the south half of section 13 township 2 range 12W., which was patented by William Parr in September, 1883.<sup>3</sup> This half section was immediately

<sup>1</sup> "HoHo, for Manitoba!" The Exeter Times, 27 March 1879, 4.

<sup>2</sup> T. G. McKittrick, Corner Stones of Empire: The Settlement of Crystal City and District in the Rock Lake County (Crystal City, Manitoba, 1940), Part II, 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> SE 1/4 and SW 1/4 of 13-2-12W. as recorded in the Morden Land Titles Office.

south of Greenway's land. After determining the location of the future townsite -- not too surprisingly it was within Greenway's half-section -- Greenway returned to Centralia for a second party. This group he guided to Manitoba in early May, located them on suitable land, and then returned to Centralia to organize a third party. The third group of settlers arrived in Manitoba late in June. They were aided in locating their lands by Thomas Greenway who "always accompanies his parties out through the country free of charge."<sup>1</sup> Greenway continued his colonization efforts as he returned to the South Huron area shortly after his election to the provincial legislature of Manitoba on December 16, 1879.<sup>2</sup> He arrived back in Winnipeg a few days after the legislative session had commenced, in late January, and stated that as soon as the session ended he would be going to Ontario to organize for the forthcoming emigration season.<sup>3</sup>

In the 1880 season Greenway brought four more parties to Manitoba. He joined a Mr. Patterson in London, Ontario, and the two men combined their parties for the trip to Dakota and Manitoba. The two promoters brought their groups out by excursion train, going from London to Detroit then to Chicago, across to Minneapolis-St. Paul and then to Fargo. At that point, Patterson's Dakota settlers disembarked while Greenway's continued to Emerson. From Emerson it was an overland journey using whatever means of conveyance that was available. Between them they brought out about 730

<sup>1</sup> McKittrick, op. cit., Part II, 2; "Manitoba -- No. 3," The Exeter Times, 22 May 1879, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Greenway's early political career in Manitoba will be considered following study of his land speculation activities.

<sup>3</sup> "Local News," The Exeter Times, 22 January 1880, 8; "City and Provincial," Manitoba Free Press, 29 January 1880, 1.

people with their baggage, personal effects, and livestock. Rough estimates placed the cash value of these goods at about \$270,000. The majority of the prospective settlers continued to Emerson and Greenway acted as their guide in southwestern Manitoba.<sup>1</sup> After conducting the parties of 1879 and 1880, Greenway concentrated his energies on promoting the sale of his townsite holdings and left the attraction of additional settlers to chance and letters to the east from contented settlers in southwestern Manitoba.

Through his promotional efforts, Greenway's Crystal City townsite had developed rapidly from its rough beginning in early 1879. In 1880, it consisted of three general stores, the first one opened by Robert Rollins, a hardware store, a drug store, a harness shop, furniture store, a blacksmith's shop, the Brunswick Hotel and Lorne House operated by J. Johnston and Robert Daly, respectively; a flour mill; and a large implement warehouse built by the David Maxwell Manufacturing Company of Paris, Ontario, with John Hettle in charge, assisted by David Watson. There was also the Methodist Church built on land donated by Thomas Greenway.<sup>2</sup> It was a growing community by the fall of 1880, but what was needed to provide the impetus to a substantial community was a connection with a railway. A railroad would promote the village in such a way that land values would increase and proximity to the line would enhance the prospects of the community at large.

Using the Ontario municipal government technique of granting aid to any railway that would build through the Rock Lake area, the Louise

<sup>1</sup> "For Manitoba and Dakota," The Huron Expositor, 9 April 1880, 4; "For Manitoba," Ibid., 7 May 1880, 4; "For the North-West," Ibid., 10 September 1880, 4.

<sup>2</sup> McKittrick, op. cit., Part II, 5.

Municipal Council met on November 19, 1880, with this object in view. A petition signed by one hundred and fifteen resident ratepayers requested that a by-law be submitted to issue debentures for no less than \$65,000 in aid of the Manitoba South Western Colonization Railway. The required by-law was passed at a meeting on December 27. William Robertson, Robert Reesor, and William Winram, a politician who was of Greenway's stripe and acquainted with him through one session in the Manitoba legislature, were named Debenture Trustees.<sup>1</sup>

The Manitoba South Western Colonization Railway was the brainchild of John Christian Schultz who acted as President and David Young who was the Secretary. The railway was chartered in 1879 by the federal government and authorized to construct a road from Winnipeg south-westerly to a point near the western boundary of Manitoba. At first, the Company could purchase land at \$1.00 per acre up to 3,840 acres per mile, but this was soon altered to 6400 acres per mile. By 1881 it had a total land grant of 1,996,800 acres.<sup>2</sup> It was in the early part of 1881 that the railway-land speculation boom avalanched and the inter-relationships involving Greenway became complex and lucrative. In order to explain these intricacies, it is necessary to revert to the fall of 1878 and follow Greenway's other land deals until they all mesh in the spring of 1881.

Greenway spent some time in Emerson in November of 1878 while on his extensive tour of Manitoba in search of prospective townsites. He became acquainted with Levi David Kean and George H. Mcfarlane. Kean and Mcfarlane

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Part I, 19.

<sup>2</sup> James B. Hedges, Building the Canadian West: The Land and Colonization Policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway (New York, 1939), 59.

were involved in the development of Emerson as a commercial centre and later joined with Greenway in the promotion of Cartwright as a townsight. Greenway also made the acquaintance of Frederick Ernest Burnham, solicitor for the City of Emerson, an unidentified bank, a number of money lending institutions. Burnham later was involved in selling lots in Glasggw (Baldur). That Greenway probably became a silent partner in their schemes seems evident from the close relationship between these men and his willingness to continue bringing settlers out to these areas at a time when there was a constant chorus of complaint about Dominion land laws as well as the oft-repeated statement that the land around Crystal City had been settled completely by the fall of 1879.<sup>1</sup> Later correspondence between Greenway and Kean suggests that they had co-operated in more than one venture in Manitoba lands. Kean wanted Greenway to participate in the Texas land boom of 1893, "knowing that you are always open for business when money is to be made fast and that you soon grasp the situation and can see ahead."<sup>2</sup> Greenway refused to join the venture because of the World's Fair, but added, "I have no doubt that if a person had the time to devote to it that they might find an opportunity for making something as was done here in the old days."<sup>3</sup> Four years later, Kean wanted information on the Crow's Nest Pass Railway and reminded Greenway that "you were never backward about coming into line when there was a good thing and money to be made fair and square . . . ."<sup>4</sup> Thus, while the land records for

<sup>1</sup> McKittrick, op. cit., Part I, 14, 33.

<sup>2</sup> L. D. Kean to Greenway, 6 February 1893. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 5551.

<sup>3</sup> Greenway to Kean, 20 March, 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 836; Kean to Greenway, 19 April 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 5730.

<sup>4</sup> Kean to Greenway, 20 April 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10337.

Emerson and Baldur do not confirm Greenway's public participation in the schemes,<sup>1</sup> Greenway seems to have been connected closely with Kean in his land speculations and Burnham's personal and political ties with Greenway suggest the same.<sup>2</sup>

From these ties, Greenway moved to fulfill his agreement with Malcolm Colin Cameron. Cameron was writing to Richard J. Cartwright about the formation of a small company to deal in lands. There should be only two or three running the operation and the top price for land should be \$2.00 to \$2.50 per acre. Cameron would be interested in 3,000 acres at those prices, but wanted a reliable man to inspect the lands.<sup>3</sup> A week later, November 25, 1879, Cameron wrote Cartwright and tactfully suggested that Greenway was the reliable man the company sought. "I know of no good man," wrote Cameron, "unless Greenway -- who is now up there but will be down shortly. He has bought 5 Sections on me already -- tenth down balance 9 years." The only objection Cameron had to Greenway's efforts was that "He however is in one locality -- I would prefer having lands all over -- Hence desirability of dealing with H. B. [sic] Co [sic] who have lands in every township . . . ."<sup>4</sup>

In December Cameron wrote twice to Cartwright. On the 8th Cameron listed the sections Greenway had purchased for him in the neighbourhood of

<sup>1</sup> A search in the Winnipeg and Morden Land Titles Offices failed to establish Greenway's ownership of land in either Emerson or Baldur.

<sup>2</sup> See, T. V. Badgley to Greenway, 22 May 1897. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 10220; Bodgley was a law student with Burnham and acted as Greenway's agent in selling Crystal City lots.

<sup>3</sup> M. C. Cameron to R. J. Cartwright, 18 November 1879. P.A.O., Cartwright Family Papers.

<sup>4</sup> M. C. Cameron to R. J. Cartwright, 25 November 1879. P.A.O., Ibid.

the Rock Lake settlement.<sup>1</sup> Cameron wrote again on the 13th and indicated that Greenway had informed him that "the settlers within the neighbourhood of Rock Lake rely somewhat on the proposed R L [sic] Railway." Cameron continued that he would stay with his 5,000 acres in that area but "From Greenway's account of the place you could not go astray in trying 5000 there. He is expected back shortly but if you care about investing will tell him and arrange for his trying. . . ." Cameron then suggested that "If you can do nothing with Bridges Kean [sic] we must try Greenway. I think we can depend on him. If that fails we must send a reliable man west or go up west. Think I have a fancy to do so."<sup>2</sup>

Cameron's "fancy to do so" was followed up in the spring of 1880 with himself and Cartwright making a brief tour of the west. Their ostensible purpose was to investigate the effect Dominion land regulations had on western settlement. They made the most of the complaints that they heard by making caustic remarks on the subject in speeches at Emerson in April, 1880.<sup>3</sup> As indicated in Cartwright's Reminiscences, they just happened to meet Greenway who was bringing out his first party of the season. While Cartwright ~~says he travelled with his good friend, Thomas Greenway, future Premier of Manitoba,~~<sup>4</sup> the previously mentioned correspondence between Cameron and

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<sup>1</sup> M. C. Cameron to R. J. Cartwright, 8 December 1879. P.A.O., Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> M. C. Cameron to R. J. Cartwright, 13 December 1879. P.A.O., Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "Cartwright and Cameron at Emerson," The Huron Expositor, 23 April 1880, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Richard Cartwright, Reminiscences (Toronto, 1912), 219. Cartwright states that the first year he visited the Territories was 1879. There was no mention of his 1879 trip in any newspaper consulted. The Huron Expositor detailed the activities of the Reform M. P.s for the county and a trip to Manitoba in 1879 would not have been overlooked. Defeated in Lennox in 1878, Cartwright was returned in a by-election on 2 November 1878 for Huron Centre when Horace Horton (Reform) resigned the seat. See, J. K. Johnson (ed.), The Canadian Directory of Parliament, 1867-1967 (Ottawa, 1968), 103, 277.

Cartwright ~~confirms the relationship.~~ Apparently satisfied with their discussions concerning land speculation, the two Huron M. P.s returned to Ontario and extended their purchases through Greenway, Cameron making the majority of the transactions.<sup>1</sup>

By the end of 1880, Cartwright's contacts with Levi D. Kean were producing concrete results. Kean indicated the methods used to obtain lands, enclosing a list and prices, "some of these place I purchased from settlers and entered for as Ry Lands and some I cancelled, as the parties who made entries were not residing on them." Kean was concentrating on lands along the proposed line of the South Western Railway, but complained that several Winnipeg men were also looking for lots causing the settlers to ask high prices.<sup>2</sup> A month later Kean sold Cartwright 800 acres in eastern Manitoba at \$1.00 per acre.<sup>3</sup> These transactions were followed by a six months period of apparent quiet in land transactions, but appearances on the surface were deceiving.

Richard Cartwright was involved in negotiations with Schultz and Young to sell the bonds of the Manitoba South Western Colonization Railway Company. The agreement was signed on March 31, 1881. Cartwright was to sell bonds in the amount of \$1,910,000 based on the railway company's grant of 1,996,800 acres.<sup>4</sup> Through this arrangement Cartwright undoubtedly was able to learn details as to the proposed line of the railway and it is quite

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<sup>1</sup> Cameron to Cartwright, 20 May 1880. P.A.O., Cartwright Family Papers.

<sup>2</sup> L. D. Kean to Cartwright, 15 December 1880. P.A.O., Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> L. D. Kean to Cartwright, 12 January 1881. P.A.O., Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Agreement of 31 March 1881 in P.A.O., Ibid.

likely that he communicated the same to Greenway, probably verbally as Greenway was still making trips to the East. The spreading of discreet rumors had the desired effect of pushing up land values, particularly in those towns that expected to be on the line of the railway. In addition, Greenway's relationship with John Norquay's administration was such that Crystal City was designated the county town for Rock Lake County with the county buildings to be located there.<sup>1</sup> Capitalizing on these "fortunate" circumstances, Greenway held an auction sale of 100 Crystal City lots in Winnipeg on June 24 and 25. While a few lots remained unsold, the remainder brought approximately \$5500.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, Kean and Mcfarlane quickly moved in on the area twenty miles west of Crystal City. They secured the deeds to four sections in that area, suggested the construction of a temporary bridge to divert traffic across the land from the old trail which was nearly a mile south. This was to be done to forestall others from starting townsites on the same stream. They advised the site be given a name -- "say 'Cartwright'". Unlike previous deals, where they purchased the land and resold it to Cartwright, Kean and Mcfarlane found this scheme beyond their means and wanted Cartwright to aid in the funding. For their exertions Mcfarlane

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<sup>1</sup> L. D. Kean to Cartwright, 7 June 1881. P.A.O., Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> "Great Credit Sale of Crystal City Lots," Manitoba Free Press, 21 June 1881, 1; "City and Provincial," Ibid., 25 June 1881, 1; The Huron Expositor, 8 June 1881, 8, reported that the sale returned approximately \$9,000, but the proximity of the Free Press would suggest that its report was more accurate. The lots were sold under Crystal City plans 27 and 34, neither of which is on file at the Morden Land Titles Office. The explanation given was that when town plans were cancelled the land returned to farm use and the plans were not kept on file.

and Kean wanted to take a half interest in the project.<sup>1</sup> After Greenway intervened on Cartwright's behalf the arrangement was completed with an equal division for Kean, Mcfarlane and Cartwright.<sup>2</sup> For his efforts Greenway received a share of the "Cartwright" lots from both Cartwright and Mcfarlane, Kean and Company. There were at least 400 lots surveyed to be sold at a minimum of \$40 each along with a way station that would rent at \$30 per month.<sup>3</sup>

The interested parties evidenced concern over the proposed route of the South Western Railway. Kean and Mcfarlane had heard that it was to be located less than a mile south of Crystal City and they asked Cartwright "can you induce them in any way to strike 'Cartwright' [sic]"<sup>4</sup> Although Cartwright probably had indications of where the railroad was to go, there is no evidence that he informed Kean and Mcfarlane about the possibility of its going through 'Cartwright'. At the same time, Greenway continued to report to Cartwright on conditions at the townsite. He informed the site's namesake that the store, stopping place, and stable had been built on one of his lots. Cartwright was advised not to sell any lots numbered one.<sup>5</sup> A month later Greenway wrote that Mcfarlane and Kean were not living up to their agreements. As Greenway told Cartwright,

<sup>1</sup> Mcfarlane and Kean to Cartwright, 3 August 1881. P.A.O., Cartwright Family Papers; Mcfarlane and Kean to Cartwright, 3 August 1881. P.A.O., Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Greenway to Cartwright, 28 November 1881. P.A.O., Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> See NW 1/4 of 18-2-14W. at Morden Land Titles Office.

<sup>4</sup> Mcfarlane and Kean to Cartwright, 20 August 1881. P.A.O., Cartwright Family Papers; Mcfarlane and Kean to Cartwright, 8 September 1881. P.A.O., Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Greenway to Cartwright, 5 January 1882. P.A.O., Ibid.

"I asked them to secure some additional land for us adjoining 'Cartwright' now learn that by some means they have acquired the S 1/2 of 19-2-14W. and the N.E. 1/4 of 18-2-14W. themselves and have not written a word about it."<sup>1</sup> Despite these problems and tensions, the townsite was profitable for all concerned and Greenway was able to use the proceeds from these sales to participate in other land purchases, particularly Canadian Pacific Railway land sales and Crystal City townsite development.

When the sales of railway lands were changed in early 1882, it became possible for the large scale speculator to participate to a hitherto unprecedented extent. Previously, railway lands were sold to prospective settlers usually by the quarter-section. Needing immediate cash the C. P. R. changed its policy to selling acreage in large blocks to anyone able to pay the price, which was \$2.50 per acre, but there would be a rebate of \$1.25 per acre if the land was settled and cultivated.<sup>2</sup> Greenway made extensive purchases of these lands for Cameron in August, 1882. At sales from August 7 through August 9, Greenway purchased approximately 9800 acres of C. P. R. lands for Cameron. Most of the land consisted of full sections with only one purchase being of a quarter-section. The lands were located within ranges 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, and 14, and involved townships 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6. The total price for the land was \$11,645. Cameron immediately sold most of these acres to Lionel R. C. Boyle for \$35,654.

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<sup>1</sup> Greenway to Cartwright, 6 February 1882. P.A.O., Ibid. The records at the Morden Land Titles Office verify Greenway's statement.

<sup>2</sup> Hedges, op. cit., 71-72.

The remainder also was sold to Boyle ten years later for \$4,400.<sup>1</sup> On the basis of previous agreement, Greenway's share would be one-third of the profits,<sup>2</sup> approximately \$8,000. In addition, Greenway was playing both sides of these deals by helping in the resale of the lands, investing in the lands, and, as agent for the Freehold Loan and Savings Company of Toronto, he was even able to offer prospective purchasers the necessary funds to obtain lands.<sup>3</sup>

Greenway also had done some land speculating on his own. He had secured the rights to the SE 1/4 of 21-2-9W., the E 1/2 of 15-2-12W., and the S 1/2 of 17-2-12W. The first quarter section was sold to John Sweet on November 8, 1880, for \$320; the E 1/2 was purchased by Samuel Hicks for \$640 on August 11, 1880; and the S 1/2 by Isaac Carling for \$960 on September 25, 1880. Greenway then turned to promotion of Crystal City and Cartwright through 1881.<sup>4</sup>

In early 1882, he increased his holdings in Crystal City by paying \$5,000 to his brother, William Herd Greenway, for the SE 1/4 of 24-2-12W. In April 1882, Thomas Greenway paid \$6,000 to George W. Berry for the

<sup>1</sup> Dominion Land patents were confirmed at the Dominion Lands Office, Winnipeg, and the financial details by reference to the indicated ranges and townships at the Morden Land Titles Office. On July 19, 1897, Cameron repurchased the bulk of this acreage for \$45,000. See Sections 19 and 21 of 5-7W. as examples. There was no explanation for Cameron's action, except that it became part of his estate when he died in 1898 and was later resold.

<sup>2</sup> Fred G. Forsyth Grant to Cartwright, 12 November 1879. P.A.O., Cartwright Family Papers.

<sup>3</sup> McKittrick, op. cit., Part I, 40.

<sup>4</sup> Information recorded by section, township, and range at the Morden Land Titles Office.

SW 1/4 of 19-2-11W. and recorded this quarter section as Crystal City Plan 43.<sup>1</sup> Although no evidence was found for the sale of lots, Greenway evidently profited handsomely as he began to purchase extensive farm lands in 1883.

In mid-October, 1883, Greenway paid the Hudson's Bay Company \$3920 for all of 8-2-11W., which became the centre of his farming operation. The NW 1/4 of 5-2-11W. was patented by his son, John Wesley Greenway, and was contiguous to Thomas's section 8. When Greenway's Crystal City townsite failed to be selected as the C. P. R. owned Manitoba South Western Colonization Railway's town, he regained the N 1/4 of 13-2-12W. as farmland and paid \$587 to the Hudson's Bay Company for the SW 1/4 of 26-2-12W. in October, 1887, as this land was closer to the railway townsite. Parts of this quarter section were exchanged with purchasers of lots in the N 1/2 of 13-2-12W. In June, 1893, Greenway added the N 1/2 of 18-2-11W. to his farm holdings through payment of \$1350 to Thomas Trivitt. In March, 1898, Greenway paid his brother, John Greenway, \$1650 for the W 1/2 of 7-2-11W.<sup>2</sup>

By 1898, Thomas Greenway had 1600 acres of farmland on which he raised wheat and purebred livestock. While his property was mortgaged to the amount of \$10,000, largely to pay for the substantial home he had built in Crystal City in 1897-1898, Greenway was a man of considerable means and lived accordingly. Most of the farm work had been left to his

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.; Crystal City Plan 43 was not kept on file in Morden since the land involved returned to farm use when the Plan was cancelled. Had this Plan been retained, it would have provided information similar to that of Crystal Plan 59 which detailed some of Greenway's later financial dealings. See Chapter VII for details.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.; Greenway to Thomas Muir, 20 March 1893. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook B, 834; Greenway to P. Macdonald, 16 May 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 880.

sons and a hired farm manager, while Greenway assumed the position of overseer and promotional agent for his livestock. He continued to deal in lands throughout his life in Manitoba and the last years of this aspect of his career are considered later.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway's ambitious and exaggerated claims for southwestern Manitoba were based largely on the prospect of railway connections ~~within~~ a few months or a year at most.<sup>2</sup> His expectations were crushed when, after a few years delay, the railway line bypassed his Crystal City townsite.

Thomas Greenway's political fortunes and ability to organize a Liberal party were closely bound up with railways, particularly branch lines in southwestern Manitoba. As long as there was the prospect that the Manitoba South Western Colonization Railway would provide rail links in his area of Manitoba, Greenway was a co-operating member of the provincial legislature.

As M. L. A. for Mountain constituency, Greenway continued a trend that he had established as an M. P. for South Huron, which was to promote the concerns of his constituents. He sought the construction of bridges on the Pembina River in range 9W., at Little Pembina on the Boundary Commission Trail, and at Alexandria, to promote settlement. The government was not prepared to build the Alexandria Bridge but would handle the other two.<sup>3</sup> Greenway also supported the Norquay administration's desire to

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter VII.

<sup>2</sup> "Great Credit Sale of Crystal City Lots," Manitoba Free Press, 21 June 1881, 1, in which Crystal City is referred to as "The Future Great City of Southern Manitoba."

<sup>3</sup> "Manitoba Legislature," Manitoba Free Press, 6 February 1880, 1.

withdraw funds from the capital account rather than borrow at eight per cent. He favoured extension of Manitoba's boundaries and served on the special committee dealing with the Municipal Act.<sup>1</sup> He was responsible for much of the resulting Act of 1881, which established the pattern for local government in Manitoba on the Ontario model.<sup>2</sup> In none of these instances did Greenway display any concept of partyism nor did he attempt to create party lines. Perhaps this can be best explained on the basis of Greenway's involvement with land deals and his wish to secure governmental assistance to further his project. Another factor which was of equal importance, and undoubtedly recognized by an astute politician such as Greenway, was the Liberal-Conservative hold on Manitoba politics on both the federal and provincial level. The two Liberal-Conservative organizations functioned together and politicians could shift easily from one field to the other.

The provincial administration was controlled largely through the efforts of George Etienne Cartier's "bright young men" -- Joseph Royal, Joseph Dubuc, and Marc Amable Girard. Royal's major influence came through his newspaper Le Métis and he was the real power behind the provincial government until John Norquay's assumption of the Premiership in October, 1878. Joseph Dubuc came to the Red River country in June, 1870, as the North West correspondent of La Minerve of Montreal. He became one of the editors of Le Métis. Dubuc was called to the Manitoba bar in 1871 and eventually was elevated to the bench in 1879, vacating the Provencher

<sup>1</sup> "Manitoba Legislature," Ibid., 7 February 1880, 3; "Manitoba Legislature," Ibid., 11 February 1880, 1, 3.

<sup>2</sup> "Manitoba Legislature," Ibid., 3 May 1881 to 26 May 1881.

federal seat for Royal. Marc Amable Girard was a notary public who was called to the bar of Manitoba in 1871. He functioned in the dual capacity of member of the Manitoba administration and as one of Manitoba's Senators after his appointment to the Senate on December 13, 1871. Girard was Premier from December 14, 1871, to March 13, 1872, and again from July 8, 1874, to December 2, 1874. Robert Atkinson Davis, who came to Manitoba in May, 1870, succeeded Girard and held the Premiership until October 15, 1878, when John Norquay became the first native-born Premier of the province.<sup>1</sup>

John A. Macdonald influenced Manitoba politics through the appointment of Lieutenant Governors such as Adams G. Archibald, May 20, 1870, to December 2, 1872; Alexander Morris, December 2, 1872, to October 8, 1877; and James Cox Aikins, September 22, 1882, to July 1, 1888. Aikins probably was the least effective of Macdonald's appointees as it was during his tenure that Greenway and the Liberal party developed in Manitoba along with the railway agitation. The only Reform appointment under Alexander Mackenzie was Joseph E. Cauchon, October 8, 1877, to September 22, 1882. Cauchon was not successful in assisting the development of a Reform party in Manitoba due to his primary regard for the interests of the French Canadians as illustrated by his action in the Royal-Norquay power struggle in early 1879. Apparently Mackenzie failed to realize the political effect of a strong efficient administrator of affairs in Manitoba

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<sup>1</sup> R. O. MacFarlane, "Manitoba Politics and Parties After Confederation," C. H. R. Report 1940, 40; Henry J. Morgan (ed.), Canadian Parliamentary Companion (Ottawa, 1872), 310; C. H. Macintosh (ed.) Canadian Parliamentary Companion and Annual Register (Ottawa, 1878), 69, 312-314; M. S. Donnelly, The Government of Manitoba (Toronto, 1963), Appendix B, 172.

and the party advantage to be gained through the position.<sup>1</sup> It is also possible that since Mackenzie had not looked with favour upon Manitoba being admitted as a province, he was inclined to remain the same in his outlook over the years. Thus, the Liberal-Conservatives held the key positions from Manitoba's entry into Confederation until 1888.

The Liberal-Conservative federal and provincial organizations were used to secure the return of the party's members to the House of Commons. From the first federal election of December, 1871, in Manitoba, through the general elections of 1872, 1874, and 1878, the province sent eleven Liberal-Conservatives, four Liberals, and one Independent to Ottawa. Manitoba also provided a refuge for Liberal-Conservative cabinet members who had suffered defeat in eastern ridings. When Cartier lost Montreal East in 1872, he found a seat in Provencher. In 1878 Kingston's rejection of Macdonald was rectified by his acclamation victory in Marquette when W. F. Luxton and Ryan withdrew.<sup>2</sup>

The Liberal-Conservatives or their friends controlled or influenced the Winnipeg papers. The Times had been a strong federal party paper run by Lucius Tuttle while the Tribune was believed to be an offshoot of the Free Press but supported by the Manitoba government.<sup>3</sup> Due to financial and political considerations in late 1879, arrangements were made to amalgamate the

<sup>1</sup> Donnelly, op. cit., Appendix A, 171; Macintosh, op. cit., 309-310.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Gemmill (ed.), Canadian Parliamentary Companion (Ottawa, 1891), 198-201; Henry J. Morgan (ed.), Canadian Parliamentary Companion (Ottawa, 1872), 284, 285, 293, 299; J. Murray Beck, Pendulum of Power: Canada's Federal Elections (Scarborough, Ontario, 1968), 21, 29, 37; Joseph Royal to Macdonald, 28 September 1878. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 260, 118175-118176.

<sup>3</sup> Francis Gilmore to J. C. Schultz, 14 January 1880. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, 303.

Times and the Tribune through the purchase of Tuttle's lease. Tuttle had left for Ottawa in mid-November, as David Young told Mackenzie Bowell,

to get a monied man -- if he is properly treated in Ottawa -- he will sell out on his return here and we will give him \$1000 cash to 'step down and out' -- This amalgamation would secure the local govt and consolidate and harmonize the party very much — — — [sic].<sup>1</sup>

At the same time, Joseph Royal was telling Macdonald that Tuttle had ruined the Times and almost split the Conservative Party. He advised that Acton Burrows be put in charge of the paper. "The policy must be to develop our Canadian Far West," Royal continued, "and make it conservative in order to make it prosperous."<sup>2</sup> Even with these suggestions, the federal party failed to act, The Times collapsed, and the Conservatives had to await the founding of The Call under the editorship of Acton Burrows, subsidized by the Canadian Pacific Railway syndicate and the Liberal-Conservative party. It was this brief hiatus of influence that hampered the federal Conservatives in Manitoba and allowed Norquay to establish himself firmly in control of provincial politics.

The Manitoba Free Press was supposedly the opposition paper in Winnipeg under the direction of W. F. Luxton, a former editor of The Huron Expositor of Seaforth, Ontario, from 1868-1871, where he had been a Liberal-Conservative. Luxton eventually became a Liberal in federal politics on the basis of opposition to railway and trade policies, but he effectively promoted the idea that the Norquay administration was a "no-party" government and rejected any ties between the federal and provincial wings of the

<sup>1</sup> Private. David Young to Mackenzie Bowell, 15 November 1879. P.A.C., Bowell Papers, vol. 1, 166-167.

<sup>2</sup> Royal to Macdonald, 16 November 1879. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 260, 118183-118185.

Liberal-Conservative party. This probably was influenced by a provincial government printing contract following the December, 1878, provincial election, and was similar to Luxton's activities along that line in Seaforth.<sup>1</sup> Another influence was the interest Donald A. Smith held in the paper. There was no mention of the extent of Smith's share in the Free Press, but it must have been substantial as Macdonald feared that if it was sold to a Grit syndicate the paper would act in harmony with The Globe.<sup>2</sup> As well, the C. P. R. syndicate either had an interest in the Free Press, or was able to act on Smith's authority to secure the paper's approval of disallowance of the Emerson South Eastern Railway charter.

Finally, there was the ability of Premier John Norquay as a politician. He was a shrewd political manipulator whose strategy was to solidify his individual hold on power. In this, Norquay viewed all elements in the political sphere as "pawnage" to be used or dispensed with as suited his purpose. After assuming the Premiership in October, 1878, Norquay led his party through a successful electoral campaign on December 11. Between then and May, 1879, a power struggle developed between Norquay and Royal, ostensibly over Royal's insistence on creating party lines within provincial politics. In actual fact, it seems to have been an adroit maneuver on Norquay's part to force Royal out and take sole control of the administration. Norquay did this by rejecting the French members, gaining the support of the English members who signed a "round robin" endorsing a new line of policy, and then attempting to carry it out. Bills were passed to abolish all

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<sup>1</sup> "The 'Disreputable Act' of the County Council," The Goderich Signal, 13 February 1868, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Macdonald to Stephen, 12 December 1881. P.A.C., Stephen Papers, 16-17.

printing in French but the Statutes and to redistribute the constituencies. The latter involved altering the 24 seats to give the old English settlers eight, the new settlements eight, and the French eight, instead of the equal division of the 24 between old English and French as had existed in the past. Lieutenant Governor Cauchon demonstrated his concern for the French by reserving the bill on printing and refusing to allow Norquay to carry on the government with only three Cabinet members. The Premier selected English members to fill the vacancies and completed the session. The House was dissolved in October, 1879, and an election was held December 16. The Norquay forces carried the day. Norquay then dispensed with the support of the "Round Robin" members by taking in Senator Girard as Provincial Secretary and M. Maxime Goulet as Minister of Agriculture.<sup>1</sup> Francis Gilmore described events in a letter to J. C. Schultz on January 14, 1880, writing that,

The Hon. Premier of Manitoba has thrown over the celebrated 'Round Robin', or English party, and once more allies himself with the French. The most laughable part of the summersault is that both the 'Toronto Mail' and 'Montreal Gazette' in unison with the 'Globe' took Mr. Norquay's part against the Times, [sic] on the plea that his Government eschewed Dominion party lines in the General Election.

How cheap these leading Conservative Journals must feel when they read of their pet 'no Dominion Party lines' Premier joining hands with the first Conservative Club formed in the Province. I hear the Grit portion of the 'Round Robin' party feel pretty sore at the Premier's desertion without even an hour's warning. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Norquay, however, had achieved his objective -- Royal had left

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Macintosh (ed.), The Canadian Parliamentary Companion and Annual Register (Ottawa, 1880), 379-380.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Gilmore to Schultz, 14 January 1880. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, 303.

provincial for federal politics, successfully contesting Provencher when Dubuc was appointed to the bench. Norquay managed to retain the support of the English members largely through patronage appointments and their lack of an alternative leader. Patronage was distributed such that even William Winram, an avowed Liberal, received his share even though he had to recommend Conservatives and Liberals alternately for the positions available. Norquay clearly was in command of Manitoba politics and remained so until challenged by Thomas Greenway.

In the face of these conditions it would be difficult for Greenway to develop and lead an effective opposition Liberal party. What he needed to provide the basis for organizing a Liberal party was an issue or issues that would appeal to the electorate and to politicians. These issues had to be of vital concern to the people of Manitoba, particularly the southwestern section which Greenway knew best. In turn, the electorate's response would be expected to influence politicians to the extent that they would forego patronage considerations in an effort to achieve the aims and future support of the people.

As long as the Norquay administration dealt with provincial matters such as a Municipal Act there was little that Greenway could do in terms of raising an issue. He wisely refrained from doing so. But events within the provincial Conservative party and its relationship to the federal government, particularly over railway policy, as well as subsidy arrangements in lieu of provincial lands would combine to provide the issues needed on which to establish a Liberal party in Manitoba.

John Norquay pledged his government's co-operation with the federal government on railway policy by agreeing not to charter any provincial

railways that ran counter to clause 15 of the C. P. R. contract.<sup>1</sup> This was to provide a check on the Northern Pacific, feared politically by Macdonald and financially by George Stephen. Writing Stephen on October 19, 1881, Macdonald reported what a Montreal friend of the Prime Minister had written earlier,

. . . It is said that the N. Pacific are about to purchase the Quebec Railways for ten millions and to connect them with their system at Sault St. Marie. If this is true it means danger ahead.

The N. Pacific are very anxious to get into Manitoba and the N. W. -- and they think that by coming to the rescue of the Province at a moment when the Syndicate people are supposed to be unwilling they can secure a solid Quebec vote in the House of Commons against any veto of Provincial Legislation in Manitoba in the interest of the Northern Pacific connection . . . .

After advising Stephen that Chapleau had been to New York to see the Northern Pacific people, Macdonald warned Stephen,

Of course Chapleau will magnify the offers in order to get a good thing out of you but there is danger ahead and if you act at all, you must act at once. . . .<sup>2</sup>

The one outlet the Northern Pacific could utilize in Manitoba was the Manitoba South Western Colonization Railway. Arrangements apparently fell through as Macdonald informed Stephen in December, 1881,

Schultz is here and irate with Villard + Co. and would help to get you the control of the South Western. He is to see me tomorrow.

<sup>1</sup> Macdonald to M. J. Griffin, 31 October 1881. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, Letterbook 21, 527, cited in James A. Jackson, "The Disallowance of Manitoba Railway Legislation in the 1880's: Railway Policy as a Factor in the Relations of Manitoba with the Dominion, 1878-1888" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1945), 9. Griffin was the editor of The Mail.

<sup>2</sup> Confidential. Macdonald to Stephen, 19 October 1881. P.A.C., Stephen Papers, 3-6. Underlining in the original.

I think you and McIntyre should come up and deal with this subject without delay.

Schultz is to see me tomorrow and will talk this over with me.

He has talked the matter over with Tupper already, who will be absent this week.<sup>1</sup>

In less than thirteen months, before January, 1883, Macdonald, in writing about aid to branch lines in Manitoba, told Governor General Lord Lorne that". . . . The Manitoba and South Western too we have aided -- It in fact belongs to the C P R and runs midway between the C P R and the boundary line -- . . ."<sup>2</sup>

As a result of these factors, there would be little doubt as to the fate of Manitoba's three railway bills passed in the session of 1881. The disallowance of the Emerson charter in January, 1882, revealed the close relationship between the Macdonald and Norquay governments. Norquay accepted disallowance and allowed only a general railway bill to be passed in the 1882 provincial session.<sup>3</sup> In return for his fidelity, Norquay was able to gain a subsidy of \$45,000 per year in lieu of control over provincial lands. Greenway's response ranged over the entire field of political policy much as if he were still in search of an issue. He made an exposition on the national policy, equating it with a protective tariff and arguing that it had not worked since its introduction. It was a burden for the farmer, he asserted, and advocated a return to a revenue tariff. This was consistent with his statements as an M. P. for South Huron and he remained a strong advocate of a revenue tariff throughout his political

<sup>1</sup> Confidential. Macdonald to Stephen, 13 December 1881. P.A.C., Ibid., 18-19.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonald to Lorne, 7 January 1883. P.A.C., Lord Lorne Papers, vol. 1, 302-306.

<sup>3</sup> T. D. Regehr, "The National Railway Policy and Manitoba Railway Legislation, 1879-1888" (unpublished M. A. thesis, Carleton University, 1963), 62-64.

career. He made frequent references to it when he participated in federal general and by-election campaigns. Greenway also objected to the disallowance of the Emerson charter, but did not use it as a central point. His main line of attack was on the miserly subsidy granted the province and the failure to gain control of public lands. At one point in the legislative debate, A. M. Sutherland charged Greenway with attempting to raise issues that would benefit his friends in Ottawa. Greenway did not deny the charge.<sup>1</sup> From the subjects discussed it is apparent that this was indeed Greenway's objective.

Three weeks after the Manitoba legislature was prorogued the federal general election was held on June 20, 1882, in eastern Canada, but was delayed until July 4, 1882, in Manitoba. Greenway's statements in the provincial assembly provided the basis for Liberal candidates' platforms and he campaigned on behalf of Hugh Sutherland, the Liberal candidate in Selkirk.<sup>2</sup> The Liberal candidates attempted to bring up the issue of disallowance, but concentrated on federal land policies and the tariff. The Liberal campaign apparently was effective, resulting in the return of three Liberals to two Liberal-Conservatives. However, A. W. Ross (Lisgar) and Hugh Sutherland (Selkirk) both displayed tendencies to support the Macdonald government. By 1887 Ross had become a Liberal-Conservative, while Sutherland was concerned with aid for the Hudson's Bay Railway. Joseph Royal's assessment of the campaign indicated that Norquay

<sup>1</sup> "Legislature of Manitoba," Manitoba Free Press, 3 May 1882, 1. 3; "Legislative Assembly of Manitoba," Ibid., 6 May 1882, 2.

<sup>2</sup> "Political," Ibid., 6 June 1882, 2.

had refused to aid the federal party and his "no-party" policy had damaged the federal government at least in Marquette. However, Royal pointed out that the provincial government won all three by-elections. He then warned Macdonald of the arrival in Manitoba of thirty or forty Grit lawyers from Ontario, as opposed to few Conservatives. Royal continued that if the Grit lawyers had few clients they might turn to politics.<sup>1</sup>

With his renewed mandate, Macdonald carried out his policy of disallowing Manitoba's railway charters. He tended to dismiss agitation in Manitoba as being led by "a ring of Land Sharks and Homestead Imposters."<sup>2</sup> While Macdonald's political observers continued to present similar views to their chief, Norquay decided that a provincial election would be held on January 23, 1883. It appears that Norquay delayed calling the election in the hopes that this would give time for the federal success of the Liberals to recede. Greenway had expected an election -- "Indications point to an early dissolution of the present Local Legislature, which I think at the present juncture is very much to be desired."<sup>3</sup>

In the campaign which followed party labels were used for the first time in a provincial contest. Eighteen candidates dubbed themselves

<sup>1</sup> Regehr, op. cit., 64; J. A. Gemmill (ed.), Canadian Parliamentary Companion (Ottawa, 1883), 150-154, 173, 175-177; Royal to Macdonald, 6 September 1882. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 260, 118224-118230. Although not identified by name, Royal probably was referring to individuals such as C. J. Mickle, R. Hill Myers, J. D. Cameron, James Fisher, and Joseph Martin who became Liberal M.L.A.s within the next ten years.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonald to Lorne, 2 December 1882. P.A.C., Lord Lorne Papers, vol. 1, 295-300.

<sup>3</sup> "To the Electors of the Electoral Division of Mountain." P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11929. It has been given the date 1886, but the internal evidence indicates it was prepared for 1883.

Norquay-Conservatives, thirteen ran as Ultra-Conservatives, and two as Liberals (C. P. Brown in Russell and J. A. Davidson in Dauphin) supporting Norquay. In some constituencies these candidates opposed each other. The opposition numbered nine Liberals, including E. G. Conklin in Winnipeg North who ran as a Liberal in favour of disallowance, and sixteen Provincial Rights candidates. These latter groups apparently co-operated as they did not oppose each other in any constituency. As a Provincial Rights candidate, Greenway provided the leadership for the other fifteen members who included Joseph Martin in Portage la Prairie. As well, Greenway seemed to be the acknowledged leader of the Liberals as it was he who challenged Premier Norquay to public debate on the issues, a challenge which was not accepted.<sup>1</sup> The tactic apparently was to gain electoral support from those who may have wanted to oppose Norquay's administration, but were not willing to switch from the Conservative to the Liberal party in doing so.

Greenway's address "To the Electors of the Electoral Division of Mountain" presented the Provincial Rights viewpoint. After stating that the "greatest unanimity" had prevailed from 1879 to the session of 1882, Greenway argued that the opposition to the government was not "for the mere sake of opposing the present incumbents but upon most vital questions upon which it is now in order that you should be called upon to decide." The foremost issue was the disallowance of Provincial Railway Acts, but Greenway narrowed that to "a local railway charter passed during the session of 1881. . . ." This was a blow at "the autonomy of our province" and rendered "us the victims of a huge monopoly. . . ." Greenway continued,

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<sup>1</sup> J. A. Gemmill (ed.), Canadian Parliamentary Companion (Ottawa, 1883), 300-313; Donnelly, op. cit., 27; "City and Province," Manitoba Free Press, 3 January 1883, 2; "The Campaign," Ibid., 5 January 1883, 8.

"The immediate construction of lines of railway in various portions of the province is absolutely essential to the proper development of the country and the welfare of our people." He claimed that numerous capitalists were ready to undertake the projects but the local government refused to consider them. All the government had done, Greenway charged, was to pass

a general railway bill which can only have the effect of preventing rather than promoting the construction of railways so long as it remains the law of the land. By the same act the Government have also taken the power to exempt the Canadian Pacific Railway Company from taxation for twenty years thus increasing the burdens of our people for the benefit of that wealthy corporation.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway's statement also attacked the Norquay government for its failure to secure "justice" on Manitoba's subsidy. After creating public sentiment on the question, he alleged, the government had

bartered away our rights for the merest pittance and that too for ten years. The public lands within the province are still denied us and our government after the usual feeble resistance accept the sum of \$45,000.00 per annum in lieu of such valuable domain.

There was a brief reference as well to the unsatisfactory manner in which the Public Accounts of the Province were kept. This was followed in conclusion by a listing of the Provincial Rights program headed by "A firm stand upon the questions of our Provincial Rights." Other items included an attack on monopoly, increased subsidy to place Manitoba in the same position as other provinces in Confederation, liberality in dealing with those who were willing to construct railways, acquisition of the school lands to form a fund for the promotion of education, rigid economy in spending public money, extension of boundaries when Manitoba was able

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<sup>1</sup> "To the Electors of the Electoral Division of Mountain." P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11929. Underlining as in the original.

to handle the responsibilities, and "A determination to resist being drawn into a contest with the sister province of Ontario relative to our Eastern boundary."<sup>1</sup>

In very simple terms, Greenway's election address was based on provincial rights as evidenced by the key words -- disallowance, monopoly, subsidies, and economy. In analyzing this document, a number of points should be emphasized. Greenway was concerned over the disallowance of the Emerson and North Western charter which would be of benefit to southwestern Manitoba and the city of Emerson. His reaction may have been affected by his business relations with F. E. Burnham, the principal promoter of the railway and Provincial Rights candidate in Emerson.

Although Greenway may have been unaware that the C. P. R. already controlled the Manitoba South Western Colonization Railway before the election, his attack on the C. P. R.'s monopoly indicates that he was at least suspicious about the possibility. Quite probably he knew through his contact with Cartwright and by him with Schultz and Young. Not too surprising therefore was the fact that Louise Municipality withdrew its offer of \$65,000 to aid the Manitoba South Western in August, 1883.<sup>2</sup>

The debate over the subsidy in lieu of control over provincial lands was a convenient means of illustrating the Norquay regime's willingness to "sell out" to the federal Conservatives. Greenway was able to get political mileage from it but he never followed through on his own demands. It is doubtful that he was sincere on this issue. It was useful, it was visible and tangible, but it was not vital. Greenway's use of it was

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> McKittrick, op. cit., Part I, 19.

largely to create the impression that a Provincial Rights government in Manitoba would be more willing to pursue Manitoba's "rights".

Meanwhile, Premier Norquay campaigned on the basis of "better terms" in Manitoba. This would be possible through his policy of reasonable conciliation with the Ottawa government. Lieutenant Governor Aikins endorsed Norquay's strategy, believing that "The people are well aware that it is not in the interest of the Province to be in antagonism with the Federal Government."<sup>1</sup> It is more likely that the close relationship between the provincial government and the C. P. R. directors was of equal importance. Macdonald suggested to Stephen in a letter of January 7, 1883, that "I think that you should warn Larivière confidentially against Manitoba subsidizing the Hudson Bay Railway. Mr. Norquay has no money and if he had should expend it in branch lines running into fertile sections likely to be settled at once. . ."<sup>2</sup> Larivière seems to have been the C. P. R. "bagman" in the Norquay government and was inclined to do as instructed. Macdonald's concept of branch lines was sound. While it might have blunted Greenway's attacks on railway policy in general, it is difficult to see Macdonald actually endorsing such a policy if it in any way conflicted with the rights of the C. P. R.

The election of January 23, 1883, resulted in a victory for Norquay and the Conservatives. The outcome was 19 Conservatives (5 by acclamation), 4 Provincial Rights, 3 Liberals, and 4 Independents. The Provincial Rights and Liberal M. L. A.s joined together as the Liberal Party before

<sup>1</sup> J. C. Aikins to Macdonald, 30 December 1882. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 186, 77435-77436, as quoted in Regehr, op. cit., 74.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Macdonald to Stephen, 7 January 1883. P.A.C., Stephen Papers, 100-101.

the legislature convened. Three of the Independents joined these Liberals while a fourth, Maxime Goulet was unseated in La Verendrye. L. A. Prud'homme won the constituency for the Conservatives in January, 1884. F. E. Burnham, Provincial Rights candidate for Emerson, was unseated and was replaced by C. S. Douglas, a Conservative. Joseph Martin (Provincial Rights, Portage la Prairie) and Samuel J. Jackson (Independent, later Liberal, Rockwood) were unseated, but were re-elected. This eventually made the party standings 21 Conservatives and 9 Liberals. Greenway had won Mountain constituency by 330 to 244 over John Norquay. Norquay had been returned by acclamation for St. Andrews and his Mountain candidacy was arranged by local Conservatives as a means of restricting Greenway's organizational efforts.<sup>1</sup> The formation of an opposition Liberal party of nine members testifies to Greenway's organizational talents and his ability to coalesce groups similar in outlook into an effective party. Significantly, six of the Liberal M. L. A.s were from rural constituencies and by the summer and fall of 1885 there was no question as to Greenway's position as their leader. The Winnipeg Liberals seemed to prefer an urban leader and never willingly accepted Greenway. Despite this friction within the party, Greenway had carried on a vigorous campaign and would provide unrelenting pressure on Norquay in forthcoming sessions.

While John A. Macdonald interpreted the Manitoba results as approval of the Dominion government's disallowance policy,<sup>2</sup> Sir Richard Cartwright

<sup>1</sup> J. A. Gemmill (ed.), Canadian Parliamentary Companion (Ottawa, 1883), 300-313; John L. Holmes, "Factors Affecting Politics in Manitoba: A Study of the Provincial Elections 1870-99" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1936), Appendix A, 12-13; Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Manitoba, 1884, 8-11.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonald to Stephen, 26 January 1883. P.A.C., Stephen Papers, 72-73, cited in Regehr, op. cit., 76.

believed other factors were responsible. Writing to Alexander Mackenzie, Cartwright stated,

. . . I have not yet heard from Manitoba but fear the delay of the elections has been fatal to our friends. Even with a strong popular feeling in their favour they stand a poor chance against the systematic and organised corruption which is now being had recourse to. -- . . .<sup>1</sup>

Cartwright's statements regarding any actions by the Liberal-Conservatives must be treated with care due to his intense antagonism towards Macdonald. At the same time, he does point out that delaying the provincial elections was effective in allowing political agitation to subside and there was a close relationship between Norquay's government and the C. P. R. Even more important was the reference to "our friends". It indicates that the Liberal party at last had the rudiments of an organization in Manitoba and the most important contact Cartwright had in that province was Greenway.

Throughout the remainder of 1883, Greenway's major pre-occupation was a rail connection with the Rock Lake area. He was willing to use whatever means were available to obtain the arrival of a railroad. It appeared that his hopes were realized when the Manitoba South Western Colonization Railway was completed to Manitou in mid-1883. This meant that farmers in the Rock Lake District would have to carry their goods from 15 to 50 miles to reach the railroad, instead of the previous 100 miles to Emerson. The benefits of being closer to a railroad were of little value when the crop of 1883 was hit by an early frost. No. 1 frozen wheat brought forty cents a bushel at Manitou while lesser grades barely covered the expense of hauling it to the railroad. Prices as low as eleven cents a bushel were not uncommon. All that the Rock Lake area seemed to have gained was that

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<sup>1</sup> Private. R. J. Cartwright to Alexander Mackenzie, 28 January 1883. P.A.C., Alexander Mackenzie Papers, M 199, 2446-2447.

now it took only a two day trip to find out the poor return they were to get for their wheat, whereas the Emerson journey had taken eight to ten days.<sup>1</sup>

Along with the low prices there were other problems, as indicated in Lieutenant Governor Aikins' letter to the Prime Minister of November 30, 1883,

The farmers and those engaged in business are in the slough of despond. Times could not be much worse than they are. The damage to the wheat crop is such that I am quite persuaded that as a whole it will not cover the expenditure on it. In place of the crop being the largest and best ever had it is the largest and worst. A great deal of the grain cannot be sold it is so damaged. And what the poor settlers in many cases are to do is an enigma. Those in trade are no better off, as a result there is a great deal of grumbling and dissatisfaction and the Grits are doing their best to intensify it, and are likely to be but too successful. The tax on agricultural implements is one that is keenly felt. It is a pity that the manufacturers could not have competed with the Americans without getting the increased protection they now have.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the Rock Lake District farmers were joining branches of the Farmers Co-Operative Union to protest just the things Aikins had mentioned. At these meetings the members considered grain prices, railway and elevator monopolies, fiscal policy, land regulations, and a resolution was passed objecting to the tariff on agricultural implements. This agitation suited Greenway's purposes and he used the meetings to promote his views. In addition he was able to have the meetings prominently featured in The Rock Lake Herald of Crystal City. This newspaper, first published on September 1, 1881, was owned by Thomas Greenway and Company. The Company meant P. W. McDonald. Most of the local material was

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<sup>1</sup> McKittrick, op. cit., Part I, 39, 46-47.

<sup>2</sup> Aikins to Macdonald, 30 November 1883. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 186, 77427-44728.

prepared by J. W. "Wes" Greenway, Thomas Greenway's son and main organizer in Mountain constituency. J. W. Greenway's political ability allowed Thomas the freedom and security to assist in the campaigns in other constituencies throughout the province.<sup>1</sup>

The Rock Lake Herald was later edited by a Mr. Hill and by December 22, 1883, it has passed into the hands of P. W. McDonald who issued the last paper on March 15, 1884. McDonald continued to support the views of Thomas Greenway and to promote the objectives of the farmers of the Rock Lake District. The crop failure of 1883, financial pressures from implement dealers, and the failure of the C. P. R. to extend its lines to Crystal City, caused the paper to collapse. With little cash to spare the farmers were not subscribing to the Herald. McDonald stated that "the patronage extended is not sufficient to keep the newspaper running" and he would return money paid in advance for 1884 subscriptions -- a total of \$12.00.<sup>2</sup> As a result, Greenway had to depend on The Manitou Mercury for political support. Through arrangements with John A. Macdonnell who was the paper's owner and editor, and later through R. H. Spedding who took over the paper in early 1885,<sup>3</sup> Greenway had strong press backing in this section of Manitoba.

The Farmer's Co-Operative or Protective Union met in Winnipeg on December 19, 1883. The delegates drew up a list of demands encompassing the views of the local organizations and added the request for a return to

<sup>1</sup> McKittrick, op. cit., Part I, 30-31, 39-40. The P.A.M. does not have copies of The Rock Lake Herald and an inquiry at the Courier office in Crystal City revealed no back copies of The Rock Lake Herald exist there.

<sup>2</sup> McKittrick, op. cit., Part I, 52-53.

<sup>3</sup> "Memo on Election Expenses." P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 830. Undated, but refers to the election of 1886.

a revenue tariff. Both Aikins and Norquay informed Macdonald of the meeting's resolutions. Aikins warned that the increased tariff on agricultural implements would prevent the coming of prospective settlers while it would hurt those who had planned to purchase machinery. He was in sympathy with the farmers' objections to the C. P. R. elevator monopoly as it "gives a monopoly to those who are wealthy enough to erect elevators. Small operators are shut out and no competition of buyers of grain exists."<sup>1</sup> Norquay concurred. He interpreted the protests as justified regarding public lands, the tariff, freight rates, and the gouging by the millers. He intimated that if these demands were not met there was the possibility of a movement for secession and annexation.<sup>2</sup>

This seems to have been an adroit insinuation on the part of Norquay who had definite objectives in view when attempting to present the agitation in anything but a favourable light. He wanted better financial terms for the province in its subsidy, debt allowance, and funding for public improvements. Norquay was able to press his program as being far less "radical" than the demands of the Farmers' Convention. He knew Macdonald's usual reaction to threats of secession and annexation and the Prime Minister's firm stand in opposition to such pressures. Macdonald knew unrest was evident in Manitoba and Norquay counted on this as a factor in securing his "moderate" requests to appease Manitobans. On this basis, Macdonald could afford to ignore the Farmers' delegation when they came to

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<sup>1</sup> Aikins to Macdonald, 24 December 1883. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 186, 77431-77432, as quoted and cited in Regehr. op. cit., 82.

<sup>2</sup> Norquay to Macdonald, 8 January 1884. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 119, 48489-48491, cited in Regehr, op. cit., 83-84.

Ottawa, but Norquay's manipulations did not turn out as well as he had expected.

When the Farmers' delegation from the December convention returned from Ottawa empty-handed, a meeting was set for early March, 1884, in Winnipeg. Having failed to achieve any success with their demands, the Convention adopted a resolution which stated,

That in the opinion of this Convention the burdens laid on the people of Manitoba are so great that agricultural operations cannot be made to yield a fair profit; that emigration before the removal of these burdens, will benefit neither the province nor the emigrants; and that this Convention cannot advise emigrants to settle in the province till redress of the grievances complained of by this Convention shall have been obtained.

The resolution was carried unanimously. Prior to this meeting and the resolution, the Farmers' Union had received the support of Winnipeg businessmen, who were involved in a rate dispute with the C. P. R., and the Manitoba Rights league. It has been accepted that the resolutions against further emigration plus the prominence of Liberals such as Greenway and R. P. Roblin broke the strength of the Farmers' Union.<sup>1</sup>

There were other factors which had taken place between the two meetings. One involved astute moves by William Van Horne, Vice President of the C. P. R., and the other was by the Conservative party. Van Horne learned in early January, 1884, that the Northern Pacific had reduced its freight rates on grain in August, 1883. He rebuked William Harder, the C. P. R. agent in Winnipeg, for failing to report this move by the competition. "Had I known of their move at the time," Van Horne wrote,

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<sup>1</sup> McKittrick, op. cit., 41, 51; W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (2nd edition, Toronto, 1967), 211-213.

"it would have been promptly met and much of the present ill-feeling in the Northwest would have been avoided."<sup>1</sup> C. P. R. wheat rates were reduced shortly after to bring them into line with those of the Northern Pacific. At the same time, Van Horne moved to placate the Winnipeg business community. Writing to C. J. Brydges, President of the Board of Agriculture in Winnipeg, Van Horne stated that,

I am very glad to learn that the Board appreciate our recent reduction in rates on grain and I beg to say that this Company is fully alive to the importance of making the lowest possible rates on all commodities and particularly on such as have most to do with the rapid development of the country. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Finally, Van Horne secured Luxton's co-operation in endorsing a loan from the federal government for the C. P. R. Except for Robert Watson (Liberal, Marquette), the Northwest members had supported the proposed loan. As Van Horne told Luxton,

I feel safe in assuring you that you will never have cause to be ashamed of the position the 'Free Press' has taken in this matter, and it will not be many weeks before Manitoba will begin to feel the good effect of the assistance the Government has given us.<sup>3</sup>

While Van Horne and the C. P. R. were doing their utmost to blunt political opposition, Norquay and the provincial Conservatives were using the agitation for their own ends. One proposal was a railway to Hudson's Bay. Another additional public improvements without resort to direct taxation. A third was the formation of Conservative associations throughout

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Van Horne to William Harder, 7 January 1884. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, vol. 1, Letterbook 4, 187-188.

<sup>2</sup> Van Horne to C. J. Brydges, 23 February 1884. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 1, Letterbook 4, 856.

<sup>3</sup> Van Horne to Luxton, 24 February 1884. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 1, Letterbook 4, 890-892.

Manitoba. Norquay informed A.W. Ross that,

the Province was never roused to the extent that it is at present on the Public Land question and the extension to Hudson Bay. Whatever merit may be in the extension it is eagerly advocated by all parties. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Norquay also used the first meeting of the Farmers' Union on December 19, 1883, as an excuse to pressure the federal government for increased financial assistance. He requested a larger subsidy, extension of Manitoba's northern boundary, and aid for public improvements within the province. When the federal Conservatives were slow to act, Norquay pointed out that his requests were "tame" compared to those of the Farmers' Convention. Finally the provincial government threatened to resign if their demands were not granted.<sup>2</sup> Macdonald promised that the federal government would consider financial arrangements,<sup>3</sup> but the outcome was the rejection of the terms by the Legislature since they included only the continuance of the \$45,000 subsidy and provincial control of swamp lands.<sup>4</sup>

While these negotiations continued, the Conservatives were establishing organizations throughout the province, concentrating on the newly settled areas, particularly those which had elected opponents in the recent

<sup>1</sup> Norquay to A. W. Ross, 7 March 1884. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers vol. 119, 48514-48516.

<sup>2</sup> Telegram, A. A. C. LaRivière to Macdonald, 14 March 1884. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 119, 48518; telegram, Amos Rowe to Macdonald, 8 April 1884. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 119, 48534.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonald to LaRivière, 10 April 1884. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 119, 48538.

<sup>4</sup> Chester Martin, "The Natural Resources Question": The Historical Basis of Provincial Claims (Winnipeg, 1920), 93.

provincial election. One example was the Conservative Association formed in Mountain constituency under the direction of Robert Rogers.<sup>1</sup> These gave local Conservatives a chance to express themselves on issues with the prospect that their grievances would be heard, rather than attempting to gain a hearing through the actions of the Farmers' Union. As a result, a reassured John A. Macdonald was able to inform Lord Lorne that,

The Speculators who were ruined by the Collapse after the boom of 3 years ago and are of desperate fortunes with some democrats have attempted to get up a row -- blustered -- talked of Secession and all that sort of thing but the reaction has set in and Norquay who with many faults and weaknesses is loyal to the Dominion has been sustained by an overwhelming vote, 20 to 6, on certain factious Amendments to the address in answer to the Speech at the opening of the Manitoba Session. We are doing all that we can to help them within reasonable limits and on the opening of the spring -- when the people are on their farms The agitation will be forgotten.<sup>2</sup>

Writing to John Binney of New York, Macdonald made similar remarks,<sup>3</sup> and in July, 1884, informed Aikins that,

The prospect of a good harvest in Manitoba must, as you say, have the effect of allaying the discontent in a considerable degree. You, however, will not have much peace until there is a public opinion -- a real opinion formed by a body of well-to-do settlers.

For a time the land jobbers and speculators hanging about Winnipeg and the paper towns scattered over your province, joined to such agitators as Greenway, will pretend to represent the public feeling.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> McKittrick, op. cit., Part I, 50.

<sup>2</sup> Private, Macdonald to Lorne, 26 March 1884. P.A.C., Lord Lorne Papers, vol. 1, 364-367.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonald to John Binney, 26 March 1884. P.A.C., John Binney Papers.

<sup>4</sup> Private. Macdonald to J. C. Aikins, 28 July 1884, in Joseph Pope (ed.), The Correspondence of Sir John A. Macdonald (Toronto, 1921), 314-315.

When Macdonald wrote to William McDougall, he again placed the blame for all discontent in Manitoba on ruined speculators.<sup>1</sup>

While Macdonald may have believed this was the true state of affairs, and in some ways he was not far off the mark, the agitation for railway service in south western Manitoba continued and was motivated in large part by personal interest and politics. The Conservatives of Mountain petitioned the C. P. R. to extend the Manitoba South Western from Manitou to south of Rock Lake. A similar petition was forwarded by the councils of Derby and Louise along with many residents in townships 1 and 2; ranges 9 through 16, comprising the County of Rock Lake.<sup>2</sup> Van Horne replied to the Conservatives through a letter to Robert Rogers of Clearwater dated March 27, 1884. After commanding their action and promising to do the best possible for the people in the district, Van Horne wrote,

I am sorry to say that the ill-advised action of the recent farmers' convention in Winnipeg has had a most damaging effect upon our efforts to raise money for the branch line southwest. A large land sale which was practically closed and which would have afforded the necessary money to start the work has been cancelled in consequence of the resolutions adopted by that convention and we have been obliged to suspend our orders for rails.<sup>3</sup>

It is probable that the other petition received a similar reply, since the Louise Council decided on a different approach in April. On the 23rd the Council passed a resolution asking the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and

<sup>1</sup> Macdonald to Wm. McDougall, 30 July 1884. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 526, 42-43, quoted in Regehr, op. cit., 85.

<sup>2</sup> McKittrick, op. cit., Part I, 47-48, 50.

<sup>3</sup> Van Horne to Robert Rogers, 27 March 1884. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, Vol. 1, Letterbook 5, 238-240.

Manitoba Railway to build a line which would cross the Canadian boundary south of Crystal City. The council would guarantee the building of an elevator. When there was no progress, Thomas Greenway and Reeve R. S. Thompson were asked in June to approach the railway.<sup>1</sup> Greenway was willing to attempt this plan since such a line might be induced to use the townsite he already had established. Even if this effort failed, there was still the prospect that the Manitoba South Western would extend its lines in the near future and might be induced to take up his townsite. When nothing came of the endeavor, Greenway was forced to await the coming of the proposed branch line of the Manitoba South Western.

The C. P. R. was unwilling to construct any lines in Manitoba in 1884, Van Horne blaming this on the Farmers' Union and Manitoba politicians who had stopped the inflow of money for railway purposes.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, he was careful to fend off competitive efforts by the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba, when they reduced their rate to 15¢ per one hundred pounds on grain from Neche and St. Vincent. Van Horne authorized Robert Kerr, General Freight and Passenger Agent in Winnipeg, to meet that rate at Gretna and Emerson. "It will probably be practicable to limit the very low rate to these two points," wrote Van Horne, "although you may have to make some further concession from your present rates from Morden and possibly from Morris. We don't want the Manitoba Road to get one bushel that can be helped."<sup>3</sup> Even as he was dealing with requests for branch

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<sup>1</sup> McKittrick, op. cit., Part I, 47.

<sup>2</sup> Van Horne to John M. Egan, 13 May 1884. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, vol. 1, Letterbook 6, 900.

<sup>3</sup> Van Horne to Robert Kerr, 3 October 1884. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 2, Letterbook 7, 862-866.

line extensions and grain rates, Van Horne's C. P. R. land agents in Winnipeg were busily engaged in the task of purchasing sections for townsites along the proposed line of the Manitoba South Western Railway.<sup>1</sup> When a tentative arrangement was made between Norquay's government and the C. P. R. in the summer of 1885 and concluded in November, the branch line was extended from Manitou to Whitewater, approximately one hundred and twenty miles. The provincial government offered debentures of \$7,500 per mile, amounting to \$900,000. Van Horne was confident that the C. P. R.'s outlay for construction would be less than the amount of the debentures. "We have taken up all extra tracks that could be spared," he wrote Stephen, "picked up all the odds and ends of construction material and utilized all in these extensions. We have only had to pay out money for 50 miles of rails, and for the grading, bridge material and track laying."<sup>2</sup>

When the South West branch line was built from Manitou to Whitewater, only C. P. R. townsites were used. Any plans Greenway had for promoting his Crystal City site were brushed aside. When the citizens of Pilot Mound and Crystal City realized that the C. P. R. planned to avoid them, an attempt was made to find a suitable site on which the two towns could combine as one large centre. Efforts in that direction failed. As a result both towns spent the winter of 1885-1886 moving to the established C. P. R. townsites. In Crystal City's case this meant a move one mile north of Thomas Greenway's original townsite.<sup>3</sup> It was a severe blow

<sup>1</sup> Van Horne to Robert Rogers, 20 November 1884. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 2, Letterbook 8, 666-669; Hedges, op. cit., 85-86.

<sup>2</sup> Van Horne to Stephen, 19 July 1885. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 2, Letterbook 12, 366-370; Van Horne to Stephen, 23 November 1885. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 2, Letterbook 14, 292-296.

<sup>3</sup> McKittrick, op. cit., Part I, 56-57.

to his personal plans of a financial bonanza. If the C. P. R. had used the Greenway townsite, the price for his blocks and lots would have been substantial, probably exceeding the \$5,500 paid in 1881 for 100 lots. In 1882, Greenway had purchased from his brother, William Herd Greenway for \$5,000, a quarter section on the southern limit of what became the new townsite, but the lots and blocks into which he eventually had it divided failed to provide the expected profits. This was due to the fact that the railway passed through the NW 1/4 rather than the SE 1/4 of 24-2-12W.<sup>1</sup> Greenway built a modern roller mill in the new Crystal City which was operated by one of his sons, William Hicks Greenway, for many years. The prices received at this mill and at others in the community were usually better than what the farmers were offered at the elevators.<sup>2</sup> As a result, Greenway's agitation over the C. P. R. monopoly had the aspect of a personal vendetta. Behind the words of the politician attacking the railway's monopoly were the personal frustrations of a speculator who had been sidetracked. Now, Greenway was willing to co-operate in any venture which promised "competition" for the transcontinental railroad.

At the same time, there were other political events that Greenway used to his advantage in berating both the federal and provincial Conservatives. One was the settlement of the boundary dispute with Ontario in 1884 which was unsatisfactory to Manitoba and in which Norquay played puppet for Macdonald. Another was Norquay's attempt to achieve better terms for

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<sup>1</sup> See 24-2-12W. and Crystal City Plan 59 in the Morden Land Titles Office for details.

<sup>2</sup> McKittrick, op. cit., Part II, 15.

Manitoba, particularly in relation to control of provincial lands and an increased subsidy. When the Premier took a strong stand on the issue in 1884, Greenway applauded his action. However, the negotiations between the province and the Dominion in December-January, 1884-1885, resulted in an offer of an increased subsidy in full and final settlement of provincial claims -- the "finality clause." Norquay moved its acceptance on March 26, 1885, and argued that it was the best that could be obtained. Greenway saved his response for the estimates and on April 22 he attacked the Premier's stand. The Opposition leader first rejected Norquay's claim that the Liberal party only lived "upon the dissatisfaction and discontent that existed throughout the Province; and [that] they were always ready and sure to oppose everything the Government introduced. . . ." Then Greenway turned on Norquay,

The Premier, in making what he was pleased to call his budget speech the other night took a little more than half of the time in the abuse of the Opposition. He reminded me of the story of a counsel who, standing up in court and having no case, undertook to spend the greater portion of his time in abusing the opposite counsel. That, I fancy, was the position the hon. gentleman took the other night. . . .

Greenway accused the Premier of undertaking

to advocate the claims of the Dominion of Canada as against those of the Province of Manitoba. . . . I said the other evening, that as a party man desiring party advantage, I could wish my Conservative friends no greater calamity than that they should ally themselves with those terms as a final settlement of the claims of Manitoba, and I repeat it now. . . .<sup>1</sup>

There was not much fault to find with the settlement, Greenway, argued, except for control of public lands. He understood that when the Premier

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<sup>1</sup> Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Manitoba, 1885, 20; P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11928.

had been in favour of gaining the lands for the Province, the Premier was merely making a case -- he did not mean it. Greenway went on to attack the government's expenditures and its inability to provide for the needs of the population. The increased subsidy of nearly \$200,000 would be used to pay the costs of government, Greenway asserted, but the people would secure no relief. "If anything is doing an injury to the Province of Manitoba at the present time," the Liberal leader claimed, "it is excessive taxation in some localities." Continuing his oration, Greenway berated the government for accepting an arrangement that was regarded as final. He criticized the fact that the price of the legislative building and works of a local character were to be taken from the capital account. Greenway concluded with the hope "that my hon. friend, wherever he goes, will, before long, take another tack, and get on the side which contends for the rights of the people of Manitoba."<sup>1</sup>

After the provincial assembly prorogued and while the members were contemplating the next session, the C. P. R. was establishing a pooling agreement with St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Railway, sometime between July 28 and August 4, 1885. The "Memo: re West Bound Canadian Freight Pool" stated that,

During the continuance of this pool arrangement the Canadian Pacific will discourage in every possible way the building of any line of railway south of the Manitoba boundary in competition with the St. P. M. + M. and should such line be built notwithstanding, the Canadian Pacific will quote rates and exchange traffic exclusively with the St. P. M. + M. as against such new line.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, vol. 2, Letterbook 12, 512-518.

The purpose was to keep the Winnipeg merchants in line. While the members of the Board of Trade wanted rate adjustments that would concentrate trade in Winnipeg at the expense of Brandon, Regina, and Calgary, the C. P. R. refused to accede to their demands. Members of the Board of Trade then signed a private agreement to boycott the Canadian Pacific. Van Horne secured a copy and wrote Acton Burrows on March 5, 1886,

. . . we felt justified in protecting ourselves as best we could, and we succeeded pretty well in doing this by an arrangement with the St. P. M. + M. Ry. It was a fair fight, and the Board of Trade came out behind.<sup>1</sup>

In a letter to J. H. Pope, Van Horne denied that there was any such arrangement, at least on "east bound" traffic, between the C. P. R. and St. P. M. and M. "The only reason," he wrote, "why there is no competition for the carriage of the wheat from the North West is that no competing line can carry the wheat at our rates without heavy loss."<sup>2</sup> Van Horne was adept at playing with technicalities, since his statements were true but the intentions were to maintain the C. P. R.'s control of Canadian traffic by all means available.

As Van Horne was consolidating the C. P. R.'s hold on Manitoba, Greenway seemed to be losing his as leader of the Liberal party. A convention of the Provincial Reform Association was called for June 2-3, 1886, in Winnipeg to coincide with the conclusion of the legislative session. The advertisements indicated that this meeting was to prepare a party platform and perfect the party's organization for the election expected late in the

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<sup>1</sup> Private. Van Horne to Acton Burrows, 5 March 1886. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 2, Letterbook 15, 581-583.

<sup>2</sup> Van Horne to J. H. Pope, 1 April 1886. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 2, Letterbook 15, 957-958.

year.<sup>1</sup> John W. Dafoe has written that Greenway's leadership had never been acceptable to an influential group of Winnipeg Liberals. When they made this plain to Greenway, he "threw up the position and retired from the Convention." Protests from the country delegates and an effective speech by R. P. Roblin of Carman resulted in the convention approving Greenway's continued leadership. This same writer held that James Fisher was the alternative leader favoured by the Winnipeg Liberals.<sup>2</sup> Dafoe's account seems to have been based on information given him by Luxton. From the ensuing provincial election there would appear to have been a dispute over campaign tactics with Greenway preferring the party's platform and Luxton using personal vindictiveness against the Conservatives.

There was an effort to replace Thomas Greenway as leader of the Liberal party, but he was aware of it almost a year before the Convention met.<sup>3</sup> While he later regarded the effort as of little consequence,<sup>4</sup> it should be noted that two-thirds of the delegates to the Winnipeg meeting were from the country, Greenway's area of political strength. Even with

<sup>1</sup> Manitoba Free Press, 13 May 1886, 1.

<sup>2</sup> John W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times (Toronto), 1931), 16-17. Dafoe probably attended the Convention as the Manitoba Free Press political reporter, having arrived in Winnipeg in late May, 1886. See, Murray Donnelly, Dafoe of the Free Press (Toronto, 1968), 24.

<sup>3</sup> Editorial, "Political Demonstration," The Manitou Mercury, 2 October 1885, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Greenway to the Editor, Manitoba Free Press, 27 October 1886, 2, under title "Greenway vs. Lariviere" and dated 26 October 1886.

the redistribution of legislative seats in May, 1886,<sup>1</sup> the Winnipeg Liberals would not be able to elect enough urban members to control the assembly. There was also an element of distrust between the rural and urban wings of the party due to the abortive alliance between farmers and businessmen in late 1883 and early 1884. Whatever differences remained between the contending factions were smoothed over by the Convention proceedings. Press reports of the public sessions, although biased, gave no hint of internal discord.

James Fisher, President of the Provincial Reform Association, opened the meetings by stressing the good prospects for the party in the expected election. He went on to note that he had been in Manitoba less than three years and had never seen a provincial general election, but believed good organization would result in victory. Greenway followed with a lengthy speech on the party's platform involving provincial rights, better terms, railway facilities, tariff reductions, representation by population, and manhood suffrage. The speech did not reveal any new positions nor make any suggestions about leadership problems. In a very short speech, later in the evening, R. P. Roblin condemned the Liberal opposition as "they had occasionally overcome the wild beasts at Ephesus and to them the people were indebted for a number of reforms. . . ." Roblin never mentioned Greenway by name, although it may be possible to take the reference to "they" as approval of Greenway. The following day the Convention unanimously approved Greenway's leadership and the Convention delegates agreed to have James Fisher, W. F. Luxton, D. H. McMillan, J. D. Cameron, and A. A. McArthur

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<sup>1</sup> Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Manitoba, 1886, 196-197.

continue as officers of the Association. W. F. Alloway was added to the list as a Vice-President since McMillan was involved with South Winnipeg as President of that constituency's organization.<sup>1</sup>

In the ensuing provincial election, called for December 9, 1886, the Liberal party conducted a vigorous campaign. Only three Liberal-Conservatives were returned by acclamation, all in predominantly French constituencies. These were A. A. C. Larivière in St. Boniface, Thomas Golley, sometimes referred to as an Independent but found voting with the Conservatives, and Joseph Burke in St. Francois Xavier. The Liberals started off by concentrating on the provincial rights planks in their platform of June. As the campaign progressed, the candidates and press became involved in personal attacks to the exclusion of issues. An agent of the Liberal-Conservative party attempted to make capital out of Greenway's personal life and business ventures in Ontario at a Clearwater meeting, but was put down deftly by the Liberal leader. Manitoba Free Press attacks on Conservative candidates were notable for their emphasis on personal characteristics, misuse of government funds, and the rotten boroughs created by redistribution and their failure to consider the Liberal party platform. The Liberal-Conservatives were aided by Prime Minister Macdonald's western tour on the C. P. R. and Norquay's ability to gain better terms through an increased debt allowance and subsidy in lieu of control of lands, amounting in total to an addition of \$300,000 to the province's annual revenue.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Manitoba Liberals," Manitoba Free Press, 3 June 1886, 4; "Manitoba Liberals," Ibid., 4 June 1886, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Morton, op. cit., 224; editorial, "The Hon. Mr. Lariviere's Record," Manitoba Free Press, 30 October 1886, 2; editorial, "Mr. Norquay at Clandeboyne," Ibid., 30 October 1886, 2; editorial, "The French Vote," Ibid., 13 November 1886, 2, serve only as examples. There were similar editorials on an almost daily basis, from early November through December 9, 1886.

The final election results gave the Conservatives 20, the Liberals 14, and there was one Independent. Eighteen of the constituencies produced easy victories, the Conservatives taking ten of them. There were fourteen seats decided by 17 or less votes. Of these the Conservatives won seven, the Liberals six, and the other was the Independent David Glass (St. Clement's). The Liberals who had close contests included Thomas Greenway who defeated Robert Rogers by 17 votes, Joseph Martin who won over W. P. Smith by 15, J. A. Macdonnell by 4 over H. Pentland, and R. S. Thompson by 1 over G. A. F. Andrews. The only obvious effort made to ensure the return of a Conservative was in Rockwood where a Deputy Returning Officer had a ballot box destroyed and later testified under oath that the results at that poll favoured N. F. Hagel, the Conservative. The Legislative Committee on Privileges and Elections rejected the Deputy's report, accepted that of the Returning Officer and one other individual, and seated the Liberal candidate, S. F. Jackson. The Liberals had added two strong members to their ranks with the elections of James A. Smart for Brandon East and W. F. Luxton for Winnipeg South, and had gained a French member in A. F. Martin for Morris. Two members expected to aid the party, R. P. Roblin and James Fisher, lost in North Dufferin by five and Russell by eight, respectively.<sup>1</sup> As a result, Greenway's task was to keep his party united, hope to pick up defectors from Norquay's government, and lead the attempt to pressure the administration on railway construction.

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<sup>1</sup> J. A. Gemmill (ed.), Canadian Parliamentary Companion (Ottawa, 1887), 338-340; John L. Holmes, op. cit., Appendix A, 15; Aikins to Macdonald, 11 December 1886. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 186, 77458-77459; Aikins to Macdonald, 16 April 1887. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 186, 77470-77471, cited in Regehr, op. cit., 117, 125; Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Manitoba, 1887, 28.

Before the provincial legislature met there was a federal general election held on February 22, 1887. Fearing the probability of an adverse result if they supported disallowance, the Liberal-Conservative candidates requested and secured the Prime Minister's permission to "pledge themselves against disallowance and to vote want of confidence if disallowance improperly exercised." Greenway campaigned on behalf of John A. Christie in Selkirk, stressing disallowance and a radical reform of the tariff as the key issues. Despite Greenway's efforts, Christie lost the constituency by just under 180 votes to T. M. Daly. Including Selkirk, Manitoba returned four Liberal-Conservatives and one Liberal in an election notable for its small recorded vote. A. W. Ross (Lisgar) won by acclamation, Joseph Royal easily defeated E. J. Cyr in Provencher, and W. B. Scarth defeated Hugh Sutherland in Winnipeg by eight votes. Scarth's position was different from the other candidates due to his close identification with the C. P. R. through the Canada North West Land Company. Sutherland was unable to use this to advantage since he had refused to vote against the C. P. R. monopoly in the Commons to protect his interest in the Hudson's Bay Railway. The only Liberal elected was Robert Watson (Marquette) who defeated Charles Boulton by 58 votes. The C. P. R. syndicate<sup>1</sup> had hoped for his defeat,<sup>1</sup> but there is no evidence that they ordered out the troops on election day.

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<sup>1</sup> W. B. Scarth to Macdonald, 11 January 1887. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 262, 119172; Macdonald to Scarth, 18 January 1887. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 262, 119176, cited in Regehr, op. cit., 119; J. A. Gemmill (ed.), Canadian Parliamentary Companion (Ottawa, 1887), 182, 184-185, 187; Van Horne to J. H. McTavish, 4 February 1887. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, vol. 3, Letterbook 20, 221; James A. Jackson, op. cit., 77-78; "Christie Chosen," Manitoba Free Press, 21 January 1887, 1; editorial, "The Contest," Ibid., 9 February 1887, 2; editorial, "Selkirk," Ibid., 16 February 1887, 2; Ibid., 21 February 1887, 1.

There is evidence that the C. P. R. was applying pressure on Premier Norquay shortly after the federal election. Van Horne wrote Norquay on February 24 that he was "greatly surprised to learn" that the law on railroad taxation had been repealed last session. Van Horne continued,

Mr. Aikins [J. A. M. Aikins, C. P. R. solicitor in Winnipeg] tells me the repealing clause was slipped in without your knowledge. I trust, if that is the case, that you will have it re-enacted and made retroactive so as to cover the past year. Not to do so would be clearly a breach of faith on the part of the Province which I am sure you would not countenance.<sup>1</sup>

Similar influence was used in a letter written by Van Horne to J. M. Kirchoffer, Conservative M. L. A. for Brandon West. After complaining about the repeal of the tax law, Van Horne stated that

. . . I feel safe in saying that this Company will not build another foot of Railway in Manitoba until this question of taxation is definitely and finally disposed of.<sup>2</sup>

Norquay also faced revolt within his party. E. P. Leacock, Conservative M. L. A. for Russell joined the "Conservative Anti-Disallowance Association" in late March, 1887. Members of the Association would support the provincial and federal government soon all questions except disallowance.<sup>3</sup> Corydon P. Brown, Conservative M. L. A. for Westbourne, was considering bolting the party "to further his own purposes."<sup>4</sup> While

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<sup>1</sup> Van Horne to Norquay, 24 February 1887. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, vol. 3, Letterbook 20, 490.

<sup>2</sup> Van Horne to J. M. Kirchoffer, 7 March 1887. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 3; Letterbook 20, 626; Van Horne to J. A. M. Aikins, 9 March 1887. P. A. C.; Ibid., vol. 3, Letterbook 20, 651, makes a similar statement.

<sup>3</sup> "Conservatives," Manitoba Free Press, 31 March 1887, 4, cited in James A. Jackson, op. cit., 79.

<sup>4</sup> Aikins to Macdonald, 7 April 1887. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 186, 77467-77468.

the reason was not explained, it might be conjectured that there was a rift among Cabinet members. Greenway had written on October 26, 1886, that according to Larivière, Brown was to be dropped from the Cabinet, Norquay would be provided for, and D. H. Garrison would become a Cabinet member.<sup>1</sup> Possibly C. P. Brown preferred to make a move on his own rather than be forced out to shift for himself. Norquay was able in any event to reunite his party before the session opened on April 14, partly through giving David Glass the Speakership, and partly through apparent promises to charter provincial railways.<sup>2</sup>

The Premier introduced two bills to charter railways on April 14, the first day of the session. These charters were for the Manitoba Central Railway Company and the Winnipeg and Southern Railway Company, both authorized to construct lines from Winnipeg to Emerson. The bills were rushed through a unanimous House, given Royal Assent, and forwarded to Ottawa for consideration by the Privy Council, all by April 19.<sup>3</sup> Norquay followed this the next day with a bill to provide for the construction of the Red River Valley Railway to be built from Winnipeg to West Lynne, just west of Emerson. This would be a provincial government project financed by an issue of \$1,000,000 in provincial bonds. This bill received Royal Assent on June 1, after easily passing the legislature. Should there be any

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Greenway to the Editor, Manitoba Free Press, 27 October 1886, 2, under title "Greenway vs. Larivière," and dated 26 October 1886.

<sup>2</sup> Aikins to Macdonald, 16 April 1887. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 186, 77470-77471, cited in Regehr, op. cit., 125.

<sup>3</sup> Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Manitoba, 1887, 3, 5-6, 11, 12.

difficulty encountered with the federal government, a resolution was moved by Greenway calling for a special session without pay to be assembled immediately. This was amended to make it at the pleasure of the Lieutenant Governor in Council.<sup>1</sup>

Despite his best efforts, Greenway was unable to gain any defectors to the Liberal party during the session. It appeared that Norquay was to remain in control of the situation, sustained by a solid 20 to 14 straight party vote. Norquay had managed to meet the demands of the Assembly even though under steady pressure from Van Horne on taxation matters. Probably the best assistance Norquay received was George Stephen's telegram of May 18 in which the C. P. R. President threatened to remove the main western shops of the railway from Winnipeg to Fort William. This caused the Assembly to support unanimously the Red River Valley Railway project and ended any hopes Van Horne had for re-enactment of special tax privileges.<sup>2</sup>

Once the legislature prorogued, the provincial government swiftly moved to build the Red River Valley Railway. The firm of Ryan and Haney were to construct the line and the first sod was turned on July 2. When the federal government disallowed the R. R. V. R. Act, Norquay moved to carry out the road as a public work under the Public Works Act of 1885. The C. P. R. obtained a temporary injunction against the Railway on behalf

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 13, 134; James A. Jackson, op. cit., 82.

<sup>2</sup> Van Horne to Norquay, 25 April 1887. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, vol. 5, Letterbook 21, 265; Van Horne to Norquay, 3 May 1887. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 5, Letterbook 21, 365; Van Horne to Norquay, 16 May 1887. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 5, Letterbook 21, 557; W. Whyte to Van Horne, 22 May 1887. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 5 Letterbook 21, 636; Stephen to Norquay, 18 May 1887, Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Manitoba, 1887, 65; Aikins to Macdonald, 20 June 1887. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 186, 77476-77477.

of a Mr. Browning of Montreal. This was overturned in October, but it was ruled, as well, that the railway could not be built as a public work within the meaning of the 1885 Act.<sup>1</sup>

The major problem was not legal, but financial. Through the efforts of Sir John A. Macdonald, the London money markets refused to touch Manitoba's bonds,<sup>2</sup> while the combined efforts of John C. Schultz and Van Horne ended any monetary advances from the Winnipeg City Council.<sup>3</sup> Van Horne was active on two other fronts as well. On one, he was arranging to shut down the Emerson line on the east side of the Red River, and on the other, he was presenting "little items" of \$100.00 to selected newspapers which supported the Company's position. Those favoured were the "Winnipeg Siftings" and an unidentified paper in Brandon, the latter arrangement carried out by T. M. Daly.<sup>4</sup> With these actions, the Red River Valley Railway project was ended for 1887 and the final blow was struck when John Thompson, Minister of Justice in Macdonald's government, obtained an injunction against the proposed railway's crossing of Dominion lands.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> James A. Jackson, op. cit., 88-93.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Macdonald to John Rose, 25 June 1887, in Joseph Pope (ed.), op. cit., 403-404.

<sup>3</sup> J. C. Schultz to Macdonald, 25 October 1887. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 264, I20010-I20011; Van Horne to Macdonald, 9 October 1887. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M 2264, Letterbook, 23, 367.

<sup>4</sup> Van Horne to Allen Manvel, 2 August 1887. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, vol. 5, Letterbook 22, 596; Van Horne to Manvel, 23 October 1887. P.A.C., Ibid., M 2264, Letterbook 23, 618; Van Horne to W. Whyte, 21 October 1887. P.A.C., Ibid., M 2265, Letterbook 23, 596; Private, Van Horne to J. J. Clarke, 11 November 1887. P.A.C., Ibid., M 2265, Letterbook 23, 903; Private, Van Horne to T. M. Daly, 13 December 1887. P.A.C., Ibid., M 2265, Letterbook 24, 191.

<sup>5</sup> "Dominion Succeeds," The Morning Call, 14 November 1887, 4, cited in James A. Jackson, op. cit., 98.

What brought down the Norquay administration was the request of E. P. Leacock, Conservative M. L. A. for Russell, for a special session to consider the Red River Valley Railway and the Hudson's Bay Railway bonds. It was believed that Leacock's motive was to bring about the resignations of Norquay and Larivière. The issue was whether the government was correct in turning over any bonds to the Hudson's Bay Railway contingent on its land grant being received from the federal government. The Ottawa government refused to hand over the land grant and amidst accusations between the provincial and federal governments, Norquay and Larivière resigned on December 22, 1887. D. H. Garrison (Minnedosa East) was the unanimous choice as Norquay's successor.<sup>1</sup>

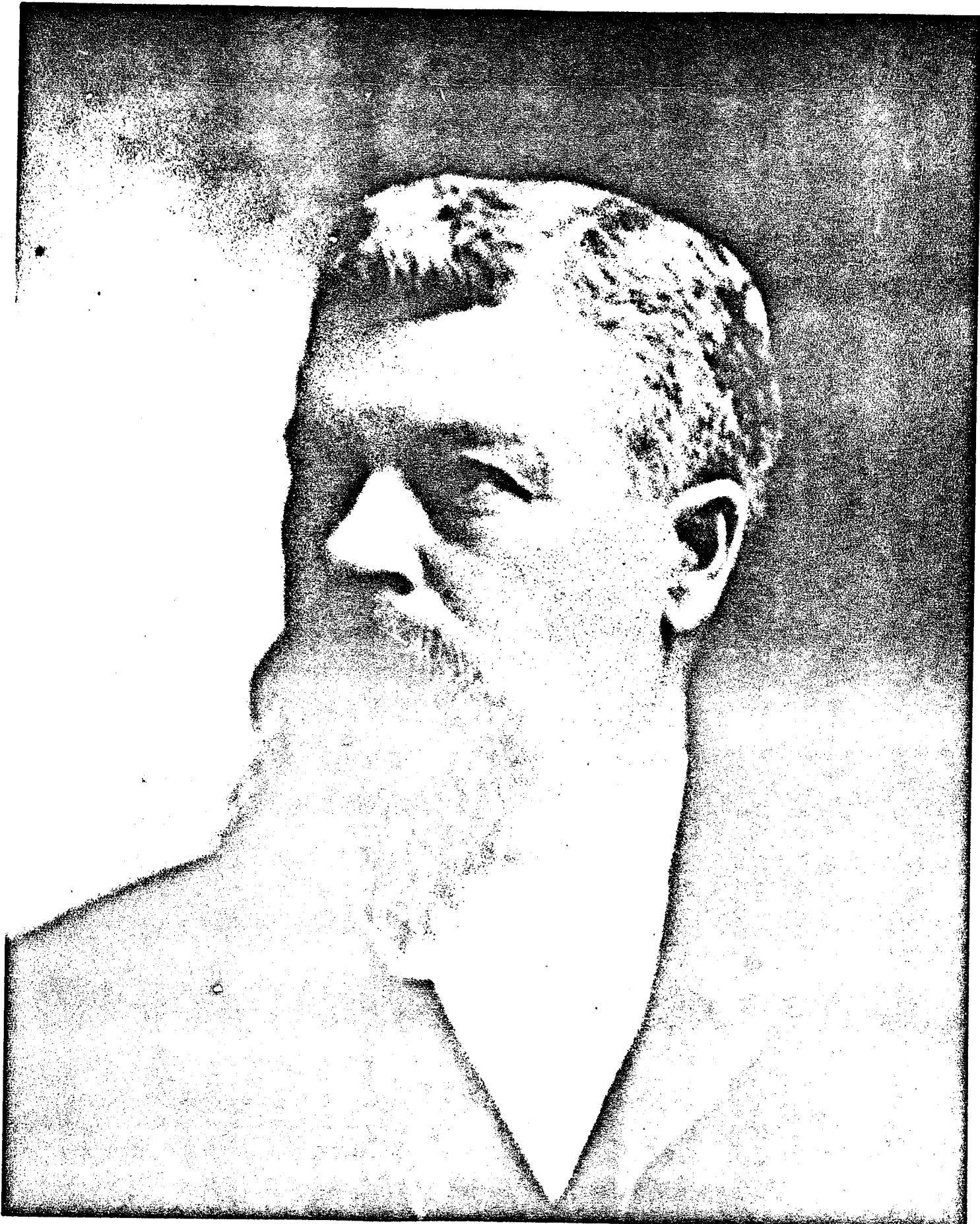
Harrison's administration was brief. He appointed Joseph Burke (St. Francois Xavier) to the Provincial Secretary and called a by-election for Assiniboia, as well, when Alexander Murray resigned that seat. The Independent Conservative Ness was opposed by the Independent Duncan MacArthur. Despite the efforts of the C. P. R., MacArthur won the contest.<sup>2</sup> The contest in St. Francois Xavier between Burke for the Conservatives and F. H. Francis for the Liberals was considered crucial. In that campaign there were numerous references made as to what the French might expect if the Liberals won. It is almost certain, even though schools were not specifically mentioned, that Joseph Martin gave at least tentative assurances that the rights of the French would be respected by a Liberal government.<sup>3</sup> The outcome was an 86 vote margin of victory

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<sup>1</sup> James A. Jackson, op. cit., 99-103.

<sup>2</sup> Van Horne to Macdonald, 3 January 1888. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M 2265, Letterbook 24, 405; Joseph Royal to J. C. Schultz, 3 January 1888. P.A.M., Schultz, Papers, Box 1A, 317.

<sup>3</sup> "Their Game Spoiled," Manitoba Free Press, 9 January 1888, 4.



for the Liberal, F. H. Francis. Even as the by-election was being held, the Legislature met. But the defeat of Burke caused Harrison to resign the Conservative party leadership and the Premiership at a bitter caucus meeting the evening of January 13. On the following Monday, January 16, the House met, was adjourned, and Lieutenant Governor Aikins called on Thomas Greenway to form a government. Between the 16th and 19th, Greenway constructed his first Cabinet, issued an election address, and prepared for the necessary by-elections.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway had come to Manitoba as a speculator in land and a politician. Through his business arrangement with M. C. Cameron and later R. J. Cartwright, he had succeeded in establishing himself financially. When the land boom collapsed, Greenway turned to farming and created a substantial operation of 1600 acres by 1898. Although his townsite promotions would have been more remunerative had the Southwest Colonization Railway located on them, Greenway was able to devote more time to provincial and federal politics because of his reasonably sure financial standing.

Through his land speculations, Greenway became acquainted with many prominent individuals who later became involved in politics. As well, Greenway's settlement parties assisted in promoting his political viewpoints. As Greenway learned the needs of the settlers in southwestern Manitoba, he responded to them and began to develop a rural power base which looked to him for leadership. Stressing the provincial rights issues of better

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<sup>1</sup> Private. Royal to Schultz, 16 January 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891; telegram, H. J. Dexter to Greenway, 13 January 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 24; Private, J. C. Aikins to Greenway, 16 January 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 26; "An Address to the Electors of the Electoral Division of Mountain." P.A.M., Ibid., 267; James A. Jackson, op. cit., 104-105; J. W. Dafoe, op. cit., 37-40. The construction of the Cabinet and the involvement with railways, the Manitoba Schools Question, and the July, 1888, election will be considered in detail in the following chapters.

financial terms, opposition to disallowance of provincial railway legislation, the need for increased railway lines throughout the province, and economy in government, Greenway strengthened his hold in southwestern Manitoba.

When his leadership of the Liberal party was challenged by James Fisher in 1885-1886, Greenway was supported by the rural delegates at the Liberal convention in January, 1886. Despite his rural strength, Greenway was unable to develop a coalition with the urban wing of the party, particularly the Winnipeg segment led by Fisher, Luxton, D. H. McMillan and others. Consequently, Greenway relied on his secure rural power base for support. When he began his twelve years as Premier of Manitoba in January, 1888, Greenway attempted to unite the rural and urban wings of his party through Cabinet appointments. In making these appointments and in the policies he pursued, Greenway was to create a new Dominion-Provincial conflict while ending an old one.

### CHAPTER III

#### DISALLOWANCE, SCANDAL, AND RAPPRO~~GEMENT~~MENT

When Thomas Greenway became Premier of Manitoba in January, 1888, one of his objectives was to end the federal government's policy of disallowing Manitoba's railway charters. After achieving success in this undertaking, Greenway then attempted to obtain railway competition to combat the Canadian Pacific Railway's freight rates on wheat. The ensuing charges of bribery and scandal and the failure of the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway to build extension lines throughout the Province, eventually led to a rapproachment with William C. Van Horne and the Canadian Pacific Railway, which lasted as long as Clifford Sifton was a member of Greenway's Cabinet.

Thomas Greenway was called upon by Lieutenant Governor J. A. Aikins to form a government following the resignation of D. H. Garrison's administration on January 14, 1888.<sup>1</sup> The Legislature met on January 16, but was adjourned to the 19th to allow Greenway to select his Cabinet.<sup>2</sup> His Cabinet selections seem to have been made for the purpose of gaining urban support, particularly in the business community, of giving some regard to geographical representation, and of obtaining a French-Canadian representative. Greenway's Cabinet was composed of five members with himself, at the age of forty-nine, as Premier of Manitoba and Commissioner of Agriculture, Statistics and Health. Joseph Martin, a thirty-six year old lawyer from

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<sup>1</sup> "Harrison Ousted," Manitoba Free Press, 14 January 1888, 4.

<sup>2</sup> "Premier Greenway," Ibid., 17 January 1888, 4.

Portage la Prairie was given the position of Attorney General while the Minister of Public Works was to be James A. Smart, a thirty year old hardware merchant from Brandon.<sup>1</sup> Lyman Melvin Jones, forty-five year old Winnipeg representative of A. Harris, Son and Company, was selected as Treasurer. Jones, who was in his second term as mayor of Winnipeg, had been an alderman in 1886 and had served as Vice-President of the Winnipeg Board of Trade.<sup>2</sup> Greenway chose Jones to represent Winnipeg business interests, although he had not been close to Jones and did not know him well at the time. Jones was the only Cabinet appointee who did not have a seat in the House.<sup>3</sup>

After A. F. Martin refused the position of Provincial Secretary "for different reasons beyond my control and which prevent me to accept [sic] your kind offer under the present circumstances,"<sup>4</sup> Greenway turned to James Emile Pierre Prendergast, who accepted the position. Prendergast was a thirty year old lawyer, who had first been elected for La Vérendrye in July, 1885.<sup>5</sup> Joseph Royal, Conservative M. P. for Provencher, writing to Senator John C. Schultz, on January 16, stated,

Such is the distrust around me that the so called French party is completely demoralized and divided. Our men disgusted with Norq. Lariv. [sic] are ready to join Greenway if the latter is only smart enough -- which I dont [sic] know.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Editorial, "The New Government," Ibid., 19 January 1888, 2.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Gemmill (ed.), Canadian Parliamentary Companion (Ottawa, 1889), 339.

<sup>3</sup> "Three Winners," Manitoba Free Press, 11 May 1888, 4.

<sup>4</sup> A. F. Martin to Greenway, undated. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 9. The location of this letter in the Greenway Papers indicates that it was for January, 1888, and not for any subsequent Cabinet vacancies.

<sup>5</sup> Gemmill, op. cit., 343.

<sup>6</sup> Private. Joseph Royal to J. C. Schultz, 16 January 1888. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891.



Schultz wrote Prime Minister John A. Macdonald the same day that he believed Prendergast had the support of the clergy and would have Thomas Gelley (Conservative, Cartier) and Roger Marion (Conservative, Carillon) with him.<sup>1</sup> Although there is no documentary evidence to uphold the contention, apparently Greenway realized the possibility of gaining the votes of some Conservative French Canadian M.L.A.s through the appointment of Prendergast, as the latter was, in fact, able to bring Gelley with him in support of Greenway's administration. When the House met on January 19, W. F. Luxton announced the Cabinet selections. A week later the House was adjourned to March 1 to permit the Cabinet members to seek re-election, nominations being set for February 9 with the elections a week later.<sup>2</sup>

The ministerial by-elections were vital to Greenway's continuance in power. Party standings in the Legislature prior to these elections were fourteen Conservatives, seventeen Liberals, and three Independents. The seventeen Liberals included the four Cabinet members who had seats along with the expected support of Thomas Gelley and the just elected F. H. Francis.<sup>3</sup> The Independents were Duncan MacArthur and two elected nominal Conservatives, Edward P. Leacock and C. P. Brown. The latter two were not predictable supporters of the Liberals or adamant Independents. Leacock's primary concern was the Hudson's Bay Railway. Brown wanted a

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Schultz to Macdonald, 16 January 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 264, 120018-120020.

<sup>2</sup> "They Change Sides," Manitoba Free Press, 20 January 1888, 4; "No Dissolution," Ibid., 26 January 1888, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Francis had won St. Francois-Xavier on January 13 for the Liberals, defeating Joseph Burke who was seeking re-election after being appointed Provincial Secretary in D. H. Garrison's Cabinet. See, "Francis Wins," Ibid., 14 January 1888, 4; for party standings, see John L. Holmes, "Factors Affecting Politics in Manitoba: A Study of the Provincial Elections, 1870-99" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1936), Appendix A, 12.

coalition government that would accept a compromise on disallowance,<sup>1</sup>

and MacArthur had Manitoba Central Railway interests to promote.<sup>2</sup>

The by-elections became involved with federal interests and created realignments in local politics. Through William B. Scarth, Conservative M. P. for Winnipeg, William Whyte, C. P. R. agent in Winnipeg, and William Forbes Alloway, Winnipeg banker and railway promoter, negotiations were carried on with Thomas Greenway concerning disallowance of Manitoba railway charters. If Greenway would accept 1890 or 1891 as a compromise for the ending of the federal government's policy of disallowance, there would be no opposition in the by-elections.<sup>3</sup> Hugh Sutherland kept Greenway informed of the activities of Robert Rogers, his prospective opponent in Mountain constituency.

In concert with Alloway, Sutherland was attempting to arrange an agreement on financial aid to the province and no opposition in the by-elections in return for Liberal acceptance of the 1891 compromise on disallowance. The Hudson's Bay Railway promoter promised that Rogers

<sup>1</sup> C. P. Brown to Macdonald, 2 December 1887. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 451, 224151-224153, cited in T. D. Regehr, "The National Railway and Manitoba Railway Legislation, 1879-1888" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1963), 139-140.

<sup>2</sup> Duncan MacArthur to Greenway, 25 January 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 67. Duncan MacArthur (1840-1907), manager of the Commercial Bank of Manitoba, was a director of the Manitoba and Northwest Land Company, stockholder in the Manitoba and Northwestern Railway Company, and promoter for the Hudson's Bay Railway as well as the M. C. R. See, Pioneers and Early Citizens of Manitoba: A Dictionary of Manitoba Biography (Winnipeg, 1971), 128. There was no biographical date on J.B. McArthur, a Winnipeg lawyer, who was the solicitor for the M. C. R.

<sup>3</sup> Hugh Sutherland to Greenway, 25 January 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 72; Private and Confidential. Sutherland to Greenway, 30 January 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 95.

would receive no financial aid from him.<sup>1</sup> Although John A. Macdonald had made arrangements for Roger's election expenses, estimated at \$2,000, through George Stephen of the C. P. R., at the request of Scarth, the effort was called off.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, Vice-President William C. Van Horne and President George Stephen of the C. P. R. were rejecting the proposed compromise arrangement, regarding Scarth's solution as "absurd."<sup>3</sup> Thomas M. Daly, Conservative M. P. for Selkirk, had rejected any opposition to James A. Smart in Brandon, even as Scarth was making his proposals.<sup>4</sup> The immediate outcome was the return by acclamation of Greenway and Smart,<sup>5</sup> but there was no indication as to how Rogers was pacified.

<sup>1</sup> Hugh Sutherland to Greenway, 25 January 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 72; Private and Confidential. Sutherland to Greenway, 30 January 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 95.

<sup>2</sup> Private and Confidential. Macdonald to Scarth, 20 January 1888. P.A.C., Scarth Papers, M-752; telegram (in code, deciphered), Scarth to Macdonald, 23 January 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 262, 119401; Private and Confidential. Scarth to Macdonald, 27 January 1888. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 262, 119406-119412; Private. Scarth to Macdonald, 31 January 1888. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 262, 119417-119418; Private and Confidential. Macdonald to Scarth, 1 February 1888. P.A.C., Scarth Papers, M-752; Scarth to Macdonald, 3 February 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers vol. 262, 119425-119427; Private and Confidential. Macdonald to Scarth, 4 February 1888. P.A.C., Scarth Papers, M-752.

<sup>3</sup> Van Horne to William Whyte, 8 February 1888. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M-2265, Letterbook 2<sup>4</sup>, 753; Private. Stephen to Macdonald, 15 February 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 271, 123835-123836.

<sup>4</sup> Private and Confidential. Macdonald to Scarth, 1 February 1888. P.A.C., Scarth Papers, M-752; Private. Macdonald to Schultz, 1 February 1888. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891.

<sup>5</sup> "Will Not be Opposed," Manitoba Free Press, 28 January 1888, 4.

To ensure his own election, Greenway engaged in duplicity. He entertained the compromise scheme as proposed by the interested individuals, but shortly after he was elected he became emphatic about going on with construction of the Red River Valley Railway as a provincial government project.<sup>1</sup> The Manitoba Premier was also solidifying his support in another direction. Greenway, after assuring the Manitoba Central Railway promoters of his interest in their success, wrote the following letter to J. B. MacArthur, solicitor of the promoters:

Referring to your letter of the 16th inst., I have no objection to say to you that my policy will be to hand over the Red River Valley Road as it now stands to a Company prepared to carry it to completion, and which will also be able to give connection with Portage la Prairie.

I acknowledge the claims of the Manitoba Central Railway Company to precedence in the matter of legislation, as I think its efforts in the past to secure competition in railways has been to the public interest. I have therefore, no hesitation in saying that I will recommend the passage of the Act to incorporate that Company, and that, if disallowed, I will if desired, re-enact it if necessary to re-assemble the Legislature in order to do so.<sup>2</sup>

Although the letter was vague and had loopholes, the M. C. R. promoters accepted it as a bona fide expression of Greenway's intentions and were prepared to assist in ending the federal government's policy of disallowance.

Having drawn the M. C. R. and Hudson's Bay Railway interests to his support, Greenway still was concerned that little progress was being made on disallowance. He wanted a redistribution of provincial constituencies

<sup>1</sup> "Solid for Martin," Ibid., 15 February 1888, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Private and Confidential. Greenway to J. B. McArthur, 16 January 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11938. This is a collection of documents entitled "Correspondence Relating to the Manitoba Central Railway." The documents filed after number 11900 to the end of the Greenway Papers are significant as they contain the key letters received or written while Greenway was Premier and were kept separate from other correspondence.

before a general election was called, but the efforts to defeat Joseph Martin and James Prendergast could force his hand.<sup>1</sup> If they were elected, Greenway would have an opportunity to enact a redistribution measure which would provide a stronger Liberal party to oppose disallowance. Even as he considered the prospects, Greenway was informed by his friend, Frank E. Burnham of Emerson, that the C. P. R. Railway monopoly in Manitoba was to be ended soon. Burnham had learned this from a friend who had discussed the topic with a federal Cabinet Minister while in Ottawa.<sup>2</sup> Possibly as a result, Greenway became convinced of the necessity for building the Red River Valley Railway. Speaking at a meeting in Portage la Prairie on February 15, the Premier declared that his government planned to go on with construction on the R. R. V. R. and promised a connecting road to Portage la Prairie by October 1.<sup>3</sup> The following day Joseph Martin won the Portage la Prairie riding by 128 votes while James Prendergast was carrying La Verendrye by 164.<sup>4</sup>

Even before the votes were cast, events were moving towards a solution to the C. P. R.'s monopoly in Manitoba. Stephen wrote Prime Minister John A. Macdonald that there would be "no peace in the Nor [sic] West" until the monopoly clause was abandoned and, "it is not possible to hold it longer without great injury to both the Country and the Company."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Private. Macdonald to Stephen, 8 February 1888. P.A.C., Stephen Papers, 229-230.

<sup>2</sup> Frank E. Burnham to Greenway, 6 February 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 125.

<sup>3</sup> "Solid for Martin," Manitoba Free Press, 15 February 1888, 1.

<sup>4</sup> "Only 128," Ibid., 17 February 1888, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Private. Stephen to Macdonald, 15 February 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 271, 123835-123836.

W. F. Alloway was in Ottawa trying to help devise a satisfactory compromise, and was in close consultation with Macdonald as Sir John considered Alloway the best avenue for approaching Greenway.<sup>1</sup> Probably as a result of the by-election victories, Alloway telegraphed Greenway on February 17 that he "Had hour pleasant conversation to be continued Monday."<sup>2</sup> There was no communication sent on Monday and it was not until February 28 that Alloway again telegraphed Greenway. The delay was caused by the initiation of serious negotiations between Macdonald and George Stephen. The C. P. R. President agreed to discuss a guarantee of interest on \$19,000,000 of fifty year bonds at four per cent, the money to be used for elevators on the prairies and at Fort William to fend off the expected invasion of American railways. On February 28, Macdonald, possibly at the urging of Alloway, sent a telegram to Stephen asking him to "come up tonight or early tomorrow about lease of line to Boundary at Gretna or Emerson to Province."<sup>3</sup> The same day Alloway sent a telegram to Greenway, informing the Premier "Final interview to take place tomorrow cant [sic] venture an opinion as to result."<sup>4</sup> On February 29, Alloway was informed of the impending Macdonald-Stephen meetings and telegraphed Greenway:

<sup>1</sup> Private and Confidential. Macdonald to Scarth, 5 July 1889. P.A.C., Scarth Papers, M-752.

<sup>2</sup> Telegram (in code, deciphered), Alloway to Greenway, 17 February 1888. P.A.M. Greenway Papers, 204.

<sup>3</sup> Confidential. Stephen to Macdonald, 19 February 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 271, 123838-123839; Private. Stephen to Macdonald, 25 February 1888. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 271, 123841-123847; telegram, Macdonald to Stephen, 28 February 1888. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 271, 123879.

<sup>4</sup> Telegram, Alloway to Greenway, 28 February 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 245.

Had satisfactory interview today with Bank leading member of Government. Think an arrangement will be arrived at whereby we will reach the boundary middle build to Portage [.] Stephen sent for in meanwhile persue [sic] moderate course at Winnipeg as much may depend on that being done [.] Prepare to come, you will likely be wanted.<sup>1</sup>

When Alloway's telegram was received, Greenway was in a stronger position politically than before the ministerial by-elections. Two Conservatives, C. E. Hamilton (Shoal Lake) and D. H. Wilson (North Dufferin) had resigned their seats and were intent on moving to St. Paul, Minnesota, to practise law and medicine, respectively.<sup>2</sup> Their resignations meant Greenway could meet the Legislature with a majority of two and winning the two by-elections set for March 11 and 12 would assure a majority regardless of the three Independents. Lyman Jones was the Liberal candidate in Shoal Lake while Rodmond P. Roblin was the party's nominee in North Dufferin.<sup>3</sup>

Greenway became more confident of his position and he emphasized the Liberal party's pledges as outlined in his "Address to the Electors of the Electoral Division of Mountain."<sup>4</sup> Elected by acclamation, Greenway used his campaign address at various other electoral meetings to outline government policy. Speaking at a banquet in his honour at Cartwright on February 20, Greenway stressed the need for economy in government, promised redistribution of electoral divisions and manhood suffrage, and suggested

<sup>1</sup> Telegram, Alloway to Greenway, 29 February 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 250.

<sup>2</sup> "Will Turn Yanks," Manitoba Free Press, 4 February 1888, 4; "Shoal Lake Vacant," Ibid., 20 February 1888, 4.

<sup>3</sup> "Jones and Dinsmore," Ibid., 5 March 1888, 1; C. J. Mickle to Greenway, 27 February 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 240; L. M. Jones to Greenway, 2 March 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 264; C. J. Mickle to Greenway, 2 March 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 265.

<sup>4</sup> P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 267; Manitoba Free Press, 22 January 1888, 2.

possible aid for the Hudson's Bay Railway project. The major statement was that the Red River Valley Railway would be completed by October 1<sup>st</sup> and the Premier hinted strongly that opposition from Ottawa would be met by an appeal to the provincial electorate by his government to end the policy of disallowance.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway's confidence was apparent in his continuing negotiations with the Manitoba Central Railway promoters. On February 27 they submitted a proposal claiming that their past efforts in opposing disallowance entitled them to consideration from the government. The promoters stated that they would build a line of railway from the international boundary to Winnipeg and then west to Portage la Prairie.<sup>2</sup> In a letter of February 29 to Thomas C. Scoble, Greenway replied that,

I just received your proposition re Manitoba Central Railway matters, yesterday, and have laid the matter before my colleagues, who fully recognize the work done on behalf of the Province by the Company which you represent. The Government will be pleased to assist in passing certain legislation which you require to revive the Manitoba Central Railway Company's charter, with certain amendments. With regard to the construction of the R. R. V. R. the Government have decided that in order to ensure its early completion it is advisable to undertake the work themselves. When that is done it may be possible for us to negotiate with your Company with regard to the construction of the line to Portage la Prairie, securing the Western connection which you desire.<sup>3</sup>

It was at this juncture that Greenway received Alloway's "prepare to come" telegram. The Premier rejected the advice to pursue a moderate course and telegraphed Alloway,

<sup>1</sup> "A Great Success," Manitoba Free Press, 21 February 1888, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas C. Scoble to Greenway, 27 February 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11938. "Correspondence Relating to the Manitoba Central Railway."

<sup>3</sup> Greenway to T. C. Scoble, 29 February 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 11938.

Message received [.] Govt [sic] decide to build Red River Valley themselves and possibly make other arrangements for building to Portage [.] I think [sic] it will be impossible for me to get away during session.<sup>1</sup>

All that can be surmised is that Alloway had interests in the Manitoba Central Railway project or expected that if the provincial government did not expend the money for it, there would be the possibility that the funds could be secured for the Hudson's Bay Railway project. His close relationship with Hugh Sutherland suggests the latter. As a result, Alloway must have had a hurried meeting with John A. Macdonald for the following telegram was sent to Greenway by Alloway late on the 29th,

I have just received the following letter from Sir John Macdonald [sic] -- With reference to our conversation of this morning I desire to repeat that the Government here is desirous of having all matters between the Dominion and Manitoba Including the disallowance question Discussed and if possible arranged. As verbal communication is more likely to produce satisfactory results than lengthened correspondence I would suggest that Mr. Greenway should visit Ottawa at early day. I shall take care that a representative of the C P R [sic] shall be in Ottawa at the time of Mr. Greenway's [sic] visit. - Think it advisable you should act upon the suggestion made. By doing so you will show that every effort has been exhausted to secure the rights of the province before taking other action. An adjournment of the House for fifteen days should suffice. Better bring Martin and another colleague. Answer immediately.<sup>2</sup>

Greenway responded by requesting Robert Watson, Liberal M. P. for Marquette, to verify the request for a conference. When assured that a conference was desired,<sup>3</sup> Greenway met the provincial legislature on March 1 and

<sup>1</sup> Telegram, Greenway to Alloway, ? February 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 106. Although an exact date was not given, from the nature of the telegram and Greenway's letter to Scoble of 29 February 1888, this was the proper date.

<sup>2</sup> Telegram, Alloway to Greenway, 29 February 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 249.

<sup>3</sup> Greenway to The Honourable Secretary of State, 13 March 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 11939; telegram, Alloway and Robert Watson to Greenway, 1 March 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 259.

moved its adjournment to March 16. This was necessary, the Premier stated,

for the reason that the government entertain hopes that in the meantime, the differences that exist between the Federal Government and the Government of Manitoba, including the vital question of disallowance, will be arranged.

Greenway assured John Norquay that when the delegation returned, they would not have "yielded an inch. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

The Manitoba delegation was Thomas Greenway and Joseph Martin, although the negotiating was done largely by Greenway as Martin was "indisposed" much of their stay in Ottawa.<sup>2</sup> The Manitobans arrived in Ottawa on March 6 and had a general meeting with the Executive Council on March 8. When no further discussions were held, Greenway sent a memorandum to the Honourable Secretary of State, J. A. Chapleau, protesting the inaction and pointing out that it would be necessary to leave Ottawa on the 16 to arrive in Winnipeg before the legislature convened on the 22nd.<sup>3</sup> Greenway was probably becoming impatient at the delay, but wanted to put the onus on the federal government should the discussions end in failure. The result was another meeting with Macdonald, arranged through Alloway, but the outcome was the same. In a memorandum of March 16, Greenway again protested the delay in reaching an agreement since he had granted Macdonald's request and had adjourned the Manitoba Legislature for another eleven days instead of one week. Greenway also stated that in a conversation with George Stephen, he had learned that no propositions had been made to Stephen concerning the errand of the Manitoba delegation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Adjourned Again," Manitoba Free Press, 2 March 1888, 4.

<sup>2</sup> See, "Preparing Papers," Ibid., 24 March 1888, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Greenway to The Honourable Secretary of State, 13 March 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11939.

<sup>4</sup> Private. Greenway to Macdonald, 14 March 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 119, 48584 and P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1294; Greenway to the Honourable Secretary of State, 16 March 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11940.

What had developed was an apparent deadlock over related aspects of the disallowance question. To Greenway the sole reason for being in Ottawa was to end the federal government's use of disallowance to prevent a Manitoba railway being chartered that would run to the International boundary. Macdonald wanted to maintain the C. P. R.'s monopoly in the West and wanted to delay yielding it as long as possible. He was concerned as well about the large monetary request of the C. P. R. and preferred to find another source of funds, besides the federal government, to aid the Company. Macdonald had suggested to Greenway that Manitoba lease or purchase the Emerson Branch from the C. P. R., but the Premier understood that Macdonald had never mentioned it to Stephen.<sup>1</sup> Stephen had written Macdonald on March 17, that in a five minute conversation with Greenway at Russell House in Ottawa, he had said that if the restriction against American lines into Manitoba and the Northwest was ever removed, there was an obvious solution. That was, Stephen continued,

to utilize, for that purpose, our line from Emerson to Winnipeg instead of throwing away money in building a useless third line from Winnipeg to the boundary; that a perpetual lease of our line from Winnipeg to Emerson would accomplish all that appeared to be desired, and, at the same time, avoid useless waste of capital. In all of this Mr. Greenway appeared to agree.<sup>2</sup>

This must have reassured Macdonald, as he had written Stephen the previous day that "I had told him [Greenway] of our conversations on the

<sup>1</sup> Stephen to Macdonald, 15 March 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 271, 123855; Private. Confidential. Stephen to Macdonald, 16 March 1888. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 271, 123861-123864; Macdonald to Stephen, 16 March 1888. P.A.C., Stephen Papers, 231-233.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen to Macdonald, 17 March 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 271, 123883-123884.

subject and that you had said that you would sell or lease as part of any negotiations for a surrender of monopoly." Macdonald reminded the C. P. R. President, "We had many conversations on the subject and you also had one or more with Langevin and Pope."<sup>1</sup> Stephen received this letter on March 17, but after his letter recounting the conversation with Greenway at Russell House had been written and sent out. He wrote a second letter that day to make certain that there was no misunderstanding about the first letter. Stephen wrote that,

I wish now distinctly to state that I did not say that you had never spoken to me about his purchasing or leasing, the Emerson line; and made no allusion, in any way, to the fact that you had, some days previously, telegraphed me to come up to Ottawa, for the purpose of arranging for a lease of that line to the Manitoba Government; when I told you that a lease of that line was not to be thought of except as a part of a general settlement of the whole question. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Greenway wanted no part of the Emerson Branch. On March 17 he was quoted as being "perfectly satisfied of the ability of the Government to complete the road [R. R. V. R.], and Manitobans need have no apprehension under any circumstances."<sup>3</sup> Greenway's stand was influenced by Liberal victories in the Shoal Lake and North Dufferin by-elections.<sup>4</sup> Assured of a majority in the Legislature, particularly on the disallowance issue, Greenway was prepared to exert pressure for a settlement on his terms. In a memorandum

<sup>1</sup> Macdonald to Stephen, 16 March 1888. P.A.C., Stephen Papers, 231-233.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen to Macdonald, 17 March 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 271, 123866-123867.

<sup>3</sup> "Settling by Bonus," Manitoba Free Press, 17 March 1888, 1.

<sup>4</sup> "Our Bird Again," Ibid., 12 March 1888, 1; "Roblin Gets There," Ibid., 13 March 1888, 1; "The Reply Passed," Ibid., 17 April, 1888, 4.

of March 19, to be delivered after he had departed from Ottawa that evening, Greenway asserted that,

If the blessings of Providence are to be counteracted by a grasping railway monopoly through the conivance of Government, it will be impossible to predict the result, and the undersigned and his colleagues in the Government of Manitoba desire to be absolved from any responsibility for that which may occur from the failure of negotiations which have inspired in the people of Manitoba most fervent hopes of a speedy and favourable settlement of the leading question at issue.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway expected that his abrupt departure would produce results as he went to Toronto and then to London and Exeter to visit relatives and friends, rather than return directly to Winnipeg.<sup>2</sup> Macdonald's reaction confirmed Greenway's expectations. The Prime Minister sent a telegram to Greenway at The Queen's in Toronto advising that matters were progressing and requesting the Premier to return for a few days.<sup>3</sup> Greenway replied from London that he "Would try and arrange to wait two or three days longer if then could get definite answer on the all important question [.]"<sup>4</sup> Macdonald sent a telegram to Greenway to Exeter, assuring him that a complete settlement would take time but the "principle of adjustment can be agreed on in a few days[.]"<sup>5</sup> This was sufficient for Greenway, who left London on March 21, arrived at Ottawa on the 23rd, and met with Macdonald at the

<sup>1</sup> Greenway to The Honourable Secretary of State, 19 March 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11941; Thomas C. Scoble to Greenway, 20 March 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 283.

<sup>2</sup> "They Get a Move On," Manitoba Free Press, 21 March 1888, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Telegram, Macdonald to Greenway, 20 March 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11944.

<sup>4</sup> Telegram, Greenway to Macdonald, 20 March 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 11945; P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 119, 48586.

<sup>5</sup> Telegram, Macdonald to Greenway, 21 March 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11946.

Privy Council office the same afternoon.<sup>1</sup>

An agreement had been reached between Macdonald and Stephen whereby the latter accepted a federal guarantee of the 3 1/2 per cent interest on \$15,000,000 of the C. P. R.'s bonds. There were no restrictions on how it was to be spent or where.<sup>2</sup> What remained for Stephen was to convince Greenway that the lease or purchase of the Emerson Branch would best serve Manitoba's interests. A report from the Manitoba Free Press Ottawa correspondent suggested that the Red River Valley Railway was to be abandoned in favour of leasing or purchasing one of the two C. P. R. branch lines to the border.<sup>3</sup>

Greenway made no comment, but proceeded to Montreal for a meeting with Stephen, William C. Van Horne, and Donald Smith about the Emerson Branch. At a two hour meeting on the 26th, Van Horne offered the line for purchase at \$1,000,000 or a perpetual lease at \$50,000 a year. Greenway countered by stating that Manitoba already had \$250,000 invested in the Red River Valley Railway. Van Horne offered to take it over, allowing the full price for it to be applied against the Emerson Branch. At this Greenway backed down, saying he could not make a definite arrangement. Once outside the meeting Greenway was reported as saying, "to protect Manitoba's interests against railway combination in the future, he was of the opinion the province should own a road of its own to the boundary."<sup>4</sup> It seemed that

<sup>1</sup> Telegram, Greenway to Macdonald, 21 March 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11947; Greenway to Macdonald, 23 March 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 11948 and P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 119, 48589; Macdonald to Greenway, 23 March 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11949.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Stephen to Macdonald, 20 March 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 271, 123888-123891.

<sup>3</sup> "Preparing Papers," Manitoba Free Press, 24 March 1888, 1.

<sup>4</sup> "Stocks Take a Jump," Ibid., 26 March 1888, 1; "A Million Too Much", Ibid., 27 March 1888, 1.

the Premier was leaving the door open for further negotiations, but he had made no proposal and would proceed with the Red River Valley Railway as he made clear upon returning to Manitoba in early April.<sup>1</sup>

Returning to Ottawa, Greenway finally received what he had come to Ottawa for in early March. In a letter of March 30 to Greenway, Prime Minister Macdonald wrote,

As you are obliged to leave Ottawa soon, I take this opportunity of saying that there is a good prospect of legislation by the Federal Parliament during this session, which will almost if not entirely remove the reasons for the exercise of the power of disallowance of your Provincial legislation with regard to railways.

Macdonald continued on to defend use of the policy in the past. While the C. P. R. would make large expenditures to transport the expected large crop of the coming season, the Prime Minister conceded "the administration will not advise the disallowance of a bill similar in principle to the Act for the construction of the Red River Valley railway." Macdonald still hoped that everything would be settled without Parliamentary action as evidenced by his conclusion, "Should the C. P. R. branch railway to Emerson be bought or leased by Manitoba, no legislation will I suppose be required."<sup>2</sup> Greenway replied the same day, expressing satisfaction with the new disallowance policy. He understood the monopoly clause was to be abrogated and he approved such an agreement, concluding,

I can understand that as such an arrangement requires legislation to carry it into effect you do not feel in a position to give me any writing upon that subject but I may say that I am entirely satisfied with the verbal

<sup>1</sup> "Welcome Home," Ibid., 5 April 1888, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonald to Greenway, 30 March 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11950 and P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 527, Letterbook 24, 457-458.

assurances given me by you that such an arrangement will be carried out.<sup>1</sup>

There was no mention of the Emerson Branch and Greenway left Ottawa with what he wanted -- the end of disallowance of railway charters -- and without a definite commitment to the C. P. R.

Greenway and Martin triumphantly returned to Manitoba by way of Toronto, Chicago, Minneapolis, and Emerson. From Emerson to Winnipeg, they made speeches proclaiming the end of disallowance and claiming credit for the accomplishment. Greenway stated that there were three wealthy railways which wanted to build into Manitoba and everyone in real estate could add 25 per cent to the value of property. He stated at both Emerson and Winnipeg that his government intended to build the Red River Valley Railway. As for the Emerson Branch, Greenway held that \$1,000,000 was too much for a line that had cost \$840,000 and which was worth only \$500,000.<sup>2</sup> Clearly, Greenway was using political rhetoric to its fullest, but it was effective and carried his government through a brief legislative session which began on April 12 and ended on May 18.

Having achieved what promised to be the end of federal disallowance, Greenway wanted to take full advantage of the sympathy and support of the electorate. He accomplished this through legislative acts affecting constituencies and voting, and an "Act for the construction of certain railway lines." He also was prepared to maintain the appearance of negotiating with the C. P. R. over the Emerson Branch and the construction of branch lines as a means of appeasing the electorate, particularly in southwestern

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<sup>1</sup> Greenway to Macdonald, 30 March 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 119, 48600-48601 and P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11942.

<sup>2</sup> "Welcome Home", Manitoba Free Press, 5 April 1888, 1.

Manitoba, where according to a correspondent, it was hoped that part of the terms for abolishing monopoly would be a clause compelling C. P. R. expenditure on an extension of the South Western Railway.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway introduced and guided a redistribution measure through the House in five days. The Act provided for 38 constituencies, an increase of three over the 1886 Act. Twenty-one of the ridings were west of the Red River, nineteen of them in the area bounded on the east by the Red River and on the north by a line which would follow the present day Trans-Canada Highway. The 38 seats were divided roughly according to population, except for the three Winnipeg seats, Brandon City, and Russell in the far west which had but 1600 people. The rough average was about 2400 per constituency.<sup>2</sup>

Although Greenway placed great emphasis on there being no gerrymander,<sup>3</sup> there were a number of changes made at the request of riding organizations. Morris was altered to aid A. F. Martin (Liberal) and at the same time the portion cut from Morris was placed with Emerson to frustrate C. S. Douglas (Conservative).<sup>4</sup> Shoal Lake was divided by a north-south line to create Birtle and Shoal Lake, the former a certain Liberal seat and the latter a doubtful

<sup>1</sup> R. M. Graham to Greenway, 23 April 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11963.

<sup>2</sup> P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11930. This was a breakdown of each constituency by population prepared by Greenway. See constituency maps facing pages 62 and 76 in John L. Holmes, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup> "The Reply Passed," Manitoba Free Press, 17 April 1888, 4; "Rep. by Pop.," Ibid., 27 April 1888, 4.

<sup>4</sup> James J. Bedford to Greenway, 24 January 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 63.

one. It was claimed that an east-west line would have given the Conservatives the north and the south would have been doubtful.<sup>1</sup> Rosenfeldt was created as a constituency for the Mennonites who, Greenway claimed, were beginning to learn democratic ways and this would encourage their further participation. On the other hand, he refused to create an Icelandic constituency as their population was too small. John Norquay contended that the object of joining Gimli with St. Andrew's was to defeat him.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a more accurate view would be that Greenway both remembered the response of Hay Township in Huron County in the 1870s and had Liberal party agents in the Mennonite areas while he had yet to organize among the Icelanders. An Act was passed which disenfranchised all federal and provincial government employees earning more than \$300 per annum. As most of these people had their residences to Winnipeg, it could be claimed that these constituencies were gerrymandered in that most of the civil servants were Conservatives.<sup>3</sup> While these represent only a few examples of how the redistribution act was applied, it would seem that a detailed analysis of each new constituency would reveal similar results. Given Greenway's use of similar advantages in Ontario politics in the early 1870s, it would be too much to expect a reformation of his tactics on coming to power in Manitoba. The boundaries of the new ridings were municipalities and townships<sup>4</sup> which provided for easy manipulation in

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<sup>1</sup> A. R. McDougald to Greenway, 20 February 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 220; telegram, J. G. Waldock to Greenway, 24 February 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 230.

<sup>2</sup> "Rep. by Pop.", Manitoba Free Press, 27 April 1888, 4.

<sup>3</sup> "Bills Discussed," Ibid., 26 April 1888, 4; Private. J. C. Aikins to Macdonald, 29 May 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 119, 48606-48607.

<sup>4</sup> Holmes, op. cit., 76.

the future should changes be deemed necessary.

Along with these Acts, an Act was passed providing for manhood suffrage. There was no obvious motive on Greenway's part. Possibly it was done to fulfill a pledge given during the years of Opposition or it may have been the expectation that non-property holders given the right to vote by the Liberal party would respond in the desired manner. Whatever the motives behind it, the Act made all male British subjects, twenty-one years of age or older, eligible to vote provided they met modest residence requirements.<sup>1</sup>

Even as Greenway was guiding these Acts through the House, he was engaged with the C. P. R. in telegraphic negotiations over the Emerson Branch. Although he had refused to consider the C. P. R.'s proposal for the Branch near the end of March and had spoken of the provincial government completing the Red River Valley Railway, Greenway soon learned that constituents in south western Manitoba wanted an extension of the South Western Railway build through their country. According to Greenway's correspondent,

It is doubtful if ratepayers here will favor being taxed for R. R. V. construction if they have to put in another dismal year of toil without railway relief. On the other hand I think the majority would heartily support the R. R. V. if there was [sic] bright prospects of railway extension here this year. I know the R. R. V. would afford indirect benefit to all here, but you see the settlers are somewhat in a state of desperation, and impatient for immediate local relief. By giving this matter your immediate attention you would make this country safe for the Liberal cause, and confer a boon upon the people.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Manhood Suffrage," Manitoba Free Press, 18 April 1888, 4.

<sup>2</sup> R. M. Graham to Greenway, 23 April 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11963.

Thus, Greenway's renewal of negotiations was for the purpose of satisfying these requests, and failing that, to place the blame on the C.P.R. officials. In this the Premier was successful as W.C. Van Horne blundered in handling the discussions and provided Greenway with a "threatening" telegram, which added to Greenway's electoral rhetoric.

The negotiations began in late April with Greenway requesting information about leasing east side line trackage over the St. James Bridge, through Winnipeg, and connecting with the Manitoba North Western to Portage la Prairie. Van Horne agreed to this as part of the general discussions,<sup>1</sup> even as George Stephen was writing Macdonald, "You will see that our offer gives them practically an independent line from Emerson to the western end of the Man. N. W. without any new capital expenditures."<sup>2</sup> Van Horne held the same view and wrote J.A.M. Aikins, the C.P.R.'s Winnipeg solicitor, that fifty thousand a year for leasing the Emerson Branch was reasonable if it included trackage through Winnipeg and across the St. James Bridge. Van Horne was annoyed with Greenway's failure to state the government's position. As he told Aikins,

Think Premier should say what he is willing to do. So far he has only asked what we had to propose without indicating any intention or desire to arrange on any terms. We are disposed to go as far as we can towards meeting his views if he will say what they are.<sup>3</sup>

As the correspondence developed, the key issues became the Emerson Branch and the construction of C.P.R. branch lines in the province. Van

<sup>1</sup> Telegram, William Whyte to D.S. Spurson, 28 April 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1343A; telegram, W.C. Van Horne to William Whyte, no date. P.A.M., Ibid., 412A.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Stephen to Macdonald, 30 April 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 271, 123933-123934.

<sup>3</sup> Van Horne to J.A.M. Aikins, 3 May 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1343B.

Horne offered to lease the Emerson Branch to the Manitoba Government.

The funds thus saved by stopping construction of the Red River Valley Railroad could be used to bonus C. P. R. construction of branch lines.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway played for time and asked if leasing the Emerson Branch meant abandoning the Red River Valley Railway. When informed that this was "assumed" by the C. P. R.,<sup>2</sup> Greenway refused to make an offer for the Emerson Branch, and suggested only that the provincial government give financial aid for constructing branch lines. Van Horne rejected aid for branch lines as they would require additional capital provided by the Company. He pointed out that the Company had offered an independent railway to the provincial government and wanted to meet its terms. Van Horne then told William Whyte to inform Greenway that,

If the Red River railway is to be built and the Emerson Branch left on our hands notwithstanding our offers it will be useless to discuss future railway building or prolong this correspondence. If Mr. Greenway's decision as to the Emerson Branch is final we would like his permission to publish this correspondence in order that the responsibility may be placed where it belongs.<sup>3</sup>

This provided Greenway with the opportunity to withdraw from the negotiations while portraying himself as the defender of Manitoba's rights and interests against the grasping C. P. R. As Greenway told Whyte,

You can say to Mr. Van Horne in answer to his telegram of the 15th inst that his proposition to govern the policy of this Government by threats must be resented and met by the Government and people of Manitoba in the same manner as similar communications were last year. It is exceedingly

<sup>1</sup> Telegram, Van Horne to Whyte, 4 May 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 1343C.

<sup>2</sup> Telegram, Van Horne to Whyte, 12 May 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 1343D.

<sup>3</sup> Telegram, Van Horne to Whyte, 15 May 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 1343E. Van Horne to Acton Burrows, 16 May 1888. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M2266, Letterbook 25, 885.

unbecoming in the face of the fact that it was the obstructive and aggressive policy of the C. P. R. that caused the initiation of the Red River Valley Ry [sic] project and from the fact that Mr. Van Horne declined to entertain any reasonable proposition for the assumption of the Emerson Branch at a time when definite arrangements had not been made.

Greenway continued, saying the Government could not be held responsible if C. P. R. property depreciated in value and it was Van Horne's fault if provincial aid for branch lines was refused. Greenway then indicated what his course would be in the future, and indirectly what it had been all along:

One thing should have been learned by Mr. Van Horne from his experience of the past and that is that the Government and people of this Province may yield to argument but they will never concede to threats. If proper inducements had been offered to this Government at the time of the Conference in Ottawa in March last the Government would have given them every consideration but up to this time there has been no substantive offer from the C. P. R. which could possibly be considered as an alternative to the completion of the R. R. V. Ry.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Greenway never had any intention of taking the Emerson Branch over, either through lease or purchase. Construction of the Red River Valley Railway had proceeded throughout the negotiations and Greenway never made any effort to delay construction pending a reasonable settlement with the C. P. R. Van Horne realized as much when he wrote C. A. Boulton on June 2 that "[Greenway] was simply killing time with us while he was going ahead with his arrangements for completing the Red River Road, and his intentions may fairly be inferred from what he was doing while the negotiations were going on." Van Horne denied having made any threat,

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<sup>1</sup> Greenway to Whyte, 17 May 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1343.

described the talk as "'bunkum!'" and defended his position, writing, "I made no threat, I only tried to state the position of the Company in a business like way. Mr. Greenway's [sic] position being indefensible he was obliged to raise a cloud of smoke to cover himself."<sup>1</sup> Despite Van Horne's charge, Greenway's "cloud of smoke" provided excellent cover and made it possible for the Premier to face the electorate further strengthened in the image of Manitoba's protector against C. P. R. threats and monopoly.

This was not the end of negotiations over the Emerson Branch. They were renewed in late June through H. H. Smith, W. F. Alloway, John C. Schultz, William Whyte, John A. Macdonald, and George Stephen. Greenway indicated through Alloway that he was willing to reopen discussions.<sup>2</sup> Greenway's response apparently was an effort to distract attention from arrangements which were underway with the Northern Pacific Railway Company concerning the Red River Valley Railway. This latter information made its way through the Conservative political chain to Stephen and back to Whyte.<sup>3</sup> The purpose behind the Conservative efforts was to prevent the proposed agreement between Greenway and the Northern Pacific. Greenway's public objectives were to re-emphasize the obstinate stand of the C. P. R.

<sup>1</sup> Van Horne to C. A. Boulton, 2 June 1888. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M-2266, Letterbook 26, 131-137; Van Horne to W. H. Knowlton, 3 June 1888. P.A.C., Ibid., M-2266, Letterbook 26, 172.

<sup>2</sup> Private. H. H. Smith to J. C. Schultz, 20 June 1888. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891.

<sup>3</sup> Stephen to Macdonald, 4 July 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 271, 123950-123951; telegram, Stephen to Whyte, 4 July 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 739A, and Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891; Whyte to Greenway, 4 July 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 739; telegram, Whyte to Stephen, 5 July 1888. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891.

to indicate any willingness to construct branch lines in Manitoba, and to prove to his constituents that he had tried to secure a C. P. R. commitment to build the desired branch railways.

Perhaps the most important point was to convince south western Liberal M. L. A.s that there was no prospect of aid from the Canadian Company and the only hope was to deal with the Northern Pacific. In any event, the negotiations covered only two weeks, July 4 through July 18. Stephen's willingness to reach agreement was indicated by his message to Whyte saying the property was cheap "at rental formerly offered, but to secure object in view and avoid injurious waste of capital, if he will indicate to you what he thinks he can afford and would like us to do, I will do my best to meet his views as to price and terms."<sup>1</sup> Greenway withheld his reply until after the July 11 election, and on July 16, Whyte sent Stephen a telegram containing the Premier's letter to Whyte. Greenway's course became clear when he said,

I beg to say that the Government have all along been of the opinion that the rental for the east side line, previously named and again referred to, is entirely too high. In view of our proposition with the Red River Valley Railway, the construction of which is now going on, its value to the province is materially lessened. The Government, in continuing this correspondence, have been prompted by their great desire to see the branches of your system extended this season; and regret that no assurance has been given that this will be done.<sup>2</sup>

Stephen was puzzled by this response<sup>3</sup> until Whyte informed him that

<sup>1</sup> Private. H. H. Smith to J. C. Schultz, 5 July 1888. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891; telegram, Whyte to Stephen, 6 July 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., telegram, Stephen to Whyte, 10 July 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 727.

<sup>2</sup> Telegram, Whyte to Stephen, 11 July 1888. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891; telegram, Whyte to Stephen, 16 July 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891.

<sup>3</sup> Telegram, Stephen to Whyte, 17 July 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., Correspondence 1887-1891.

"I take the Premier's answer to mean that the price he would offer for our east side line would be so low that we could not think of entertaining it."<sup>1</sup>

Greenway had no intention of coming to an agreement with the C. P. R. He used the possibility of such an arrangement as a blind to cover his dealings with the Manitoba Central Railway promoters and the Northern Pacific Railroad. From the manner in which he had dealt with the C. P. R.'s top officials, it is certain that Greenway was directing affairs and Joseph Martin was following orders. The Premier was willing to defend Martin when the Attorney General was attacked,<sup>2</sup> but was just as quick to use Martin as an excuse for legislation which went against the M. C. R. promoters. Greenway's references to Martin as "so headstrong he could not control him" and "but for the opposition of Martin" the M. C. R. proposal would be accepted, typifies how Greenway was using Martin as a cover.<sup>3</sup>

In dealing with the M. C. R. promoters, Greenway pursued a delaying course and the evidence would indicate that he used them to achieve the end of disallowance through their contacts in Ottawa and then brushed them aside in favour of direct negotiations with the Northern Pacific. Thomas Scoble accompanied Greenway and Martin to Ottawa in March and was given to understand by Greenway that if disallowance were ended the M. C. R. proposal of February 27 would be accepted. Before their return from Ottawa this had changed to acceptance if it were not for the opposition of Joseph Martin,

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<sup>1</sup> Telegram, Whyte to Stephen, 18 July 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., Correspondence 1887-1891.

<sup>2</sup> "Mr. Isaac Campbell," Manitoba Free Press, 15 June 1888, 4.

<sup>3</sup> See "Correspondence Relating to the Manitoba Central Railway," in letters of 29 February 1888 and 28 May 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11938.

who wanted the government to retain construction in its own hands. After returning to Winnipeg and following a meeting of Greenway, Smart, Jones, and Prendergast, Scoble was told by Greenway that Jones and Martin were opposed to the arrangements due to a personal dislike of Duncan MacArthur. The Premier promised to bring the matter before a caucus and was certain that the M. C. R. proposal would be accepted.<sup>1</sup>

When the Legislature met, Martin pushed through an "Act for the construction of certain railway lines" which received royal assent on April 30. When Scoble protested,<sup>2</sup> Greenway claimed Martin's Act has been presented without previous consultation with him. The Premier regretted the delay in M. C. R. legislation, but blamed that on Martin's opposition. Greenway did introduce and guide through the House the M. C. R. bill and it received royal assent on May 18.<sup>3</sup> From that date until June 13, Greenway kept the Manitoba promoters dangling, but never came to a final decision in their favour. The purpose of this was to allow the Northern Pacific to begin direct negotiations with the Manitoba government.

The Northern Pacific Records do not cover the period prior to their operation in Manitoba, although it would appear that Greenway had contacts with the Company through Henry J. Dexter, a Winnipeg lawyer, who later became solicitor for the Northern Pacific and Manitoba in Winnipeg. It seems likely that these contacts had been underway prior to June, 1888,

<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Scoble to Greenway, 30 April 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11951.

<sup>3</sup> "Correspondence Relating to the Manitoba Central Railway," letter of 28 May 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 14938.

and it was only a matter of timing as to when the M. C. R. promoters would be rejected. The direct negotiations began on June 12 and 13 with the arrival in Winnipeg of James McNaught, Northern Pacific counsel, and James Kendrick, the railway's chief construction engineer. Thomas Scoble claimed that the Northern Pacific negotiators preferred the Manitoba Central charter, but as the M. C. R. promoters were to be thrown overboard, the Northern Pacific officials would complete the arrangements with the government. Scoble argued further that, from this point on, his organization abstained from direct communication with the government and had an understanding with McNaught and Kendrick whereby the Northern Pacific would fulfill the agreement with the Manitoba Central Railway.<sup>1</sup> The evidence in the Northern Pacific Records tends to contradict Scoble's assertion. While the Northern Pacific officials would have preferred Scoble on the Board of the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway Company, they refused to force the issue when Joseph Martin objected and ended up attempting to give Scoble construction work on the Morris to Brandon line.<sup>2</sup> A letter McNaught wrote to Greenway on October 27, 1888, further rejects Scoble's claims. According to McNaught,

Mr. Qakes informs me that the first negotiations between the Manitoba Central people and himself were those initiated by Mr. Dexter a few days previous to the arrival of Mr. Kendrick and myself in Winnipeg in June last. He says there was some little talk prior to that time, but it amounted to nothing.<sup>3</sup>

The only Manitoba Central Railway promoter to receive anything was Duncan

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., in letter of 12 June 1888 and 18 August 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 11938; Scoble to Greenway, 30 April 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 11951.

<sup>2</sup> McNaught to Kendrick, 1 August 1888. Minnesota Historical Society (M.H.S.), Northern Pacific Records, Box 1.

<sup>3</sup> McNaught to Greenway, 27 October 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1182.

MacArthur who was paid \$1882.80 by the Northern Pacific.<sup>1</sup>

Although Greenway did not leave a written account of why he rejected the M. C. R. offer, it can be inferred that there were at least three important factors that influenced his decision. One was the complicated arrangements that would be required if the M. C. R. was to have an outlet beyond Emerson through the United States to Duluth. The M. C. R. would have a lease from the Manitoba government and then would have to make an agreement with the Northern Pacific. Without the latter, the M. C. R. was of little use in competing with the C. P. R. The second reason involved Duncan MacArthur. By April Greenway and Martin had had sufficient time to consider the correspondence between the M. C. R. and the Norquay administration. Two letters in particular would have aroused suspicions. In one MacArthur promised Norquay that he would not sell his stock in the Manitoba and Northern Western Railway to the C. P. R. for five years from August 13, 1887.<sup>2</sup> A second letter indicated MacArthur held approximately a \$250,000 interest in the M. N. W. Railway.<sup>3</sup> On the basis of MacArthur's other railway projects, such as the Winnipeg and Western Railway Company in which he held 2510 of the 5000 shares at \$100 each, it may be inferred that a similar arrangement existed for the Manitoba Central Railway.<sup>4</sup> There was no guarantee that the M. C. R. would not sell out to

<sup>1</sup> Kendrick to J. M. Graham, 11 October 1888. M.H.S., Northern Pacific Records, Box 1; receipt signed by Duncan MacArthur, 16 October 1888. M.H.S., Ibid., Box 1.

<sup>2</sup> D. MacArthur to John Norquay, 13 August 1887. P.A.M., Greenway Papers 11938, "Correspondence Relating to the Manitoba Central Railway."

<sup>3</sup> D. MacArthur to John Norquay, 17 August 1887. P.A.M., Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> "The Winnipeg and Western Railway Company," no date. P.A.M., Duncan MacArthur Papers, Box 1.

the C. P. R. As a result, Greenway preferred to deal directly with an established railway that promised better prospects for competition in Manitoba.

Involved in that aspect of the question was the third reason for rejecting the M. C. R. offer. There was no evidence to suggest that Greenway and Martin agreed or disagreed on the aspect of a competitive railway in Manitoba. While better competition may have been their public stance, they also were interested in political funds and the Northern Pacific could offer larger amounts than the Manitoba Central Railway. This probably was the most important reason and may explain the following note written to Greenway by R. L. Richardson, daily editor of The Winnipeg Sun, on June 15, 1888:

As the relations which must exist between us for sometime must necessarily be of a strained character, owing to circumstances over which I now have no control, I beg herewith to tender my resignation as Government reporter and ex officio member of your Cabinet.

Richardson's postscript perhaps best sums up the situation, "You can count on me standing by your story. I never go back on my friends."<sup>1</sup> It also is reasonable to suggest that W. F. Luxton was in sympathy with the Manitoba Central Railway promoters as he had resigned as Liberal candidate for Winnipeg South the previous evening.<sup>2</sup>

Even as the railway negotiations were going on, Greenway was preparing for an election. The legislature had been prorogued on May 18, to meet again on June 22, but the House was dissolved on June 19 with an election

<sup>1</sup> R. L. Richardson to Greenway, 15 June 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 663.

<sup>2</sup> "Mr. Isaac Campbell," Manitoba Free Press, 15 June 1888, 4.

set for July 11.<sup>1</sup> Greenway was influenced to call the election by the favourable response to his extended political tour of western and southern Manitoba and the necessity to secure a solid Liberal majority which would carry through his proposed arrangement with the Northern Pacific. Greenway's political tour started with a banquet at Morden on May 24 where the Premier presented the Liberal party platform. It was a repeat of the electoral address given out in January when there was the possibility of a by-election in Mountain. The address had called for a prompt study of provincial finances, rigid economy through dismissal of every unnecessary public official, completion of the Red River Valley Railway including a connection with the western section of the Province, a vigorous immigration policy, redistribution, and manhood suffrage.<sup>2</sup> Greenway was able to stress the promises already carried out -- end of disallowance, economy, redistribution, and manhood suffrage -- and to promise fulfillment of the others.<sup>3</sup>

He then went on his first political tour of the western area of Manitoba, making speeches at Russell, Birtle, Binscarth and Shoal Lake. As Greenway was campaigning the Liberal constituency organizations were holding meetings to nominate candidates. By the time Greenway had returned to Winnipeg in the second week of June, indications were that an election was not far distant. The response to his speeches had been favourable, reports

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<sup>1</sup> "Prorogation," Manitoba Free Press, 19 May 1888, 4; "House Dissolved," Ibid., 19 June 1888, 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Electoral Address to the Electors of Mountain," P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 267.

<sup>3</sup> "Banquet at Morden," Manitoba Free Press, 25 May 1888, 4.

from the various constituencies were encouraging,<sup>1</sup> and the Conservatives were disorganized.

Both J. C. Aikins and John C. Schultz wrote Macdonald that the key problem for the Conservatives was the leadership of John Norquay. Many prospective candidates were refusing nominations in the belief that they would form only a minority and would be unable to attack Greenway on any issue due to Norquay's past indiscretions, particularly the Hudson's Bay Railway bonds.<sup>2</sup> The Conservatives were abandoning both the electoral contest and their old leader. Schultz indicated that if Norquay could be moved out of the way, J. M. Kirchoffer, M.L.A. for Brandon West, would become the new leader. Norquay remained as leader of the Manitoba Conservative party as both Schultz and Macdonald refused to provide him with a federal appointment that would entice him out of the province.<sup>2</sup> Norquay was unable to mount an effective campaign with a disorganized party, although he attempted to do the best possible under the circumstances.

Thomas Greenway continued his vigorous campaign, speaking in support of Thomas Gellee and A. F. Martin, Liberal candidates for Cartier and Morris,

<sup>1</sup> "All for Greenway," Ibid., 29 May 1888, 1; "Political Notes," Ibid., 30 May 1888, 1; "For Good Members," Ibid., 31 May 1888, 1; "A Western Welcome," Ibid., 6 June 1888, 1; "Campaign Notes," Ibid., 8 June 1888, 4; "Good Work Goes on," Ibid., 9 June 1888, 1; "Mr. Isaac Campbell," Ibid., 15 June 1888, 4; James As Smart to Greenway, 8 May 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 457; J. W. Greenway to Greenway, 14 May 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 11968; Private. Alex Lawrence to Greenway, 19 May 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 519; F. E. Burnham to Greenway, 25 May 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 532; W. F. Ellis to Greenway, 26 May 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 536; J. M. Robinson to Greenway, 28 May 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 548; James Thomson to Greenway, 1 June 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 613; John Hettle to Greenway, 11 June 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 620; Finlay Young to Greenway, 14 June 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 652.

<sup>2</sup> Private. J. C. Aikins to Macdonald. 29 May 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 119, 48606-48607; Confidential. Schultz to Macdonald, 20 June 1888. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891.

respectively, before going to his own nomination meeting at Pilot Mound on June 21.<sup>1</sup> Greenway spoke on behalf of H. C. Graham, Liberal Candidate for South Brandon, at Plum Creek. At this meeting he mentioned previous issues, but stressed L. M. Jones's recent provincial loan, and emphatically denied that the Liberal party had a fund of \$75,000 stolen from provincial revenues for election purposes.<sup>2</sup> The Premier then returned to Lorne constituency to support the candidacy of J. A. Macdonnell.<sup>3</sup>

The first results of Greenway's extensive efforts were evident on July 4 when nine Liberals, including Greenway and Joseph Martin were returned by acclamation. A tenth member returned by acclamation was Thomas H. Smith (Sprinfield), who had been a Conservative, become an Independent, and had run as a Liberal in this campaign.<sup>4</sup> Greenway continued to fulfill speaking engagements, appearing at the Roller Rink in Brandon on behalf of James Smart and Clifford Sifton. The Liberal leader's speech covered the same ground as other addresses given already, but he had the advantage of a clear trend in the ten acclamations.<sup>5</sup> Voting on July 11 resulted in a sweeping Liberal victory; only five of the twenty-eight contests returned Conservatives.<sup>6</sup> The overwhelming victory was not greeted with tremendous elation by Thomas Greenway. He believed the

<sup>1</sup> "Notes of the Fight," Manitoba Free Press, 21 June 1888, 4; "They Cannot Vote", Ibid., 22 June 1888, 1; "Honor to the Chief," Ibid., 25 June 1888, 1.

<sup>2</sup> "A Rousing Meeting," Ibid., 27 June 1888, 1.

<sup>3</sup> "Norquay is Leader," Ibid., 3 July 1888, 1.

<sup>4</sup> "Eleven," Ibid., 5 July 1888, 1; "Ten Quite Enough," Ibid., 6 July 1888, 1; J. A. Gemmill (ed.), The Canadian Parliamentary Companion (Ottawa, 1889), 347-349.

<sup>5</sup> "Premier in Brandon," Manitoba Free Press, 7 July 1888, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Gemmill, op. cit., 347-349; Holmes, op. cit., Appendix A, 15-16.

victory was won on the issue of Provincial Rights and the Liberals had to maintain these rights or they could expect to be turned out of office at the next election. He indicated that work on the Red River Valley Railway would continue and it would turn out for the best.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway's dejection was due to newspaper reports that the C. P. R. had purchased the Sault Ste Marie and Southwestern Railway for \$6,000,000 to \$7,000,000. This line would be the link between the C. P. R.'s Sault Ste Marie and Atlantic and the Union Pacific and would cover the section between Rhinelander, Wisconsin, and Council Bluffs, Iowa.<sup>2</sup> A report of July 12, eight days later, stated that the C. P. R. had secured control of the Duluth, South Shore and Atlantic, giving the C. P. R. control of the through routes north and south of Lake Superior.<sup>3</sup> W. C. Van Horne confirmed the latter purchase, writing that "The report about our having secured control of the Duluth road is true, although it may not be well to say so officially at present."<sup>4</sup> Nine years later, Van Horne reminded George Stephen of the motive behind gaining control of these railways, when he wrote,

I don't know that any of us everyhad great expectations of this line as a through route to the Seaboard. The moving consideration was the protection of our interests in Manitoba and, incidentally, the protection of the Soo. Had we not secured the D. S. S. + A. the Grand Trunk would have been in Manitoba with substantially a line of its own in less than two years and then instead of ruling

<sup>1</sup> Gemmill, op. cit., 347-349; Holmes, op. cit., Appendix A, 15-16.

<sup>2</sup> "The Victory," Manitoba Free Press, 12 July 1888, 1.

<sup>3</sup> "A Great Combine," Ibid., 4 July 1888, 1.

<sup>4</sup> "New Railway Deal," Ibid., 12 July 1888, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Private. Van Horne to F. D. Underwood, 19 July 1888. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M-2267, Letterbook 26, 566.

the Grand Trunk in traffic matters Tyler and Hickson would have ruled us and with Grand Trunk methods and their spleen our dividends would have been most effectually stopped. . . .<sup>1</sup>

The C. P. R.'s purchase of the South Shore link effectively hampered Greenway's freedom of action, as he had wanted the Grand Trunk Railway to arrange running rights over the line and come into Winnipeg by the Red River Valley Railway along with the Northern Pacific. While he expected the Grand Trunk Railway and the Michigan Central to make another connection, his options were limited now to one railway, the Northern Pacific, to take over the Red River Valley Railway.<sup>2</sup> Even so, the Northern Pacific was Greenway's primary object and he quickly moved to make suitable arrangements with that Railway Company.

Greenway resumed negotiations with McNaught and Kendrick of the Northern Pacific within a few days of the provincial election. By July 18 it was reported that Greenway and Martin were to leave for Chicago to confer with Thomas F. Oakes, Vice-President of the Northern Pacific.<sup>3</sup> While making no public statement, Greenway privately outlined the negotiations to Lieutenant Governor Schultz who immediately communicated them to John A. Macdonald. The Premier seems to have been "leading" Schultz, as the general concept had been agreed upon before the journey to Chicago and New York. Greenway told Schultz that there were disagreements over the construction bonus and western extensions, but the purpose seems to have been to gain assent

<sup>1</sup> Van Horne to Stephen, 15 July 1897. P.A.C., Van Horne to Stephen Letterbook, 1894-1898, vol. 1, 154-159.

<sup>2</sup> "The N. P. R. Contract," Manitoba Free Press, 30 August 1888, 4; Private. Schultz to Macdonald, 18 July 1888. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891.

<sup>3</sup> "Going to Chicago," Manitoba Free Press, 18 July 1888, 4.

to a meeting of the House on August 28 should a reasonable contract be secured. Schultz agreed to this.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway and Martin went to Chicago and then New York where the contract was signed on July 27. Greenway refused to reveal any details, but indicated legislative approval would be required. Upon his return to Winnipeg, Greenway announced that if the Cabinet approved the agreement it would be published and the legislature would be convened for August 28.<sup>2</sup>

Greenway prepared the way for passage of the Northern Pacific agreement with great skill through a variety of tactics. With the possible exception of Lyman Jones, the Cabinet approved the contract. Jones considered opposing the agreement, but changed his mind and voted for it when the Legislature met.<sup>3</sup> There was no evidence to suggest why Jones fluctuated in his view. In resigning over a year later, Jones told Greenway, "In justice to me people should know that I have been / on a/c of private business / anxious to resign for several months."<sup>4</sup> With the Cabinet in line, Greenway turned to the M.L.A.s. Each was offered \$100 indemnity and mileage for the special session,<sup>5</sup> and the majority accepted. Clifford Sifton wanted the amount to be \$50, which would be deducted from the

<sup>1</sup> Private. Schultz to Macdonald, 18 July 1888. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891.

<sup>2</sup> "A Deal Effected," Manitoba Free Press, 28 July 1888, 1; "The Premier Home," Ibid., 1 August 1888, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Martin to Greenway, 4 August 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 845; "Contract Ratified," Manitoba Free Press, 31 August 1888, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Lyman M. Jones to Greenway, 12 May 1889. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1864. Underlining and punctuation as in original.

<sup>5</sup> Private and Confidential. Greenway to M.P.P.s, 2 August 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 837.

regular indemnity of \$5500 to forestall any criticism of the members having been purchased.<sup>1</sup> R. P. Roblin wanted more than \$100 since his time was worth more in the fall of the year.<sup>2</sup>

Greenway then released the proposed contract for newspaper publication, more than three weeks before the Legislature was to meet, but that still left little time in which to consider it because it would take at least one week before the contract had been circulated via the newspapers to the rural M.L.A.s. Greenway stated that this had been done to keep the public informed in contrast to the actions of the Norquay government,<sup>3</sup> when in fact this action was a trial balloon designed to gain support and bring out those who were opposed to the Northern Pacific project.

Missing from public discussion and newspaper accounts was the rate agreement between the Province and the Northern Pacific. It had been established on July 27 that Northern Pacific rates "shall not be higher" than those made by the Canadian Pacific Railway.<sup>4</sup> As a result, "This will make the rate of wheat from Portage la Prairie, Winnipeg and intermediate points to Duluth, 21 cents per 100 lbs.<sup>4</sup> A modification was received by the provincial government so that Brandon was included in the rates at one cent more per hundred pounds.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Private. Sifton to Greenway, 4 August 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 967.

<sup>2</sup> R. P. Roblin to Greenway, 5 August 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 952. For views of other M.L.A.s, see P.A.M., Ibid., 950, 951, 953-966, 968-970.

<sup>3</sup> "Their Position," Manitoba Free Press, 23 August 1888, 4.

<sup>4</sup> T. F. Oakes to Greenway, 27 July 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 2369; copy of same in P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891. This copy was delivered on September 4, 1888.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Martin to T. F. Oakes, 4 August 1888. M.H.S., Northern Pacific Records, Box 5.

This information was not released along with the general arrangement as Greenway and Martin both claimed that the Northern Pacific did not wish the rates revealed at that time. While this would seem to suggest that there was a lack of competition in freight rates, particularly on wheat, such was not the case. According to Harold A. Innis, in A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway,

The effect of competition could not be questioned. On May 11, 1887, the rates from Winnipeg, Portage la Prairie and Brandon to Fort William on first-class freight were \$1.33, \$1.41 and \$1.58 respectively. On October 28, 1888, after the opening of the Northern Pacific from Winnipeg to Duluth, rates between the above points were reduced to \$1.16, \$1.25 and \$1.42 respectively. The rate to Regina, a non-competitive point, remained the same.<sup>1</sup>

What the Northern Pacific and the Greenway government apparently were waiting for was the opening of the railway and the start of the wheat shipping season before announcing the rates. By doing so, they expected that the C. P. R. would continue its rates and then the Northern Pacific rates would be obviously competitive.

In the Martin-Luxton libel suit of November, 1890, Rodmond P. Roblin, who was by then a Conservative, reluctantly admitted that this plan almost had worked in relation to the rate on wheat. He confirmed that the C. P. R. rate as of October 1, 1888, was set at 24 cents, but the rate schedule mysteriously had been recalled and a new one issued on October 19, making the rate 21 cents.<sup>2</sup>

This action coincided with Van Horne's activities in the same period.

<sup>1</sup> Harold A. Innis, A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway (first published 1923; Toronto, 1971), 185, based on "Regina Rates Case," Supreme Court of Canada, 1912, vol. XLV, 324-325.

<sup>2</sup> "The Defence Begun," Manitoba Free Press, 12 November 1890, 5, 6.

Lieutenant Governor Schultz's copy of the Oakes letter to Greenway on July 27, 1888, seems to have been transmitted to someone in the Conservative Cabinet at Ottawa for on October 15 of that year, Van Horne was writing Mackenzie Bowell, "I return herewith the copy of Mr. Oakes [sic] letter of the 27th July to Mr. Greenway re the arrangement between the Red River Valley Ry [sic] and the Northern Pacific. Many thanks for the opportunity afforded me to peruse the same."<sup>1</sup> Two weeks later, Van Horne communicated the Oakes letter to Acton Burrows, editor of The Morning Call for publication with the admonition, "Very important it should not be suspected that it came my way."<sup>2</sup> Thus, Greenway had secured competitiverates, but the achievement was obscured by the railway crossings dispute with the C. P. R. and subsequent litigation.<sup>3</sup>

There were several sources of opposition both to Greenway as Premier and to the proposed railway agreement. The focal point for both efforts was the office of the Free Press. Apparently Greenway permitted publication in The Winnipeg Sun of the "conspiracy" attempt which had as its object his replacement as Premier. Greenway's purpose seems to have been to divert the Free Press from attacking the railway project and to let the schemers know that he was aware of their purpose. After allowing the publication of the "conspiracy" to sink in, Greenway wrote the editor of the Sun, denying that any such "conspiracy" existed.<sup>4</sup> Regardless of the

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<sup>1</sup> Private. Van Horne to Mackenzie Bowell, 15 October 1888. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M-2267, Letterbook 27, 573.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Van Horne to Acton Burrow, 28 October 1888. P.A.M., Acton Burrows Papers, 13.

<sup>3</sup> See pages 157-59; also see pages 155-6 for further comment on rates.

<sup>4</sup> Editorial, "That Conspiracy," Manitoba Free Press, 15 August 1888, 2.

Premier's denial, there was a real scheme to replace him.

It was concocted in the Free Press office, apparently without Luxton's knowledge. The key individuals were alderman Alexander Macdonald, financial director of the Free Press, D. J. Beaton, editorial writer, James Fisher, Liberal M. L. A. for Russell, and in the background, Hugh Sutherland, principal promoter of the Hudson's Bay Railway scheme. They planned to force Greenway and Martin out of the government and replace them with Lyman Jones and Fisher. How this was to be done was not stated and when Jones refused to co-operate the schemers were delayed in their project.<sup>1</sup> However, Fisher was still willing to make the attempt and D. J. Beaton wrote Clifford Sifton, offering him a Cabinet post in exchange for his assistance. Sifton refused the offer, informed Greenway,<sup>2</sup> and the Premier then issued his denial to the Sun. The motive of the schemers seems to have been to defeat the projected Northern Pacific deal and to force a reconstructed provincial government to concentrate exclusively on the Hudson's Bay Railway scheme. According to Dr. F. W. Shaw of Carberry in a letter of August 17, 1888, to Greenway,

I am very much amused (not knowing the strength of the movement) at the movements of Hugh Sutherland backed by the Free Press in regard to the Governments [sic] late deal with the Northern Pacific [,] Do you ever look at it as a herring drawn across the trail in which the Free Press and a no. [sic] of Liberal members figure as tools. . . . Hugh Sutherland figured largely in Ottawa the past session to get a grant for his H. B. Railway. How much is he promised today if he can embarrass your government and prevent your making

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<sup>1</sup> A True Friend (possibly W. H. Turner, Ottawa correspondent of the Free Press) to Greenway, 16 July 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 779; Joseph Martin to Greenway, 4 August 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 845; F. W. Shaw to Greenway, 17 August 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 1003.

<sup>2</sup> James A. Smart to Greenway, 18 August 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 893; John W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times (Toronto, 1931), 20-22.

proposed connection with Duluth. Now Sir John's promised thousands to H. B. Railway is raising all the storm (my opinion) Free Press + Liberal members trapped blow Sir John's Horn to give your Government trouble. . . .<sup>1</sup>

It seems reasonable that Greenway held much the same viewpoint since he was well aware of Sutherland's past dealings with the Norquay and Macdonald governments relating to the Hudson's Bay Railway scheme.

Greenway still faced formidable opposition from William Fisher Luxton, editor-in-chief of the Manitoba Free Press. The two had disagreed in mid-June over Greenway's proposal to negotiate directly with the Northern Pacific Railroad for an arrangement regarding the Red River Valley Railway.<sup>2</sup> This meant discarding the promoters of the Manitoba Central Railway. Greenway's course was clear: he wanted a railway that would offer "competition" to the Canadian Pacific Railway, something he could not secure through the Manitoba Central Railway nor the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba. As the Free Press was the newspaper in rural constituencies, Greenway attempted to handle the proposed railway deal with the Northern Pacific for maximum effect and in haste. The object was to blunt Luxton's opposition or keep it to a minimum. Luxton had seemed co-operative, making only two editorial attacks on the proposal, one on June 23 and the other on July 17. Both objected to the Northern Pacific, but offered only the concept of free trade in railways as an alternative.<sup>3</sup> Once the proposed contract was published on August 3, the Free Press embarked on a series of critical editorials characterized by objections to the \$6,400 per mile construction

<sup>1</sup> F. W. Shaw, M. D. to Greenway, 17 August 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1003.

<sup>2</sup> "Mr. Isaac Campbell," Manitoba Free Press, 15 June 1888, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Editorial, "Free Trade in Railways," Ibid., 23 June 1888, 2; editorial, "The Local Railway Situation," Ibid., 17 July 1888, 2.

bonus, the lack of a maximum freight rate clause, and the \$500 per mile "organization clause."<sup>1</sup>

Having drawn Luxton's attack, Greenway countered with what he expected was the key tactic -- an announcement that the proposed deal was off due to Northern Pacific objections.<sup>2</sup> Greenway even convinced Lieutenant Governor Schultz that this was true.<sup>3</sup> What Greenway had in mind was putting pressure on rural M.L.A.s to accept the Northern Pacific deal and in this he was successful as James Smart informed him, "The announcement of the withdrawal came like a bomb shell on this part of the Country. Graham says his people are sick over it. . . ."<sup>4</sup> Luxton saw through the Premier's move and began to advocate that the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba be given running rights over the Red River Valley Railway, something the Northern Pacific refused to consider.<sup>5</sup> Greenway believed the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba proposal was made just to embarrass his government and rejected it out of hand.<sup>6</sup> Greenway and Martin

<sup>1</sup> "Here It Is," Ibid., 3 August 1888, 1; editorial, "The Contract", Ibid., 4 August 1888, 2; editorial, "The Contract," Ibid., 6 August 1888, 2; editorial, "The Contract," Ibid., 7 August 1888, 2; editorial, "A Vital Question," Ibid., 8 August 1888, 2; editorial, "A Maximum Rate," Ibid., 10 August 1888, 2; editorial, "The Proposed Contract," Ibid., 13 August 1888, 2.

<sup>2</sup> "The Deal is Off," Ibid., 17 August 1888, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Schultz to Macdonald, 20 August 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 131, 54420-54421, cited in Regehr, op. cit., 171-172.

<sup>4</sup> Smart to Greenway, 18 August 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 893.

<sup>5</sup> Editorial, "Free Trade in Railway," Manitoba Free Press, 22 August 1888, 2; editorial, "A Conspiracy," Ibid., 23 August 1888, 2; telegram, James McNaught to J. M. Graham, 30 August 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 943.

<sup>6</sup> "Contract Ratified," Manitoba Free Press, 31 August 1888, 4.

charged that Luxton and the Free Press had broken with the government over financial aid, which was denied.<sup>1</sup> Greenway and Martin were closer to the truth than they knew as Luxton had sold out but for much greater stakes than government financial aid.

The relationship between Luxton and William F. Alloway remains uncertain, as does that between Alloway and Donald Smith. Possibly Alloway had special financial interests to protect which could be best handled by his co-operation with Smith and the Conservative government at Ottawa. As for Luxton, his financial position must have been shaky due to competition from The Morning Call which had all the Canadian Pacific Railway business and The Winnipeg Sun which was favoured by the Greenway government. The outcome was that on September 5, Alloway paid Luxton \$26,100 for 50 shares of Free Press Company Stock. These shares were to pay six per cent yearly interest, secured by 346 additional shares.<sup>2</sup> The following day, Alloway turned the 796 shares over to Donald Smith in whose name he had been acting. The Alloway-Smith agreement was witnessed by J. A. M. Aikins, the C. P. R.'s Winnipeg solicitor,<sup>3</sup> and by May 22, 1889, Smith had transferred his shares to Van Horne's care.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the formidable opposition, Greenway's hold on the rural M.L.A.s enabled him to guide the Northern Pacific contract through the Legislature by a vote of 27 to 10. The five Conservatives opposed the deal and were joined by James Fisher, Isaac Campbell, D. H. McMillan, S. J. Thompson,

<sup>1</sup> Editorial, "Utterly False," Ibid., 29 August 1888, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Agreement for sale of Manitoba Free Press Stock. P.A.C., Strathcona Papers, vol. 12, File II, M. 4, M. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Agreement for sale of stock in Manitoba Free Press Company. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 12, File II, M. 4, M. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Van Horne to J. Burnett, 22 May 1889. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, MS2269, Letterbook, 30, 185.

and Rodmond Roblin. Joseph Martin rebuked Fisher, Campbell, and Thompson for pursuing personal interests and neglecting their constituents. Roblin was ignored,<sup>1</sup> yet he was rewarded for his attempt to defeat the agreement. One of the few extensions built in 1889 by the C. P. R. was to Carman where Roblin had an extensive grain buying business.<sup>2</sup> His relations with W.W. C. Van Horne were more than cordial over the next few years and indicated that Roblin's opposition to the Northern Pacific contract involved self-interest as much as conviction.<sup>3</sup>

The attacks of the Free Press had hurt the Liberal party in the rural constituencies as Greenway learned throughout September.<sup>4</sup> To counter this, he advised that the Winnipeg Sun be promoted as the government paper.<sup>5</sup> Just as this effort was showing signs of success, the Free Press editorially charged Greenway with having accepted a bribe of \$2500 from J. B. McArthur, former solicitor for the Manitoba Central Railway. According to D. J. Beaton, the editorial writer, Greenway had demanded another \$10,000 to be delivered when the House was dissolved for a general election. It was charged that Greenway had given McArthur a letter of assurance that

<sup>1</sup> "Their Reasons," Manitoba Free Press, 1 September 1888, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Van Horne to H. H. Smith, 18 August 1888. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M-2267, Letterbook 26, 872-873; Hugh R. Ross, Thirty-Five Years in Limelight: Sir Edmond P. Roblin and His Times (Winnipeg, 1936), 25.

<sup>3</sup> Private. Van Horne to Roblin, 8 June 1891. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M-2275, Letterbook 37, 752-754.

<sup>4</sup> Private. A. M. Peterson to Greenway, 4 September 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1062; Private. Frank Burnett to Greenway, 14 September 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 1061.

<sup>5</sup> F. E. Burnham to Greenway, 6 October 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 1106; James Emmond to Greenway, 12 October 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 1130.

the Manitoba Central Railway would receive special legislative consideration in return for the money.<sup>1</sup>

The Morning Call published similar charges on October 3, two days after Beaton's editorial.<sup>2</sup> Joseph Martin filed libel suits against both Acton Burrows and W. F. Luxton. The grand jury found no case against Burrows and Luxton, although the vote was eleven to four in favour and the major problem was whether Luxton and Burrows were responsible for the acts of their employees.<sup>3</sup> Failing to gain satisfaction, Greenway moved for the appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate the allegations regarding bribes from the Manitoba Central Railway and Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway. The Free Press refused to present its case, holding that the scope of the investigation should be broadened to include the St. Francois-Xavier by-election. The Free Press wanted this by-election considered as it had published an affidavit by J. B. McArthur on November 6 in which McArthur had confirmed previous charges and added a further one of having given Greenway \$200 in cash for the St. Francois-Xavier by-election.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Editorial, "A Second Pacific Scandal," Manitoba Free Press, 1 October 1888, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Editorial, "Let Greenway Speak," The Morning Call, 3 October 1888, 2.

<sup>3</sup> "The Call in Trouble," Manitoba Free Press, 6 October 1888, 4; "Libel Suits Fail," Ibid., 5 November 1888, 4; "Ministers on the Defensive," Ibid., 7 November 1888, 4. Perhaps in jest, Van Horne telegraphed Burrows, "Congratulations on your Escape from Jail. How did you fix the Grand Jury [?]" Telegram, Van Horne to Burrows, 5 November 1888. P.A.M., Acton Burrows Papers, 15.

<sup>4</sup> "A Royal Commission," Manitoba Free Press, 9 November 1888, 1; editorial, "The Commission," Ibid., 12 November 1888, 2; "An Affidavit," Ibid., 6 November 1888, 2; W. F. Luxton to Greenway, no date, P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1741; Acton Burrows to Greenway, no date. P.A.M., Ibid., 1740. These letters appeared in "A Letter to the Premier," Manitoba Free Press, 13 November 1888, 1, and were dated 12 November 1888.

When Norquay's request to include this item in the Commission's study was defeated 25 to 3, the Free Press and The Morning Call refused to participate.<sup>1</sup> The Royal Commission, with little to consider and being decidedly pro-Liberal reported in Greenway's favour.<sup>2</sup> This did not deter the Free Press from continuing its attacks which lasted at least until Luxton had left the editorship and which were renewed whenever it suited the interests of the C. P. R.

The unsatisfactory results of the grand jury, the Royal Commission, Joseph Martin's unsuccessful libel suit against Luxton and Burrows in November, 1888, and subsequent libel suits that Martin brought against Luxton in November, 1890, and July, 1891, strained the relations between the Attorney General and the Premier. Greenway had preferred to "take advantage of privilege accorded to Minister of Crown and apply to court for criminal information" instead of a libel suit in the first case against Luxton and Burrows,<sup>3</sup> but Martin had considered that inadvisable.<sup>4</sup> Greenway refused to participate in the later suits, probably because of the interpretation which could be placed on the Manitoba Central Railway letters. Despite Martin's demands for these documents, Greenway had failed to give them to the Railway Commissioner.<sup>5</sup> As A. W. Pritchard, Greenway's private

<sup>1</sup> "To Widen Its Scope," Manitoba Free Press, 13 November 1888, 4; editorial, "The Royal Commission," Ibid., 14 November 1888, 2.

<sup>2</sup> W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1967), 236.

<sup>3</sup> Greenway to Martin, 12 September 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1050. The month should be October as it relates to events of that month rather than September.

<sup>4</sup> Telegram, Martin to Greenway, 12 October 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 1132.

<sup>5</sup> Martin to Greenway, 9 October 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 114; Martin to Greenway, 24 January 1889. P.A.M., Ibid., 1612.

secretary, indicated to the Premier, who was in England on immigration business when the second Martin-Luxton libel suit was heard,

I don't know that there's any reason why they shouldn't have these Manitoba Central letters but the asking for them looks as if they wanted to drag you into it in some way, which would be most unfair, as you are out of the Province and unable to defend anything that might be made out of them.<sup>1</sup>

The never congenial relations between Greenway and Martin were strained still further as a result and within four months Martin had left the Cabinet.

Despite the libel suits, the question of Greenway's involvement and acceptance of bribery funds has remained unanswered. Greenway's repeated protestations of innocence should not be accepted without corroboration. His past record indicates that what he said for public consumption did not necessarily accord with private actions. While the evidence for all instances is not conclusive, J. B. McArthur's statements concerning the \$200 for St. Francois-Xavier and \$2500 for Greenway's personal by-election in Mountain apparently were accurate. Henry J. Dexter, Northern Pacific and Manitoba solicitor in Winnipeg and McArthur's brother-in-law, requested James McNaught to make certain that McArthur would be unable to testify at the November, 1888, libel suits. Dexter held that McArthur's evidence was the basis for the charges made by Luxton and Burrows.<sup>2</sup> The \$10,000 mentioned by McArthur for the general election was not delivered since the House was not dissolved until after the Manitoba Central Railway promoters had been pushed aside for the Northern Pacific. The Manitoba Central Railway people had monetary reasons for baring their souls in

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Pritchard to Greenway, 8 November 1890. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook, B, 102.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Dexter to James McNaught, 23 October 1888. M.H.S., Northern Pacific Records, Box 3, Secretary John Scott Comptroller: Subject Files, file 26.

public. They had expected \$125,000 from the Northern Pacific and were demanding it in early August, 1888.<sup>1</sup> They failed to secure the funds and there was nothing to lose by making charges against Greenway, since he had sold them out. Possibly a Premier such as James Fisher or even Lyman M. Jones would have been more amenable to their interests.

The allegations of Northern Pacific bribery were never proven. Van Horne believed it was \$60,000 to \$70,000 each for Greenway and Martin based on the building of two branchlines which would cross C. P. R. tracks at Portage la Prairie and Morris.<sup>2</sup> James McNaught, counsel for the Northern Pacific, had charged \$271,000 to Northern Pacific accounts for the expenses of organization and legislation, with Greenway and Martin receiving \$50,000 each, while the balance, except for some commissions, had been paid at Ottawa for the Dominion charter.<sup>3</sup> Greenway denied ever receiving the money, writing Henry J. Dexter, on May 23, 1895,

. . . Of course its [sic] impossible for me to say positively regarding the suggestion as to Martin but I doubt he ever received a dollar. As for myself I never saw the color of their money nor was there ever the least hint given of anything of the kind in all the negotiations I had with these people.<sup>4</sup>

Dexter also proclaimed his innocence, stating to Greenway that he had informed John Scott, comptroller and the individual charged with investigating the

<sup>1</sup> Telegram, J. W. Kendrick to James McNaught, 11 August 1888. M.H.S., Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Van Horne to Macdonald, 6 November 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 288, 131855-131856.

<sup>3</sup> Dexter to Greenway, 20 May 1895. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 7717.

<sup>4</sup> Greenway to Dexter, 23 May 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., 10129.

financial affairs of the Northern Pacific and Manitoba,

. . . so far as Ottawa was concerned I handled the matter personally and no money was expended outside of usual expenses and that I was also confident not one single cent has been paid to either you or Mr. Martin --. . .<sup>1</sup>

It seems very clear that Dexter knew of the financial arrangements and wanted Greenway to help clear him of any charges. As Dexter indicated,

. . . So far as I can learn Mr. Kendrick has no love for me because I know too much and I suppose he thought if I was 'bounced' I would not bother further about the matter, but I could not afford to be cut off as a thief and intend to show myself to be straight and am not afraid of inspection.<sup>2</sup>

Dexter also had bluntly stated that,

. . . if you ever want to safely make use of the road in the future it will be of importance to have ~~me~~ in the service as all the old heads will be off and total strangers will be in charge who will simply ignore past favors.<sup>3</sup>

While Dexter's account as recorded by John Scott was in accord with statements made by Dexter to Greenway, Scott's opinion of Dexter clearly indicates that the comptroller was not convinced. Scott believed of Dexter that,

This man is intelligent and appears truthful, but I cannot say that I endorse his statement, for it may be that things were done in Canada in a political way without his knowledge.<sup>4</sup>

The above evidence, while not conclusive, suggests that Greenway and Martin each received \$50,000 from the Northern Pacific while unidentified

<sup>1</sup> Dexter to Greenway, 21 May 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., 7742.

<sup>2</sup> Dexter to Greenway, 21 May 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., 7742.

<sup>3</sup> Private and Confidential. Dexter to Greenway, 20 May 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., 7717.

<sup>4</sup> Memorandum by John Scott, 9 May 1895. M.H.S., Northern Pacific Records, Box, 4.

Conservatives in Ottawa shared approximately \$150,000. A study of the Greenway Papers does not reveal any personal expenditures of large amounts between 1888 and 1898. However, it is probable that Greenway did accept the \$50,000 for Liberal party expenses. The offer of this substantial amount undoubtedly was a key element in Greenway's rejection of the Manitoba Central Railway promoters and their proposal of \$10,000. As well, similar arrangements were projected on Northern Pacific and Manitoba branch lines in following years, but were never completed since the Northern Pacific and Manitoba refused to build the lines while the C. P. R. was willing to do so.<sup>1</sup>

Although there was no evidence found of further political funds received from the Northern Pacific and Manitoba, Greenway did use the road in by-elections and general elections through the votes of employees. This usually was arranged by Henry J. Dexter.<sup>2</sup> In return, Greenway aided McNaught in incorporating the Manitoba Land and Improvement Company early in 1892. The purpose of the Company was to deal in railway townsites.<sup>3</sup> When the Northern Pacific and Manitoba was re-organized after declaring bankruptcy in 1895, the solicitorship went to the John S. Ewart, James Fisher, and Wilson firm and ended Greenway's effective use of the railway as a political tool.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Confidential. Van Horne to Roblin, 18 June 1891. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M-2276, Letterbook 37, 874-875.

<sup>2</sup> McNaught to Kendrick, 26 December 1888. M.H.S., Northern Pacific Records, Box 1; McNaught to Dexter, 29 November 1892. M.H.S., Ibid., Box 4.

<sup>3</sup> McNaught to Dexter, 23 September, 1891. M.H.S., Ibid., Box 4; McNaught to Dexter, 13 October 1891. M.H.S., Ibid., Box 4; Personal. J. M. Graham to Dexter, 24 December 1891. M.H.S., Ibid., Box 4; Graham to Dexter, 14 March 1892. M.H.S., Ibid., Box 4.

<sup>4</sup> John Scott to Henry C. Rouse, 7 June 1895. M.H.S., Ibid., Box 4.

Greenway's main objective with the Northern Pacific and Manitoba was competition with the Canadian Pacific Railway on freight rates. The American railway continued the reduction of rates throughout 1889,<sup>1</sup> which caused James J. Hill of the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba, to write George Stephen in June, 1889, that the Northern Pacific and Manitoba was

doing both the 'Manitoba' and the Canadian Pacific Railroad great damage and in such a way as to compel both to spend large sums of money to no good end. They are cutting rates in Manitoba to an extent that cannot fail to greatly reduce the revenues of all concerned from that province; . . .<sup>2</sup>

By late December of that year, J. M. Graham, division manager of the Northern Pacific and Manitoba, was writing H. Swinford, the Company's agent in Winnipeg, to learn "whether we are getting our proportion of the grain in the territory between our lines and the Canadian Pacific Railway lines, and how the prices paid upon our Line compare with those paid on parallel lines." Graham continued,

I have said to Mr. Moore that I did not think it advisable to make any concessions in the matter of rates at present. If, however, we are losing all the Grain, I feel like making an effort to secure part of it. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Swinford's response was discouraging, as "the prices paid upon the C. P. R. are higher than on our tracks and [I] can only account for it in this way." He went on to outline the struggle between the O'Gilvie Milling Company and the Lake of the Woods Milling Company, with the former attempting to crush the latter. With the O'Gilvie Company controlling most of the elevators and "owing to the peculia

<sup>1</sup> H. Swinford to J. M. Graham, 15 July 1889. M.H.S., Ibid., Box 2.

<sup>2</sup> As quoted in Joseph Gilpin Pyle, The Life of James J. Hill (2 vols., New York, 1917), I, 451.

<sup>3</sup> Graham to Swinford, 24 December 1889. M.H.S., Northern Pacific Records, Box 3.

phase of the wheat market in the province," Swinford continued, they are "in a position to do pretty much as they like." He concluded that,

With the above facts I doubt if we can better ourselves very much, and were a reduction in freight made to offset it in any way, would the increased tonnage at a less rate equal the amount now handled at tariff rates, and am of the opinion myself that were we to reduce the rate sufficient to enable Martin, Mitchell + Co. to enter into competition against the O'Gilvies, the latter firm would raise the price again, and leave us just where we are now.<sup>1</sup>

As a result, by December, 1889, the Northern Pacific and Manitoba was unable to compete effectively with the C. P. R. in the matter of freight rates. While this was in large part due to the situation as mentioned by Swinford regarding grain prices, it was further complicated by Van Horne's threat to ruin the Northern Pacific's business in the Puget Sound area<sup>2</sup> and the prospect that an adequate division of traffic with the Manitoba and North Western, a railway that had very close ties with the C. P. R., would not be obtained.<sup>3</sup> There was no evidence in the Northern Pacific Records to confirm a rate agreement with the Canadian Pacific, but complaints from merchants indicated that it existed after 1889.<sup>4</sup> Greenway's reaction was to play the two railways against each other to secure branch line extensions within Manitoba, but the Northern Pacific's refusal to build new lines strained the relationship and by the end of 1891, Greenway was working closely with the Canadian Pacific Railway.

<sup>1</sup> Swinford to Graham, 27 December 1889. M.H.S., Ibid., Box 3.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Van Horne to W. Whyte, 25 February 1889. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M-2268, Letterbook 29, 306.

<sup>3</sup> Graham to Kendrick, 15 December 1888. M.H.S., Northern Pacific Records, Box 1.

<sup>4</sup> J. P. Brisbin to Graham, 26 July 1890. M.H.S., Ibid., Box 3; Open Letter, William Johnston and E. FitzBucke, Brandon Board of Trade, 21 July 1890. M.H.S., Ibid., Box 3.

Greenway's relations with the Canadian Pacific Railway went through three distinct stages, open hostility, quiet co-operation, and eventual cordiality that almost resulted in the Free Press being purchased by friends of the Greenway government. The open hostility involved the crossings disputes and the newspaper monopoly in Winnipeg. The railway disputes found Greenway unprepared. He had not expected any difficulties in these matters, probably because Joseph Martin, the Railway Commissioner, was supposed to have these events under control. Van Horne had laid his plans in mid-September, 1888, ordering Whyte to block any attempts at crossing Canadian Pacific lines by derailing dead locomotives at the expected points where the Northern Pacific and Manitoba would want crossings effected.<sup>1</sup> When the Canadian Pacific used the courts, the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, and the federal government to preserve its monopoly in Manitoba, Greenway regarded it as a continuation of the earlier struggle over disallowance and provincial rights.<sup>2</sup>

Greenway soon realized that the key factor in the dispute was not the Canadian Pacific, but the Dominion government of John A. Macdonald. As a result, Greenway protested to Macdonald about the Canadian Pacific's attempt to resist the crossings and told the Prime Minister,

The people of Manitoba will not brook this interference nor will [the] government be responsible for consequences if obstruction is persisted in. We ask you to arrange with C. P. R. to have force removed [sic] that our tracklaying may go on peaceably.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Private. Van Horne to W. Whyte, 17 September 1888. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M-2267, Letterbook 27, 277-281.

<sup>2</sup> James Smart to Greenway, 19 November 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1275.

<sup>3</sup> Telegram, Greenway to Macdonald, 18 October 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 1150, and P. A. C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 264, 120088-120090.

Macdonald denied any control over the Canadian Pacific and tossed the issue back to the provincial government.<sup>1</sup> Greenway then became engaged in a conflict with Lieutenant Governor Schultz as to adjournment, prorogation, and calling of the Legislature. Schultz attempted to follow Macdonald's advice in "steering Greenway" but was not completely successful as the Premier was able to gain what he wanted while appearing to yield to the requests of Schultz. Greenway wanted a session of the Legislature to deal with the crossing dispute while Schultz wanted the House prorogued rather than adjourned from time to time.<sup>2</sup> The House was prorogued in mid-October, but Greenway secured a regular session in early November followed by an adjournment to January.<sup>3</sup> Even Van Horne believed that Greenway and Martin were manipulating Schultz for their own purposes and told Macdonald as much.<sup>4</sup> As the crossings dispute

<sup>1</sup> Telegram, Macdonald to Greenway, 18 October 1888; P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1150A, and P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 528, Letterbook 25, 194.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Macdonald to Stephen, 7 July 1888. P.A.C., Stephen Papers, 243-244; Schultz to Greenway, 12 October 1888. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1888-1890; Schultz to Greenway, 20 October 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1568; Greenway to Schultz, 22 October 1888. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1888-1890 and P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 264, 120101; Schultz to Greenway, 23 October 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1567; Greenway to Schultz, 24 October 1888. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1888-1890; Schultz to Greenway, 26 October 1888. P.A.M., Ibid. The correspondence between Schultz and Macdonald established the directing force behind these actions. See, Private. Macdonald to Schultz, 11 October 1888. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891; Macdonald to Schultz, 24 October 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 246, 120092; Schultz to Macdonald, 24 October 1888. P.A.C., Ibid., 120094; Private. Schultz to Macdonald, 26 October 1888. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 264, 120099-120100; Private. Macdonald to Schultz, 2 November 1888. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891.

<sup>3</sup> "Members Dismissed," Manitoba Free Press, 17 October 1888, 4; "Ministers on the Defensive," Ibid., 7 November 1888, 4; Private. Macdonald to Schultz, 17 November 1888. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891.

<sup>4</sup> Private. Van Horne to Macdonald, 6 November 1888. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 288, 131855-131856.

receded, settled largely in Manitoba's favour through Court decisions, the Canadian Pacific turned to a more effective form of hostility, the control of Winnipeg's three daily newspapers.

Greenway was partially ready for such an event, but never expected it to be as complete as it was. He had been encouraging his political friends to make every effort to gain subscribers for The Winnipeg Sun.<sup>1</sup> This appeared to be an astute move on the Premier's part when negotiations began in late December, 1888, and early January, 1889, to amalgamate the Free Press and The Morning Call. Van Horne guided the business deal, partly through W. F. Alloway, but mainly through Acton Burrows, H. H. Smith, and W. F. Luxton.<sup>2</sup> Prime Minister Macdonald remained on the sidelines, but applauded the plan as a means of control over the Free Press in Dominion politics.<sup>3</sup> Once the amalgamation had been completed, the Canadian Pacific moved to take over the Sun. As it became obvious that the Sun would join the Free Press, there was consternation among Liberals. Greenway was advised by many that a government organ was necessary to keep the Liberal party strong and present the party's viewpoint, but no action was taken.<sup>4</sup> The Premier seemed to doubt that the rumors were true, but

<sup>1</sup> Private. F. A. Schultz to Greenway, 20 October 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1295; H. C. Graham to Greenway, 23 October 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 1165; Private. Frank Burnett to Greenway, 7 November 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 1212; H. McKellar to Greenway, 3 December 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 1284; John Hettle to Greenway, 8 December 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 1289.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Van Horne to H. H. Smith, 3 December 1888. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M-2268, Letterbook 28, 394; Private. Van Horne to Acton Burrows, 11 April 1889. P.A.M., Acton Burrows Papers, 32.

<sup>3</sup> Private and Confidential. Macdonald to Burrows, 7 January 1889. P.A.M., Macdonald Papers, Box 1, Burrows File. (Photocopy)

<sup>4</sup> Lyman Jones to Greenway, 16 January 1890. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 2661A; James T. Johns to Greenway, 16 January 1890. P.A.M., Ibid., 2662; Confidential. Goldwin Smith to Greenway, 18 January 1890. P.A.M., Ibid., 2665.

just before January 1, 1890, Greenway's private secretary, A. W. Pritchard, recorded in his diary that the amalgamation had taken place and the government had to have an organ to present its viewpoint. The Sun property was sold for approximately \$40,000 to J. B. Somerset,<sup>1</sup> who was acting on behalf of the Canadian Pacific, although he denied such was the case.

T. R. Preston, financial manager of the Sun, had sold the newspaper on that assurance largely to avoid devaluation of the property through a newspaper war.<sup>2</sup> The Liberal party finally reacted by aiding in the establishment of a newspaper to present its viewpoint. On January 28, 1890, The Winnipeg Tribune published its first number. It was financed in part by D. L. McIntyre, who held half the shares for his brother, P. C. McIntyre, and R. L. Richardson, who held the remainder of the shares and became the editor of the newspaper.<sup>3</sup> Despite later assertions that the Tribune was Joe Martin's paper, Greenway's relations with Richardson would indicate that the paper represented Greenway's viewpoint fully as much as Martin's, if not more so.

Having survived these efforts by the Canadian Pacific, Greenway's relations with the Company were subdued throughout 1890 as the Premier was involved with Manitoba Schools legislation, unsuccessful efforts to have the Northern Pacific build the Souris extension, and a trip to England in the last months of the year to promote immigration.

<sup>1</sup> Daily Journal for 1890. Entry made above 1 January 1890. P.A.M., Ibid., 12067.

<sup>2</sup> T. H. Preston to Editor of the Tribune, under heading "The Sale of the 'Sun,'" The Winnipeg Tribune, 28 January 1890, 2.

<sup>3</sup> "Judgement Reserved," Manitoba Free Press, 24 October 1890, 6.

The Canadian Pacific had considered making some branch line extensions in 1889, but drew back for lack of financial assistance.<sup>1</sup> In early January, 1891, Greenway began negotiations with the Canadian Pacific and Northern Pacific over the Souris extension. The discussions continued through the federal general election of March 5, 1891, and culminated in an agreement with the Canadian Pacific in late June.

The negotiations were opened with a meeting in Montreal between Van Horne, D. H. McMillan, Joseph Martin, and James M. Walsh, former officer with the North West Mounted Police and current President of the Dominion Coal and Coke Company.<sup>2</sup> The provincial government wanted a line constructed that would provide access to the coal fields near Bienfait, North West Territories, a guaranteed price of \$4.75 per ton of coal delivered to Winnipeg, and a further guarantee for a minimum amount of coal to be delivered. To gain these objectives, the provincial government offered a subsidy of \$150,000 to construct the line.<sup>3</sup> Van Horne believed it should be \$200,000 and refused to involve the Company in coal mining. He would consider an arrangement whereby Walsh's Company would handle the coal part of the deal and then the Canadian Pacific would construct the line for the \$150,000 subsidy.<sup>4</sup> As the negotiations on details continued through

<sup>1</sup> Private. Van Horne to W. Whyte, 11 April 1889. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M-2269, Letterbook 29, 800-801.

<sup>2</sup> Confidential. Van Horne to J. M. Walsh, 27 January 1891. P.A.C., Ibid., M-2275, Letterbook 36, 621-622.

<sup>3</sup> Van Horne to Greenway, 20 March 1891. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 12032; Greenway to Van Horne, undated. P.A.M., Ibid., 12032A.

<sup>4</sup> Confidential. Van Horne to Walsh, 27 January 1891. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M-2275, Letterbook 36, 623.

February, the federal Conservatives wanted a share of the credit for the proposal, particularly Edgar Dewdney, Minister of the Interior and M.P. for Assiniboia, N. W. T., where the branch line would terminate. Greenway objected to Dewdney's claims, but Van Horne carefully handled the Manitoba Premier by pointing out that the line could not be built without financial aid and if such were forthcoming from the Manitoba government it would receive all the credit.<sup>1</sup>

Even as the negotiations continued, Greenway and Van Horne were fighting out the federal election on opposite sides. Greenway had at least two motives in the campaign. One was that he supported the Unrestricted Reciprocity issue raised by the Liberal party and the other was to have Joseph Martin elected for Selkirk. The former would be a step towards Greenway's concept of a revenue tariff while the latter would allow him to reconstruct the Cabinet along lines more acceptable to himself and the provincial party.<sup>2</sup>

While Greenway never made an explicit statement as to why Martin was now expendable, it appears that their differences on railway policy and the libel suits had become irreconcilable. Martin wanted government ownership of railway lines and was prepared to continue the feud with Luxton of the Free Press, while Greenway preferred the use of provincial government subsidies for railway construction and wanted no part of further

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<sup>1</sup> Van Horne to Walsh, 10 February 1891. P.A.C., Ibid., M-2275, Letterbook 36, 723-724.

<sup>2</sup> Private and Confidential. Greenway to Lyman M. Jones, 16 February 1891. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook B, 175.

libel suits. Perhaps, more important, Greenway wanted a rapprochement with Van Horne to gain Canadian Pacific branch line construction in Manitoba and if it was necessary to force Martin's resignation, the Premier was prepared to do so.

Van Horne viewed Unrestricted Reciprocity as a threat to the very existence of the Canadian Pacific. It would mean destruction of the east-west transportation system of the Company and would destroy the value of property held by the C. P. R., according to Van Horne.<sup>1</sup> He responded by lining up railway employees to vote for Conservative candidates,<sup>2</sup> and ordered W. F. Luxton to support Conservatives in Manitoba.<sup>3</sup> Van Horne won this round as four Conservatives and one Liberal were elected in Manitoba, and the federal Conservatives were returned to power for the last time under John A. Macdonald.

The result was disappointing to Greenway and the necessity of finding good federal candidates had made inroads on the provincial government. Joseph Martin and Isaac Campbell had resigned to contest Selkirk and Winnipeg while the death of Speaker of the House, William Winram, on February 12 had opened Manitou.<sup>4</sup> Greenway delayed both the Manitou and South Winnipeg by-elections until January 13, 1892, possibly fearing adverse results. However, he assented to a by-election for Portage la Prairie so Joseph Martin could return to the provincial legislature.<sup>5</sup> Van Horne

<sup>1</sup> Van Horne to Joseph Martin, 6 April 1891. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M-2275, Letterbook 37, 197.

<sup>2</sup> Confidential. Van Horne to Macdonald, 28 February 1891. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 288, 132278.

<sup>3</sup> Confidential. Van Horne to Macdonald, 25 February 1891. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M-2275, Letterbook 36, 838.

<sup>4</sup> Funeral Notice. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 3337.

<sup>5</sup> Private. Greenway to J. W. Cochrane, 25 March 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 198.

decided the best policy was neutrality and refused to interfere in Martin's election. Van Horne reasoned that if Martin won despite C. P. R. opposition, the Attorney General would make Manitoba too hot for the Company. The Canadian Pacific President wanted to continue the negotiations with Greenway and understood that the Premier wanted Martin out of his government.<sup>1</sup> Van Horne held to a course of strict neutrality out of self-interest, astute political acumen, and possibly because his expectations were that the new Attorney General would be Clifford Sifton.

Meanwhile, negotiations continued from March through June when an agreement was reached substantially along the lines desired by Greenway. His success brought angry complaints from R. P. Roblin, now leader of Manitoba's Conservative Opposition, to Van Horne, who assured Roblin that the financial assistance promised by Greenway was the key factor in the decision to build to the coal fields. When Roblin argued that he should have been given information on the negotiations, Van Horne replied,

If you will imagine yourself the leader of the Government (which I trust you will be before long) and dealing with a similar question, I think you must admit that you would regard it as a gross breach of faith on my part if I were to give any information concerning it to the leader of the Opposition whatever our relations with him might be.

Van Horne concluded with a paragraph that summed up his attitude towards Greenway and the reason the Canadian Pacific had wanted the agreement with the Manitoba government. He wrote Roblin,

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<sup>1</sup> Van Horne to Walsh, 18 March 1891. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M-2275 Letterbook 36, 988; Confidential. Van Horne to Macdonald, 28 March 1891. P.A.C., Ibid., M-2275, Letterbook 37, 55.

My remark about 'giving the Devil his due' should not be construed as a broad manifestation of Christian charity. We do not forgive or forget so easily, as you will yet see. When we have an opportunity to talk the matter over I think you will agree with me that our getting this subsidy out of the reach of the Northern Pacific is likely to prove a good political move. It has completed the estrangement between the Local Government and the Northern Pacific and has deprived the Government of the power of manipulating so much money in the case of an election.<sup>1</sup>

There is no record of how Van Horne explained to Roblin what he was doing to aid Premier Greenway in the election of his new Attorney General, Clifford Sifton. Greenway had considered Cabinet changes even before Joseph Martin had won his Portage la Prairie by-election. He had mentioned this to L. M. Jones in February and Van Horne knew of Martin's probable dismissal in March.<sup>2</sup> When Martin submitted his resignation in the first week of April, 1891, it was probably at Greenway's request rather than a bluff for power by the Attorney General, as the Premier had consulted Sifton about taking the post before April 9.<sup>3</sup>

There was only one probable suggestion in the Greenway correspondence as to why he should prefer Sifton as Attorney General rather than Isaac Campbell or C. J. Mickle. Campbell had been considered previously when

<sup>1</sup> T. G. Shaughnessy to Greenway, 8 April 1891. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 12039; J. M. Walsh to Greenway, 10 April 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 12040; Walsh to Greenway, 11 April 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 12041; Confidential. Van Horne to Roblin, 18 June 1891. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M-2276, Letterbook 37, 874-875.

<sup>2</sup> Private and Confidential. Greenway to Lyman M. Jones, 16 February 1891. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook B, 175.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Martin to Greenway, ? April 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 3664A; Martin to Greenway, 21 April 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 3664; Private and Confidential. R. Hill Myers to Greenway, 8 March 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 3548; Greenway to E. J. Wilson, 9 April 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 213 1/2.

Martin had resigned but returned.<sup>1</sup> It would seem that Campbell's health was a factor along with his reluctance to be involved in politics as an active politician. He had not wanted to contest South Winnipeg in July, 1888,<sup>2</sup> and after his federal venture in March, 1891, he steadfastly refused to stand as a candidate or accept any federal appointment. He preferred his law practice to a political career.<sup>3</sup> Mickle was a close friend of Greenway's, but was not an outstanding public speaker nor was he a noted organizer.<sup>4</sup> Sifton possessed both qualities, but also was sympathetic towards Canadian Pacific interests. There is no documentary evidence to explain Sifton's sympathy for the C. P. R. As conjecture, it may be that Sifton was involved with C. P. R. land transactions. When the railway crossing dispute was subsiding and there was a suggestion in the newspapers that the government planned to retaliate against the C. P. R. through legislation taxing the Company's lands and revoking special taxation measures, Sifton objected. He failed to state his reasons, but held that "he could not support measures of the character indicated."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Private. Schultz to Macdonald, 9 September 1889. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 264, 120185-120187; Confidential. Schultz to Macdonald, 9 April 1890. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 264, 12040-12042.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Sifton to D'Alton McCarthy, 13 April 1892. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 269, 222.

<sup>3</sup> Private. Laurier to Campbell, 28 February 1899. P.A.M., Isaac Campbell Papers; Private. Laurier to Campbell, 31 March 1899. P.A.M., Ibid.; Personal. Sifton to Campbell, 17 January 1900 University of Manitoba (U.M.), Sifton Papers (Microfilm) C 418, Letterbook 20, 929; Confidential. Campbell to Sifton, 18 January 1900. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 77, 58462-58463.

<sup>4</sup> John Ridington to Greenway, 6 December 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 9475.

<sup>5</sup> Sifton to Greenway, 31 October 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 1192.

As well, Sifton had contacts which Greenway was anxious to utilize. Sifton seemed to be close to J. M. Walsh and would be more acceptable to Van Horne than Joseph Martin. Although there was no evidence in the Van Horne correspondence to suggest that he approved, it can be inferred from the excellent relations Greenway enjoyed with the Company from this point on that Van Horne was satisfied with Sifton's selection and the ousting of Joseph Martin.

When Sifton appeared reluctant to accept the position, pleading "private affairs" made it impossible,<sup>1</sup> Greenway refused to accept that reply and waited until Sifton had stated that he would accept if business matters could be arranged. Sifton also wanted J. D. Cameron taken in as Provincial Secretary.<sup>2</sup> Greenway replied that "I am very pleased that you are trying to arrange to accept its the only solution." He indicated that "if J. D. will consent all will be well," even though Cameron did not care to contest South Winnipeg but would consider Manitou. Greenway hoped to appoint Joseph Tees to a position in the Immigration Department, thus clearing the field for Cameron to accept the Liberal party's nomination.<sup>3</sup> Further correspondence indicated Sifton wanted an acclamation, but failing that would accept Greenway's offer. Sifton also wanted a general scheme of Provincial organization considered at once.<sup>4</sup> Greenway stated that he was willing to discuss matters fully and kept urging Sifton to make a great

<sup>1</sup> Sifton to Greenway, 22 April 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 3669.

<sup>2</sup> Sifton to Greenway, 26 April 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 3676.

<sup>3</sup> Private. Greenway to Sifton, 29 April 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 240.

<sup>4</sup> Private. H. C. White to Greenway, 2 May 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 3626; Sifton to Greenway, 9 May 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 3630.

effort "to make the majority a large one." He assured Sifton that arrangements would be made in ample time to secure the Canadian Pacific Railway vote.<sup>1</sup> Sifton wrote less than two weeks later that the railway's men had not received their instructions and the matter needed attention.<sup>2</sup> Despite Greenway's efforts the instructions had not been delivered as of August 5.<sup>3</sup>

There was no evidence to suggest that the Canadian Pacific vote was delivered, but later correspondence between Greenway, Walsh, and Whyte makes the conclusion inescapable that the Canadian Pacific exerted its influence to elect Sifton.<sup>4</sup> The explanation as to the use of Canadian Pacific influence in North Brandon and in the Manitou and South Winnipeg by-election in January, 1892,<sup>5</sup> seems clear in the light of the subsequent events. Since early October, 1888, Prime Minister Macdonald had urged George Stephen to elect a C. P. R. legislature in Manitoba.<sup>6</sup> The election of Sifton gave the Canadian Pacific a strong individual within Greenway's

<sup>1</sup> Greenway to Sifton, 11 May 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 243; Greenway to Sifton, 8 July 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 282.

<sup>2</sup> Sifton to Greenway, 20 July 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 3836; Sifton to Greenway, 23 July 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 3843.

<sup>3</sup> Sifton to Greenway, 3 August 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 3889; telegram, Sifton to Greenway, 5 August 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 3897.

<sup>4</sup> Greenway to Walsh, 30 December 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 495; Van Horne to W. Whyte, 23 November 1891. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M-2277, Letterbook 39, 91; Van Horne to Walsh, 24 December 1891. P.A.C., Ibid., M-2277, Letterbook 39, 445.

<sup>5</sup> Private. James Stirton to Greenway, 12 October 1891. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 4057; Joseph Tees to Greenway, 15 December 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 4140; Greenway to Joseph Tees, 18 December 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 443.

<sup>6</sup> Private. Macdonald to Stephen, 10 October 1888. P.A.C., Stephen Papers, 257-260; Private. Macdonald to Stephen, 7 November 1888. P.A.C., Ibid., 269-272.

Cabinet to represent their interests, even though Greenway had taken over the direction of his government's railway policy. The C. P. R. was not disappointed with the ensuing results.

The good relations between Greenway and the Canadian Pacific Railway continued to at least 1897. The January, 1892, by-elections had resulted in J. D. Cameron's victory in South Winnipeg while Joseph Tees had lost in Manitou because of conflicts among Liberals in the constituency. In both instances, the Canadian Pacific had co-operated fully with Greenway.<sup>1</sup> Similar assistance was given in the July 23, 1892, provincial election.<sup>2</sup> When the Company pressured Hugh J. Macdonald to resign in 1893, there was an effort to make an arrangement between the federal Conservatives, Greenway, and the Company. The Conservatives would have Winnipeg by acclamation, Lieutenant Governor Schultz would not have his term extended, and Greenway would be allowed to approve William B. Scarth as successor to Schultz. The proposal fell through when the Canadian Pacific would not consent to Scarth's return to politics in any position and Greenway refused to accept the arrangement.<sup>3</sup> The result was that Schultz remained as Lieutenant

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<sup>1</sup> "Endorsed, "The Winnipeg Tribune, 14 January 1892, 4; "Manitou", Ibid., 14 January 1892, 4; Private. Walsh to Greenway, 7 October 1891. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 4023; Private. Walsh to Greenway, 14 October 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 4059; telegram, W. Whyte to Greenway, 16 November 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 4108; Greenway to Joseph Tees, 18 December 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 443; Greenway to Walsh, 30 December 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 495.

<sup>2</sup> Enoch Winkler to Greenway, 16 July 1892. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 4893.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Pritchard to Greenway, 13 June 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 5806; Private. Walsh to Greenway, 3 October 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 6053; Private. Greenway to Walsh, 24 October 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 27.

Governor and Joseph Martin was elected for Winnipeg. There was no evidence to support a conclusion that Martin received the assistance of the Railway in his electoral victory.

At the same time, Greenway and Van Horne corresponded on matters aside from, but affecting, politics. The subjects covered freight rates, railway extensions, and railway stations. Greenway continued to demand lower freight rates because of low crop prices and by 1893 was able to obtain a substantial reduction from 21 cents per hundred pounds to 17 cents.<sup>1</sup> He requested an extension in the Killarney region and although Van Horne promised to construct the line, his failure to do so created political problems for Finlay Young, John Hettle and Greenway.<sup>2</sup> Greenway was successful in having Van Horne countermand William Whyte's efforts to economize by closing little used railway stations in rural

<sup>1</sup> Van Horne to Greenway, 1 February 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 8633; Confidential. Van Horne to Greenway, 1 February 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 6219; "Comparative Statement of Grain Rates. . . .," 1 July 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 6257; Greenway to Van Horne, 4 May 1893. P.A.M., 6220; Private. Van Horne to Greenway, 8 May 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 6220A; Van Horne to Greenway, 8 August 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 6047; Van Horne to Greenway, 17 August 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 6101; Private and Confidential. Greenway to Van Horne, 23 January 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 790; Greenway to Van Horne, 12 June 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 10; Greenway to Van Horne, 2 August 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 932.

<sup>2</sup> Finlay Young to Greenway, 28 May 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., 4985; John Hettle to Greenway, 2 July 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., 4964; Private. Greenway to Hettle, 10 May 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 611; Hettle to Greenway, 15 May 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 5379; Private. Greenway to Finlay Young, 30 May 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 894; Greenway to Van Horne, 2 August 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 932; S. A. Heaslip and Peter McCraig to Greenway, 5 December 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 6238; Hettle to Greenway, 21 December 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 6258; Greenway to Hettle, 29 December 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 70; Hettle to Greenway, 4 January 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., 6281.

areas.<sup>1</sup>

A major issue between Greenway and the Canadian Pacific was ownership of the Free Press. Greenway knew that the Company owned the paper and did not put much faith in the denials of ownership passed along to him.<sup>2</sup> An attempt was made by C. H. Allen and Dennis Ryan to purchase control of the newspaper in mid-1893 and conduct it in the interests of the provincial Liberal party, but the effort failed for unexplained reasons. Luxton's contract with Alloway and Donald Smith had included a clause whereby the newspaper editor could repurchase the shares after two and one-half but before five years after the original sale.<sup>3</sup> Van Horne claimed to have been willing to sell the property, but was upset over Luxton's part in the arrangement.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the major influence was Clifford Sifton who was in Montreal with Robert Watson to confer with Van Horne as negotiations were progressing. Sifton wrote Greenway, who was in Chicago,

I am wiring you today not to come to Montreal until Watson + [sic] myself go away for obvious reasons, we should not all three be here together as it would occasion remark. . . . We will both be away by Wednesday's train # [sic] I would

<sup>1</sup> Greenway to Whyte, 29 December 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 65; Greenway to Van Horne, 29 December 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 66; Whyte to Greenway, 30 December 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 6425; telegram, Van Horne to Greenway, 3 January 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., 6275.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Greenway to Walsh, 29 June 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 273; Walsh to Greenway, 15 July 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 3829.

<sup>3</sup> Agreement for sale of Manitoba Free Press stock, 5 September 1888. P.A.C., Strathcona Papers, vol. 12, File II, M. 4, M. 5; Agreement for sale of stock in Manitoba Free Press Company, 6 September, 1888. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 12, File II, M. 4, M. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Walter Vaughan, The Life and Work of Sir William Van Horne (New York, 1920), 242-243.

consider it very advisable if you can see your way clear not to arrive here until after that time.<sup>1</sup>

The result was that the Manitoba Liberals failed to gain control of the Free Press in 1893, and its direction apparently was placed in the hands of J. B. Mather of Ottawa. The Free Press became semi-independent in 1895, probably due to the establishment of The Nor'Wester in the Conservative interest,<sup>2</sup> but remained under C. P. R. control.

Van Horne's willingness to co-operate with Greenway was valuable in political terms and Greenway reciprocated by refusing to subsidize the Manitoba and South Eastern railway project which promised a direct road between Winnipeg and Duluth. The aid offered by the Greenway government was insufficient to assist the scheme and its proponents charged that Greenway was acting in this manner because of his connections with the Canadian Pacific.<sup>3</sup> The charge appears well-founded as Greenway would submit Manitoba and South Eastern proposals to C. P. R. officials for their comments and act accordingly.<sup>4</sup> However, when the Canadian Pacific failed to reduce freight rates to the level Greenway expected, about 15 cents per hundred pounds, he began negotiations on his own for a railway between Winnipeg and Duluth.

<sup>1</sup> Sifton to Greenway, 24 June 1893. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 5788; C. H. Allen to Greenway, 14 June 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 5782A; J. W. Greenway to Greenway, 27 June 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 5783.

<sup>2</sup> Telegram, J. D. Cameron to Greenway, 18 July 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., 7726; Confidential. Van Horne to T. M. Daly, 28 February 1896. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M-2286, Letterbook 50, 850; Confidential. Van Horne to C. Tupper, 21 April 1896. P.A.C., Ibid., M-2287, Letterbook 51, 161.

<sup>3</sup> Private. J. C. Schultz to John Thompson, 4 June 1894. P.A.C., Thompson Papers, vol. 211, 26496.

<sup>4</sup> Private. T. G. Shaughnessy to Greenway, 17 August 1894. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 6903.

Greenway's agent was A. E. Allison, former provincial government inspector of railways during construction of the Red River Valley Railway. When it appeared that an arrangement was possible, Greenway departed for St. Paul to meet with a group of unidentified promoters. The project was rejected by the Cabinet before Greenway was able to meet with the prospective backers<sup>1</sup> and remained dormant until the fall of 1895 when Allison once again started making contacts, but he received little encouragement beyond occasional financial payments from Greenway until late in 1896 and early 1897, when Greenway needed an issue to strengthen the provincial Liberal party.<sup>2</sup>

The reason for the Cabinet refusal to co-operate was the opposition of Clifford Sifton, who consistently opposed any Winnipeg to Duluth railway scheme. Greenway knew of his Attorney General's stand and reluctantly accepted the decision made in the name of the Cabinet.<sup>3</sup> As a result, one of the few railways to receive substantial aid from the provincial government was the Lake Manitoba Railway and Canal Company of Donald Mann and William Mackenzie. Sifton was the individual who supported this proposed

<sup>1</sup> D. H. McMillan to Greenway, 15 December 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., 7268.

<sup>2</sup> Confidential. A. E. Allison to Greenway, 6 August 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., 7001; Allison to Dennis Ryan, 6 October 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., 7677; Allison to Greenway, 1 May 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., 7618; Allison to A. W. Pritchard and Pritchard to Allison, 16, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28 November 1895, and 1 December 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., 8120. This last was a group of letters illustrating Greenway's delaying tactics and financial payments to Allison.

<sup>3</sup> See, Sifton to Greenway, 20 July 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10551; Greenway to Sifton, 2 August 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 459, 12951.

railway which would run from Gladstone to Dauphin and serve mainly as a feeder for the Canadian Pacific main line.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway had been instrumental in achieving the end of disallowance and in breaking the C. P. R.'s monopoly. To accomplish these objectives, he used the Manitoba Central Railway promoters and forced Joseph Martin to accept his railway policy. That policy was the introduction of the Northern Pacific into Manitoba to provide competition for the Canadian Pacific Railway in freight rates, rather than Martin's desire for government ownership of the Red River Valley Railway. The competition in freight rates was successful until December, 1889. In return for opening the province to the American Company, Greenway and Martin were paid \$50,000 each on the basis of mileage constructed, while the Northern Pacific paid another \$150,000 to unidentified Conservatives in Ottawa to obtain its Dominion charter.

When the Northern Pacific and Manitoba refused in 1891 to build any more branch lines in Manitoba, Greenway sought and gained a rapprochement with Van Horne and the Canadian Pacific Railway. To effect the rapprochement, Greenway demanded Martin's resignation from the Cabinet and replaced him with Clifford Sifton. In return, the C. P. R. gave electoral support to Liberal candidates in general and Clifford Sifton in particular. This arrangement remained in effect until Sifton became Minister of the Interior in November, 1896, and worked to Greenway's

<sup>1</sup> Theodore David Regehr, "The Canadian Northern Railway: Agent of National Growth, 1896-1911" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1967), 33-39; Regehr, "The Canadian Northern Railway: The West's Own Product," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. LI (June, 1970), 180.

political advantage through the five years. However, Greenway was unable to control Sifton as he had Martin. Consequently, the Premier had to abandon his Winnipeg to Duluth scheme until Sifton departed. Greenway reluctantly accepted the situation and made use of the C. P. R. to keep his administration in power.

## CHAPTER IV

### IMMIGRATION AND THE ORIGINS OF THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION

When Thomas Greenway became Premier of Manitoba on January 16, 1888, he had promised the adoption of a vigorous immigration policy and the proper development of Manitoba's educational system as it related to municipal taxation. Greenway's immigration efforts were designed to attract settlers from the eastern Provinces of Canada and from England. His own past experience from 1878 to 1881 was the major influence on the program devised by his administration. While many of Greenway's actions were politically inspired, his objectives of attracting settlers and advertising Manitoba were achieved within the limitations of finances, the abilities of immigration agents, and the availability of suitable land. The effort to provide for the proper development of the province's educational system became known as the Manitoba School Question. The origins of this conflict lie within the Manitoba context and were well-developed before D'Alton McCarthy spoke at Portage la Prairie on August 5, 1889. Greenway and James Smart, Minister of Public Works, played the key roles in precipitating this controversy.

Upon becoming Premier, Greenway had taken the portfolio of Agriculture which included immigration, and had promised an active and vigorous policy. One of his first actions had been a circular letter to the clerks of all Manitoba municipalities. In this letter he asked for a description of all property held by non-residents with a view towards having a complete list available in his department from which intending settlers could select

suitable land and speedily settle upon it.<sup>1</sup> While this probably was vigorous action, it gave every indication of continuing Greenway's land speculation schemes and he did keep Richard J. Cartwright informed of land prices in the Cartwright, Manitoba, area.<sup>2</sup> That Greenway also benefited from such a policy seems probable, although there is no direct evidence to prove this assertion.<sup>3</sup>

Greenway's attitude towards intending settlers was consistent. Speaking at the Manitoba Club on June 15, 1888, he said that,

I have sometimes complained that we have shown too much of a disposition here to invite Icelanders, Mennonites, Scandinavians, Germans and so on and put them in communities. However, if thought desirable to continue that, . . . we could.<sup>4</sup>

He clearly was reluctant to encourage group settlements and preferred individual settlers, able to take care of themselves upon arrival and possessed of some financial means. As he wrote L. B. Blackmore, a close friend in Manningham Bradford, Yorkshire, England,

. . . I am desirous that people should acquaint themselves as thoroughly as possible with the advantages which our country offers and then choose for themselves. This is undoubtedly the country for a person with limited means who is not afraid of work. Such persons by being industrious can very soon make a comfortable home for themselves. . . .<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Editorial, "A Vigorous Immigration Policy," Manitoba Free Press, 24 January 1888, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Greenway to R. J. Cartwright, 10 July 1889. P.A.O., Cartwright Family Papers.

<sup>3</sup> Research in the Winnipeg and Morden Land Titles Offices indicates that if Greenway benefited from his policy, it was as a silent partner.

<sup>4</sup> "O'Conner Power," Manitoba Free Press, 15 June 1888, 2, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Greenway to L. B. Blackmore, 2 October 1891. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook B, 376.

Speaking to an Immigration Convention at Winnipeg in late February, 1896, Greenway repeated his concept of immigration policy. He stated that personally conducted immigration parties held out the most promise for Manitoba as the guides would assist in locating available lands best suited to the needs of the intending settler. Greenway's preference was for prospective farmers who should be located in areas conducive to the type of agriculture they wanted to follow, whether it was grain or mixed farming or cattle raising. He also was in favour of letters being sent to relatives and friends at home by contented settlers in Manitoba as this was an excellent means of inducing further immigration.<sup>1</sup>

Whereas in June, 1888, Greenway had promised to co-operate with landed institutions in promoting immigration, by February 5, 1896, at a Board of Trade banquet in Winnipeg, he lashed out at the policy followed by the Canadian Pacific Railway. He decried the Company's concept of simply scattering settlers broadcast throughout the West. His objection was that this policy had neglected Manitoba, while a more prudent policy would have settled all areas in Manitoba first and then moved to settle the North West Territories. Efforts along these lines would increase the value of the land, Greenway asserted, while the farmers would make a comfortable living from their produce.<sup>2</sup>

Greenway's immigration policy and the methods employed for implementing it were influenced greatly by his personal experience in the 1878-1881

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<sup>1</sup> "The Farmer Premier," The Winnipeg Tribune, 27 February 1896, 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> "B. of T. Banquet," Ibid., 5 February 1896, 5.

period. His statements and actions as Minister of Agriculture clearly illustrated that he believed the personal factor had been successful for him and all that was necessary to promote large scale immigration was an enlarged version of his own efforts. His opposition to group settlements went back to his first contact with Manitoba in late 1878 when he encountered the Mennonite Reserves. He refused to endorse such projects when in charge of immigration policy, although there was one modification to this general stand. That was in relation to the Icelanders and was based largely on political motives as Greenway had Icelandic political organizers throughout his constituency and used them effectively in his personal campaigns.

Greenway's preference for certain nationalities over others was indicated clearly in the establishment of immigration offices and the prospective settlers sought by the immigration agents. The two main centres were Toronto and Liverpool, England, the former set up in May, 1888, and the latter by December, 1890. Anthony J. McMillan was in charge of Toronto for 1888, became agent in charge of the Eastern provinces in 1889, and handled the Liverpool office from its inception. H. J. Borthwick had made tentative efforts in the north of England and south of Scotland since the summer of 1888, but a permanent office was established under McMillan following Greenway's personal journey to England in the fall of 1890. W. D. Scott became the agent at Toronto when McMillan took charge of the Eastern provinces in 1889. The Ontario effort, assisted by an office at London under Captain Wastie, was designed "to check the present

exodus to the Western States, and divert it to Manitoba."<sup>1</sup>

Brief attempts were made in the Maritimes with an office at Moncton, New Brunswick, and a quick survey of the Dakotas by Hugh McKellar, one of Greenway's organizers in Mountain. There also was a modest effort made in Quebec under the direction of Rev. Father C. A. Beaudry of La Presentation, Quebec. Beaudry reported 1632 French Canadians had emigrated to Manitoba in 1889, but his report for 1890 indicated only that he had taken agricultural exhibits throughout Quebec to advertise Manitoba and made no mention of prospective settlers.<sup>2</sup> After 1890, Quebec was no longer part of Greenway's immigration programme.

Greenway's vigorous immigration policy depended on the ability of the individuals appointed as agents, the funds available to promote the policy, the willingness of the Canadian Pacific Railway to grant passes to the agents appointed. The latter group consisted of what only can be described as modified "return men" who received brief appointments largely as political rewards. Despite the claims of these individuals and Greenway's use of them, he was relieved when he could refuse such appointments because of a lack of funds which in turn made railway passes difficult to secure. As provincial revenues became diminished and greater appropriations

<sup>1</sup> "Premier Greenway's Idea," The Toronto Evening News, 10 May 1888, 1, clipping in P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 408; Private. A. J. McMillan to Greenway, 1 August 1889. P.A.M., Ibid., 2098; Private. McMillan to Greenway, 20 December 1890. P.A.M., Ibid., 3423; Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, Vol. XXII (Winnipeg, 1890), Sessional Paper No. 23, 84-86, 90-94.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Pritchard to Greenway, 8 November 1890. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook B, 102; Hugh McKellar to Greenway, 28 March 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., 4264; Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, Vol. XXI (Winnipeg, 1890), Sessional Paper No. 23, 95; Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, Vol. XXII (Winnipeg, 1891), Sessional Paper No. 38, 126.

had to be made for education and railways, there was little left for immigration purposes. With a fund of \$20,000, which may have seemed large for the times, Greenway was unable to sustain an effective program.<sup>1</sup> Part of the explanation lies in the fact that permanent agents received salaries that used up most of the appropriation, even though A. J. McMillan complained about his \$1500 a year post and wanted \$2,000.<sup>2</sup>

When his immigration policy did not seem to produce the expected mass influx of settlers by late 1892, Greenway made only one change. He still held to the belief that individual effort, prospective settlers of modest to substantial means, and the availability of land were the keys to rapid settlement. All that was needed to make it all work was promotion. Thus, the Manitoba Exhibit at the Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago was a gigantic promotion of the province's agricultural possibilities. Greenway referred to it as the "peanut stand" but he considered it an excellent means of advertising the Province.<sup>3</sup> He lavished his time on the project and spent government money freely. The final cost was

<sup>1</sup> W. M. Jones to Greenway, 12 November 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1224; James Harrower to Greenway, 4 April 1889. P.A.M., Ibid., 1889; A. R. McDougald to Greenway, 18 September 1890. P.A.M., Ibid., 3376; Caleb Handford to Greenway, 30 December 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 4154; telegram, James Stirton to Greenway, 22 January 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 4176; Caleb Handford to Greenway, 20 January 1892; P.A.M., Ibid., 4154A; A. W. Pritchard to Greenway, 5 December 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., 7168; Greenway to J. W. Daly, 3 October 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 328; Greenway to George Manson, 12 March 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 158.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Greenway to A. J. McMillan, 29 April 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook H, 236; Private. McMillan to Greenway, 26 May 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 3693.

<sup>3</sup> Greenway to Lyman M. Jones, 24 April 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 864.

approximately \$60,000 which did not include an additional \$800 bill by Will J. White of The Brandon Sun for printing a special brochure to advertise the Manitoba Exhibit.<sup>1</sup>

The promotion created dissension within the administration, largely over finances. Greenway, bearing the brunt of the criticism for refusing to co-operate with the Dominion government in having an exhibit within the grounds and for the costly venture which ensued, blamed the financial shortcomings on James A. Smart. Greenway had appointed Smart to manage both the Exhibit and the hotel connected with it, but abruptly fired him in July for having a financial interest in the hotel. Since Greenway had known of Smart's involvement since May, the reason for replacing him with Wes Greenway, son of the Premier, seems to have been due to the failure of the hotel to meet expenses thus adding to the costs of the Exhibit.<sup>2</sup> Despite these difficulties, the project had succeeded in its objectives which were to advertise Manitoba and promote the province as a potential home for agriculturalists.<sup>3</sup>

The large cost of the "peanut stand", financially difficult times, and meager results from his immigration program throughout 1893, caused Greenway to begin disbanding the immigration organization in the summer and fall of

<sup>1</sup> Private. Greenway to W. J. White, 28 October 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 33; Private. Greenway to W. J. White, 20 November 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 38; Private. Greenway to James A. Smart, 28 October 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Greenway to Smart, 15 May 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 875; Greenway to Smart, 22 July 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 1A; Smart to Greenway, 26 July 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 6022; J. W. Greenway to Greenway, 29 July 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 6033.

<sup>3</sup> "The Premier Returns," Manitoba Free Press, 20 November 1893, 1.

1893. In early 1894, the Premier was attempting to find employment for the permanent agents as the former vigorous policy came to an end. Very little was done until September, 1895, when Greenway decided to begin a tentative program once again with prospects for permanency dependent on results.<sup>1</sup>

The only immigration effort to survive throughout these years was the attempt to induce Icelandic settlement. Greenway's object was clearly political as the main individuals were S. Christopherson, Icelandic organizer in Mountain and surrounding constituencies, Sigtr Jonasson, and Magnus Paulson. All three made trips to Iceland at various time and appear to have been successful in their endeavours.<sup>2</sup> The main purpose in securing Icelanders was their supposed gratitude to the government which arranged for their immigration to Manitoba and their willingness to express their appreciation properly at elections. The flurry of activity to naturalize them and have them placed on voters' lists was pronounced when an election was imminent. Perhaps Christopherson was not the best organizer

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<sup>1</sup> J. Cameron to Greenway, 9 August 1893. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 6034; Private. Greenway to W. D. Scott, 16 August 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 941; Personal. Greenway to A. J. McMillan, 19 August 1893. Ibid., Letterbook B, 951; W. D. Scott to Greenway 22 August 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 6084; W. D. Scott to Greenway, 23 February 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., 6323; Private. Greenway to Scott, 9 September 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 600; Greenway to Van Horne, 5 October 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 622; Greenway to Scott, 4 November 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 649; Personal. Greenway to Sifton, 21 December 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 636.

<sup>2</sup> Christopherson to Greenway, 6 August 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., 4987; Christopherson to A. Freeman, 10 December 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., 5351; Christopherson to A. Freeman, 26 December 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., 5280; telegram, A. W. Pritchard to Greenway, 29 December 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., 5481; Private. Sigtr Jonasson to Greenway, 22 February 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 5985; Private. Jonasson to Greenway, 21 January 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., 6342.

as Greenway had to prompt him concerning naturalization matters.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, this may have been Greenway's method of informing Christopherson that an election was to be called in the immediate future. Greenway seemed satisfied with Christopherson's efforts and endeavoured to keep funds available for Icelandic settlers who could be assimilated into the electoral machine as soon after arrival as possible.

Despite his apparent belief that the immigrants would assimilate into the English-speaking majority culture, Greenway does not seem to have been aware that there might be social, linguistic, or cultural implications involved. He seems to have assumed assimilation would be the natural order of events, but made no overt move to force such a policy on settlers coming to Manitoba. Greenway's immigration policy did not suggest a personal bias or animosity toward any nationality. This was similar to his religious and racial views and their relation to the Manitoba School Question.

Greenway's political apprenticeship in Ontario, both as Reeve for Stephen Township and M. P. for South Huron, gave no indication of religious or racial prejudice. According to census statistics for Stephen Township the Roman Catholics made up approximately ten per cent of those who expressed a religious preference.<sup>2</sup> Greenway's successful career as Reeve

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<sup>1</sup> Jonasson to Greenway, 21 December 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 4161; Christopherson to Greenway, 29 December 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 4137; Private. Greenway to Christopherson, 19 January 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 499; Private. Greenway to Christopherson, 22 January 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 505; Private. Greenway to Christian Johnson, 28 April 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 588; Greenway to Johnson, 6 September 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 306; Private. Christopherson to Greenway, 12 October 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., 8232.

<sup>2</sup> Census of Canada, 1880-81, Vol. I (Ottawa, 1882), 190-191.

suggests that his relations with the minority group were at least tolerant, particularly in relation to educational matters as there was no suggestion that education was an issue of any kind on the local level. Greenway's vote in the House of Commons on Costigan's resolution concerning the New Brunswick School question indicated some sympathy for the Roman Catholic position while accepting the concept of non-interference by the federal government.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway's Methodist religious background had little influence on the Manitoba School Question. There was no record of his having supported Methodist Foreign Missions,<sup>2</sup> and his support of the Methodist Church in both the original and railroad site of Crystal City was based largely on political and family considerations rather than religious fervour. He never regarded "the religious teaching in the schools as of very much consequence," although he accepted a provision in the schools legislation of 1890 for religious instruction simply to illustrate that they were not "Godless" schools.<sup>3</sup> At no point, and in no instance, did Greenway indicate that he had a religious or racial bias regarding the schools as they existed in Manitoba.

In fact, Greenway was attempting to develop a system of French organizers within the French constituencies. These agents included Leon Roy, Louis G. Gagnon, and A. F. Martin, the latter becoming the first

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter Igs25426.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Glenn Lucas to author, 22 October 1973. Lucas is the Archivist-Historian for the United Church of Canada Committee on Archives.

<sup>3</sup> Greenway to W. H. Atkinson, 18 April 1895. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook A, 497.

Liberal M. L. A., when he was elected for Morris in 1886. As well, Greenway was donating to the Roman Catholic churches located within Mountain constituency. St. Alphonse parish church received \$650 towards its operating costs along with sundry presents for its bazaar amounting to \$37, while St. Leon parish received \$25, probably as a gesture. The financial assistance was given during the election of December, 1886.<sup>1</sup> Obviously, Greenway was willing to use whatever means were available to him to assure his own re-election as well as to elect French Canadian Liberal M.L.A.s

Given this background, it is not surprising that Greenway had members of the Liberal party give assurances in the St. Francois-Xavier by-election of January 13, 1888. These were that the Liberals, if they formed the government, would guarantee the continuance of the dual structured education system and French language rights. The statements were delivered publicly by Joseph Martin and A. F. Martin, while Louis Gagnon was engaged in organizing the constituency and undoubtedly delivered the same message. Of interest was the fact that the Conservative candidate, Joseph Burke, raised the issue in the contest, much as A. A. C. LaRivière had done in the 1886 provincial election when he used the issue of nationality against the Liberals. With the pledges given by the Liberal party in January, 1888, F. H. Francis easily defeated Burke.<sup>2</sup> As a direct result,

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<sup>1</sup> Memo on Election Expenses, undated. P.A.M., Ibid., 830. The context of the information suggests that this was prepared following the December, 1886, election, because of a reference to R. H. Spedding, editor of The Manitou Mercury.

<sup>2</sup> "Their Game Spoiled," Manitoba Free Press, 9 January 1888, 4; "Francis Wins," Ibid., 14 January 1888, 4; A. A. Taché, A Page of the History of the Schools in Manitoba During Seventy-Five Years (St. Boniface, 1893), 25-27.

Greenway became Premier of Manitoba less than a week after the last vote was counted.

In forming his Cabinet, Greenway wanted a French representative and offered the position to A. F. Martin who refused it.<sup>1</sup> The Premier then turned to James Prendergast, Conservative M.L.A. for La Verendrye, who accepted.<sup>2</sup> While no explanation was given for Prendergast's switch, perhaps he did so as a reaction to being neglected when D. H. Garrison had appointed Joseph Burke to the position of Provincial Secretary. Although it cannot be documented that Prendergast and Archbishop Taché discussed the M.L.A.'s joining the Liberals, it might be inferred that they did and Taché gave his qualified approval.<sup>3</sup> Before the acceptance was announced, Greenway sought an interview with Archbishop Taché at the Archbishop's residence in St. Boniface. The details of the meeting have varied, depending on the source. Greenway never denied the meeting itself, but claimed that the only purpose was to seek the Archbishop's approval of either A. F. Martin or James Prendergast as the French representative in the Cabinet.<sup>4</sup> Greenway maintained that as no pledges regarding language and schools were asked for, none were given.<sup>5</sup> Archbishop Taché strongly

<sup>1</sup> A. F. Martin to Greenway, undated. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 9.

<sup>2</sup> "The List Complete," Manitoba Free Press, 19 January 1888, 4.

<sup>3</sup> See, Prendergast to Taché, 23 fevrier 1888. Archives Archiepiscopales de St. Boniface (A.A.S.B.), Taché Papers.

<sup>4</sup> "The Legislators Talk," Hansard (Manitoba Free Press), 28 August 1888 - 31 March 1890, 63; "The Manitoba Legislature," Ibid., 120. Refers to 5 February 1890 and 7 February 1890.

<sup>5</sup> "The Local Legislature," Hansard (The Winnipeg Tribune), 30 January 1890 - 20 April 1892, 4-5. Refers to 16 March 1892.

argued that Greenway had volunteered assurances as to schools, language, and the number of French electoral divisions.<sup>1</sup> Jechim Allard, Vicar General to the Archbishop, made a similar claim,<sup>2</sup> while William F. Alloway supported the contentions of Taché and Allard, as did James Fisher, Liberal M.L.A. for Russell,<sup>3</sup> and Rodmond Roblin, who had been elected for Dufferin as a Liberal, but had become a Conservative by 1890.<sup>4</sup>

While there was no evidence that would substantiate satisfactorily whether or not the assurances were given by Greenway, it would seem that they would be necessary to gain the support of James Prendergast and Thomas Gelleys, Conservative M. L. A. for Cartier, as well as to allay any fears that the Liberals would take action against the use of the French language and the Roman Catholic schools. In return, Taché promised that "he would do nothing against his [Greenway's] administration,"<sup>5</sup> which probably was meant as a statement of neutrality pending Greenway's actions as Premier. There was no evidence to suggest that the understanding went beyond these terms. Despite this meeting and its details, Greenway already was preparing to make changes in the Manitoba educational system on the basis of economy and municipal taxation.

<sup>1</sup> Taché, op. cit., 27-28.

<sup>2</sup> Jochim Allard to Taché, 30 December 1891. A.A.S.B., Taché Papers.

<sup>3</sup> Taché, op. cit., 26-28.

<sup>4</sup> "The Local Legislature," Hansard (The Winnipeg Tribune), 30 January 1890 - 20 April 1892, 4-5. Refers to 16 March 1892.

<sup>5</sup> Taché, op. cit., 28.

The Liberal platform of June, 1886, had not been explicit on education policy, stating that "Curtailment of the expenses of government and the application of the largest possible share of the Provincial revenue would be made to the reduction of school, municipal and other direct taxation."<sup>1</sup> In his electoral address, published a few days after becoming Premier, Greenway promised,

The proper development of our educational system, and the need of affording ample facilities for education in the Province will receive the careful attention of the Government. Owing to peculiar circumstances the charge upon the taxpayers for educational purposes is abnormally heavy. The Government will devise means whereby the schools will receive a much larger money grant than has heretofore been given.<sup>2</sup>

The statement involved two related aspects, the government grant to schools and municipal taxation to support education.

In an attempt to meet both problems in one act, Greenway's government increased the grant from a total of \$73,000 to \$120,000 in May, 1888.<sup>3</sup> The division would be approximately \$97,500 for Protestant schools and \$22,500 for Roman Catholic schools on a per capita basis. The government grant was increased from \$100 per school to \$150, but the municipal general levy of \$20 a month for each month a school was in operation was reduced to \$10 a month. As a result, under the Norquay government, a school which operated twelve months would receive a maximum of \$340, while

<sup>1</sup> "Manitoba Liberals," Manitoba Free Press, 3 June 1886, 4.

<sup>2</sup> "Address to the Electors of the Electoral Division of Mountain," undated. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 267; "Electoral Address," Manitoba Free Press, 22 January 1888, 2.

<sup>3</sup> "Great Reduction," Hansard (Manitoba Free Press), 28 August 1888 - 31 March 1890 [sic], 95. Refers to 12 May 1888.

Greenway's legislation would provide only \$270. The net effect was to reduce by \$70 the maximum amount available to each school, even though the avowed purpose had been just the opposite.

Finlay Young, Liberal M.L.A. for Turtle Mountain, but seeking election in the newly created constituency of Killarney, wrote Greenway on June 16, 1888. After a few comments on the electoral prospects in his constituency, Young stated, "I believe we have made a blunder in the School Act" and went on to illustrate his contention that the change meant "a greater amount to be raised by district tax." Young indicated that school trustees in the area were far from satisfied.<sup>1</sup> There was no record of Greenway's response. Probably he left the matter to be considered later, as he was involved in negotiations with the directors of the Northern Pacific Railway Company and the approaching provincial election.

In the election of July 11, 1888, Greenway and the Liberal party won an overwhelming victory, carrying 33 of 38 seats. The result usually has been regarded as the electoral expression of appreciation for Greenway's success in ending the federal policy of disallowing Manitoba's chartering of railways to the international boundary. This contention has sufficient validity to be accepted as the correct interpretation of the election. However, it does not necessarily follow that this explanation holds true in the French constituencies nor does it consider Greenway's role in assisting Liberal candidates in these ridings.

The campaigns and results from the six French constituencies suggest that these ridings changed their long-standing Conservative allegiance on

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<sup>1</sup> Finlay Young to Greenway, 16 June 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 30.

the basis of gaining a measure of influence in Greenway's government. Greenway spoke in support of A. F. Martin (Morris) and Thomas Golley (Cartier).<sup>1</sup> Martin won by acclamation and Golley defeated James Hamelin by 140 votes. There was a delay in nominating candidates for Woodlands and La Verendrye. Greenway was informed that the clergy were assisting J. M. Robinson, the Conservative candidate in Woodlands.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps on that basis, along with an understanding Greenway had with Louis G. Gagnon, Prendergast contested and won Woodlands. Greenway had promised Gagnon Liberal party support in LaVerendrye at the next general election in return for Gagnon's assistance to Prendergast in the February, 1888, by-election.<sup>3</sup> The delay in completing the arrangements allowed time for William Lagimodière to write Greenway claiming to be the government candidate.<sup>4</sup> Gagnon received Greenway's endorsement but it was of limited value as Lagimodière easily won the riding.<sup>5</sup> There was no evidence that Greenway took any part in the campaigns in Carillon and St. Boniface. In Carillon, Martin Jérôme, who had lost to Roger Marion in 1886, won the riding for the Liberals by defeating Paul Chénard. St. Boniface returned

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<sup>1</sup> "Notes of the Fight," Manitoba Free Press, 22 June 1888, 1; "They Cannot Vote," Ibid., 23 June 1888, 1; "Honor to the Chief," Ibid., 25 June 1888, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Wemyss to Greenway, 18 May 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 509.

<sup>3</sup> L. G. Gagnon to Greenway, 11 May 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 478.

<sup>4</sup> Gagnon to Greenway, 21 May 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 522; William Lagimodière to Greenway, 21 May 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 525; Gagnon to Greenway, 26 May 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 535.

<sup>5</sup> Gagnon to Greenway, 16 July 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 785.

Roger Marion by fourteen over the Liberal, J. Ernest Cyr.<sup>1</sup>

The results should have satisfied Greenway as there were four outright Liberals, one partial Liberal, and one Conservative. There was no record of the Premier making any comment on these results, although Archbishop Taché, writing five years after the event, listed the results in the six French constituencies and stated, "Nevertheless, the government had been hurt by what had been said and written on the occasion and it thought of vengeance. . . ."<sup>2</sup> Whether or not the Archbishop was referring to Greenway in particular or the Cabinet in general was not certain. At any rate, despite the clerical interference in Woodlands, there was no evidence to suggest that Taché had been anything other than neutral in the election. Apparently both Greenway and Taché had carried out the understanding they had reached in January, 1888. However, in less than twelve months, the French language and Roman Catholic schools were under attack and Greenway's government, largely at the insistence of James Smart, Minister of Public Works, was prepared to legislate on the issues.

The basis on which Greenway and Smart proceeded was economic and referred to Greenway's electoral address of January, 1888, in which he had written, "Owing to peculiar circumstances the charge upon the taxpayers for educational purposes is abnormally heavy."<sup>3</sup> As a still active land speculator, Greenway was aware of the difficulties in bringing land into the taxation system. He also was knowledgeable in relation to municipal

<sup>1</sup> J. A. Gemmill (ed.), Canadian Parliamentary Companion (Ottawa, 1889), 347-349, gives the election results for 11 July 1888.

<sup>2</sup> Taché, op. cit., 29.

<sup>3</sup> "Address to the Electors of the Electoral Division of Mountain, undated. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 267.

government and realized the problems faced in relation to revenues raised through taxation based on land. With odd-numbered sections reserved by the federal government, largely for the Canadian Pacific Railway land grant, there were only eighteen sections in a township available for settlement and municipal taxation. Of these eighteen, one and three-quarter sections were reserved as Hudson's Bay Company lands. As Greenway knew from personal experience, the price of these sections was about \$4,000, far beyond the means of most settlers. Thus, there were about sixteen sections per township to carry the burden of taxation for education.

Further complicating the taxation of these sixteen sections per township for educational purposes was the law which stated that ". . . in no case shall a Protestant ratepayer be obliged to pay for a Catholic school, and a Catholic ratepayer for a Protestant school."<sup>1</sup> As W. B. Gilroy of Austin, Manitoba, informed Greenway on August 25, 1888, this law could destroy a school district. After mentioning the school law, Gilroy went on to tell Greenway that,

Now I think where there is only one or two or say a few Catholics in a School Section they should help to support a Protestant School and the same with Protestants. We will take our School district for example. Mr. Clifford, a rich Englishman and a Catholic by religion, lives in the section [.] He now owns 5 or 6 1/4 sections and is still trying to get more and if he goes on he will eventually ruin our School unless the law is changed. If you would give this matter your attention at the next sitting of the Legislature you would confer a great favor on the settlers of this district.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. C. Clark, "A History of the Conservative Administrations, 1891-1896" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1968), 239-240, quoting Justice Joseph Dubuc in the Barrett case, Sessional Papers, No. 63B, 1891, 34.

<sup>2</sup> W. B. Gilroy to Greenway, 25 August 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1014.

Although Greenway's immediate reaction to Gilroy's letter was not recorded, a letter the Premier wrote to Malcolm Colin Cameron, his former opponent in South Huron and later partner in land speculation schemes, clearly expressed his viewpoint. Writing in reference to the Remedial Bill on February 29, 1896, Greenway stated that,

There are many clauses in it which are simply monstrous. For instance subclause 2 of Sec 28 you will see provides that any Separate School Supporters has [sic] his entire property relieved from Public School taxes, that is to say a person paying a small amount of taxes to the support of the separate schools in Winnipeg might own any quantity of land throughout the Province, which would be exempt from Public School taxes. This was one of the worse iniquities of the old law. It has always been said here by those who speak for the minority, that they do not want the old system re-introduced, but I regret that this bill is restoring the old system in all its worst features. . . .<sup>1</sup>

While Greenway was concerned with the taxation aspect of education, James Smart was collecting data on the debenture debt of the province at the request of the Premier. This probably was in connection with the proposed railway agreement with the Northern Pacific Railway Company. Smart informed Greenway that the figures given were approximations, "as it is difficult to get the Rural Municipalities to give a correct list of their liabilities." Although not shown by his report, Smart asserted, "There is a large bonded debt on a/c [sic] of Schools."<sup>2</sup>

Although the basis for making substantial changes in the educational system was being considered by the fall of 1888,<sup>3</sup> there was no evidence

<sup>1</sup> Greenway to M. C. Cameron, 29 February 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., Letter-book A, 779.

<sup>2</sup> Smart to Greenway, 28 August 1888. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891.

<sup>3</sup> Robert E. Clague, "The Political Aspects of the Manitoba School Question, 1890-96" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1939), 141-142.

to suggest any decisions had been made. This probably was because of the railway crossings dispute involving the Greenway government and the Canadian Pacific Railway as well as Smart's absence. Smart was in Brockville, Ontario, where he was recuperating from ill health. He communicated with Greenway on railway matters relating to the crossings, but there was no mention of education.<sup>1</sup>

The Provencher federal by-election of January, 1889, and the provincial legislative session apparently diverted attention from consideration of educational changes. A. A. C. LaRivière won the by-election for the Conservatives.<sup>2</sup> As Taché recalled the event four years later,

I was sick in Montreal, some [éne] telegraphed from Ottawa to Winnipeg that the archbishop of St. Boniface forced the Federal government in favor of a candidate who surely had not the sympathies of the Manitoba government. The news was entirely false from the first to the last word, but like all other lies it had its effect and strengthened the determination to make the Catholics pay for the supposed fault of their bishop. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Regardless of Taché's denials, he had designated LaRivière to succeed Joseph Royal in Provencher as early as June, 1888.<sup>4</sup> Prime Minister Macdonald had contributed \$500 for LaRivière's campaign in January, 1889,<sup>5</sup> even though he detested the candidate and had planned to leave him to his French-

<sup>1</sup> Smart to Greenway, 3 November 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1556; Smart to Greenway, 19 November 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 1275.

<sup>2</sup> "LaRivière is M. P.," Manitoba Free Press, 25 January 1889, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Taché, op. cit., 29.

<sup>4</sup> Schultz to Macdonald, 20 June 1888. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891; Schultz to Macdonald, 22 June 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891.

<sup>5</sup> Private. Macdonald to William B. Scarth, 10 January 1889. P.A.C., Scarth Papers, M-752.

Canadian colleagues.<sup>1</sup> However, there was no evidence to indicate Taché had persuaded the federal Conservatives to recognize and support LaRivière. Even more important, the Greenway Papers had no material commenting on the by-election result. Possibly there was an adverse reaction to the result within Greenway's Cabinet, but it was not made public nor was there any record of it.

Greenway had decided to change the school laws regardless of the Provencher by-election and the result merely hastened the movement. A number of Cabinet meetings were held in the following months and the decision was reached to alter the existing school system. The guiding spirit was James Smart rather than Joseph Martin.

Joseph Martin's position in the administration was insecure at best. Speaking at Manitou on March 8, 1889, Greenway had stated that it would be difficult to find an adequate replacement for Martin, but it would not be impossible.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, Lyman Jones, Provincial Treasurer, was announcing his resignation.<sup>3</sup> When there were rumors that Martin was considering the same course, William Winram, Speaker of the House, wrote Greenway, "I trust there is no truth in the report of Martins [sic] retirement. I am sorry Mr. Jones is going to leave us, but one at a time is quite enough."<sup>4</sup> Greenway agreed for the moment, but did not concern

<sup>1</sup> Private. Macdonald to H. H. Smith, 16 July 1888. P.A.M., Macdonald Papers, Box 1, 61. (Photocopy)

<sup>2</sup> "I'll kill You," The Winnipeg Sun, 8 March 1889, 1.

<sup>3</sup> D. H. McMillan, M. L. A. for Winnipeg Centre, became Provincial Treasurer in May, 1889, replacing Jones.

<sup>4</sup> William Winram to Greenway, 26 March 1889. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1693.

himself with keeping any promises made to his Attorney General. As Martin complained to Greenway on April 22, 1889,

There is a good deal in the newspapers about so many of the ministers being away and very naturally. When I agreed to stay in the Government it was distinctly agreed that at least three ministers should stay in Winnipeg. I was therefore very much disappointed to find that you had gone off to Toronto in spite of this arrangement. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Apparently, Greenway was willing to keep Martin in the Cabinet until the Northern Pacific and Manitoba had completed construction of the branch line to Brandon as well as the Souris extension, but Martin was to have little influence on the formulation of education policy.

Greenway's relationship with Smart cannot be established with absolute certainty. However, their correspondence of November, 1888, suggests that they were on excellent terms and shared the same viewpoint on railway disputes and scandal charges brought by the Free Press.<sup>2</sup> When Martin entered a libel suit against Luxton in September, 1890, Greenway probably agreed with Smart that, "Of course it is probably his own business but I think he has brought an unnecessary amount of trouble on himself because very very few, if any, believe one word that has been said by the Paper, and even a verdict would not count for very much."<sup>3</sup>

Letters exchanged when Greenway fired Smart from his position as Commissioner of Manitoba's Exhibit at the World's Fair of 1893 indicate that their relationship had not deteriorated since September, 1890. "I must say that after having been so closely identified with you for so

<sup>1</sup> Martin to Greenway, 22 April 1889. P.A.M., Ibid., 1914.

<sup>2</sup> Smart to Greenway, 3 November 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 1556; Smart to Greenway, 19 November 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 1275.

<sup>3</sup> Private. Smart to Greenway, 10 September 1890. P.A.M., Ibid., 3247.

many years," Smart wrote Greenway on July 26, 1893, "I hardly expected such treatment, but judging from past experience in the Government it is not surprising that I am now subjected to indecent discharge from my office and not given an opportunity to resign, a course which is usually followed towards the lowest officer in any public position."<sup>1</sup> In a letter of November 27 of the same year, Smart referred to his July letter and wrote that it had been "ill advised and uncalled for. . . . I am sure neither yourself nor myself desired to be placed in any position of unfriendliness towards each other. . . . I had thought that in view of my intimacy with the Government and especially with yourself that I would have been allowed, under the circumstances, to hold the office for the remaining few months, which would have been of material advantage to my finances and at the same time no embrassement [sic] to the Government. . . ."<sup>2</sup> While the evidence is not conclusive, it appears that Greenway was on better terms with Smart than with Martin, and possibly the latter resented his diminished position of influence, particularly in comparison to the party's years in Opposition when he had seemed to be Greenway's second in command.

Thus, it is significant that the first attack on the dual structured school system in Manitoba appeared in Smart's constituency of Brandon City when The Brandon Sun editorially objected to the prevailing system of education. On May 16, 1889, this newspaper argued that government grants should not be given to Roman Catholic schools and demanded that the practice be ended.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Smart to Greenway, 26 July 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 6022.

<sup>2</sup> Smart to Greenway, 27 November 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., 6181; Private. Greenway to Smart, 1 December 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 50.

<sup>3</sup> Editorial, "Separate Schools," The Brandon Sun, 16 May 1889, 4.

The editor of the newspaper was William J. White, Jr., and he was well-known to Greenway since White's father had been editor of The Exeter Times when Greenway had lived in Centralia. As well, Greenway and White, Jr., had negotiated a contract for printing and immigration pamphlet in October, 1888.<sup>1</sup> The Brandon Sun clearly was not Joseph Martin's newspaper. In a letter to Greenway on July 8, 1889, A. M. Peterson of Brandon suggested that with adequate telegraph facilities The Brandon Sun could become a daily which would improve the weekly edition. This would give the government excellent rural coverage, wrote Peterson, and solve the adverse statements of the Free Press and The Winnipeg Sun.<sup>2</sup> Although the telegraph problem was not resolved, The Brandon Sun continued to receive patronage contracts from the Greenway government and in return supported government policies.

The response to its first editorial of May 16 encouraged The Brandon Sun to assume an even stronger stance in an editorial of May 30. "We are glad to know that The Sun's course in opening the attack on the separate school system in this province is meeting with almost universal approval," stated the editorial writer, who went on to argue,

Until our revenues are very considerably increased schools must suffer for lack of financial support, or an excessive burden of taxation must be imposed. But what seems to us as worse than these considerations is the fact that a separate school system creates and perpetuates class distinctions that should never be known in a well organized state.

After objecting to the "very decided advantage over other religious bodies" enjoyed by Roman Catholics, the editorial writer asked, "Why should other denominations not have schools, aided by public grants, for the purpose of

<sup>1</sup> W. J. White to Greenway, 10 October 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1125; White to Greenway, 20 October 1888. P.A.M., Ibid., 1152.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. Peterson to Greenway, 8 July 1889. P.A.M., Ibid., 2002.

propagating their religion?" The editorial concluded that the "separate" school system "can only work harm and create division and jealousy. There should, therefore, be no hesitation or delay in abolishing such a system."<sup>1</sup>

In late June, The Brandon Sun again attacked the dual school system, but shifted ground to put its advocacy for abolition on the basis of Canadian nationality through assimilation. "This is an English speaking people, and all who come here know and expect to adopt our language, customs, and lands," asserted the editorial, "and "separate schools" were an obstacle to the development of a Canadian nationality. "But this obstacle can and ought to be removed out of the way. . . . Public moneys should not be granted to separate Catholic, separate Mennonite, separate Lutheran, or separate any other kind of schools," concluded the editorial.<sup>2</sup>

The Brandon Mail, edited by Charles Cliffe, Vice President of the Conservative Party Association of Manitoba, joined the campaign in early July, but called for the abolition of the French language as well as the dual school system. The reasons advanced for such actions were that "separate schools" were expensive and a young country could not afford them, while anyone who aspired to public office could make himself under-

<sup>1</sup> Editorial, "Separate Schools," The Brandon Sun, 30 May 1889, 4; see J. R. Miller, "D'Alton McCarthy, Equal Rights, and the Origins of the Manitoba School Question," The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. LIV (December, 1973), 386-387, for a discussion of the response to The Brandon Sun's editorial of 16 May 1889. The various newspapers and politicians using the term "separate" to describe Roman Catholic Schools were using it in a sense which indicated an agitation to have denominational schools abolished. In actual fact, the education system was dual structured and there were no separate schools.

<sup>2</sup> Editorial, "Mennonites and Separate Schools," The Brandon Sun, 20 June 1889, 4; see also, "Provincial Press," Ibid., 25 July 1889, 4, in which The Brandon Sun quotes from The Winnipeg Commercial which approved the attack on the dual school system.

stood in English.<sup>1</sup> A week later, on July 18, The Brandon Mail repeated its position. This time, however, the editorial writer urged it as practical politics. John Norquay's sudden death necessitated a Conservative party convention to select a new leader and the party should adopt policies calling for abolition of the dual language, the dual structured schools, and the taxation system which supported education. This should be taken up as the Conservative program, The Brandon Mail asserted, before Greenway and the Liberal party adopted them.<sup>2</sup>

Greenway and his Cabinet already had decided to act. Although it cannot be stated conclusively, it appears that the editorial pronouncements by The Brandon Sun were inspired by a desire to gauge public reaction to proposed changes in the education system. This was followed by a series of Cabinet meetings in May and early June, with the decision reached that action would be taken to alter the existing school system in a radical manner.<sup>3</sup> What was needed was a number of public pronouncements to explain the forthcoming changes.

The campaign started with an announcement in The Winnipeg Sun on August 1 which stated that the government planned to abolish official use of the French language and wipe out the denominational school system.<sup>4</sup> While Winnipeg was considering this item, Greenway and James Smart were attending a picnic at Souris City. Greenway left education matters to Smart, and spoke on the ending of disallowance, breaking the Canadian

<sup>1</sup> Editorial, "Equality of Citizenship," The Brandon Mail, 11 July 1889, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Editorial, Ibid., 18 July 1889, 4.

<sup>3</sup> "The Premier Explains," The Winnipeg Tribune, 21 February 1890, 4.

<sup>4</sup> "They Both Must Go," The Winnipeg Sun, 1 August, 1889, 4.

Pacific Railway monopoly, and the benefits of freight rate competition. He also promised that his government would make further reductions in expenditures. Greenway devoted less than thirty minutes of a ninety minute speech to a strong denial of Luxton's bribery charges and asserted that the Free Press editor was in the pay of the Canadian Pacific Railway.<sup>1</sup> He repeated the same speech at Clearwater in Mountain constituency the following day.

James Smart devoted the first half of his speech to the economies achieved by the Greenway government and then turned to a discussion of education policy. In referring to the denominational schools, Smart stated, "There was now an agitation to have them abolished, and the Government had been asked to take hold of the matter." Smart was reported as saying,

It was not his intention neither by speech nor inference to be understood as speaking disparagingly of Roman Catholics. They were as much entitled to their rights as any other people and he would defend them as energetically as he would those of the Protestants. In referring to the schools, he did not set himself up as an educationalist, but as the matter had come before the government, he spoke of it in a practical way. There was he said very much of an anomaly in it all. While the state recognized both systems, he did not undertake to discuss or take any side in the matter as to whether this was right or wrong. Still it was impossible not to see the difference that existed. In the province we had a double barrelled school system -- two sets all around, two superintendents, two boards of education, and so on. The cost of this was borne by the people, and he believed but one system should exist, (hear, hear), and that it should be conducted under the direct supervision of the Government to whom the people could appeal when they desired their grievances redressed. Now the board was responsible to nobody, and much [sic - such] a state of affairs demanded that the law be changed. The basis of the apportionment of money was wrong. At present the money was given in proportion to the numbers of children of school age and he believed that wrong, as a school of 24 or 36 cost no more to teach than one of 10 or 12. It should be given in proportion to the number of the schools or teachers employed.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "The Big Pic-Nic," The Brandon Sun, 8 August 1889, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 8.

The Minister stated the the department of education would be attached to the government. According to the report of Smart's speech,

The government in making this important change, are perfectly aware that from a political stand point it may be a very grave move, but feeling that the change is absolutely essential to the future well being of the educational interests of the people of Manitoba, they have determined to make the move, let the consequences be what they may. A saving of thousands of dollars can be effected which amount will materially increase the present large grant now made by the government to schools. The government believes that it is decidedly in the interests of the people to have our schools made national, at least so far as the qualification of the teachers and the secular course of instruction are concerned; at present the qualifications are entirely different and it [sic - he] believed the course of instruction in the separate schools is not equal to the Protestant. No matter what class of citizens we have, all the children should have equal advantages in the matter of education, and this change will give to all Catholic, Protestant, and any other class, which had already, or may take up their residence in this country, the same educational privileges.<sup>1</sup>

Smart then moved to the economic aspect of the question. After discussing the apportionment of the government grant, he asserted,

The Catholics therefore got one fifth of the grant and have one-ninth the number of schools. In other words the Catholic Board of education gets \$376, while the Protestants get \$197 or about one half the amount paid the Catholics. The grants paid the protestant board of education is divided by that board in accordance with the law and in a way which seems the only proper method, namely: a proportionate amount to each teacher and for the length of time the school is in operation. This would be the plan adopted were the two schools placed directly under the government and instead of the unfair division as at present in vogue, each school would receive its just proportion.<sup>2</sup>

Smart went into a comparison of Catholic and Protestant taxation. He stated that,

It might, however, be claimed by some that the question of taxation is one entirely for the people to decide, but I claim that, as has already been pointed out, the government should make it incumbent that every class of the community should

<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

receive the same educational advantages, and that the system should be so arranged that all teachers should receive the same instruction and pass the same examination before being allowed to teach in any school. The total school taxation of the province for 1888 was \$244,602.92 of which the Catholics paid \$17,789.42 and the Protestants \$226,813.50. Now, while the Catholics claim to have one-fifth as many children as the Protestants they pay in direct taxation one-thirteenth the amount paid by Protestants. The Catholics pay in taxation \$4.07 per pupil, while the Protestants are called upon to be taxed \$12.03 for each of their children. The taxation for each school teacher as claimed, is, for Catholics \$165.30, and for the Protestants \$356.05. In other words the Catholics receive for each district by taxes \$300, and the Protestants for each of their districts the sum of \$460, or in proportion to the estimated number of taxpayers, Catholics pay in taxes \$5.75, and the Protestants \$10.50 each.<sup>1</sup>

The Minister of Public Works then compared the school grant apportionment in relation to taxation and promised legislation to correct the abuse. As Smart indicated,

I wish to draw the attention of my audience to another anomaly in the matter of the school grant apportionment which shows that the whole system and law is utterly wrong and grossly unfair to the large body of citizens of this province. For instance, the Roman Catholics get \$1.43 of government grant for each dollar they raise by taxation, while the Protestants get only 43 cents for each dollar raised by them, or in other words, for each dollar of the cost of maintaining schools the Catholics get 55 cents from the government and tax themselves 45 cents, the Protestants on the other hand receive 30 cents from the government [and] tax themselves 70 cents. It seems to me entirely unnecessary to point out how unfair such a state of affairs is, and the government feeling that in this matter a gross injustice is being done will hasten to repair the wrong and place upon the statutes, a law which will give to Protestants, Catholics, or any other sect equal justice and equal rights. Why such a law was ever placed upon the statute books is beyond my comprehension.<sup>2</sup>

Smart continued to discuss the tax laws, believing that,

whoever is responsible for the present law, which gives to the Catholics who are in a vast minority in this province, such an

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<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

outrageous advantage in the apportionment of the government grant to schools, has done the Protestants a most serious wrong, and either could not have been actuated by proper motives or was ignorant of the result of the working of such a law. What does it mean? It only means that the Protestants of this country have been directly taxed to educate the children of Catholics. This is a wrong which must be righted and at the earliest possible date.<sup>1</sup>

Smart concluded his speech with a lengthy statement of the government's position, starting with a comment on Roman Catholics. He was reported as saying,

I dont [sic] blame the individual Catholics for getting all they can. They are rather to be congratulated for having had low taxation and high government grant, and for the past number of years, securing the education of their children at the expense of the people of other denominations. The Liberal party is known to be the party of reforms, and the present government is prepared to undertake the task of giving in the matter of the conduct of the educational system equal rights to all citizens of the province, and thereby making a reform, which should be received by every fair minded man in Manitoba with favor. I do not wish to be understood in any of my remarks on this question to advocate the abolition of the separate school system. I am not prepared to express any opinion, at present, on this question nor do I purpose discussing the question as to whether the principle of state aid to any class of denominational schools is or is not a correct one. Sufficient it is for me now to point out under the existing laws, the unfairness that exists, with a view to giving to the people the reasons for the changes which will shortly take place in the law pertaining to the carrying out of the educational institutions of the Country. The whole department will be placed directly [under] a responsible Minister of the Crown and similar regulations as to qualifications of teachers, as to Inspectors, Normal Schools &c will be made both in the case of separate schools as well as Protestant. This course will effect the saving of some thousands of dollars, which will go further to assist in reducing the taxation raised by the people of Manitoba.<sup>2</sup>

Smart repeated his speech at Clearwater the following day.

The accuracy of Smart's analysis of the taxation system was not

<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

challenged in the ensuing controversy. While this does not verify his statements, it suggests that he had presented a correct account of the taxation system. Although Smart may have exaggerated slightly for political effect, he clearly had a strong case for making taxation equitable with no privilege granted on the basis of religion.

Smart's speeches at Souris City and Clearwater have received contradictory interpretations. W. L. Morton has written that the decision to abolish the dual school system "was announced, as a decision of the government, by the Hon. James Smart" in his two picnic speeches.<sup>1</sup> L. C. Clark has contended

that all that the Government had announced, prior to McCarthy's speech of August 5, was its intention to replace the dual-structured Board of Education by a Department of Education which would be under the direct supervision of a Cabinet Minister. No more than in Ontario (which had established such a department in 1876) did this involve the abolition of Roman Catholic schools.<sup>2</sup>

While Smart was reported as disavowing any intention of abolishing the dual school system, his remarks went far beyond replacing the dual-structured Board of Education by a Department of Education. He had promised a change in the tax structure and the dual school system which would provide equal rights for all classes. His reference to "national" schools as far as qualification of teachers and the secular course of instruction indicated major changes, rather than a mere administrative adjustment.<sup>3</sup> These proposals scarcely could be viewed without apprehension by Roman Catholics, or by those who had an interest in their rights and privileges, even if that interest was based on political considerations.

<sup>1</sup> W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, 2nd edition (Toronto, 1967), 243.

<sup>2</sup> L. C. Clark, op. cit., 235.

<sup>3</sup> The ensuing legislation closely followed Smart's suggestions. See pages 214-215 for details.

Lieutenant Governor Schultz had no difficulty interpreting either Smart's speech or government policy. In his opinion, abolition of the separate schools was the government's objective. In a letter to John A. Macdonald on August 3, Schultz wrote that,

A few days ago he [Martin] informed the 'Sun' of his proposed abolition of the Dual Language, and the Separate School system, . . . . Yesterday at a Picnic the Minister of Public Works announced the same thing so it may be taken for granted that they will introduce such legislation -- . . .<sup>1</sup>

The Manitou Mercury, edited by Robert Henry Spedding, expressed the same opinion as Schultz. After references to the speeches of Greenway and Smart at Clearwater on August 2, the article went on to state that the abolition of the separate schools had been announced. Then the statement made in The Winnipeg Sun of August 1 was quoted as a further indication of the changes to be made.<sup>2</sup>

The Manitou Mercury was virtually Greenway's organ in southern Manitoba. In December, 1886, Greenway had assisted Spedding with \$800 when James Fisher and William Winram had refused to honour their guarantee of the amount.<sup>3</sup> Spedding had supported Greenway even before this incident,<sup>4</sup> but their relationship became very close once Greenway became Premier, largely on the basis of printing and advertising patronage. Spedding was one of Greenway's trusted confidants in political matters, with Greenway leaving many details of constituency management to Spedding's

<sup>1</sup> Schultz to Macdonald, 3 August 1889. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 264, 120182-120184.

<sup>2</sup> "Liberals at Clearwater," The Manitou Mercury, 3 August 1889, 2.

<sup>3</sup> "Memo on Election Expenses," undated. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 830.

<sup>4</sup> Editorial, "Political Demonstration," The Manitou Mercury, 2 October 1885, 2.

discretion.<sup>1</sup> As a result, The Manitou Mercury was qualified to make its statement regarding government policy on the separate schools and the dual language.

That the Greenway government planned to abolish French printing and create a common school system seems clear in a statement made by James Prendergast, speaking in the Legislature on February 20, 1890. He stated that he had decided to resign as of June 18, 1889, because "in certain acts of administration I was not in accord with the government, while there were other matters which I was not at liberty to reveal, as they were matters of council." Prendergast called on Archbishop Taché to inform him that the decision to resign was irrevocable and no consideration could alter it.<sup>2</sup> A letter Prendergast had written to Taché on February 23, 1888, indicated the basis on which the Provincial Secretary would resign. Prendergast wrote the Archbishop that,

Je reconnaiss humblement à Votre Grandeur le droit d' ordonner et de prononcer absolument sur le mérite ou le démerite de toute question affectant la religion, la morale, l'éducation et tous les principes sociaux en général; et comme, autrement, ce ne serait lu qu'me déclaracion illusoires qui n'engagerait à rien, et je lui reconnaiss le droit nécessaire de déterminer d'abord si telle question dibattue affects, oui or non, ces vérites on ces principes.

Il me suffira, Monseigneur, qui vos me déclariez que l'administration à laquelle je me sens ralliée n'offre plus des garanties suffisantes aux intérêts supérieurs dont vous êtes le dispositaire, pour que je place sans hesiter ma

<sup>1</sup> Telegram, J. W. Greenway to Greenway, 27 January 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 82; Private. R. H. Spedding to Greenway, 2 September 1889. P.A.M., Ibid., 2281. Spedding to Greenway, 16 September 1889. P.A.M., Ibid., 2225; Private. Spedding to Greenway, 18 September 1889. P.A.M., Ibid., 2238; Private. Spedding to Greenway, 10 October 1889. P.A.M., Ibid., 2262; Spedding to Greenway, 5 May 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 3629; Private. Greenway to R. D. Foley, 19 October 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 635; Private and Confidential. Spedding to Greenway, 30 October, 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., 8034.

<sup>2</sup> "The Premier Explains," The Winnipeg Tribune, 21 February 1890, 4.

resignation entre vos mains. C'est là un engagement  
solemmel que j'avais surtout en me en prenant la  
liberte d'écrire à votre Grandeur.<sup>1</sup>

Prendergast had remained in the Cabinet until mid-August, 1889, apparently in a futile effort to stop the expected legislation. Following Smart's speech at Clearwater and Martin's at Portage la Prairie, Prendergast was quoted as stating that, "I recognize that the situation is one which seriously affects me, and is alarming to my countrymen. Although that which can be implied from the public reports of Hon. Mr. Smart and Hon. Mr. Martin is serious, yet I believe that the statements are far from being accurate." However, he went on to say that "I believe, and have for some time past, that some material changes will be effected at the next session."<sup>2</sup> Significantly, Prendergast never mentioned D'Alton McCarthy in any of his statements and confirmed that Smart's speech was of major consequence.

The evidence is clear that Greenway's policy was to end French printing and substantially alter the school system before D'Alton McCarthy, leader of the Equal Rights Association and Conservative M. P. for North Simcoe, spoke at Portage la Prairie on August 5, 1889. There was no evidence in the Greenway Papers which even hinted at an acquaintance between the Premier and McCarthy. This does not exclude the possibility that Joseph Martin was acquainted with McCarthy, but no correspondent of Greenway's ever mentioned any connection between the two.

McCarthy spoke on dual languages and said nothing that he had not said

<sup>1</sup> Prendergast to Taché, 23 février 1888. A.A.S.B., Taché Papers.

<sup>2</sup> "What Will He Do?" Manitoba Free Press, 7 August 1889, 4.

already in his Ontario speeches.<sup>1</sup> On the same platform with McCarthy was Joseph Martin who used the occasion to expound his own policy. Martin was reported as saying that he "could not say that it had been announced by the Government, at least not very definitely, what action they proposed to take in connection with the dual language and separate school systems in this province. . . ." He went on to say, however, that this was an English country and "we should speak the language of the country." It was reported as well that Martin would cease to be a Minister rather than sign documents and vouchers for public documents and statutes~~es~~ in a foreign language. He objected to signing vouchers whereby Roman Catholic schools received grants that were double those received by Protestant schools. His solution was that the dual system should be replaced by common schools from which religion was eliminated.<sup>2</sup> Whether Joseph Martin was concerned that his speech was not in line with government policy or that Greenway would not accept what he had said cannot be determined conclusively. It appears that Martin wanted to explain his speech to the Premier and wrote him the day after the meeting at Portage la Prairie to say that,

I am afraid after reading the paper this morning you will think I have been going it rather strong -- I had no right I suppose to be so definite on the French language matter -- Perhaps I went too far if so I am prepared to be censured but I feel sure that there is no use doing this thing by halves -- Prendergast could not stay with us on the abolition of the Board of Education and having abolished the Board of Education the only way to run the schools will be to make them all alike in the eyes of the law and have no religious instruction in any of them. I think up to that point we are agreed and what I said last night was the necessary outcome of the decision of caucus to abolish the Boards of Education. In doing this much we lose without doubt

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Francis O'Sullivan, "D'Alton McCarthy and the Conservative Party, 1876-1896" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1949), 92-94.

<sup>2</sup> "McCarthy's Speech, "Manitoba Free Press, 7 August 1889, 1, 3.

the support of the French if we ever had any effective support from them. Having lost their support what possible object can we have in not meeting the strong demand for the abolition of the French language? The connection of the two seemed to me so clear last night that without realizing that I was going a little too far I spoke as if it were the settled policy of the Government to do both things. I sincerely hope what I have done will after all meet with the approval of yourself Smart and McMillan. As you know I would be quite willing to suffer any penalty for compromising the government but of course under the circumstances we are in that willingness does not in the least excuse what I have done.

Mr. McCarthy's speech was a great success and my remarks were certainly well received. I will come down anytime you say and discuss the whole matter. I cannot be away from here on Friday of this week as I have a case coming on then here.

Please show this to Smart and McMillan.<sup>1</sup>

Martin's letter indicated that education policy already been settled by the caucus, but he wanted to go further and eliminate all religious instruction in the schools. He also wanted the French language abolished. Although this letter has been interpreted as an attempt to "bully" Greenway into the legislative acts of 1890,<sup>2</sup> it seems more likely that Martin was attempting to take public credit for the government's policy and possibly going beyond the government's decision in regard to religion in the schools and the French language. A second letter from Martin to Greenway suggests that it was Greenway who was keeping Martin in line, even though the Premier had to move carefully to keep Lieutenant Governor Schultz placated while rapping Martin for his failure to be definite on government policy.

Greenway found himself in a difficult position. Schultz had complained to the Premier about an article, believed inspired by Martin, in The Winnipeg Sun of August 1 which was critical of Schultz.<sup>3</sup> Greenway told Schultz,

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph Martin to Greenway, 6 August 1889. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 2111.

<sup>2</sup> L. C. Clark, op. cit., 243.

<sup>3</sup> "Governor and Advisors," The Winnipeg Sun, 1 August 1889, 4.

Referring to our conversation today as promised I called a meeting of my colleagues at present in the City and in view of the statement you make regarding Mr. Martin giving the information of which you complain and the publication of which I regret exceedingly we have thought it best to have Mr. M. here before discussing the matter fully or taking action thereon, have asked him to come down.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway's letter to Martin of August 7 was not found, but its contents can be inferred upon Martin's response. Greenway demanded Martin clarify press reports of his speech on schools and language and requested Martin sign a letter stating there had been no trouble between the administration and the Lieutenant Governor. Martin's reply clearly indicates that Greenway had decided to alter radically the dual school system, end French printing, and that the major advocate of the proposals was James Smart. As Martin wrote Greenway on August 9,

Yours of the 7th inst at hand. I did not read very particularly the reports of what I said here but I do not see how they could have put the meaning you refer to on what I said. I said it was the policy of the Government + that they would stand or fall by it. I never hinted that there was a dispute about it and that I was trying to induce the others to adopt that policy + that if it were not done I would resign. I never mentioned resignation. I said it had been a disagreeable duty for me to sign separate school and french printing vouchers + that I would soon cease to sign such vouchers or cease to be a minister meaning by that that if the government were defeated on it we would submit to it.

It would certainly be grossly unfair for me to attempt to take to myself any especial credit apart from the other members of the Government for this policy. As you say it was Smart who pressed the strongest for it and it was on account of what he was reported to have said at Souris City and Clearwater that I was induced to speak of the matter at all. Then I was afraid I had gone too far. The announcement has taken extremely well here and I have no doubt whatever but that it is our very best policy.

I am quite puzzled to think who the new minister is to be. That will as you say have to stand until after you return

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<sup>1</sup> Private. Greenway to Schultz, 7 August 1889. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Box 1A, Correspondence 1887-1891.

from the west.

As to the L.G. He can go to the devil so far as I am concerned. I certainly cannot sign a letter stating that there has not been trouble between him and us. When he commences to behave himself + ceases to violate the law as to ordering things then perhaps I may have some patience with the old fool. You had better draw his attention to the Sun's article on the powers of Governors and let him ponder on that. If he wants to fight with me I am ready for him. I dont think I shall get the worst of it.<sup>1</sup>

Martin's two letters to Greenway indicate that the government was intent on creating a Department of Education with "national" standards which would result in common schools, and ending French printing. Significantly, Martin's second letter backed away from abolition of the French language and mentioned only French printing. It also makes it clear that Prendergast ~~was expected to resign shortly.~~

At the end of August, 1889, publication of the Manitoba Gazette in French ceased at the direction of James Smart. Schultz requested information on this move and Smart responded by forwarding a copy of a letter from C. A. Sadlier, Clerk of the Executive Council. Sadlier had written Smart on September 3, 1889, that "The Gazette appears to have been published in both English and French since its inception," but after a "careful search" he could find no mention of the French language in the Statutes.<sup>2</sup>

According to Lieutenant Governor Schultz, Greenway assured him that ending French printing was an economy measure while creation of a Department of Education would provide a uniform system of education while

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Martin to Greenway, 9 August 1889. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 2111. Punctuation and abbreviations are as in the original.

<sup>2</sup> C. A. Sadlier to Smart, 3 September 1889. P.A.M., Schultz Papers, Correspondence 1889, 232 1/2; Smart to Schultz, 5 September 1889. P.A.M., Ibid., 232 1/2.

reducing municipal taxation.<sup>1</sup> While Schultz was attempting to reassure Macdonald, possibly to prove that he was able "to steer" Greenway, M. C. Cameron and R. J. Cartwright, two Liberals who knew Greenway much better than Schultz and Macdonald, were considering the Premier's course. Cameron wrote Cartwright on October 28, 1889,

I have read over yours of the 25th, with a great deal of interest. I agree with nearly all you say respecting the situation now and henceforth. You have only reached the initial stages of the difficulties. Greenway has committed himself almost beyond hope of retreat. He has already acted. His Gazette is now published in English only. He is bound at next session to act. His action will beyond doubt form the subject of discussion in the Commons, not only of discussion but of action. . . .<sup>2</sup>

There was action in the 1890 legislative session in Manitoba. The school acts, passed in March, established a Department of Education and created a system of non-denominational schools supported by all taxpayers without exception. The only Roman Catholic school districts abolished were those which overlapped with Protestant school districts. In those instances, the Protestant district became the public school district. School districts which did not overlap were used as the basis for the public school districts, regardless of whether they had been Roman Catholic or Protestant before 1890. The right of Roman Catholics to maintain their own schools was not abolished, but those schools which failed to comply with the standards established by the Department of Education would not participate in the legislative grant. Due to pressure from Protestant

<sup>1</sup> Private. Schultz to Macdonald, 9 September 1889. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 264, 120185-120187; Private. Schultz to Macdonald, 30 October 1889. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 264, 120190-120192; Confidential. Schultz to Macdonald, 9 December 1889. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 264, 120196-120199.

<sup>2</sup> M. C. Cameron to R. J. Cartwright, 28 October 1889. P.A.O., Cartwright Family Papers.

clergymen provision was made for voluntary religious instruction at a designated time and without discrimination against any religion largely to illustrate that the schools were not "Godless." The school acts conform closely to the views expressed by Smart at Souris City and Clearwater rather than Martin's outburst at Portage la Prairie. Martin had called for schools without religious instruction of any denomination and abolition of the dual language. The French language was not touched while printing of the records and journals in French was ended, largely at Smart's insistence and on his direction but only "so far as this Legislature has jurisdiction so to enact, . . ."<sup>1</sup>. Despite this proviso, the action was unconstitutional by the terms of the Manitoba Act of 1870.

The Attorney General did not gain his point regarding the schools, as the legislation met the views of Smart and Greenway, particularly in relation to taxation and equal privileges for all. Thus, it may be possible to conclude that Martin had made his remarks at Portage la Prairie in an attempt to gain through public pressure what he could not achieve in Cabinet. The results suggest that Greenway and Smart were able to control Martin while letting him be the scapegoat for the attacks on the minority in the Legislature.

The foregoing interpretation of the origins of the Manitoba School Question contradicts the views expressed by Robert E. Clague,<sup>2</sup> W. L. Morton,<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See, 53 vic 14 and 53 vic 38 in Statutes of Manitoba, 1890 (Winnipeg, 1890 (Winnipeg, 1890), 55, 179-233.

<sup>2</sup> Robert E. Clague, "The Political Implications of the Manitoba School Question, 1890-96" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1939).

<sup>3</sup> W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, 2nd edition (Toronto, 1967).

P. E. Crunican,<sup>1</sup> and L. C. Clark.<sup>2</sup> Clague's study was based solely on published material as most manuscript collections now available to historians were not open to him. Clague concluded that "it would seem that the issue developed out of the political requirements of the moment as an emergency policy adopted by the Greenway Government in an effort to tide it over an evil hour."<sup>3</sup> W. L. Morton, based on Clague's thesis, wrote, "But the possibility that they sought a popular issue with which to recover the strength lost in the controversy over the Northern Pacific contract is not to be overlooked."<sup>4</sup> P. E. Crunican partially agreed with Clague's conclusion,<sup>5</sup> while L. C. Clark referred to Morton's statement and cited Manitoba Free Press editorials of August 29 and September 12, 1889, which made similar charges.<sup>6</sup>

Clague's assertion was based on a lengthy quotation from Alexander Begg's History of the North-West in which Begg contended the Northern Pacific and Manitoba failed to reduce freight rates materially and was unable to provide competition to the Canadian Pacific Railway. Begg held that this was not evident to the public until late 1889 by which time the Manitoba

<sup>1</sup> Paul Eugene Crunican, "The Manitoba School Question and Canadian Federal Politics, 1890-1896: A Study in Church-State Relations" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1968).

<sup>2</sup> Lovell C. Clark, "A History of the Conservative Administrations, 1891 to 1896" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1968).

<sup>3</sup> Clague, op. cit., 292.

<sup>4</sup> Morton, op. cit., 243.

<sup>5</sup> Crunican, op. cit., 4-5.

<sup>6</sup> Clark, op. cit., 241.

School Question had become a major topic of interest.<sup>1</sup> Begg was a former Canadian Pacific Railway employee and remained sympathetic to the Company. He also was bitter towards Greenway for refusing to provide a \$500 government subsidy through a promise to purchase an unspecified number of sets of his work.<sup>2</sup> Clague and Morton failed to consult Harold A. Innis's A History of the Canadian Pacific which contradicted Begg's assertion.<sup>3</sup> Thus, any statement relating to freight rates and competition based on Clague were on very tenuous ground. As well, to believe that Greenway and Martin knew their railway policy was a failure before the fall of 1889 would be to attribute visionary powers to two politicians who never gave any evidence of such abilities on any other issue.

More contentious were scandal charges relating to the Northern Pacific Railway. Clark referred specifically to editorials in the Manitoba Free Press of August 29 and September 12, 1889, which stated that Martin wanted to start "a row over the schools between the Dominion Government and the Province in order to bury the strong-smelling past in connection with the Northern Pacific corruptions and general infamies."<sup>4</sup> However, Luxton was unable to prove his contentions and, until 1895, Greenway and Martin would have been protected fully by James McNaught and James Kendrick, Northern Pacific and Manitoba officials. It was only in May, 1895, that

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Begg, History of the North-West (3 vols., Toronto, 1894), III, 330.

<sup>2</sup> Begg to Greenway, 18 June 1894. P.A.M., Greenway Papers 6786; Greenway to Begg, 3 July 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 262; Begg to Greenway, 29 September 1894, P.A.M., Ibid., 7110; Begg to Greenway, 26 October 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., 7192; Greenway to Begg, 17 November 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 380; Begg to Greenway, 11 January 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., 7308.

<sup>3</sup> Harold A. Innis, A History of the Canadian Pacific (Toronto, 1923), 185.

<sup>4</sup> Clark, op. cit., 241.

McNaught admitted bribing Greenway and Martin. There was too much at stake in 1889 and 1890, in terms of Northern Pacific and Manitoba branch lines, for McNaught to jeopardize the Company's position by revealing the scandal information. McNaught had been willing to testify, along with Kendrick, on Greenway's behalf at the November, 1888, libel suit against Luxton,<sup>1</sup> while Kendrick had done so in the Martin-Luxton libel suit of November, 1890.<sup>2</sup> Thus, while the assertion of originating the Manitoba Schools Question to cover scandal charges might be plausible, there would be little necessity of adopting that course unless McNaught was prepared to reveal the information. The evidence indicates that he was not about to do so.

Despite these arguments, it might be possible that Greenway and Martin did not consider the Manitoba School Question as a convenient cover for their railway deal with the Northern Pacific. If this were accepted, it would mean the origins of the issue would date from at least June, 1888, when the arrangements with the Northern Pacific were undertaken. However, the evidence indicates that Greenway's concern for education and municipal taxation were issues as early as June, 1886, and became prominent in January, 1888. This leads to a criticism of what may be termed the D'Alton McCarthy or "outside influence" thesis for the origins of the Manitoba School Question.

Clark has accepted the thesis that D'Alton McCarthy was "responsible for arousing the agitation which led to the offensive Manitoba legislation

<sup>1</sup> James McNaught to Greenway, 27 October 1888. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 1182.

<sup>2</sup> "Nearing a Close," Manitoba Free Press, 14 November 1890, 6.

of 1890."<sup>1</sup> Crunican tended to support this viewpoint, but qualified it by mentioning Smart's speech at Souris City on August 1, 1889, and Martin's letter to Greenway on August 6, 1889. He concluded that "Responsibility for the genesis of the Manitoba School Bill and its profound attack on the terms of the composition of Canada must lie directly with Joseph Martin, indirectly but ultimately with Thomas Greenway, with the tone of violence and bitterness vastly added to by Dalton McCarthy."<sup>2</sup> Morton has contended that "The time was ripe for the raising of the School Question in Manitoba in 1889; yet the impulse to do so came not so much from within the province as from without."<sup>3</sup> Further on, Morton suggested in reference to Greenway, Martin, and Smart that "The Ministers . . . were genuinely concerned both with economy in administration of the schools and with an increase in the school grants. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

Morton, Crunican, and Clark failed to exploit fully the evidence available to them. Martin's letter of August 9, 1889, to Greenway was ignored, although all three considered it since that letter was filed with the Martin to Greenway letter of August 6, 1889, which was referred to by each of them. The August 9 letter would diminish the supposed influence of McCarthy since Martin admitted that James Smart was the major figure in the agitation. As well, the letter indicated Prendergast's

<sup>1</sup> Clark, op. cit., 232, and The Manitoba School Question: Majority Rule or Minority Rights? (Toronto, 1968), 4.

<sup>2</sup> Crunican, op. cit., 3, 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> Morton, op. cit., 240.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 243.

~~resignation was expected.~~ The letter Schultz wrote Macdonald on August 3, 1889, was not mentioned by Morton or Crunican, while Clark's footnote 23 on page 244 cited it, but failed to mention Schultz's opinion of Smart's Clearwater speech.

Crunican failed to look at the early months of Greenway's Premiership, preferring to accept Clague and Morton. As a result, Crunican's position on the origins of the issue was based on faulty information as a consequence of inadequate research. Clark attempted to study at least the events of May, 1889, in an effort to refute two points. One point was to deny that there was any demand for abolition of the dual-structured school system and the French Language. The second point was to deny that the Greenway government had announced any policy which promised substantial changes in either the schools or the French language.

By misreading the editorials of May 16 and 30, 1889, in The Brandon Sun, Clark concluded they "attacked Roman Catholic schools as a privilege which was not extended to other denominations. . . . This was the sole ground advanced in the editorials, which made none of the numerous other charges subsequently levelled at Roman Catholic schools."<sup>1</sup> Clark apparently did not consult any other rural newspapers and stated, "The editorials do not seem to have evoked any widespread response."<sup>2</sup> Nor was there any mention of editorial comment throughout June and July which would have indicated that the agitation was in full flow before McCarthy's speech. As well, Prendergast's position was not considered in relation to his resignation or his comments on expected changes in schools and language.

<sup>1</sup> Clark, "A History of the Conservative Administrations, 1891 to 1896" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1968), 237.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

On the second point, Clark quoted excerpts from Smart's Souris City speech which omitted the essential point made in regard to taxation and the government's intention to take appropriate action. Since the legislation which was enacted followed Smart's views more closely than the statements made by Martin, the failure to consider these details in any depth made it possible for Clark to assert that the legislation of 1890 was a direct result of McCarthy's speech at Portage la Prairie. The evidence clearly indicates that the Greenway government was prepared to alter radically the school system and end French printing before D'Alton McCarthy appeared at Portage la Prairie. Thus, Martin's influence on the subsequent legislation and his leading role in the issue have been magnified out of all proportion to the actual event.

Greenway's immigration policy was influenced largely by his own past experience and included individual effort by agents to promote Manitoba, attraction of settlers of at least modest means, and the availability of land. This policy gave little evidence of racial prejudice, except for Quebec after 1890. It was designed with the practical and realistic objective of encouraging agricultural settlement of the province.

The Manitoba School Question ended efforts to attract settlers from Quebec. The origins of this conflict were based in Manitoba as James Smart, with Greenway's concurrence, precipitated the controversy prior to the speeches of D'Alton McCarthy and Joseph Martin. Greenway was in firm control of his Cabinet and the subsequent legislation closely followed the programme expressed by Smart at Souris City and Clearwater. The Manitoba School Question became a Dominion issue and agitated the political scene for the next seven years.

## CHAPTER V

### THE POLITICS OF THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION

The Manitoba School Question became a dominant issue in Canadian federal and Manitoba provincial politics from January, 1890, through the Laurier-Greenway Compromise of November, 1896. Greenway effectively used the conflict to maintain his government in power in the July 1892, and January, 1896, provincial elections. At the same time, the controversy divided the federal Conservative party and made it possible for Wilfrid Laurier, leader of the Liberal opposition, to adopt an ambiguous position which satisfied his Quebec following but did not alienate his Liberal support in the other provinces. Consequently, Laurier won the June, 1896, federal election and through Clifford Sifton, the Laurier-Greenway Compromise was arranged to end the conflict.

Once the Acts had been passed and assented to, Greenway attempted to persuade Archbishop Taché to serve on the Advisory Board.<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop refused, writing that he could not accept a position under the Act until its constitutionality had been decided.<sup>2</sup> Greenway had offered Taché an opportunity to have some influence on how the new school policy would be implemented, but his offer had been refused without any suggestion as to what could be done to meet the Archbishop's objections, short of returning to the pre-1890 system. Perhaps the object was to have Taché on the Advisory Board as a means of indicating his approval of the school situation. Regardless of the

<sup>1</sup> Greenway to Taché, 25 April 1890. A.A.S.B., Taché Papers.

<sup>2</sup> Taché to Greenway, 26 April 1890. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 2920.

purpose, the issue of what to do about the legislation was left to the federal Conservative government which clearly wanted no part of it.

The solution adopted by the Conservative government was to have a lawsuit instigated to test the validity of the Act before the Courts. John Kelly Barrett, a Roman Catholic ratepayer of Winnipeg and federal government employee as Inspector of Inland Revenue for western Canada, refused to pay his school taxes to test the law's constitutionality. The federal government agreed to pay Barrett's legal costs. The reason given for this was to have the matter disposed of once and for all,<sup>1</sup> but the real motive was stated by Prime Minister Macdonald in a letter of March 25, 1890, to Noah Chevrier, when the Prime Minister wrote, "If the bill were disallowed the game of Greenway and Martin would be played successfully. They would probably summon the legislature again, and carry the Bill over again, and then dissolve and go to the country. The excitement would be tremendous and the question would remain unsettled."<sup>2</sup>

Thus, while Schultz was reporting to Macdonald that in conversations with Greenway, the Premier had told him he believed the Acts were unconstitutional and disallowance was feared,<sup>3</sup> it seems just as probable that Schultz was attempting to convince Macdonald that disallowance was the best course to follow. Macdonald's method of avoiding an immediate dispute with the Greenway government was adopted. Even so, Greenway had a popular

<sup>1</sup> L. C. Clark, "A History of the Conservative Administrations, 1891 to 1896" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1968) 248-250.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonald to Noah Chevrier, 25 March 1890. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, as quoted in P. E. Crunican, "The Manitoba School Question and Canadian Federal Politics, 1890-1896: A Study in Church-State Relations" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1968), 47.

<sup>3</sup> Private. Schultz to Macdonald, 31 January 1890. P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, vol. 264, 120210-120212; Private. Schultz to Macdonald, 15 April 1890. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 264, 120243-120245.

issue for the provincial elections of July 23, 1892, and January 15, 1896.

Both elections were called to meet potential threats, the first being the prospect of a court decision which might have gone against the School Act and the second as an answer to the federal government's proposed Remedial Bill. Greenway still was in charge of the Manitoba government for the July, 1892, election. He was the person who put the party organization to work on the voters' list,<sup>1</sup> made his preference known when local associations had to choose between two candidates,<sup>2</sup> and directed his Attorney General as to which constituencies to handle in terms of candidates. Writing to Sifton on May 4, Greenway indicated that he had been active and wanted the Attorney General to follow up the groundwork that had been established. Greenway informed Sifton,

I have just returned from Neepawa. Our people appear to be in fair working trim there, and intend holding their Convention on the 12th inst at 3 o'clock in the afternoon and afterwards they want a meeting which they desire should be addressed by yourself and Col. McMillan. I think it is very important that you should get there, as they require all the encouragement possible. Crawford will no doubt be the candidate. Davidson is working hard. I hope you will be able to induce McNaught to come out in Saskatchewan. I met one of our friends from Rapid City on the train today and he told me that he was satisfied there was no use trying to do anything with the present candidate, and he was of the opinion that McNaught could be induced to take it. Then I am told that there is likely to be trouble in Minnedosa. Harrower, assisted by Robt Scott of Shoal Lake is doing everything he possibly can to capture the Convention, and of course the general opinion is that if he should do so it will encourage the opposition. I hope you will have time to give some attention to this matter. Then it appears to me that Dauphin needs some attention, you will know best

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<sup>1</sup> Greenway to V. Winkler, 27 April 1892. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook B, 576; Greenway to Thomas Duncan, 27 April 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 581.

<sup>2</sup> Private and Confidential. Greenway to Henry Cooke, 4 May 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 599; Private. Greenway to Finlay Young, 9 May 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 610.

about that. I have just had a visit from Christopherson, he is most anxious that I should visit that section of the country right away. I intend going out to Morden tomorrow and on further west the next day. I have promised Christopherson to go out into his neighbourhood early next week.<sup>1</sup>

To assure a satisfactory outcome, a redistribution measure was enacted in the 1892 legislative session. The guiding force behind the measure was Greenway. He had employed John G. Turriff to make a detailed political survey of southwestern Manitoba and the changes were based to a large extent on Turriff's reports.<sup>2</sup> Greenway justified the changes as necessary because of the 1891 census and responded to the demands of both prospective candidates and Liberal constituency organizations.<sup>3</sup> In doing so, Greenway also served a more immediate need, which was to eliminate the ridings of leading Conservatives, particularly the constituency of North Dufferin which had returned Rodmond Roblin in March, 1888. Greenway was willing as well to have a portion of Mountain constituency added to Manitou to assist in the election of a Liberal. He held off demands to make the change when Manitou was unrepresented because of possible adverse effects it might have on the candidacy of Joseph Tees in the by-election.<sup>4</sup> When Tees lost by 25 votes in January, 1892, Greenway's hesitation evaporated

<sup>1</sup> Greenway to Sifton, 4 April [sic] 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 600. The month should be May as other letters on either side of this one confirm.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Turriff to Greenway, 27 June 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 5159; Private. Turriff to Greenway, 6 July 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 3799; Greenway to Turriff, 25 January 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 51<sup>4</sup>; telegram, Turriff to Greenway, 23 February 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., 4290.

<sup>3</sup> Greenway to W. D. Ruttan, 7 March 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 534; Greenway to R. Hill Myers, 15 April 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 569.

<sup>4</sup> Greenway to M. M. Keating, 27 April 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 230.



and the change was made, probably because the portion transferred had a Liberal majority of 20.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway decided to strengthen his government by bringing in Robert Watson, Liberal M. P. for Marquette. The exact portfolio was not mentioned in the correspondence,<sup>2</sup> but Greenway authorized Sifton to inform Smart that he would move to Provincial Secretary, Watson would be Minister of Public Works, and Daniel McLean would become Minister without Portfolio.<sup>3</sup>

McLean had become Provincial Secretary in September, 1889, to replace James Prendergast who had resigned. Sifton would remain Attorney General and Daniel H. McMillan would continue as Provincial Treasurer. McMillan had been elected by acclamation in Centre Winnipeg in May, 1889, to replace Lyman Jones who also had resigned.<sup>4</sup> These changes marked the establishment of the rural-urban coalition of the Liberal party, but the dominance of the urban wing is obvious, as only Greenway and McLean were rural members. When McLean was defeated in the election of July, 1892, Greenway became the sole rural member in the Cabinet, responsible for the southern and southwestern provincial constituencies. His appearances in urban ridings had been infrequent prior to the Cabinet changes and they became almost non-existent thereafter. Greenway's position as the leading force in his government declined from the 1892 election through December, 1899.

<sup>1</sup> J. Wooton to Greenway, 12 March 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 3558; Kenneth Henderson to Greenway, 13 March 1891. P.A.M., Ibid., 3559.

<sup>2</sup> Greenway to Robert Watson, undated. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 613. From its location in the Letterbook, the date should be after 12 May 1892 and before 17 May 1892; telegram, Watson to Greenway, 17 May 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., 4591.

<sup>3</sup> Sifton to D. H. McMillan, 25 May 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., 4917.

<sup>4</sup> J. A. Gemmill (ed.), The Canadian Parliamentary Companion (Ottawa, 1891), 346.

The 1892 election campaign revolved around the issues of national schools and corruption in government. Greenway devoted most of his campaign to refuting the latter charges and pointing out the accomplishments of his government since taking office in 1888. He also spent his time in making suitable arrangements with the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Northern Pacific. With the Canadian railway he relied on a promise by W. C. Van Horne that a railway extension would be built in western Manitoba that would be of benefit to the electorate of Turtle Mountain. On that basis, he and John Hettle promised the extension and Hettle's re-election virtually was assured.<sup>1</sup> The Northern Pacific was not as co-operative in construction projects, but did refrain from closing any of its railway stations until after the election took place.<sup>2</sup>

The election turned on national schools, local issues within some constituencies, and the lavish use of money by both parties. In reference to national schools, Greenway stated,

The Government had nailed its colors to the mast. They have announced that no state aid shall be granted to any Separate schools, schools other than the Public schools, and the Government will stand or fall by that principle. If it should happen that the Government has no right to tax those separatists then they will presumably go on and have their own schools, and the Government will go on with a system of National schools. . . .<sup>3</sup>

As for campaign funds, Greenway apparently disbursed large sums to various political agents, notably Turriff, which had the desired effect throughout

<sup>1</sup> Private. Greenway to John Hettle, 10 May 1892. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook B, 611.

<sup>2</sup> Greenway to Frank Schultz, 27 May 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 641.

<sup>3</sup> "Schools!" The Winnipeg Tribune, 9 June 1892, 4.

southwestern Manitoba.<sup>1</sup> There was no indication in the Greenway Papers as to the source of the Premier's funds. Possibly Manitoba Free Press charges of Haney-Ryan boddle were true. Haney and Ryan had the original contract for the Red River Valley Railway, but received only \$14,000 of an expected \$56,000. W. F. Alloway's connection with them and with W. F. Luxton would provide sufficient data on which to build at least a circumstantial case of corruption.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the Conservatives were spending freely with both public and private reports of the party's and Roblin's financial generosity.<sup>3</sup>

The result of the election was the return of 26 Liberals, 11 Conservatives, and 3 Independents.<sup>4</sup> Before the voting, Greenway had been confident of the outcome, believing that "the prospects of the Government are exceedingly good."<sup>5</sup> After the returns were in and the courts had given a judgement favourable to the Provincial government, Greenway was willing to write freely as to the victory achieved. He held that, "We had to contend against very great odds, but having right upon our side there could be no doubt of our success. Everything that slander and falsehood could do against us

<sup>1</sup> Private. Turriff to Greenway, 14 May 1892. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 4210.

<sup>2</sup> "Defeated But Not Disgraced," Manitoba Free Press, 25 July 1892, 1.

<sup>3</sup> "R. P. Roblin and Bribery," The Winnipeg Tribune, 19 July 1892, 5; John H. Bell to Greenway, 25 July 1892. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 4897; Private. James Stirton to Greenway, 26 April 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., 4247. S. Christoperson to Greenway, 23 May 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., 4699.

<sup>4</sup> "Victory," The Winnipeg Tribune, 25 July 1892, 1, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Private. Greenway to A. J. McMillan, 20 May 1892. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook B, 63<sup>4</sup>.

was used to the utmost, but without avail, and now a further victory has come to us in the decision of the School Question."<sup>1</sup> Greenway's enthusiasm probably was increased by his personal victory over Robert Rogers in Mountain. The Premier had won by 102 votes,<sup>2</sup> his best margin ever in his contests with Rogers. Greenway did not make a statement regarding the defeats of Daniel McLean in Dennis and James Smart in Brandon. Both had lost by narrow margins, McLean by eight and Smart by twelve. Perhaps a correspondent of Greenway's summed up the Premier's reaction as well when he wrote that Sifton was upset by the defeats, and then added that the Attorney General was "cut up" by his own small majority.<sup>3</sup>

In Greenway's view the decisive issue in the election had been the School Question. Except for diversions into the World's Fair and immigration, it would dominate the next four years of his Premiership. Greenway's position on the question was never set forth with clarity between the election of July, 1892, and January, 1896. Lieutenant Governor John Schultz frequently suggested to Prime Minister John Thompson that Greenway was willing to make concessions to the Roman Catholics.<sup>4</sup> Schultz was assuring Taché, at the same time, that acceptance of any modifications would not in

<sup>1</sup> Greenway to H. Kenner, 6 August 1892. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook B, 674.

<sup>2</sup> "Victory," The Winnipeg Tribune, 25 July 1892, 1, 4.

<sup>3</sup> John H. Bell to Greenway, 25 July 1892. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 4897.

<sup>4</sup> Confidential. Schultz to Thompson, 13 January 1893. P.A.C., Thompson Papers, vol. 173, 216<sup>46</sup>; Private. Schultz to Thompson, 8 February 1893. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 177, 21975; Private. Schultz to Thompson, 25 July 1893. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 183, 22795.

any way affect the final decision at Ottawa.<sup>1</sup> It should be remembered that the Lieutenant Governor wanted an extension of his term in office beyond the usual five years. The suggestions that Greenway was prepared to meet the wishes of the Roman Catholics neatly coincided with what was expected to be the end of Schultz's tenure in office. Once assured of an extension, which Thompson was pleased to grant in the hope that Schultz would succeed,<sup>2</sup> the promised concessions evaporated. Schultz, having served his own ends, blamed the failure on Greenway, who was "weak and often over ruled by his colleagues -- "<sup>3</sup> It seems more likely that Greenway was responding to his constituents' demands rather than the Lieutenant Governor's urgings.

The result was that in the legislative session of early 1894, the Roman Catholic schools in rural areas were denied municipal grants and the right of a municipality to levy taxes to aid such schools was prohibited.<sup>4</sup> Schultz argued that Greenway had been prepared to offer some concessions to Roman Catholics, but the opposition of R. G. O'Malley, Conservative M. L. A. for Lorne, had focused the attention of other rural M. L. A.s on the issue and forced Greenway to reconsider, with the further education

<sup>1</sup> Private. Schultz to Thompson, 8 February 1893. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 177, 21975.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Schultz to Thompson, 23 August 1893. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 184, 22869; Private. Schultz to Thompson, 18 September 1893. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 186, 23169.

<sup>3</sup> Private. Schultz to Thompson, February 1894. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 199, 24832; Confidential. Schultz to Thompson, 21 February 1894. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 201, 25132.

<sup>4</sup> John L. Holmes, "Factors Affecting Politics in Manitoba: A Study of the Provincial Elections 1870-99" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1936), 99-100.

restrictions being the result.<sup>1</sup> That Greenway was not prepared to offer any concessions seems more likely. When asked by Joseph Israel Tarte to prepare for publication in the Christmas edition of his newspaper "A short article expressing your views on the Manitoba School Question,"<sup>2</sup> and "the reasons that prompted you in pursuing the policy that you have followed,"<sup>2</sup> the Manitoba Premier deliberately delayed his response until early January, 1894. Greenway then claimed that absence in Chicago and holidays with his family had caused him to neglect his personal correspondence. It should be noted that he did have time to write William Whyte and W. C. Van Horne<sup>3</sup> to protest closing Reston's railway station. Greenway wrote Tarte, "I notice from your letter that what you asked for was wanted for your Christmas edition, and I presume it would be too late to send anything now."<sup>4</sup>

Greenway spent most of 1894 organizing the new constituency of Lisgar for the federal election that seemed to be expected some time in 1895.<sup>5</sup> He also assisted in the arrangements for Wilfrid Laurier's tour of Manitoba

<sup>1</sup> Private. Schultz to Thompson, February 1894. P.A.C., Thompson Papers, vol. 199, 24832.

<sup>2</sup> J. Israel Tarte to Greenway, 14 December 1893. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 6144.

<sup>3</sup> Greenway to William Whyte, 29 December 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 65; Greenway to Van Horne, 29 December 1893. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 66.

<sup>4</sup> Greenway to Tarte, 8 January 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 79.

<sup>5</sup> Greenway to Frank Burnett, 16 June 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 248; Private. Greenway to Peter Strang, 19 June 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 254; Greenway to R. D. Foley, 18 July 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 280.

and western Canada in late September and October.<sup>1</sup> The only outcome of all the activity appears to have been regret on Greenway's part that a federal election did not materialize, necessitating a halt in organizing activity, and no reaction at all to Laurier's visit. Greenway had not attended the Liberal Convention at Ottawa in late June, 1893,<sup>2</sup> and Laurier's tour should have been the occasion of some political discussions on a number of issues, particularly schools and free trade. There was no mention of the subjects in the slight correspondence the two leaders had following the tour. The two letters exchanged concerned Laurier wanting Greenway to appoint a distant relation to a Government position and Greenway promising to do what he could.<sup>3</sup>

The press reports of the meetings Greenway attended with Laurier suggest that the major purpose of the federal leader's tour was for exposure to the electorate of the West. Laurier's speeches on the tariff corresponded closely to what western Liberals wanted to hear, while, on the other hand, Laurier carefully avoided a position on the school controversy. Greenway was with Laurier in southwest Manitoba and in Winnipeg, but refused to attend the Brandon meeting since he was engaged in organizing the details for Laurier's visit in his section of the province. Greenway's remarks

<sup>1</sup> Greenway to John Dew, 30 July 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 284; Confidential. Alex Smith to Greenway, 14 August 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., 6910; Private. Alex Smith to Greenway, 25 August 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., 6910A; Joseph Martin to Greenway, 21 September 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., 6985; Greenway to Smart, 2 October 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 325.

<sup>2</sup> "Gone to Chicago," The Winnipeg Tribune, 12 June 1893, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Laurier to Greenway, 9 November 1894. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 7112; Private. Greenway to Laurier, 17 November 1894. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 375.

broke no new ground and in general were those of a host welcoming a distinguished guest.<sup>1</sup>

In early 1895, Greenway became seriously ill, starting with a severe cold in mid-January, followed by attack of erysipelas in early February.<sup>2</sup> Although he made attempts to attend the legislative session, he was unable to do so and it was not until March 21 that he was able to dictate letters let alone conduct government business.<sup>3</sup> As a result, Clifford Sifton was definitely holding the reins of power in that session and clearly had the authority to make any decisions he believed necessary.<sup>4</sup> Whether Greenway and Sifton had an understanding or Sifton simply assumed actual leadership and left Greenway to accept the situation cannot be determined conclusively. It would appear to be the latter, but Sifton was tactful in his takeover. Before departing for Ontario to campaign in Haldimand for the Equal Rights candidate, Sifton wrote Greenway, who was in Crystal City, that all members of the government were in favour of the effort. Thus, "I leave in the morning + thought it proper to advise you at once," Sifton continued. "The impossibility of seeing you before I must necessarily start made it

<sup>1</sup> "Launier at the Mound," The Winnipeg Tribune, 18 October 1894, 1; "Emerson, St. Jean," Ibid., 24 October 1894, 1; "Farewell to the Leader," Ibid., 26 October 1894, 1, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Greenway to Dennis Ryan, 28 January 1895. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook A, 347; telegram, H. J. Borthwick to Hugh McKellar, 7 February 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., 7435.

<sup>3</sup> Private. Greenway to William Whyte, 20 February 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 443; Greenway to John MacAllister, 21 March 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 464.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. Sifton to D'Alton McCarthy, 11 March 1895. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 270, 432.

necessary to act on our own judgt," concluded the Attorney General.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly before Greenway returned to his office on March 21, 1895, the federal government had issued a Remedial Order to the Manitoba government. The Remedial Order demanded that the rights and privileges which Roman Catholics had before the legislation of 1890 be restored. Greenway clearly rejected the request, but was willing to delay an answer to it in order to force the federal government's hand still further. Writing to Thomas Gibson, Ontario M.L.A., Greenway stated that,

Had it not been for the Clergy the agitation would not have been kept up and the Public Schools would have been accepted long ago. You will notice that the Legislature has adjourned until May in order to give ample time for consideration of the Remedial Order. I cannot believe that the Parliament of Canada will ever crystalize into law such a demand as that which the Dominion Government has made upon us. If they do it will be difficult to tell what the end will be. . . .<sup>2</sup>

A month later, Greenway wrote John Charlton, Liberal M.P., that,

We are doing everything we possibly can to keep this important matter in proper shape, and I hope we shall be able to succeed in carrying out the policy which has been inaugurated.<sup>3</sup>

The Premier sought and obtained a further adjournment of the provincial legislature until June 13 in order to give proper consideration to the federal government's demand.<sup>4</sup> When Governor General Lord Aberdeen offered his

<sup>1</sup> Sifton to Greenway, 7 April 1895. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 7585.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Greenway to Thomas Gibson, 1 April 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 470.

<sup>3</sup> Private and Confidential. Greenway to Charlton, 6 May 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 515.

<sup>4</sup> Greenway to Schultz, 9 May 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 528.

assistance in settling the issue, Greenway agreed to come to Ottawa with Sifton to "hear any suggestions which Your Excellency may be pleased to make." Greenway wanted Aberdeen to understand that,

I am not able to say in advance that we shall be able to accede to any suggestions which may be made for a modification of our policy. We shall be compelled to discuss the matter upon the understanding that the discussion does not of itself involve any admission of an intention to compromise.

The Premier also refused to consider any questions of a financial nature outstanding between the two governments as that "would in all probability lead to a misconstruction of the motives of both parties."<sup>1</sup>

Greenway met with Lord Aberdeen in Ottawa in late May, but the discussions failed to settle anything.<sup>2</sup> Greenway stopped in Exeter to visit Dr. J. A. Rollins, his brother-in-law, and was advised to rest for at least a week before returning to Winnipeg. Greenway forwarded the papers of the meeting to Sifton in Winnipeg and requested that the reply to the Remedial Order be proceeded with as they had decided earlier.<sup>3</sup> Greenway was able to return in time for the resumption of the session in mid-June and presented the memorial to the Dominion Government refusing to implement the Remedial Order. The memorial stated that the Legislature refused to re-establish Roman Catholic schools as constituted prior to 1890

<sup>1</sup> Greenway to My Lord [Aberdeen], 11 May 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 530.

<sup>2</sup> "Our Ministers and the Schools," The Winnipeg Tribune, 20 May 1895, 1; "No Settlement is Expected," Ibid., 21 May 1895, 1; "Greenway, Sifton and Lord Aberdeen," Ibid., 22 May 1895, 1; "A Statement to the Legislature," Ibid., 3 June 1895, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Sifton to Greenway, 5 June 1895. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 7772; Greenway to Sifton, 7 June 1895. University of Manitoba (U.M.), Sifton Papers (microfilm), C 449, 579; telegram, Sifton to Greenway, 10 June 1895. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 7758; telegram, Greenway to Sifton, 11 June 1895, U.M., Sifton Papers, C 449, 578.

and asked the federal government to investigate fully the educational situation in Manitoba before proceeding any further.<sup>1</sup>

The response of the federal government was to pass an Order-in-Council on July 27 which requested the Manitoba government to make a reasonably satisfactory settlement with the minority. Pending Manitoba's reply, the federal government would not proceed with remedial legislation. Should Manitoba fail to act, the federal parliament would meet in early January and enact legislation designed to remedy the grievances of the minority. The reaction of the Manitoba government was to ignore the Order-in-Council. No public statement was made and appearances were that nothing was taking place.<sup>2</sup> Prime Minister Mackenzie Bowell made what was ostensibly a brief tour through Manitoba and the Territories in mid-September, but returned to Ottawa keenly disappointed that he had made no headway with Greenway when he saw him in Winnipeg.<sup>3</sup>

The correspondence consulted does not reveal that the federal Liberals and the Greenway government were pursuing an agreed upon policy of delay in the expectation of forcing an election on the issue. J. D. Cameron, Provincial Secretary in the Greenway Cabinet, had written Laurier in April, 1895, that "The popular voice tells us that, right or wrong, we must stand to the present law. I do not mean to intimate that in my opinion there is any injustice in the law, for I believe and hold quite the contrary."

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<sup>1</sup> John W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times (Toronto, 1931), 78-79.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 83-85.

<sup>3</sup> Crunican, op. cit., 278.

Cameron held that the "doctrine of provincial rights applies. . . . if any injustice has been done the local authorities will remedy that far more speedily of their own free will than under the threat of coercion." He advised Laurier to take this line or the Liberal party would cease to exist in the west.<sup>1</sup>

In July, Cameron wrote Laurier again, stating that "lapse of time" would do more to solve the school question than any other action. The Provincial Secretary expected that ultimately Manitoba's education system would become similar to New Brunswick's. He believed any legislation enacted by the federal government would fail when tested in the courts and stated that "Delay and discussion have been and are necessary to make this clear."<sup>2</sup> Laurier replied to Cameron's letter in early August. He stated that the federal Parliament had the power to interfere with Manitoba's legislation, but agreed that this would not be "conducive to the object which [the minority] have in view. . . ." Laurier urged a compromise of undefined nature be arranged without sacrificing any principles on either side.<sup>3</sup>

The foregoing evidence does not suggest that a policy had been worked out between the federal and Manitoba Liberals. However, there would appear to be hints of what eventually developed and a suitable arrangement apparently was worked out through personal contacts between Sifton and Laurier in mid-December, 1895.

<sup>1</sup> Personal. J. D. Cameron to Laurier, 9 April 1895. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 9, 3759-3761.

<sup>2</sup> J. D. Cameron to Laurier, 26 July 1895. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 9, 3812-3813.

<sup>3</sup> Laurier to J. D. Cameron, 5 August 1895. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 9, 3831-3832.

Regardless of the relations between the federal Liberals and Greenway's government, in September, 1895, Greenway began to prepare for a provincial election. Instructions were sent out to prepare voters' lists and arrangements were made for their printing.<sup>1</sup> Reports from various M.L.A.s indicated that matters were progressing favourably, but Greenway continued to urge greater efforts. As he wrote David McNaught of Rapid City,

I am much pleased to learn that you find your constituency in such good shape. Your experience is that of our friends throughout the Province from whom I have heard but the fact that our opponents appear to have lost heart should not lead us to relax our efforts to put the lists in good shape this is of the first importance.<sup>2</sup>

The actual date for the election was not set until after the Sifton-Laurier meeting in mid-December.

The meeting involved Sifton, Laurier, and James Sutherland, Liberal M. P. for Oxford North (Ontario) and Ontario whip in the House of Commons, at The Windsor on December 15, 1895, and seems to have established the arrangement between the federal and provincial Liberals. This meeting was a "surprise" to political reporters, but Sifton refused to make any comment on the purpose of his visit. Laurier stated that his advice was for Manitoba to be non-committal regarding the Remedial Order and to do nothing until the provincial legislature met.<sup>3</sup> It seems a reasonable

<sup>1</sup> Greenway to Thomas Duncan, 25 September 1895. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook A, 613; Greenway to V. Winkler, 25 September 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 614; Greenway to Enoch Winkler, 2 November 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 638.

<sup>2</sup> Greenway to D. McNaught, 4 November 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 644.

<sup>3</sup> "Hon. Mr. Sifton in Montreal," The Winnipeg Tribune, 16 December 1895, 5; "The Reply of the Province," Ibid., 19 December 1895, 1.

conclusion that tactics were discussed at this meeting since the date for the Manitoba provincial election was announced within eight days of the meeting. Perhaps it might be speculated that this meeting was when Sifton was offered a position in a Laurier government in return for continued opposition to the Conservatives and an arrangement with Laurier when he came to power. Whatever the agreed upon policy, events moved swiftly.

A reply was sent to the federal government rejecting their Order-in-Council of July 27. As Greenway described it, "we have replied definitely and positively rejecting the proposal to re-establish separate schools in any form and expressing the intention to uphold the present uniform non-sectarian system. . . ."<sup>1</sup> An election was set for January 15, 1896, on that issue and Greenway sent out letters to prospective candidates and party workers to hold conventions, nominate candidates, and "prepare for the campaign at once."<sup>2</sup>

Greenway presented his government's stand on election issues through an electoral address which appeared in rural weekly newspapers on or before December 27. The key issue in the election was the school question and the attitude of the federal government. Greenway explained that the election was called because "The menacing attitude assumed by the Dominion Government with reference to the educational legislation of the province has made it necessary to take the sense of the electors upon the question thus forced upon them." After presenting a review of events since March 21,

<sup>1</sup> "Premier Greenway's Address," The Carberry News, 27 December 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., 8401; typewritten copy of same, 8449.

<sup>2</sup> Greenway to C. A. Young, 21 December 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 689; Greenway to John Hettle, 21 December 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 698. The letters between those cited contain similar information.

Greenway stated that "From the utterances of the members of the Dominion Cabinet and from the facts known to all who have watched the controversy, it is clear that nothing short of a separate denominational system of schools will be accepted as an adequate measure of relief." He believed Manitoba could handle its own educational concerns and "I protest against the proposed action of the Dominion Government in inviting Parliament to destroy our National School system without investigation and in ignorance of the circumstances."<sup>1</sup>

Greenway held that the election came down to three questions: "Shall the people of Manitoba submit without protest to unjust and overbearing treatment? Shall Provincial autonomy be abandoned? Shall your national schools be destroyed?" This type of campaign appealed to Greenway as it was similar in concept to the July election of 1888. The conflict between provincial and federal authorities presented excellent grounds for Greenway. It was possible to pass lightly over other issues and ignore the lack of any outstanding achievement that would rally an electorate. Greenway did refer to economy in government, assistance to farmers and dairies, and promised to act on prohibition if the Courts held the province had the power to do so. He promised as well to continue efforts to achieve lower freight rates.<sup>2</sup> The major issue was clearly the national schools and it was on that subject that the election was fought.

Greenway spoke at meetings throughout south western Manitoba despite concern for his health. His major worry was the prospect of a contest in

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<sup>1</sup> "Premier Greenway's Address," The Carberry News, 27 December 1895. P.A.M., Ibid., 8401.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

Mountain with R. S. Preston, "one of my old Grit friends, who is now a Patron." He appealed to Conservatives for support, "because a great number of Conservatives throughout the Province, are supporting us on the present issue."<sup>1</sup> Preston finally withdrew from the contest on January 10, two days after nomination day, largely on the strength of a promise by Greenway that his \$200 deposit would be refunded. This proved to be incorrect and Greenway later had to make good on the promise out of his own pocket, although he complained that those who backed Preston's candidacy should have been forced to pay the amount.<sup>2</sup>

Counting Greenway's election, the Liberal party had nine acclamations. In the election on January 15, twenty-two Liberals were elected along with two Patrons of Industry, two Independents, and five Conservatives including two French members. The Greenway government could count on a majority of twenty-two on most votes in the legislature.<sup>3</sup> Greenway was pleased with the result and looked forward to the federal contest in the new constituency of Lisgar.<sup>4</sup>

Shortly after the provincial election of January 15, 1896, had returned 31 Liberals, 5 Conservatives, and 4 Independents, Thomas Greenway was expressing the view that the result should deter the federal government from

<sup>1</sup> "Premier Greenway Elected by Acclamation," The Winnipeg Tribune, 13 January 1896, 1; Private. Greenway to John Gillespie, 2 January 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook A, 702. See as well, Letterbook A, 703-705, 708-712.

<sup>2</sup> The details of the arrangement will be considered later in this chapter since they bear on the federal election of June 23, 1896, in Lisgar constituency.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. Magurn, The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, (Ottawa, 1898), 234-235.

<sup>4</sup> Greenway to J. B. McLaren, 21 January 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook A, 718.

going on with remedial legislation.<sup>1</sup> Even if that were not the case, he intended to stand by the position taken by his government, as well as carrying out any other pledges made to the people of Manitoba.<sup>2</sup> The stand Greenway referred to was stated emphatically in a letter to Dr. Stephen Dodge of Halifax on February 3, 1896. "The Government has always been willing to consider any proposition that would not interfere with the principle of the Public School Act," Greenway informed Dr. Dodge, "but they are not prepared to debate that principle after the Privy Council of England had decided that the same is constitutional. . . ." Greenway assured his correspondent "my Government would have been glad to have considered any reasonable proposal or friendly conference, but the position the Federal authorities have taken has been quite the reverse."<sup>3</sup>

While Greenway seemed willing to consider "any reasonable proposal," subsequent events indicate that his intentions were rather to have the Remedial Bill blocked in the Commons and to fight the federal election on the Schools issue. To further these aims, the provincial legislature was called into session on February 6. A report in The Winnipeg Tribune stated that since there was little for the legislature to do, it would be a short session.<sup>4</sup> The main purpose of the session was to obtain the

<sup>1</sup> Greenway to George Case, 29 January 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook A, 736; Greenway to W. H. Atkinson, 29 January 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 726.

<sup>2</sup> Greenway to H. Kennar, 29 January 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A 735.

<sup>3</sup> Greenway to Dr. Stephen Dodge, 3 February 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 758.

<sup>4</sup> "The Ninth Legislature," The Winnipeg Tribune, 6 February 1896, 1.

legislature's approval of the government's reply to Ottawa shortly before the provincial election was called in December, 1895. Sifton moved, seconded by Greenway, the adoption of the reply and a series of resolutions introduced earlier in the session. These rejected federal interference in provincial autonomy and demanded an investigation into Manitoba's educational system before Ottawa's remedial legislation was passed. The aim of this motion, passed by a vote of 31 to 7, was to stiffen the federal Liberal party's resistance to the Remedial Bill.<sup>1</sup>

It was clear that the provincial and federal Liberal parties were in close co-operation over the tactics to be used to defeat the Remedial Bill. As J. D. Edgar wrote John Willison, editor of The Globe, "You were prepared to see the action of Sifton in their House, and that does not look like compromise does it? In fact Sifton has behaved just as we wished." With apparent enjoyment, Edgar added, "There is no doubt great consternation today in the Government ranks on the School question caused by Donald Smiths [sic] failure, the Toronto meeting, and Siftons [sic] resolutions."<sup>2</sup>

The reference to Donald Smith was his visit to Winnipeg during the week of February 16 to 22, when he had conferred with Greenway and Sifton about the possibility of a conference leading to a settlement of the schools question. Sifton declared that he was unable to suggest any amendment to the School Act and handed the problem back to the federal government, saying "though not able to make any suggestion we will of

<sup>1</sup> "Protest Against Coercion," Ibid., 27 February 1896, 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Private. J. D. Edgar to John Willison, 26 February 1896. P.A.C., Willison Papers, vol. 25, 9013-9014.

course be prepared to weigh carefully any suggestion that may be made to us."<sup>1</sup> Greenway seemed more agreeable to a conference, but his purpose was the same as Sifton's -- delay action on the Remedial Bill while apparently seeking a basis of settlement. To further his aim, Greenway indicated to Donald Smith that he was willing to consider a conference at Ottawa.<sup>2</sup> Smith reported this to Prime Minister Mackenzie Bowell who seemed elated at the prospect.<sup>3</sup> The elation lasted for one day and was modified when Greenway told Smith, "Must have misunderstood me. Did not suggest conference. Am willing to consider proposition for conference if received from Dominion Government."<sup>4</sup>

While the federal Cabinet considered its next move, Greenway was writing Malcolm C. Cameron, Liberal M. P. for West Huron, regarding the Remedial Bill. "There are many clauses in it which are simply monstrous," Greenway told Cameron, and then went on to explain,

For instance subclause 2 of Sec 28 you will see provides that any Separate School Supporters [sic] has his entire property relieved from Public School taxes, that is to say a person paying a small amount of taxes in Winnipeg might own any quantity of land throughout the Province, which would be exempt from Public School taxes. This was one of the worst inequities of the old law.

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Clifford Sifton to Donald A. Smith, 25 February 1896. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 270, 907.

<sup>2</sup> Telegram, Smith to Greenway, 25 February 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 8293 and 9564. The two are identical the first a copy and the second the original. The telegrams dealing with the proposed conference were collected as a group and numbered 8293.

<sup>3</sup> Telegram, Smith to Mackenzie Bowell, 25 February 1896. P.A.C., Bowell Papers, vol. 15, 6402; Confidential, Smith to Bowell, 26 February 1896. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 15, 6400; Bowell to Smith, undated. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 15, 6401.

<sup>4</sup> Telegram (copy), Greenway to Smith, 26 February 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 8293A; telegram, Smith to Bowell, 26 February 1896. P.A.C., Bowell Papers, vol. 15, 6403.

Greenway continued, "It has always been said here by those who speak for the minority, that they do not want the old system reintroduced, but I regret that this bill is restoring the old system in all its worst features." According to the Premier, the provision for checking the efficiency of the schools "only requires to be read to see the absurdity of it." He held that it would never give the minority what they expected to get and believed "Many of its provisions are a complete farce." Greenway concluded with the hope that "our friends will make a valiant fight against this most iniquitous measure."<sup>1</sup> The one means available for Greenway's government to aid the fight was to delay action on the Remedial Bill by assenting to a conference, preferably in Ottawa, as each day required to reach the capital meant one day less for passing the Bill, provided they were able to have the federal government suspend action while the proposed conference met.

The federal government, through Donald Smith, indicated that it was not only willing but anxious to have any conference you might think advisable . . . with the view of reaching an amicable basis which would settle the whole question . . . without action on the part of the Dominion Parliament and by which the rights of the minority would be secured.

Greenway consulted his colleagues and replied to Smith,

While fully appreciating all that you say, it is quite clear to us that we can only proceed to Ottawa for the purpose of holding a Conference upon the official invitation of

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<sup>1</sup> Greenway to M. C. Cameron, 29 February 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook A, 779.

<sup>2</sup> Telegram (copy), Smith to Greenway, 29 February 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 8293C.

Dominion Government, as you are aware we are not to blame for present situation. I fully appreciate your very kind offices in this matter.<sup>1</sup>

Bowell at first considered officially inviting Greenway to Ottawa,<sup>2</sup> but was persuaded not to do so at a Cabinet meeting on March 6. Instead it was thought better to send Donald Smith to Winnipeg "clothed with full authority from the Dominion Government, . . . , to enter into negotiations. . . . This course is suggested in order to avoid the delay which would necessarily occur if the formal invitation suggested by Mr. Greenway were sent to Winnipeg." Bowell informed Smith that the invitation for a conference would go out only after second reading of the Remedial Bill and he doubted the ultimate success of the conference, adding "I can only hope, although I have very little confidence in the parties, that your expectations may be realized."<sup>3</sup>

Greenway, as well, had his doubts about the proposed conference. When Bowell contacted James C. Patterson, the new Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, and asked for suggestions as to how the School Act could be amended, Patterson reported that Greenway "takes the ground that not being the complainants it is not for them to volunteer suggestions." The Premier wanted an

<sup>1</sup> Telegram (copy), Greenway to Smith, 2 March 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 8293D. Confidential, Greenway to Smith, 2 March 1896. P.A.C., Bowell Papers, vol. 15, 6460.

<sup>2</sup> Proposed telegram when approved, Bowell to Greenway, 3 March 1896. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 15, 6469.

<sup>3</sup> Telegram (copy), Bowell to Smith, 2 March 1896, P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 15 6461; document entitled, "Copy of Sir Donald Smith's telegram to Greenway," undated. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 15, 6463-6466; telegram (copy), Bowell to Smith, 6 March 1896. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 15, 6467; Confidential (copy), Bowell to Smith, 6 March 1896. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 15, 6468.

official invitation to visit Ottawa, meaning an Order-in-Council clearly setting forth the object of the visit and the subject matters to be discussed. Patterson concluded, "At the same time he stated frankly that he did not see what practical results would be attained by the proposed visit."<sup>1</sup>

Sir Charles Tupper, Conservative House leader, already had added to his party's tactical blunders on the School Question. He first committed a breach of confidence and then deliberately omitted a phrase from Greenway's March 2 telegram to Donald Smith. The phrase "overlooked" when Tupper made his statement in the House of Commons on March 9 was "as you are aware we are not to blame for present situation."<sup>2</sup> Greenway asked Smith to explain and was assured that all telegrams between them had been "given in strict confidence" to the Ottawa government.<sup>3</sup> Smith wanted permission to make public three other telegrams but Greenway refused, stating that all communications had been at Smith's request and on the assurance they would be confidential. Greenway concluded, "regard what has been done a breach of confidence."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> (Copy), J. C. Patterson to Bowell, 10 March 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 8710.

<sup>2</sup> Bowell to J. C. Patterson, 9 March 1896. P.A.C., Bowell Papers, vol. 15, 6470; enclosure with Bowell to Patterson letter. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 15, 6471-6472.

<sup>3</sup> Telegram (copy), Greenway to Smith, 10 March 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 8293F; telegram, Smith to Greenway, undated. P.A.M., Ibid., 8282A.

<sup>4</sup> Telegram (copy), Smith to Greenway, undated. P.A.M., Ibid., 8282B; telegram (copy), Greenway to Smith, 12 March 1896, P.A.M., Ibid., 8282.

Despite the doubts and errors, an Order-in-Council was passed on March 17 authorizing Donald Smith, A. R. Dickey, Minister of Justice, and Alphonse Desjardins, Senator and Minister of Militia and Defence, to confer with the Manitoba government. The deputation would depart "immediately after second reading of Remedial Bill" with the object of ascertaining whether legislation dealing satisfactorily with the grievances of the minority could be secured.<sup>1</sup> Greenway made no public or written comment, but his reaction probably was similar to that of J. D. Cameron, Provincial Secretary, who wrote John Willison on March 21, ". . . we agreed to a conference understanding that there would be an adjournment or a cessation of hostilities until the conference had been held. . . . Yet no sooner is the second reading of the bill carried than we are told that the bill must be pressed through before the 25th April." Cameron insisted, "I feel that we have been in a sense tricked and that we have a good excuse for withdrawing."<sup>2</sup> The Manitoba Government did not withdraw and the evasion tactic continued. It was not until March 23 that Greenway was informed the Dominion's delegates were leaving Ottawa.<sup>3</sup> He wired Sifton in Brandon, "Have no means of getting to the city tomorrow,"<sup>4</sup> then remained in Crystal City. Greenway's absence from the conference was explained by

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<sup>1</sup> J. C. Patterson to Greenway, 17 March 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 8830; telegram (copy), Bowell to Patterson, 17 March 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 8830A.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. J. D. Cameron to Willison, 21 March 1896. P.A.C., Willison Papers, vol. 11, 3922.

<sup>3</sup> Telegram, J. C. Patterson to Greenway, 23 March 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 8737.

<sup>4</sup> Telegram, Greenway to Sifton, 23 March 1896. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 451, 2654.

Sifton as ill health, while The Winnipeg Tribune suggested disgust with Tupper and a wish to follow Bowell's example of non-attendance.<sup>1</sup> Ill health and "disgust" were probably the correct reasons as Greenway could have returned to Winnipeg right after the convention in Manitou on March 25. When he returned to Winnipeg he was reported to be suffering from a "bad cold" and did not recover fully until after a month long absence in eastern Canada and the American mid-west in April. He was not concerned about his absence as Sifton and Cameron had been selected to represent the Greenway government at a Cabinet meeting held shortly after Bowell's message of March 17.<sup>2</sup>

Greenway remained in Crystal City to handle the Liberal nomination for the new federal constituency of Lisgar. He carefully arranged the selection of Richard L. Richardson, editor of The Winnipeg Tribune, as the Winnipeg man's views on the School Question and particularly on the tariff closely paralleled his own. Greenway had wanted Robert Ironside to accept the nomination as J. B. McLaren, who had received it in the fall of 1895, had decided to step down because he was unable to campaign and "the position of M. P. has no attractions for me, . . ."<sup>3</sup> Ironside at first wanted the nomination,<sup>4</sup> but when he was informed that he would be

<sup>1</sup> "Commissioners Down to Work," The Winnipeg Tribune, 27 March 1896, 1; "Wind-up of Conference," Ibid., 1 April 1896, 5.

<sup>2</sup> "Commissioners Down to Work," Ibid., 27 March 1896, 1.

<sup>3</sup> J. B. McLaren to Greenway, 22 February 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 8643

<sup>4</sup> Robert Ironside to Greenway, 20 February 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 8629.

expected to campaign and his business partner J. T. Gorden might be the Conservative candidate,<sup>1</sup> he declined.<sup>2</sup> The result was Richardson's nomination and Greenway's return to Crystal City where he remained until March 31 when he arrived back in Winnipeg.<sup>3</sup>

The Conference lasted from March 28 to April 1 and failed to produce a settlement. The federal offers had stipulated the establishment of separate schools while the counter proposals of the Manitoba government suggested religious teaching in all schools for the last half hour of the day. A. R. Dickey believed the minority would have accepted the Dominion's offer, but they had declined positively the Manitoba Government's proposals.<sup>4</sup> Both Archbishop Langevin, who had succeeded Taché when the latter died in 1894, and James E. P. Prendergast, speaking for the minority, had rejected the federal compromise with Langevin holding out for separate schools and Prendergast for the Remedial Bill.<sup>5</sup> Sifton believed the close ties between the Church and the Dominion government

<sup>1</sup> Private. Greenway to Ironside, 25 February 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 777; Ironside to Greenway, 2 March 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 8370; Greenway to Ironside, 7 March 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 786.

<sup>2</sup> Ironside to Greenway, 16 March 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 8719.

<sup>3</sup> "Liberals of Lisgar," The Winnipeg Tribune, 26 March 1896, 1; "Wind-Up of Conference," Ibid., 1 April 1896, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Confidential. Suggestions for settlement of Manitoba School Question from Dominion Commissioners for Manitoba Government, 28 March 1896. P.A.M., Sifton Papers; telegram (copy), A. R. Dickey to Mackenzie Bowell, 1 April 1896. P.A.C., Dickey Papers.

<sup>5</sup> (Copie), Confidentielle, Langevin to Mgr. Begin, 30 Mars 1896. P.A.C., Aberdeen Papers, vol. 3, 893-895; James P. Prendergast to Charles Fitzpatrick, 24 December 1896. P.A.C., Fitzpatrick Papers, vol. 1, 238-239.

made it impossible for the federal delegates to yield on separate schools.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway clearly was pleased with the failure of the conference to produce any compromise solution. While he refused any public comment, he wrote George Laidlaw of Carman, "You will no doubt have seen before this the result of the recent Conference upon the School Question, and I have no doubt the position taken by us meets with your approbation."<sup>2</sup>

What remained was the fate of the Remedial Bill at Ottawa. To achieve a complete victory, the Liberals had to defeat any attempt to pass third reading. As Sifton advised D'Alton McCarthy, M. P. for North Simcoe, "I think that if necessary it should be deliberately talked out. . . ."<sup>3</sup> Greenway was explicit in a letter to Joseph Martin on April 8 in which he stated,

As I was leaving Winnipeg yesterday, saw a report that the Liberals had decided not to obstruct the remedial bill -- should think it of the utmost importance that every legitimate means should be used to prevent its passage so that the open question may be submitted to the electorate. May have the pleasure of seeing you at the Capital next week.<sup>4</sup>

Greenway probably did see Martin at Ottawa as Manitoba's Premier was in Chicago, Toronto, and Montreal as well as Ottawa in the following month. The Chicago and Montreal visits concerned railway business, while Toronto and Ottawa were more frankly political in nature. In Montreal he was

<sup>1</sup> Confidential, Personal, Sifton to D'Alton McCarthy, 2 April 1896. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 270, 962.

<sup>2</sup> Greenway to George L. Laidlaw, 6 April 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook A, 842.

<sup>3</sup> Confidential, Personal. Sifton to D'Alton McCarthy, 2 April 1896. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 270, 962.

<sup>4</sup> (Copy), Private. Greenway to Joseph Martin, 8 April 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 8987.

interested in Canadian Pacific lands still unsold in Manitoba, while his Chicago visit was to learn about the reorganization of the Northern Pacific.<sup>1</sup> In Toronto on April 12 and 13, Greenway denied any knowledge of Laurier's efforts to have Oliver Mowat, Premier of Ontario, William S. Fielding, Premier of Nova Scotia, and himself enter federal politics. However, it was reported that Greenway had spent most of one day with Lyman M. Jones and the evening with S. H. Jones.<sup>2</sup> S. H. Jones and George A. Cox headed a syndicate prepared to give Mowat a guaranteed annuity for life if he would enter federal politics. Laurier knew and approved of the proposed arrangement.<sup>3</sup> Greenway apparently learned of Mowat's probable decision at the meeting with S. H. Jones and then arrived in Ottawa when the Conservative government withdrew the Remedial Bill, despite a plea from Langevin to have it passed.<sup>4</sup>

Greenway returned to Toronto on May 2 to attend a Liberal meeting with Richard J. Cartwright and A. S. Hardy, who was expected to succeed Mowat as Premier of Ontario.<sup>5</sup> Greenway arrived at Winnipeg on May 5 and was in improved health. He reported that eastern Liberals were in good spirits and Mowat's entrance was a big lift in Ontario. Greenway knew that the Conservatives would make an intensive effort to carry Manitoba

<sup>1</sup> Van Horne to Greenway, 28 April 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 9022; W. G. Pearce to Greenway, 9 April 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 9017.

<sup>2</sup> "Premier Greenway," The Winnipeg Tribune, 13 April 1896, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Confidential. Laurier to John S. Ewart, 20 April 1896. P.A.M., John S. Ewart Papers, Letterbook I, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Telegram, Langevin to Charles Tupper, 13 April 1896. P.A.C., Charles Tupper Papers, vol. 11, 5516-5517.

<sup>5</sup> "Ontario Liberals," The Winnipeg Tribune, 2 May 1896, 1.

and he was certain of the reason behind it. "There is no doubt the Dominion Government will make a desperate attempt to capture Manitoba," Greenway flatly asserted to the Tribune's reporter, "so that they may afterwards be able to say that the province is not against their position on the school question."<sup>1</sup> In a letter of May 7 to George Case, Greenway indicated that the Manitoba School Question "will be one of the principal issues" in the June 23 election.<sup>2</sup>

Greenway then turned to the campaign in Lisgar which was complicated by a three-sided contest involving Richardson for the Liberals, Robert Rogers for the Conservatives, and James Morrow as the Patron of Industry candidate. Morrow's candidacy had two purposes -- to draw off Liberal votes and thereby help Rogers, and to exert pressure on Greenway to make good on his apparent promise to see that R. S. Preston received his \$200 deposit back for withdrawing from the contest in Mountain before polling day in the January 15, 1896, provincial election.<sup>3</sup> Frank Schultz and William Conolly were responsible both for Preston's withdrawal and Morrow's candidacy. Greenway informed D. A. Stewart, a prominent Liberal in Pilot Mound, regarding Preston's deposit, "that under the law it cannot be returned." He sympathized with Preston's plight and told Stewart, "I would gladly be one to contribute towards making it up to him. Of course

<sup>1</sup> "Premier Greenway," Ibid., 6 May 1896, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Greenway to George Case, 7 May 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook A, 857.

<sup>3</sup> Greenway to Frank Schultz, 2 April 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 836; Schultz to Greenway, 4 April 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 8819; Greenway to Schultz, 6 April 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 849. Private. Greenway to D. A. Stewart, 7 May 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 864.

I do not know whether that could be done or not."<sup>1</sup> Nothing had been done by May 29 when William Conolly demanded that Greenway make proper arrangements or a circular would be printed by June 3, "stating that no dependence could be placed in the Liberal party citing the action of the premier of this province re his promise about Mr. Preston's deposit. Such a circular would be very injurious to the Reform party."<sup>2</sup> Greenway made a promise to reimburse Preston his \$200 deposit, Morrow dropped out of the contest by June 10,<sup>3</sup> the circular was not printed, and Frank Schultz was satisfied, although perturbed that Morrow had campaigned on behalf of Robert Rogers after withdrawing. Greenway bluntly told him that Morrow "did all he could for the Tory Candidate as I think any one that knows him as long as I have might expect that he would. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

Greenway campaigned exclusively in Lisgar on behalf of R. L. Richardson and stressed two issues -- the schools and the tariff. He charged that a vote for Robert Rogers was a vote for separate schools and went on to say, "It has been reported that the local government would settle the school question if Mr. Laurier came into power. The local government, so long as he had connection with it, would never make any settlement on the

<sup>1</sup> Private. Greenway to D. A. Stewart, 7 May 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 864.

<sup>2</sup> Confidential. William Conolly to Greenway, 29 May 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 9123.

<sup>3</sup> William Conolly to Greenway, June 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 8858; Private. D. A. Stewart to Greenway, 27 January 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 9756; Joseph Martin to John Willison, 10 June 1896. P.A.C., Willison Papers, vol. 5<sup>4</sup>, 20306-20307.

<sup>4</sup> Private. Greenway to Schultz, 9 July 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 892.

school question which would involve the restoration of separate schools." He repeated this stand throughout the campaign, adding that there was no basis in the Conservatives' constitutional cry and that so long as he remained Premier no interference with the national school system would be tolerated.<sup>1</sup>

While taking a strong stand on the School Question, Greenway once again campaigned for a revenue tariff. He confidently expected that a Liberal victory would result in a radical reform of the tariff and exhorted his audiences to assault the tariff wall with him. He claimed that the greatest burden carried by the people of Manitoba was the "protection tariff" and they were robbed by it. He attacked the duty on coal oil, expressed his own position and what he believed was the Liberal party's position, when he contended that he had yet to find anyone who could offer a single good argument in favour of the tariff, a tariff which charged enormous duties on the implements and commodities of the farmers, but admitted diamonds free.<sup>2</sup>

The resulting election of Richardson by a margin of 54 over Rogers was in line with the national Liberal trend which witnessed the election of 118 Liberals, 88 Conservatives, and 7 Independents.<sup>3</sup> One of the main

<sup>1</sup> "Down With the Coercionists," The Winnipeg Tribune, 8 June 1896, 1, 5; "Demonstration at Cartwright," Ibid., 16 June 1896, 1; "The Premier's Declaration," Ibid., 18 June 1896, 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Down With the Coercionists," Ibid., 8 June 1896, 1, 5; "Demonstration at Cartwright," Ibid., 16 June 1896, 1; "The Premier's Declaration," Ibid., 18 June 1896, 1.

<sup>3</sup> "The Country Swept by the Liberals," Ibid., 24 June 1896, 1; "Lisgar and Selkirk Return Richardson and Macdonnell," Ibid., 26 June 1896, 1.

elements in the Liberals' widespread success was the adroit duplicity of Laurier and Joseph Israel Tarte, former Conservative turned Liberal and Laurier's Quebec leader. While Laurier adopted a "no coercion" stand on the School Question in Ontario, Tarte was claiming in Quebec that the Liberal leader would exceed the offers of the Conservatives in establishing separate schools in Manitoba. The convincing rhetoric won 43 seats in Ontario and 49 in Quebec for the Liberals to 43 and 16 for the Conservatives.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway was delighted with the election federally, although disgusted with Manitoba. His own analysis of the Manitoba results indicated the defeats in Marquette and Macdonald had been because of the Patrons, while the Canadian Pacific Railway had violated its neutrality pledge, causing Martin's defeat in Winnipeg. "You can easily understand how entirely disgusted and disappointed I am," Greenway stated in an interview with a Tribune reporter. Continuing, Greenway said,

My disgust and disappointment are to some extent mitigated when I observe the influences that were brought to bear to defeat the Liberal candidates. . . . it was reckoned that with a pronouncement from this province in favour of the government, whose programme was remedial legislation, would enable it to keep itself solid with Quebec by passing remedial legislation.

With a fair election, Greenway believed his prediction of five Liberals and two Conservatives "would have been realized."<sup>2</sup> Manitoba had returned two Liberals, Richardson in Lisgar and J. A. Macdonnell in Selkirk, the Independent D'Alton McCarthy in Brandon, and four Conservatives.

<sup>1</sup> John T. Saywell, "The 1890s" in J.M.S. Careless and R. Craig Brown (eds.), The Canadians, 1867-1967 (Toronto, 1967), 123-126.

<sup>2</sup> "Lisgar and Selkirk Return Richardson and Macdonnell," The Winnipeg Tribune, 26 June 1896, 1.

A recent study of the Manitoba result holds that "the school question was not the burning issue the Liberals had hoped it would be."<sup>1</sup> Another study, written in 1943, involved a constituency by constituency analysis of the election in Manitoba and concluded "it is hard to imagine that for Manitoba's Protestant majority the school question was the really burning issue in the 1896 election."<sup>2</sup> The former did not present an alternative explanation, while the latter attributes the outcome to Conservative party loyalty, "appreciation of the Canadian Pacific Railway and hope, built on that achievement, for the Hudson [sic] Bay Railway," and the popularity of the Conservative candidates.<sup>3</sup> Both dismiss the unseating, for corrupt practices by their agents, of Nat Boyd in Macdonald and Hugh John Macdonald in Winnipeg and the Liberal victories in the ensuing by-elections as "not an indignant repudiation of the Conservatives. . . , since the Conservatives took no part in these contests."<sup>4</sup> While protested elections were not uncommon, they usually were "sawed-off" by arrangement. Greenway's prediction that a fair election would have resulted in a five to two margin for the Liberals was realized with the unseating of Boyd and Macdonald as well as Sifton's election for Brandon when McCarthy resigned to sit for North Simcoe. Clearly, it had been important for the Conservatives

<sup>1</sup> Henry James Guest, "Reluctant Politician: A Biography of Sir Hugh John Macdonald" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1973), 19<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Ellen Gillies Cooke, "The Federal Election of 1896 in Manitoba," (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1943), 207.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 209.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 208; Guest, op. cit., 194.

to carry Manitoba by whatever means were available in an effort to illustrate that Manitoba was willing to accept remedial legislation.

As well, Greenway's charge of Canadian Pacific Railway interference in Winnipeg was correct. W.C. Van Horne professed innocence to Robert

Jaffray, financial director of The Globe. "In the last election," he wrote Jaffray on July 15, "we were somewhat in the position of a girl who had once been whoring, but who had reformed and was trying to lead a correct life -- it was difficult to make everybody believe it."<sup>1</sup>

Before the "girl" turned to the "pure" life, she gave a last performance.

On May 25, Van Horne confided to Charles Tupper, "I have already written our Winnipeg friend fully and assured him that he need have no uneasiness so far as our people are concerned and Mr. Shaughnessy has since had an understanding with our officers up there." A notation in Van Horne's letterbook confirmed that "our Winnipeg friend" was Hugh John Macdonald.<sup>2</sup>

Van Horne also wrote to Joseph Martin on May 28 and June 15, giving him a Janus-faced assurance that the Company was "absolutely neutral."<sup>3</sup> When Martin complained about the Winnipeg result, Van Horne attributed Macdonald's victory to "the natural working of human nature" and the Conservative candidate's "personal intimacy with all Officers at Winnipeg, . . .".<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Private. Van Horne to Robert Jaffray, 15 July 1896. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M 2287, Letterbook 51, 652.

<sup>2</sup> Confidential. Van Horne to Charles Tupper, 25 May 1896. P.A.C., Ibid., M 2287, Letterbook 51, 383.

<sup>3</sup> Private. Van Horne to Joseph Martin, 28 May 1896. P.A.C., Ibid., M 2287, Letterbook 51, 396-398; Private. Van Horne to Joseph Martin, 15 June 1896. P.A.C., Ibid., M 2287, Letterbook 51, 498.

<sup>4</sup> Van Horne to Joseph Martin, 15 July 1896. P.A.C., Ibid., M 2287, Letterbook 51, 650-651.

Clearly, Van Horne was both serving his own interests and squaring accounts with Martin.

If the Conservatives had won the election, H. J. Macdonald would have been amenable to the Company's wishes since he was under obligation to Van Horne. More important, with a Liberal victory nationally, Joseph Martin's claims on the Interiorship would be weakened by his personal defeat. This made it possible for Van Horne to press the appointment of Clifford Sifton to the position even before a settlement was reached on the school question.<sup>1</sup> The close relationship between Van Horne and Sifton would be of benefit to the Canadian Pacific Railway with the Crow's Nest Railway project in view.

Thomas Greenway had every right to expect that he would be consulted by Laurier following the favourable result of the June 23 election as the Liberal leader was promising a settlement of the Manitoba School Question within six months. However, events were not being controlled by Greenway nor was he in full control of his Cabinet personnel. Despite his inability to dominate the situation, Greenway always believed that he had been the major influence in his own government. Writing to Sifton on March 3, 1897, Provincial Treasurer D. H. McMillan remarked,

In Foster's address, you will notice that he stated that Mr. Laurier rewarded the Provincial Legislatures by taking their Premiers into his Government. In the case of Manitoba he says he took in the man who owned the Premier. This matter was jokingly referred to yesterday in the presence of our Prime Minister, who did not particularly relish the joke, but intimated that if you owned him, you ought to support the family.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Vaughn, The Life and Work of Sir William Van Horne (New York, 1920), 250; John Murray Gibbon, Steel of Empire: The Romantic History of the Canadian Pacific, the Northwest Passage of Today (Indianapolis, 1935), 347.

<sup>2</sup> Private. D. H. McMillan to Sifton, 3 March 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 463, 17218.

Apparently, Greenway had been unaware of any arrangement between Laurier and Sifton regarding the latter's appointment as Minister of the Interior. When Robert Hill Myers, M. L. A. for Minnedosa, suggested that this would happen and requested that he be given the resulting vacancy in the Provincial Cabinet,<sup>1</sup> Greenway replied, "I am not aware that anything such as you suggest will happen." When there were Cabinet vacancies, Greenway continued, he would consult the wishes of the party faithful in the House before making a decision.<sup>2</sup>

In a letter of August 5 from Sifton, Greenway learned that his Attorney General was to meet with Laurier a week later regarding the school question.<sup>3</sup> Greenway clearly was upset at being ignored and declined Sifton's invitation to attend the meeting with Laurier. As he wrote Sifton on August 10,

It appears to me that if they cared much for my views there, I should at least have heard from some of them before this. The Elections [sic] over nearly six weeks ago and not as much as a scratch of a pen from that quarter. It is possible that any suggestions I might make might not be of much value, but there would be one thing in their favor at least, and that is that they would be entirely disinterested. In that respect they might differ considerably from some that has [sic] been received from other quarters. As you are aware there are some things that I would like to discuss with them when they are in a position to talk business.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Private. R. Hill Myers to Greenway, 26 June 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 9046.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Greenway to R. Hill Myers, 9 July 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 897.

<sup>3</sup> Sifton to Greenway, 5 August 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 9168.

<sup>4</sup> Private. Greenway to Sifton, 10 August 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 909.

The reference to "from other quarters" pertained to Joseph Martin and his claims on the Interior portfolio. After his meeting with Laurier, Sifton informed Greenway that Martin was not to be a member of the Cabinet. Sifton went on to say that he would receive the Interior Department upon settlement of the "vexed question" and the federal government's offer concerning it was "pretty reasonable." He sent Greenway a memorandum of the proposed settlement<sup>1</sup> and met with the Premier in Winnipeg on August 23 to discuss it.<sup>2</sup>

Greenway's attitude towards the "Memorandum Re Settlement of School Question" was to accept it with minor textual changes, but there was no disagreement over the general concept. Since the "Memorandum," the agreement signed between Sifton and Laurier on November 16, and the published version of November 20, did not violate the principle of "national schools" and did not restore the system of taxation to which Greenway had objected before the federal election, there was no basis to reject the settlement.<sup>3</sup> What Greenway did resent was the failure of Sifton to bring more than a verbal assurance from Laurier that Manitoba's financial claims would be satisfied. As a result, Greenway stated publicly that he hoped a settlement could be reached, but he believed it was necessary to have a further conference with the federal government.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sifton to Greenway, 14 August 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 9091.

<sup>2</sup> "Hon. Mr. Sifton Interviewed," The Winnipeg Tribune, 24 August 1896, 1.

<sup>3</sup> "Memorandum Re Settlement of School Question," undated. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 9487; "Memorandum Re Settlement of School Question," 16 November 1896. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 452, 4207; "School Question Settled at Last," The Winnipeg Tribune, 20 November 1896, 1.

<sup>4</sup> "Settling the Great Problem," The Winnipeg Tribune, 4 September 1896, 1.

The Manitoba School Question as a political issue had maintained Greenway in power through January, 1896, and had been the key element in the election of a Liberal federal government in June 1896. Greenway had refused to make any settlement of the conflict with the federal Conservatives, but was willing to accept the Laurier-Greenway Compromise out of party loyalty, the satisfaction of Manitoba's financial claims, and to further Sifton's federal ambitions thereby giving Manitoba and the West an effective voice in the Cabinet. Greenway's expectations that Sifton would assist the Manitoba Liberals rarely were realized. This was to play a vital role in the defeat of Greenway's government in the December, 1899, provincial election.

CHAPTER VI  
THE SEARCH FOR AN ISSUE

Greenway attempted to find an effective political issue to maintain his Government in power following the Laurier-Greenway Compromise of November, 1896. Despite his loyalty to the federal Liberal party, Greenway's position was affected adversely by actions and inactions of the federal government. He was forced to take a defensive position in education as a result of the Compromise, which encouraged many Conservatives to return to their party, and left Greenway's government with a budgetary deficit when Laurier failed to meet Manitoba's financial claims.

The immigration policy pursued by Clifford Sifton provided the basis for an appeal to racism by the provincial Conservatives which effectively undercut Greenway's strength in rural southwest Manitoba. The failure of the federal Liberals to return to a revenue tariff further hampered Greenway in rural constituencies. Greenway attempted to carry out his Winnipeg to Duluth railway scheme as an effective policy, but in doing so he ended the rapprochement with Van Horne, faced opposition from the Canadian Pacific and Northern Pacific Railways, and learned once again that Sifton would not support the project. Greenway was hampered further by the division of the Manitoba Liberals, largely due to the feud between Sifton and R. L. Richardson. Despite these liabilities, Greenway and his government went into the December 7, 1899, provincial election confident to the point of arrogance that they would defeat the revitalized, well-organized provincial Conservatives under the leadership of Hugh John Macdonald.

As a result of the Laurier-Greenway Compromise, there were two claims

which Greenway wanted settled in Manitoba's favour. These involved a charge of \$284,456.57 for Legislative buildings and the Lieutenant Governor's residence and the withholding of \$110,825.07 from Manitoba's subsidy account. The first item dated from April, 1879, and the second from January, 1885. Both had been included in the settlement of 1885 whereby the subsidy amount was dropped and the buildings were charged to the Province since they were of a strictly local character. Greenway wanted, as well, the interest on these accounts which, calculated at five per cent compounded yearly, added \$318,960.00 to the claims for an aggregate amount of \$714,242.20.<sup>1</sup>

Lieutenant Governor J. C. Patterson had written Mackenzie Bowell in February, 1896, urging that it was an opportune time to consider an arrangement.<sup>2</sup> Bowell disagreed completely with Patterson's view of the matter and promised only that it would be considered.<sup>3</sup> Typically, it never was, and Greenway expected a Liberal government to accede to his requests. The delegation that went to Ottawa in October included Cameron, Watson, and McMillan, Greenway remaining at home because of illness.<sup>4</sup> This appears to have been a convenient if overworked excuse, as Greenway was able to make extended trips and prompt decisions to attend

<sup>1</sup> J. C. Patterson to Mackenzie Bowell, 15 February 1896. P.A.C., Bowell Papers, vol. 15, 6408-6414, and in P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 8334; D. H. McMillan to The Honourable, The Minister of Finance [W. S. Fielding], 17 May 1897. P.A.C. Fitzpatrick Papers, vol. 2, 387-416; "Manitoba's Claims Against the Dominion," The Winnipeg Tribune, 29 May 1897, 1.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. Patterson to Mackenzie Bowell, 15 February 1896. P.A.C., Bowell Papers, vol. 15, 6414.

<sup>3</sup> (Copy), Bowell to Patterson, 7 March 1896. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 15, 6415.

<sup>4</sup> "Ministers Go To Ottawa," The Winnipeg Tribune, 9 October 1896, 1.

political meetings when he desired to do so. A more plausible explanation on this occasion would be that Greenway wanted a promise in writing regarding the claims and wished it sent to him rather than having to go to Ottawa for it. After all, Greenway was taking the political risk by offering to make concessions on the schools and in his mind the least Laurier could do was put his promises on financial matters in writing. The result was a letter from Laurier to Greenway on October 19, in which the Prime Minister made the expected promises, but without being too definite. Laurier explained to Greenway that,

With reference to the financial claims of the Manitoba Government, I see no difficulty -- no serious difficulty at least -- in granting the first item of it, with regard to the buildings. All that we want on this subject is that you should furnish us with the strongest possible case that can be made in support of your contention.

With regard to the other claim, I do not think that we yet fully understand its intricate character, but we are disposed to deal with it liberally.<sup>1</sup>

Laurier added that he was pleased with the friendly disposition of Greenway and his colleagues towards effecting a settlement, but there were two or three points which Cameron, Watson, and McMillan would discuss with Greenway on their return to Winnipeg. Laurier asked that the points be conceded to strengthen his hand in Quebec.<sup>2</sup> Greenway accepted Laurier's letter as a promise to fulfill Manitoba's financial claims and was willing to go some length to meet the Prime Minister's views.

Greenway refrained from any statement on the settlement in public or in private correspondence until he attended a banquet in Laurier's honour

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<sup>1</sup> Private and Confidential. Laurier to Greenway, 19 October 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 12065.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

at The Windsor in Montreal on December 30. Tarte had pressed the matter of attendance on Greenway "to give the last blow to the bigots who have tried lately to raise an agitation on the School Question."<sup>1</sup> Thomas Côté, organizer of the banquet and close friend of Laurier, wrote Greenway, "It is essential that you should be present in order to reaffirm the patriotic spirit of conciliation which stamps this 'entente cordiale.'"<sup>2</sup> Greenway attended the banquet and listened to Laurier speak about the triumph of conciliation, the possibility of Catholics on the Advisory Board and as inspectors, and hint at the prospect of a Roman Catholic becoming a member of Greenway's government. Then it was the Manitoba Premier's turn to speak.<sup>3</sup>

Greenway responded with a brief comment on the inefficient education system facing his government when they assumed office and declared the basis of the 1890 Act had been to give everybody a good education. Then he came to the key section of his speech, saying that his government was willing to meet the minority in a generous spirit. He promised that if they would come forward and suggest any way by which their views could be met to a further extent, his government always would be prepared to consider it. Greenway indicated that the minority would be represented on the Advisory Board and in the selection of textbooks, but he made no mention of a Roman Catholic as a member of his government.<sup>4</sup> Greenway

<sup>1</sup> Telegram, J. Israel Tarte to Greenway, 14 December 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 9496; Tarte to Greenway, 22 December 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 9511.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Côté to Greenway, 16 December 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 9577.

<sup>3</sup> "Laurier and Greenway," The Winnipeg Tribune, 31 December 1896, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Loc. cit.

was entertained at Le Club Canadien on January 2 and given the title "King of the Fete [sic]."<sup>1</sup> He returned to Ottawa to discuss immigration and other matters before returning to Winnipeg where in an interview he described the Laurier Banquet as brilliant, enthusiastic, and stated that the settlement was proving satisfactory.<sup>2</sup>

Greenway agreed with Laurier and Tarte regarding a French speaking Catholic inspector for the French districts of Manitoba<sup>3</sup> and suggested Mr. Rochon of Rockland, county of Russell, editor of the Ralliement, to J. D. Cameron. Cameron wrote Laurier to learn something of Rochon's attainments and qualifications, as well as expected salary.<sup>4</sup> Almost a month later, Laurier replied that the appointment should be made immediately.<sup>5</sup> This was only nine days before the St. Boniface by-election for the seat vacated by James E. P. Prendergast when he resigned on December 30, 1896.<sup>6</sup>

The reason the by-election was called at this time was to gain approval of the Laurier-Greenway Compromise. Should the Liberal candidate, S. A. D. Bertrand, be elected, it would mark the final settlement of the School Question along the lines already published. If J. B. Lauzon, the

<sup>1</sup> "Premier in Quebec," Ibid., 2 January 1897, 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Premier in Toronto," Ibid., 12 January 1897, 1; "Mr. Greenway Home," Ibid., 18 January 1897, 5.

<sup>3</sup> "Inspector of Schools," Ibid., 16 January 1897, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. J. D. Cameron to Laurier, 19 January 1897. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 3<sup>4</sup>, 11189.

<sup>5</sup> Telegram, Laurier to Cameron, undated. P.A.D., Ibid., vol. 34, 1190.

<sup>6</sup> "Hon. Mr. Prendergast," The Winnipeg Tribune, 30 December 1896, 1; "St. Boniface Bye-Election," Ibid., 3 February 1897, 1.

Conservative candidate, were elected agitation on the issue would continue. It was suspected by Cameron and Watson that Langevin had forced Prendergast to resign as Langevin clearly did not approve the settlement and refused to work through Prendergast to gain a conciliatory application of the arrangement.<sup>1</sup> Langevin told his parishioners that they would be unfaithful to their archbishop if they voted for the settlement.<sup>2</sup> The by-election resulted in a substantial victory for Lauzon, which in turn prompted Langevin's declaration that the School Question still was not settled,<sup>3</sup> and caused D. H. McMillan to write Sifton that this would mean trouble in Quebec with the clergy continuing their agitation.<sup>4</sup> Sifton reassured McMillan on that point, but indicated that the appointment of Prendergast to a Judgeship had been mishandled thereby destroying any value the former M. L. A.'s endorsement of the school question settlement might have had.<sup>5</sup>

Aside from a telegram to Sifton on January 19 in regard to the situation with Prendergast,<sup>6</sup> Greenway had not taken part in the St. Boniface by-election. Most of the campaigning was done by Prendergast and A. F. Martin and it is doubtful that Greenway's presence would

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Cameron to Sifton, 7 January 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 456, 8865; Sifton to Robert Watson, 14 January 1897. U.M., Ibid., C 401, 61.

<sup>2</sup> "Election in St. Boniface," The Winnipeg Tribune, 15 February 1897, 1.

<sup>3</sup> "Election in St. Boniface," Ibid., 22 February 1897, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. D. H. McMillan to Sifton, 19 February 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 463, 17210.

<sup>5</sup> Personal. Sifton to McMillan, 3 March 1897. U.M., Ibid., C 402, 872.

<sup>6</sup> Telegram, Greenway to Sifton, 19 January 1897. U.M., Ibid., C 459, 12923.

have aided Bertrand's candidacy. Greenway was more interested and involved with the tariff commission hearings in Winnipeg from February 8 to 11. This was a small concession that he had gained from Laurier in their meetings at Ottawa and may have been because of Greenway's pressure prior to the meetings.<sup>1</sup> Greenway had remained silent on all issues throughout October and November while the settlement was negotiated and published, and Sifton was elected for Brandon.

The Premier was active in rearranging his Cabinet with J. D. Cameron becoming Attorney General to replace Sifton<sup>2</sup> and Charles Julius Mickle, M. L. A. for Birtle, becoming Provincial Secretary in Cameron's place.<sup>3</sup> Greenway made no comments concerning these changes, although a letter received from Mickle indicates that the selections had been made before October 1 and depended solely on Laurier's willingness to meet the financial claims pressed by Greenway.<sup>4</sup> The only disappointed office seeker was Robert Hill Myers of Minnedosa and Greenway requested Sifton to explain the basis for Mickle's elevation to the Cabinet, but Greenway offered no reason for it.<sup>5</sup> Neither did Sifton. Writing Myers on January 11, 1897, Sifton stated it was impossible to understand the nature

<sup>1</sup> "The Contest in St. Boniface," The Winnipeg Tribune, 20 February 1897, 1; "Mr. Greenway Home," Ibid., 18 January 1897, 5.

<sup>2</sup> "New Attorney General," Ibid., 18 November 1896, 1.

<sup>3</sup> "The New Secretary," Ibid., 28 November 1896, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Private. C. J. Mickle to Greenway, 1 October 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 9252.

<sup>5</sup> Personal. Greenway to Sifton, 25 November 1896. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 451, 2657.

of the difficulties which beset a Premier in filling a vacancy. Sometimes the point which determined the selection was one that could not be disclosed, Sifton continued,

so that a First Minister is compelled to take the position of appearing to pass over a faithful and loyal friend without being able to explain why he has done so. . . . you will understand that the fact you were not selected is not at all an indication that your efforts have not been appreciated.<sup>1</sup>

Mickle was returned by acclamation on December 11 and Greenway appeared at a Brandon banquet in honour of Sifton on the following day. One of the reasons for Greenway's attendance was to assist A. C. Fraser who was seeking to retain North Brandon constituency for the Liberal party against W. Postlewaite, an Independent and former Patron.<sup>2</sup>

It was at a similar banquet in Winnipeg on December 15, that Greenway finally expressed himself on federal issues and attempted to gain a better position for Manitoba. He called for a radical measure of tariff reform to make it a tariff for revenue so it would bear less heavily on Canada's real wealth producers. Greenway wanted Manitoba's boundaries extended westerly and his scheme adopted for filling the new area and all Manitoba with settlers. The scheme was to take up all lands belonging to the Dominion Government on which the title had lapsed and for the federal government to repurchase all lands from companies holding lands. On May 1, 1898, every settler who had not had a homestead before was to have the opportunity to purchase a 160 acre homestead at a

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Sifton to R. Hill Myers, 11 January 1897. U.M., Ibid., C 401, Letterbook D, 102.

<sup>2</sup> "Mickle Elected," The Winnipeg Tribune, 11 December 1896, 1; "The Sifton Banquet," Ibid., 12 December 1896, 1.

reasonable price. Greenway also believed that Manitoba deserved a yearly income of \$1,000,000 to meet current and future needs.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly after this speech Greenway went to Ottawa and then on to the Laurier Banquet, where Laurier had stated that it was possible to reform the tariff without destroying the industries. Greenway argued that the tariff needed to be reformed and he did not and never had believed in protection.<sup>2</sup> When Greenway returned to Winnipeg in mid-January, it was clear that his hopes before leaving had been dashed. Reversing his previous stand, he stated that there was no reason why Manitoba should be anxious about extending her boundaries under the present circumstances. These circumstances, Greenway went on, were the tremendous expense extension would involve in providing various governmental services and as Manitoba did not own her own lands there was no means of financing an enlarged province. He contended he merely had been attempting to draw the Dominion government's attention to the fact that it would be best for Canada if the number of provinces it seemed to want to create were decreased. It seems irrefutable though that Greenway wanted enlarged boundaries for Manitoba, but had the project rejected by the Ottawa government on the basis of expense. Having no other recourse, he had to make the best explanation he could for retreating from the proposal. Greenway had urged that the tariff commission hold meetings in Winnipeg and he was able to report that the Commission would be there some time

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<sup>1</sup> "Canada's Youngest Minister Honored by the Metropolis," Ibid., 11 December 1896, 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Laurier and Greenway," Ibid., 31 December 1896, 1.

in February.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway immediately prepared for the sittings by instructing all M.L.As to send a representative farmer to the meetings at provincial government expense.<sup>2</sup> Upon receiving a telegram from W. S. Fielding, Minister of Finance, Greenway wrote a circular letter to all delegates to meet at the Government Buildings on February 6 to prepare to meet the Tariff Commission the following Monday.<sup>3</sup> Greenway was clearly dealing with the one political principle he held when the delegates met on February 6. He pointed out to the representatives that this was their chance to be heard after eighteen years of bearing the protective tariff burden and he clearly expected them to make the most of it.<sup>4</sup>

The Tariff Commission, headed by Fielding and William Paterson, Minister of Customs, held meetings from February 8 to 11, and the general tone of the presentations was a demand for a revenue tariff. It was tempered somewhat by statements made on behalf of lumber, fruit, and dairy interests who wanted their commodities protected.<sup>5</sup> D. H. McMillan, who acted as Sifton's main contact within the Greenway Cabinet and was

<sup>1</sup> "Mr. Greenway Home," Ibid., 18 January 1897, 5.

<sup>2</sup> James Fisher to Greenway, 25 January 1897. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 9629.

<sup>3</sup> Greenway to Tariff Commission Delegates, 2 February 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 9779.

<sup>4</sup> "Hon. Messrs. Fielding and Paterson Open the Commission," The Winnipeg Tribune, 8 February 1897, 1, 5.

<sup>5</sup> "This is Farmers' Day Before the Tariff Commission," Ibid., 9 February 1897, 1, 3, 5; "The Farmer Delegates," Ibid., 9 February 1897, 5; "The Farmers Had a Great Day Before the Commission," Ibid., 10 February 1897, 1, 2, 5; "Tariff Inquiry Closed Today," Ibid., 11 February 1897, 1, 5.

involved with the Minister of the Interior in mining ventures and protecting urban business interests as opposed to the encroachments of the farming population, wrote Sifton on February 15 concerning the Tariff Commission hearings. McMillan informed Sifton,

We have had the Commission and Messrs. Greenway, Richardson and [James] Elder [a Patron who would contest Dennis constituency in July, 1897] are happy. I fancy each enjoyed it more than the Commissioners. It was certainly a success in point of numbers and wind. To listen to the farmers and some town friends, a stranger would be forced to the conclusion that the farmers of Manitoba were prepared to die on the Free Trade alter [sic].<sup>1</sup>

McMillan correctly pointed out that many of these farmers had been voting protection for the past eighteen years. He incorrectly assumed that these same farmers could be satisfied if the protection on wheat and flour were retained.<sup>2</sup> Greenway might accept the protection on wheat and flour, but he wanted the duty on agricultural implements eliminated. After discussing the possibilities of such a reduction with R. L. Richardson, Greenway was willing to settle on a duty of ten per cent. Richardson agreed and wrote Sifton "that inasmuch as there will be no great scaling down on other lines, implements ought to be placed at 10%. There we could all I think unite in justifying the changes... ."<sup>3</sup> Despite the efforts of many western M. P.s, notably Richardson, and the expectations of Greenway, the tariffs enacted by the Laurier administration through the budgets of W. S. Fielding, failed to move towards freer trade.

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<sup>1</sup> Private. McMillan to Sifton, 15 February 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 463, 17203.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Private. Richardson to Sifton, 13 March 1897. U.M., Ibid., C 466, 20443.

Some of the items that were of interest to Greenway included lowering the duty on flour from 75 cents to 60 cents per barrel and that on wheat from 15 to 12 cents per bushel. Others were a one cent reduction per gallon on coal oil, bringing it down to five cents; duties on binder twine and fencing wire were reduced in 1897 and placed on the free list in 1898; binders and mowers were left at twenty per cent while agricultural implements dropped from thirty-five per cent to thirty per cent. Overall, between 1897 and 1899 the tariff was reduced 2.02 per cent, although in the September federal election of 1900, Fielding claimed it was 2.5 per cent. The Liberal government accommodated itself to the National Policy and the resulting prosperity apparently was due to increased foreign trade, gold discoveries in South Africa and the Yukon, immigration, and a general upswing in world economic conditions.<sup>1</sup>

Laurier never had any intention of revising the tariff, and a radical measure of tariff reform as advocated by Greenway simply was not considered. This was spelled out clearly when Laurier decided to ignore the Reform wing of the Liberal party, which meant that Greenway's contact with the federal government would be limited to that of provincial premier rather than western advisor and tariff reform proponent. Within two days of the 1896 federal election Laurier decided not to have Sir Richard J. Cartwright, leader of the Reform element of the Liberal party, enter the Cabinet as Minister of Finance. Laurier reasoned that the critical condition of many manufacturing establishments throughout the country, the general stagnation,

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<sup>1</sup> Bruce Fergusson, Hon. W. S. Fielding, Vol. I: The Mantle of Howe (Windsor, Nova Scotia, 1970), 198-199, 249.

and the fear of the banks of trade disturbance would be aggravated if Cartwright joined the Cabinet at that time. Laurier did not believe that it was best for the party or best for the country that Cartwright should join the Cabinet now.<sup>1</sup> Cartwright eventually became Minister of Trade and Commerce, but this relatively innocuous portfolio and his manner in the House of Commons illustrated his subordination, lack of influence, and his loyalty to the party.<sup>2</sup> Thus, Greenway was not able to exert influence on federal government policy through Cartwright.

Lacking influence in that quarter, Greenway should have been able to count on Clifford Sifton, the West's Cabinet representative, and a strong advocate of tariff reform while a member of Greenway's government.<sup>3</sup> However, Sifton had reversed his position and become a strong adherent to the tariff as it stood, remarking to Laurier, "the free trade theory, which has been already shattered, will not be permitted to stand in the way when it is plainly not in our business interests."<sup>4</sup> Greenway definitely knew the effect this would have on Manitoba politics and on August 2, 1897, informed Sifton that,

. . . As I go through the country, as I have done of late and find so many old-time tried friends declaring that they will never again cast a Liberal vote on account of their tariff policy it makes me feel tired, and all the more so because one can scarcely fail to sympathize with those

<sup>1</sup> (Copy), Laurier to Willison, 25 June 1896. P.A.C., Willison Papers, vol. 48, 17793; Private. Laurier to Willison, 28 June 1896. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 48, 17794-17795.

<sup>2</sup> Editorial, "Sir Richard Cartwright," The Winnipeg Tribune, 14 June 1897, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to Laurier, 2 February 1893. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 269, 558.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. Sifton to Laurier, 29 (19) April 1897. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, as quoted in Fergusson, op. cit., 200.

who complain. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Even so, Greenway attempted to make the best of the tariff policy when R. P. Roblin was critical of it in the Manitoba legislature in March, 1899. The Premier pointed out that barbed wire and binder twine were on the free list, but he promised to continue his advocacy of a further tariff reduction on agricultural implements.<sup>2</sup>

Sifton did not respond to Greenway's letter, but wrote R. L. Richardson ten days later, "I have no doubt the boys out west are all right. They will stand a disappointment on the tariff. I sympathize with them in their feelings and was sorry I could not do better for them." Sifton claimed that the federal government's general policy was beneficial to Manitoba, particularly relating to construction of the Crow's Nest Pass Railway.<sup>3</sup> By December 28, 1899, Sifton was willing to admit that "the action of the federal Govt on the Tariff + the settlement of the School question took the snap + enthusiasm out of the provincial Liberal party to a great extent. . . ."<sup>4</sup> Clearly, Sifton was willing to let Greenway pay the price for the inaction of the federal government on the tariff. As Greenway learned in the December 7, 1899, provincial election, the price was the defeat of his government.

This result was influenced as well by the settlement of the Manitoba School Question. Laurier, Tarte, and Langevin never accepted the Laurier-

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Greenway to Sifton, 2 August 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 459, 12951.

<sup>2</sup> "Manitoba Legislature," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 30 March 1899, 7, referring to Greenway's remarks on March 21.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to Richardson, 12 August 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 406, Letterbook 7, 283.

<sup>4</sup> Sifton to Willison, 28 December 1899. P.A.C., Willison Papers, vol. 74, 27421-27426.

Greenway Compromise as a final settlement. Rather, they viewed this as merely the first step in an attempt to gain separate schools for the minority.<sup>1</sup> The Compromise served to remove the agitation from the federal scene to Laurier's benefit and Greenway's disadvantage as the latter had to make the concessions, all visible to the Manitoba electorate, while the former was able to pose as the champion of the minority, particularly when appealing to the Quebec electorate. Laurier, despite his protestations of innocence,<sup>2</sup> timed his efforts such that he had an effective financial club to use in gaining additional concessions.

The Manitoba legislature had opened on February 18, 1897, two days before the St. Boniface by-election returned the Conservative candidate. Although Langevin denounced the proposed settlement and Quebec ecclesiastics joined the outcry, Greenway proceeded to carry out his part of the bargain. The amendments to the School Act were introduced on February 25, given second reading on March 12, and given third reading on March 18. Greenway had spoken in favour of the amendments, asking the members to approach them in a businesslike way and not use them for party purposes.<sup>3</sup> Having carried out what was expected to be his government's part of the settlement, Greenway proceeded to Ottawa to press Manitoba's financial

<sup>1</sup> Private. Laurier to David Erskine, 31 October 1898. P.A.C., Aberdeen Papers, vol. 3, 1132-1135; Langevin to Lord Minto, 7 March 1899. P.A.C., Scott Papers, vol. 2, 678-679; Laurier Joseph Lucien LaPierre, "Politics, Race and Religion in French Canada: Joseph Israel Tarte" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1962), 322.

<sup>2</sup> Laurier to Bryce, 16 March 1898. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 68, 21437-21439.

<sup>3</sup> "The Local Legislature," The Winnipeg Tribune, 25 February 1897, 5; "Carrying into Effect the School Settlement," Ibid., 12 March 1897, 5; "Amendments Are Defeated," Ibid., 18 March 1897, 5.

claims on the Laurier administration.

The first three weeks of May involved lengthy discussions and negotiations on Manitoba's financial claims and further concessions to the minority in education. Greenway wanted the public buildings and subsidy allowance claims passed during the current Parliamentary session along with \$100,000 from the School Lands Fund as the first of three such payments. Laurier needed the concessions to ensure a favourable report from Monsieur Merry del Val, the Pope's Delegate, who had come from Rome to investigate the situation regarding the schools. To secure Greenway's approval of six concessions which, if enacted, would give Archbishop Langevin the same power over education policy as the Minister in charge of Education, Laurier appealed to the Manitoba Premier on the basis of Liberal party tradition and principles, a faulty and patronizing lecture on George Brown's view of minority rights within Confederation, and the statements Greenway made at the December 30 banquet.<sup>1</sup>

After the six concessions were considered by Sifton and Greenway, they were reduced to four and the commanding position of the Archbishop was reduced. The four resolutions included appointment of a Roman Catholic Inspector of Public Schools, Archbishop Langevin and an unnamed individual to be appointed to the School Board, authorization of textbooks as used in Ontario, and three year interim certificates for teachers who were teaching in school districts which had been organized prior to or since 1890 as Roman Catholic Schools or Public Schools.<sup>2</sup> Greenway accepted these

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<sup>1</sup> (Copie), Laurier to Greenway, undated. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 48, 15338-15344.

<sup>2</sup> Resolutions of the Department of Education, undated. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 10231.

resolutions and wrote to Laurier on May 20, "You will observe that they are all in the direction of carrying out the views which I expressed at the banquet which was tendered to you in Montreal." Greenway went on, stating that the Public School Act would be administered satisfactorily to the minority, and his government would meet them in a liberal and generous spirit to give full effect to the principles of the settlement made between the two governments.<sup>1</sup>

Despite this seeming assurance on the part of Greenway, there was a difficulty and he refused to sign a letter to Monsieur Merry del Val declaring that he would have these resolutions passed by the Department of Education. Greenway had promised that to Laurier already and believed that it was sufficient. Laurier was disappointed and asked Sifton to have the resolutions adopted by the Manitoba government,<sup>2</sup> even though Greenway was absent in New York on railway business. Sifton, who believed the resolutions were entirely harmless, asked J. D. Cameron to have a meeting of the Department and pass the resolutions. He assured Cameron that Greenway had no objections and he would telegraph Greenway in New York to wire his consent to Cameron.<sup>3</sup> Whether Greenway was contacted or not and whether he informed Cameron of his consent or not, cannot be stated conclusively. The confusion which developed between May 22 and 28 altered circumstances completely and was due to the near panic state of the federal government which desperately desired a favourable report

<sup>1</sup> Confidential. Greenway to Laurier, 20 May 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10237.

<sup>2</sup> Laurier to Sifton, 21 May 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 461, 15236.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to Cameron, 22 May 1897. U.M., Ibid., C 405, Letterbook 5, 383.

by Monsieur Merry del Val on the minority's educational status in Manitoba which would influence the Pope to advise restraint by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Quebec and Manitoba. These concessions were believed to be vital and had to be enacted before del Val's departure for Rome. Involved with the concessions were Manitoba's financial claims.

Both McMillan and Greenway believed their financial claims were to be met in the current session of Parliament, McMillan stating that a Bill for the claims would be introduced<sup>1</sup> and Greenway confidently expecting the Bill to be passed.<sup>2</sup> Even as they were making statements to this effect, Laurier was writing to Greenway on May 28 that the financial claims would not be met at this session. Laurier wrote, "I am sorry to learn that there should have existed some misapprehension as to the intention of this Government of going as far as it is possible to go, in order to meet the views of your Government." He went on to affirm that the \$280,000 claim regarding Public Buildings had been accepted and proper legislation for the amount with interest would be introduced at the next session of Parliament, but the claim for \$110,000 was in doubt. Laurier then remarked that "it would have been very unadvisable [sic] to introduce legislation on this subject, before the Tariff revision is over."<sup>3</sup> This was because the Opposition would oppose everything but the estimates until the tariff debate was completed.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Manitoba's Claims Against the Dominion," The Winnipeg Tribune, 29 May 1897, 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Premier Greenway Speaks on Competing Line to Duluth," Ibid., 3 June 1897, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Confidential. Laurier to Greenway, 28 May 1897. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 10452.

However, the major factor was Laurier's imminent departure for Europe. He doubted the advisability of introducing the legislation in his absence as,

This would be sure to reopen the whole School question, and as this is a touchy subject, I think I would not risk to let it go in my absence. In view of some possible complications, and in view of the turn which might be given to the discussion, it would be most important that I should be there, and, if for no other purpose, at least for the purpose of directing the battle and steadying some of our friends, to whom a strong appeal would be made against us.

Thus, while Laurier did not want it considered an unfriendly act, he had decided to defer the matter to the next session. He did agree, however, to advance \$100,000 annually for the next three years from the School Lands Fund, but failed to state whether it would be done at this or the next session.<sup>1</sup> Although couched in diplomatic language, Laurier's remarks were little short of reprisal for Greenway's refusal to sign the letter to Monsieur Merry del Val and failure to rush right back to Winnipeg and have the resolutions passed.

The other part of the confusion was that Greenway understood that the concessions asked were to be passed as resolutions, whereas the Laurier Cabinet believed the promise had been made by both Greenway and Cameron to pass them as Orders-in-Council. As resolutions, the concessions would imply intent but were not necessarily binding on the Greenway government whereas Orders-in-Council meant Cabinet approval and subsequent implementation as government policy. As a result, the federal government became frantic, particularly Sifton, who was believed to be in control of the Manitoba

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

government. Sifton sent the document and instructions to Winnipeg with Robert Watson,<sup>1</sup> and both Watson and McMillan implored Greenway to come in from Crystal City to consider the items.<sup>2</sup> On June 12, nine days after Sifton's message concerning Watson and the document, Greenway, who had not gone to Winnipeg, wired Sifton from Crystal City, "Have not seen document going to Winnipeg tomorrow."<sup>3</sup> Sifton was concerned that Merry del Val, who was in Winnipeg, would depart before action had been taken.<sup>4</sup> Greenway informed Sifton that Merry del Val had left Winnipeg and government action was delayed because they were waiting for Cameron to arrive.<sup>5</sup> Sifton sent two telegrams regarding Cameron's whereabouts,<sup>6</sup> another stating the document was coming by wire,<sup>7</sup> and a lengthy telegram outlining the resolutions to be passed, all on June 15.<sup>8</sup> Even Richard

<sup>1</sup> Telegram, Sifton to Greenway, 3 June 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10350.

<sup>2</sup> Telegram, Watson to Greenway, 11 June 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10361; telegram, McMillan to Greenway, 11 June 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10420; telegram, McMillan to Sifton, ? 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 463, 17347.

<sup>3</sup> Telegram, Greenway to Sifton, 12 June 1897, U.M., Sifton Papers, C 459, 12947.

<sup>4</sup> Telegram, Sifton to Greenway, 13 June 1897. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 10393; telegram, Sifton to Greenway, 14 June 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10394.

<sup>5</sup> Telegram, Greenway to Sifton, 14 June 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 459, 12948.

<sup>6</sup> Telegram, Sifton to Greenway, 15 June 1897. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 10351; telegram, Sifton to Greenway, 15 June 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10395.

<sup>7</sup> Telegram, Sifton to Greenway, 15 June 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10511.

<sup>8</sup> Telegram, Sifton to Greenway, 15 June 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10269.

Cartwright was persuaded to use his influence with Greenway, and he sent a telegram the same day strongly urging the Premier to follow Sifton's advice.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway replied that Sifton's message had arrived at six the evening of June 15 and he would see what could be done after the message was figured out.<sup>2</sup> Later that evening, he held that it had been impossible to get the Cabinet together that evening but he would try the following morning.<sup>3</sup> Greenway informed Cartwright that the concessions would take the form of resolutions, but Sifton rejected the suggestion because "[I] have promised matter in other form so often that it would be impossible to shift."<sup>4</sup> Clearly, Sifton had made the promise to Laurier that the concessions would be as Orders-in-Council rather than resolutions, but had failed to make this clear to Greenway even in the telegrams of June 15.

Requests having failed, Sifton turned to threats, telegraphing Greenway on June 16, "Essential that you should wire contents papers tonight. Cannot advance your interests a step until satisfactory settlement. Cypher terms, waiting." Greenway emphatically rejected the ultimatum the same evening, "In view of your threatening message tonight deem it best to

<sup>1</sup> Telegram, Cartwright to Greenway, 15 June 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10522.

<sup>2</sup> Telegram, Greenway to Sifton, 15 June 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 459, 12949.

<sup>3</sup> Telegram, Greenway to Sifton, ?, 1897. U.M., Ibid., C 459, 12958.

<sup>4</sup> Telegram, Sifton to Greenway, 16 June 1897. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 10512.

discontinue further correspondence upon the subject."<sup>1</sup> Sifton was all apologies the next day, "There was nothing in my message in the slightest degree intended to be discourteous." He went on to declare that he was in a difficult position, the session would end soon, and the papers should be mailed that day with the contents sent in a cypher telegram.<sup>2</sup> When this failed, Sifton went to Winnipeg for some personal persuasion but that effort ended in failure as well.<sup>3</sup>

A full Cabinet meeting had been held on June 17 to discuss routine matters according to Greenway,<sup>4</sup> before he departed for Crystal City where he remained during Sifton's visit, despite an urgent plea from Cameron, "Sifton will be in town tomorrow better come in at once please answer."<sup>5</sup> In a letter of June 21, Mickle wrote Greenway that he had met Sifton and the other ministers that evening and given his views on the subject. "I see no reason for changing my views as previously expressed in Council," Mickle continued. "I do not think we should pass any resolution or write any letter as to what is to be done," he went on, and concluded by arguing, "They must have faith in the promises we have made to administer the law so that it will present the least objection or harshness to the minority without impairing its efficiency. The other Ministers who were present

<sup>1</sup> Telegram, Sifton to Greenway, 16 June 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10513. Greenway's reply was on the bottom of Sifton's telegram.

<sup>2</sup> Telegram, Sifton to Greenway, 17 June 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10451.

<sup>3</sup> "Mr. Sifton En Route West," The Winnipeg Tribune, 18 June 1897, 1.

<sup>4</sup> "Cabinet Meeting," Ibid., 17 June 1897, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Telegram, Cameron to Greenway, 19 June 1897. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 10641.

today understand my views and yourself for that matter for they have undergone no change."<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been Greenway's viewpoint as well and it was emphasized by the refusal of the federal government to proceed with the financial claims of his government. Although Sifton made further efforts throughout July, trying to negotiate through D. H. McMillan, the results were the same as when Sifton had come to <sup>2</sup> Winnipeg in person.

Two letters to Laurier from R. W. Scott, Senator and Secretary of State, both stated the federal government's position and suggested that Greenway had not been treated fairly. On July 12, Scott wrote that "The Delegate is aware that we have withheld the \$300,000 item and other favours, which he takes as some evidence of our earnest desire to secure the modification of the Agreement."<sup>3</sup> Eight days later, Scott summed up the situation and seemed to indicate that Greenway's refusal to act had some basis of justification, as

Sifton himself feels disappointed at the silence of Greenway and his colleagues. They are evidently sore at our action in withholding the \$300,000 school fund money, and at our delay in recognizing the claim to be reimbursed [sic] the cost of the public buildings. I cannot but feel they too have some reason to be disgruntled, as we ought to have given them some stronger assurances of our intentions than they received.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Mickle to Greenway, 21 June 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10447.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. Sifton to McMillan, 10 July 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 406, Letterbook, 6, 357; Personal. McMillan to Sifton, 23 July, 1897. U.M., Ibid., C 463, 17318; Personal. Sifton to Sir Oliver Mowat, 26 July 1897. U.M., Ibid., C 406, Letterbook 6, 675; Personal. Sifton to McMillan, 27 July 1897. U.M., Ibid., C 406, Letterbook 6, 721.

<sup>3</sup> Scott to Laurier, 12 July 1897. P.A.C., Scott Papers, vol. 2, 628-630.

<sup>4</sup> Scott to Laurier, 20 July 1897. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 2, 634-638.

This was precisely the view taken by Greenway and he bluntly told Sifton in a letter of August 2,

. . . I feel very strongly the humiliating position in which I have been placed by the action, or rather want of action, on the part of the Government in settling the financial claims of the Province as the Premier had verbally and by letters promised me to do. Acting in good faith I made the statement to the Legislature that this would be done and because it has not been done our financial affairs are going to appear in anything but a favorable light at the next session of the Legislature, so that I think it will not be difficult for you to imagine that the expressions which I may some times make use of regarding our friends at Ottawa are not always of the most amiable character.<sup>1</sup>

In early February, 1898, Greenway returned once again to the demand that Laurier honour his promises regarding Manitoba's financial claims and the advance from the School Lands Fund. He pointed out that the provincial Legislature had not been called yet, the delay being in the hope that the federal government would act and save the provincial government from meeting the House financially embarrassed. Greenway argued that about \$200,000 a year was being spent on education and an advance was justified on that basis alone. He concluded his letter to Laurier with a hope and a reminder, "I sincerely hope that the whole matter will be taken up without further delay and that the repeated promises in that regard, made by yourself as well as some of your Colleagues, will be redeemed."<sup>2</sup> J. D. Cameron wrote Laurier the same day, February 8, urging the same matters be handled, particularly as the schools were costing so much and the burden would become even greater when the French and Catholic schools

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<sup>1</sup> Personal. Greenway to Sifton, 2 August 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 459, 12951.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Greenway to Laurier, 8 February 1898, P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 64, 20458-20459.

came under the School Act. Cameron also based his demand on "past understandings and promises. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

Laurier replied to Greenway three days later, promising to carry the legislation through in the present session. He excused the failure of the previous year as due to some difficulties about the settlement of the school question, but those difficulties had been resolved and the carrying of the resolution would be comparatively easy. Laurier also promised to settle the public buildings claim, but he was unable to say when these financial matters would be carried, "for the Opposition are determined to obstruct every measure we will bring in."<sup>2</sup> Writing J. D. Cameron on February 14, Laurier gave similar assurances but cited the Yukon Railway contract and the tariff as having priority.<sup>3</sup>

Having given these assurances, Laurier attempted to gain more concessions for the minority in Manitoba as he did not believe the question was settled by the 1897 agreement nor did he believe the minority's grievances had been met fully. When Dr. George Bryce, professor at the University of Manitoba, wanted to know if the financial settlement was being held up until Greenway's government introduced legislation covering additional concessions,<sup>4</sup> Laurier replied

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Cameron to Laurier, 8 February 1898. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 64, 20465-20466.

<sup>2</sup> Laurier to Greenway, 11 February 1898. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 64, 20460-20461.

<sup>3</sup> Laurier to Cameron, 14 February 1898, P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 64, 20467.

<sup>4</sup> Private and Confidential. George Bryce to Laurier, 12 March 1898. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 68, 21433-21436.

You know very well that I have no intention of using the business relations that I have with the Greenway Government to exact our pound of flesh. . . . But it has been well understood that those business relations would afford both to the Greenway Government and to this Government a valuable aid to bring our respective supporters to make mutual concessions.<sup>1</sup>

Laurier promised the financial resolutions would be introduced in a few days, "voluntarily without asking any quid pro quo. . . ." However, if the resolutions were not adopted, Laurier despaired "of arriving at a satisfactory solution of this unfortunate question. . . ."<sup>2</sup> It appears conclusive that Laurier was exerting maximum pressure on Greenway and his government to make the concessions or have their financial claims delayed indefinitely because Quebec M. P.s would refuse their support. Laurier confirmed such an understanding, when writing Greenway on March 7, and suggested "with a little 'give and take' on both sides, we can come to a satisfactory solution".<sup>3</sup> The Prime Minister communicated a similar statement to J. D. Cameron on the same day.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, D. H. McMillan had been writing and telegraphing Sifton, asking about the prospects for legislation which would meet Manitoba's claims.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laurier to Bryce, 16 March 1898. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 68, 21437-21439.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Private and Confidential. Laurier to Greenway, 7 March 1898. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11563, and P. A. C., Laurier Papers, vol. 69, 21552.

<sup>4</sup> Laurier to Cameron, 7 March 1898. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 68, 21319-21320.

<sup>5</sup> D. H. McMillan to Sifton, 4 March 1898. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 476 32613; telegram, McMillan to Sifton, 10 March 1898. U.M., Ibid., C 476, 32616; telegram, McMillan to Sifton, 10 March 1898. U.M., Ibid., C 476, 32617.

Both Cameron and McMillan were angered with Laurier's tactics; Cameron telling Laurier, "Our understanding was clearly that the financial claims of the Province would be settled, and we cannot see how it is possible to complicate that question with any further consideration such as you suggest; . . . ."<sup>1</sup> McMillan clearly expressed the views of Greenway and the Cabinet when he wrote Sifton on March 16. McMillan described the letters exchanged between Greenway and Laurier and then went on to add,

Now considering what we have already done, and the understanding arrived at with respect to our claims, this was going it a little strong; in fact, it can only be considered as a threat, and is so regarded here. The explosion which has followed has put the matter of the administrative reforms out of the question at present, and the repeal of the amendments of last Session to the School Act is under serious consideration, as the minority have not accepted or taken advantage of them.

McMillan reviewed the history of the understanding agreed to before Sifton entered the federal Cabinet, the promises made by Laurier, and the good faith of the Greenway government in carrying out the settlement. The Provincial Treasurer concluded by asking that the financial claims be put through at once, but if that were not possible, "advise us that you cannot pay them."<sup>2</sup>

To forestall any possibility that Greenway's government might carry out the threat of repealing the 1897 agreement, two letters were sent, Laurier to Cameron and Sifton to McMillan, attempting to smooth over the situation. Laurier regretted the "presence of a hitch" in the arrangements,

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Cameron to Laurier, 14 March 1898. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 69, 21550.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. McMillan to Sifton, 16 March 1898, U.M., Sifton Papers, C 476, 32619.

promised the resolutions for the claims would be introduced within a week, and then asked for the adoption of the resolutions agreed to between himself and Dr. Bryce.<sup>1</sup> Sifton promised McMillan that the \$280,000 plus interest and the advance from the School Lands Fund would be introduced. He agreed that Greenway's government had been "very badly used," but "I do not think Mr. Greenway should construe Sir Wilfrid's letter as a threat any more than I thought he was justified in his doing the same to my telegram of last year." Sifton added that he would endeavor to do his best to see the matter was arranged satisfactorily.<sup>2</sup>

A means to dispel Greenway's obstinate attitude was to appeal to pride through the offer of a Knighthood. "This would be a well deserved recognition of an old + well tried servant of the crown," Laurier informed Governor General Lord Aberdeen on April 7, "in an important part of Her Majesty's domains; + in view of certain particular circumstances, would be most justifying and useful." Laurier's purpose, if there was any doubt, came through clearly when he added, "the fact of Mr. Greenway being raised to the Knighthood, would be interpreted as an approval of the Imperial authorities, of his conciliatory policy. It is also surmised that such an impression would be highly beneficial in Manitoba, where public opinion would be steadied in favour of the policy of conciliation."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laurier to Cameron, 21 March 1898. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 69, 21551.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. Sifton to McMillan, 22 March 1898. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 409, Letterbook 10, 883.

<sup>3</sup> Laurier to Lord Aberdeen, 7 April 1898. P.A.C., Aberdeen Papers, vol. 3, 1036-1039.

Sifton had written McMillan on April 6, asking him to learn Greenway's view of the prospective Knighthood. McMillan imparted the message to Greenway on April 13, and on April 14 informed Sifton of the conversation. "I felt as if I had been caught doing a mean act to a friend," McMillan reported, going on to write,

In the gruffest way I was told that he did not want it, and would not accept it, and that he would not be here anyway, and with this was left alone without any further information.<sup>1</sup>

McMillan obviously was stunned by Greenway's action, even more so as he would have accepted instantly had it been offered to him. He left the matter to Sifton, advising that such honours should not be given to anyone unless they expressed a desire for them, and never to anyone who disdained them.<sup>2</sup> Sifton's response was to the point, "In the view of what you say I will withdraw my good offices and let him paddle his own canoe, we will see how far he will get."<sup>3</sup>

The actual basis for Greenway's rejection of Knighthood only can be speculated. Perhaps the offer was ill-timed and on the spur of the moment Greenway refused it as being too obvious an attempt to placate. He also might have believed he should have had the honour the previous year when it was rumored that he was on the list but had been eliminated because of Cardinal Vaughan's influence with Lord Salisbury,<sup>4</sup> although the

<sup>1</sup> Personal. McMillan to Sifton, 14 April 1898. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 48, 32627-32628. Sifton's letter of April 6 was not found either in the Sifton Papers at the University of Manitoba or at the P.A.C., however, McMillan's reply gives the pertinent dates and details.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to McMillan, 19 April 1898. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 410, Letterbook 11, 620.

<sup>4</sup> "Greenway and Knighthood," The Winnipeg Tribune, 10 July 1897, 1.

Cardinal may have been acting on Laurier's behalf since the Prime Minister was in contact with him at the time.<sup>1</sup> Quite probably Greenway refused on the basis of politics and the views of many Reformers towards such honours. It would be difficult to campaign as "The Farmer Premier" Sir Thomas Greenway. Of the members of the Reform element of the Liberal party which Greenway had joined in February, 1878, only Richard Cartwright had accepted Knighthood and that was on the basis of keeping up with Sir John A. Macdonald rather than personal glorification. Whatever the actual reason, the result was much as Laurier and Sifton had wanted -- Greenway became conciliatory once again, aided in part, no doubt, by passage of the legislation to advance monies from the School Lands Fund, even though it was rejected by the Conservative dominated Senate. As a result, Greenway's faith in Laurier's promises was restored and he vented his wrath on the Senate, demanding to know "who made the Senate a power over our funds?"<sup>2</sup>

The outcome was that the concessions requested by Laurier were carried out by the Greenway government between May and December, 1898,<sup>3</sup> the claim for public buildings was paid,<sup>4</sup> S. A. D. Bertrand was appointed to the

<sup>1</sup> Tarte to Laurier, 16 juillet 1897. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 49, 15730-15732.

<sup>2</sup> "The Senate and the School Lands Fund," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 15 July 1898, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cameron to Sifton, 23 May 1898. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 471, 26593; Personal. Sifton to Laurier, 14 August 1898. U.M., Ibid., C 411, Letterbook 13, 246; Personal. Sifton to Cameron, 14 August 1898. U.M., Ibid., C 411, Letterbook 13, 252; Personal. Sifton to Laurier, 25 August 1898. U.M., Ibid., C 411, Letterbook 13, 343.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. Sifton to McMillan, 24 September 1898. U.M., Ibid., C 412, Letterbook 13, 491.

Advisory Board as he had the ear of the Archbishop,<sup>1</sup> and Laurier was satisfied with the educational status of Roman Catholics in rural Manitoba.<sup>2</sup> Laurier still hoped for an improvement within urban centres, but while the negotiations through Dr. Bryce continued,<sup>3</sup> little was gained while Greenway remained as Premier and the issue remained to complicate relations between Laurier and Rodmond P. Roblin.<sup>4</sup>

Greenway's government in early 1899 again pressed Ottawa to consider paying additional interest on the public buildings, \$110,000 for readjustment of Provincial accounts in 1885, and an advance from the School Lands Fund. Finance Minister Fielding informed Sifton that the \$110,000 item had been rejected by Council and hoped that this was not the beginning of another Manitoban attack on the treasury. He doubted the Senate would pass the School money, but he would make the effort if it was desired that the onus of refusing it should be placed on the Senate.<sup>5</sup> Greenway knew that the Senate's action had been political since

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Cameron to Sifton, 22 November 1898. U.M., Ibid., C 471, 26605; Personal. Sifton to Laurier, 26 November 1898. U.M., Ibid., C 412, Letterbook 14, 525; Private. Laurier to Sifton, 29 November 1898. U.M., Ibid., C 474, 30848.

<sup>2</sup> Laurier to Bryce, 3 January 1899. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 64, 46631-46634.

<sup>3</sup> Sifton to Laurier, 14 March 1899. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 414, Letterbook 16, 357.

<sup>4</sup> For details, see G. R. Cook, "Church, Schools, and Politics in Manitoba, 1903-12," Canadian Historical Review, XXXIX (March, 1958), 1-23.

<sup>5</sup> W. S. Fielding to Sifton, 4 January 1899. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 486, 43599; Private. Fielding to Sifton, 4 January 1899. U.M., Ibid., C 486, 43600.

it was dominated by the Conservatives under Mackenzie Bowell's leadership.

The Manitoba Premier sought Laurier's approval of a resolution virtually demanding abolition of the Senate.<sup>1</sup> Laurier stated that he had no objection to resolutions asking reform or abolition of the Senate, but did not seem to care much what happened in that regard.<sup>2</sup> McMillan informed Sifton in April that even though the money had not been granted, "you will find our financial record will not be hard to defend."<sup>3</sup>

McMillan and Greenway obviously changed their minds by mid-summer and wanted the \$300,000 paid to Manitoba, asking that it be put in with the estimates rather than as a special act.<sup>4</sup> Laurier preferred a special act as it gave him leverage with the Greenway government. Writing Greenway on October 2, Laurier doubted that anything could be done until the Liberals were masters in the Senate. This would be in a year, two at most, he assured Greenway. If a scheme could be devised to hand over the money, despite Senate opposition, he would have no hesitation in doing so, Laurier continued. The Prime Minister then stated his condition, "I am fully convinced that it would be far better for all parties concerned that the provincial legislature should have the control of that fund, but. . .

<sup>1</sup> Private. Greenway to Laurier, 25 March 1899. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 105, 31737-31738.

<sup>2</sup> Private and Confidential. Laurier to Greenway, 30 March 1899. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 105, 31739.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. McMillan to Sifton, 4 April 1899. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 67, 48840.

<sup>5</sup> Personal. McMillan to Sifton, 14 July 1899. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 67, 48906-48907.

we would have to provide, . . . , for the maintainence of the trust as contemplated when it was created."<sup>1</sup>

Laurier's concept of this idea would be illustrated in 1905 over the legislation creating the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan and meant, in brief terms, that part of the Funds had to be reserved for Roman Catholic schools. In the meantime, the Manitoba School Question had been settled as far as the contracting parties were willing to go before the provincial election of December 7, 1899. Whereas the Manitoba School Question had been a powerful issue in previous provincial elections, the settlement was a liability in December, 1899. The latter forced Greenway on the defensive in education policy, left his government with a budgetary deficit, and caused many Conservatives to return to their party allegiance.

Aside from devising an arrangement on the Manitoba School Question, Thomas Greenway attempted to give effect to the Winnipeg and Duluth railway scheme. It had shown occasional signs of activity in the 1892 to 1896 period, but had been rejected by the Cabinet largely because of Sifton's influence and belief that there were too many difficulties in the way and it would be too expensive. Greenway refused to drop the project and continued negotiations through A. E. Allison who acted as agent in negotiations for the Greenway government. As long as Sifton remained with the provincial government, the negotiations failed to produce any concrete results. Within six months of the Attorney General becoming the Minister of the Interior, Greenway was announcing that an unidentified group of capitalists were ready to proceed with the scheme.<sup>2</sup> According to Greenway,

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<sup>1</sup> Private and Confidential. Laurier to Greenway, 2 October 1897 [sic] P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 126, 37760-37762. The content of the letter indicates the year was 1899 as Laurier also mentioned the prospective date for the provincial election.

<sup>2</sup> "Greenway's Big Railway Deal," The Winnipeg Tribune, 6 May 1897, 1.

a railway would be constructed between Winnipeg and Duluth, a distance of 350 miles. The provincial government would guarantee the interest on the railway's bonds at \$10,000 per mile to a maximum of \$1,000,000, with the projected railway using the charter of the Manitoba and Southeastern Railway, which continued to exist as a paper project promoted by a number of prominent Manitobans including W. T. Rutherford, T. H. Brock, and James Ashdown. In return, Greenway claimed that the rate for wheat would be ten cents per hundred pounds from Brandon or six cents a bushel. He claimed, as well, that there would be a reduction of \$1.30 a ton on coal and twenty-five per cent off the transportation cost of incoming freight. He held that the railroad would pay for itself in a short time because of the numerous items that would be handled, including lumber, pulpwood, iron ore, mining supplies, grain, and merchandise. Greenway admitted that the main object of the road was competition with the Canadian Pacific Railway and expressed the hope that this would result in lower rates on the Canadian Pacific Railway as well.<sup>1</sup>

In announcing the scheme on May 6, 1897, when he was in Ottawa to press Manitoba's financial claims on the federal government and to keep the project before the Manitoba electorate throughout the summer in picnic speeches and the Dennis constituency by-election of July 16, Greenway appeared to have an issue with which his government could retain its hold on office. He obviously enjoyed attacking the Canadian Pacific Railway for its

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<sup>1</sup> Data compiled from the following press reports, "Railway to Duluth," Ibid., 12 May 1897, 4; "Quite a Lively Time in the House of Commons," Ibid., 13 May 1897, 1; "The Proposed Competing Line of Railway to Duluth," Ibid., 18 May 1897, 1; "There May be Special Session of the Legislature," Ibid., 21 May 1897, 1; "Premier Greenway Speaks on Competing Line to Duluth," Ibid., 3 June 1897, 1.

exorbitant freight rates and criticizing the East for failing to look after the interests of the West. He charged that the Canadian Pacific was a national road built to serve national ends, whereas his Winnipeg to Duluth railway would serve the interests of Manitoba. Greenway denied that the project was unpatriotic and held that what Manitoba needed was a competitive railway regardless of its terminus. These tactics were successful in winning Dennis constituency for the Liberals and in ending any threat from the Patrons.<sup>1</sup> However, the opposition to the project was of more substance than even Greenway expected. This, combined with his own ineptness in investigating the parties with whom he was negotiating, caused the collapse of the project.

Greenway attempted to negotiate with two American moneyed interests at the same time, obviously in the expectation that he would be able to accept the best offer and reject the other. As he was doing this, it appears that he was not interested in the Ontario and Rainy River project of Mackenzie and Mann which would connect with the Manitoba and Southeastern. One American group was headed by James P. McDonald of New York, aided by James McNaught and T. F. Oakes, formerly of the Northern Pacific. The McDonald syndicate came close to an agreement with Greenway for the Winnipeg to Duluth line and a through route to Montreal, Quebec, and other eastern points. They had obtained assurances from Pierre Garneau of Quebec that he would be able to use his influence to gain financial assistance from the federal government. The agreement failed because of inability to come to terms on the rate section

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<sup>1</sup> "Railway to Duluth," Ibid., 24 June 1897, 1; editorial "The Dennis Contest," Ibid., 9 July 1897, 2; "Greenway Endorsed," Ibid., 16 July 1897, 1.

of the contract and Minnesota laws forbidding aliens to hold railroad stock.<sup>1</sup> The other American capitalists were headed by E. R. Bliss of Chicago and there was no evidence to suggest that Greenway was able to reach the point of negotiating a contract with them. The Bliss group was in close contact with W. T. Rutherford of Winnipeg who was interested in the Manitoba and Southeastern.

Greenway's inability to secure an acceptable contract was hampered by the fact that the Canadian Pacific Railway had key contacts within both syndicates who kept Van Horne fully apprised<sup>2</sup> of the situation. Van Horne also had information handed to him by J. J. Hill and W. G. Ross. E. R. Bliss had explained the McDonald arrangement to Rutherford in July, 1897, and Rutherford had handed the letter to Greenway. According to Bliss, McDonald was President of a bridge company in New York and connected with the company was Andrew Onderdonk, who in turn was associated with Ross, Holt, Mackenzie, and Mann. Bliss believed that Van Horne was behind the effort to block the Winnipeg to Duluth project, basing the statement largely on Onderdonk's presence.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Henry J. Dexter, with whom Greenway continued to correspond regarding some speculative ventures including a transportation company to the Yukon and a mining company in Arizona,<sup>3</sup> investigated the Bliss group and came to the conclusion that

<sup>1</sup>

J. D. Cameron to Greenway, 16 September 1897, P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 10883; James P. McDonald to Greenway, 5 October 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 19044; James McNaught to J. D. Cameron, 30 October 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 11694A; Personal. Cameron to Greenway, 3 November 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 11694; Personal. Cameron to Greenway, 16 November 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10986.

<sup>2</sup>

E. R. Bliss to W. T. Rutherford, 9 July 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10613.

<sup>3</sup>

Henry J. Dexter to Greenway, 10 September 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10917; Dexter to Greenway, undated. P.A.M., Ibid., 10839; Dexter to Greenway, 18 December 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 11164; Dexter to Greenway, 1 February 1898. P.A.M., Ibid., 11307.

Greenway was working the enemy's camp. According to Dexter, one of the key men in the syndicate was Calvin Stewart Brice, Democratic Senator from Ohio, who was First Vice-President of the Duluth, South Shore and Atlantic, a Canadian Pacific concern with its directorate including W. C. Van Horne as Second Vice-President.<sup>1</sup>

W. C. Van Horne was informed of Greenway's negotiations and cooperated with James J. Hill to ~~thwart~~ the Premier. Hill forwarded a letter from a Mr. Livingstone of St. Paul who had approached McNaught and Oakes concerning Greenway's scheme. When he was refused an opportunity to join the enterprise, Livingstone wrote Hill who contacted Van Horne. Van Horne doubted Greenway would succeed since he was dealing with McNaught and Oakes.<sup>2</sup> Two months later, on November 16, 1897, Van Horne wrote Hill, "Greenway seems to be working without regard to his colleagues and it is therefore very difficult to find out what he is doing. . . ."<sup>3</sup> A little over two weeks later, Van Horne again wrote Hill,

I enclose a letter I have just received from W. G. Ross about the Greenway matter, which may be of interest to you. I do not know anything about the [illegible] question. We have this recent information as to what is going on inside, but Greenway has just had a defeat in a bye election in Manitoba in which his railway scheme was the chief point at issue, and it had a good deal of effect upon his colleagues.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Dexter to Greenway, 19 January 1898. P.A.M., Ibid., 11253.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Van Horne to J. J. Hill, 25 September 1897. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M 2289, Letterbook 54, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Van Horne to Hill, 16 November 1897. P.A.C., Ibid., M 2289, Letterbook 54, 219.

<sup>4</sup> Van Horne to Hill, 30 December 1897. P.A.C., Ibid., M 2289, Letterbook 54, 348.

The by-election was in Turtle Mountain, necessitated by John Hettle's death. James Johnston, Conservative, easily defeated Thomas Nicol, Liberal. Press reports indicated temperance was the issue.<sup>1</sup> However, writing to Greenway two days before the election, J. D. Cameron had stated, "if we are beaten it is simply because there are more Tories than Grits in the riding." Earlier in his letter, Cameron referred to railway matters as distinct from the by-election, and said, "I received the telegrams and letters. I think we should have a full meeting at once. You had better arrange to come in Saturday or Tuesday at the latest. We have to do something decisive in railway matters."<sup>2</sup>

Van Horne's information from W. G. Ross appears to have been accurate,, but unfortunately Ross's contact was not named. It is doubtful that it was a Cabinet member and seems likely that A. E. Allison was the inside man, although C. H. Allen might have been the individual concerned. A glance at the Cabinet personnel suggests that the only possibilities were McMillan and Cameron as neither Watson nor Mickle seems to have been concerned with railway matters. McMillan was Sifton's confidant regarding the policies and actions of the Greenway government, but there was no suggestion of forwarding information concerning the negotiations to either Van Horne or Sifton. Cameron was involved in an apparent bribe attempt in early 1899 when E. B. Osler, who had purchased the bonds of the Manitoba and North Western,<sup>3</sup> was making arrangements to settle a claim against the Company

<sup>1</sup> "Turtle Mountain," The Winnipeg Tribune, 26 November 1897, 1; "Saturday's Bye-Election," Ibid., 29 November 1897, 1.

<sup>2</sup> J. D. Cameron to Greenway, 25 November 1897. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11087.

<sup>3</sup> Van Horne to George Stephen, 8 February 1898. P.A.C., Van Horne to Stephen Letterbook, 1894-1898, vol. 1, 172-176.

by the Manitoba government.<sup>1</sup> Apparently Cameron exercised discretion as he was never linked with any hint of a payoff.

The probability exists that the informant was A. E. Allison, Greenway's agent in the negotiations. When Greenway failed to come through with the expected payment for helping to arrange negotiations, Allison turned to Stewart Tupper in an attempt to pay his bills.<sup>2</sup> This was known by the end of November, 1898,<sup>3</sup> but how long Allison had been in Tupper's pay before that date cannot be ascertained. There was as well the possibility that C. H. Allen was connected with Greenway's plans. He became involved with the James P. McDonald syndicate and when Cameron learned this by early December, 1897, he informed Sifton who strongly advised Cameron to back out of the proposed arrangement.<sup>4</sup> Apparently Allen had arranged that if Greenway and McDonald reached agreement, Allen would receive as much as \$50,000 from the contractors when the road was built.<sup>5</sup> It seems reasonable to assert that Greenway knew of the deal and encouraged Allen in his efforts, probably in return for a payment to the Liberal party fund. This may account for the warning which Sifton gave to McMillan in late March, 1898,

<sup>1</sup> Confidential. Sifton to Cameron, 24 April 1899. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 415, Letterbook 17, 120; Personal. Sifton to Walter Barwick, 24 April 1899. U.M., Ibid., C 415, Letterbook 17, 121; Sifton to Barwick, 27 April 1899. U.M., Ibid., C 415, Letterbook 17, 204.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. W. T. Kirby to Greenway, 20 April 1898. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11811.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to W. T. Rutherford, 22 November 1898. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 412, Letterbook 14, 434.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. Sifton to Cameron, 7 December 1897. U.M., Ibid., C 407, Letterbook 8, 588.

<sup>5</sup> Personal and Confidential. Isaac Campbell to Sifton, 13 March 1901. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 95, 75101-75102.

when he wrote,

I think that one of your respected colleagues opened negotiations with the people in question and raised their hopes to such an extent that they are pretty hard to deal with, and you will find that he is in the same position as he was with our old friend J. P. [sic] McArthur if he does not look out. I am only giving you what I gather from what I have heard, but the position is not reassuring.<sup>1</sup>

It would be quite reasonable to expect that Sifton had gained his information through his Canadian Pacific Railway contacts as a month earlier Van Horne had been confident that the Winnipeg to Duluth scheme had been ended.<sup>2</sup>

Despite Van Horne's assertion, Greenway continued to correspond with Dexter regarding the scheme, but learned that Minnesota's and North Dakota's taxation and bondholding laws made it impossible for his government to have effective control of rates on any part of the line that ran through American territory.<sup>3</sup> Greenway still was reluctant to abandon his scheme while Dexter kept urging that it be done as he could find the backers.<sup>4</sup> The various pressures resulted in Greenway introducing legislation for a Winnipeg to Duluth line through Canadian territory, except for thirty-five miles in Minnesota. As part of the project, Greenway urged A. G. Blair, federal Minister of Railways, to assist the Rainy River railway as this would provide a connection for Manitoba to reach Lake Superior. However, Greenway believed a rate reduction in return for federal assistance should be made a condition of the arrangement.<sup>5</sup> Blair recognized the importance

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Sifton to D. H. McMillan, 21 March 1898. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 409, Letterbook 10, 872.

<sup>2</sup> Van Horne to Hill, 20 February 1898. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M 2290, Letterbook 54, 768.

<sup>3</sup> Dexter to Greenway, 3 March 1898. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11750.

<sup>4</sup> Dexter to Greenway, 6 April 1898. P.A.M., Ibid., 11777.

<sup>5</sup> Greenway to A.G. Blair, 28 March 1898. P.A.M., Ibid., 11759.

of a ten cent rate, but informed Greenway that he did not see how it could be brought about under existing circumstances. This was because the proposed railway consisted of two or three lines in Manitoba and Ontario, which created difficulties in enforcing a rate arrangement.<sup>1</sup> Greenway never gave up hope of a ten cent rate for wheat, but lacked the ability and influence to gain his objective.

Greenway's Winnipeg to Duluth project had been a calculated gamble. In promoting it, Greenway undoubtedly realized that his rapprochement with Van Horne would cease and the Canadian Pacific Railway would return to supporting the provincial Conservatives. If Greenway had been successful, he would have had an effective policy which would have carried his party to victory in an election. His failure made a shambles of his railway policy in the December, 1899, provincial election.

Greenway's Winnipeg to Duluth scheme also had a side effect which he probably did not realize at the time. Had he known that Sifton was negotiating with the Canadian Pacific Railway to purchase control of the Free Press, Greenway might have delayed announcing the scheme in May, 1897, as the possibility of Free Press neutrality or even outright support would have made the proposal an effective election issue. Greenway detested the Free Press and based his criticisms on the owners of the newspaper.<sup>2</sup> Greenway apparently made similar complaints as well to James M. Walsh, as both Walsh and Sifton contacted Van Horne. As had become almost a traditional response, Van Horne denied Canadian Pacific ownership of the

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<sup>1</sup> A. G. Blair to Greenway, 19 April 1898. P.A.M., Ibid., 11829.

<sup>2</sup> Private and Confidential. Greenway to Sifton, 19 January 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 459, 12926.

Free Press, held that it was conducted by John Mather of Ottawa, and suggested that Greenway "has been in politics long enough to have got a thicker skin than he seems to have. I am surprised as well as amused at his sensitiveness to newspaper flings." Van Horne concluded that patronage given to the Free Press by Greenway would have more influence than anything he could do for the Premier.<sup>1</sup>

Later in the year, Isaac Campbell warned Sifton that Greenway was saying "that you are in with the C. P. R. and doing all you can to buck his Duluth scheme, . . ."<sup>2</sup> Sifton wrote Greenway to deny any attempt to block the Duluth project, although stating that there were great difficulties and financial liabilities involved. He agreed the Canadian Pacific would do their best to sidetrack the scheme, but he had no influence or control over their policy.<sup>3</sup> Greenway responded in early August. He wrote Sifton, stating that he had known of Sifton's opposition to the Duluth project for so long he now took it for granted. Greenway warned the Minister of the Interior that the general belief in Winnipeg and the Province was that Sifton was the great friend of the C. P. R. in the federal government.<sup>4</sup>

What Greenway did not realize was that Sifton had a definite purpose

<sup>1</sup> Private. Van Horne to Walsh, 29 January 1897. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M 2288, Letterbook 52, 710-711.

<sup>2</sup> Isaac Campbell to Sifton, 14 July 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 456, 9025.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to Greenway, 20 July 1897. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 10551.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. Greenway to Sifton, 2 August 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 459, 12951.

in being friendly with the C. P. R. The Company was negotiating the Crow's Nest Pass Railway project with the federal government and Greenway's Duluth scheme had momentarily upset Sifton's attempt to buy control of the Free Press. The arrangement, according to the most recent study of Clifford Sifton, was the contract for the Canadian Pacific and the option to purchase the Free Press for Sifton. Negotiations were in progress in July, 1897, and by January, 1898, Sifton definitely had control of the newspaper.<sup>1</sup> It may be closer to the fact to hold that Sifton was collecting the Free Press from the Canadian Pacific for past favours rendered while Attorney General of Manitoba. The Crow's Nest contract was merely the first evidence of his assistance on the federal level and Sifton probably demanded suitable compensation for his efforts. While there was no indication that Greenway complained about Free Press policy in the future, D. H. McMillan resented its attacks on provincial railway legislation in April, 1898.<sup>2</sup> Apparently, Sifton was willing to let the Free Press continue its opposition to Greenway's railway polities while not informing the provincial government of the change in the newspaper's ownership. Consequently, the Free Press had been owned by W. F. Luxton until September 5, 1888, when W. F. Alloway purchased the controlling interest. The following day, Alloway sold his stock to Donald Smith who turned it over to the C. P. R. by May, 1889. The Free Press remained under C. P. R. control until Sifton gained ownership in January, 1898.

<sup>1</sup> David John Hall, "The Political Career of Clifford Sifton, 1896-1905" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1973), 431-432.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. McMillan to Sifton, 23 April 1898. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 476, 32634.

Greenway also had been moving to secure news control to promote his policies. He had attempted to establish partial or full control of a few newspapers in his own area. A business deal was worked out and completed by January 20, 1897, whereby Greenway, on behalf of his son, J. W. Greenway, paid \$1,000 to J. F. Galbraith for an interest in the printing plant of the Morden Monitor. As a result of the deal, the Morden Monitor and the Morden Herald, previously operated by a Mr. McConnell, were amalgamated and became the Morden Chronicle.<sup>1</sup> Later the same month, Greenway through Hugh McKellar, put up \$1200 for purchase of The Pilot Mound Sentinel, with the final arrangements completed by mid-February and Greenway's long-time friend and political adviser in Pilot Mound, D. A. Stewart, became the managing editor.<sup>2</sup> In April, 1898, R. H. Spedding decided to establish a newspaper in Crystal City.<sup>3</sup> Spedding had been close with Greenway while editor and owner of The Manitou Mercury and the Premier apparently encouraged the newspaper man to publish the Crystal City Courier which came out in June of 1898.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J. B. McLaren to Greenway, 8 December 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 9862; J. B. McLaren to Greenway, 9 December 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 9445A; J. T. Pound to Greenway, 12 December 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 9486; J. B. McLaren to Greenway, 6 January 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 9542; Receipt signed by J. F. Galbraith, 20 January 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 9607.

<sup>2</sup> Private. D. A. Stewart to Greenway, 27 January 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 9756; J. C. McLean to Greenway, 28 January 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 9670; R. L. Richardson to Greenway, 1 February 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 9691; J. W. Greenway to Greenway, 1 February 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 9640; telegram, H. C. Stovel to Walpole Murdock, undated. P.A.M., Ibid., 9720; telegram, W. Murdock to H. McKellar, 8 February 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 9750; "Notes," The Winnipeg Tribune, 22 February 1897, 2.

<sup>3</sup> T. A. Greenway to Greenway, 6 April 1898. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 11626.

<sup>4</sup> See the first issue of the Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser on Microfilm at P.A.M.

Greenway also used government patronage to keep ethnic newspapers favourable to his administration. Valentine Winkler handled Der Nord Western in terms of advising Greenway as to its potential good effect among the German people.<sup>1</sup> A. W. Pritchard, Greenway's private secretary, supported Winkler's statements, particularly in reference to future political support.<sup>2</sup> A similar response was given "Canada" The Swedish Weekly which received patronage to the extent of \$100 a year.<sup>3</sup>

Although he was willing to use government patronage to gain the support of ethnic newspapers, Thomas Greenway's concept of the proper immigrants for Manitoba continued to be the same one he had followed in his first eight years of office. According to Greenway, "Manitoba is all right for the right kind of men. There are, no doubt, many south of the line and in the Eastern Provinces, on rented farms, and small holdings, that would better their condition by coming to Manitoba."<sup>4</sup> He was interested primarily in people who intended to take up agriculture and wanted the vacant lands within Manitoba occupied. Writing to T. H. Brock on May 7, 1896, Greenway held that,

I have for a long time been of the opinion that it would be very much better if those interested in Immigration work would devote more attention to filling up of Manitoba instead of inducing people who are to engage in ordinary agricultural pursuits to settle in districts where such pursuits are very precarious to say the least. I hope we shall have a change in that respect.

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<sup>1</sup> V. Winkler to Greenway, 7 April 1897. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 10047.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Pritchard to Greenway, 18 April 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10326.

<sup>3</sup> Private. John E. Forslund to Greenway, 27 December 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 11183.

<sup>4</sup> Greenway to H. R. Freese, 16 March 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 814.

<sup>5</sup> Greenway to T. H. Brock, 7 May 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 855.

The change came when Clifford Sifton became Minister of the Interior. He and Greenway arranged that the immigration policies and efforts of the two governments would not clash. The Manitoba government would supervise the work in the eastern provinces, the federal government would handle efforts in Europe and Great Britain, and the United States field would be divided.<sup>1</sup> The division appeared to be such that Greenway's policy was directed mainly at the Dakotas and Michigan, while his role in relation to Iceland became that of advisor as to whom would be sent there each year.

There was one difference in Greenway's attitude towards immigrants and that was in regard to the reserve system. Whereas he had opposed reserves in the past because they failed to make the settlers amenable to assimilation, Greenway at least suggested to Sifton the possibility of an Icelandic reserve in the Dauphin country at the urging of Andrew Freeman and S. Christopherson.<sup>2</sup> It seems apparent that Greenway was responding to political necessity rather than his actual belief.

Possibly a reserve in the Dauphin country, arranged and handled by Freeman and Christopherson, would justify a constituency which would return a Liberal member similar to the results Greenway appreciated in Argyle Municipality which was located in Mountain constituency. Sifton promised Greenway that he would see what could be arranged.<sup>3</sup> Sigtr. Jonasson, Liberal M. L. A. for St. Andrews, preferred that the reserve be six townships in the Swan Lake country as there were at least thirty families of

<sup>1</sup> "Premier in Toronto," The Winnipeg Tribune, 12 January 1897, 1; "Mr. Greenway Home," Ibid., 18 January 1897, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. Greenway to Sifton, 16 February 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 459, 12933.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to Greenway, 20 February 1897. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 9817.

Icelanders in Argyle Municipality without land.<sup>1</sup> What Greenway recommended in this regard was not recorded. What was definite was his continued high regard for S. Christopherson's political ability. He requested and obtained Sifton's approval to keep Christopherson in Manitoba until after the provincial election of December, 1899.<sup>2</sup>

Greenway continued to employ W. D. Scott as immigration agent at Toronto to manage immigration from Eastern Canada. The results were favourable and by March, 1898, Scott was requesting additional help to keep up with the work load.<sup>3</sup> Efforts in the Dakotas were not as rewarding, in part due to inept agents and in part lack of funds to finance immigration endeavours. Despite the protests of W. H. Rogers, Greenway's South Dakota agent, promotions in the Dakotas were ended by October 1, 1897.<sup>4</sup> The only agent in the United States that Greenway recommended Sifton retain in the service was M. V. McInnes, who was located in Detroit.<sup>5</sup> McInnes was kept on by Sifton and out of loyalty and gratitude to Greenway, he actively promoted Manitoba

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Sigtr. Jonasson to Greenway, 1 May 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10264.

<sup>2</sup> Telegram, Greenway to Sifton, 9 August 1899. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 486 44542; Personal. Greenway to Sifton, 10 August 1899. U.M., Ibid., C 486, 44544; Personal. Sifton to Greenway, 15 August 1899. U.M., Ibid., C 416, Letterbook 18, 855; Personal. Sifton to S. Christopherson, 16 September 1899. U.M., Ibid., C 416, Letterbook 19, 343.

<sup>3</sup> Greenway to A. W. Rodgers, 5 February 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Letterbook A, 754; W. D. Scott to Greenway, 8 March 1898. P.A.M., Ibid., 11462.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Pritchard to William Ritchie, 11 August 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., Letterbook A, 926; George Walton to Greenway, 16 February 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10237; Private. W. H. Rogers to Greenway, 7 September 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10837.

<sup>5</sup> Private and Confidential. Greenway to Sifton, 19 January 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 459, 12926.

and the North West, reporting frequently to Greenway regarding prospective immigrants and their probable destinations.<sup>1</sup>

Not all agents were concerned primarily with inducing immigration to Manitoba and the North West. The most striking example was Anthony J. McMillan, Greenway's British agent. McMillan was interested more in using his position to defraud both the Manitoba and federal governments and to promote his own interests than in sending out immigrants. After making an arrangement with McMillan in late December, 1896, Greenway and Sifton discovered that the \$1800 for four hundred immigrants, divided equally between the two governments, would be spent for the work of two other agents while McMillan took credit.<sup>2</sup> Greenway found out as well that McMillan used much of his time to promote the British Columbia mining country, which hardly went with his duties as Manitoba's immigration agent. Greenway took exception to this, Sifton agreed with the Premier's stand,<sup>3</sup> and by September, 1897, McMillan was no longer employed as an immigration agent

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Sifton to Greenway, 25 January 1897. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 9663; M. V. McInnes to Greenway, 26 January 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 9664; Personal. McInnes to Greenway, 16 August 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 10780; Personal. McInnes to Greenway, 10 November 1897. P.A.M., Ibid., 11710; Personal. McInnes to Greenway, 18 January 1898. P.A.M., Ibid., 11257; McInnes to Greenway, 25 March 1898. P.A.M., Ibid., 11822.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. McMillan to Sifton, 1 January 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 463, 17193; Private. Greenway to Sifton, 30 January 1897. U.M., Ibid., C 459, 12928; A. J. McMillan to Sifton, 1 February 1897. U.M., Ibid., C 463, 17190; Personal. Sifton to Greenway, 3 February 1897. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 9725.

<sup>3</sup> Private. Greenway to Sifton, 25 February 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 459, 12935; (copy), Greenway to A. J. McMillan, 25 February 1897. U.M., Ibid., C 459, 12936; Personal. Sifton to Greenway, 2 March 1897. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 9882; Private. Donald Smith to Sifton, 29 April 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 467, 22124; (copy), Robinson and Stannard to Donald Smith, 13 April 1897. U.M., Ibid., C 467, 22125.

by either government and Manitoba had ceased sending any agents to Great Britain.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway found it much more difficult to co-operate with Sifton regarding the significant influx of Galicians<sup>2</sup> and Doukhobors into Manitoba and the North West from 1897 through the provincial election. Greenway found himself, as Minister of Agriculture and in charge of provincial immigration policy, in the position of defending Sifton's immigration policy when it was attacked by provincial Conservatives. Speaking in the legislature on March 21, 1899, Greenway attempted to defend Galicians and Doukhobors. He would not go so far as to call Galicians liars, but he admitted they had very active imaginations. He pointed out that most of the Doukhobors would settle in the North West Territories, but would soon assimilate as some already were able to speak English. He then turned to extolling the virtues and merits of the Mennonites and Icelanders, suggesting that they had arrived in Manitoba despite objections and they had assimilated.<sup>3</sup>

However, Greenway obviously preferred settlers of some means who would add to the agricultural population of Manitoba and become part of the Liberal political machine. His attitude was made more explicit in speeches shortly before the provincial election campaign when Doukhobors and Galicians were referred to as foreign settlers, while the Icelanders and Mennonites were

<sup>1</sup> Hugh McKellar to David McKeand, 9 September 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 462, 16447.

<sup>2</sup> While all non-Anglo-Saxons were referred to as "foreigners," Russians, Poles, and Ukrainians were categorized as "Slavs" or "Galicians." See, Alan F. J. Artibise, "An Urban Environment: The Process of Growth in Winnipeg, 1874-1914," Historical Papers 1972, fn. 33 on 131.

<sup>3</sup> "Premier's Reply," Manitoba Free Press, 22 March 1899, 5.

examples of what settlers should be.<sup>1</sup> Beyond these references, Greenway gave limited attention to the issue of immigrants and immigration throughout the provincial campaign. When he did, it was to argue that foreign settlers were introduced to Canada by the Conservatives.

Thus, when Greenway considered the prospect of a provincial election, he had no prominent issue to promote. In the legislature on March 21, 1899, Greenway stated the election would be held before July 1, 1900, although he refused to give any indication as to a more precise date.<sup>2</sup> Proclamations were issued for revising the voters' lists near the end of April.<sup>3</sup> The reports from Liberal M. L. A.s indicated the Conservatives were active in having voters placed on the lists, although there were no complaints regarding fairness or the possibility of bogus applications. C. A. Young, Liberal candidate for Deloraine, believed the lists would be the most complete ever made in the province and he held that "Every one of our friends seem hopeful as to the result of the local elections." In his own constituency, Young was certain "after sizing up the list we have still a sufficient Liberal majority to make it safe."<sup>4</sup> Frank Fowler, M. L. A. for South Brandon, had similar views and reported, "I have found a better feeling for Greenway than ever I did but I also find greater activity among the

<sup>1</sup> "The Premier at Morden," Ibid., 5 August 1899, 1; "A Rally at Rapid City," Ibid., 9 August 1899, 1, 5; "The Premier to Farmers," Ibid., 12 August 1899, 1; "The Ministers at Emerson," The Winnipeg Tribune, 15 August 1899, 5, 7.

<sup>2</sup> "Premier's Reply," Manitoba Free Press, 22 March 1899, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. McMillan to Sifton, 13 April 1899. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 67, 48854-48855.

<sup>4</sup> Private. C. A. Young to Sifton, 16 May 1899. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 74, 55976-55977.

opposition and in the Domn politics I find a devil of a lot of kicking about this Douks [sic] among our own Friends and a disappointment about the tariff and Railway Commission."<sup>1</sup>

Reports such as these combined with a public demand for the provincial government to assist the Northern Pacific to construct a line west of Portage la Prairie, seemed to present an opportunity to hold an election on a popular issue. McMillan was not so sure of the benefits of such a policy. After describing the boom for the Northern Pacific, McMillan continued in a letter to Sifton of May 29, "When Mr. G. returns, I am afraid he will be stampeded, and it will be difficult to prevent him making a bargain with the N. P. Co'y., more especially as he will have a solid legislature and a Government (solid all but one) at his back. No doubt the pressure will be tremendous. . . ."<sup>2</sup> A month later, McMillan's reluctance had been overcome. He told Sifton in a letter of June 30,

"Since returning to Winnipeg, we find that the question of the construction of a railway from Portage la Prairie west between the main line of the C. P. R. and the M. + N. W. R'y will have to be dealt with. The feeling is very strong and entirely in favour of the Northern Pacific, not only in Winnipeg but throughout the country, and I do not think that we could meet it in any other way than by an honest effort to deal with the Northern Pacific on terms that would be favorable to the Province.<sup>3</sup>

McMillan wrote that W. S. Mellen, President of the Northern Pacific, would be in Winnipeg the following week and the provincial election date

<sup>1</sup> Frank O. Fowler to Sifton, 26 May 1899. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 486, 43933.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. McMillan to Sifton, 29 May 1899. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 67, 48870-48872.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. McMillan to Sifton, 30 June 1899. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 67, 48893-48894.

depended on the result of the conference. If a deal were made, the House would have to meet to approve the necessary aid, and the election would be postponed, probably until the beginning of the next year. On the other hand, if Mellen would not accept an agreement, then the election would be held as arranged, probably in the early fall after the rural areas had completed harvest operations.<sup>1</sup> In the ensuing discussions, Greenway promised Mellen government assistance in return for a ten cent rate on wheat. Mellen refused to guarantee the rate, although admitting it was reasonable, claiming his Company did not wish to be the leader in setting the rates.<sup>2</sup> As a result, the election was delayed slightly and Greenway was able to make use of the ten cent rate as his one positive campaign proposal.

Before testing public response to his rate proposal, Greenway introduced a bill in the legislature in July to change the boundaries of certain electoral divisions. While Greenway held that it was to make the representation equitable in terms of population, the purpose obviously was a gerrymander. The separate divisions of St. Andrews and Kildonan were combined as a single constituency. They had returned a Liberal and a Conservative, respectively, in 1896. To keep the constituencies at forty, Gimli was created to give representation to the Icelanders. In addition, Greenway could expect Gimli to return a Liberal as he had promoted Icelandic immigration and defended Icelanders whenever the Conservatives attacked foreign settlers. Springfield and Rockwood were altered, but both were

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> "The Premier at Morden," Manitoba Free Press, 5 August 1899, 1; "President Mellen Breaks Silence," The Winnipeg Tribune, 18 November 1899, 1, 5.

represented by Liberals and the changes would not hamper them in their re-election efforts. Dauphin constituency was decreased in size because of the large influx of population since 1896. T. A. Burrows, Liberal M. L. A. for Dauphin, was uncertain as to the political complexion of the riding, but believed the addition of Swan River would have made it safe. That area was left in Russell constituency in the expectation of defeating James Fisher, who had covered the political spectrum from Liberal to Independent to Conservative.<sup>1</sup> Greenway had wanted the Northern Pacific to remove Fisher as their Winnipeg solicitor in favour of Allen and Cameron. Failing in that effort,<sup>2</sup> the next best object was to defeat Fisher in the forthcoming election.

Morden, Manitou, and Mountain were manipulated, Morden receiving a section of townships from Manitou, and Manitou a range of townships from Mountain. This appears to have been an effort by Greenway to improve Liberal prospects in Manitou, which had been difficult to carry at any time. Morden had been Liberal since its creation in 1888 and could be expected to remain so. Westbourne and Beautiful Plains were altered with the latter gaining part of the former. Westbourne was represented by T. L. Morton, Liberal, and would be a safe seat, whereas the addition to Beautiful Plains, which had been Conservative in 1892 and Patron in 1896,

<sup>1</sup> T. A. Burrows to Sifton, 16 July 1899. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 57, 40460-40463.

<sup>2</sup> J. W. Kendrick to Greenway, 25 April 1896. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 8934; Henry J. Dexter to Greenway, 2 May 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 8928A; Greenway to J. W. Kendrick, 5 September 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., Letter-book A, 950; Dexter to Greenway, 15 September 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 8793; Dexter to Greenway, 29 September 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 9244; Dexter to Greenway, 1 October 1896. P.A.M., Ibid., 9244A. Kendrick refers to a letter from Allen and Campbell, while Greenway and Dexter refer to Allen and Cameron.

should enable it to return Liberal when the election was called.<sup>1</sup>

With this measure behind him, Greenway made a brief speaking tour in early August, partly to refute the Conservative platform and in part to gauge reaction to his demand for a ten cent rate for wheat. He spoke at Morden on August 4 on behalf of D. N. McMillan, the Liberal nominee, running in place of Thomas Duncan who was leaving politics because of personal financial problems.<sup>2</sup> Greenway stated that it had been three years since he had addressed a political meeting, but he expected to address a number of meetings in the future as the provincial election would be held before July 1, 1900. Greenway then used a tactic repeated at each meeting he held when he took up the Conservative platform. He apologized for doing so, but declared that every Liberal should read it as it illustrated how little the Conservatives had to offer. Besides, he stated, "they give the paper away for nothing and throw in a buggy whip to induce subscribers."<sup>3</sup>

Greenway criticized the contention that three Ministers were capable of running the government. He stated that Harrison had tried to have six and under Greenway there was enough work for five. He held that the foreign settlers would soon assimilate and those who did not like them should remember that this policy was inaugurated by the Conservatives. As

<sup>1</sup> John L. Holmes, "Factors Affecting Politics in Manitoba: A Study of the Provincial Election, 1870-99" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1936), 112-113.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Duncan to Greenway, 11 January 1897. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 9550; Duncan to Sifton, 21 January 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 457, 10457; Personal. Greenway to Sifton, 8 February 1897. U.M., Ibid., C 459, 12931; Duncan to Sifton, 9 February 1897. U.M., Ibid., C 457, 10460; Personal. Sifton to Greenway, 12 February 1897. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 9789.

<sup>3</sup> "The Premier at Morden," Manitoba Free Press, 5 August 1899, 1.

for Macdonald's statement that the provincial government should be in opposition to the federal government, Greenway countered by stressing the co-operation which existed between the two Liberal governments and added that the Laurier administration had given nearly \$500,000 to Manitoba to satisfy past claims. Greenway blamed the Conservative Senate for the failure to receive an advance from the School Lands Fund.<sup>1</sup>

Having disposed of the Conservative platform to his satisfaction, Greenway brought up the Liberal platform of 1886 and argued that every item had been enacted by his government. The only promises which indicated future policy to any extent centred on the desire for a ten cent rate on wheat shipped to Lake Superior which Greenway believed could be achieved in two years and a statement that no aid would be given to any railway in Manitoba unless concessions on rates were received in return. He concluded with a promise to carry out his prohibition pledge.<sup>2</sup> This pledge seemed weak to temperance advocates as Greenway believed a prohibition law should come from the federal government and be supported by the provincial government. He simply did not believe prohibition would be effective in Manitoba if it was the only province to enact such legislation. Still, he promised to go as far as he had power and held that this was an adequate pledge.<sup>3</sup> The foregoing became Greenway's typical political speech from August through December, and was varied only in the degree he attacked the Conservatives, particularly Hugh John Macdonald.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "The Glorious Victorian Era," The Winnipeg Tribune, 27 March 1897, 7.

Following his speech at Morden, Greenway spoke in Rapid City in support of J. H. McConnell, who was the Liberal nominee to replace David McNaught. McNaught refused to continue in politics because of a patronage dispute involving G. L. Stone, his son-in-law, who was removed as postmaster of Rapid City on the basis of partisanship in the 1896 federal election.<sup>1</sup> Greenway made his set speech, only adding the comment he had not been in Rapid City since 1883.<sup>2</sup> Returning to Winnipeg, Greenway telegraphed and then wrote Sifton to delay S. Christopherson's proposed mission to Iceland.<sup>3</sup> Greenway at first explained his request in terms of immigration policy, but it was obvious he wanted Christopherson in Manitoba to keep the Icelanders organized for the provincial election. As Greenway wrote Sifton, "If he leaves, to a certain extent, his people are left to the mercy of the enemy; there is no man that control [s] them as well as he can do."<sup>4</sup> Greenway then delivered speeches at Greenridge and Emerson on August 11 and 12,<sup>5</sup> before lapsing once again into a state of political inactivity.

This inactivity was explained in part by overconfidence and the belief that the provincial government was stronger in Manitoba than the federal

<sup>1</sup> Private. D. McNaught to Greenway, 6 May 1897. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 10527.

<sup>2</sup> "A Rally at Rapid City," Manitoba Free Press, 9 August 1899, 1, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Telegram, Greenway to Sifton, 9 August 1899. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 486, 44542.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. Greenway to Sifton, 10 August 1899. U.M., Ibid., C 486, 44544.

<sup>5</sup> "The Premier to Farmers," Manitoba Free Press, 12 August 1899, 1; "The Ministers at Emerson," The Winnipeg Tribune, 15 August 1899, 5, 7.

government. Greenway decided to delay the provincial election until he knew when the federal by-election for Winnipeg to fill the vacancy caused by the death of R. W. Jameson was to be held or when the general federal election was to be held.<sup>1</sup> Greenway planned to have the provincial election before either was scheduled. According to Isaac Campbell, this was the best strategy, as reports suggested there was a good deal of anti-federal feeling in Manitoba, particularly Brandon, and a by-election in Winnipeg before the provincial election would intensify existing divisions within the Liberal party.<sup>2</sup> Sifton doubted that it was possible to tell which government was the stronger, but "I think that so far as not having any active ground of attack the Local Government is no doubt the stronger because they have not had any questions to deal with of any importance, and they will find when they get to an election that their principal difficulty will be lack of interest on the part of their followers." Sifton told Campbell, "I am not particularly afraid of the result, although of course the West is an uncertain quantity." He added that Greenway believed his government was more likely to be successful if his election was held first, although Sifton believed there were unspecified grounds indicating Greenway's opinion was not correct.<sup>3</sup>

Greenway refused to commit himself to an election date and he was confirmed in his view by an October 2 letter from Laurier, indicating over-

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Sifton to Isaac Campbell, 25 February 1899. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 414, Letterbook 15, 985.

<sup>2</sup> Confidential. Isaac Campbell to Sifton, 15 September 1899. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 58, 41315.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to Isaac Campbell, 20 September 1899. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 416, Letterbook 19, 428.

confidence was not restricted to Manitoba politicians. "When I last saw you," Laurier wrote Greenway, "you had almost made up your mind to have your elections in July. As the event has shown, it was preferable to wait." Despite conflicting reports as to the probable result, Laurier concluded, "it seems to me that you ought again to win without any serious difficulties. The program laid down by Hugh John is not of a character to cause the people to enthuse very much."<sup>1</sup>

Greenway held the same view of provincial affairs, as he spoke only in Dauphin constituency in October at the request of T. A. Burrows.<sup>2</sup> According to Burrows, these speeches had a good effect on the voters, but he held that what was needed were speeches in all constituencies with Greenway doing the majority of the speaking. This would improve the prospects of the Greenway government, Burrows wrote Sifton on October 22, although "I am afraid the govt are too sure of their position and underestimate the effect of Hugh John's organization."<sup>3</sup> Greenway failed to carry on an extended program and waited until Sifton came west on a political tour before taking to the platform again. At the Royal Music Hall in Crystal City on November 3, Greenway spoke on provincial matters while Sifton defended the federal immigration policy mainly in terms of costs emphasizing that more was spent to attract British, American, and Ontario settlers than was spent on Galicians. Greenway repeated his usual speech and then stated his disdain

<sup>1</sup> Private and Confidential. Laurier to Greenway, 2 October 1899. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 126, 37760-37762.

<sup>2</sup> "Mr. Greenway at Dauphin," Manitoba Free Press, 19 October 1899, 2.

<sup>3</sup> T. A. Burrows to Sifton, 22 October 1899. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 57, 40497-40502.

for H. J. Macdonald, by describing him as the "nicest most innocent and harmless little man he had ever met." Greenway claimed he had never run up against Macdonald as there was nothing there to run up against.<sup>1</sup> The Premier clearly had little regard for the Conservative leader and doubted his effectiveness as a political opponent.

b

Following Sifton's speaking tour of Manitoba and his departure for the North West Territories, Greenway began to move quickly in the direction of a provincial election. He acted on Laurier's promise of October 2, when the Prime Minister had declared, "I am quite sure that you will have from my co-religionists a friendly neutrality, so far as the authorities are concerned, and more than that I think it would not be advisable for you to have,"<sup>2</sup> by asking that Laurier send "a good active gentleman of your own nationality to help us in the French Constituencies in this Province during the approaching contest." This was to be done right away and the gentleman was to report to Colonel McMillan.<sup>3</sup> Three days later, on November 14, Laurier promised to attend to the matter immediately.<sup>4</sup> On November 16 the Legislature was dissolved, nominations were set for two weeks later, and the election called for December 7.<sup>5</sup>

In his electoral address published on November 17, Greenway referred

<sup>1</sup> "Trio of Stalwarts at Crystal City," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 9 November 1899, 1, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Private and Confidential. Laurier to Greenway, 2 October 1899. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 126, 37760-37762.

<sup>3</sup> Private and Confidential. Greenway to Laurier, 11 November 1899. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 130, 38833.

<sup>4</sup> Laurier to Greenway, 14 November 1899. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 130, 38834.

<sup>5</sup> "Legislature Dissolved," Manitoba Free Press, 17 November 1899, 1.

to past achievements rather than future goals. To stress the importance of railways, he stated that Manitoba's prosperity was based on an agricultural foundation aided by competitive and colonization railways. Greenway claimed 1100 miles of railway had been built while he was in office and his goal for the future was a ten cent rate on wheat. He brought up the School Lands Fund by objecting to the Senate's refusal to approve an advance to his government and said the Liberal government would continue to preserve the National School system. He defended the financial standing of his administration, claiming the province's bonded indebtedness was justified on the basis of ample resources. For temperance advocates, Greenway included his well-worn pledge to prohibit the liquor traffic to the extent of Manitoba's powers. He concluded with a promise to continue the progressive policies of the past by putting the interests of Manitoba's farmers first.<sup>1</sup>

The Premier then began what was to be an active, vigorous campaign, probably second only to his efforts in May through July, 1888. He usually spoke for close to two hours at a time, despite being hampered by a cold which became increasingly worse as the campaign progressed. His speeches dealt mainly with his government's past record, defended the financial position of his administration, stated the major goal for the future was the ten cent rate on wheat which could be achieved within two years, and presented the impression, although not stated in direct terms, that railway construction to the extent of approximately 100 miles within Manitoba was not being bonused by the provincial government. Greenway spoke

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<sup>1</sup> "Mr. Greenway's Election Address," Ibid., 17 November 1899, 1, 2.

throughout Manitoba, concentrating his efforts in the west and southwest.<sup>1</sup>

Before campaigning started, Greenway sent two telegrams to Sifton in Regina. In one, Greenway stated, "Think it most important you should return here at once,"<sup>2</sup> while the second concerned Greenway's candidacy as he reported, "Hear Gordon coming out against me in Mountain. If Canadian Pacific desire they can prevent this. What do you think."<sup>3</sup> The first was a realization on Greenway's part that Sifton was needed to assist in carrying the Brandon area constituencies. The second apparently related to an agreement arranged by Sifton and McMillan with R. P. Roblin in April and May. Roblin would induce the Conservatives not to run a candidate in the Winnipeg federal by-election and the provincial Liberals would allow Roblin to carry Woodlands by acclamation.<sup>4</sup> J. Obed Smith, Liberal provincial organizer, upset the understanding by having A. F. Martin oppose Roblin.<sup>5</sup> Had the deal gone through, it seems reasonable that Greenway would have had an acclamation as well. The result was a three-way contest in Mountain, with Greenway, J. T. Gordon for the Conservatives and Spencer Percival, Independent.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "'Manitoba' His Only Watchword," Ibid., 22 November 1899, 7; "Minnedosa Meeting," Ibid., 23 November 1899, 2; "The Premier Confident," Ibid., 27 November 1899, 1; "Greeting at M'Gregor," Ibid., 27 November 1899, 1; "Honored in Avondale," Ibid., 28 November 1899, 1; "Mr. Woods Was Heard," Ibid., 30 November 1899, 1; "Increased Support," Ibid., 2 December 1899, 1; "Premier at Home," Ibid., 4 December 1899, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Telegram, Greenway to Sifton, 20 November 1899. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 486, 44556.

<sup>3</sup> Telegram, Greenway to Sifton, 20 November 1899. U.M., Ibid., C 486, 44559.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. McMillan to Sifton, 31 March 1899. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 67, 48827-48828.

<sup>5</sup> Personal. Sifton to McMillan, 9 June 1899. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 415, Letterbook 18, 17.

<sup>6</sup> "Contests for Every Seat," Manitoba Free Press, 1 December 1899, 1.

D. H. McMillan was more concerned than Greenway, and sent an urgent telegram to Sifton in Prince Albert on November 20, stating, "I will be in Brandon on Sunday the 26th Inst You should return here by first train am sure you do not realize the position of affairs your presence is an absolute necessity."<sup>1</sup> This appears to have been personal alarm on McMillan's part as other candidates were most confident of victory. J. D Cameron, for example, when interviewed by a Tribune reporter the day the election was announced, held there was no doubt the Greenway government would be returned as "We are certain of thirty-six."<sup>2</sup> Despite his telegrams to Sifton, Greenway also was sure of the result. He continually dismissed Macdonald as a politician who had made no promises and therefore was in no danger of breaking them. At McGregor on November 25, Greenway's certainty reached new heights as he declared, "For the life of me I cannot see where the opposition are going to get their following in the next house." He believed his government would have ten easy seats.<sup>3</sup> He jokingly referred to the invasion of foreigners when speaking at Belmont on November 29, identifying them as Sir Charles Tupper, Clarke Wallace,<sup>4</sup> and George Foster.

At Baldur, Greenway stated there was an alliance between Gordon and

<sup>1</sup> Telegram, McMillan to Sifton, 20 November 1899. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 67, 48955.

<sup>2</sup> "The Politicians Are Very Active," The Winnipeg Tribune, 17 November 1899, 1.

<sup>3</sup> "The Premier Confident," Manitoba Free Press, 27 November 1899, 1.

<sup>4</sup> "Mr. Woods Was Heard," Ibid., 30 November 1899, 1.

Percival to defeat him in Mountain, but claimed that it was an obvious failure which would not work.<sup>1</sup> Sydney Fisher, federal Minister of Agriculture, writing Sifton on November 27, injected a note of caution into the optimistic state of affairs when he admonished that, "It does not seem possible that the Manitoba people are stupid enough to prefer Hugh John and his entourage to Greenway and his, but we never know what will turn up at elections."<sup>2</sup> Sifton, however, was among those certain of the result. He wrote Laurier on November 28, "I am now engaged in helping Mr. Greenway and I expect the result will be satisfactory." Sifton believed Tupper and Foster would lose votes for the Conservatives, the people did not seem to be taking any stock in them, but "There would have been absolutely no doubt about the result if the Members of the Government had been at work for the last year instead of doing nothing. I expect we will win."<sup>3</sup>

Two days later, on November 30, it was obvious there would not be ten easy Liberal seats as Greenway had claimed. There would be contests in all forty constituencies. The era of Liberal acclamations was at an end. In 1888, the Liberals had won ten seats by acclamation; four years later they had only one and were returned to power by twenty-three to seventeen; and in 1896, they had won nine seats by acclamation en route to a total of thirty-one seats.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the failure to gain a significant number of

<sup>1</sup> "Premier Greenway at Baldur," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 30 November 1899, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Sydney Fisher to Sifton, 27 November 1899. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 486, 43716. Underlining in the original.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to Laurier, 28 November 1899. U.M., Ibid., C 417, Letterbook 20, 241.

<sup>4</sup> "Contests for Every Seat," Manitoba Free Press, 1 December 1899, 1.

seats on nomination day should have forewarned the Liberals and Greenway that they were involved in a spirited campaign. However, in the week that followed there was no evidence of intensified political activity by the incumbent government. Greenway continued to campaign in southwest Manitoba, Sifton in the Brandon constituencies, McMillan and Cameron in Winnipeg, Watson in Portage la Prairie, and Mickle in western Manitoba.

Excellent weather conditions on election day, December 7, helped to swell the number of the electorate voting to approximately seventy-four per cent.<sup>1</sup> This was a substantial increase over 1896 when only forty-seven per cent of the registered voters had cast ballots in contested constituencies.<sup>2</sup> As the results were sent in to Winnipeg, there were conflicting interpretations as to the outcome. The Tribune confidently held that the Conservatives had won twenty-one seats to the Liberals' fifteen, while two were in doubt and Dauphin and Gimli had been deferred.<sup>3</sup> The Tribune had adopted a semi-independent stance in the election and had supported the concept of government ownership of railways despite Richardson's earlier advocacy of Greenway's Winnipeg to Duluth project.<sup>4</sup> The conflict between Sifton and Joseph Martin also tended to place the newspaper closer to the Tory party than to the Greenway Liberals.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, the

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<sup>1</sup> "An Immense Vote is Being Polled," The Winnipeg Tribune, 7 December 1899, 1; A. J. Magurn (ed.), The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, (Ottawa, 1901), 384-385.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. Magurn (ed.), The Canadian Parliamentary Guide (Ottawa, 1898), 236.

<sup>3</sup> "21 Opposition 15 Government," The Winnipeg Tribune, 8 December 1899, 1.

<sup>4</sup> R. L. Richardson to Greenway, 25 March 1897. P.A.M., Greenway Papers, 9967.

<sup>5</sup> A. R. McCormack, "Arthur Puttee and the Liberal Party: 1899-1904," Canadian Historical Review, LI (June, 1970), 143-148.

Free Press believed the Conservatives had a narrow majority at best with the standings being nineteen Conservatives, eighteen Liberals, one Independent who would vote Conservative, and two constituencies to vote later. The Free Press results depended upon the returns in Rockwood and Russell electing Liberals,<sup>1</sup> while the Tribune already had placed them in the Conservative column. The latter was correct in its reports and the deferred elections meant little to either party except as a matter of pride. Greenway assisted Burrows in Dauphin and the Liberals won the seat,<sup>2</sup> but Gimli went Conservative to give final standings of twenty-two Conservatives, seventeen Liberals, and one Independent.

The total popular vote indicated a preference for Greenway as the Liberals polled 23,312, the Conservatives 23,172, and Independents 601. Only by counting the 258 votes received by William Hespeler in Rosenfeldt could the Conservatives claim to have won the popular vote.<sup>3</sup> Hespeler had campaigned as an Independent in order to defeat Enoch Winkler by seventeen votes since he could not gain support as a Conservative largely because of that party's stand on the franchise and immigration issues which indicated a bias towards discrimination against minority groups. Hespeler denied being a Conservative whenever the Free Press placed him with the Tory candidates.<sup>4</sup> Once the election was over, Hespeler revealed his true colors,

<sup>1</sup> "A Narrow Majority," Manitoba Free Press, 9 December 1899, 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Baldwinson is Leading," The Winnipeg Tribune, 15 December 1899, 1; "Dauphin Does Nobly," Manitoba Free Press, 16 December 1899, 1.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. Magurn (ed.), The Canadian Parliamentary Guide (Ottawa, 1901), 384-385.

<sup>4</sup> "Mr. Hespeler's Position," Manitoba Free Press, 17 November 1899, 2; editorial, "Our One Independent," Ibid., 11 December 1899, 4.

particularly when he was rewarded with the position of Speaker of the House for his efforts.<sup>1</sup> Despite the popular vote, what mattered was how the votes translated into seats.

The Liberals lost heavily in rural ridings, carrying only thirteen compared to the twenty-five they had held in 1896.<sup>2</sup> The causes of this turnover varied with each constituency, but the consensus was a belief by the electorate that the Opposition should be strengthened, the Greenway government had been too long in office and it was time for a change, and discontent over the federal Liberal government's tariff and railway policies.<sup>3</sup> Greenway, as well as his Cabinet colleagues, were unusually silent following the election results. Whether it was a silence induced by shock or by the necessity to make arrangements for the immediate future was not clear. However, when Greenway recovered, his explanation was lack of organization. This was almost six months after the election and was a statement made at a Lisgar constituency organizational meeting.<sup>4</sup> He used that as a reason for defeat only on this occasion, and then turned

<sup>1</sup> "Mr. Greenway Speaks," Manitoba Free Press, 5 April, 6, 7, 8.

<sup>2</sup> See 1899 constituency map in Holmes, op. cit., between 111 and 112.

<sup>3</sup> Editorial, "The Government's Reverse and Its Causes," The Winnipeg Tribune, 8 December 1899, 2; R. D. Foley to Sifton, 16 December 1899. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 486, 43898; Personal. Sifton to Foley, 22 December 1899. U.M., Ibid., C 417, Letterbook 20, 356; H. C. Graham to Sifton, 22 December 1899. U.M., Ibid., C 486, 44502; Personal. Frank O. Fowler to Sifton, 25 December 1899. U.M., Ibid., C 486, 43953; Personal. Sifton to J. H. McConnell, 3 January 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 417, Letterbook 20, 639; Personal. C. J. Mickle to Sifton, 6 January 1900. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 85, 65724-75725.

<sup>4</sup> "A Meeting of Liberals," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 15 June 1900, 4.

to blaming the advocates of temperance who had deserted his party to vote Conservative.<sup>1</sup> While this appears to be a rationalization on Greenway's part,<sup>2</sup> it became a major theme in his four years as Opposition leader. He would extend his charge to cover all provincial constituencies, but this failed to account for the results in the urban ridings.

Of the urban seats, Portage la Prairie, Brandon, and three in Winnipeg, the Liberals won only Winnipeg Centre in 1899, whereas they had carried all five in 1896.<sup>3</sup> According to Clifford Sifton, Robert Watson had lost Portage la Prairie even before the election was called, although the reasons were never stated.<sup>4</sup> The unpopularity of Sifton and the federal government's tariff and railway policies had a definite effect in Brandon and the other eight ridings making up the Brandon federal constituency.<sup>5</sup> Eight had returned Liberals in 1896, while the 1899 result was three Liberals and six Conservatives.<sup>6</sup> The Winnipeg results were related to the

<sup>1</sup> "Liberal Meeting," Ibid., 20 July 1900, 4; "Liberal Meeting," Ibid., 27 July 1900, 4.

<sup>2</sup> The "temperance issue does not seem to have been a crucial one," according to John H. Thompson, "The Prohibition Question in Manitoba, 1892-1928" (unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1969), 46. Thompson cites John L. Holmes, op. cit., 93, for his statement. Holmes refers only to the Manitoba Free Press and The Winnipeg Tribune reports of the campaign, while Henry J. Guest, op. cit., 286, includes The Telegram. Neither believed temperance was a prominent or decisive issue.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. Magurn, op. cit., 384-385.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. Sifton to R. Hill Myers, 29 December 1899. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 417, Letterbook 20, 518.

<sup>5</sup> T. A. Burrows to Sifton, 20 December 1899. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 57, 40527-40529; Burrows to Sifton, 29 December 1899. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 57, 40530-40534; Personal. Sifton to Burrows, 3 January 1900. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 417, Letterbook 20, 643; R. D. Foley to Laurier, 30 December 1899. U.M., Ibid., C 486, 43903-43909.

<sup>6</sup> A. J. Magurn, op. cit., 384-385; A. J. Magurn (ed.) The Canadian Parliamentary Guide (Ottawa, 1898), 234-235.

split between Sifton and Joseph Martin, the former assisted by McMillan, Cameron, and Campbell, and the latter by R. L. Richardson and The Winnipeg Tribune.<sup>1</sup>

Sifton attributed Greenway's defeat to local causes, claiming that many Conservatives, who had supported the Liberal party in the C. P. R. monopoly fight and the school question, had returned to their party. He argued that Greenway had blundered in dealing with the Northern Pacific and the Canadian Pacific and both companies had taken the field against the Liberals. However, as Sifton pointed out,

Notwithstanding all these adverse influences, if the Government had been alert, active and attentive to their organization during the last two years as it was when I was here prior to 1896, we would have carried the Province by a good safe majority. We found however that our friends were living in a fool's paradise and had not their work in good shape. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Sifton repeated the lack of organization and over-confidence theme to a number of correspondents and indicated that he would make certain that this would not happen to him in Brandon constituency when the federal election was called.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Martin to John Willison, 25 June 1896. P.A.C., Willison Papers, vol. 54, 20308-20309; Sifton to Willison, 24 October 1898. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 74, 27386-27387; Personal. Sifton to Isaac Campbell, 7 November 1898. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 412, Letterbook 14, 128; Personal. Sifton to R. W. Jameson, 14 November 1898. U.M., Ibid., C 412, Letterbook 14, 283; Personal. Sifton to McMillan, 21 March 1899. U.M., Ibid., C 414, Letterbook 16, 490; Personal. Sifton to McMillan, 30 March 1899. U.M., Ibid., C 414, Letterbook 16, 703; A. R. McCormack, "Arthur Puttee and the Liberal Party: 1899-1904," Canadian Historical Review, LI (June, 1970), 143-148.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. Sifton to Laurier, 11 December 1899. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 417, Letterbook 20, 270.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to H. C. Graham, 26 December 1899. U.M., Ibid., C 417, Letterbook 20, 427; Personal. Sifton to W. H. Moore, 23 December 1899. U.M., Ibid., C 417, Letterbook 20, 416; Personal. Sifton to D. S. Black, 8 January 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 417, Letterbook 20, 719; Personal. Sifton to J. S. Reekie, 3 January 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 417, Letterbook 20, 626; Personal. Sifton to D. C. Fraser, 22 December 1899. U.M., Ibid., C 417, Letterbook 20, 375; Sifton to Willison, 28 December 1899. P.A.C., Willison Papers, vol. 74, 27421-27426.

The three French constituencies went Liberal, in part because of Laurier's assistance, and in part the belief that Greenway would be returned to power. Following their traditional pattern, the French-Canadians had sought to protect their interests and possibly secure further favours by supporting the probable winner of the election.<sup>1</sup> Greenway's actual influence in these ridings was minimal and they began to turn to the Conservative party through by-elections and in the July, 1903, provincial election.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, the Conservatives, under the leadership of the underrated Hugh John Macdonald and guided by the organizational ability of W. H. Hastings, had been well-prepared for their most vigorous attack on the Greenway government since it had taken office. Ably financed by the federal Conservatives<sup>3</sup> and given the assistance of the Canadian Pacific Railway through W. C. Van Horne and Thomas Shaughnessy,<sup>4</sup> the provincial Conservative party was a potent force in the election. Their platform promised immediate action and appealed to the diverse interests of the

<sup>1</sup> Roger E. Turenne, "The Minority and the Ballot Box: A Study of the Voting Behavior of the French Canadians of Manitoba" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970), 50-53.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. Magurn (ed.), The Canadian Parliamentary Guide (Ottawa, 1901), 386-387; A. J. Magurn (ed.), The Canadian Parliamentary Guide (Ottawa, 1903), 397, 399, 401.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Tupper to H. J. Macdonald, 10 May 1889. P.A.C., Charles Tupper Papers, vol. 19, 9749; Charles Tupper to Macdonald, 10 June 1899. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 19, 9383; Charles Tupper to Hugh Graham, 4 July 1899. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 19, 9928; Charles Tupper to Macdonald, 5 July 1899. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 19, 9947.

<sup>4</sup> Van Horne to H. J. Macdonald, 17 February 1898. P.A.C., Van Horne Papers, M:2290, Letterbook 54, 750; Confidential. Van Horne to Macdonald, 13 January 1899. P.A.C., Ibid., M 2291, Letterbook 56, 7.

electorate.<sup>1</sup> Even so, the election might have been won by the Liberals but for the intense efforts of the Conservatives who won six seats by margins under thirty.<sup>2</sup>

Despite Sifton's analysis of the results, his relationship with Greenway seems to have had a crucial effect. Sifton had little correspondence with the Premier and preferred his contacts with McMillan, Cameron, and Campbell. The federal minister rarely attempted to press Manitoba's financial claims in Cabinet and refused to meet Greenway's demands for tariff reform. Sifton also was a key opponent to the Premier's Winnipeg to Duluth railway scheme. Sifton's purpose seems to have been to gain complete control of the Liberal party in the West and if it meant undercutting Greenway's position in Manitoba, he was prepared to do so. Thus, given little chance to devise new policies or to claim partial credit for achievements by the federal Liberals, Greenway attempted to make the best case possible for his government, but was hampered by Sifton's refusal to offer more than promises rather than the desired results.

In addition to losing the election, the outcome destroyed the rural-urban coalition which had kept Greenway and the Liberals in power after 1888. Only a scattered rural element survived and it was believed by the Cabinet members that Greenway was the individual who could keep the remnants of the Liberal party together pending reorganization along more youthful lines.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Guest, op. cit., 286.

<sup>2</sup> "A Narrow Majority," Manitoba Free Press, 9 December 1899, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. McMillan to Sifton, 20 January 1900. P.A.C., Sifton Papers vol. 85, 65321-65323; Watson to Sifton, 20 January 1900. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 91, 71305-71308; Cameron to Sifton, 27 January 1900. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 77, 58364.

After one legislative session of Opposition leadership, it was expected that Greenway would retire and Sifton encouraged R. Hill Myers, re-elected for Minnedosa, to believe the rural leadership would be his for the taking since C. J. Mickle did not take an active part in debates and was not a strong stump speaker.<sup>1</sup> Greenway did not make any suggestion regarding a successor to his leadership of the rural wing of the party nor of the entire party. He apparently assumed that his own leadership of the country element would continue for a year while the urban wing reorganized itself under the guidance of J. D. Cameron. Although Cameron had lost his re-election bid in Winnipeg South, he was the only urban Liberal who would remain active in provincial politics as Sifton indicated that D. H. McMillan would soon depart the provincial field.<sup>2</sup> That Cameron's talents were overcome by personal problems and an inability to organize even his own constituency soon became obvious.<sup>3</sup> As a result, the urban wing turned to Isaac Campbell as a prospective leader, not only in their ridings, but for the whole party.

Most Liberals had been in active politics for over ten years and were seeking suitable rewards for their services. Thus, even as Greenway and his Cabinet colleagues were tendering their resignations on January 6, 1900, and recommending that Lieutenant Governor J. C. Patterson ask Hugh John

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Sifton to R. Hill Myers, 29 December 1899. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 417, Letterbook 20, 518; Personal. Sifton to R. Hill Myers, 17 January 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 418, Letterbook 20, 940.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. Sifton to R. Hill Myers, 17 January 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 418, Letterbook 20, 940.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Watson to Sifton, 20 January 1900. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 77, 71307.

Macdonald to form a government,<sup>1</sup> the struggle for political appointments was well-advanced. Greenway expected to be one of the recipients of a position, while his associates were considering ways to influence him to remain in Manitoba.

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<sup>1</sup> Greenway to J. C. Patterson, 6 January 1900. P.A.M., Patterson Papers, Box 1; (Copy), J. C. Patterson to Greenway, 6 January 1900. P.A.M., Ibid., Box 1.

## CHAPTER VII

### PARTY LOYALTY AND A FEDERAL APPOINTMENT

Thomas Greenway's political activity from January, 1900, to October, 1908, was tempered by his reluctance to continue as provincial Liberal party leader and his desire for a federal appointment. At first, he would have preferred a seat in the Senate, but when that was blocked by his ex-colleagues, he abandoned further approaches on the subject. As his personal financial status became critical, Greenway requested an appointment to the Railway Commission. When the appointment was not realized, he stood for election in the federal constituency of Lisgar. His four years as M. P. for the constituency were undistinguished, and largely through the efforts of Clifford Sifton, Greenway finally received his desired appointment to the Railway Commission in September, 1908.

Following the resignation of his government on January 6, 1900, the sixty-one year old Thomas Greenway wished to leave active politics and expected that a position in the Senate was his due reward. Although he was too proud to ask for an appointment to one of the two vacant Manitoba Senate seats, he believed that his past service to the Liberal party entitled him to it. He saw no obstacle in the way of accepting the position and confidently looked forward to its being offered to him.<sup>1</sup> Greenway soon found himself caught between his desire and the demands of his ex-colleagues to continue on in Manitoba politics.

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<sup>1</sup> D. H. McMillan to Sifton, 20 January 1900. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 85, 65321.

Although there were two vacancies to be filled in the Senate, one had been promised to Robert Watson as early as June, 1899,<sup>1</sup> and he now accepted the offer.<sup>2</sup> Clifford Sifton wanted Isaac Campbell to accept the other vacancy, and delayed making an offer to Greenway until hearing from Campbell.<sup>3</sup> While he delayed, Sifton received urgent requests from D. H. McMillan and Robert Watson to keep Greenway in Manitoba politics. Writing Sifton on January 20, McMillan stated, "I have seen Mr. Greenway. He will undoubtedly accept the Senatorship, and it will be necessary to offer it to him, as he fully expects it." McMillan then went on to argue,

I wish to say that some way must be found that will enable him to lead the Opposition at this first session of the House. If Greenway is appointed now, then it will destroy the Liberal Party locally for some time to come, and at present there is no one to take his place. The thing will go to pieces and a number of our fellows will resign, and the whole Province will be taken possession of by the Government party. Judging from what has taken place in the past, I should say that the position should be left vacant until after this session, when we can pull the party together and reorganize them, and Mr. Greenway can then be appointed. If that cannot be done, then possibly the appointment could be given to someone with the understanding that he is to resign in six months and make way for Mr. Greenway. . . .<sup>4</sup>

Robert Watson, writing to Sifton the same day, was of the same opinion, but understood that Greenway would not accept the Senatorship.<sup>5</sup> Sifton

<sup>1</sup> Robert Watson to Sifton, 17 June 1899. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 74, 55461.

<sup>2</sup> Watson to Sifton, 20 January 1900. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 91, 71305.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to Isaac Campbell, 17 January 1900. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 418, Letterbook 20, 929.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. McMillan to Sifton, 20 January 1900. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 85, 65321-65323.

<sup>5</sup> Watson to Sifton, 20 January 1900. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 91, 71305-71308.

replied to both letters on January 22, telling Watson he did not know what to do about Greenway although prepared to offer one of the seats to him. He also pointed out the different views Watson and McMillan had on Greenway's probable reaction.<sup>1</sup> To McMillan, Sifton wrote that the appointment could not be delayed beyond February 1, but he never stated a reason why this was so. He doubted that the appointment could be given to someone on condition that he resign, since the individual could go back on the promise. As for the local political situation and Greenway's status, Sifton could not "understand why any of the members should want to resign. If Mr. Greenway leaves that would be about the most senseless thing that could be imagined."<sup>2</sup>

Although local Liberal pressure to keep Greenway in Manitoba continued, when Campbell refused the Senate appointment, Sifton offered it to Greenway. Greenway replied with a cypher telegram on January 25, saying he was "willing to accept but would it not be possible to defer appointment for time."<sup>3</sup> Sifton informed A. P. Collier, his private secretary, "Wire Greenway that cannot defer appointment."<sup>4</sup> Greenway responded on January 27. "Am anxious to accept [.] Colonel [.] Cameron and other friends protest

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Sifton to Watson, 22 January 1900. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 418, Letterbook 21, 77.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. Sifton to McMillan, 22 January 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 418, Letterbook 21, 99.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. McMillan to Sifton, 27 January 1900. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 85, 65336; telegram, Greenway to Sifton, 25 January 1900. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 502, 61437.

<sup>4</sup> Telegram, A. P. Collier to Greenway, 25 January 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 502, 61438.

saying if I leave now party will collapse entirely [.] [T]hey say want little time to reorganize."<sup>1</sup>

The protests came from McMillan, Cameron, and Isaac Campbell, as the urban wing of the provincial Liberal party, which had joined eagerly in riding into power in July, 1888, just as quickly jumped off the bandwagon when it came to a halt in January, 1900. All were fully competent to defend the Greenway administration, particularly McMillan who had been an M.L.A. since July, 1888, and Provincial Treasurer since May 17, 1889. While Cameron wanted Greenway to remain for at least the next session as "Any other course would be damaging to you and disastrous to him," as he told Sifton,<sup>2</sup> McMillan went to great lengths to justify his protest. He preferred the appointment be deferred until after the session and was concerned about the many charges made against the Greenway government. As he explained to Sifton,

Greenway is the only man who has a seat in the House who can do this, and as he has been leader of the Government during the last twelve years, it is his duty to the party to stay with them and fight until the charges have all been met and answered. I do not understand how he can for a moment consider any other course open to him. It seems to me that he will certainly drop very much in the estimation of the people of this country if he does not hold his ground for at least one Session. If the charges are not fought out and the facts placed fairly before the people, I think a great injury will be done the party here, which it will not recover from for some years; . . .<sup>3</sup>

Writing Sifton on January 27, Campbell made the same points, adding "I think if the old man had [ ] sand' he would at once refuse the offer so as to do justice

<sup>1</sup> Telegram, Greenway to Sifton, 27 January 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 502, 61439.

<sup>2</sup> Cameron to Sifton, 27 January 1900. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 77, 58364.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. McMillan to Sifton, 27 January 1900. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 85, 65336-65337.

to his friends."<sup>1</sup>

Sifton attempted to solve the difficulty by disregarding his own earlier admonition that a stand-in might not resign and told Greenway,

If you could get Finlay Young to take appointment for present he could resign after session for you. This would probably please him and be good arrangement all round. It would be secret.<sup>2</sup>

Greenway attempted to secure Young's approval, but Young refused the proposition, wanting the appointment for himself.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, Robert Watson and Finlay Young filled the two Senate vacancies,<sup>4</sup> and Thomas Greenway yielded to the appeals of McMillan, Cameron, and Campbell, to his pride, party loyalty, and to the admonition that it was necessary for him to defend his years as Premier of Manitoba. Sifton was displeased with the result, writing W. W. Cory, provincial government employee and Liberal party sympathizer, "I offered Mr. Greenway a Senatorship, if he had been allowed to accept it the party could have been re-organized. . . . , but instead of doing

<sup>1</sup> Confidential. Isaac Campbell to Sifton, 27 January 1900. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 77, 58473-58474.

<sup>2</sup> Telegram, Sifton to Greenway, 27 January 1900. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 502, 61440.

<sup>3</sup> Telegram, Greenway to Sifton, 28 January 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 502, 61441; telegram, Greenway to Sifton, 28 January 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 502, 61445.

<sup>4</sup> Telegram, Watson to Sifton, 2 February 1900. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 91, 71310; Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 1 February 1900, 4. This newspaper had five editor-owners between 1900 and 1908, mainly because of financial difficulties. The one subject common to each editor was a steady and favourable support of Thomas Greenway. There was no evidence to suggest that Greenway had control of the newspaper, although past experience would suggest that he had some financial interest in it. He did sell one lot each to R. H. Spedding and Theophylus G. Finn, two of the editors, apparently as sites for the newspaper office. See, Morden Land Titles Office, "Crystal City Plan 59", lot 8, block 4; lot 14, block 12.

that our friends funked and insisted on Greenway remaining with them. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

Writing Cameron on January 30, Sifton had stated, "I presume it is probably wise that Mr. Greenway should remain where he is at present, but my view is pretty strong that you will have to re-organize with the younger element of the Party before you can hope to win an election and get back to power."<sup>2</sup>

The foremost reason for McMillan, Cameron, and Campbell wanting Greenway to remain for at least one session was to relieve them of the onus of clearing the Liberal government of any charges that secret deals had been made with the Canadian Pacific, Northern Pacific, Manitoba and South Eastern, and the Great North West Central Railways, regarding bonuses for constructing branch lines within Manitoba. Campbell, while campaigning for various Liberal candidates, had implied that no aid was being given for the construction of ninety miles of railway within Manitoba. Cameron had been emphatic in making the same claim.<sup>3</sup> According to Campbell, in a letter to Sifton on January 18, the only lines receiving aid were the Waskada Branch being built by the Canadian Pacific and the twenty miles of the Great North West Central near Hamiota. As Campbell wrote,

Of course Greenway may vary the impression by explanations giving us some new circumstances but I do not see that he can escape the imputation of concealing some facts which it was due to the public the latter should have known or rather that he allowed the public to get a wrong impression without correcting it.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Sifton to W. W. Cory, 2 February 1900. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 418, Letterbook 21, 287.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. Sifton to J. D. Cameron, 30 January 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 418, Letterbook 21, 230.

<sup>3</sup> "Northern Pacific Fairly Treated," Manitoba Free Press, 21 November 1899, 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Confidential. Isaac Campbell to Sifton, 18 January 1900. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 77, 58462-58463.

Campbell stated that Cameron was very annoyed, had made his election statement in good faith, and did not think he had been treated fairly. Campbell suggested that the explanation for Cameron's not knowing about the railway situation was that "Cameron was away ill for over two months August [sic] to late October last year."<sup>1</sup> Sifton was concerned about Cameron's position and advised McMillan and Campbell to see if a means could be found of clearing the former Attorney General of the alleged false statements he had made, and if so, Greenway should corroborate it.<sup>2</sup> This, despite the fact that Sifton wrote his father at the same time, "The action of the late Government in regard to Railway grants is incapable of defence. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

Greenway ably defended himself and the railway policy of his government in two interviews published in the Free Press on January 20 and 22. He denied that the bonds of the South Eastern Railway had been endorsed in return for a ten cent rate since the Act had been assented to on April 27, 1898. Since part of the road was in the United States, it was impossible to have a guarantee on the rate. As for the Waskada Branch, Greenway pointed out that the Northern Pacific had been asked repeatedly to build it, and when the Canadian Pacific offered to build, he promised to recommend personally that aid be given to the Company. He stated Cameron had been absent

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. Sifton to McMillan, 22 January 1900. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 418, Letterbook 21, 99; Personal. Sifton to Campbell, 23 January 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 418, Letterbook 21, 102.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to John W. Sifton, 23 January 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 418, Letterbook 21, 89.

at the time and he had failed to tell him of the arrangement. The ex-Premier insisted no aid had been given for the lines west of Portage la Prairie and McGregor. He was irked with R. L. Richardson's Tribune for what he considered misrepresentation of the facts and lying about the supposed secret deals.<sup>1</sup> Sifton was satisfied with Greenway's explanation. Writing A. J. Magurn, editor of the Sifton owned Free Press, the Minister of the Interior stated, "Greenway's last interview in the Free Press seems to me to do a great deal towards setting him right and it lets Cameron out. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

Greenway continued to defend his railway policies and deals throughout the spring of 1900, at a special banquet at Crystal City on March 28 to mark his sixty-second birthday,<sup>3</sup> in the legislature from March 29 to April 12,<sup>4</sup> and in May at a Lisgar constituency convention.<sup>5</sup> It was not until June that Greenway switched from a defence of his party's deeds to attacking the Conservative government for extravagance, a direct tax on municipalities, the Franchise law which discriminated against Galicians

<sup>1</sup> "Mr. Greenway's Vigorous Reply," Manitoba Free Press, 20 January 1900, 3; "Says It is a Deliberate Lie," Ibid., 22 January 1900, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. Sifton to A. J. Magurn, 26 January 1900. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 418, Letterbook 21, 163.

<sup>3</sup> "Red Letter Day!" Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 30 March 1900, 1.

<sup>4</sup> "Mr. Greenway Speaks," Manitoba Free Press, 5 April 1900, 6, 7, 8; "Local Legislature," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 13 April 1900, 41.

<sup>5</sup> "Lisgar Liberal Convention," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 11 May 1900, 41.

and Doukhobors, and the spoils system in replacing provincial government employees. Greenway also launched what would be the first of many attacks on the temperance advocates who had voted against his government. He now considered them responsible for the Liberal defeat suffered in December and he cited Cypress constituency as a specific example where the temperance vote had caused the defeat of Alfred Doig, the Liberal candidate.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway seems to have been rationalizing concerning his defeat in December. He had not been a defender of Galicians and Doukhobors while in power, but may have expected to gain their future electoral support by posing as their champion now. His attacks on the temperance advocates were in response to the Hugh John Macdonald government's temperance legislation. Greenway seems to have believed that the temperance vote had been vital, but this was a misplaced belief in Doig's case as he had lost by over sixty votes.

Greenway's activity in Lisgar was in preparation for the federal election expected later in the year. In this, Greenway found himself involved in the personal feud between Sifton and R. L. Richardson, M. P. for Lisgar. The dispute between the two men centred on who was the spokesman for western agricultural interests and it was embittered further by their competing interests in the Manitoba Free Press and The Winnipeg Tribune. Richardson was to contest Lisgar as an Independent, although he would seek the Liberal nomination. Greenway had supported Richardson in 1896, but attempted to explain his refusal to support him in 1900 by criticizing the M. P. for his stand in favour of public ownership of railways. Greenway

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<sup>1</sup> "A Meeting of Liberals," Ibid., 15 June 1900, 4.

also argued that the incumbent should not have broken completely with the Liberal party because of the tariff issue. The ex-Premier objected to a 25 per cent duty on agricultural machinery, but he would never support the Conservatives who wanted to raise it to 35 per cent.<sup>1</sup> No mention was made, nor did Greenway point out, that he had broken with the Conservatives on the same issue earlier in his federal career. To argue as he did in Richardson's case suggests a loyalty to party and to his own interests as well as a definite desire to oust Richardson in retaliation for the Tribune's opposition in the December, 1899, provincial election. While Greenway probably had more in common with Richardson on such issues as tariff policy, Sifton was the person who held the position of influence within the federal government regarding federal appointments in Manitoba. Expecting an appointive position, Greenway loyally worked for Richardson's defeat.

Greenway co-operated with Sifton to have Valentine Winkler, M. L. A. for Rhineland, accept the Liberal nomination in Lisgar. Sifton encouraged Winkler to run,<sup>2</sup> wrote Greenway that Winkler would be the strongest candidate the party could nominate, and asked Greenway to take charge of the west end of the constituency and leave the east half to Winkler. Sifton also wanted the nomination pre-arranged and requested Greenway to keep J. Obed Smith, provincial organizer, from nominating John Sweet, a farmer

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<sup>1</sup> "Liberal Meeting," Ibid., 20 July 1900, 4; "Liberal Meeting," Ibid., 27 July 1900, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. Sifton to Valentine Winkler, 23 July 1900. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 419, Letterbook 22, 934.

near Morden.<sup>1</sup> Sifton instructed Smith to follow Greenway's lead.<sup>2</sup> Greenway responded to Sifton's request on July 31, writing,

Upon my return home I have your favor of the 23rd inst and note what you say re candidate in Lisgar. I am devoting a good deal of time in trying to get matters in good shape in that connection. Will see what can be done in way you suggest. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Greenway was successful in carrying out the arrangement as the only nominees at the Liberal convention at Manitou on August 9, were himself, Winkler, and Richardson. Greenway declined and Winkler won the nomination 76 to 6. Although he was not a delegate to the convention, probably to soften the attacks being made by Richardson that it was a packed convention, Greenway did speak in the evening in support of Winkler. Greenway stressed that Richardson was in fact a Conservative rather than an Independent, who opposed Sifton on personal grounds, and his election would give the constituency no influence on future policies of the Liberal party. Greenway pointed out that Winkler was a resident of the constituency, his election would have some influence in trying to reduce the duty on agricultural implements to 15 per cent, and he would have the support of the federal Liberal party in his requests to meet the demands of the constituency.<sup>4</sup>

Greenway and Sifton corresponded regarding the organization of the constituency and the campaign itself. Sifton sent Greenway copies of

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Sifton to Greenway, 23 July 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 419, Letterbook 22, 956.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. Sifton to J. O. Smith, 27 July 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 419, Letterbook 23, 50; Personal. Sifton to Smith, 8 August 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 420, Letterbook 23, 261.

<sup>3</sup> Greenway to Sifton, 31 July 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 502, 61466.

<sup>4</sup> "Manitou Convention," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 10 August 1900, 1; "Valentine Winkler," Supplement to Ibid., 17 August 1900.

Richardson's speeches and voting records, and suggested that Leon Roy should be put in charge of the French voters in Lisgar.<sup>1</sup> Writing Sifton on August 24, Greenway assessed the prospects in Lisgar. "If the Tories do not nominate a candidate we shall have a hard tussle," he wrote, "if they do don't think R. L. will run. I have it (a few days ago) on pretty good authority that they will not. However if we can secure the Mennonite and French votes Winkler will win. We should have a first class man to work among the latter. Do not consider Roy heavy enough. . . ."<sup>2</sup> Greenway made no suggestion as to whom should be put in charge of the French voters, but continued to campaign on behalf of Winkler, stressing he was the true Liberal candidate, the constituency should uphold the business-like administration of Wilfrid Laurier, and that Richardson subscribed to Conservative policy.<sup>3</sup>

What turned out to be the key factors in the election were the refusal of the Conservatives to nominate a candidate, thereby throwing their support to Richardson, as Greenway had expected would happen, and the interference of the Northern Pacific Railway Company on Richardson's behalf. Just why the Company did so was not clear, although it probably had something to do with the prospect of selling their lines in Manitoba to the provincial government. The Railway assisted Richardson by failing to bring in the outside vote, which tended to be Liberal. Greenway had warned

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Sifton to Greenway, 16 August 1900. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 420, Letterbook 23, 441.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. Greenway to Sifton, 24 August 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 502, 61470.

<sup>3</sup> "Pilot Mound Meeting," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 26 October 1900, 4; "R. L. Richardson's Role of Duplicity," Ibid., 2 November 1900, 1.

Sifton in a letter of October of the importance of that vote. "I am also getting very anxious about arrangements for our outside vote," Greenway wrote, "fully understood there would be no difficulty at least so far as this division was concerned. It is of very great importance to us. There are so many absentees, over thirty in our own village nearly all friends."<sup>1</sup> When the result in Lisgar confirmed the return of Richardson by a margin of approximately 300,<sup>2</sup> Sifton told Winkler, "From what I have been told you would have beaten him if it had not been for the interference of the Northern Pacific Railway which of course was not expected, at least not to the extent to which that interference took place. . . ."<sup>3</sup> Despite the Liberal defeat in Lisgar, the federal election held on November 7, had returned Laurier and the Liberal party to power with a majority of 53. Manitoba elected Richardson, three Conservatives, two Liberals, and an Independent in Winnipeg.<sup>4</sup>

Following the federal election, Greenway again resumed the position of detached observer of provincial politics. This was partly because of his ill health, but mainly because of his reluctance to be active. He had taken no part in the ministerial by-elections of 1900 which resulted in easy Conservative victories.<sup>5</sup> When D. H. McMillan resigned to accept the

<sup>1</sup> Private. Greenway to Sifton, 20 October 1900. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 502, 61476.

<sup>2</sup> "The Vote in Lisgar," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 9 November 1900, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to Valentine Winkler, 21 December 1900. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 420, Letterbook 24, 169.

<sup>4</sup> A. J. Magurn (ed.), The Canadian Parliamentary Guide (Ottawa, 1901), 77, 103, 111, 120, 122, 126.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 386-387.

position of Lieutenant Governor, which he had been promised in April, 1897,<sup>1</sup> Winnipeg Centre returned a Conservative. R. P. Roblin was returned for Woodlands by acclamation upon assuming the office of Premier after the resignation of Hugh John Macdonald to unsuccessfully contest the federal constituency of Brandon against Sifton. As a result, Winnipeg South was opened for a by-election on January 24, as was Manitou when Robert Rogers accepted office in the Roblin government. Rogers was returned by acclamation in a constituency well within Greenway's sphere of influence, while Winnipeg South returned J. T. Gordon by acclamation when J. D. Cameron refused to contest it.<sup>2</sup> Called upon to assist the party, Cameron had backed away, writing Sifton on January 14, "I have every wish to be loyal to my friends but there are some sacrifices that are useless. I know Roblin and Rogers and have some idea of the kind of fight they will put up and what it would cost with nothing to be gained even if victorious. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

Sifton was disgusted with Cameron, told him so, and fumed over the failure of the Winnipeg Liberal party organization to take aggressive and spirited action.<sup>4</sup> Writing Isaac Campbell on January 30, Sifton blamed Cameron for the result, stating "I do not think that anyone could have defeated him

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Sifton to McMillan, 6 April 1897. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 404, Letterbook 4, 199; Personal. Sifton to Laurier, 30 August 1900. U.M., Ibid., C 420, Letterbook 23, 641.

<sup>2</sup> Magurn, op. cit., 386-387.

<sup>3</sup> J. D. Cameron to Sifton, 14 January 1901. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 95, 74914.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. Sifton to Cameron, 17 January 1901. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 421, Letterbook 24, 871.

if he left whiskey alone and attended to his business and looked after the organization of the City as he should have done. . . . You refer to what will happen when he goes back into the House. I have very serious doubts about his ever being in the House again unless he turns over a new leaf."<sup>1</sup> Thus, lacking any guidance, with Greenway uninterested in politics, the Manitoba Liberals drifted through the winter.

Greenway's lack of interest was evident when the legislature met on February 21, 1901, and he did not trouble himself to attend until March 2. The purpose of his appearance then was to present an attack on the Roblin government's proposed contract involving the Northern Pacific and Canadian Northern Railways. In brief, the contract allowed the government to lease the Northern Pacific lines in Manitoba at an annual rental of \$250,000 per year with the privilege of purchase. The Canadian Northern wanted to arrange a deal whereby they would lease the lines from the Manitoba government at the same rate and with a government guarantee of interest upon the bonds of the Ontario and Rainy River Railway. In return, the Canadian Northern would reduce the freight charges on wheat by four cents per hundred pounds.<sup>2</sup> In a speech in the legislature on March 8, Greenway condemned the proposed contract and then demanded that Roblin call an election on the issue. As Greenway stated,

I desire to protest against the passing of this contract with regard to the Northern Pacific Railway that is a matter that has not been discussed before the people of this country -- that it ought to be before it is finally decided upon,

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<sup>1</sup> Confidential. Sifton to Isaac Campbell, 30 January 1901. U.M., Ibid., C 421, Letterbook 25, 409.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Sifton to A. J. Magurn, 23 January 1901. U.M., Ibid., C 421, Letterbook 25, 110; T. D. Regehr, "The Canadian Northern Railway: Agent of National Growth, 1896-1911" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1967), 74-75.

submitted to this country and let them say whether they desire it to go out of the province, and if they go, they have changed their minds considerably in the last few years. I think that if it were put to the opinion of the people they would say with a very large majority that they do not want the Northern Pacific to go out of the province.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway's arguments had a similarity to those used in the August-September, 1888, session, called to ratify his agreement with the Northern Pacific when it entered the province. Obviously, he was attempting to defend what he considered one of his major accomplishments in his twelve years as Premier, as he could not expect Roblin to call an election on the issue when he had refused to do so in a similar position. The fate of the contract was never in question, as it passed second reading by a vote of 23 to 9, and third reading, 23 to 10.<sup>2</sup> When the session concluded it seemed clear that Thomas Greenway planned to retire to Prairie Home Stock Farm at Crystal City, leaving the Liberal party to its own devices.

Greenway was willing to step down as provincial leader provided he received a suitable position from the federal government. What he wanted was never declared in specific terms, but he expected that the office would involve little active work while providing a salary equal to or surpassing previous earnings. Frank O. Fowler, M. L. A. for South Brandon, wrote Sifton on July 6, "now as to the matter of leader of our party I have been unable to get the old mans [sic] resignation although he still declares that he is going to resign. . . ."<sup>3</sup> Two weeks later, Robert Watson wrote Sifton, "I hope yourself and Sir Wilfrid are in the way of progress with

<sup>1</sup> "Manitoba Legislature," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 14 March 1901, 2, reporting Greenway's speech on March 8.

<sup>2</sup> "Manitoba Legislature," Ibid., 21 March 1901, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Frank O. Fowler to Sifton, 6 July 1901. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 518, 77862.

Isaac Campbell as leader. . . ."<sup>1</sup> With Greenway removed and Campbell at the head of the provincial party, it would be possible to carry out an effective reorganization in time for the next provincial election. An ideal solution seemed possible when R. L. Richardson was unseated for corrupt practices on the part of his agents.<sup>2</sup> This opened the federal constituency of Lisgar, and according to Fowler, who wrote Sifton on July 25,

The vacancy in Lisgar has solved the difficulty in respect to the old man.<sup>1</sup> He has been seen and is willing to resign in Mountain and run in Lisgar and arrangement is under way with the Tories whereby his election will be made sure. . . . The old man is quite willing and the Roblin outfit are willing so that should make it easy. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Sifton was not to be rushed and wrote Fowler, "Respecting Lisgar, Mr. Greenway's candidature would be perfectly satisfactory to me. I do not think anything is to be gained by haste and I think it would be well to have the ground looked over before anything is done. . . ."<sup>4</sup> Sifton then wrote Finlay Young, stating that he had been advised Greenway would retire from provincial politics and contest Lisgar. Sifton suggested an arrangement could be made with the Conservative government in Winnipeg to make Greenway's election certain as "If they agreed not to put a

<sup>1</sup> Robert Watson to Sifton, 20 July 1901. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 115, 90972-90974.

<sup>2</sup> "Lisgar Election," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 25 July 1901, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Frank O. Fowler to Sifton, 25 July 1901. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 518, 77871.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. Sifton to Frank O. Fowler, 3 August 1901. U.M., Ibid., C 424, Letterbook 28, 757.

candidate in the field and quietly support Mr. Greenway they would get rid of him in the Local House and avoid what to them would be a useless and very expensive contest."<sup>1</sup> This was what Greenway wanted, as well, but nothing definite was arranged since it was the busy season in farming communities which would make it difficult to organize the party and interest the people in an election. Young reported to Sifton that Greenway, said to me we had better lay now for awhile and see how things turn. He does not want to be charged with running after it or even wanting it. While in Winnipeg recently I had several talks with our friend[s] from there and there. I find we are in very poor shape in the Prov. Mr. Isaac Campbell is the man they look to for a leader if Mr. G. steps out.<sup>2</sup>

Sifton agreed to hold arrangements until the busy season should be over when it would be possible to reach some understanding regarding Greenway's possible candidacy.<sup>3</sup>

In order to bring about his plan to defeat R. L. Richardson in Lisgar and to replace Greenway as provincial leader with Isaac Campbell, Sifton had to play the game of political manipulation with Greenway as a pawn. Greenway continued to want the Liberal nomination, but wanted an easy victory, largely on the basis of past services for the Liberal party.<sup>4</sup>

Sifton wanted Richardson defeated, and along with Laurier, wanted Campbell

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Sifton to F. M. Young, 4 August 1901. U.M., Ibid., C 424, Letterbook 28, 758.

<sup>2</sup> Private. Finlay Young to Sifton, 12 August 1901. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 115, 91469-91470.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to F. M. Young, 16 August 1901. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 424, Letterbook 28, 980.

<sup>4</sup> J. D. Cameron to Sifton, 14 October 1901. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 95, 74977-74978.

to become the Liberal leader in Manitoba.<sup>1</sup> Apparently Sifton hoped that Greenway would retire as leader and open the way for Campbell, while the ex-Premier would wait patiently for some federal appointment. Greenway went east in late October to visit with friends and relatives in London and Exeter,<sup>2</sup> saw Sifton in Ottawa on November 7,<sup>3</sup> and finally received Sifton's letter of October 22, which had been forwarded from Crystal City. In it, Sifton referred to the provincial Liberal Convention to be held in Winnipeg on November 13, indicated that he thought the provincial party was in better shape than it had been since 1896, and believed that with a year's hard work it would be possible to defeat the Roblin government. Sifton held that the only thing the people needed was to know that they had a leader and "We could unquestionably put three or four good men in the field to back you up." Sifton concluded,

I myself think there is a better chance than I could have imagined a year ago of redeeming the position we held in Manitoba and placing you where you were if you feel able and disposed to go on. If you do not, I am wholly and totally at a loss.<sup>4</sup>

On November 14, Greenway replied to Sifton's letter, reluctantly stating,

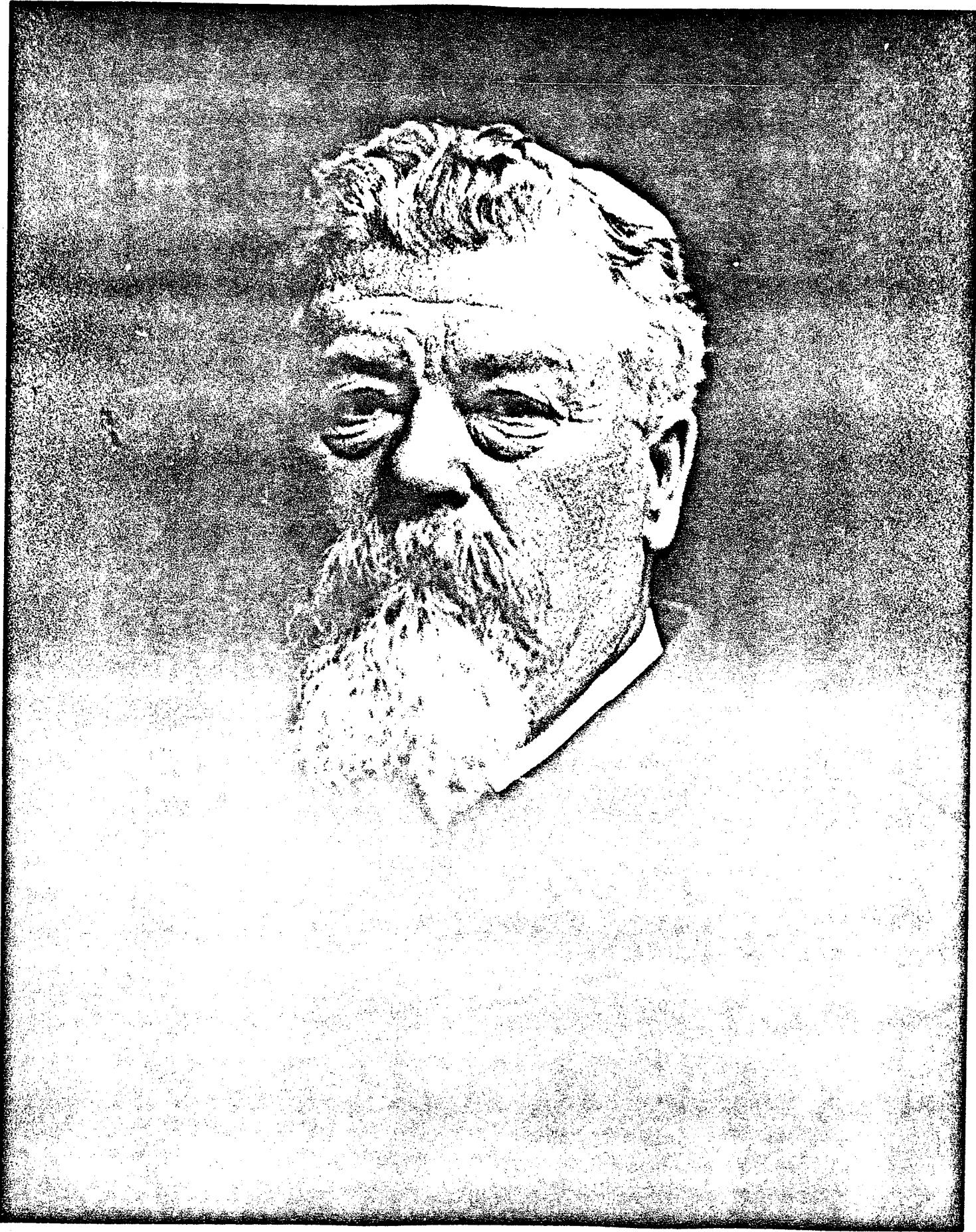
If I still owe my party a little more of my life there is no capacity in which I would rather undertake to discharge that debt than in the manner you suggest and I think I understand

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Robert Watson to Sifton, 8 October 1901. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 115, 90983-90984; Personal. Sifton to J. D. Cameron, 30 October 1901. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 425, Letterbook 29, 953.

<sup>2</sup> J. D. Cameron to Sifton, 22 October 1901. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 95, 74993.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to William Mulock, 7 November 1901. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 425, Letterbook 30, 95.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. Sifton to Greenway, 22 October 1901. U.M., Ibid., C 425, Letterbook 29, 844.



pretty well the feeling and desire of those whom I am pleased to number among my friends in Manitoba nor have I much doubt but the result would be such as you indicate but there is just the one thing that prevents me and I need not repeat that here it has given me a good deal of worry recently.<sup>1</sup>

What Greenway was worried about was personal finances. He had depended on both the income from his farm and his remuneration as Premier to maintain his life style prior to 1900. Without the Ministerial salary of \$4,000 per year, he was unable to manage.

Greenway was in constant financial straits from 1900 to 1908. Although he owned approximately 1400 acres of land and about 150 head of purebred livestock in 1900, he had \$10,000 in mortgage debt as well, largely as a result of building a substantial home at Crystal City in 1897-1898. To meet expenses, Greenway sold all his livestock, commencing with an auction sale in June, 1903, and ending with the final dispersal of his herd in June, 1907. He sold nearly all his land, beginning with the sale of a quarter section in February, 1900. Significantly, he sold all of 8-2-11W. to Thomas A. Kidd in June, 1902, for \$3840. This section was the heart of Greenway's farming operation and its sale marked the rapid decline of his monetary position.<sup>2</sup>

While the following calculations must be approximations, it was possible to determine Greenway's financial status from 1900 to 1908. His income amounted to about \$101,000; from land transactions of \$54,000, cattle sales of \$27,000, and \$20,000 in mortgages. Greenway repaid \$21,000 in

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Greenway to Sifton, 14 November 1901. U.M., Ibid., C 518, 78794.

<sup>2</sup> The data for Greenway's finances have been derived from land descriptions and "Crystal City Plan 59" in the Morden Land Titles Office; "Prairie Home Stock Sale," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 11 June 1903, 4; and interviews with Elva Elona Patterson, 14 March 1973, Anna Fuller, 15 March 1973, and Thomas Greenway, 27 March 1973, grandchildren of Thomas Greenway.

mortgages, spent \$9850 on land purchases mainly for Crystal City lots and a half-section of land which was later returned to George F. Rogers for \$1, and about \$8,000 on replacement cattle. One land transaction involved nineteen lots Thomas Greenway sold to his son, Edward Thornton Greenway, for \$15,000 in November, 1906. As Crystal City lots were selling for approximately \$200 each, there appears to have been an error made when the sale was recorded. An amount closer to \$4,000 would seem reasonable, particularly since E. T. Greenway was the Canadian Pacific Railway agent in Crystal City and would not have \$15,000 to invest in lots. Thus, Greenway's land transactions could be reduced from \$54,000 to \$43,000 and his total income to \$90,000 from \$101,000. On this basis, Greenway's average annual income was approximately \$5700 from 1900 through 1908.<sup>1</sup>

Not included in these calculations was Greenway's remuneration as M. L. A. and M. P. which amounted to \$12,000. Most of that amount would be used to pay living expenses in Winnipeg and Ottawa. There also was the salary paid to James Yule, Greenway's farm manager until the final stock sale in June, 1907. Deducting about \$1500 a year for Yule would reduce Greenway's average income to \$4200. This only can be speculated since Yule's salary was never mentioned, but the amount seems reasonable or perhaps even a bit low.

The net result was that at his death in October, 1908, Greenway owned about 640 acres worth \$3200 and had one mortgage of \$9,000 unpaid. While there may have been other debts, there was no evidence of further assets.

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<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit.

Thus, Greenway's continuance in politics after 1900 involved personal financial sacrifice and Sifton's offer to Greenway in 1903 of the next Senate vacancy would be rejected as inadequate in monetary terms. While Greenway might have met the financial qualifications for the Senate in 1903, he would not have been able to maintain himself financially on the remuneration provided. What he wanted was a position which would alleviate his monetary distress. To keep his claim on such an appointment, Greenway continued to participate in politics, however reluctantly.

The Liberal Convention had been postponed from November 13 to December 11 at the request of Isaac Campbell, who was still considering whether or not to assume the party leadership.<sup>1</sup> Greenway arrived in Winnipeg on December 9 with Sifton, Watson, and Sifton's secretarial staff.<sup>2</sup> At a party caucus held on December 10, it was decided that Greenway would remain leader of the party. The speeches at the Convention attempted to explain the decision, but did not make it clear why Greenway had remained the party's choice. T. C. Norris moved the resolution supporting Greenway's leadership, and stated that Greenway had expressed the desire to retire two or three times in the past year on the basis of poor health. Norris declared the members would support Greenway's continued leadership better than they had in the past few years. Frank Fowler, in seconding the resolution, made similar statements.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Personall Sifton to J. D. Cameron, 30 October 1901. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 425, Letterbook 29, 953.

<sup>2</sup> "Hon. Mr. Sifton Visits the West," Manitoba Free Press, 9 December 1901, 11.

<sup>3</sup> "Manitoba Liberals Endorse Mr. Greenway," Ibid., 12 December 1901, 1, 2, 6, 7; "Liberal Convention," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 26 December 1901, 2.

In accepting the party's endorsement of his leadership, Greenway spoke for half an hour, an unusually short address for him, due to a severe cold. He stated that he had wanted to leave politics before the 1899 election and had expected a new leader to have been picked before he arrived at the Convention. He had no ambitions and the promises of the past had been fulfilled. Greenway agreed to remain party leader provided the party members rallied to his assistance. It would be impossible to lead alone, he stated, and it was up to the party members to give every support they could to make the next provincial election a success.<sup>1</sup> It was not explained why Isaac Campbell would not accept the leadership. It is possible that following his past record, Campbell simply did not want to assume an active position in politics. Possibly Greenway refused to step down, wanting to use the position as a means of influence until a suitable federal appointment was offered to him. The decision probably had a great deal to do with Sifton's arrangements regarding Lisgar, which precluded Greenway's candidacy, and caused the ex-Premier to retain his party leadership position.

The arrangements Sifton had made for Lisgar were simple but effective. The Conservatives had assisted in providing evidence to unseat Richardson, and they would have a candidate in the by-election to draw away what Conservative support he might have expected. In return, Sifton promised the Roblin government the advance from the School Lands Fund that the Senate

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<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit.

had refused to grant to Greenway's administration.<sup>1</sup> The result was the election of D. A. Stewart in Lisgar, easily defeating Richardson, who ran as an Independent, and James M. Toombs, the Conservative.<sup>2</sup> The School Lands money was paid over and all parties, except Richardson, were satisfied with the arrangement.

Greenway had defended the handing over of the School Lands money as a generous act by the Federal government while managing to review the actions of the Conservative controlled Senate when he had made a similar request.<sup>3</sup> As well, he had taken a small part in the election campaign of D. A. Stewart and was pleased with the outcome, particularly when he was cheered by the crowds along the railway line on his way back to the Legislature in Winnipeg.<sup>4</sup>

Despite this, it had been a mistake to retain Greenway as Liberal party leader since he once again returned to a passive political state. Little was attempted throughout the remainder of 1902, and by winter the party had fallen into complete disorganization. C. A. Young and J. D. Cameron complained to Sifton that Greenway was unwilling to campaign and

<sup>1</sup> "Will Advance School Funds to the Province," Manitoba Free Press, 14 January 1902, 1; Personal. Sifton to Andrew Strang, 14 January 1902. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 426, Letterbook 31, 54; Personal. Sifton to J. D. Cameron, 18 January 1902. U.M., Ibid., C 426, Letterbook 31, 148; Isaac Campbell to Sifton, 18 January 1902. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 118, 94208-94209; Personal. Sifton to Andrew Strang, 20 January 1902. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 426, Letterbook 31, 168; Personal. Sifton to Dafoe, 21 January 1902. U.M., Ibid., C 426, Letterbook 31, 233.

<sup>2</sup> "Stewart Elected," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 20 February 1902, 1.

<sup>3</sup> "The Leaders Opening Speeches," Manitoba Free Press, 14 January 1902, 6.

<sup>4</sup> "Liberal Convention," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 6 February 1902, 4, 5; Private. J. W. Greenway to Sifton, 19 February 1902. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 536, 98004.

his health was not good enough to start a series of speaking engagements.<sup>1</sup>

Sifton's advice for Young and Cameron was to take the lead themselves as "There is no use in looking around and waiting for Greenway to move because he won't move a step -- he will do absolutely nothing."<sup>2</sup> Greenway continued to do just that, and Sifton wrote to J. W. Dafoe, who had been hired by Sifton in 1901 as editor of the Free Press, urging him to attempt to arrange a coalition among Prohibitionists, Independents, and the Political Reform Union, and attempt to avoid nominating Liberal candidates in constituencies where such candidates appeared. Sifton admitted the major stumbling block in the way of such an arrangement was Greenway.<sup>3</sup>

Thomas Greenway would have nothing to do with coalition efforts. As a hard-line Liberal he wanted the provincial election fought as they had been in the past, on straight party lines. In a brief series of pre-election speeches, he emphasized this point. He also compared the Liberal promises of 1886 to those of the Conservatives in 1899, stating that the Conservatives had failed to carry out any of their nineteen pledges. Greenway bitterly assailed Roblin for his gerrymander of the forty Manitoba constituencies, pointing out that only thirteen constituencies remained the same, five old ones had been replaced by five new ones, and twenty-seven were rearranged, including Mountain.<sup>4</sup> Greenway also attempted to expound the Liberal platform

<sup>1</sup> J. D. Cameron to Sifton, 28 November 1902; P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 118, 94153; C. A. Young to Sifton, 4 December 1902. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 136, 108483-108484.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. Sifton to J. D. Cameron, 4 December 1902. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 428, Letterbook 35, 512; Personal. Sifton to C. A. Young, 8 December 1902. U.M., Ibid., C 428, Letterbook 35, 606.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to Dafoe, 24 February 1903. U.M., Ibid., C 429, Letterbook 36, 862.

<sup>4</sup> Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 12 March 1903, 3; "Baldur Banquet," Ibid., 2 April 1903, 4; Ibid., 14 May 1903, 4, 8.

which had been adopted by the Liberal Executive on March 25, 1903, but it was largely a statement that the Liberals would be more economical, complaints about the spoils system and the franchise act, and a demand for the lowest possible tariff on imported goods considered vital to western agricultural interests.<sup>1</sup> The entire platform was a reaction to Premier Roblin rather than an attempt to develop new issues.

When the election was called for July 20, 1903, the disastrous result for the Liberal party was almost a foregone conclusion. Greenway campaigned in the rural areas of the province, denouncing the prohibitionists who had caused the defeat of his government in 1899, and asserting that their only purpose in the campaign was to split the vote, thereby giving the election to the Conservatives. He attacked Roblin for extravagance in government spending, failure to solve the railway transportation problem, and his stand in favour of higher tariffs. Greenway was critical, as well, of the fact that the election had been called for the same time as the Winnipeg Exhibition which made it necessary for him to cancel showing his livestock. The same speech, usually an hour and one-half in length, was given at each of the twenty-five meetings he attended.<sup>2</sup> Despite the excellent coverage accorded the Liberal leader by the Free Press, probably the best ever in

<sup>1</sup> A. J. Magurn (ed.), The Canadian Parliamentary Guide (Ottawa, 1903), 403-405.

<sup>2</sup> "Rousing Liberal Rally at Emerson," Manitoba Free Press, 1 July 1903, 10; "Hon. Mr. Greenway at Grand View," Ibid., 2 July 1903, 1, 3; "Swan River's Warm Greetings," Ibid., 4 July 1903, 1, 8; "Mr. Greenway Gives Hot Shot to Premier Roblin," Ibid., 6 July 1903, 1, 8; "Crowds Rally to Hear Greenway," Ibid., 7 July 1903, 1, 6; "An Ovation at Souris," Ibid., 9 July 1903, 1, 8; "Telling Speech at Glenboro," Ibid., 10 July 1903, 9; "Mr. Greenway is Sanguine," Ibid., 13 July 1903, 1; "'Dollars' Daly Severely Drubbed," Ibid., 14 July 1903, 1; "Mr. Greenway's Twenty-Fifth Meeting," Ibid., 18 July 1903, 1; "Greenway Before His Constituents," Ibid., 18 July 1903, 19;

his lengthy career, the Liberals were able to win only eight seats, while the Conservatives carried thirty-one, with the remaining one going to an Independent.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway continued to receive strong support in Mountain, where he easily defeated both a Conservative and an Independent.<sup>2</sup> However, many other members of the Liberal party who had been active for a number of years were defeated, including T. C. Norris, T. L. Morton, T. H. Smith, J. D. Cameron, and A. C. Fraser. Perhaps T. A. Burrows, who refused to run in this election, summed up the outcome best when he wrote Sifton two days after the polling, "We had no leader of prominence. This election may be looked upon as the passing of Thomas Greenway. . . ."<sup>3</sup> Sifton was sympathetic in regard to Greenway's failure, as a leader, to win the election and wrote J. W. Dafoe,

I have always known that our own Leader would never draw, and I never expected that he would win. . . . It is, perhaps, not Mr. Greenway's fault that he was not in a position to win. Unfortunately what happened just before and at the time of the last Provincial elections decided a great majority of the people in Manitoba not to support him again. . . .<sup>4</sup>

The vote totals undoubtedly confirmed Sifton's opinion. The Liberals polled approximately 23,700, up 400 since 1899. The Conservatives received 27,000, an increase of 4,000 since the previous election, while the

<sup>1</sup> A. J. Magurn, op. cit., 397-402.

<sup>2</sup> "The Result in Mountain," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 23 July 1903, 1; editorial, "After the Battle," Ibid., 23 July 1903, 4.

<sup>3</sup> T. A. Burrows to Sifton, 22 July 1903. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 138, 110242-110246.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. Sifton to Dafoe, 27 July 1903. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 430, Letterbook 38, 329.

Independents polled 2,563.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Greenway had a point when he accused the Prohibitionists of defeating his party by splitting the vote in 1903. One of the candidates, sympathetic to the Prohibitionists, was his son-in-law Hugh L. Montgomery, who ran as an Independent and came within twenty-one votes of defeating the Conservative candidate in Deloraine, while the Liberal candidate finished eight votes behind Montgomery.<sup>2</sup>

This election marked the end of Thomas Greenway's active participation in politics in that he no longer led a party into campaigns nor did he secure the election of Liberal candidates. He now wanted to run in Lisgar federally provided D. A. Stewart could be persuaded to step aside. At the same time, Greenway did not want to campaign nor work very hard to gain election. This met with Sifton's approval,<sup>3</sup> but in November Greenway was angered by the refusal of the federal government to consider changing the franchise law to eliminate the effect of the lists drawn up by the Roblin government which Greenway believed were designed deliberately to defeat Liberal candidates.<sup>4</sup> Even as Sifton was considering the possibility of Alex McLeod being the Liberal candidate in Lisgar if Greenway refused to accept,<sup>5</sup> he was writing to Greenway concerning the constituency. Sifton

<sup>1</sup> A. J. Magurn, op. cit., 397-402; A. J. Magurn (ed.), The Canadian Parliamentary Guide (Ottawa, 1901), 384-385.

<sup>2</sup> "Matrimonial," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 20 June 1901, 1; A. J. Magurn (ed.), The Canadian Parliamentary Guide (Ottawa, 1903), 398.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to Dafoe, 12 November 1903. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 253, 67.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. C. A. Young to Sifton, 24 November 1903. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 152, 122123-122124.

<sup>5</sup> Personal. Sifton to C. A. Young, 27 November 1903. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 253, 570.

informed Greenway that Stewart would stand aside for Greenway if the latter wanted the nomination. If Greenway accepted, Sifton promised every possible support in the campaign. According to Sifton,

I have no doubt whatever that you can carry the riding, and I think it would be from your own personal stand-point -- though you are no doubt a better judge than I am -- a desirable thing to do.

What Sifton apparently was referring to was Greenway's reluctance to continue in provincial politics and his personal financial problems. In his conclusion, Sifton stated,

It is of course understood that under any circumstances the first vacancy in the Senate is due to you that would not be altered by your going into the House of Commons. I am quite aware that the House of Commons is not specially attractive at your time of life, at the same time it would not be necessary for you to be one of the steady sitters, nor would it be expected.<sup>1</sup>

Replying on December 14, 1903, Greenway indicated his position regarding both Lisgar and the Senate. He wrote Sifton, stating,

First let me say there are many good and sufficient reasons why I should have nothing to do with Lisgar. One is that at my time of life I would not care to be beaten. You say you think I could carry it. Perhaps you have not much idea how the gang at Winnipeg utterly demoralized this as well as the other parts of the province last summer. Then we must use a list that was made to beat us. I regard it as an unpardonable shame that we are left to run the election upon this list as it stands. You must surely realize that the Liberals of Manitoba are terribly handicapped in this way. As for the Senate I want none of it. Would much rather some other candidate could be got and have no doubt there can. For many reasons which I will not enumerate here I would rather not touch it. Have however indicated to Charley Young a few days ago that under certain circumstances I might allow my name to be used, that is if it is absolutely insisted upon but let me repeat I would rather not.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Personal. Sifton to Greenway, 28 November 1903. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 253, 581.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. Greenway to Sifton, 14 December 1903. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 550, 113359.

Greenway's condition for accepting the candidature in Lisgar was that he would not have to pay any of the expenses since he was in financial straits at the time.<sup>1</sup> Sifton agreed to this condition.<sup>2</sup> For the same reason, Greenway refused to consider a possible Senate vacancy as it would not provide sufficient renumeration and he was approaching the point where his liabilities would disqualify him for the position.

Matters remained in this state until February, 1904, when it was rumored that R. L. Richardson would be the Conservative candidate in Lisgar. Sifton, who was now much more in control of western political affairs than he had been in the 1900 election, was not concerned since the boundaries of Lisgar had been redrawn in the process of increasing Manitoba's representation in the House of Commons from seven to ten members. Lisgar no longer contained Holmfield and Cartwright, two areas in which the vote was uncertain and had tended to favour Richardson in the 1900 federal election and in the 1902 by-election.<sup>3</sup> Greenway did not see it that way, and by late April he believed that if Richardson were the Conservative candidate, it would be "a slang-whang contest for which he was a trifle too old."<sup>4</sup> Greenway even went so far as to believe the Liberal party would

<sup>1</sup> C. A. Young to Sifton, 26 December 1903. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 152, 122135.

<sup>2</sup> Sifton to C. A. Young, 30 December 1903. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 254, 479.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to A. McLeod, 5 February 1904. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 255, 618.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. J. D. Cameron to Sifton, 26 April 1904. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 155, 124929-124930.

not win the federal election.<sup>1</sup> This annoyed Sifton who could not see any possibility of the Conservative party winning in 1904 by any possible combination. He was ready to give up on Greenway's candidacy in Lisgar, and wrote J. D. Cameron that the party must have a candidate who would run regardless of the opposition and he was in favour of approaching Alex McLeod to take the nomination.<sup>2</sup>

The Lisgar nomination remained undecided throughout the summer. Greenway still had not made up his mind to be a candidate by early August and preferred to obtain a federal appointment. On August 8, he wrote Laurier to request a federal position to alleviate his financial distress. It was not easy for Greenway to make the request and was a complete departure from his past actions in this regard. As Greenway put it, "as you are aware my active political life has extended over a period of more than thirty years and now when just stepping out of it find myself with such an exceedingly small pittance of this world's goods that of necessity I must keep doing something. My quiet home life of the past year has done much to improve my health so that I am yet capable of doing considerable work."<sup>3</sup>

What Greenway had in mind, although he did not mention it specifically, was an appointment to the Transcontinental Railway Commission, which had been created under an Act passed in 1903. The Commissioners were appointed on August 20, 1904, with salaries listed at \$7,000<sup>4</sup> which would have gone

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Frank O. Fowler to Sifton, 26 April 1904. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 160, 128720-128721.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. Sifton to J. D. Cameron, 29 April 1904. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 258, 124; Personal. Sifton to Frank O. Fowler, 3 May 1904. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 258, 240.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Greenway to Laurier, 8 August 1904. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 331, 88831-88832.

<sup>4</sup> A. J. Magurn (ed.), The Canadian Parliamentary Guide (Ottawa, 1905), 17.

a long way towards helping Greenway "keep the pot boiling" as he said.<sup>1</sup>

The ensuing response to Greenway's request resulted in bitterness and regret. Laurier replied on August 19, expressing disappointment that Greenway had not written sooner, and then reminded Greenway of his refusal to accept a Senatorship when the party desired him to remain in Manitoba.

Laurier continued,

Your present letter is the first intimation that you have made up your mind to withdraw if a proper situation could be found for you, such as your long services would entitle you to. To this, I would be quite agreeable even knowing, as I do, the loss which it would mean to your party. I am afraid, however, that as soon as the matter has been put in practical shape, our friends in the Province would again press you with the prayer not to desert them.<sup>2</sup>

Two weeks later, Greenway wrote Laurier, apologized for humiliating himself so far as to ask for a position, particularly when that position had been filled almost immediately after he wrote. Greenway explained,

My reason for not making formal application for the position some time ago, was that I was informed more than once, upon excellent authority, that it would be offered me, and am now of the opinion that my name was considered along with that of the gentleman [C. A. Young]<sup>3</sup> who received the appointment.

Greenway's bitterness towards the members of the federal Liberal government came through when he added,

No doubt it was decided that he had stronger claims than myself to your consideration, and I've been wrong in imagining that I had any claims upon my friends at Ottawa.

Greenway went on to explain why he believed he had special claims, when he wrote,

<sup>1</sup> Personal. Greenway to Laurier, 8 August 1904. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 331, 88832.

<sup>2</sup> (Copy). Private. Laurier to Greenway, 19 August 1904. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 164, 132765-132766.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. Magurn, op. cit., 17.

It should not be necessary, however, to enumerate, especially to yourself, that during my somewhat lengthened period of office, I have advocated and carried out, and stood by (in one particular instance, at least, that I remember very clearly, when compromise was strongly urged by our friends at the Capital, including yourself) matters of principle, the carrying out of which had the effect of not only benefitting our province, our action also tended to promote the interests of the Liberal party in Manitoba, but to a much greater extent in the broader field of the Dominion.

As for continuing as Manitoba Liberal leader, Greenway declared,

If there are those who still think that I can be induced to stay with the leadership of the party here, under present conditions, they are labouring under a delusion.<sup>1</sup>

Greenway clearly had a right to be perturbed with the federal government and the Liberal party in particular. He had seen McMillan rewarded with the Lieutenant Governorship of Manitoba and a Knighthood,<sup>2</sup> R. Hill Myers<sup>3</sup> and J. D. Cameron<sup>4</sup> had become Judges, Robert Watson and Finlay Young were Senators, and now C. A. Young was appointed to the Transcontinental Railway Commission. Greenway was unrewarded for his thirty years of service to the Liberal party and was well on the way to becoming openly hostile over the matter. This created concern among the Liberals in Manitoba as they needed Greenway's support to carry Lisgar.<sup>5</sup> The antagonism between Crystal City and Pilot Mound, which originated in 1885, had never been resolved and it

<sup>1</sup> (Copy). Greenway to Laurier, 29 August 1904. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 164, 132765-132766.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. Sifton to McMillan, 30 June 1902. U.M., Sifton Papers, C 427, Letterbook 33, 613.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to C. Fitzpatrick, 31 December 1902. U.M., Ibid., C 428, Letterbook 35, 927.

<sup>4</sup> Telegram, Sifton to J. D. Cameron, 18 August 1903. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 268, 61.

<sup>5</sup> C. A. Young to Sifton, 17 September 1904. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 176, 143183.

was necessary to have the support of both in order to carry the constituency. If Greenway refused to co-operate, it would be almost impossible to elect D. A. Stewart of Pilot Mound. Dafoe urged Sifton to handle the matter carefully, and stated that Greenway was the best candidate for Lisgar since he could win, it would be a good exit from provincial politics, and it was the only way that he would resign the leadership of the provincial party.<sup>1</sup>

Since Greenway had failed to get the appointment and was still in financial need, he agreed to be the candidate. The outcome was that at the convention held in Morden on October 110, D. A. Stewart declined the nomination and then nominated Greenway. Greenway did not attend the convention, but accepted by telegram from Winnipeg, stating "Would very much prefer convention would select another, but if they insist will accept on the understanding that friends are prepared to undertake work of campaign."<sup>2</sup>

This was understood clearly by all concerned, resulting in Greenway's making but one speech in the campaign. He spoke at Snowflake on October 31, stating in very general terms that the Liberal policy should be supported as being best for the Dominion.<sup>3</sup> There was none of the traditional Greenway two hour oratory nor was this solitary speech anything resembling his political speeches of the past. Nearly all of the meetings in Lisgar were handled by J. F. Greenway, one of Thomas Greenway's sons, and Oliver D. Garbutt,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. W. Dafoe to Sifton, 18 September 1904. U.M., Sifton-Dafoe Correspondence, C 734.

<sup>2</sup> "Hon. Thomas Greenway Liberal Candidate for Lisgar," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 13 October 1904, 1.

<sup>3</sup> "Political Meetings," Ibid., 3 November 1904, 1.

<sup>4</sup> "Political Meeting," Ibid., 27 October 1904, 1; "The Campaign," Ibid., 27 October 1904, 4; "Political Meetings," Ibid., 3 November 1904, 1.

with whom Greenway had modest land dealings.<sup>1</sup> Greenway defeated W. H. Sharpe, the Conservative candidate, by a margin of 189 votes out of 313<sup>4</sup> cast.<sup>2</sup> R. L. Richardson had contested Brandon in the Conservative interest, being defeated by Sifton by over 800.<sup>3</sup> Manitoba returned five other Liberals and three Conservatives as the Laurier administration swept back into power for another term.<sup>4</sup>

Greenway returned to the House of Commons in January, 1905, where his political career had started in 1875. In his four years as M. P. for Lisgar, Greenway was a member of the Standing Committees on Railways, Canals and Telegraph Lines, Miscellaneous Private Bills, Public Accounts, and Agriculture and Colonization. He was on Public Accounts for two sessions,<sup>5</sup> while he remained on the other three Committees for all four sessions.<sup>6</sup> His contributions to the first two Committees were minimal, partly because of the large membership and partly because of his inability to devote full time to them on account of his health. He was Chairman of the Agriculture and Colonization Committee for the session of 1905,

<sup>1</sup> Morden Land Titles Office, see SEL/4 of 26-2-12W.

<sup>2</sup> "Lisgar's New Liberal Member," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 10 November 1904, 1.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. Magurn, op. cit., 112.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 168, 186-187, 188, 198, 200, 206, 209, 216.

<sup>5</sup> Journals of the House of Commons, vol. XL, 1905, 19; Journals of the House of Commons, vol. XLI, 1906, 43.

<sup>6</sup> Journals of the House of Commons, vol. XL, 1905, 17, 18, 36; Journals of the House of Commons, vol. XLI, 1906, 40, 41, 45; Journals of the House of Commons, vol. XLII, 1906-7, 44, 45, 49; Journals of the House of Commons, vol. XLIII, 1907-8, 20, 21, 25.

but often shared that position with P. H. McKenzie, Liberal M. P. for Bruce, who was Acting Chairman whenever Greenway was absent which seemed to be frequently. The Committee's report for 1905 indicated that Greenway took some interest in agricultural matters, but very little in immigration. There was little of major significance on Greenway's part in the report.<sup>1</sup> In the three sessions following that of 1905, P. H. McKenzie was the Chairman of the Committee.<sup>2</sup> The change was undoubtedly because of Greenway's deteriorating health. Thus, except for being Chairman of one Committee for one session, Greenway's committee performance was similar to his previous years in the House of Commons from 1875 to 1878. He was in attendance but added little to the discussions or to any legislative proposals which might emanate from the Committee reports.

Greenway's legislative activity followed the same pattern as the only controversial issue that developed was the North West Territories Autonomy Bill, and he was a peripheral figure in the ensuing struggle. When Prime Minister Laurier introduced the Autonomy Bills to Parliament on February 21, 1905, there was an immediate confrontation between the Prime Minister and Clifford Sifton. The dispute centred on the educational clauses of the Bills, Laurier attempting to guarantee the existence of separate schools by reverting to the educational system in effect in the Territories in 1875 and guaranteeing, as well, that a specified amount

<sup>1</sup> Appendix to Fortieth Volume of the Journals of the House of Commons, 1905 Session, Part III (Ottawa, 1907).

<sup>2</sup> Appendix to Forty-First Volume of the Journals of the House of Commons, 1906 Session, Part III (Ottawa, 1908).

from the School Lands Fund must be paid to these schools.<sup>1</sup> Sifton objected to both clauses, and proposed that the school system be accepted as it stood with the elimination of the clause relating to the School Lands Fund.<sup>2</sup> A compromise was arranged to adopt the school system as it existed in 1901 and to leave funding of it under provincial control. The result was the creation of the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, Sifton's resignation from the Cabinet,<sup>3</sup> and Greenway's increased dependence on Sifton for any federal position he sought, as Laurier no longer paid any heed to Greenway's wishes in relation to western matters.

While Greenway did not speak during the debates on the Autonomy Bills, his attitude towards them was clear enough. He was not in sympathy with Laurier's position on separate schools in the Territories,<sup>4</sup> and considered the possibility of bolting from the Liberal party on the issue and supporting the Conservatives who wanted no limits placed on provincial control of education. Greenway's stand was based in part on the arguments contained in a letter of February 10 from J. D. Cameron. Cameron held that the

<sup>1</sup> Canada. House of Commons. Debates, 1905, vol. I, 1421-4167; for a more detailed account of the issue, consult the following, C. Cecil Lingard, Territorial Government in Canada: The Autonomy Question in the Old North-West Territories (Toronto, 1946), 143-151, 159-166, 182-191; Evelyn Eager, "Separate Schools and the Cabinet Crisis of 1905," The Lakehead University Review, II (Fall, 1969), 89-115; J. Castell Hopkins (ed.), The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1905 (Toronto, 1906), 44-119.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. Sifton to Dafoe, 25 February 1905. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 263, 209.

<sup>3</sup> Personal. Sifton to Laurier, 26 February 1905. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 263, 213; Sifton to Laurier, 27 February 1905. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 263, 227; Lord Grey to Alfred Lyttleton, 3 March 1905. P.A.C., Grey of Howick Papers, vol. 12, 3222-3224.

<sup>4</sup> "Mr. Greenway's Attitude," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 9 March 1905, 4.

safest method for handling the educational question was to adopt the school system as it existed with the new legislatures given the power to amend, alter, or repeal as they saw fit.<sup>1</sup> "You cannot put the Territories on any other footing than Manitoba, educationally or financially," Cameron argued, and if Greenway voted in favour of separate schools, his constituents would ask either for his resignation or ensure that he was not re-elected. Greenway accepted Cameron's arguments, used them to justify his position, and gave the letter to Laurier as an indication of western sentiment on the question.<sup>1</sup> The only problem for Greenway was whether or not to support Sifton's proposed amendment or side with the Conservatives. While Greenway would have preferred the latter,<sup>2</sup> practical considerations caused him to vote against Conservative amendments on third reading<sup>3</sup> although he was not recorded as voting in favour of Sifton's compromise arrangement. Greenway sought to retain some influence relating to a federal appointment for himself and thus he compromised his principle on the school legislation.

Greenway's personal influence on governmental affairs for the next three years, however, was almost non-existent. He opposed a second term for D. H. McMillan as Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and wanted either Kenneth McKenzie, a wholesale grocer in Winnipeg, or H. M. Howell, a well-known Winnipeg lawyer to receive the appointment.<sup>4</sup> Laurier used the excuse

<sup>1</sup> J. D. Cameron to Greenway, 10 February 1905. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 355, 94668-94670.

<sup>2</sup> Personal. Sifton to Dafoe, 11 March 1905. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 263, 660.

<sup>3</sup> Canada. House of Commons. Debates, 1905, vol. V, 8698-8699; Journals of the House of Commons, vol. XL, 1905, 458-460, 471-472.

<sup>4</sup> Greenway to Laurier, 8 August 1905. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 377, 100482; "Greenway's Candidates are Both Turned Down," Newspaper clipping from The Winnipeg Tribune, datelined 6 August 1905. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 377, 100481A.

that he had forgotten McMillan's term would expire in October, 1905,<sup>1</sup> and then held that since the position was not vacant yet he was unable to make any statement regarding a successor.<sup>2</sup> The result was McMillan's appointment for a second term.<sup>3</sup> The only success Greenway had was the appointment of T. G. Mathers as a Judge, but in that matter he was concurring in a recommendation already made by Sifton rather than making an independent suggestion.<sup>4</sup> When Greenway attempted to secure some amendments to the Manitoba Grain Inspection Act, arrangements were made for him to present his case,<sup>5</sup> but he failed to make clear what changes he wanted. He seemed to have a question regarding classification of wheat as No. 2 or No. 3 and the significant price differential which would result, but he was unable to suggest a means of meeting the problem.<sup>6</sup>

Greenway also attempted to influence the Interior Department to set aside a reserve for the Mennonites in township 12 of ranges 9 through 12 in Manitoba. They would be given a year to homestead a quarter-section and

<sup>1</sup> Laurier to Greenway, 12 August 1905. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 377, 100483.

<sup>2</sup> Laurier to Greenway, 26 August 1905. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 379, 100872.

<sup>3</sup> Ernest J. Chambers (ed.), The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, (Ottawa, 1909), 374.

<sup>4</sup> Telegram, Greenway to Laurier, 21 August 1905. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 379, 100779; Laurier to Greenway, 26 August 1905. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 379, 100872.

<sup>5</sup> Greenway to Laurier, 4 July 1905. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 373, 99301-99302; Laurier to Greenway, 6 July 1905. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 373, 99303-99304; Greenway to Laurier, 6 July 1905. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 373, 99392-99393.

<sup>6</sup> Canada. House of Commons. Debates, 1905, vol. V, 9395-9409.

the right to purchase another quarter at a very low price since most of the land was of poor quality, fit only for dry farming. Valentine Winkler was promoting the scheme<sup>1</sup> and it is apparent that Greenway wanted to assist him in return for past political and financial support<sup>2</sup> and to ensure the assistance of Winkler in the Mennonite areas of Lisgar constituency should he decide to seek re-election. Frank Oliver, Liberal M. P. for Edmonton and Sifton's successor as Minister of the Interior,<sup>3</sup> rejected the scheme since he believed land should be open on a first come basis. He also understood Greenway had no support among the Western members for his stand.<sup>4</sup>

Greenway spoke little in debate during his four years as M. P., and when he did it was in relation to Manitoba's agricultural interests<sup>5</sup> or to voice the objections of the Manitoba Liberals to the voters' lists prepared by the government of Premier Roblin.<sup>6</sup> By the 1907-08 session, Greenway's contribution to political matters had ended as he spoke only once<sup>7</sup> and he turned to the prospect of being appointed to the Railway Commission.

<sup>1</sup> Greenway to Laurier, 12 January 1907. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 443, 118130-118131.

<sup>2</sup> See lots 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 in block 4 in "Crystal City Plan 59" at the Morden Land Titles Office under date of 10 February 1904.

<sup>3</sup> Private. Laurier to Grey, 7 April 1905. P.A.C., Grey of Howick Papers, vol. 1, 75-77.

<sup>4</sup> Frank Oliver to Laurier, 24 January 1907. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 443, 118134-118135; Oliver to Laurier, 20 February 1907. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 449, 120323-120324.

<sup>5</sup> Canada. House of Commons. Debates, 1906, vol. III, 5889-5896; Ibid., 1906-7, vol. II, 3565-3568; Ibid., 1906-7, vol. III, 4690-4696.

<sup>6</sup> Canada. House of Commons. Debates, 1907-8, vol. IV, 6738-6751; Ibid., 1907-8, vol. IV, 7880-7889.

<sup>7</sup> Canada. House of Commons. Debates. 1907-8, vol. IV, 788-7889.

When it became apparent that the membership of the Railway Commission was to be expanded to cover western interests, western Liberals under Sifton's guidance united to press Laurier to appoint Greenway.<sup>1</sup> Alex McLeod of Morden wrote Laurier on January 21, 1908, urging Greenway's appointment on the basis of party service, financial need, his excellent judgement regarding public matters, and the impossibility of Greenway again contesting Lisgar because of age, the probable candidacy of Robert Rogers for the Conservatives, and the necessity of avoiding a defeat for Greenway as the end of his political career.<sup>2</sup> While recognizing Greenway's claims,<sup>3</sup> Laurier refused to make any firm commitment.

Greenway never pressed his own claims, but was confident the best means of obtaining the appointment was to leave the matter in Sifton's hands. As E. T. Greenway, one of Thomas Greenway's sons, wrote Sifton on March 28, "We are quite anxious that the appointment should go through: I am in a position to know that it would mean much to him financially as well as in other ways. In any case, it will, I think, be quite out of the question for him to contest Lisgar again."<sup>4</sup> Sifton replied that he was doing everything possible to produce a favourable result.<sup>5</sup> E. T. Greenway

<sup>1</sup> Sifton, Burrows, John Crawford, S. J. Jackson, James Conmee, D. W. Bole, E. L. Cash, Wilbert McIntyre, G. E. MCraney, L. George DeVeber, J. Ernest Cyr, J. G. Turriff, A. J. Adamson, Robert Watson, and Finlay Young to Laurier, 14 January 1908. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 500, 135143-135144.

<sup>2</sup> A. McLeod to Laurier, 21 January 1908. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 501, 135464-135466.

<sup>3</sup> Laurier to A. McLeod, 25 January 1908. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 501, 135467.

<sup>4</sup> Confidential. Ed T. Greenway to Sifton, 28 March 1908. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 183, 147937-1479381.

<sup>5</sup> Sifton to E. T. Greenway, 11 April 1908. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 183, 147939.

continued to press his father's case, writing Laurier on July 27, that party service was an important factor in the claim for the appointment. The strongest claim, according to E. T. Greenway, was "one of actual financial need. For years I have been in his confidence in private matters and I am in a position to know just how much such an appointment will mean to him in the way mentioned. The 'fortunes of war' with him have not been great and today he is a poorer man financially than when he entered political life."<sup>1</sup>

Laurier continued to be non-committal regarding the appointment of Thomas Greenway to the Railway Commission,<sup>2</sup> but finally conceded the position to Greenway in September<sup>3</sup> before calling a federal election for October 26. E. T. Greenway acknowledged Laurier's interest,<sup>4</sup> although he wrote Sifton, "I am convinced that had you not been so generous in this regard the matter would not have resulted so satisfactorily."<sup>5</sup> Sifton was pleased that the appointment had been granted and believed it would give Greenway eminent satisfaction.<sup>6</sup>

Thomas Greenway was pleased with the appointment and eagerly looked

<sup>1</sup> Personal. E. T. Greenway to Laurier, 27 July 1908. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 527, 142922-142924.

<sup>2</sup> Laurier to E. T. Greenway, 3 August 1908. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 527, 142925.

<sup>3</sup> J. Castell Hopkins (ed.), The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1908, (Toronto, 1909), 156, 548.

<sup>4</sup> Personal. E. T. Greenway to Laurier, 17 September 1908. P.A.C., Laurier Papers, vol. 527, 142926.

<sup>5</sup> Ed T. Greenway to Sifton, 19 September 1908. P.A.C., Sifton Papers, vol. 183, 147940.

<sup>6</sup> Sifton to E. T. Greenway, 24 September 1908. P.A.C., Ibid., vol. 183, 147941.

forward to going to Ottawa to take up his duties, despite his serious illness which prevented him from taking an active part in the federal election which returned the Laurier government to power once again. Immediately after the election, Greenway departed for Ottawa, arriving there on October 30. At that point his health failed him and Greenway suffered a fatal heart attack. He never assumed his duties as a Railway Commissioner. The closest he came was when his body was returned on the Railway Commission car "Acadia" to Winnipeg where the provincial government arranged a special train to Crystal City on Monday, November 2. The funeral for Thomas Greenway took place that afternoon with the appropriate eulogies.<sup>1</sup> Thus, just when he had received the patronage appointment he had wanted since January, 1900, Greenway's health failed and his political career, which had started with Confederation in 1867 and covered forty-one years, was at an end.

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<sup>1</sup> "Crystal City Mourns Her Most Distinguished Citizen," Crystal City Courier and Rock Lake Advertiser, 5 November 1908, 1.

## CONCLUSION

Thomas Greenway was a rural-oriented, provincial rights politician, who developed a strong Liberal power base in southwestern Manitoba by advocating a revenue as opposed to a protective tariff, better financial terms for the province, and the need for railway branch lines throughout Manitoba. While his views were shaped largely by his Ontario political apprenticeship as Reeve for Stephen Township, Liberal-Conservative organizer and candidate for South Huron, and as M. P. for the constituency, they were strengthened by his early political career in Manitoba.

Greenway organized the Provincial Rights party which contested the 1882 Manitoba provincial election. On the basis of his electoral support in southwestern Manitoba, he merged this party with the Liberals and became Liberal Opposition leader. While his leadership was secure, it did not go unchallenged. Greenway successfully defeated an attempt by Winnipeg Liberals led by James Fisher to replace him in June, 1886. He continued to rely on his support in southwestern Manitoba, advocated the interests of the rural community, and became Premier in January, 1888.

As Premier, Greenway attempted to implement the views he had expounded while in Opposition and which had been outlined in the Liberal party platform of June, 1886. In doing so, he came into conflict with the federal Conservative government and the Canadian Pacific Railway.

One of the major controversies between Manitoba and the federal Conservative government was the federal policy of disallowing Manitoba legislation chartering railways to the international boundary. Greenway's strong stand against disallowance forced the issue to the forefront of politics and he rightly deserves major credit for ending this aspect of the federal government's

disallowance power. As a result, Greenway was a key influence in the Canadian Pacific Railway's decision to surrender its monopoly clause.

Aside from these considerable achievements, Greenway's stand on Dominion-Provincial relations was not as successful. He was unable to gain substantially better financial terms and failed to press the province's financial claims resulting from the "finality clause" of 1885. While he was convinced that the province would achieve better results in attracting immigrants if control of all lands were transferred from the federal to the provincial government, he never went beyond the point of rhetoric on the issue. When the Liberal party formed the federal government after the June, 1896, federal election, Greenway fully expected the province's financial claims to be met. He backed away from pressing for control of the lands. When the Liberal government failed to meet his demands, Greenway's loyalty to the party prevented an open rupture but hampered him in his provincial rights stand.

Along with his strong provincial rights position, Greenway was the dominant and controlling individual in the Manitoba Liberal party. He commanded his Cabinet, particularly Attorney General Joseph Martin. In two key disputes, government ownership of the Red River Valley Railway and the Manitoba School Question, Greenway's views prevailed over those of Martin. Greenway preferred private to government ownership of the Red River Valley Railway and the Railway was sold to the Northern Pacific. The Premier backed James Smart's position in education and forced Martin to accept the decision of the Cabinet. Despite Martin's efforts to be the decisive influence in the Greenway administration, he was clearly a subordinate and was forced to resign in favour of Clifford Sifton in early 1891.

Greenway believed that his relationship with Sifton was that of

father and son. While the Premier was consistent in this view and attempted to assist the Attorney General in his political ambitions, the evidence clearly indicates that Sifton never reciprocated this attitude. Rather, Sifton seems gradually to have assumed the dominant position within the provincial government largely to serve his own ends, as well as those of the Canadian Pacific Railway as directed by W. C. Van Horne. Sifton's entry into the Cabinet marked the beginning of the Greenway-Van Horne rapprochement which lasted until the summer of 1897. It provided electoral and freight rate benefits for Greenway, and for Van Horne the delay of a competitive line from Winnipeg to Duluth as a result of Sifton's opposition to this scheme of the Premier.

Sifton had taken over control of the Manitoba Liberal party, probably during and after the 1892 provincial election. His dominance continued throughout his political career. Sifton's purpose seems to have been to develop his own power base in Manitoba, and after becoming a federal Cabinet Minister, to extend this base to include the entire West. If this meant undermining Greenway's position in Manitoba, Sifton was willing to do so.

At best, Greenway shared power with Sifton from 1892 to 1896. However, the evidence indicates that Greenway was unable to achieve his major objective of a Winnipeg to Duluth railway because of Sifton's opposition. Consequently, while strengthening his government through the acquisition of Sifton as Attorney General, Greenway lost effective control of his government and party. While he may have regained control after Sifton's departure, Greenway was unable to dominate, largely because of Sifton's relationship with Robert Watson, D. H. McMillan, and J. D. Cameron, a majority of the Manitoba Cabinet.

When Greenway was the decisive individual in his government, he had been successful in accomplishing his objectives. This was evident in his disallowance and monopoly victories. These achievements by Greenway brought him the opposition of George Stephen and W. G. Van Horne, who endeavoured to nullify the effect of competition provoked by the entry into Manitoba of the Northern Pacific Railway, under Thomas Oakes, James McNaught, and James Kendrick. By December, 1889, the brief period of competitive freight rates had ended along with competitive newspapers in Winnipeg. The Canadian Pacific Railway had gained control of the Manitoba Free Press in September, 1888, amalgamated The Morning Call with it in early 1889, and purchased The Winnipeg Sun by December, 1889.

Under Canadian Pacific control, W. F. Luxton, editor of the Manitoba Free Press and former supporter of Greenway, turned on the Premier and charged him with accepting bribes from the Manitoba Central Railway promoters. There were suggestions, as well, that the Northern Pacific had bribed Greenway and Attorney General Joseph Martin. While Luxton was unable to prove his charges, Greenway and Martin had accepted \$50,000 each from the Northern Pacific through McNaught and used the money for Liberal party campaign funds. Another \$150,000 was spent by McNaught at Ottawa to obtain the federal charter for the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway.

It has been held by most authorities that the Manitoba School Question was devised as a means of obscuring the difficulties over freight rates and the bribery charges, but, rather, it arose from internal conditions in Manitoba and was evident from Greenway's assumption of power. The major advocate of a non-denominational "national" school system was James A. Smart,

Minister of Public Works. This programme had been adopted by the Cabinet as early as June, 1889, and was publicized by a newspaper agitation for abolition of French printing and the denominational school system. Smart, with Greenway's concurrence, began a series of public addresses in the first week of August, 1889, and indicated that the next session of the Legislature would handle both issues. Then D'Alton McCarthy made his August 5 speech at Portage la Prairie and Joseph Martin, Attorney General, used the occasion to bring himself back into prominence. Martin was forced by Greenway to acknowledge that Smart was the major proponent of these measures and the Attorney General was unable to gain his demands for abolition of both the French language and religious teaching in the schools. French printing was ended on the basis of economy, but only insofar as it was constitutional to do so. Religious teaching was allowed in the schools, even though it was of little consequence to Greenway and was done to avoid the charge that the schools were "Godless."

This interpretation of the Manitoba School Question directly contradicts the previous views expressed by L. C. Clark, P. E. Crunican, R. E. Clague, and, in part, W. L. Morton. All emphasize the role of D'Alton McCarthy, according him the key position in the ensuing controversy. Clark, Crunican, and Clague have ignored Greenway's consistent statements on education from the moment he became Premier, and have concentrated on early August only. Although Clark and Crunican have attempted to assess Smart's speeches, Clark has dismissed them as indicating only minor changes while Crunican was uncertain of their nature. Clark regarded the editorials in The Brandon Sun of May 16 and 30, 1889, as isolated instances, whereas

Crunican never studied them. Both neglected the ensuing agitation throughout June and July, 1889.

R. E. Clague based his views on Alexander Begg's History of the North-West, published in 1894, and asserted that the Manitoba School Question was a diversionary tactic to cover inadequate freight rate competition. He failed to consult Harold A. Innis on the Canadian Pacific Railway or Joseph Gilpin Pyle on James J. Hill for contradictory statements. Morton, employing the work of Clague, omitted the same materials, although he did consult the Brandon newspapers. However, Morton interpreted the editorials as an isolated agitation and assessed them as arousing only a mild, brief response. He made little use of the Greenway Papers and thus arrived at the conclusion that the issue was present but had been touched off by McCarthy.

The possibility still remains that the Manitoba School Question was raised to divert attention from bribery charges brought against Greenway and Martin by the Manitoba Free Press. While Greenway and Martin ~~may have accepted~~ bribes from the Northern Pacific, the allegations were impossible to prove until James McNaught testified to their accuracy in May, 1895. That Greenway raised the Manitoba School Question to cover the scandal charges is a logical deduction, but ignores events prior to publication of the charges and assumes Greenway possessed political foresight far beyond that possessed by the typical politician.

The ensuing conflict over the Manitoba School Question became national in scope, dividing the federal Conservative government in its attempt to grapple with the issue, while providing Greenway with an effective election cry in the 1892 and 1896 provincial elections. A further result of the conflict was the Liberal party victory in the federal election of June, 1896.

However, Greenway's willingness to accept the Laurier-Greenway Compromise in November, 1896, because of a desire to assist Sifton's federal ambitions, settle Manitoba's financial claims, and from a sense of party loyalty, partially led to the collapse of Greenway's government a short time later. Consequently, Greenway was ignored for the remainder of his political career. When he was remembered, it was because of the Manitoba School Question which overshadowed his achievements as a provincial rights Premier who effectively responded to the interests of Manitoba's electorate.

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