

THE FEDERAL ELECTION OF 1896 IN MANITOBA

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INTRODUCTION

In this thesis an attempt will be made to explain why the Federal election of 1896 turned out as it did in Manitoba. Why did four seats out of seven go to the Conservative Party, which was pledged to support the French minority in their demand for separate schools, while only three seats went to the McCarthyite and the Liberals, who promised to uphold Manitoba's right to handle its own educational problems in its own way? Why did an agricultural Province give the bulk of its support to the Conservative protective policy rather than to the Liberal platform of tariff for revenue only?

The question could be answered most accurately by asking each voter what his motives were, although even that method would have to make allowances for the human tendency to rationalize. Any method short of this direct one can yield results only approximately correct, although they may still be useful in throwing a little light into a dark corner.

The first essential in arriving at any answer at all is a picture of Manitoba in 1896, with special reference to whatever circumstances might be expected to influence the outcome of the election. Therefore, the thesis begins with a discussion of the Province's racial and religious make-up, its economic development, and its political affiliations, both local and Federal, since these are the sort of factors which would have to be considered in investigating political behaviour in any place or period.

The next step is a discussion of the 1896 campaign. This begins with a general treatment of the Federal and Provincial campaigns, and then goes on to a more or less detailed description of the campaign in each of the seven constituencies,

Introduction

taking into account such matters as racial groups, candidates and their records, and the activities of newspapers and other opinion-forming agencies. With this information, against the background of the general discussion of the campaign and the description of Manitoba given in the first part of the thesis, an interpretation of the results in each constituency is worked out.

The concluding chapter makes use of the information so far brought together as the basis in an attempt to arrive at an explanation of the election results for Manitoba as a whole.

In the preparation of the thesis, recourse was had to three chief sources of information: to the individuals mentioned in the note of thanks, who clarified many points; to secondary sources, largely used in the introductory chapters; and to the provincial newspapers of the period, which were drawn on for the main part of the work. The Manitoba Free Press and The Winnipeg Daily Tribune were examined for the years 1890 to 1899, Le Manitoba from 1890 to 1897, and The Brandon Sun from 1890 to 1896, particular attention being given to the editorials in each case. In order to find out as much as possible about the actual campaign, all the surviving local newspapers ⁽¹⁾ of the Province were consulted for May and June, 1896. Occasionally it was not possible to find information needed on a particular subject, but on the whole the help received from each of the three sources mentioned was extremely useful, and the thesis could not have been written in any detail without reference to all three of them.

(1) Henderson's Manitoba and Northwest Territories Gazetteer and Directory for 1896, Winnipeg, 1896. (Hereafter referred to as Henderson's Directory, 1896.) A list of western newspapers in 1896, printed at pp. XLVI-XLVII, indicates that the Provincial Library has preserved almost every newspaper of the period.

CHAPTER ONE

MANITOBA IN 1896

Manitoba in 1896 was a newer Ontario, with a little Quebec stretching out to the south and east of St. Boniface. It was as though a mischievous god, amused and disgusted at the racial intolerance along the St. Lawrence, had been unable to resist the temptation of planting a Protestant Ontario majority and a Catholic Quebec minority on the other side of the Canadian Shield so that he could see what effect prairie winds would have on the old antagonism between the two groups. By 1896 it was fairly clear that it was only necessary for such thoroughgoing Ontario Protestants as D'Alton McCarthy and Joseph Martin to introduce a racial and religious issue in the form of the Manitoba School Question in order to start a good old eastern feud, at least among the leaders of the community; but it took the election of 1896 to demonstrate whether or not the eastern attitudes went very far down among the respective inhabitants of the new Ontario and Quebec of the prairies.

In 1896 such a question could still be answered because Manitoba was so largely made up of Ontario settlers and the small French and French half-breed minority; within a few years, when Clifford Sifton as Minister of the Interior had started to fill up the empty spaces of the Province with Central Europeans, it would not be so easy to keep track of the political behaviour of the two old groups. But in 1896 the racial simplicity of the Province had been very little disturbed, aside from the coming of the Icelanders and Mennonites during the 'seventies; and of these, while the

former took a decided part in politics, they were in much too small a minority to have any effect; while the latter, although they were about as numerous as the French, largely refrained from voting as a part of their religion. Thus it is possible to trace, in the election of 1896, the Protestant and Catholic pattern of Ontario and Quebec without being unduly disturbed by the presence of other racial groups.

Actually, the Ontario settlers exerted far more than their share of influence in Manitoba. In 1891 a little more than a third of Manitoba's population had been born in the Province, not quite a third in Ontario, and about a fifth in ⁽¹⁾ Great Britain. But neither the old native population nor the new British settlers placed their distinctive mark on the Province; that privilege was reserved for the settlers from Ontario.

These people were the most homogeneous of all, in spite of their diverse British and American origins. They had come from a Province where a certain agricultural economy prevailed and where there were certain traditional ways of regarding racial and religious issues, and they brought this way of life with them and set up a new Ontario in Manitoba, complete from bobbsleigh to bigotry.

The reason that the Ontario settlers, rather than the natives or those from Great Britain, succeeded in giving Manitoba its character, is probably found in a certain assertive

(1) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. I, pp. 332-3. (Out of a total population of 152,506, 46,620 had been born in Ontario, 50,649 in Manitoba, and 28,014 in Great Britain.) Racial origins, as given in Census of Manitoba, 1895-6, the last return before 1896 giving such information: 25,949 English, 25,676 Scotch, 21,180 Irish, 11,082 Germans (chiefly Mennonites), 7,985 half-breeds, 6,821 French, 5,575 Indians, and 2,468 Icelanders.

aggressiveness, which demonstrated itself as early as the 1870 Riel Rebellion, when recent Ontario arrivals found themselves in Riel's prison while the Salkirk settlers and their descendants, some of them in the country for nearly sixty years, went quietly about their business.

The depth of the all-pervading Ontario influence, which was eventually to make itself felt throughout the Prairies, has been well described:

"The system of engaging farm help, the practice of preparing for the winter by preserving and laying in stocks of fruit, the method of the 'bee' for assisting a neighbour to raise a barn or a house, the school district, the trusteeship system, the organization of the rural municipality, the overseer of the village, the pound system for straying stock, the organization of the Provincial Governments legislatively and administratively, the heritage of the Grange appearing in the Farmers' Locals of the farm organizations, the bobslough, the cutter, democrat, buggy, fanning mill, windmill, screen door, storm window, frame house, and the system of rural mail, have all left their Ontario mark on Western Canada.

There is in the Ontario character much which might well be described in words which Mr. H. A. L. Fisher in his biography of James Bryce, wrote about the Ulster Scot:

'There is no stock in the world more passionate for right or more obstinate in scruple, more tenacious in purpose, or more independent in judgment, less pliant to the stress of outward convenience, or more harshly indifferent to the calls of indolence, luxury and self-indulgence, than that of the Scottish Covenanter.'

Qualities of integrity and industry, a certain hard practicality, have characterized the Ontario contribution."

Nobody could quarrel with such a description of Ontario's influence on Manitoba's material affairs, which is self-evident, but there is perhaps a certain idealization of character in the quotation from Mr. Fisher. This may be dispelled by mention of

(2) Robert England, The Colonization of Western Canada - A Study of Contemporary Land Settlement, London, 1936 (Hereafter referred to as England, Colonization), pp. 221-2.

what has been called "the hard-bitten, harsh, intolerant bigotry of the North of Ireland Ontarians" - a less pleasant side of the picture which played a very definite part in Canada's racial and religious strife in both East and West.

It will be apparent by now that in 1896 religion would be regarded seriously in Manitoba, with its dual eastern background, although it might take the school question to make plain the degree of divergence between the Roman Catholics and the various Protestant denominations. In the days before Manitoba's entry into Confederation, "a man who did not go to church with reasonable regularity was shunned in ordinary business as a man not to be trusted." (3) This interest in matters religious persisted after 1870, as shown by the following excerpt from a history published in 1882:

"The religious condition of Manitoba forms a pleasing contrast to that of many of the Western States. In the great West of the United States population outstripped the efforts of the churches. Many communities were there for years without a religious service being held in them. In Manitoba such is not the case. In many cases the Christian Missionary is on the ground the same season in which the settlement is begun." (4)

Among the Protestant majority, which had made up 86% of the population in 1891, the most numerous group were the Presbyterians, many of them descendants of the Selkirk settlers; in 1891 this denomination had formed a quarter of Manitoba's population. Next had come Anglicans, Methodists, Baptists, (chiefly Mennonites), and Lutherans (a fair proportion of

(3) R. G. MacBeth, The Romance of Western Canada, Toronto, 1918, p. 77.

(4) George Bryce, Manitoba: Its Infancy, Growth and Present Condition, London, 1882, p. 353.

(5)

whom were Icelanders).

As will be shown in Chapter Two, The General Campaign, of all the religious groups the Roman Catholics in the period preceding the 1896 election were the most active politically, followed by the Methodists and non-Mennonite Baptists. But as the Presbyterians are said by a contemporary to have been strong, if not vociferous, believers in public schools, it will be seen that in a contest involving what they considered to be their right to separate schools, the Roman Catholics would be at a serious disadvantage numerically.

So far Manitoba has been described with little reference to its significance as a part of the Dominion, but any illusion of undue importance is quickly broken up by a reference to its voting strength; in the election of 1896 the Province could offer no more than seven seats to any party, while Quebec could return her usual sixty-five members and Ontario had ninety-two ridings. In that year, indeed, Manitoba, with its 193,425

(6)

inhabitants, had less than 5% of Canada's population. But

(5) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. I, pp. 226-7. (39,001 Presbyterians, 30,852 Anglicans, 28,437 Methodists, 20,571 Roman Catholics, 16,112 Baptists, 6,545 Lutherans.) It is stated in the Introduction to this Census (p.xviii) that Mennonites are not included among Baptists, but this cannot be correct, because 1,161 Baptists are shown in Hanover, 1,014 in Hespeler, 4,030 in Douglas, and 4,607 in Rhineland; Hanover and Hespeler made up the Eastern Mennonite Reserve, and Douglas and Rhineland the Western Reserve. Since these settlements were solidly Mennonite, the Baptists listed as living in them in 1891 must have been Mennonites.

(6) Census of Manitoba, 1896. (Certified copy of record on the files of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.) This census contained no information beyond the number of people in each district.

even this small proportion represented a considerable growth since Confederation, at which time the Province, with about 12,000 people, had had less than 1% of the population of Canada. There was a steady growth from 1870 to 1891, followed by a declining rate in the depressed period down to the election, when Manitoba newspapers criticized the Dominion Government's immigration policy and complained about the slow development of the Province. Actually, they had little to complain about, because the rate of growth in this five-year period was 26.83% as compared to 4.98% for Canada as a whole. Manitoba was getting more than its share of settlers by drawing on the population of Ontario, even if its vacant land was not filling up as quickly as the newspaper editors wished.

In the period between 1881 and 1891 the growth had been extremely heavy, particularly in the west of the Province, where the population of Brandon riding increased by 419.7%. The growth was much slower in the eastern part of Manitoba,

(7) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. I, p. 366. (Previous to 1891, the figure for 1871 was given as around 12,000, but in 1891 it first appeared as 25,228. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics, when questioned about the matter in 1927, was unable to offer any explanation, beyond the suggestion that the figure might have been enlarged to take in the estimated number of nomadic Indians. It is worth noting that the figure of 25,228 was not intended to represent the people living in the postage-stamp Province of 1871, but within the territory of the larger Manitoba set up in 1881.)

(8) Lawrence J. Burpee, An Historical Atlas of Canada, Toronto, 1927, p. 34.

(9) Free Press, July 9/91, Wanted, An Immigration Policy; Aug. 28/91, The Dominion Census; Sept. 16/91; June 9/92; Nov. 9/92, Worse than a Farce; Tribune, Feb. 25/90, The True Immigration Policy; Feb. 25/95, Utter Failure to Settle the West.

(10) B. B. Davidson, H. C. Grant, and Frank Sheffrin, The Population of Manitoba, Manitoba Economic Survey Board, Winnipeg, 1938, p. 43, Table I.

(11) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. IV, p. 496. (Figures showing the rate of growth for a period of ten years would naturally be larger than if they had been taken at the end of each five years.)

occupied by the French riding of Provencher, and the northern constituency of Selkirk, with its rather poor soil and more than its share of lake and rock.

Since as late as 1939, 44.7% of the value of Manitoba's net production came from agriculture, as compared to 20.6% from manufacturing and 8.3% from mining, (12) it is evident that this Protestant Province of settlers from Ontario must have been very largely agricultural at the time of the 1896 election. In 1891, 77.5% of the population had been rural, (13) as compared to only 54.87% in 1931. (14) Not only was Manitoba more agricultural then than now, but within that classification there was less diversity. Wheat was king, and every other crop and enterprise in the Province was dependent on this crop and insignificant in comparison to it.

At the time of the election this dependence on wheat had been increasing steadily. Since 1883 the acreage sown to barley and oats had more than doubled, but the wheat acreage had more than quadrupled, being 1,140,276 in 1895. In that year, with wheat reaching a record 27 bushels per acre for the second time since 1883, the total yield was 31,775,038 bushels. (15) Between September 15 and November 4, 1895, the prices paid at country points in Manitoba for the best wheat ranged from 40¢ to 48¢ per bushel, from three to seven cents less for lower grades, and at 20¢ to 30¢ per bushel for frosted or damaged

(12) The Canada Year Book, 1942, Ottawa, 1942, p. 182.

(13) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. IV, p. 401.

(14) Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. II, p. 141.

(15) Sessional Papers, Manitoba, Session 1896, Sessional Paper No. 18, p. 266.

(16) wheat. In the absence of any more detailed statistical information for 1895, an average price of 36¢ per bushel gives a total value of about \$11,439,000. Even if this figure should be several million dollars less, it would still tower over the \$362,655 which is given as the total value of products manufactured in Manitoba in 1891, when there were 1,031 exceedingly modest plants in the whole of the Province. Mining was confined to non-metallic minerals down to 1913; at the time of the 1896 election only a little quarrying and brick-making were carried on, the extraction of salt having ceased in 1883. There could be no doubt of the overwhelming importance of wheat in Manitoba's economy.

The reason for this concentration on wheat was found in several more or less related circumstances. First of all, there were the rich soil and the cool climate of early summer, which resulted in a superior grade of grain and an average yield, between 1883 and 1897, of 19½ bushels per acre - the highest of all the "great wheat-exporting countries" of the world.

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- (16) The Commercial, Winnipeg, Sept. 16 to Nov. 4, 1895.
 - (17) Statistical Year Book, 1895, p. 206.
 - (18) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. IV, p. 294.
 - (19) Report of the Department of Agriculture, Statistics and Health of the Province of Manitoba, 1883, p. 176.
 - (20) Sydney C. D. Roper, Canada's Wheat Area and Resources, in J. Castell Hopkins, Canada, An Encyclopaedia of the Country, Toronto, 1898, Vol. V, p. 32: "The favourable climate Canada undoubtedly has, the drawbacks not being any greater than those incidental to any climate, while the soil, if not, as claimed by some, the richest in the world, is at any rate unsurpassed in fertility, the average yield being in excess of that of any of the great wheat-exporting countries." Report of the Department of Agriculture and Statistics of Manitoba, 1882, p. 34; W. J. Waines, Prairie Population Possibilities, Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, Ottawa, 1939, map following p. 6.

other circumstance which favoured Manitoba's wheat growers was, oddly enough, the falling world prices of the period 1874 to 1896, (21) reflected in a drop from \$1.73 to 73¢ per bushel for wheat in London and New York between 1871 and 1894. (22)

Manitoba, with abundant cheap or free land which produced high yields, could afford to raise wheat at such low prices, even at a great distance from seaboard, while Ontario found it advisable to give up her place as the leading Canadian wheat producer and concentrate on dairying and other mixed farming.

This absorption in a single staple crop, as might be expected, placed Manitobans in a precarious position. They were at the mercy of August frosts, because their favourite wheat, Red Fyfe, (23) matured slowly. And they could do nothing about the steadily declining world prices for their product. But if frost and prices were beyond human control, there were other disadvantages incidental to reliance on wheat, such as lack of cheap transportation, and the National Policy, which might conceivably be eased by governmental action.

The farmers' first need, of course, was for adequate transportation at reasonable rates. They were raising a bulky commodity, most of which had to be carried to the other side of the Atlantic before it could be consumed. This need for plentiful and cheap transportation was serious enough to arouse intense feeling and turn a Provincial Government out of office in 1887 because it had failed to force the Dominion Government to allow Manitoba to charter railroads which, it was hoped, would compete with the Canadian Pacific Railway, and lower

(21) H. Mitchell, Statistics of Prices, Vol. II, Statistical Contributions to Canadian Economic History, Toronto, 1931, p. 52.

(22) Statistical Year Book, 1894, p. 386.

(23) Free Press, Sept. 15/91, Ladoga and Red Fyfe Wheat.

freight rates. This result was not brought about, however, and agitation for lower freight rates went on unceasingly. As the Tribune put it:

"There is not much use keeping up the practice of raising wheat merely for the benefit of the C. P. R. and to help swell the dividends of that great corporation. If the C. P. R. will not yield and grant a rate on wheat which will leave the farmer a living margin, and if the local government is unable to secure relief by means of an independent road to Duluth or Fort William, then there would seem to be nothing for it but for our farmers to take Mr. Greenway's advice, and make butter and cheese instead of raise wheat." (24)

It was the need for cheaper transportation that gave high value to Sir Charles Tupper's promise in the 1896 campaign that the Hudson Bay Railway would be built to the Saskatchewan within two years. The farmers were led to hope that the eventual extension of this road to the Bay, by shortening the distance to seaboard by almost a thousand miles, would increase the price to them for their wheat by the considerable difference in freight charges.

Along with the desire for lower rates went the need for more increase in railway mileage. With 1,474 miles of road (25) in 1896, many farmers had too far to haul their wheat, and they yearned for some of the mileage which has since carried the figure close to 5,000 miles. (26) This need was naturally most keenly felt in the newer districts, as evidenced by the following item:

"A Dauphin bachelor in writing to a newspaper says they are such in need of a railroad but are in equally bad need of a large number of girls to make wives for these bachelors. Girls and railroads are necessary, and without both this country will never flourish. He also says if he had his choice of the two, ~~being~~ the girls." (27)

(24) Tribune, Dec. 7/95, How to Get the Best of Excessive Freight Rates.

(25) Statistical Year Book, 1896, p. 230.

(26) The Canada Year Book, 1942, p. 582.

(27) The Enterprise, Melita, May 1/96.

Before 1896 was finished, the town of Dauphin had been laid out in a wheat field and was connected with Portage la Prairie by the first hundred miles of the Mackenzie-Mann line which was to expand into a transcontinental road by 1914. (28) What became of the bachelor is not known, but the following production, allegedly found in a deserted shanty, makes it clear that he was not alone in his trouble, while it gives an intimate glimpse into the life of Manitoba's most rugged pioneering district, Marquette riding:

I'm batching out here all alone
In a little log hut on the lee;
I live upon bannocks like stone,
And I drink cold water for tea.

I'm bereft of society's charms,
I ne'er see a maidenly face.
Better wed and have twins in my arms
Than be thus cut off from my race.

How I miss my old mother's care,
As I do all my patching alone;
And then, oh what horrible fare,
They'll kill me - these cakes of my own.

The dry goods that hang on the rope,
Are in bad need of mending I see,
They are so unacquainted with soap
They'd shock anybody but me.

Roast beef, wine, oysters, and hash,
Plus pudding, pie, custard and cake,
Oh, had I the requisite cash
This homestead I'd quit for your sake.

On 'praties' and bannocks I dine,
For supper the same is my fare;
It's up in the morning at nine,
From the bed that with Bingo I share.

For bachelors willing to dwell,
Alone with their oxen and dog,
Lake Dauphin may do very well,
But from it I'll speedily jog.

(28) O. D. Skelton, The Railway Builders, Chronicles of Canada, Toronto, 1921, p. 195. (Hereafter referred to as Skelton, Railway Builders.)

Ye agents that did me beguile
To this land of mosquitoes and snow
By preting of wealth in the soil,
I wish you the bitterest woe.

My prayer for your future is this:-
That your heart with remorse may be torn,
That in this world all blessings you miss,
And that in another you burn. (29)

Another need in Manitoba was for a lower tariff on articles used by farmers, imported from the United States. In the face of declining prices for their wheat and high freight rates, it was important that they should be able to buy such commodities as agricultural implements, binder twine, and coal oil at reasonable prices. As the Free Press expressed it:

"We have little to sell beyond wheat, which is so heavily taxed on its carriage to market, that an extremely small margin is left for profit. To eat this up duties are imposed upon everything which we have to buy." (30)

The National Policy was extremely unpopular in the West; it was probably realized by very few Westerners that to some extent they could thank the revenue earned under this tariff for the financing of the Canadian Pacific Railway, (31) without which the West would have been at a standstill. What Manitobans did see was that the duty placed on American goods raised their prices to prohibitive levels, and it was charged that Canadian manufacturers thereupon brought their prices up close to the level of American prices plus duty, and the farmer suffered accordingly. The price of coal oil, the universal lighting medium on farms, was a particular grievance. The Free Press

(29) Tribune, March 27/93, A Dauphinite's Mail, quoted from Neepawa Register, March 24/93.

(30) Free Press, Apr. 5/90, The Abominable Tariff.

(31) A. W. Currie, Freight Rates on Grain in Western Canada, The Canadian Historical Review, March 1940, pp. 40-55; H. A. Innis, Problems of Staple Production in Canada, Toronto, 1933, pp. 10-11.

called it robbery to make farmers

"pay forty and forty-five cents a gallon, when but for the protection given to the producers of Petrolia they would buy it for less than half the price. The country is not advantaged by squeezing a monstrous coal oil tax out of a hundred thousand or a million Canadians for the benefit of a dozen or a score other Canadians." (32)

According to the newspapers of the period, Manitoba farmers had a third need, and that was for increased immigration to the West. But it has been suggested that this desire for development was characteristic of the urban rather than the rural population. Business men and labourers no doubt had much to gain from the market for goods and services which would be provided by an influx of farmers; but the farmer who had some probably liked to see a little vacant land left in the neighbourhood for them to settle on when they grew up. Immigration may have been an issue among the vocal minority, but it is doubtful if it would win many votes from the farming majority.

While it might have been thought that their dependence on a single staple crop provided Manitobans with enough economic worries to occupy their minds, they also found time and energy to indulge in a racial and religious struggle - the Manitoba School Question.

Down to 1890 the Province had had a dual system of state-supported Protestant and Catholic schools, but in that year legislation to abolish separate schools was introduced by Attorney-General Joseph Martin of the Liberal Greenway Government and passed over the strong protests of the French minority in the Legislature. The Catholic minority carried its case to the Privy Council and lost in 1892. It then

(32) Free Press, Dec. 27/92, The Northwest and the Tariff.

appealed, under Section 93 of the British North America Act
(33)
and Clause 22 of the Manitoba Act, to the Governor-General
in Council - the Dominion Government. That body was naturally
anxious to avoid responsibility in such a ticklish matter,
(34)
and referred the case to the Supreme Court of Canada, which
declared that the minority had no right of appeal. The Catholics
again carried the case to the Judicial Committee of the Privy
Council, and were assured that they did have the right to appeal
to the Dominion Government, but that it was up to that body to
decide what should be done.

The Cabinet, with a Federal election looming, was in a
difficult position: to protect the minority would win Quebec
but alienate Ontario, while Quebec's support would be lost if
the Protestants were favoured. The Government tried to win
the approval of both Provinces by standing up for separate
schools, apparently hoping to defend its action to the Protes-
tants on the grounds that this action was a patriotic necessity;
that is, the Privy Council's decision that the minority had a
right to appeal to the Dominion Government was taken to be a
command to restore separate schools, and loyalty to the Crown
demanded that this order be carried out, however the Conservatives
might regret the unpleasant necessity. (35) A remedial order,

(33) John S. Ewart, The Manitoba School Question, Toronto, 1894, pp. 22-42.

(34) O. D. Skelton, Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 2 vols., Toronto, 1921. (Hereafter referred to as Skelton, Laurier), Vol. I, p. 453; J. W. Daffoe, Laurier: A Study in Canadian Politics, Toronto, 1922, (Hereafter referred to as Daffoe, Laurier), p. 38.

(35) Daffoe, Laurier, pp. 41-2: "The Conservatives decided upon a line of action which seemed to them to have the maximum of advantage. They would go in for remedial legislation. In the English provinces they would say that they did this reluctantly as good, loyal, law-abiding citizens obeying the order of the Queen delivered through the Privy Council. But in Quebec they would pose as the defenders of the oppressed, loyal co-operators with the bishops in rebuking, subduing and chaining the Manitoba tyrants."

calling for the restoration of separate schools, was sent to the Manitoba Government in 1895. After considerable delay, that body refused to carry out the order and suggested that an investigation be held. This idea was not accepted by the Dominion Government, which again tried unsuccessfully to force Manitoba to carry out the order.

A special sixth session of Parliament was called early in 1896, and the Conservatives tried to put through a remedial bill which would restore separate schools. Laurier, who had hitherto kept discreetly quiet on the school question, proposed a six months' hoist for the bill, thereby coming out flatly against the interests of the minority. In flying in the face of his Church, Laurier gambled on his personal popularity among his countrymen in Quebec being strong enough to overcome French Catholic opposition to his stand on the school question, and his success in the 1896 election showed that his gamble was a good one. The idea, as Colquhoun makes plain, was given to Laurier by J. S. Willison, Editor of the Toronto Globe, while J. W. Dufos points out that Israel Tarte did much to keep his leader in a path apparently beset by so many dangers. (36) The Remedial Bill met with so much opposition that it could not be passed, and Sir Charles Tupper, who had recently become Prime Minister, went to the country on the school question.

It is interesting to see what the two chief political parties were up against when they faced Manitoba's voters in the 1896 election, considering the economic development of the Province and the history of the school question. In trying to

(36) A. H. U. Colquhoun, Press, Politics and People, Toronto, 1935, pp. 38-45; Dufos, Laurier, pp. 42-44; J. W. Dufos, Review Article, Press Politics and People, The Canadian Historical Review, March, 1936, p. 61.

forecast the result, one would have to know what these parties had done for Manitoba down to 1896, and how the people had voted in previous elections.

In economic matters, it is clear that although the Province had indulged in bitter quarrels with the Conservative Dominion Government, particularly over the disallowance of eleven acts connected with the incorporation of railroads between 1876 and 1887, (37) and although the National Policy was regarded in the West as a curse, the Conservative Party nevertheless had done more for Manitoba than had the Liberals. During their four years in power from 1874 to 1878, the Liberals, faced by a depression, and lacking courage, had temporized over the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, trying to put through a hopeless amphibian route between Lake Superior and Manitoba. (38) When the Conservatives carried the road across the continent in a burst of speed, the contrast with the ineffectiveness of the Liberals could not be overlooked by the West. The Canadian Pacific Railway was always before the eyes of Manitoba's voters as a solid achievement and a promise for the future; there was nothing comparable to this railroad to be pointed out as having been built for Manitoba by the Liberals.

On the tariff question, of course, the Conservatives were at a disadvantage in the West, because the National Policy worked so much hardship on the farmers. But the Liberals could not go too far in promising to lower the tariff. Their platform of unrestricted reciprocity in 1891 had given Sir John A. Macdonald

(37) Memorandum on Dominion Power of Disallowance of Provincial Legislation, Oct. 1937, Department of Justice, Ottawa, 1938, pp. 62-73.

(38) Canada and Its Provinces, Vol. 20, J. W. Daffoe, pp. 296-7. Skelton, Railway Builders, pp. 128-9.

the opportunity of accusing them of "veiled treason," looking towards annexation to the United States, and helped materially in defeating the Liberal Party. In Manitoba, as in Ontario, there was a very considerable amount of loyalty to the British tie, and the Conservatives were fortunate in that they had given no occasion to be called disloyal in the forty years since their annexation movement of 1849. The experience of 1891 is sufficient reason for the action of the Liberals in 1896 in confining their plank on the trade question to a tariff for revenue only, rather than complete free trade.

On the school question the Conservatives had taken a stand which was bound to be unpopular with the Protestant majority of Manitoba, but, as already noted, they managed to introduce the loyalty cry here also; besides, in four out of the seven ridings the Conservative candidate declared himself to be opposed to his party on the question.

While the Liberals took a popular stand on both the school and trade questions, they suffered, as already pointed out, from a lack of positive achievement in the West. Besides, the fact that they had been in opposition for eighteen years had almost forced them to oppose in Parliament measures suggested by the Conservatives for the benefit of the West, and this fact was not likely to be overlooked. The Free Press pointed out on more than one occasion that the Liberals in Parliament busied themselves in obstructing Conservative legislation intended to help the West.

In previous Dominion elections, Manitoba had shown a definite preference for the Conservative Party. Since its

(39) Free Press, July 8/91, The Liberals and the North-West;
July 20/91, Down on the Northwest; Sept. 26/91, Amity
to the Northwest.

entrance into Confederation the Province had returned seventeen
(40)
Conservatives, as compared to ten Liberals.

The bulk of this Conservative support had come from the south of the Province; the French riding of Provencher, reflecting Quebec's faith in John A. Macdonald, returned a Conservative in each of the six elections, four times by acclamation. Winnipeg, following its creation as a riding in 1862, voted Conservative in the elections down to 1896, except for the by-election of 1892. Selkirk riding, with its numerous Ontario settlers, remained solidly Conservative except for the election of 1862, when a Liberal was returned.

It should be noted that among these Ontario settlers one might look for a certain correlation between those of Irish descent and Methodism, Orangism, and Conservatism. There had been Irish Orangemen in Canada as early as the War of 1812-14,
(41)
and they were strongly reinforced by the heavy immigration from Ireland in the 'twenties and 'thirties.
(42)
The connection between Irishmen and Methodism was noted in 1877:

"Mr. Crook, after going over many interesting facts, concludes that the estimate is far too low which would connect one-fourth of the Methodists in Canada, directly or remotely, with Irish Methodists,...." (43)

Skelton points out that the Orange Order in Canada "was overwhelmingly Conservative in sympathies."
(44)
In view of these various affiliations, it would surprise no one in 1896 to meet a Manitoban with an Ontario background and of Irish descent, who turned out to be an Orangeman, a Methodist, and

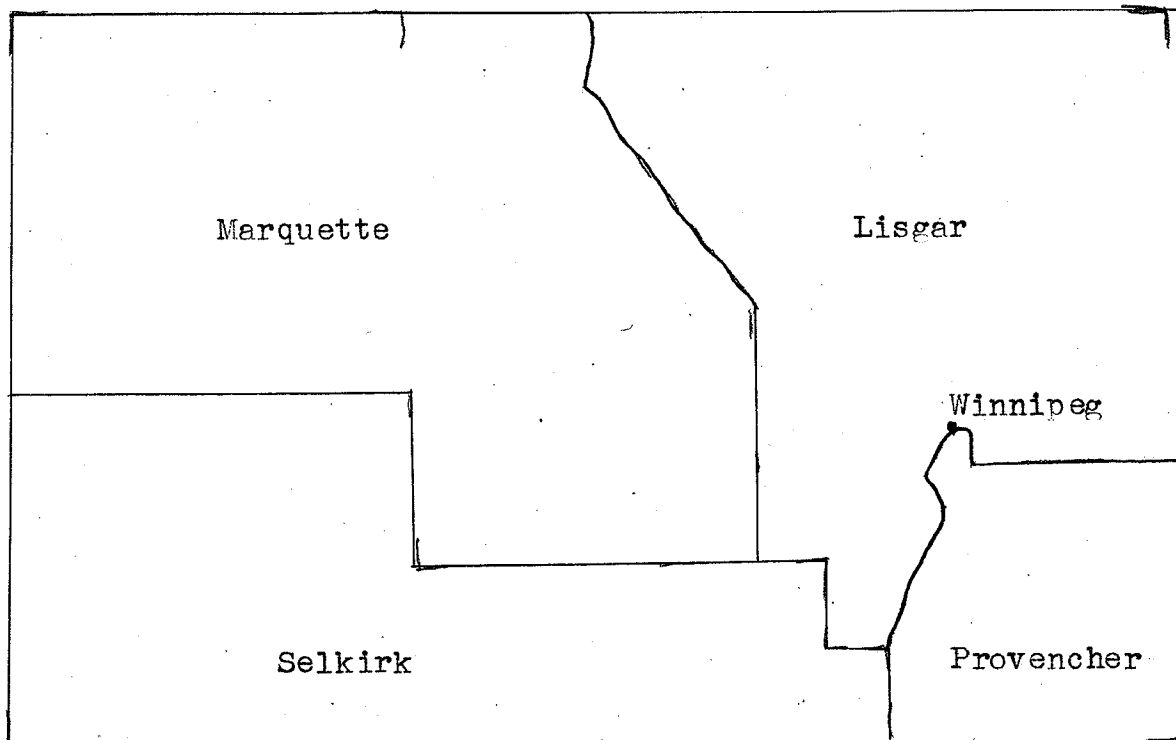
(40) This information was compiled from Sessional Papers, Canada, from 1873 to 1891.

(41) William Perkins Bull, From the Boyne to Brampton, Toronto, 1936, p. 57. (Hereafter referred to as Bull, Boyne.)

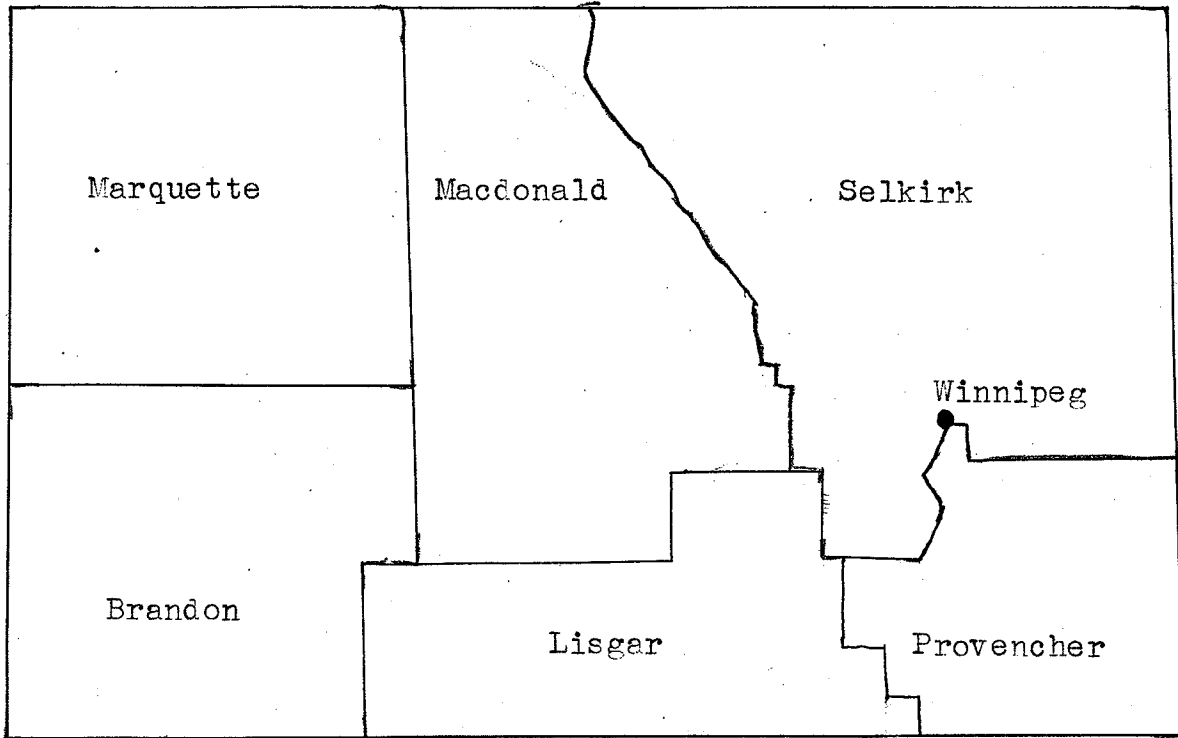
(42) A. R. M. Lower, The Origins of Democracy in Canada, The Canadian Historical Association Report, 1930, p. 65.

(43) H. F. Davin, The Irishman in Canada, Toronto, 1877, p.180. The reference is to Ireland and the Centenary of American Methodism, by the Rev. William Crook.

(44) Skelton, Laurier, Vol. I, p.284.



The Five Constituencies prior to 1896.



The Seven Constituencies in 1896.

a Conservative.

The two old northern ridings, Marquette and Lisgar, were largely Liberal; the old Lisgar returned no Conservatives down to 1887, but turned Conservative from then on. The old Marquette remained solidly Liberal, except for the election of 1878, when it returned Sir John A. Macdonald by acclamation. The reason for this Liberal support in the north may perhaps be found in the numerous Scotch Presbyterians of the area, who might be expected to exhibit the traditional leaning of the Scotch towards free trade and provincial rights, as shown both in
(45)
Scotland and Ontario.

For Manitoba as a whole, one gets the impression that the Scotch-Presbyterian-Liberal combination was not quite so likely to occur as the Irish-Methodist-Orange-Conservative tie-up, possibly because the former rested on a rather intellectual basis as compared to the emotional attraction of the latter.

In Provincial elections, party lines had not been introduced until the contest of 1883, when the Conservative Morquey Government was returned with a large majority.
(46)
This success was repeated in 1886, but Morquey had to resign in 1887 because of his lack of success in forcing the Dominion Government to stop disallowing Manitoba's railway charters. In the next three elections, down to January, 1896, the Liberals under Greenway were elected by large majorities. Even the

(45) Skelton, Laurier, Vol. I, footnote, p. 222 - "The Scotch Presbyterians who have stood for democracy for generations, and who were the backbone of Upper Canada Liberalism,..."

(46) The information in this paragraph is taken from a University of Manitoba M. A. Thesis of 1936, written by John L. Holmes, entitled Factors Affecting Politics in Manitoba - A Study of the Provincial Elections, 1870-99. (Hereafter referred to as Holmes, Thesis, Politics in Manitoba.)

Provincial ridings included in the Federal district of Provencher voted for the Liberals in 1888, although they repented of this after the abolition of separate schools in 1890, and thereafter voted Conservative in Provincial as well as Dominion elections. Greenway and his Attorney-General, Joseph Martin, secured the gratitude of Manitoba immediately after the former became Premier, by persuading the Dominion Government to abrogate the monopoly clause of the Canadian Pacific Railway's charter so that the Province could incorporate railways to compete with that road and so lower freight charges. The Liberal Government insisted that its stand on the school question had the overwhelming support of the Province, as demonstrated by the election results in 1892 and 1896, but it is pointed out that a gerrymander put through by Greenway's Government in 1892 resulted in his party getting much more support than it was entitled to. In 1892, for example, it took 13,744 votes to elect nine Conservatives, but only 16,360 votes to elect twenty five Liberals. (47)

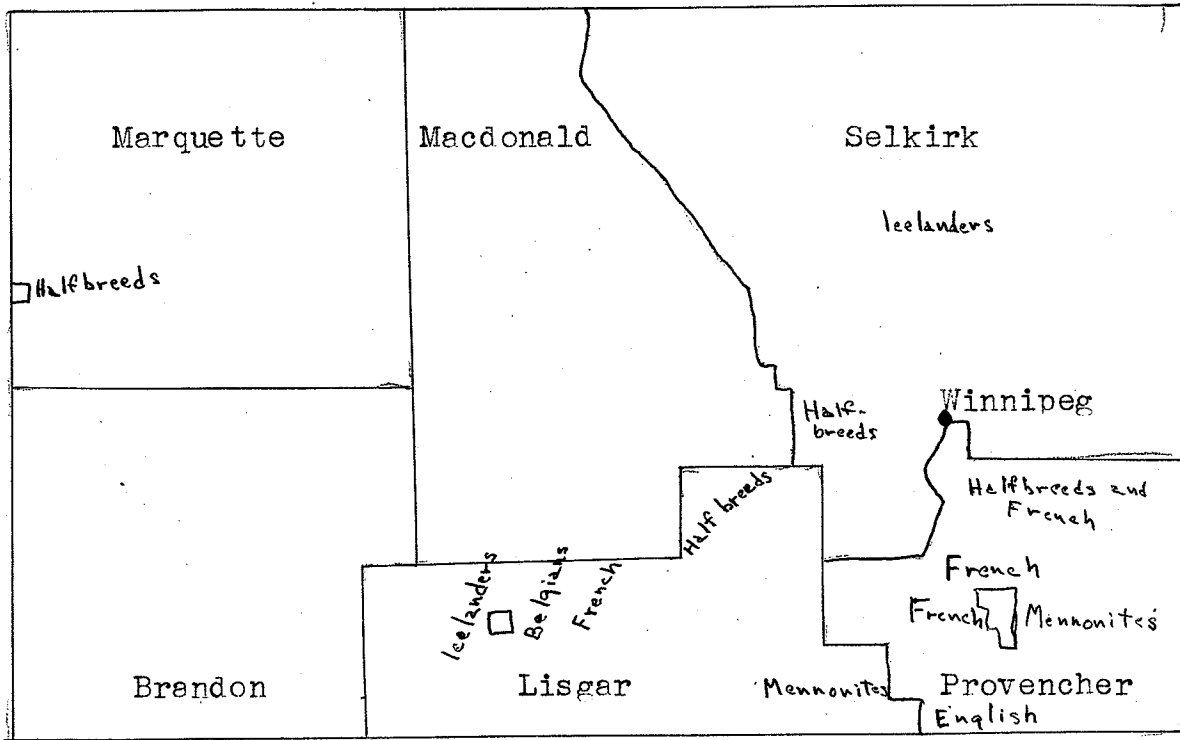
There are various reasons why Manitoba should have shown little consistency in the results of its provincial and dominion elections, tending to vote Conservative in Dominion elections and Liberal in Provincial contests. The gerrymander does not account entirely for the Liberal majorities in Provincial elections. Perhaps the answer is that in Provincial elections, Manitoba, having but recently acquired party lines for this purpose, did not regard them so seriously as in Dominion elections. A Conservative elector who might consider it treason to vote Liberal in a Federal election would not suffer the

(47) Holmes, Thesis, Politics in Manitoba, p. 92.

same qualms in a Provincial election because, compared to even the remnants of John A. Macdonald's great party, the local Conservative party had become such a sorry affair following Morquay's resignation in 1887. In Dominion politics it was the Conservatives who had a constructive record in the West; while in Manitoba it was the Liberals who had given the settlers reason to be grateful. A factor favouring the Dominion Conservatives in Manitoba was that their French constituency of Provencher represented first one-quarter and later one-fifth of the ridings. In Provincial elections the French constituencies, of course, made up a much smaller fraction of the total, and so were not able to give the local Conservatives much help.

However, the fact remains that Manitoba had largely favoured Conservatives in Federal elections and Liberals in Provincial elections, and whatever excuses might be offered for this aberration, it still remained as a pitfall for anybody wanting to make predictions about the 1896 election.

There were certain racial groups, settled fairly compactly, whose actions on election day could be foretold with a fair degree of accuracy. For example, it seemed evident that the French and other Catholics would vote Conservative in order to regain separate schools and to obey the command of their Church. The Icelanders could be expected to vote Liberal to a considerable extent. They brought this tendency with them from Iceland, where it had been the liberal wing of the country's ancient parliament which characteristically called for local rights and freedom to break away from Norway. Liberalism was also in harmony with the Icelandic love of learning, as evidenced in home teaching of children and a total lack of illiteracy. The Mennonites, on the contrary, could be



Racial Groups in the Seven Constituencies in 1896.

expected to avoid the polls, because they considered politics too worldly for safe participation. The late Dr. E. Cora Hind, in her first appearance in the Free Press, gave a valuable contemporary picture of the Mennonites in this respect in 1892:

"An attempt has been made to induce them to adopt our public school system, so far without success. In their actual home life they have changed not at all, though in a number of instances they are building their houses on the Canadian plan. In some other respects they are slowly, very slowly adopting Canadian customs. Perhaps the noticeable departure from customs, the customs of their fathers, is their voting. About 300 of them voted in the last election. Of course, considering that between 2,000 and 2,500 could qualify as voters, this is a very small proportion. But when you take into account that many branches of their church almost wholly forbid voting, and scarcely any of them look upon it with favor, this was quite a strike." (48)

But the French, Icelanders, and Mennonites were in a minority, and the question in 1896 was concerned with how the Protestant majority of British origin would vote, considering their economic development, the record of the two parties, and the results of previous elections. A consideration of the general campaign of 1896 will throw light on this question.

(48) Free Press, Mar. 30/92, The Mennonites; or the Heroes of a Flat Country. (Paper read by Miss E. Cora Hind at a recent meeting of the Central Congregational Church Literary Society).

CHAPTER TWO

THE GENERAL CAMPAIGN

It might have been expected that the 1896 election would be a fiery affair in Manitoba, considering that it was supposedly fought on the Province's school question. But a check of the newspapers of the seven ridings ⁽¹⁾ fails to reveal any evidence of very strong political feeling. The election was in fact, like most modern contests in Manitoba, a quiet one.

But if it were like these of today in this respect, there were two aspects of the 1896 election which would appear strange nowadays: in the first place, joint meetings were a common feature of the campaign; and secondly, the franchise, which had ⁽²⁾ been extended to Manitoba's Indians in 1895, did not include

(1) These seven ridings, shown in the map on page 22, were set up by a Dominion redistribution act of 1892, which cut each of the two western ridings roughly in half in order to take care of increased settlement in that part of the Province. (Statutes of Canada, 1892, Vol. I, An Act to readjust the Representation in the House of Commons.)

(2) Indians in Manitoba were admitted to the franchise for the first time in the election of 1896, provided they were in possession and occupation of a separate piece of land within the reserve, the improvements on which were worth at least \$150. This provision, set out in Section 11 of the Electoral Franchise Act of 1895, did not apply at that time to Indians living in Manitoba, British Columbia, the District of Keewatin, or the North-West Territories; but by a proclamation of February, 1895, Manitoba's Indians were "enfranchised" - an "enfranchised Indian", according to Section 2 of The Indian Act of 1860, being "any Indian, his wife or minor unmarried child, who has received letters patent granting to him in fee simple any portion of the reserve which may have been allotted to him, his wife and minor children, by the band to which he belongs, or any unmarried Indian who may have received letters patent for an allotment of the reserve." How many Indians owned land with improvements worth \$150 by June, 1896, is not known, but the fact that no mention of the Indian vote was found in any newspaper seems to indicate that it was not considered a significant factor in the election.

women and was limited by a small property qualification.

The joint meeting, which in 1896 was used in Brandon, Marquette, Macdonald, and Selkirk ridings, but apparently not to any great extent in Winnipeg, Lisgar, and Provencher, was called on behalf of one party; the candidate and one or two of his supporters spoke, and the opposing candidate was invited to take part with one or two followers. The guest speakers were not allowed as much time as those belonging to the party holding the meeting. This debating type of meeting could be a stimulating affair when the participants were quick enough to pounce on weak spots in opponents' arguments. But it was dying out in 1896; it was not so popular with most of the politicians as it was with the audiences, who loved it.

Dr. J. W. Dafce has written a lively description of the joint meeting:

"The meeting of hand-picked partisans served with addresses cooked to their tastes, which is now a political institution, did not exist in the Manitoba of those days. The people wanted a combat, not a eulogy of party virtues; and the party champions, to get a hearing or make an impression, had to meet their adversaries face to face on the platform in the presence of an audience, divided in sympathies and keyed up to the last pitch of expectation. A public meeting thus had in it something of the duel with possibilities of verbal counterparts not only of parry and thrust but of the coup de Jarnac. A definite score on the platform, such as the catching out of an opponent in some contest of opposing assertions, or a telling characterization, not only had a decisive immediate effect on the meeting but tended to pass into the mythology of the district." (3)

The other respect in which the 1896 election differed from modern contests was in the extent of the franchise. As already mentioned, the electorate appealed to was limited first of all by the exclusion of women, and after that was

(3) J. W. Dafce, Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times, Toronto, 1931, p. 49. (Hereafter referred to as Dafce, Sifton.)

again limited to men with an annual income of \$300 and to owners or tenants or their sons on a small property qualification; if the total value did not provide for all the sons, the older ones took precedence. A man might have several votes if he had property in more than one riding.

This franchise law, passed in 1865, reflected John A. Macdonald's distrust of democracy; (4) it called for uniform qualifications throughout the Dominion instead of the earlier provincial suffrages, some of which were too liberal to the Premier's way of thinking. This requirement was also in keeping with the Conservative desire for a strong central government, as opposed to the Liberal stand for provincial rights. Macdonald's belief in a property test went to the length of including unmarried women who were property owners, because he believed they would vote for the Conservative Party as a means of protecting their holdings.

(4) Statutes of Canada, 1865, Vol. I, pp. 22-28, The Electoral Franchise Act. City property had to be worth \$300 if owned, country property \$150; if rented, either town or country property should pay an annual rental of \$20.

(5) "In short, the Liberal-Conservative party under Macdonald was a Hamiltonian Federalist party. Macdonald never would have subscribed to Alexander Hamilton's whole-hearted contempt for the common people, but he and Cartier and their lieutenants were agreed in opposing the manifestations of American democracy which expressed themselves in Canada through the Grit and Rouge parties." Frank H. Underhill, The Development of National Political Parties in Canada, The Canadian Historical Review (Hereafter referred to as C. H. R.), December, 1935, p. 379; T. W. L. MacDermot points out that John A. Macdonald took it as a principle of the British constitution that classes and property, as well as numbers, should have representation. "There was no inalienable right in any man to exercise the franchise." T. W. L. MacDermot, The Political Ideas of John A. Macdonald, C. H. R., September, 1933.

The differences between modern elections and those of the 'nineties having been noted, the 1896 campaign in general may now be considered.

Four parties took part in the Manitoba election - Conservatives, Liberals, Patrons of Industry, and McCarthyites. The last named group was represented by its chief, D'Alton McCarthy, who stood for Brandon as well as his usual Ontario seat, North Simcoe.

The Liberal-Conservative Party had had its start in 1854, and John A. Macdonald had done more for it than any other single man; "In building the Dominion of Canada he built the Conservative Party, and in building the Conservative Party he built the Dominion of Canada."⁽⁶⁾ But it was natural that the Conservatives, who had been in power almost continuously since Confederation, should be weakening by 1896, if only from old age. An important factor in their decline was the impossibility of maintaining an equilibrium in the "political process by which the diverse sections of public opinion were managed and manipulated towards the one supreme end" of a strong, centralized government, based on the "great interests of finance and industry and transportation."⁽⁷⁾ The 1896 rout was the culmination of ten years of deterioration, beginning with the racial antagonism stirred up by Riel's execution in 1885 and the split in the party brought about by D'Alton McCarthy's defection in 1889 as leader of the extreme Protestant Equal Rights men, in protest against the conciliatory Conservative policy with respect to the Jesuits' Estates Act.⁽⁸⁾ The defeat of the Conservatives in 1896 had only been hastened by such misfortunes

(6) A. H. M. Lower, Sir John A. Macdonald, The Dalhousie Review, April, 1939.

(7) Underhill, op. cit., p. 379.

(8) Fred Landon, D'Alton McCarthy and the Politics of the Later Eighties, C.H.A. Report, 1932, pp. 44-7.

The General Campaign

as ineffective leadership and the exposure of political scandals following Sir John A. Macdonald's death in 1891, and the breaking-up of Howell's cabinet over the school question. Sir John Thompson had the most ability of the four Prime Ministers succeeding Macdonald down to 1896, but the fact that he was a Catholic converted from Protestantism was held against him by some of his followers, and his early death cut short the work he might have done in rallying his party. Sir Charles Tupper came on the scene only a few months before the election of 1896, and so did not have enough time to pull the party together.

The Conservatives, in order to hold the support of Quebec, committed themselves to the cause of Manitoba's minority in the school question by the introduction of a Remedial Bill in 1896. While it called for separate schools, the bill tried to placate the Protestants by making no provision for a compulsory provincial grant. The result was that neither Catholics nor Protestants were satisfied, and Laurier was able to come out flatly for "no coercion" of Manitoba, which would gain him Protestant support in the English-speaking provinces in addition to the popular appeal which he made in Quebec. (9) The Conservatives tried to overcome their disadvantage in the campaign by refraining, in Protestant constituencies, from coming out for coercion; they represented themselves as patriotically carrying out the decision of the Privy Council, (10) however unwilling they might be.

The Conservative platform for the 1896 election was announced in a manifesto issued by Sir Charles Tupper at Ottawa

(9) Skelton, Laurier, Vol. I, pp. 468-9.

(10) Dufour, Sifton, p. 92.

The General Campaign

(11)

on 6th May, 1896. It commenced with a contrast between the Conservative policy, "marked by faith in Canada and a spirit of aggressive progress," and the "vacillating and uncertain" course of the Liberals. Support for the National Policy, now eighteen years old, was solicited on the ground that it was necessary if Canada was to continue being prosperous. Preferential trade with England was advocated for commercial reasons and also for the strengthening of the ties of Empire. Conservative efforts to "open up new trade routes and secure better steamship services" were next mentioned. It was only after all these matters had been dealt with that the school question was mentioned, and then very briefly; it was simply stated that it was the "patriotic duty" of the Conservatives to stand by the policy which they had adopted. The manifesto closed with a few miscellaneous planks: agricultural reforms had been carried out in the past by the Conservatives and would continue to receive attention; the Government would strengthen national defences; an attempt would be made to increase immigration to the West; Newfoundland would be induced to come into Confederation if possible; and attention was drawn to Canada's fine position in the world's money markets, thanks to the Conservatives.

Winnipeg, being the centre of the school question, was chosen by Sir Charles Tupper, with characteristic courage, as the spot at which to begin his campaign. He spoke to a large and enthusiastic audience in Brydon Rink, to the accompaniment of a heavy rainstorm, which appears to have added to the ex-

(11) Free Press, May 6/96, Appeal to People.

The General Campaign

citement of the occasion: "At times, owing to the torrents of rain on the roof drowning the speaker's voice, Sir Charles had to stop, when the band would strike up a lively tune." (12)

At this meeting, Sir Charles set the key-note for the Conservative campaign in Manitoba when he sugar-coated his unpopular school policy with the promise that the Hudson Bay Railway would be completed to the Saskatchewan within two years. (13) This was an extremely appealing promise for Manitobans; an outlet to Hudson Bay, it was thought, would mean lower freight charges and consequently more profit for the farmers. Before the election was over this promise, with glowing elaboration, was to be repeated by Conservative speakers on every possible occasion; and just as frequently it was to be ridiculed by Liberals as an election bribe which would never be carried out, and would do nobody any good even if it were.

While the Conservative Party was in a weakened state by 1896, the Liberals were just at the beginning of a period of vigorous growth which was to put them in power and keep them in until 1911. They had been out of office since 1878, and while they had made gains in the 1891 election, they were placed in a bad light for some time afterwards because the Conservatives had linked up their free trade platform with annexation to the United States. When Blake, following the Liberal defeat in the 1891 election, wrote his West Durham letter, he made matters worse for his party by associating them with a policy likely to end in political union with the

(12) Carberry Express, May 14/96.

(13) Free Press, May 16/96, p. 2.

United States, and by making it obvious that there was dissension among the Liberal leaders. (14) But Laurier gave his party the continuous strong leadership which the Conservatives lacked following Macdonald's death, and by ceaseless campaigning in Quebec, where he addressed over two hundred meetings between 1894 and 1896, (15) he built up the enthusiastic following which was to sweep him into power in 1896. At the same time he was making himself known in the rest of Canada and laying the deep foundations of his popularity. After 1891 he made an annual speaking tour of Ontario, visited the Maritimes occasionally, (16) and in 1894 came out West.

One of the important factors contributing to the growing strength of the Liberals was the first national convention of the party, held in Ottawa in June, 1893. This meeting impressed on those present the fact that they possessed fine leadership in Laurier, Nowat, and Fielding; it also drew the local organizations together, and made a show of strength before the country. (16)

At this convention the Liberals drew up a platform which, with the addition of their stand on the school question, was used in the 1896 election. (17) First place was given to a demand for freer trade and reciprocity. Corruption in government was condemned, and decreased expenditures in administration were called for. Constitutional planks pointed out the need for responsible government and the independence of parliament, a provincial rather than a dominion franchise for federal elections,

(14) J. S. Willison, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party - A Political History, 2 vols., Toronto, 1903, Vol. II, pp. 172-179; (Hereafter referred to as Willison, Laurier;)

Skelton, Laurier, Vol. I, pp. 418-421.

(15) Skelton, Laurier, Vol. I, p. 484.

(16) Ibid., p. 458.

(17) Tribune, May 26/96, Liberal Platform.

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and an amendment to the constitution to do something about the defective Senate. It was urged that the gerrymander be done away with and county boundaries preserved in electoral divisions, that a Dominion plebiscite be held on prohibition, and that the land be held for the settler, not the speculator.

The Liberals took no stand on the school question until the Conservatives had committed themselves with the Remedial Bill. Thereafter Laurier's platform on this subject was made up of the "No coercion" cry and the hope that some solution satisfactory to both the Manitoba Government and the Catholic minority might be arrived at by friendly negotiation.

The McCarthytas were more or less in sympathy with the Liberal Party in the election of 1886, although their leader, D'Alton McCarthy, had originally been a Conservative. As already mentioned, he broke from that party in 1889 because he objected to the Conservative policy on the Jesuits' Estates Act, and took the leadership of the Equal Rights movement. (18) While this group had little effect on legislation in Ontario and Quebec, the reverse was true in Manitoba, where McCarthy himself started the school question on its way; in 1889, in a speech at Portage la Prairie, he attacked ecclesiastical influence and separate schools; Joseph Martin, Provincial Attorney-General, who was on the platform with McCarthy, immediately stated, apparently on his own authority, that the Manitoba Government had decided to abolish separate schools and the use of French as a dual official language. (19)

The whole object of the Equal Rights Association was

(18) W. Stewart Wallace, The Encyclopedia of Canada, Toronto, 1936, Vol. IV, p. 157. (Hereafter referred to as Wallace, Encyclopedia.)

(19) Willison, Laurier, Vol. II, pp. 201-2.

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"the abolition of all special privileges granted to the Roman Catholics in Canada and the treatment of all religious denominations on the same basis." (20) It may therefore be readily appreciated that the chief plank in the McCarthyite platform for the 1896 election was insistence on the continuance of the public school system set up in Manitoba. On the trade question, the stand was much the same as that of the Liberals; the National Policy was denounced, reciprocity was called for, and lower duties on British goods were suggested rather than the preferential trade policy of the Conservatives. Other planks advocated lower freight rates, criticized the Conservatives for failing to develop the Northwest, and expressed the belief that new settlers would come in only if the old ones were doing well. (21)

The fourth party represented in the 1896 election in Manitoba was the Patrons of Industry. This farmers' group was an outgrowth of general agrarian discontent in the Western United States, which found its chief expression in the Populist movement. The Patrons of Industry entered Ontario from Michigan in 1889 and spread rapidly through Ontario, Quebec, and the West. (22) A provincial association was created in Manitoba in 1891, and under it an elevator and a mail order concern were operated for the benefit of farmers. In 1894 the western membership reached about 5,000, its highest point. (23) In the same year the Patrons entered politics and succeeded in having one

(20) Wallace, Encyclopedia, Vol. II, p. 296.

(21) The Globe, Boissevain, May 28/96.

(22) Louis Aubrey Wood, A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada, Toronto, 1924, pp. 109-10. (Hereafter referred to as Wood, Farmers' Movements.)

(23) Ibid., p. 128.

of their members elected to the local legislature. Conventions were held in 1894 throughout Manitoba to select candidates who could be pressed for the anticipated Federal election, but by the time the campaign began in 1896 the order had lost considerable strength, and all except three candidates withdrew, those remaining running in Brandon, Marquette, and Macdonald ridings.

In February, 1893, a few months before the Liberals held their national convention, the Patrons of Industry drew up a Dominion platform, which was actually a more liberal Liberal platform. It called for maintenance of the British connection, a land policy to protect settlers, the representation of agricultural constituencies by farmers, economy of administration, simplification of laws and government, tariff for revenue only, and no duty on certain essential farmers' needs, legislation against price-raising monopolies and combines, voters' lists to be prepared by municipal officers, the use, as far as possible, of municipal boundaries in forming electoral districts, one vote per man, the abolition of the Senate, prohibition, and female suffrage.

At a Patron meeting held in Brandon in 1894, a plank calling for "The ballot box for the Northwest" was added to the Dominion platform, but did not appear in later versions,

(24) Patrons' Western Sentinel, June 3/96.

(25) The Brandon Sun, June 16/94. The North-West Territories returned their first members to the Federal House of Commons in the election of 1887, under a Dominion Act entitled The North-West Territories Representation Act, 1886; this statute provided for open voting, Clause 51: "The poll clerk shall write in the poll book the full name and the occupation and residence of each voter, and shall, opposite thereto, mark the figure 1 in the column for the candidate in whose favor the vote of such voter is given; and immediately the vote is recorded he shall write "voted" after the elector's name in the voters' list." Voting by ballot in federal elections in the North-West Territories was introduced by An Act further to amend the North-West Territories' Representation Act of July, 1894.

since this particular want was supplied about a month after the Brandon meeting. For the purposes of the Provincial election of January, 1896, the Dominion platform was adopted, with the addition of planks calling for national schools, "purity and independence of parliament," the strict enforcement of all laws, and government assistance for colonization and other railroads. (26) This provincial platform (with the exception of the railroad clause), and the original Dominion platform, were published in every issue of the Patrons' Western Sentinel from its inception on 18th March, 1896, down to 27th May. From then until the election, only the Dominion platform, as outlined above on page 38, was printed, under the heading: "Dominion Platform, Endorsed by all Patron Candidates."

It will be observed from the foregoing discussion that in Manitoba the Conservatives stood alone in their support of the French minority and the National Policy, while opposed to them on both issues were the Liberals, the McCarthyites, and the Patrons of Industry.

The Conservatives obviously hoped to get most of their support from Catholic Quebec as the supporters of separate schools; in Ontario and the other Protestant sections of Canada the loyalty cry could be used to induce Conservatives to vote for their party because it was defending the Constitution and carrying out the findings of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and in Manitoba, which was unimportant because it had only seven seats, the unpopular stand on the trade and school questions could be sweetened by the promise of the Hudson Bay Railway. In other words, while the Liberal, McCarthyite, and Patron platforms were

(26) Patrons' Advocate, Rapid City, Jan. 8/96. (This paper was the forerunner of the Western Patrons' Sentinel, published in Portage la Prairie, beginning 18th March, 1896.)

so drawn up as to make a particular appeal to Protestants and to the West, the Conservatives had their eyes on Quebec, and could not do more than make local variations to win support in other parts of Canada.

In presenting their platforms to Manitoba's electorate in campaign speeches, the four parties had the benefit, in varying degrees, of such publicity agencies as newspapers and pamphlets; in addition, certain churches and societies took a more or less active part in supporting the parties they favoured because of their stand on the school question.

Of the newspapers, The Manitoba Morning Free Press and The Winnipeg Daily Tribune were the ones most widely circulated in Manitoba, while there were many smaller local sheets.

On the whole, the influence of the Free Press on public opinion between the school legislation of 1890 and the election of 1896 could not have been very important on either side, because of shifts in management, reflected in three distinct stages of editorial policy.

In the first of these, from 1890 to 1893, the concern of the editor, Mr. Luxton, for the future of the Northwest led him to plead for moderation in the school issue. This attitude was well summed up in an editorial of June, 1890:

"The great and only professed object of Mr. Joseph Martin's educational legislation was the abolition of sectarian education and the establishment of 'national' schools, where Protestants and Catholics and all other creeds could be educated together and grow up to be a 'homogeneous and united people.' The Free Press, in common with some people not blinded by religious prejudice, while admitting the theoretical desirability of such education, objected to the proposed legislation, for the double reason that it was beyond the competence of the Provincial Legislature to pass it, and that, even if it were within provincial competence, such legislation would result in discord and agitation rather than peace and unity." (27)

(27) Free Press, June 2/90, The New Education.

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During this first period the Conservative Party was supported, except on its tariff policy.

There followed not quite two years of what Dr. Daffoe calls "comparative political innocuousness" under Mr. Luxton's successor; ⁽²⁸⁾ this is perhaps best illustrated by the captions on the editorial page of 25th April, 1894: "Small-Pox in Chicago." "Two Views of the Future." "Microbes in Church." However, there was a tendency to take the extreme view on the school question, and even to stir up racial intolerance on occasion, as witnessed by such statements as: "The Quebec mob has again sought recreation in the congenial pastime of harrying Protestants." ⁽²⁹⁾ The need for a low tariff was stressed, although not as earnestly as under Mr. Luxton. Towards the end of this second period a leaning towards the Liberals became fairly obvious.

In the third period, from July, 1895 down to the election, June, 1896, the Liberal tendency was reversed, the Free Press once more favouring the Conservatives. As might be expected, in view of the unpopularity of the Conservative stand on both the school and tariff issues, the Free Press had little to say about either question; it was just about as inactive politically as it had been in the second period.

While the influence of the Free Press was changing and scattered, that of the Tribune was continuous and concentrated. Beginning publication in 1890, the Tribune's avowed object was to provide competition for the Free Press, which had enjoyed

(28) Daffoe, Sifton, p. 93.

(29) Free Press, Aug. 9/94, p. 4, Religious Ruffianism.

somewhat of a monopoly in Winnipeg for five weeks, following
absorption of The Sun.⁽³⁰⁾ It did not take the Tribune long to
accuse the Free Press of being the organ of the Canadian Pacific
Railway,⁽³¹⁾ whereupon the latter charged that the Tribune had
been started by the Greenway Government.⁽³²⁾

The new paper remained a steadfast supporter of the
Liberal Party, both local and Federal, from 1890 until the
election, although it later turned against the Greenway Govern-
ment. However, for the purposes of the 1896 election, it had
been a powerful force in support of the Liberal platform of
public schools and low tariff, on both of which questions the
Tribune made strong attacks against the Conservatives.

In its attacks on separate schools the Tribune fanned
racial and religious hatreds with all the gusto of a McCarthyite.
A typical editorial contains the following:

"To interfere with Manitoba's public school system at
present would be yielding to a section of Canada which
is not generally considered to have any national aspira-
tions, which is un-Canadian, and which, if it had its
own way, might possibly be ready to wipe the Dominion off
the map altogether.... In the Jesuits Estates matter the
Protestants had a good case and yet they were thrust aside;
in the Manitoba school matter the French Catholics have no
just case at all, and yet the danger appears imminent that
they will force the Dominion government to yield. Should
the government yield under such circumstances it should be
driven ignominiously from office and no non-Catholic member⁽³³⁾
of it should ever be allowed even to sit in parliament again."

The "No coercion" cry made its appearance in the Tribune
on the day before the signing of the Remedial Order. Part of
the front page headline read, "Manitobans Will Not Tolerate In-
terference," while across the middle of the page in large letters
there was the slogan: "Hands Off Our Public Schools."⁽³⁴⁾

(30) J. W. Daroe, Pioneer Newspapers and Newspaper Men, p. 17.

(31) Tribune, Oct. 16/90, The Organ.

(32) Free Press, Sept. 9/90, The Official Organist.

(33) Tribune, Mar. 12/95, Will Protestant Canada Stand It?

(34) Ibid., Mar. 20/95, The Remedial Order.

The French people of the Province had for guidance Le Manitoba, a newspaper published in St. Boniface by A. A. C. LaRiviere, Conservative candidate in Provencher Constituency. From the time of the Manitoba school legislation until the election, and for some years afterwards, Le Manitoba practically ignored every issue except that of separate schools. In its fight for their restoration the newspaper inevitably found itself opposed to Laurier, and support of the Conservative Party became steadily stronger from 1893, when Laurier was first suspected of lukewarmness, down to the election in 1896. By that time the paper must undoubtedly have helped the Conservative cause very considerably among the French-speaking inhabitants of Manitoba.

The Icelandic people had two newspapers, both published in Winnipeg; Logberg was Liberal and Heimskringla Conservative. During the immediate period of the campaign they took the typical Liberal and Conservative stands on such issues as the school and trade questions and the Hudson Bay Railway; in these papers the Icelanders were given, in their own language, exactly the same arguments, accusations, and election cries which were to be found in the English-speaking journals of the Province.

Throughout Manitoba there were many local newspapers supporting one side or the other, although the Liberals had a slight numerical advantage, judging from the papers which survive. The Liberal newspapers also showed a tendency to be more active politically than the Conservatives.

The eastern ridings of Provencher and Selkirk had the fewest newspapers, judging by those which are still available, there being two in the former and three in the latter, as compared to ten in Brandon, eight in Macdonald, seven in Lisgar,

and six in Marquette; Winnipeg, of course, had a much greater number, of which eight were examined. The reason for the small number of newspapers in the two eastern constituencies may be found in the substantial numbers of French, half-breeds, and Mennonites. These people apparently did not feel the need for newspapers which is evident in the western ridings, where there were so many new settlers from Ontario.

Pamphlets representing many shades of opinion on the school question appeared in great numbers in the years preceding the election, and must have had considerable influence on the voters, but in the absence of information as to the weight and places of circulation, no estimate can be made of their effect.

The part played by the churches is also rather obscure, but it is possible to give the stand of the various denominations on the school question.

The Roman Catholics were more active than any other religious group in the 1896 election. They had been growing increasingly aggressive in attempting to influence public affairs. (35) O. D. Skelton describes how at first Church and State co-operated for a considerable period following the Conquest: "There was no vulgar bargaining between the

(35) An interesting note on this subject is found in a review of Vols. III and IV of Canada and Its Provinces by W. L. Grant in Review of Historical Publications, Toronto, 1915, Vol. XIX, pp. 33-4: "Another point on which Mr. McArthur might be criticized is his inadequate emphasis on the increase in the political influence of the French-Canadian clergy owing to the British conquest. Prior to 1763 the Church in Canada had been a French mission partly served by French ecclesiastics. After the conquest the British government under the influence of the Old World political struggle discouraged or prohibited the importation of Frenchmen, and thus a really national clergy grew up, sharing to the full in the ideals and limitations of their flock."

honourable gentlemen who represented the King and the distinguished prelates who served the Church, but the safeguarding of British interests and the recognition of the Church's claims synchronized." (36) With the achievement of responsible government under Lord Elgin in the early 1850's, the Church was no longer so interested in the titular head of the country: "When power came to rest with the people, the Church, in the New as in the Old World, naturally became vitally interested in the schools and the press that formed the electors' opinions, and in the parties and the elections through which their opinions found expression." (37) At the same time, there appeared more extreme leaders in the Church - "fiery crusaders, intolerant of difference, impatient of resistance, prepared to fight to the end rather than yield one jot or tittle of their authority or permit any slightest growth of independence among their flocks." (38)

Between the winning of responsible government and 1896, the active interest taken in politics by the Church increased steadily, and the election of 1896, which is a watershed with respect to so many aspects of Canadian history, was also to mark the climax of ecclesiastical participation in the nation's political concerns.

While the Remedial Bill was being discussed in Parliament early in 1896 the Church came out strongly in support of it, and Laurier was able to make political capital out of an open letter addressed to him by Father Lacombe, in which he was warned that if the Conservatives were defeated while defending

(36) Skelton, Laurier, Vol. I, p. 65.

(37) Ibid., p. 67.

(38) Ibid., p. 68.

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the rights of the French minority, "the episcopacy, like one man, united with the clergy, will rise to support those who may have fallen in defending us." (39)

In May, 1896, a mandement was issued by the Archbishops and Bishops of the ecclesiastical districts of Quebec and Ontario, and was read in all the churches; in this document, Catholics were told they should vote for the candidates pledged to favour remedial legislation. (40) In other words, they were instructed to vote for the Conservative Party. Skelton makes it clear that in Quebec at least the mandement was implemented by much stronger language on the part of individual priests. (41)

Among the Protestants there was nothing to compare with the Catholics' long participation in politics, but in the 1896 election a certain amount of influence was exerted against separate schools.

The Methodists were the most vociferous among the Protestants on the school question, although other denominations probably felt just as deeply about the matter without making many public utterances on the subject. The Presbyterians, for example, are said to have made known their disapproval of separate schools in private conversations with church members, rather than by sermons.

The Methodists, in a convention held in Winnipeg a few weeks before the election, unanimously adopted a resolution in which it was hoped "that our people will stand as a wall of adamant against any attempt to coerce this province in the

(39) Skelton, Laurier, Vol. I, p. 471.

(40) Free Press, May 18/96.

(41) Skelton, Laurier, Vol. I, pp. 462-4.

matter of education, no matter by what political party the attempt may be made." (42) Previously a delegate had attempted unsuccessfully to have a resolution passed which, by calling attention to previous election results in Manitoba, practically told the electors to vote Liberal. (43) At the time of the Remedial Order, the Methodist ministers of Winnipeg had passed a resolution condemning it, and wired this resolution to Premier Howell. (44) This was followed up by sermons in the same vein in Winnipeg churches on the next Sunday. (45)

In contrasting the stand of the Catholics and Methodists, it has been suggested that the former thought in terms of the future of their church, while the latter were considering the question of the respective parts to be played by church and state in Canada.

The Church of England, in a Winnipeg meeting held a few days before the election, took a stand far removed from that of the Methodists, according to the Archbishop's address:

"...it seems likely that some concession will be made to the desire of the Roman Catholic section of our province that they should have religious instruction for their children given by teachers of their own. It is very undesirable that this should be done by giving them privileges not enjoyed by other religious bodies. The grievance that has been so much discussed is not at all confined to the Roman Catholic minority." (46)

In other words, the Anglicans were sufficiently interested in

(42) Tribune, June 10/96.

(43) Free Press, June 5/96, Methodist Conference. "And whereas, the electors of Manitoba have twice at the provincial elections, by large majorities declared themselves opposed to any legislation which would have the effect of re-establishing separate schools within this province...Therefore resolved:....(3) That we call upon our brethren throughout the Dominion to come to our assistance in this critical hour in the history of our province in resisting to the utmost, by all constitutional and proper means the enactment of legislation by the federal parliament for the re-establishment of separate schools in Manitoba."

(44) Tribune, March 20/95, The Remedial Order.

(45) Ibid., Mar. 25/95, "No Surrender" Is the Watchword.

(46) Free Press, June 18/96, The Synod Opening.

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having religion taught in the schools to be willing to see the Catholics have separate schools if the Church of England could enjoy the same privilege. Because of the restraint shown by this denomination, it is doubtful if it had such influence on voters, but whatever effect it did have would favour the Conservative stand on separate schools.

The Presbyterians believed in public schools, but were not extremists. Dr. George Bryce, a Presbyterian minister, expressed the following views in 1891:

"The Presbyterian Synod of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, which represents the largest religious body in Manitoba, passed in May, 1890, a resolution heartily approving of the Public School Act of that year, and I believe it is approved of by the great majority of the Presbyterians of Manitoba." (47)

But their moderation is shown by the fact that they were opposed to the Equal Rights movement, because, as they pointed out in their General Assembly, held in Ottawa in 1890, Presbyterians could not consistently condemn the Roman Catholic Church for wanting state aid for schools while the Presbyterians themselves accepted government money for Indian schools. (48)

The Baptists, in a convention held at Portage la Prairie in July, 1895, strongly reaffirmed their belief in public schools, on the ground that gospel truths should be spread by religious agencies only, and not by the schools. (49)

For the purposes of the 1896 election, it is probable that the Catholics exerted a stronger influence than any other single church, because of their prestige among their parishioners. They undoubtedly gave the Conservative Party valuable assistance among the French Catholics. It is not so easy to

(47) John S. Swart, The Manitoba School Question, Toronto, 1894, p. 18, Affidavit of Rev. Dr. Bryce in Logan v. City of Winnipeg.
(48) Tribune, June 20/90, p. 2, Consistency: Thou are a Jewel.
(49) Ibid., July 17/95, The Baptist Convention.

speak for the help received by the Liberals from the various Protestant denominations. The Methodist Church must have had considerable effect among its members, who had made up almost a fifth of the population in 1891; and the small number of non-Mennonite Baptists probably were induced to give much of their support to the Liberals. But it is not clear that Presbyterians or Anglicans would be persuaded to take a very strong stand on the school question, in view of the quiet attitude characteristic of their leaders; and in any event, as already pointed out, the Anglicans favoured the Conservatives rather than the Liberals on this particular issue. On the whole, therefore, it seems evident that the Conservative Party had a stronger ally in the uncompromising Catholic Church, even if it stood for a small minority, than the Liberal Party had in any of the Protestant denominations; the Catholic influence, as far as it extended, was much more effective than the Protestant, because backed by all the relationships between Church and parishioner on which the latter depended so completely.

Another publicity agency on which the parties could depend for some support was the societies which took a definite stand on the school question. In Manitoba, two important groups of this type were the French St. Jean-Baptiste Society and the Loyal Orange Association.

The St. Jean-Baptiste group, which in 1890 was represented at St. Boniface, St. Norbert, St. Pierre, Lorette, and St. Jean-Baptiste, (50) held a celebration in June of each year, and that of 1890 strikes a significant note:

"The French population of the west is menaced with respect to its dearest rights and privileges, for everyone of those

(50) Le Manitoba, June 4/90, Our National Celebration.

who compose it, therefore, this is the moment for action, the moment to declare himself, to prove to those who are persecuting us that we know ourselves to be united in the hour of danger."

During this celebration, held in St. Boniface, committees were
(51)
formed to study questions of education and language. However, it is unlikely that the St. Jean-Baptiste Society had anything like the influence exerted on Catholics by the Church organization, because the society was primarily a national and cultural group.

Much more influential in moulding public opinion was the Orangemen's organization. Skelton says of this group:

"The Loyal Orange Association, which had grown up in Ulster as a secret society seeking to perpetuate 'the glorious, pious, and immortal memory of the great and good King William who saved us from popery, slavery, knavery, brass money, and wooden shoes,' and incidentally to maintain Protestant ascendancy, was stronger in Canada than in any other country outside Ireland itself. Particularly in Ontario, it was overwhelmingly Conservative in sympathies." (52)

The society had been fighting for incorporation for forty odd years before the goal was achieved in 1890. Earlier failures were blamed on Roman Catholic influence, and so the religious intolerance of the association was deepened. Just before incorporation was won, the society passed a resolution in which separate schools were heartily condemned. The introduction of this document is typical of the Orange attitude:

"Resolved, - That in the opinion of the Right Worshipful Grand Lodge the time has arrived when the Orangemen of Canada, without reference to politics or political parties,

(51) Le Manitoba, July 2/90, The National Celebration. (La population française de l'ouest est menacée dans ses droits et privilèges les plus chers, - c'est donc pour chacun de ceux qui la composent le moment de l'action, le moment de s'affirmer, de prouver à ceux qui nous persécutent que nous savons nous unir à l'heure du danger.)

(52) Bull, Boyne to Brampton, p. 250.

must unite in one great political phalanx in order to stop the encroachments of the Romish hierarchy upon the body politic of this country,...." (53)

The society was started in Manitoba in the early seventies by soldiers stationed at Fort Garry, but during the next decade made little progress. It then began to develop rapidly, and by 1890 there were lodges in nearly every well settled county west of the Red River. (54)

Starting in that year, the annual Twelfth of July celebrations brought out increasingly bitter diatribes against separate schools and Roman Catholicism generally. (55) The Winnipeg celebration of 1895, the last before the election, was marked by near hysteria. Perhaps the Rev. Mr. Finn reached the climax when he is reported to have stated that

"That man Mackenzie Bowell, who he had loved and admired until he proved a Judas Iscariot, had sold Manitoba to the Pope of Rome. While there was breath in their bodies, they would back up their claims with ballots and with bullets if necessary. They stood today upon ground from which Scott's blood cried for vengeance. They were determined with God's help never to pay their taxes for teaching the dogmas of any sect."

Mr. Finn then introduced a resolution, which was carried, calling on Manitoba's representative in the Cabinet to resign, and demanding that he and the other two Conservative members from the Province "be asked to explain how far they can justify themselves in supporting a government which threatens our province with such dire calamity, and which no doubt if carried into effect will jeopardize confederation." (56)

N. Clarke Wallace, Grand Master of the organization in

(53) Bull, Boynes to Brampton, p. 250.

(54) Free Press, July 12/90, An Orange Rally.

(55) Tribune, July 17/90, Orange Notes.

(56) Ibid., July 13/95, Manitoba Will Stand up for Her Rights.

Canada, issued an address to Canadian Orangemen less than a month before the election:

"Men and brethren, I commit with confidence to your hands the flag of national unsectarian schools, the flag of equal rights to all, special privileges to none, the flag of provincial control of education. I repose in you the trust to bear that flag in triumph through the fierce electoral struggle in which the people of Canada are engaged, to protect it from assault from every quarter, for it symbolizes personal liberty, religious equality, popular rule, principles without whose maintenance no people can be free, no state secure." (57)

The Orangemen were thus swinging their weight away from ^{ir} the/old allies the Conservatives, and over to the Liberals, and probably the Conservative Party lost a considerable number of votes to their opponents because the Orange stand on the school question favoured the Liberals.

While newspapers, churches, and societies exerted a more or less steady influence on public opinion between the elections of 1891 and 1896, it is likely that their combined power was almost balanced by that of the campaign speeches made in the last few weeks before the latter election. It was these speeches which would give the final touch of assurance to a voter already fairly solid in his support of one party or the other; and it is also more than likely that many a waverer was finally convinced in favour of Conservatives or Liberals by a last-minute campaign speech.

It is difficult to assess the value to the Conservatives and Liberals of the various opinion forming agencies in Manitoba before the actual campaign in the 1896 election. The Liberals were at an advantage as far as newspapers were concerned. There were very few papers in Manitoba, outside the Catholic journals,

which were prepared to raise their voices in favour of the Conservative stand on the school question; and support for the Conservative National Policy was practically non-existent. On both these subjects most of the Conservative newspapers, in a minority to begin with, found it wise to take a rather weak stand, while the Liberal newspapers were able to wage constant warfare against separate schools and the National Policy without getting out of step with their party. But if the Conservatives did not have the advantage of such widespread help from active newspapers as did the Liberals, they gained from the intensity and strength of Church influence among the Catholic minority. The Liberals were helped by the strong attitude taken by the Methodist Church and the Orangemen, but this attitude could not be enforced among the Protestants as could the Catholic stand among Catholics; also, both Orangemen and Methodists were trying, as the Catholics were not, to pull many of their followers away from their natural political allegiance to the Conservatives. There was an alliance of old standing between French Catholics and Conservatives, which the Church only had to emphasize for the 1896 election; but the Methodists and Orangemen were asking their followers to turn their backs on the old Irish-Orange-Methodist-Conservative tie-up which was natural to a fair proportion of Manitoba's settlers from Ontario.

On the whole, it may be said that the Conservatives received intense support among a minority, while the Liberals had less effective help among the Protestant majority.

In any event, the stage seemed to be set for a feverish contest, in which Manitoba, so largely agricultural and Protestant Ontario in make-up, might be expected, in spite of its past support of the Conservatives, to give most of its support to

the Liberals in order to protect its national schools and obtain a more popular tariff policy. In order to understand why the Conservatives were able to win four seats out of seven under such circumstances, it is necessary to examine the local campaigns in detail, and to this the next few chapters will be devoted.

CHAPTER THREE

LOCAL CAMPAIGNS

BRANDON CONSTITUENCY

At the period of the election of 1896, Brandon constituency made up the southwestern corner of the Province, having been carved out of the former riding of Selkirk by the redistribution of 1892. (1) Its population was 32,668, by far the largest part of which had come into the district in the preceding fifteen years; (2) thus the riding was a very newly settled one - a frontier area in the physical sense.

In 1886, date of the last previous return giving such information, the inhabitants of Brandon riding had been almost entirely of British origin, divided among English, Scotch, and Irish in that order. There had been mere sprinklings of other nationalities, chiefly Germans (probably largely Mennonites) and French. (3) In 1891, in the old riding of Selkirk, which included Lissgar to the east as well as Brandon, there had been 20,198 people born in Ontario, as against 14,305 born in Manitoba. (4) Probably Lissgar, with its large Mennonite settlement dating back to the seventies, had most of the Manitoba-born inhabitants, while the people of Brandon were very largely born in Ontario.

- (1) Statutes of Canada, 1892, Vol. I, pp. 67-70, An Act to readjust the Representation in the House of Commons.
- (2) Census of Manitoba, 1896. Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. IV, p. 496. (4,921 people in 1881, increase, 1881-91, 419%.)
- (3) Census of Manitoba, 1885-6, pp. 18-19. (Approximate figures: 5,450 English, 4,700 Scotch, 4,300 Irish, 370 Germans, 270 French, 450 Indians.)
- (4) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. I, p. 332.

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It is not likely that the racial make-up had changed to any extent by the election, since it was much the same when the 1901 census was taken. (5) On the whole, Brandon riding in 1896 may be described as having been a miniature Ontario, just as Provencher was a western Quebec.

As might be expected from the racial make-up, the Roman Catholics were in a small minority. In 1891 most of the population had been Presbyterian or Methodist, the two denominations being rather evenly represented. The Church of England came next, while the Baptists made up a poor fifth, following the Catholics. (6)

Economically, the riding was given over almost entirely to wheat raising. In 1891 there had been 232 small manufacturing establishments in the whole of the old riding of Selkirk. (7) These were all based on the agricultural production of the constituency, and far removed from the exporting ~~industry~~ to be found in an industrial area. There were flour mills, harness makers, saw and planing mills, carriage makers, brick yards, cheese factories, and other simple manufacturing plants.

The candidates who in 1896 faced this Protestant Ontario constituency of farmers were D'Alton McCarthy, McCarthyite, W. A. Macdonald, Conservative, and W. Postlethwaite, Patron of Industry.

Mr. Postlethwaite was selected as a candidate as early as 30th May, 1894, by a Patron convention held in Brandon - (8) one of the series of such conventions held throughout the

(5) Census of Canada, 1901, Vol. I, pp. 286-7.

(6) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. I, pp. 228-9. (Approximate figures: Presbyterians, 8,406; Methodists, 7,648; Church of England, 5,544; Roman Catholics, 1,440; Baptists, 1,233; Lutherans, 545.)

(7) Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 294.

(8) Brandon Mail, June 7/94.

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Province in that year in order to select candidates for the anticipated Dominion election. Mr. Macdonald was the choice of a Conservative convention which met at Souris on 11th May, 1896. (9) The selection of Mr. D'Alton McCarthy cannot be explained so simply.

The Brandon Sun makes it clear that the ultra-Protestant McCarthyite wing of the Conservative Party had had considerable support throughout the riding, "a great many members of the Orange order affiliating, while a number of disaffected Tories had a pronounced leaning in that direction" (10) On 5th May, 1896, a Souris meeting of the "supporters of the McCarthy wing of the Conservative party" unanimously passed a resolution favouring D'Alton McCarthy as a candidate. A wire was thereupon sent to McCarthy, who accepted the nomination, (11) although already a candidate in the Ontario riding of North Simcoe. A Mr. Speers, who had been nominated by the Liberals of Brandon riding, withdrew in McCarthy's favour, and his Liberal supporters promised "to use their vote and influence in support of Mr. Dalton McCarthy." (12)

Although McCarthy had originally been a Conservative, and was chosen as a candidate by McCarthyite Conservatives, there are indications, aside from the withdrawal of the Liberal candidate in his favour, that his nomination was a Liberal idea. It is significant that the orthodox Conservative Brandon Times did not like McCarthy's running in the constituency:

"We cannot quite understand the reasons which actuated a number of the electors of Brandon Division to move in the direction of bringing out a candidate supporting the McCarthy platform. We notice, on looking at the bill

(9) The Brandon Times, May 14/96.

(10) Brandon Sun, May 7/96, McCarthy's Nomination.

(11) The Plaindealer, Souris, May 7/96.

(12) Bellevue Weekly Times, May 22/96.

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which has been circulated, that a great number of those signing it are Conservatives; and if it were that the McCarthy platform was simply one dealing with the school question, we might come to the conclusion that that was the reason why a meeting was called at Souris on Tuesday; but as the platform of Dalton McCarthy has been, for some time past, one which opposed the Conservative party upon the trade question, we cannot understand the Conservatives giving their allegiance to such a line of policy." (13)

As the election turned out, McCarthy won in both seats, but chose to represent North Simcoe, and the Liberal Clifford Sifton was returned for Brandon by acclamation and was made Minister of the Interior by Laurier. The possibility that this may have been arranged beforehand is borne out to a considerable degree by the fact that the Free Press, about a month before the election, published a prediction by a Brandon citizen that the matter would turn out exactly as it did:

"It is said that when Mr. McCarthy accepted the Brandon nomination he did so on a private understanding that if he secured his election in North Simcoe, where he is a candidate, and was also victorious in Brandon, he would elect to sit for North Simcoe, his old constituency. This would leave a vacancy in Brandon. If the Liberals regained power at Ottawa, it was understood the vacancy would be filled by the nomination of Attorney-General Sifton as the Liberal candidate with the object of his acceptance of a portfolio in the new Ottawa ministry, as representative of the west." (14)

Further evidence in the same direction is found in Sifton's brilliant campaign in Brandon, which did himself as much good as McCarthy, against the background of his standing in the riding as a well known lawyer, a representative in the local Legislature, and Attorney-General for the Province. Then too, if Sifton himself had run in the 1896 contest as a Liberal, he would have had to give up his post as Attorney-General, and would have run a fair chance of defeat, since that part of the

(13) The Brandon Times, May 7/96, McCarthyites.

(14) Free Press, May 27/96, The Brandon Seat.

country had been rather consistently Conservative in previous Federal elections. But as the campaign turned out, the Liberals won a strong member, Sifton ran no risk, and McCarthy added to his prestige by winning a second seat away from the Conservatives on the strength of a four-day campaign. There is every appearance of a prearranged bargain, and this has been confirmed by two contemporaries.

The manner in which the three candidates were chosen having been discussed, some consideration may be given to their background and qualifications.

D'Alton McCarthy, Q. C., came of an Irish family, and had been born near Dublin. He was sixty years old in 1896 and a very successful lawyer. For almost a quarter of a century he had been active in politics, having been returned by North Simcoe riding four times running. (15) John A. Macdonald is said to have called him the brains of the Conservative Party, and he would have been a member of the Cabinet if financial difficulties had not rendered such a position a luxury; but in 1889 he became an Independent, or McCarthyite, as leader of the Equal Rights movement, which sprang up in opposition to the Conservative policy on the Jesuits' Estates Act, and his breaking away contributed materially to the decline of the Conservative Party. (16) In the same year he spoke against separate schools during a meeting at Portage la Prairie, and Attorney-General Joseph Martin, speaking after him, gave the first apparently official notice that the Manitoba Government intended to abolish its dual language and school systems. In Parliament McCarthy had been constantly at loggerheads with the Government

(15) The Canadian Parliamentary Companion, 1897, Ottawa, 1897, p. 162. (Hereafter referred to as Parliamentary Companion.)

(16) Wallace, Encyclopedia, Vol. IV, p. 157; London, McCarthy, p. 47.

on the Manitoba School Question.

Because of his strong stand on this issue, it was particularly fitting that Mr. McCarthy should have been selected to run in Brandon, the most thoroughly Protestant riding of the Province, and that the Liberal candidate should have withdrawn gracefully to make way for a candidate so much more likely to appeal to whatever racial and religious feeling could be whipped up. He was not an Orangeman, but his viewpoint was so indistinguishable from that of the Loyal Order as to make him particularly valuable in Brandon, where the society is said to have been heavily represented.

Because of his eastern political ties, McCarthy could spare only four days for Brandon riding, but Clifford Sifton's excellent management of the campaign turned it into something of a triumphal march, in which McCarthy was able to make the best of his gifts. Local newspapers make it clear that he was both witty and adroit in his approach to his constituents, and he had a good platform manner:

"While speaking he stands almost motionless. He has a strong, resonant voice which he uses with deliberation and judgment. He is the clearest of speakers and his English is perfect in simplicity and vigor. He never repeats and never struggles with an explanation, and seldom hesitates. His words are most easily remembered." (17)

W. A. Macdonald, Q. C., the Conservative candidate, had lived in Brandon since 1892. In 1892 he was elected to the Manitoba Legislature for Brandon City, (18) and became leader of the Conservative group in that body, (19) but at the time of the 1896 election he was out of the Provincial Government. In

(17) The Plaindealer, Souris, June 4/96.

(18) Members of the Legislatures of the Province of Manitoba, 1870-1932, p. 10. (On file at Provincial Library).

(19) Manitoba Biography, 1911-14, p. 184. (Volumes of clippings kept in Provincial Library from 1896 down to present.)

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Provincial and Federal elections he had done his share of stump-
ing, and in between had taken his full part in community life.
Social and athletic groups did not hesitate to call on him to
serve in their organizations. (20) On the whole his gifts could
not be compared to those of D'Alton McCarthy, and his only real
drawing card was the fact that he was a local man who had earned
a fair amount of popularity.

There is little information available on the Patron candi-
date, W. Postlethwaite. He was a grain and commission merchant
in Brandon, and a farmer. (21) His electoral letter does not give
evidence of very clear thinking.

In his letter to the electors, (22) D'Alton McCarthy stressed
the school question:

"Is it possible any longer to doubt that a concordat has
been entered into between the Archbishop of St. Boniface
and the Catholic priests of the Province of Quebec on the
one hand, and the Tupper Administration on the other, whereby
the latter has agreed to re-impose a Separate School System
on your Province as the price of the support of the Quebec
Hierarchy in the pending electoral contest? No one who has
seriously considered the question can accept the transparent
fallacy that he is merely carrying out the order of the Ju-
dicial Committee of the Privy Council in which the Prime
Minister rests his case for interfering in your affairs."

In the second place, he denounced the National Policy as a
"grievous injury." In contrast to the preferential trade
plank of the Conservatives, he advocated lower duties on British
goods for the benefit of Canadian purchasers and the knitting
together of the Empire. Reciprocity with the United States
would be a possibility with an Ottawa Government not under the
control of the manufacturers. The reduction of freight charges
was given as the next most important issue after the school
question. The Conservatives were criticized for their failure

(20) The Brandon Times, May 14/96.

(21) Western Patrons' Sentinel, June 3/96, June 17/96.

(22) The Globe, Boissevain, May 22/96.

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to develop the Northwest, and Mr. McCarthy closed with the belief that the best immigration policy would be to make the prairie settlers happy and prosperous.

Mr. Postlethwaite's electoral letter, published in the Patrons' Eastern Sentinel, got off to a rambling start. First place was given to a "fiscal policy based on Justice and Equity," with no further elaboration. The reader was then referred to the Dominion platform, currently being published in the same newspaper. Mr. Postlethwaite deplored the practice of considering important questions on party lines rather than on their merits. Reduction of transportation and handling charges, and the end of monopoly were called for, and the final plank favoured economy and retrenchment.

(23)

The Conservative candidate, Mr. Macdonald, issued no letter to the electors. The closest thing to one was a quotation from Sir Charles Tupper's Winnipeg speech in which he promised that the Hudson Bay Railway would be built to the Saskatchewan within two years. In keeping with the Conservative practice of stressing the project throughout the Province, this quotation was given first place on the editorial page of the Brandon Times for the three weeks preceding the election.

In the campaign, McCarthy was supported by such men as Clifford Sifton, F. C. Wade, and C. Cliffe, while the Conservatives were backed by Senators Perley and Kirchhoffer, J. M. Robinson, Editor of The Brandon Times, Hugh Sutherland, President of the Hudson Bay Railway, Colin Campbell, and Hugh John Macdonald, and the Patron candidate by a Mr. John Fleming.

(24)

- (23) Patrons' Eastern Sentinel, May 6/96 and following weeks.
(24) The Enterprise, Melita, May 22/96; The Brandon Mail, June 15/96; The Elkhorn Advocate, June 4/96.

In the matter of campaigning the McCarthyites appear to have been at an advantage in the joint meetings which were at their best in Brandon riding. There was something spectacular about McCarthy's brief campaign, which Dr. J. B. Lafoe has re-captured in his life of Sifton. (25) The Brandon Sun said of it:

"During the unprecedented campaign of Mr. D'Alton McCarthy last week, or rather in four days of it, twelve meetings were addressed, and at these fully one-half of the electors of the constituency had the privilege of hearing the celebrated champion of National Schools." (26)

The best example of this McCarthyite campaigning is found in the activities of 28th May, two days after the candidate's enthusiastic reception in Brandon. At ten o'clock in the morning Mr. McCarthy addressed a meeting at Wawaness. He was due at Boissevain at 5 o'clock and long before that time it was apparent that the hall would not hold the crowd which had gathered, so the audience took their chairs outside and prepared for an open-air meeting. They were becoming restive by 5 o'clock, when Sifton arrived and informed them that because the Wawaness gathering had been turned into a joint meeting for McCarthy and Macdonald, it would be another hour before McCarthy arrived. Sifton thereupon spoke for about two hours, and the meeting was adjourned until 7:30, at which time McCarthy was supposed to arrive.

The hall began to fill up by about eight o'clock, and before McCarthy appeared, Macdonald had time to make a short speech and then set out for Deloraine on a hand-car in order not to be too far behind Sifton, who had already left. (27) McCarthy then gave a strong and sparkling address, in the course of which he had a little fun at Macdonald's expense.

(25) Lafoe, Sifton, p. 95.

(26) Brandon Sun, June 4/96.

(27) The Globe, Boissevain, June 4/96, McCarthy in Boissevain.

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At Deloraine a large gathering had also deserted the hall and moved outdoors. The meeting began at 9:30 P.M. with a talk on the school question by Mr. Wade, but Clifford Sifton took over the platform on his arrival. Mr. Macdonald, who next arrived on his hand-car, replied to Sifton, and was followed by a Patron speaker before McCarthy made an appearance at 1:30 in the morning. Many had gone home, but there was still a good crowd, and McCarthy made a thorough presentation of his platform. (28)

This sort of campaigning apparently agreed with both the audiences and McCarthy and Sifton, all of whom were in the best of spirits. But Macdonald, who usually spoke after Sifton had finished and set out for the next town, found it difficult to do more than make a negative speech, against Sifton, before he had to follow that worthy. At Melita, Macdonald complained of the McCarthy system of "going from place to place at railroad speed." (29) Macdonald was on the defensive, not a very hopeful attitude in an election.

Following McCarthy's return east, Clifford Sifton took good care of his interests, and the McCarthyite platform was not allowed to get out of sight for a moment.

Against McCarthy's rather meteor-like performance, Macdonald could offer only a campaign characterized by hard work, determination, and a largely unpopular platform. In addition to the regular meetings, there were one or two Conservative picnics, speeches by Hugh Sutherland on the Hudson Bay Railway, and a visit to the constituency by Hugh John Macdonald. (30) When W. A. Macdonald spoke in Brandon on

(28) Deloraine Weekly Times, May 29/96, Meeting at Deloraine.
(29) The Enterprise, Melita, May 29/96, McCarthy in Melita.
(30) The Globe, Boissevain, June 18/96.

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16th June, a week before the election, he had already addressed
(31)
thirty-four meetings, which is evidence of the vigour with
which he had carried out his canvass. However, it is signifi-
cant that at Piersen the farmers did not show up for his meet-
(32)
ing, whether because of pressure of farm work is not clear;
at Boissevain an afternoon meeting was curtailed because of
poor attendance, no farmers being present; and at Hartney such
a small crowd appeared that the meeting was called off. (33)
It
would appear on the surface at least as if the Conservative
platform had been too unattractive to Brandon constituency to
draw the farmers away from their work.

Postlethwaite and his supporters apparently covered the
constituency as well as Macdonald did, although there is little
press notice of his remarks. Early in June he made a tour of
the southern portion of the riding, and either he or fellow
Patrons seem to have covered the rest of the constituency be-
fore the election. Mr. Postlethwaite was not able to be present
(34)
at all the meetings, presumably because of the demands of
his business and farm. He was further handicapped by the action
of a group of twenty-five Patrons who had a letter read at his
meeting in Deloraine, requesting him to withdraw from the contest (35)
in order to prevent Macdonald from being elected. An open letter
in the Western Patrons' Sentinel, not enlarged upon elsewhere,
seems to suggest that some sort of a scandal campaign was used
against him. The letter is from the Galt Association, Patrons

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- (31) The Brandon Times, June 16/96.
(32) The Enterprise, Melita, May 22/96.
(33) The Hartney Star, May 22/96.
(34) Western Patrons' Sentinel, June 17/96.
(35) The Enterprise, Melita, June 12/96.

of Industry, and states

"That we take this method of assuring Mr. Postlethwaite that our confidence in him is, if possible, only increased by what we believe to be miserable falsehoods, concocted because his enemies could find nothing else to bring against him, and we would urge on Mr. Postlethwaite the necessity, in the interests of morality and parity of elections, of using every means to bring the guilty parties to justice, and we pledge ourselves to assist him in every way we can." (36)

It will be apparent that the three-cornered campaign was fought on the school question, the tariff, and the Hudson Bay Railway. Postlethwaite tried to introduce prohibition as a fourth issue, but his two opponents managed to keep it beneath the surface. In reply to letters from the W. C. T. U. asking the candidates what their views were on temperance, Macdonald stated that if the matter were shown to be one for consideration of the Dominion Government, he would ask his constituents what they thought about the matter, and govern himself accordingly; (37) while McCarthy let the matter drop after saying quite frankly that he did not believe in prohibition, because "That which you attempt to deprive men of by legislation they are the more anxious to obtain." (38)

All three candidates pronounced themselves to be in favour of public schools, but Macdonald was at a disadvantage in saying that he would vote independently in parliament on the school question; McCarthy asked the electors how they could possibly believe that Macdonald would turn against his party if the matter came to a vote of want of confidence, (39) and the answer seemed to be that he couldn't. Postlethwaite's platform included public schools,

(36) Western Patrons' Sentinel, July 1/96.
(37) The Enterprise, Melita, May 22/96.
(38) Ibid., May 29/96.
(39) Beloraine Weekly Times, May 29/96.

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but that bare fact was rather insignificant beside McCarthy's record of violent Equal Rights opposition to everything Catholic.

Macdonald was also at a serious disadvantage on the trade question. It was his unpleasant duty to try to convince the farmers that the National Policy had made them prosperous and that all they really needed was preferential trade with England. McCarthy and his supporters made short work of his assertion that Manitoba farmers were protected by the duty of 15¢ a bushel (40) levied on American wheat. McCarthy maintained that no grain would be brought into Canada from the United States even if the 15¢ duty were removed, and that the chief value of the National Policy was to men like Mr. Massey, who had acquired a fortune of \$3,000,000 since its inception; (41) the Brandon Mail demonstrated to its own satisfaction that, supposing the 15¢ duty secured the sale in Ontario of 5,000,000 bushels of Canadian, rather than American, wheat, the individual farmer would make 25¢ a year out of this business, while he lost \$8 a year because of the high prices he paid for Canadian goods manufactured under (42) the protection of the National Policy.

There is no doubt that the National Policy was extremely unpopular in the Brandon district. As far back as early 1894, the Tribune had said of Brandon constituency:

"The farmers who compose the greater part of it, it is said, would vote solidly against Daly and high tariff even if a man personally distasteful to them were put up on the other side."

This hostility was probably strongest near the border, where farmers could compare Canadian and American prices of necessary

(40) The Enterprise, Melita, May 22/96.

(41) The Elkhorn Advocate, June 4/96.

(42) The Brandon Mail, June 4/96.

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commodities. In the article referred to, the Tribune, speaking of the Conservative Robert Rogers' prospects in Lisgar, remarked:

"Unfortunately for Robert one side of the constituency lies along the U. S. boundary, and the National Policy will not get a vote within ten miles of that line."

At a Conservative meeting in Melita, according to a Liberal newspaper, Senator Perley's remarks in favour of the tariff "evidently irritated the audience," and at Deloraine "the audience were more impatient still and Senator Perley's address provoked continued ironical remarks." (44) Another Liberal paper said of this latter meeting:

"He (Senator Perley) endeavoured to prove that the farmers were prospering and that the tariff was not felt by them other than beneficially... The interruptions were so frequent that he closed much quicker than he otherwise would have done;..." (45)

As for preferential trade with England, Sifton stated that this was not something for Canada to get, but for England to give, and that there was little prospect of that country giving up its fifty year old free trade system. (46) McCarthy stated his belief that there should be a maximum tariff, at pretty much its present level, against the United States until a reciprocity agreement could be reached with them; while against England there should be a minimum tariff, as low as revenue requirements would permit. This tariff arrangement would favour Great Britain rather than the United States, and increase British exports to Canada. (47)

The only real platform advantage on Macdonald's side was Tupper's promise to complete the Hudson Bay Railway to the Saskatchewan within two years. A short outlet to the Bay was good news to any Manitoba farmer, because it held out the hope

(44) The Hartney Star, May 22/96.
(45) The Globe, Boissevain, May 21/96.
(46) The Enterprise, Melita, May 29/96.
(47) Deloraine Weekly Times, May 29/96.

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of higher prices for wheat as a result of lower railway freight charges. Macdonald made the most of the Hudson Bay Railway in all his campaign speeches. Hugh Sutherland, president of the company, spoke in the constituency, but apparently was not well received, if one may judge from the fact that "Towards the end of Hugh Sutherland's address an ancient egg landed on the platform at that gentleman's feet, an emblem of impurity." (48) This was probably due in large part to the effective work of the McCarthyites, who never missed an opportunity to discredit Tupper's promise. There was also the fact that Sutherland had headed the company for some fourteen years without being able to make such progress. Sifton called the promise of the road an election dodge, and charged that it had been used a few years before by Daly when running in the district. (49) McCarthy promised he would do what he could to bring about the construction of the road if it were necessary for Manitoba's welfare, but that he would be in earnest about the matter - he would not trifle with the people as the Conservatives were doing. At another meeting, he ridiculed the idea of building the road only to the Saskatchewan, which would leave a long gap between the railroad and the Bay. (51) Mr. Cliffe stated that such a road would only be a feeder for the C. P. R.; the railway should be built to the Bay or not at all. (52) The Boissevain Globe reported that not all of Tupper's followers were in favour of the Hudson Bay road, and reported a speech of E. H. Oiler in Toronto, in which the candidate for West Toronto freely

(48) The Globe, Boissevain, June 18/96, H.B. Railway Meeting.

(49) The Enterprise, Melita, May 29/96.

(50) The Brandon Mail, May 28/96.

(51) The Globe, Boissevain, May 21/96.

(52) Ibid., May 21/96.

criticized the project as an impossible fraud.

The Conservative and Patron candidates made an issue out of the fact that McCarthy was an outsider, and that if elected he would sit for North Simcoe and leave Brandon unrepresented. (54)

The fact that this charge was recognized as a danger is shown by the efforts made to overcome it. In Boissevain, Macdonald spoke disparagingly of the effort to foist an outsider on the constituency, and then incoherently dwelt on his own sterling qualities. McCarthy, following him, remarked that "He was

pleased to learn of Mr. Macdonald's stainless character and suggested it would be unwise to send him to parliament as he might become contaminated." (55) McCarthy appeared to be an expert at jollyng his constituents. In Brandon he told his audience that if they used him well he might yet become a resident. (56)

In Deloraine he pointed out that members of the Canadian House of Commons had before now sat for strange constituencies, and that in England the practice was common. A member should represent not only his own constituency, but the whole of Canada. (57)

After his meeting in Virden, McCarthy was asked which constituency he would run in if elected for both, but he side-stepped the issue by declining to make a private answer to such a question. (58)

When the same question was asked during his meeting at Melita, McCarthy said that if he were elected in both constituencies, he would think the matter over seriously and do whatever seemed to be best. (59)

(53) Ibid, May 28/96.

(54) Elkhorn Advocate, June 4/96.

(55) The Globe, Boissevain, June 4/96.

(56) The Brandon Mail, May 28/96.

(57) Deloraine Weekly Times, May 29/96.

(58) The Virden Banner, May 28/96.

(59) The Enterprise, Melita, May 29/96.

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It was perhaps to be expected that in such a thoroughly Protestant riding a little anti-papery should appear. At least two attempts were made to bring out a sinister connection between Conservatives and Roman Catholics. One of these had to do with the sudden illness of a priest at Grand Clairière on a Sunday, whereupon a Conservative who had been active in the campaign, and who just happened to be on hand, gave the congregation a two-hour election speech, to the horror of the Liberal Enterprise, Manitoba, which reported the matter with relish. (60) About the same time, The Brandon Mail, Liberal, announced that Mr. Macdonald had been met by a priest at Napinka, and that the two of them, with some friends, had

"repaired to a room, where a half hour's private arrangement was indulged in... The people may make up their minds every vote they poll for Mr. Macdonald is one for separate schools in Manitoba, squirm over it as Mr. Macdonald may at any time." (61)

In all the issues stressed in the campaign, McCarthy and Macdonald were given support by the newspapers of the riding. Mr. McCarthy was at an advantage in this respect, since there were six Liberal newspapers supporting him with considerable vigour, while the Conservatives only had the help of three papers, and two of these were rather inactive politically.

Le Manitoba advised its readers to vote for Macdonald, although his stand on the school question was not satisfactory; but only by voting for the Conservative could they defeat McCarthy who, of course, was the arch-enemy of all French Catholics. (62)

Election day went off quietly in the riding. There was little suggestion of corrupt practices, although there were two cases of personation; (63) and at Virden two voters by the name of

(60) The Enterprise, Manitoba, June 12/96.

(61) The Brandon Mail, July 11/96.

(62) Le Manitoba, June 15/96, Politics in Manitoba and the North-West

(63) The Globe, Boissevain, July 2/96.

Rolling iv. No.	Name	W. A. Macdonald	D'Alton McCarthy	W. Postle- thwaite	Votes Polled	Voters on List
	Brandon	91	168	7	206	345
	Do.	100	148	7	255	407
	Do.	122	105	5	232	351
	Do.	116	81	10	207	321
	Douglas	56	85	1	142	195
	Nevin's, 12-11-18	34	58	6	98	119
	Kilfoyle, 16-19	39	50	14	103	123
	Chater	55	56	14	125	195
	Johnston's, 21-9-18	43	80	5	122	194
	Wright's, 18-8-17	42	63	1	106	148
	Wawanesa	49	84	3	136	174
	Fowler's	55	44	1	80	101
	Carroll	51	37	4	92	145
	Westwood	24	71	8	103	158
	Penston	42	46	24	114	179
	Alexander	78	31	42	201	292
	Aston's, 30-9-21	64	63	20	137	221
	Fry's, 2-8-22	43	35	21	99	160
	Follis', 12-8-21	36	63	25	124	218
	Souris	97	70	12	179	245
	Argue's, 4-6-21	63	84	34	181	271
	Hesslip's, 32-5-19	23	59	17	99	134
	Helin's, 10-4-20	30	17	46	93	138
	Boissevain	102	76	35	213	288
	Shannon's, 34-2-19	45	30	68	143	197
	Druesbury's, 19-2-20	29	25	7	61	102
	Ralphton	89	59	53	201	282
	Macdonald's, 28-10-24	51	70	83	204	294
	Eby's, 32-6-25	29	33	7	69	132
	Oak Lake	86	99	5	190	278
	Cannon's, 33-7-23	80	43	5	128	205
	Grano Tree, 27-5-25	56	17	-	73	121
	Hartney	51	71	1	123	177
	Barber's School	44	38	9	91	133
	Galbraith's, 13-5-24	36	69	4	109	152
	Willis', 16-4-24	30	15	24	69	118
	Nepinka	29	24	23	76	109
	Hartyr's, 20-2-25	32	29	16	77	133
	Rockett's, 22-2-24	41	34	19	94	148
	Beloraine	64	82	24	170	225
	Harvey's, 36-1-23	49	62	18	129	186
	Baker's, 32-11-26	24	19	64	107	156
	Elkhorn	61	18	55	134	195
	Wright's, 22-11-28	58	16	44	118	221
	McDougall's, 21-10-26	24	31	14	69	122
	Virden	70	87	9	166	245
	Gould's House	26	25	29	78	215
	Bailey's, 25-9-26	20	18	47	85	172
	Pipestone	17	30	39	86	140
	Livesly's, 20-5-26	23	60	14	97	172
	Wyatt's, 24-5-28	6	30	4	40	100
	McRae's, 34-3-28	39	53	6	98	180
	Malita	52	87	17	156	242
	Dobyn's, 4-4-26	21	30	9	60	100
	Weston's, 26-1-27	13	54	10	77	135
	Holmes', 10-2-28	18	51	13	82	149
		<u>2,736</u>	<u>3,073</u>	<u>1,102</u>	<u>6,913</u>	<u>10,666</u>

Majority for D'Alton McCarthy - 335.

Figures from Sessional Papers, Canada, 1897, Vol. XXXI, pp.296-7; names from The Globe, Boissevain, July 2/96.

McDonald received a wire from Winnipeg telling them to come at once - their brother was dying. The telegram turned out to be a trick to keep two voters from the polls. (64)

Brandon constituency made the highest vote of the Province, with 64% of the electorate using their franchise. This rather modest record compares well with previous elections in the old riding of Selkirk, which had polled a 60% vote in 1872, 66% in 1874, 51% in 1878, 44% in 1887, and 48% in 1891. However, it is likely that the record was higher in the western part later occupied by Brandon riding, because the eastern part, the new liagar, would probably be held down to low figures by the non-voting Mennonites. The fact that Brandon did better than the other constituencies in 1896 was probably due in large part to the numerous voters born in Ontario, and to the splendid campaign of McCarthy and Sifton, which could not be equalled in any of the other ridings. It was the sort of campaign to arouse discussion and interest among the voters and draw them to the polling booths on election day. The fact that the vote was not heavier than 64% is probably explained by a combination of bad roads and political apathy.

The results gave the seat to D'Alton McCarthy with 3,073 votes, a majority of 338 over Macdonald, who received 2,738 votes. This was the third largest majority in the Province, being exceeded by the Conservatives in Provensher and Macdonald. Postlethwaite was given 1,102 votes, (65) and lost his deposit, since he made less than half of the winner's total.

With one exception, the old riding of Selkirk had returned a Conservative in every election since Confederation, which may

(64) The Virden Banner, June 25/96.

(65) Information from election reports in the Tribune and Free Press of June 25/96 and figures given in Sessional Papers, Canada, 1897, No. 13, pp. 296-7.

explain why the Liberals had been willing to withdraw their candidate in favour of D'Alton McCarthy, since he had been a Conservative, and had become an Independent, not a Liberal. In other words, Brandon Conservatives could vote for McCarthy and his popular stand on the school and trade questions without feeling too much like traitors to their party.

McCarthy piled up a majority in 33 out of 56 polling divisions, but in only 13 of these was his majority very large; these thirteen were in the neighbourhood of Douglas, Wawanesa, Hartney, Souris, and Melita, most of which districts McCarthy had visited. The Conservatives made majorities in only 16 polling divisions, at scattered points throughout the constituency. Three of these, in contradiction of the Tribune's forecast, were separated from the International Boundary by only nine miles - which might serve as a warning about political predictions. The Patrons, who made a poor showing, managed to pile up majorities around Boissevain in the south and Virden in the north. One paper had referred to Virden as the Patrons' stamping ground before the election. (66) This district had returned a Patron to the Provincial Legislature in the election of 1896, held in January. (67) There may possibly have been some connection between the Patron leanings of this area and the fact that it contained many settlers from Great Britain; (68) newcomers would not have the same Canadian party ties as Manitobans whose Canadian ancestry went back several generations.

There were apparently several reasons for McCarthy's victory. First of all, in a Protestant Ontario riding, he had the most satisfactory record of the three candidates on the school

(66) The Brandon Times, June 4/96.

(67) Holmes, Thesis, Politics in Manitoba, map facing p. 104.

(68) Margaret McWilliams, Manitoba Milestones, Toronto, 1928, p. 165.

question, and as head of the McCarthyite group might be expected to do more for the maintenance of public schools in Manitoba than could either of his opponents. On the tariff, Macdonald did not stand a chance to win on his efforts to persuade the farmers that the National Policy had been beneficial to them, and the determination of his party to stand by that policy. Macdonald's one advantage, the promise of the Hudson Bay Railway, was probably largely discredited by the statements of the McCarthyites. But it is likely that the really decisive factor in the results was McCarthy's personality, as displayed in his brilliant performance before large audiences greatly flattered by the appearance of such a luminary in their midst. This factor alone would have made it possible for many Conservatives to swing away from their party allegiance, salving their conscience with the reflection that after all McCarthy was not a Liberal. In this connection, it is fairly obvious that while many Conservatives would be tempted to vote McCarthyite, since McCarthy had been a Conservative and was nominated largely by Conservatives, it would have been out of the question for any Liberal to vote for the Conservative platform of coercion and the National Policy, unless he depended absolutely on the promise of the Hudson Bay Railway. In other words, McCarthy benefited not only from considerable Conservative support, but also from almost the entire Liberal vote.

The Conservatives apparently did not do so well in Brandon as in the other constituencies, but this is probably explained by the fact that large numbers of them voted for McCarthy, without feeling that they were thereby being altogether disloyal to their party.

CHAPTER FOUR

LOCAL CAMPAIGNS

PROVENCHER CONSTITUENCY

Provencher, the southeastern riding of the Province, was one of the few which came through the 1892 redistribution with its own name and with very little change in boundaries. It was Manitoba's one distinctively French constituency, since it contained by far the largest part of Manitoba's French and French half-breed minority.

Compared to the other six constituencies, and particularly those in the West, which had received most of their population in the fifteen years preceding the election, Provencher had had a long, slow development; its rate of growth between 1891 and 1896 had been only 21%, as compared to 419% for Brandon. ⁽¹⁾ The population in 1896 numbered 17,751. ⁽²⁾

Among the earliest settlers in the area were a few French families, brought out to Pembina from Lower Canada by Fathers Provencher and Dumoulin in 1818 - just at the beginning of the Selkirk Settlement. ⁽³⁾ This small French migration represented "The first serious attempt of the Church of Rome to establish itself in the North-West, and from it spread the great chain of missions to the west and far north." ⁽⁴⁾ In 1823 these early settlers left Pembina for Red River. ⁽⁵⁾ Much later, in the seventies, many villages along the Red were peopled by French Canadians brought from Quebec and New England by Archbishop

(1) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. IV, pp. 497-8.

(2) Census of Manitoba, 1896.

(3) Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement, Its Rise, Progress, and Present State, London, 1856, p. 48.

(4) Alexander Begg, History of the North-West, 3 vols., Toronto, 1894, Vol. I, p. 197.

(5) Ross, op. cit., p. 75.

(6)

Taché and Father Lacombe. England brings out the religious nature of this later immigration:

"So that colonization proceeded by the method of erection of parishes, the settlers being grouped around the church. In Southern Manitoba there grew up the parishes of St. Norbert (1857), St. Agathe (1876), St. Jean Baptiste (1877), Latellier (1879), St. Joseph (1877), Lorette (1877), Ste. Anne des Chenes (1876), La Broquerie (1884), Notre Dame des Lourdes (1891), and parishes near Daloraine, and in Northern Manitoba, St. Rose du Lac, Deerhorn, Fisher Branch and St. Laurent - many with communities of Sisters and Brothers of various orders." (7)

In the seventies there also arrived the Mennonites, so that the population of the district increased most rapidly in this decade. The Mennonites were chiefly Dutch, and they had been seeking for religious toleration since the middle of the sixteenth century, when they left Holland for Polish Prussia. From there they went to Russia, and in 1874 a few thousands of them came out to Manitoba, migrating for the same old reason - the desire to build homes in a community that would respect their religious scruples, and particularly their objection to military service. (8) Two areas, known as the Eastern and Western Reserves, had been set aside for them, and they settled these so thoroughly that extremely few outsiders were to be found living among them. Provencher contained the Eastern Reserve, eight townships known as Hanover, and part of the Western Reserve, most of which was located in Lisgar riding.

The largest group in the constituency in 1886 had been the French, with whom may be included a fair number of French half-breeds; together they made up almost half the population. Slightly more than a quarter of the riding's inhabitants were of British origin, fairly evenly divided among English, Scotch,

(6) Katherine Hughes, Father Lacombe: The Black-Robe Voyageur, Toronto, 1911, pp. 231-35.

(7) England, Colonization, p. 266.

(8) Ibid., p. 232.

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(9) and Irish; about 20% were Mennonites. A good proportion of the English-speaking settlers were located in the south of the constituency, while the French were numerous in the middle and the northern sections. The comparative age of Provencher is shown by the fact that almost half of its population had been born in Manitoba - a record only exceeded by Selkirk riding to the north. Provencher had fewer Ontario-born settlers than any other constituency in the Province, and more Quebec-born.

(10)

In 1891 two-thirds of Provencher's settlers had been Roman Catholics, the remaining third being made up of Baptists (very largely Mennonites), Presbyterians, Anglicans, and Methodists, in that order, and a scattering of other denominations.

(11)

It is apparent from the foregoing that Provencher constituency in 1896 was predominantly French Catholic, with a large and solid group of Mennonites, and another group of British origin, larger than that of the Mennonites, but not so homogeneous in religion or settled so compactly.

Wheat growing was the principal economic interest of Provencher, as of the other rural Manitoba ridings, although the Mennonites engaged in considerable mixed farming and set an example which the English-speaking settlers were slow to follow. In 1891 there had been 116 small industrial establishments in the constituency, all of them bound up with the agricultural life of the district. There were, for example, sawmills, harness makers, flour and woollen mills, cheese factories, pump makers -

(9) Census of Manitoba, 1885-6, pp. 15 and 21. (4,264 French, 2,170 French half-breeds, 1,295 English, 1,187 Irish, 1,162 Scotch, 2,571 Mennonites, 426 Indians.)

(10) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. I, pp. 532-3.

(11) Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 228-9. (8,900 Catholics, 2,644 Baptists, 1,394 Presbyterians, 1,016 Anglicans, 897 Methodists).

and, at Morden, a dog power manufacturer!

The two candidates in Provencher riding were A. A. C. LaRivière, Conservative, and George Walton, Liberal. There is no mention of how Mr. LaRivière was chosen as a candidate, but since he had already been twice elected, it seems to have been taken for granted that he would run. Mr. Walton was nominated by a meeting of Provencher Liberals in Winnipeg early in June, and the nomination was ratified by a Liberal meeting in Emerson

on 6th June. (13) It is interesting to note that the Provencher Liberals had earlier corresponded with Laurier, asking him to contest the riding, but he refused on the grounds that he could not visit the West. (14)

Laurier had much more to hope for in Quebec than in Manitoba.

LaRivière, born in Quebec, and a Catholic, was fifty-four years of age in 1896. He had had a college and military education, and in 1871 was made Captain of the Military District of Manitoba. In the same year he was appointed to the Dominion Lands Office, and later he became chief editor of Le Manitoba. He took an extraordinarily wide and active part in community affairs; for example, he founded the Association St. Jean-Baptiste de Manitoba in 1872, and La Société de Colonisation de Manitoba in 1874, and served as President of both. For another period he

(12) Henderson's Directory, 1896, pp.486-560. (The dog power manufacturer, according to his nephew, produced a wheel, twelve to fourteen feet in diameter; this rested on an inclined plane and was attached to a churn, which was operated by a dog standing on top of the wheel and turning it by his moving feet. Dogs are said to have grown fond of this exercise, but only personal testimony would be convincing. One of these wheels is said to be still in existence north of Carberry.)

(13) Tribune, June 9/96.

(14) Free Press, May 19, 22, 1896.

served as Superintendent of Catholic Schools and Joint Secretary of the Board of Education. But these are only the more significant of his countless efforts on behalf of his Manitoba fellow-citizens, both French and English. He was active in provincial politics from 1874 on, being elected by acclamation more than once, and at various times he held three of the five provincial portfolios. He first ran for Provencher constituency in a federal by-election in 1889, and was successful both in that contest and in the 1891 election.

(15)

La Riviere carried his military training over into civilian life:

"he did not waste words; his manner was direct, and where a yes or no sufficed, he usually refrained from elaboration. In the Provincial Legislature...he soon became recognised as a foeman worthy of close attention from the most aggressive members of an Opposition led by two of Manitoba's most powerful debaters, Mr. Thomas Greenway and Mr. Joseph Martin, E. C."

(16)

One who knew Mr. LaRiviere describes him as having had the gift, important in politicians, of remembering his constituents as individuals. Both he and his newspaper were esteemed by the French people of Provencher, because he was a friend in need to the farmers. For instance, while representing Provencher in the Dominion Parliament, he imposed on himself the duty of securing clear patents for many farmers whose titles were in doubt.

The Liberal candidate, George Walton, was considerably younger than LaRiviere, being in his early forties. He was born at Peterboro, Ontario, and was educated in the collegiate institute of that town. In 1879 he came to Emerson and opened a hardware store, which he operated for five years. He was then made a representative of the Fairchild Company, a Winnipeg concern which handled agricultural implements, and while travelling widely for this firm in southern Manitoba, he got to know thoroughly the

(15) Parliamentary Companion, 1897, p. 154.

(16) Manitoba Biography, 1924-30, p. 228.

people and their needs. Still later he opened a real estate business in Winnipeg.

Mr. Walton's sole interest outside his business concerns was politics. He was a councillor in Emerson for some time, and in 1896 was serving as bailiff of the county court at Emerson. Apparently he was no great orator at that time, for it was remarked, following his election to the Provincial Legislature eleven years later that "Although not trained to public speaking, since his election to the house he has developed fluency of utterance and clearness of expression." In religion he was a Methodist. (17)

It is evident that Mr. LaRivière, on the basis of his race and religion, his community work, his ability, his previous successes in the constituency, and his prestige, was at a considerable advantage over Mr. Walton in Provencher, with its predominantly French-speaking Catholic population. In addition to his other advantages among the French-speaking electorate, there was also Mr. LaRivière's work on behalf of separate schools as editor of Le Manitoba, from the time separate schools were abolished in 1890 down to the election. This newspaper made a strong appeal to the voters on the eve of the election:

"Mr. A. A. C. LaRivière, our old representative, is again the candidate for the good cause, and after the six years of labour which he has imposed on himself in order to ensure that justice should be rendered to us, it would be ingratitude on our part and on the part of the electors of the fine district of Provencher, cradle of Catholicism and of the French nationality in this country, to prefer over him an unknown candidate, incapable, and even hostile to our cause.

This Mr. George Walton has no right at all to our votes, it would be an act of treason to our religious and national interests to vote for him and prefer him to an old veteran of

(17) Manitoba Biography, 1909-11, p. 112; Ibid., 1924-30, p. 38; Weekly Review, Portage la Prairie, June 11/96; Henderson's Directory, 1896, pp. 350, 742.

our local politics, like Mr. LaRivière." (18)

Judging from the editorials of Le Manitoba in the six years preceding the 1896 election, La Rivière took the Manitoba School question as his sole issue in his canvass. During the actual campaign period, only the school question was considered in the paper; Laurier was identified with McCarthy, who, of course, was extremely unpopular with the French because of his Equal Rights activities; (19) in a long article describing the candidates in the various constituencies the criterion was invariably the stand taken on the school question, and in only one case, that of Mr. Boyd of Macdonald constituency, was mention made of services not connected with that struggle. (20) If Mr. LaRivière, in his campaign, spoke in favour of the National Policy or preferential trade arrangements with England, the fact is not mentioned in the scanty information supplied by the only two newspapers of the riding - Le Manitoba and The Emerson Journal.

The issues taken up by Mr. Walton are given in his electoral address, printed in the Emerson Journal. (21) Unlike the

(18) Le Manitoba, June 15/96, Politics in Manitoba and the North-West.

(M. A. C. LaRivière, notre ancien député, est de nouveau le candidat de la bonne cause, et après les six années de travail qu'il s'est imposé pour obtenir que justice nous soit rendue, il y aurait ingratitude de notre part et de la part des électeurs du beau district de Provencher, berceau du catholicisme et de la nationalité française en ce pays, de lui préférer un candidat inconnu, incapable et hostile même à notre cause.

Ce M. George Walton n'a aucun droit à nos suffrages, ce serait un acte de trahison à nos intérêts religieux et nationaux que de voter pour lui et le préférer un vieux vétéran de notre politique locale, comme M. La Rivière.)

(19) Le Manitoba, Apr. 15/96, June 8/96.

(20) Ibid., June 15/96, Politics in Manitoba and the North-West.

(21) The Emerson Journal, June 15/96.

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Liberal candidates in Protestant ridings, who stressed the school question, Mr. Walton gave first place to tariff reform; since the farmer had high freight rates to contend with because of his distance from market, he should be able to buy his goods as cheaply as possible to compensate for the disadvantage, and that meant a downward revision of the duties against American goods. As for preferential trade, Mr. Walton believed that the first step necessary was the modification of the National Policy so as to lower or remove the Canadian duty on British imports. He was in favour of the building of the Hudson Bay Railway, and believed that most of the expense should be met by the Dominion Government. On the school question, Mr. Walton refrained from raising the "No coercion" cry. Keeping the French electorate in mind, he stressed the belief that Laurier could and would bring about a settlement which would suit the minority as well as the majority. This was a far cry from the stand taken in other Manitoba ridings, where the Liberal candidate always considered it necessary to state himself to be unalterably opposed to separate schools and the coercion of Manitoba by the Dominion Government.

In the two newspapers available there is not a single description of a campaign meeting, and no account of how well the territory was covered by the candidates and their supporters. A small item in Le Manitoba announced that Mr. La Rivière had left St. Boniface on 17th June for a five-day tour of the constituency; (22) while a few days previously The Emerson Journal, perhaps thinking wishfully, had said that Mr. Walton was "meeting with great success in his canvass in the French settlements." (23) These two items are the sum-total of information on campaign

(22) Le Manitoba, June 16/96, Political Notes.

(23) The Emerson Journal, June 12/96, The Campaign.

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meetings. On 19th June it was announced that Mr. Walton was holding meetings in three towns, to all of which Mr. LaRivière had been invited. (24) But whether or not he came is not stated, and there is no other mention of the joint meetings so popular in other parts of the Province, but probably ineffective in a constituency containing three large and distinct language groups. The Mennonites, of course, took very little interest in politics, and they are not mentioned by either newspaper as a factor in deciding the election, although Walton said in his letter to the electors of Provencher that he had been persuaded to take part in the election "by the united voice of French, English, and German electors of Provencher." (25)

An account of the campaign in Provencher would not be complete without a summary of the work done by Le Manitoba, which ultimately favoured the Conservatives.

Beginning immediately after the passage of the law abolishing separate schools, Le Manitoba charged that Manitoba Catholics were being subjected to systematic persecution, and in support of this assertion quoted Mr. Luxton's Free Press: "It is not legislation, it is persecution." (26) There followed a series of eight articles on the school question, which took up a good part of Le Manitoba for two months. (27) These were written by Senator T. A. Bernier, and gave a complete statement of the Catholic viewpoint. First, it was argued, with quotations from numerous sources, ancient and modern, that the child's education was a matter to be decided upon by the father (who had been entrusted by God with its welfare), not by the state. Then the so-called

(24) The Emerson Journal, June 19/96, Town Topics.

(25) Ibid., June 12/96.

(26) Le Manitoba, March 26/90, Persecution.

(27) Ibid., June 11 to August 6, 1890.

national schools just set up were charged with being actually Protestant schools, into which it was unjust to force Catholic children. The argument that national schools were necessary for the growth of national unity was repudiated on the basis of the history of the French Canadians:

"From the first page to the last, there is nothing in these records to taint our patriotism and our loyalty. But, all this history is the expression of our education; consequently, our schools are not an obstacle to national unity."

It was stated that public schools were very far from having wide-spread support in the United States. The series ended with an exposition of the need for religion being taught in schools, as realized by competent authorities from the earliest times.

On August 20, 1890, the full front page and a good part of the second in this four-page journal were given over to a mandement by Archbishop Taché, in which he appealed to the courage of his parishioners for whatever struggles might lie ahead:

"One must render to Caesar what is Caesar's, but when Caesar demands things which belong to God, the Church wishes that we should suffer rather than obey. She even wishes that we should die for our faith, without ever upholding it by means of violence or force." (28)

When the Supreme Court found in favour of the minority in 1891, the paper naturally rejoiced, (29) and when this finding was reversed by the Privy Council the next year, Le Manitoba was quick to point out the existence of the right to appeal to the Governor-General in Council for remedial legislation. (30)

(28) Le Manitoba, Aug. 20/90. (Il faut rendre à César ce qui est à César, mais quand César demande des choses que Dieu défend, l'Église veut que nous souffrions plutôt que d'obéir. Elle veut même que nous mourrions pour notre foi, sans jamais la soutenir par la violence ou la force."

(29) Ibid., Oct. 25/91, Victory.

(30) Ibid., Aug. 17/92.

Meantime, there was a continual stream of material on the school question: an open letter to Premier Greenway from John S. Ewart, who acted as counsel for the minority although he was a Protestant: (31) a report of a meeting of St. Boniface citizens to protest against the school legislation; (32) a speech by Senator T. A. Bernier on the school question; (33) a long speech made by Mr. LaRiviere in the House of Commons at Ottawa; (34) and so on, without a let-up, and very little space devoted to any other topic. Laurier's speech of 1893, in which he called for investigation of the facts, was praised, but the first little doubt of his stand made its appearance because he said the federal government should intervene if the so-called national schools of Manitoba were actually Protestant. (35) In June, 1893, there was printed an article by Archbishop Taché in which he insisted that the schools were definitely Protestant, and a little later an open letter on the school question from the Archbishop to Israel Tarte. In October of the same year Archbishop Taché started a series of long articles on the history of Manitoba schools for the preceding seventy-five years, and this series ran until 30th December, frequently occupying more than a page of the paper.

By 1895, Laurier had sunk still farther in the estimation of Le Manitoba because of his suggestion for a minute enquiry into the wrongs of Manitoba's minority. Surely these wrongs were too obvious to need investigation:

"We had Catholic schools and they took them away from us; but the Privy Council of England decided that we could

(31) Le Manitoba, Jan. 7/93.
 (32) Ibid., Aug. 11/93.
 (33) Ibid., Aug. 31/93.
 (34) Ibid., March 15/93.
 (35) Ibid., March 15/93.

appeal from it and that we had a right to recover our schools.

That is what we want today.

What need of a minute enquiry exists today, Mr. Laurier?" (36)

This feeling against Mr. Laurier reached its climax when he stood out against remedial legislation in the House of Commons. The news was announced in the type of headline which would be used to announce a great disaster: "A Betrayal. Laurier Contracts an Alliance with McCarthy, Clarke Wallace and the Other Fanatics and Proposes the Postponement of the Remedial Bill." (37) From then on, the Liberal leader was "Laurier McCarthyiste," and the weight of La Manitoba was thrown solidly in favour of the Conservative Party for the purposes of the 1896 election.

A few weeks before the election a sermon of the new Archbishop, Langevin, was printed. In this he said that it was unnecessary that the mandement of the Archbishops and Bishops of the ecclesiastical districts of Quebec, Montreal, and Ottawa, should be read to Manitoba Catholics, since they, unlike the French in Quebec, were thoroughly united on the school question. But the Archbishop left no doubt that all Catholics were expected to obey the mandement and vote for the Conservative Party:

(36) La Manitoba, Sept. 18/95. (Nous avions des écoles Catholiques et on nous les a enlevées; mais le conseil privé d'Angleterre a décidé que nous pouvions en appeler et que nous avions droit de ravoir nos écoles.

C'est ce que nous voulons aujourd'hui.

Qu'est-il besoin de l'enquête minutieuse qu'exige aujourd'hui M. Laurier?)

(37) Ibid., March 11/96. (Laurier contracte une Alliance avec McCarthy, Clarke Wallace et les autres Fanatiques et propose le Renvoi de l'Acte Réparateur.)

"You understand that those who have already worked, and who are still working today to obtain for us that remedial law are our true friends, and as the case is extremely grave, it is evident that those who fought that solution would commit a grave error. Every Catholic must, therefore, accept the mandement with respect and with joy.... One must not hope to benefit from the title of Catholic while acting contrary to the principles of the Church and the direction of the spiritual chiefs." (38)

In a supplement of the same issue there was an account of the great achievements of the Conservative Party as described by Sir Charles Tupper in an eastern speech. Laurier continued to be attacked as a follower of McCarthy. (39) On June 15 there was a special edition devoted entirely to the rapidly approaching election. It contained a write-up on each of the seven constituencies and their candidates, and Catholic voters were advised in each case to vote for the Conservative. Provencher riding had already received special attention in an article attacking Walton, (40) and this attack was repeated in the last issue before the election. (41)

It will thus be seen that Le Manitoba had exerted a very steady influence against the forces standing for the abolition of separate schools and that by the time of the election the newspaper was a force to be reckoned with in support of the Conservatives.

On election day 48% of Provencher's voters made use of their franchise, as compared to 63% in 1874 and 37% in 1887. The

(38) Le Manitoba, June 4/96. (Vous comprenez que ceux qui ont déjà travaillé, et qui travaillent encore aujourd'hui pour nous obtenir cette loi réformatrice sont nos véritables amis, et comme le cas est extrêmement grave, il est évident que ceux qui combattraient cette solution, commettraient une faute grave. Tous les catholiques doivent donc accepter le mandement avec respect et avec joie.... On ne doit pas espérer bénéficier du titre de catholique tout en agissant contrairement aux principes de l'Eglise et à la direction des chefs spirituels.)

(39) Ibid., June 8/96.

(40) Ibid., June 8/96, Provencher.

(41) Ibid., June 18/96, The Policy of Mr. Walton.

<u>Polling Division Number</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>A. A. C. LaRivière</u>	<u>George Walton</u>	<u>Votes Polled</u>	<u>Voters On List</u>
1	St. Boniface	88	16	104	160
2	Do.	80	18	98	149
3	Do.	82	18	100	137
4	Do.	56	30	86	181
5	Ile des Chênes	18	6	24	119
6	Lorette, South	28	30	58	116
7	Do., North	68	30	98	148
8	Ste. Anne	61	20	81	191
9	Do.	54	32	86	146
10	Giroux	42	45	87	167
11	La Broquerie	53	6	59	82
12	Riverville	5	10	15	176
13	Steinbach	7	13	20	199
14	Ritchot	36	19	55	114
15	St. Adolphe	31	8	39	100
16	Ste. Agathe, East	16	5	21	43
17	St. Norbert	90	11	101	177
18	Ste. Agathe	16	11	27	57
19	St. Pierre	51	22	73	163
20	Do.	72	9	81	163
21	St. Malo	39	11	50	155
22	Union Point	22	15	37	147
23	Morris, West	9	30	39	221
24	Do. Town	23	36	59	91
25	St. Jean-Baptiste	114	19	133	212
26	Letellier	108	32	140	192
27	St. Pie	14	43	57	102
28	Abigny	10	8	18	82
29	Morris, Municipality	5	10	15	53
30	St. Jean-Baptiste, East	47	3	50	105
31	Dominion City	40	73	113	197
32	Greenridge	25	74	99	179
33	Stuartburn	9	7	16	26
34	Emerson, West	13	13	26	52
35	Do.	26	39	65	102
36	Do.	16	26	42	50
		<u>1,476</u>	<u>610</u>	<u>2,286</u>	<u>4,703</u>

Majority for A. A. C. LaRivière, 666.

(Figures taken from Sessional Papers, Canada, 1897, Vol. XXXI, pp.303-4.)

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other four elections since Confederation had gone to the Conservatives by acclamation, so that the riding had had little opportunity to show the depth of its interest in federal contests. The result in 1896, while low, compared fairly well with figures for the other ridings, three constituencies showing lower votes.

Of the Mennonites in Niverville and Steinbach, only 35 out of 375 voters on the list used their franchise. The Mennonites were demonstrating in unmistakable terms their dislike for anything so worldly as politics. Aside from this group, it cannot be said that the low vote in Provencher can be blamed on either French or English, although the latter appear to have shown slightly more civic responsibility than the former. In the six English divisions there were three polls which showed a vote of 50% or better, two polls in the sixties, and one in the seventies. Of the twenty-eight French polls, one small one showed an 81% vote, two were in the seventies, seven in the sixties, nine in the fifties or just short of it, and six definitely below 50%. The French showing was not high, but it was no worse than the English vote in various parts of Manitoba; in Marquette, for instance, a riding predominantly English, there were many polls below 50%.

It has been pointed out that the vote for LaRiviere represented 16.4% of the Catholic population, while Walton's vote came to 22% of the non-Mennonite Protestants, the implication being that the English-speaking Protestants voted to a greater extent than did the French Catholics. However, this difference might perhaps be cut down upon consideration of other factors; perhaps the French and half-breeds had larger families than the English-speaking settlers, so that

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the proportion of Frenchmen who had the vote would be smaller than that of the Protestants. The truth seems to be that in Provencher the English made a slightly better record than the French as voters, but were not so far ahead that they had any reason to congratulate themselves.

The results gave LaRivière 1,476 votes, a majority of 666 over Walton. Provencher was the only Manitoba riding which had returned a Conservative in every single election since Confederation. To the west, the old Selkirk riding had upset its Conservative record by electing a Liberal in 1862 - Hugh Sutherland, who, as President of the Hudson Bay Railway, was expected to carry out that enterprise. In Provencher, the long-continued loyalty to the Conservative Party had probably been based on John A. Macdonald's conciliatory ways with Quebec, as compared to such Liberal outbursts of illiberalism as those of George Brown, editor of the Toronto Globe.

LaRivière's majority was the largest one polled in Manitoba in 1896. In almost half the polls, he received a majority of double or better, while in only 12 out of the 36 polls did Walton receive a majority of any kind. Of these, five were in the south of the constituency, where the British element was predominant; two were in Lorette and Giroux, said to have a large number of métis; three were in Morris Municipality, which was settled by British, French, and Mennonites, and two, Niverville and Steinbach, were in the Mennonite Reserve of Hanover.

In summing up the election results, Le Manitoba stated, without explaining how it got its information, that:

"Two hundred and forty English Protestant electors voted for Mr. LaRivière, and two hundred and fifty Catholic electors supported the candidature of Mr. Walton, almost all these latter were French half-breeds.

A great number of French Liberal voters ranged themselves

on the side of Mr. LaRivière, in order to give a proof of the union which exists among us on the school question, and to repulse a candidature as unacceptable in every respect as was that of Mr. Walton, whom it was desired to impose on the French electoral district of Provencher." (42)

It seems likely that Le Manitoba placed too much stress on the support given to the Liberal candidate by the half-breeds. The six distinctively half-breed polls are said to have been in Ile des Chênes, Lorette, Ste. Anne, and Giroux. Only two out of these six polls gave Walton a majority, and in each case it was a very small one; on the other hand, La Rivière's four majorities were quite substantial. Since there were small sprinklings of British settlers throughout the riding, it is possible that the Liberals won their small majorities in Lorette and Giroux from this element rather than the French half-breeds, who would surely have every incentive to vote for the Conservative policy of protecting separate schools.

It is difficult to see how the election in Provencher could have turned out much differently than it did. The French and French half-breeds had outnumbered the English about two to one in 1886; (43) while in 1891 there were 8,900 Catholics in the constituency as compared to 6,214 Protestants, or 3,570 if the 2,644 Baptists are excluded; (44) these latter, being largely Mennonites, had an extremely small effect on the outcome of the election. To the great majority of Catholic French and

(42) Le Manitoba, July 1/96, The Election of Provencher.
(Deux cent quarante électeurs anglais protestants ont voté pour M. LaRivière, et deux cent cinquante électeurs catholiques ont appuyé la candidature de M. Walton, presque tous ces derniers étaient des métis français.)

Un grand nombre de libéraux français marquants se sont rangés du côté de M. LaRivière, afin de donner une preuve de l'union qui existe au milieu de nous sur la question scolaire, et pour repousser une candidature unacceptable sous tous les rapports, comme l'était celle de M. Walton que l'on a voulu imposer au district électoral français de Provencher.

(43) Census of Manitoba, 1885-6, pp. 20-21.

(44) Census of Canada, 1890-91, pp. 228-9, Vol. I.

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French half-breeds there was only one issue - the school question; and on that issue there was nobody outside of a very few French Liberals who did not see eye to eye with the Church.

The Conservatives' basic advantage in the constituency of a French Catholic majority almost solid on the school question was greatly increased by the calibre of their candidate, Mr. LaRivière. In meeting the majority of the electorate he was at an advantage over Mr. Walton in every conceivable way; race, religion, ability to speak both French and English, stand on the school question, the part taken in a very wide range of community affairs, long participation in provincial and Dominion politics, editorship of the only French newspaper in the West, and local services to constituents whom he treated as friends. Mr. Walton could not stand up against such a combination in the French districts, where the English-speaking element formed a very small minority, and it was impossible to overcome this disadvantage elsewhere in the constituency because of the political indifference of the Mennonites and the fact that voters of British origin, in a minority to begin with, were not by any means so solidly Liberal as the French were Conservative. Thus Mr. La Rivière's majority was a foregone conclusion.

It seems clear that whatever the situation may have been in the rest of the Province, in Provencher at least the school question was the chief issue of the election for a large part of the electorate.

It is not surprising that the French of Provencher should have supported the Conservatives, while the Quebec French voted

(45) It could not be learned definitely whether or not Mr. Walton could speak French, but a man who knew him well states that it is extremely unlikely that he could.

for Laurier. After all, it was the Manitoba School Question, not the Quebec School Question. If the Liberal leader had been an English-speaking Protestant, the Quebec French could have been persuaded by the Conservatives to come to the rescue of Manitoba's minority. But the troubles of a French outpost half a continent away and the stern commands of their Church could not compete with the magical presence of Laurier, addressing them persuasively in their own tongue. On the other hand, Provencher was face to face with the school question, and there was no Laurier to beguile them away from the instructions of the Church.

CHAPTER FIVE

LOCAL CAMPAIGNS

SELKIRK CONSTITUENCY

As set up by the redistribution of 1892, Selkirk, the north-eastern riding of the Province, covered almost exactly the territory of the former Lisgar; it was bounded on the south by Provencher and Lisgar, and on the west by a line through Lake Manitoba.

Like Provencher, Selkirk was an older riding which had developed rather slowly, comparatively speaking. Between 1881 and 1891 its population had grown by 49%, while every other riding in the Province, with the exception of Provencher, had shown an increase of anywhere from 123% to 419%.⁽¹⁾ The reason for this slower rate of settlement is found in the fact that a large part of the constituency was made up of the western edge of the Canadian Shield, and of Lake Winnipeg; then too, there had already been considerable settlement on the good soil of the southern part of the riding, while the grey timber and high lime peat soils of the inter-lake region can only be classified as marginal or sub-marginal.⁽²⁾ Under such circumstances, it was natural for the new settlers pouring into Manitoba in the fifteen years preceding the 1896 election to pass over Provencher and Selkirk ridings for the prairies of the western part of the Province.

At the time of the election the riding's population was like a cross-section of the history of the Province; except for the Mennonites, who had settled to the south, the constituency

(1) Census of Canada, 1890-91, Vol. IV, pp. 496-8. (Population of riding in 1896, 24,840 - Census of Manitoba, 1896.)

(2) W. J. Wainee, Prairie Population Possibilities, Appendix, Report of Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, Ottawa, 1939.

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contained representatives of every group which had helped to build up the territory. English-speaking people in the municipalities along the Red River included many descendants of the Selkirk settlers, who had settled in the first quarter of the century on strip farms running out from the river. Out along the Assiniboine was the large métis settlement spread about among such towns as Balcourt, Pigeon Lake, St. Anastase, Marquette, and St. Francois-Xavier. This group had its beginning following the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company in 1821, when the end of competition, and the exclusive use of the Hudson Bay route instead of the river and lake route between Montreal and Red River, put a great number of canoeemen and others out of employment. Cuthbert Grant settled at Grantown (called St. Francois-Xavier after his death) with a number of these unemployed métis, and the colony made its living partly from the buffalo hunt at first, but later chiefly from farming. These half-breeds served to protect Red River from the Sioux on more than one occasion.

(3)

In 1886, in the old Linger, the chief element in the population had been the settlers of British origin, who made up 45% of the total; almost half of these were Scotch, probably in large part descendants of the Selkirk Settlers; the next largest group was the English, followed at some distance by the Irish. Next to the British group, the most important section of the population numerically speaking had been the half-breeds, who comprised almost a quarter of the inhabitants. In the other ridings most of the half-breeds were French, but in Selkirk, which had more of these people than any other constituency in

(3) Margaret Arnett Macleod, Cuthbert Grant of Grantown,
C. M. R., March, 1940, pp. 25-39.

1886, there had been more English than French half-breeds, and the Scotch half-breeds fell only slightly below the figure for the métis. Two other smaller groups in the riding had been the Icelanders and the French Canadians. ⁽⁴⁾ The Icelanders had settled at Gimli (which means "Paradise") in the seventies, and had later spread to the north and west, and had also established a small colony in the south of the Province, in the new Lisgar riding.

Like Provencher, Selkirk riding in 1891 had had a large proportion of native-born inhabitants, and very few settlers from Ontario. ⁽⁵⁾ This was explained in part by the fact that the area had been longer settled than most of Manitoba and so had more native-born than the ridings to the west, where settlement from Ontario was still proceeding rapidly.

Over 80% of the population in 1891 had been Protestant, made up of Anglicans, Presbyterians, Lutherans (many of whom were Icelanders), Methodists, and Baptists. ⁽⁶⁾

Thus, Selkirk constituency was very largely Protestant, and almost half the population was of British descent, but there were an important group of half-breeds and a certain number of Icelanders and French Canadians. On the school question, the Catholics were in too small a minority to give much support to the Conservatives. However, the strongest anti-Catholic group, the Methodists, had not sufficient weight to hold out much hope to the Liberals.

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- (4) Census, 1886, Province of Manitoba, pp. 22-23. (Scotch, 5,369; English, 2934; Irish, 1,818; English half-breeds, 1,448; French half-breeds, 1,565; Scotch half-breeds, 1,205; 932 Icelanders; 7,474 French Canadians.)
- (5) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. I, pp. 332-3. (12,580 people born in Manitoba, 2,847 in Ontario, out of total population for riding of 21,359.)
- (6) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. I, pp. 326-7. (5,964 Anglicans, 4,424 Presbyterians, 4,017 Catholics, 2,231 Lutherans, 1,848 Methodists, and 321 Baptists.)

Economically, the constituency was very largely a wheat growing area, but Selkirk was the centre of a fair sized lumber and fishing trade. This town, the fourth in size in the Province, would very likely have been the chief city of Manitoba, but lost the position when the C. P. R. turned south and crossed the Red at Winnipeg over a bridge provided by that enterprising city. Due to St. Andrew's Rapids, Selkirk was the head of navigation for Lake Winnipeg and all its rivers. For that reason, it was not likely to favour any proposal having to do with improvements to the rapids, which would lead to traffic passing Selkirk in favour of Winnipeg. Other industries represented in the constituency, but to an unimportant extent, were scattered stone quarries, lime kilns, brick yards, arsenaries, and cheese factories.

Transportation was rather undeveloped, particularly north of Selkirk. As late as 1898 the Free Press complained that this part of the country was not well used:

"Southwestern Manitoba is a favored portion and will get everything it requires. A half dozen settlers have only to go off to any corner of it, however remote, and soon a railway will be built to their doors. Twenty years ago settlers by the hundred went into the Balmoral district, on the positive assurance of the Government that they would have a railway, and they are still without it." (9)

At the time of the election the long Icelandic settlement had to depend on lake boats for bringing in or taking out goods. For this reason, it might be expected that the constructive railway policy of the Conservatives would make that party popular in Selkirk constituency.

The two candidates who faced this riding were John

(7) Selkirk Record, June 19/96.

(8) J. H. Ashdown is said to have had considerable influence in this change of plans.

(9) Free Press, Feb. 19/96, The Foxton Extension. (The town of Balmoral is about ten miles north of Stonewall, which was the end of a branch of the C. P. R. in 1896.)

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Alexander Macdonell, Liberal, and Hugh Armstrong, Conservative.

Mr. Macdonell had been chosen unanimously on 5th March, 1895, by a group of Liberals from the riding who met in Winnipeg and set up a Liberal organization for Selkirk constituency for the purpose of the coming campaign. They chose a president for the riding as a whole and a vice-president for each municipality. (10)

Mr. Armstrong was nominated on 9th April, 1895, by the Conservative convention for the riding of Selkirk, also held in Winnipeg. (11)

Mr. Macdonell, forty-two years of age, was born in Dundas, Ontario, his father being a native of that Province. He was a civil engineer, and had had considerable experience in his line. (12)

In 1896 he was Chief Engineer in the Provincial Public Works Department, but resigned the position in order to take part in the election. (13) In the 1896 Provincial election he had succeeded in winning a seat, only to lose it in the 1898 contest. He was a Roman Catholic, but an unfortunate early experience as a pupil had turned him very definitely against separate schools. (14)

Hugh Armstrong, the Conservative candidate, was a little younger than his opponent, being thirty-eight. He was born in New York, but spent his childhood in Ontario and came to Manitoba in 1868 as a young man. For years he had been one of Portage la Prairie's leading citizens. This town was outside Selkirk constituency, but the fact that he was in the fishery business, so important to all those who lived near the Lake, compensated for

(10) Free Press, March 6/95.
(11) Ibid., Apr. 10/95.
(12) Parliamentary Companion, 1897, pp. 158-9.
(13) The Argus, Stonewall, June 4/96.
(14) Ibid., June 18/94.

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his non-residence in the riding. In 1902, when he was elected to the Manitoba Legislature by acclamation, it was said of him:

"He is well and favorably known over the whole of Manitoba and Western Ontario, being the manager of the largest fish company doing business in the Province." (15)

The importance of this was tactfully pointed out a few days before the election by the Selkirk Record:

"Mr. Armstrong, the electors should remember, has large business interests in various parts of the country, and annually distributes large sums of money to fishermen and others in order to carry on his business." (16)

Mr. Armstrong had shown considerable strength in Manitoba politics, holding Woodlands seat through two elections when Conservatism was at its lowest ebb in the provincial field. He resigned the seat in order to take part in the Federal election of 1896. He was an Orangeman, but took the Conservative viewpoint on the school question, namely, that while an equal standard of efficiency should be maintained in all schools, some concession should be made to the religious convictions of the minority. He promised to oppose remedial legislation, but not to the extent of voting against Tupper. (17)

It will be noted that in Selkirk there was to be seen the odd spectacle of a Roman Catholic candidate taking the Liberal stand against separate schools, while his rival, an Orangeman, talked of making concessions to the Catholic minority. There was plenty of strong campaign material in this situation, but it is perhaps indicative of the lack of an intensely aroused electorate that only the rather extreme Stone-

- (15) Manitoba Biography, 1902-05, p. 2. (Woodlands was a provincial seat in the western part of Selkirk riding.)
(16) Selkirk Record, June 19/96, Town Topics.
(17) Stonewall Gazette, Apr. 30/96, letter from Hugh Armstrong; The Argus, Stonewall, June 11/96.

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Wall Gazette made use of it, in order to help out the Conservative candidate:

"We find in Stonewall Orangemen voting for a Roman Catholic who will support a Roman Catholic leader who will introduce a more drastic remedial bill than Tupper. Hugh Armstrong, the Conservative candidate, is an Orangeman, has always voted against separate schools, and can be trusted to do so in the future." (18)

On the face of it, Armstrong would appear to have had a slight advantage over Macdonell, since he had had more time in the provincial legislature, and was probably more widely known than Macdonell because of his business connections. The fact that Macdonell was a Catholic told against him in a Protestant constituency, but that was balanced to some extent by Armstrong's stand on the school question. On the whole, the two men were rather evenly matched; neither one had anything to compare with the advantage over his opponent of McCarthy in Brandon or LeRiviere in Provencher.

In his address to the electors, Mr. Macdonell gave first place to the school question, and the cry was "No coercion."

"The most important question to be decided in this pending contest is whether the Dominion Government shall be sustained by the people in attempting to ride rough shod over our provincial autonomy and coerce this Province into establishing a system of separate schools which the people of Manitoba have twice declared against at the polls." (19)

The Liberal policy of a tariff for revenue only, in the interests of the agricultural population, was included in Mr. Macdonell's platform. His third plank was an attack on the allegedly corrupt Conservative Government, followed by his belief that "a Liberal administration would be clean, vigorous and progressive, and would rapidly succeed in filling up this province with settlers, a task proven by long and disappointing experience to be beyond the ability of the present

(18) Stonewall Gazette, June 18/96, Local Items.

(19) The Argus, Stonewall, May 14/96.

government."

Mr. Armstrong wrote no electoral letter, as The Argus noted with some sarcasm: "What is Armstrong's platform? See his address. Oh, beg pardon, he issued no address." (20) While, as previously mentioned, he thought some concessions ought to be made to the Catholics on the school question, he declared himself to be in favour of national schools, but insisted that the problem "was not, or should not be an issue." He promised to "oppose the introduction of remedial legislation in the house, but would not vote to defeat Tupper." (21) It is hard to see how this stand could please either the Protestant majority or the Catholic minority in the constituency. On the tariff, he took the orthodox Conservative stand of preferential trade with Great Britain, according to the following advice from the Selkirk Record, which supported him whole-heartedly: "Vote for preferential trade, the unity of the empire and the Liberal-Conservative party." (22) The same journal brought out another plank in Armstrong's platform two weeks later: "Vote for Armstrong, the Hudson Bay Railway and the improvement of St. Andrews' Rapids." (23)

There is more information about Mr. Armstrong's supporters than about those of Mr. Macdonell. The former had speaking for him at one time or another, Sir Charles Tupper on his way to Winnipeg early in May, J. M. Tocums, editor of the Stonewall Gazette, J. A. M. Aikins, Q. C., R. P. Roblin, and Dr. Orton. D'Alton McCarthy, Alderman W. F. McCreary of Winnipeg, and S. J. Jackson are mentioned as having stamped for Mr. Macdonell. (24)

The three newspapers published in the constituency took

- (20) The Argus, Stonewall, June 18/96.
(21) Ibid., June 11/96.
(22) Selkirk Record, June 5/96, Political Notes.
(23) Ibid., June 19/96.
(24) The Argus, Stonewall, June 11, 18, 1896.

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a very active part in the campaign. Two of them, the Selkirk Record and the Stonewall Gazette, were strongly Conservative, while the Argus of Stonewall was just as strongly Liberal. All three devoted more space to their own advice to the electors than they did to reporting candidates' speeches. But frequent notices of the activities of the two men show that they covered the constituency well, even if little information is given as to what they said in their addresses.

The Conservatives were very well organized. In Selkirk they had a committee room with someone always on hand to answer questions, and furnished with "files of some of the leading newspapers,"⁽²⁵⁾ no doubt Conservative. A committee was set up, with sub-committees in all sections of the constituency; the list of the members of the main committee included two Icelandic names,⁽²⁶⁾ but no French. However, many French-speaking half-breeds had British names, and so there may have been French motifs on the committee. Ten days or so before the election, Mr. Baldwinson went to Gimli on behalf of the Conservatives,⁽²⁷⁾ which meant that those Icelanders who spoke no English would have the Conservative platform presented in their own language.

The Liberal newspaper, The Argus, of Stonewall, does not give such detailed information of Liberal campaign activities, and of course the two Conservative papers were not inclined to give their rivals publicity unless it were unfavourable. However, there was the organization for the riding set up at the meeting which nominated Mr. Macdonell, as already noted. The Selkirk Record remarked that Mr. Macdonell "was in town on Monday

(25) Selkirk Record, May 29/96.

(26) Ibid., June 5/96.

(27) Ibid., June 12/96.

organizing for the coming campaign." (28) The Liberals, as the Stonewall Gazette sourly noted, had métis assistance in their canvass: "Joseph Riel, son of Louis Riel the Rebel, is out canvassing for McDonnell in St. Francois Xavier." (29) (This Liberalism in the son of the Conservative Louis Riel probably reflected métis anger with the Conservative Government which had hanged their leader in 1885. It remained to be seen how far that feeling, and the desire to have Laurier for Premier, would counteract Church support of the Conservatives.)

While lone canvassers were sent to the Icelandic and métis settlements because of language difficulties, the popular joint meeting was utilized in the English-speaking districts. Particular mention is made of such gatherings at Selkirk, Stone-
(30)
wall, and Poplar Heights. At Woodlands, Armstrong would not let the Liberal, Jackson, speak, presumably because the latter had been trying to show from Armstrong's record in the local legislature that he was a supporter of separate schools. This refusal was criticized at the Poplar Heights meeting by the
(30)
chairman, who was himself a strong Conservative; the joint meeting was apparently a popular institution in this part of the Province, not to be trifled with.

D'Alton McCarthy gave an address in Selkirk in support of national schools on 25th May, while Sir Charles Tupper had already spoken in the same town for the Conservatives. Through Armstrong's efforts, Tupper had thus made his first Manitoba

(28) Selkirk Record, June 5/96, Town Topics.

(29) Stonewall Gazette, June 18/96, Local Items.

(30) Selkirk Record, June 12/96; Arms, Stonewall, June 11/96; Ibid., June 18/96.

appearance in Selkirk while on his way to Winnipeg. Sir Charles announced his intention of continuing his policy of opening up and developing "the great resources of the Northwest." On the school question, he declared with great boldness that the intention of his government was "to give justice to all whose rights were protected by the constitution."⁽³¹⁾ In this meeting nothing was said of the Hudson Bay Railway, but Tupper's promise, made in Winnipeg on 8th May, that it would be built to the Saskatchewan in two years, was noted with approval in the Stonewall Gazette.⁽³²⁾

There is no doubt that the Hudson Bay Railway was stressed by Mr. Armstrong and his supporters during the campaign. A month before the election The Argus, Liberal, warned the voters to expect campaign promises about the road.⁽³³⁾ At a joint meeting held for Armstrong, a Liberal speaker referred to the promises about the railroad "repeatedly made by some of the speakers present."⁽³⁴⁾

On the school question, Armstrong took the typical Conservative stand that the matter should not be an issue.⁽³⁵⁾

The Liberals in their meetings stressed the school and trade questions, and ridiculed the Conservative promise of the Hudson Bay Railway.⁽³⁶⁾

The three newspapers got in some heavy strokes against their respective adversaries. On the school question, the Selkirk Record declared that while the Liberals were denouncing coercion, Laurier was actually promising the same thing in

(31) Selkirk Record, May 8/96.

(32) The Stonewall Gazette, May 14/96.

(33) The Argus, Stonewall, May 21/96.

(34) Ibid., June 11/96.

(35) Ibid., June 11/96.

(36) The Selkirk Record, May 29, June 12, 1896; The Stonewall Gazette, June 10/96; The Argus, Stonewall, June 11/96.

(37) Quebec; the paper also stated that the election of Sir Charles Tupper would not necessarily mean fastening separate schools on Manitoba as the Liberals were declaring. (38) The Stonewall Gazette, much more extreme than the Selkirk Record, did not hesitate to make political capital out of the fact that Mr. Macdonell was a Roman Catholic:

"John A. is a consistent Roman Catholic himself, yet he has the audacity to state in his address that he will oppose his political leader and his spiritual leader on the school question. What rot! We as Protestants and supporters of national schools could not reasonably expect such a sacrifice from a loyal son of the church, and the national school plank in Mr. McDonnell's address is for the purpose of hoodwinking the Protestant electors, but it won't work." (39)

In view of Mr. Macdonell's personal dislike for separate schools, already mentioned, this attack probably had little basis.

This newspaper also warned its readers that Laurier was a supporter of separate schools and would certainly bring in remedial legislation. (40) Of D'Alton McCarthy it said with evident enjoyment: "While he waxes eloquent on the platform in his denunciation of everything that smells like popery, he quietly allows members of his family to attend Catholic schools." (41) There is no doubt that charges of this sort would have considerable effect among Orangemen and other extremists, but would be of little political value among the majority of people in the riding.

In response to these tactics, the Liberal Argus of Stonewall tried to defend Macdonell by saying that "His attitude proves the strength of his convictions when he dares to take the stand he does in the face of the opposition of the clergy." (42)

(37) Selkirk Record, May 29/96.

(38) Ibid., June 12/96, Political Notes.

(39) The Stonewall Gazette, May 14/96, Editorial Comment.

(40) Ibid., May 26/96.

(41) Ibid., June 4/96, Editorial Comment. (Probably untrue, according to a well-informed contemporary.)

(42) The Argus, Stonewall, June 4/96.

It was blunt about the Government's stand on the question:

"However Government healers may strive to hoodwink the electors, a vote cast for a government candidate means a vote in favour of coercion. A vote cast for the Opposition is a vote against coercion." (43)

The two Conservative papers made the most of Tupper's promise that the Hudson Bay Railway would be built to the Saskatchewan within two years and that St. Andrews' Rapids would be dredged out. According to the Stonewall Gazette, the road to the Bay would mean 15 cents per bushel to the farmers of Manitoba on every bushel of wheat they produce." (44)

A week later this paper stated:

"The Hudson's Bay Railway is of vital financial importance to the farmers of Manitoba, and if they allow this opportunity to pass by and permit the Liberal Party to again come into power in the Dominion, they will deserve no sympathy if they are obliged to suffer from low prices for grain during the next ten years. Electors, do not be fooled. Do not be led away on a matter of sentiment, such as the school question, and drop the substance for the shadow." (45)

The Selkirk Record came out with a slogan: "Vote for Armstrong, the Hudson Bay Railway and the improvement of St. Andrews' Rapids." (46) In response to this propaganda, the Liberal paper was rather dubious of Conservative professions:

"The renewed promise of the H. B. R., with the consequent rise in prices of agricultural products which, it is said, will follow, will be used for the next month to lead the electors of Manitoba (to) forget the burdens of protection. Supposing its advantages were clearly three times as great as its advocates claim, no benefit can accrue until the road is built, and few people believe the government to be sincere in its promise to build. If they recognize its merits they should have built it long ago; if they are using it as bait, as they have done before, will the bribers be likely to keep faith with the bribed? Hardly." (47)

(43) The Argus, Stonewall, June 18/96.

(44) The Stonewall Gazette, May 14/96.

(45) Ibid., May 21/96.

(46) The Selkirk Record, June 19/96, Town Topics.

(47) The Argus, Stonewall, May 21/96.

On the trade question, the Conservative papers made considerable use of the argument that Canada had been in a terrible condition under the Liberals from 1873 to 1878, while it had become prosperous under the Conservatives since that time. (48)

The Liberal Argus did not give much space to the trade question, except to state that

"when the dealer pays \$20 duty he adds this to the first cost and claims a percentage on the \$20, thus adding several dollars more. A 20 per cent tariff means from 25 to 30 per cent increase of cost... Vote for cheap necessaries." (49)

Personal abuse of candidates was confined to the Conservative Stonewall Gazette, which insisted that since Macdonell was a Catholic he could not be sincere in his support of national Schools. (50) This paper also suggested that the \$27,000 which the candidate had received from the Greenway Government in salary, disbursements, and travelling expenses was not all come by honestly. (51) This latter charge was re-printed in the Selkirk Record, and may possibly have done some damage to Mr. Macdonell's candidature, although a man who took considerable interest in politics in the 'nineties says that such abuse was so common that it was not always taken seriously. (52)

Le Manitoba supported the Conservative, Mr. Armstrong, and criticized the Liberal candidate:

"Mr. Macdonell put out an electoral manifesto at the beginning of the present struggle, in which he squarely declared himself the enemy of the separate schools, with the determination to vote against every remedial law." (53)

(48) Selkirk Record, May 29, June 5/96; Stonewall Gazette, May 25/96.

(49) The Argus, Stonewall, June 18/96.

(50) Stonewall Gazette, May 14/96, Editorial Comment.

(51) Ibid., May 14/96; May 28/96.

(52) A politician of the period, being reproached for libelling a rival, is said to have replied, "Oh, I was only speaking politically."

(53) Le Manitoba, June 15/96. (M. Macdonell a lancé un manifesto électoral au commencement de la présente lutte, dans lequel il se déclare carrément l'ennemi des écoles séparées, avec la détermination de voter contre toute loi réparatrice.)

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The election passed off quietly throughout the constituency. A 41% vote was polled, as compared to 72% in 1872, 78% in 1874, 30% in 1882, and 33% in 1891. Thus the results, however low, were an improvement over the immediately preceding elections. The vote was low all over the riding. As in other constituencies, political apathy more than anything else probably accounted for the poor showing, although poor roads due to the wetness of the season would also have an effect. It is worthy of note that the two Icelandic polling divisions showed the highest voting percentage of the forty-eight in the constituency. 67% of those eligible voted in Gimli, and 72% in Icelandic River. This result was in keeping with the interest which Icelanders have traditionally taken in politics.

Mr. Macdonell, with 1,713 votes, had a majority of one. Application was made for a re-count, of course, but Macdonell's lawyer was able to have this denied on a technicality. (54)

For the first three elections after Confederation this riding had returned an Independent Liberal, then a Liberal; in the elections of 1887 and 1891, it voted Conservative. The early Liberal trend, also noted in the northwest of the Province, may have had some connection with the number of Scotch and Presbyterians in the district; this group in Ontario, although without the same background as the Selkirk settlers, had shown a certain affinity for the Liberal Party, as already noted. The Liberal stand on free trade and provincial rights seems to make a natural appeal to many of those of Scotch origin. But in any event, there had apparently been a change of heart in the riding

(54) Deposit to defray expenses had been left with the clerk of the prothonotary of the Court of Queen's Bench instead of being deposited with the Clerk of the County Court.

Division Number	Name	Hugh Armstrong	John A. Macdonell	Votes Polled	Voters on List
	La Salle	76	52	128	361
	Starbuck	25	16	46	243
	St. P. Xavier, Lavelle	24	22	46	158
	Do., C. Chamber	45	27	72	146
	Bele St. Paul	65	15	60	202
	Rosser	8	8	16	135
	Rosser School House	7	15	22	151
	Little Stony Mountain	21	17	38	103
	Headingley	86	27	113	207
0	St. James	56	36	94	178
1	Kildonan	68	89	157	288
2	St. Paul's	45	37	82	189
3	Oak Bank	62	65	127	236
4	H. Plympton	41	62	133	277
5	Cook's Creek	35	43	78	249
6	East Selkirk	15	36	51	117
7	West Selkirk	45	76	121	212
8	Do.	50	103	153	247
9	Whitemouth	20	33	53	140
0	Fort Alexander	14	6	20	45
1	Gimli	52	51	103	153
2	Icelandic River	46	64	110	179
3	St. Laurent	72	51	123	268
4	Clarkleigh	14	15	29	17
5	Seamo	20	30	50	102
6	Lundyville	45	23	68	115
7	St. Andrews	34	30	64	168
8	St. Clements	16	23	41	199
9	Beausejour	5	7	12	112
0	Brokenhead	14	24	38	131
1	Balsam Bay	6	8	14	46
2	St. Andrews Rapids	52	30	82	152
3	St. Andrews	26	37	63	157
4	Mapleton	16	16	32	65
5	Clandeboye	34	44	78	176
6	Meadow Lea	15	37	52	200
7	Woodlands	22	33	55	196
8	Reaburn	27	26	53	199
9	Ossowo	34	19	53	181
0	Erinview	19	14	33	112
1	Stony Mountain	71	36	107	268
2	Stonewall	55	75	130	229
3	Balmoral	45	44	89	203
4	Greenwood	47	59	106	211
5	Foxton	47	43	90	189
6	Fairford	9	24	33	69
7	Berens River	7	-	7	17
8	St. Bastache	47	7	54	196
		<u>1,712</u>	<u>1,715</u>	<u>3,425</u>	<u>6,267</u>

Majority for John A. Macdonell - 1.

Figures from Sessional Papers, Canada, 1897, Vol. XXXI, pp. 305-6;
see from Selkirk Record, July 3/96.)

in 1887, possibly because of the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway by the Conservatives - a constructive policy against which the Liberals had little to show.

The Conservatives made most of their majorities in the south and west of the constituency, in such places as La Salle, St. Francois-Javier, Baie St. Paul, St. Laurent, and St. Eustache, where the French half-breeds were most numerous. No doubt the campaigning of James Riel helped the Liberals, since Louis Riel had become a hero and a martyr among the metis, and the son of such a man was bound to be highly regarded; but he could not win French half-breed majorities for the Liberals in the face of the Conservative stand on the school question. The French metis in Selkirk, as in Provencher, showed their desire to regain separate schools by voting Conservative.

The southeastern part of the constituency largely supported the Liberals. This was the English-speaking portion of the constituency, and perhaps the proximity of the French and metis made the voters favour the school policy of the Liberals. Another factor would be the presence of numerous settlers of Scotch origin, either from Ontario, or descendants of the Selkirk settlers.

Clandeboye, inside the Indian reservation to the south of Lake Winnipeg, polled 78 of its 176 votes, giving 44 to the Liberal candidate as compared to 34 to the Conservative. This was the only poll in the Province which can be identified as being Indian. Since there is no mention of this section of the electorate in the press of the period, no explanation of the vote can be ventured.

Icelandic River gave 64 votes to the Liberals as compared to 46 for the Conservatives, thus maintaining the

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Icelandic preference for the Liberal Party. But in Ginali the Conservative candidate was given one more vote than the Liberal. Perhaps the fact that Mr. Baldwinson visited this district on behalf of the Conservatives had something to do with the result. It is not recorded in the local papers that either party visited Icelandic River, which was twenty-five miles up the Lake. Speaking of all the Icelandic votes in Selkirk, the newspaper Lögberg stated after the election that only 10% of Selkirk Icelanders voted Conservative. (55)

There were extremely few polling stations which gave a majority of double or better for one party or the other. The Liberals polled a fair share of votes among the French half-breeds, as did the Conservatives among the British. This fact would seem to indicate that there was much more at stake, in the minds of most voters, than the stand of the two parties on the school question. On that issue, logically speaking, the French half-breeds should have voted Conservative in order to get remedial legislation, while the Non-Catholic English-speaking electorate should have voted Liberal in order to preserve national schools. The half-breeds who voted Liberal were probably remembering that the Conservative Party had permitted Riel to be hanged, and were thinking of Laurier as Premier. The English-speaking people who voted Liberal might have done so in order to protect national schools, or in the hope of lowering the tariff; or they might have been Scotch Presbyterians to whom it came natural to vote Liberal. Those who voted Conservative no doubt had in mind first of all their party loyalty and the Hudson Bay Railway, and after that the general record

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of the Conservative Party in the Northwest, since the district was poorly served with railroads.

In summing up, it may be said that the Conservatives appear to have been supported by the French and French half-breeds who wanted separate schools and by the English-speaking constituents who thought more of party loyalty and the Hudson Bay Railway than they did of the school question; while the Liberals received their vote from strong English-speaking Liberals, probably largely of Scotch origin, from voters who approved of the Liberal stand on schools and tariff, from voters who approved of the Liberal stand on schools and tariff, and from the few French half-breeds who did not consider the school question to be of paramount importance as an issue. These groups were so balanced in the constituency that the Liberals won by only one vote.

As in the other constituencies, it is noteworthy that there was a very solid Conservative group, much larger than the 20% of Catholics in the riding, who were not ready to desert their party over the school question. This part of the Province had been Conservative in Federal elections since 1887, and the apparent alliance between the Scotch settlers and Liberalism was not quite enough to upset the Conservative trend in 1896, when it was reinforced by the votes of the French setis. But Selkirk was not as decidedly Conservative as the south of the Province had shown itself to be; the majority of one for Macdonell was no accident, as was demonstrated in the election of 1900, when a Liberal candidate once more won by a majority of one. Selkirk in this period divided its sympathies very evenly between Conservatives and Liberals.

CHAPTER SIX

LOCAL CAMPAIGNS

MACDONALD CONSTITUENCY

Macdonald, the middle constituency of the three northern ridings, was made up of the eastern half of the former Marquette. It also occupied a middle position with respect to development; its population was increasing more rapidly than that of Provencher and Selkirk to the east, while it was not going ahead at quite the breakneck pace of Brandon, Lisgar, and Marquette. The rate of growth of its population between 1881 and 1891 was 123.3%.⁽¹⁾

The riding in 1886 had been almost entirely made up of people of British origin, nearly half of these being of Scotch origin, and about a quarter English and a quarter Irish. There had been a few hundred half-breeds, chiefly French and Scotch, in the south-east of the riding, and to the west of the lower part of Lake Manitoba. Aside from these, there had been several hundred Indians and a sprinkling of Germans, French, and other nationalities at odd points throughout the constituency.⁽²⁾ In the old constituency of Marquette in 1881, 40% of the inhabitants had been born in Ontario, as against 30% in Manitoba.⁽³⁾ This reflected the recent settlement of the riding.

It is not possible to give very exact figures for the religious make-up of the constituency, because of changes in the outlines of municipalities between the taking of the 1891 census and the redistribution of 1892. However, it seems clear that Presbyterianism predominated, followed fairly closely by

(1) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. IV, p. 497. (Population in 1881, 10,200; in 1891, 22,776.)

(2) Census of Manitoba, 1885-6, pp. 18-21.

(3) Census of Canada, 1881, Vol. I, pp. 232-3.

Methodists and members of the Church of England. There was a much smaller group of Baptists. Roman Catholics made up only about 5% of the population of the riding. (4)

Taking these figures as fairly representative of the situation in 1896, the constituency was made up largely of an English-speaking Protestant group, many of them from Ontario, with its strong racial and religious prejudices, while the Catholics, French and otherwise, were in a very small minority. It is apparent that the Conservative Party could expect little support in Macdonald constituency on the basis of its stand on the school question, since that could only please the few Catholics.

Wheat growing was the all-absorbing economic interest of the constituency, as of the rest of Manitoba. There were a few flour mills, at such towns as Austin, Carberry, Holland, and McGregor, saw mills at Cypress River and Westbourne, and other odd enterprises here and there - brick making at Neepawa and a cheese factory at Poplar Point. But raising wheat was the chief business.

The constituency was not too badly served with railroads for the time. It was crossed twice in the south by the Canadian Pacific Railway, and a little farther north by the Manitoba and Northwestern Railway, while east of Portage la Prairie there was a branch of the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway. The Dauphin line, from Gladstone to the site of Dauphin, was commenced during the election campaign and finished that fall. But high freight rates were a nightmare to the farmers, and they were likely to be susceptible to the promise of the Hudson

(4) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. I, pp. 286-9.
(5) Henderson's Directory, 1896, pp. 463-566.

Bay road, which would get the wheat to seaboard over a much shorter route, cut down freight rates, and increase the price received by the farmers - they hoped.

The three candidates who faced this English-speaking, Protestant, wheat-growing riding were Nathaniel Boyd, Conservative, J. O. Rutherford, Liberal, and Charles Braithwaite, Grand President of the Patrons of Industry.

The first candidate chosen for the constituency was Mr. Braithwaite, who was accepted by a Patron convention at Portage la Prairie on 6th June, 1894. (6) Dr. Rutherford was selected by a Liberal convention at the same place on 25th February, 1896. (7) Mr. Boyd was last in the field, being nominated by a Conservative convention at Portage la Prairie on 15th May, 1896. (8)

Mr. Boyd was forty-three years of age at the time of the election. He had been born in Quebec of Irish parents, and received his education in Ottawa's common schools. He may have acquired a taste for political life when he worked in the House of Commons as a telegraph operator. Later he was employed by the Canadian Pacific Railway, becoming an Assistant Superintendent in Manitoba. In 1896 he was engaged in grain and stock raising at Carberry. He had been unsuccessful in the Marquette campaign for the Dominion election of 1891, but was returned at a by-election held in the following year. (9) He is described as having had a fine personality and appearance. In Ottawa his aggressiveness won him the title of the Napoleon of the West, in a spirit of liking rather than spite.

(6) The Manitoba Liberal, Portage la Prairie, June 9/94.

(7) Ibid., Feb. 29/96.

(8) Carberry Express, May 21/96, H. Boyd Nominated.

(9) Parliamentary Companion, 1897, p. 116.

(10)

Dr. J. G. Rutherford was thirty-nine years of age in 1896. He was a minister's son, born in Peebleshire, Scotland. He went as far as high school in Glasgow, came out to Canada at the age of eighteen, and graduated in 1879, with a gold medal, from the Ontario Veterinary College, Toronto. Five years later he settled in Portage la Prairie and concentrated on his work to such effect that by 1904 he had become veterinary director-general for the Dominion Government. He represented Lakeside in the local legislature from 1892 to 1896, soon becoming a force in the Liberal party in the Province. In the Manitoba Legislature he frequently brought his considerable debating power to the rescue of the cabinet, sometimes with slightly overdone sarcasm, when opposition criticism was not quite dangerous enough to draw the fire of Greenway or Martin. Lakeside seat was given up by Dr. Rutherford in 1896 so that he might take part in the Federal election.

Politics and his practice did not take up all of Dr. Rutherford's time. He was president of the Liberal Printing and Publishing Company, which put out The Manitoba Liberal, and he took an active part in agricultural and veterinarian associations. Having lost a son through tuberculosis, he turned his grief to public account by taking an important part in the establishment of the international commission for the control of the disease, a body which was to be largely responsible for a greatly increased control of tuberculosis. It is not surprising that he is described as having been "the essence of geniality, a man with a kindly eye and a kindly disposition."

(10) Information in this and the following paragraph taken from Parliamentary Guide, 1896-9, p. 77; Manitoba Biography, 1909-11, p. 20; Ibid., 1918-24, p. 205.

There is little information available about Charles Braithwaite, beyond the fact that he was a farmer at Portage la Prairie. (11) He is described as having been "a romantic figure, masterful and shrewd, though dwelling for the most part in the realm of the emotional. He possessed only the barest rudiments of an education, but withal was an orator of compelling force." (12) When the Emerson Journal attacked Mr. Braithwaite, the latter wrote to the editor, who maliciously published the letter exactly as written, with a note to the effect that this was necessary in order to avoid having Mr. Braithwaite accuse the paper of changing his meaning. Following is an excerpt, revealing in its sincerity: "I am not an Angel,, But sir I am a man, and one who never did and never will cringe to fee or assue to place and Power. I scorn a fawning tool, and the man for sale." (13) The manner in which he assumed leadership of the provincial association of the Patrons is well described by Mr. Wood:

"When in the fall of 1891 he heard that representatives of the lodges were meeting at Portage la Prairie to set up a provincial organization, he left his thrashing machine hurriedly, rushed among them covered with oil and grime, protested the legality of their action, and forthwith was elected president pro tem." (14)

(15)

Before becoming a Patron of Industry he had been a Liberal, and before that a Conservative. (16)

Of the three candidates, Dr. Rutherford was apparently the one most likely to succeed, in view of his practice and his participation in community and political affairs. Mr. Boyd was at some advantage, however, because of the fact that he had already proven himself in the Dominion Parliament. Mr. Braith-

(11) Henderson's Directory, 1896, p. 92.
 (12) L. A. Wood, A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada, Toronto, 1924, p. 125. (Hereafter referred to as Wood, Farmers' Movements.)
 (13) Emerson Journal, Feb. 2/96. (Wood describes a similar incident.)
 (14) Wood, Farmers' Movements, p. 126.
 (15) Ibid., p. 127.
 (16) Carberry Express, June 18/96, McGregor.

write did not have the public record nor the training of either of his opponents, and he belonged to a small, weak party which Liberal and Conservative newspapers consistently attacked. It would require more than compelling oratory to overcome such handicaps.

Mr. Boyd did not issue the usual election letter; instead, there was printed in several local papers a column of material given over entirely to the Hudson Bay Railway. Commencing with an exhortation to "Vote for Boyd and the Hudson Bay R. R.", it contained, among other items, the pledge made by Sir Charles Tupper in Winnipeg, that the Hudson Bay Railway would be built to the Saskatchewan within two years, a letter written to Mr. Boyd by Tupper, in which the same project was mentioned hopefully, and a comparison of freight charges, showing that the Hudson Bay road would have an advantage of 7.8¢ per bushel over the Montreal route, and 2.95¢ per bushel over Buffalo and New York. The column ended with another exhortation: "Vote for Boyd and the Conservative Party whose motto is: "Progress, Preferential Trade, Peace and Unity at Home. The maintenance of our Constitution and the British Crown. God Save the Queen." (17)

Dr. Rutherford put out a typical Liberal letter to the electors, in which the school question was given first place, with the candidate's assurance that he would oppose by a vote of want of confidence any government trying to saddle Manitoba with separate schools. The trade policy was given second place. Dr. Rutherford advocated a tariff for revenue only, to be extremely light on necessities and heavy on luxuries. Another plank was immigration, to be encouraged by bettering the lot of

(17) Carberry Express, May 21/96.

settlers through government control of freight rates and the elevator system, legislation against combines and monopolies, and the adoption of a land policy which would keep the land for homesteads. The Conservative government was criticized as being "reckless, extravagant, and corrupt." There was only an oblique reference to the Hudson Bay Railway: "I will support any reasonable expenditure on improvement of transportation to reduce costs." The last plank was the abolition of the

(18)

Senate.

While the electoral pleas of Ford and Rutherford were given publicity by local papers throughout the riding, Charles Braithwaite's letter appeared only in the Patron organ, published in Portage la Prairie. It was a rather rambling document, not logically arranged. Its planks were Provincial rights, an improved immigration policy, purity and economy in government, simplification of laws, which should be applied more equitably, the land to be kept for settlers, whose interests should be protected, an ultimate goal of free trade with Great Britain and reciprocal trade with other parts of the world, but meantime a tariff for revenue only, abolition of the senate, a superannuation scheme, improved election methods, eventual government ownership of public utilities, but meantime public aid to be repaid by minimum rates, and, last, prohibition.

(19)

Of the three, the Liberal platform would seem to have most chance of winning support, because it included tariff and transportation planks as well as the popular stand on the school question, and, unlike the Patron platform, was backed by a party

(18) Eastern Patrons' Sentinel, May 21/96.

(19) Ibid., May 21/96.

strong enough to carry out pledges if elected.

The Liberal and Conservative candidates had strong supporters to speak on their behalf at the various meetings. Among those who helped out the Conservative, Mr. Boyd, were R. P. Hoblin, M. P. P., Dr. Harrison, who had been Premier for a few weeks after Marquis's resignation in 1887, Hon. Hugh John Macdonald, Hugh Sutherland, President of the Hudson Bay Railway, J. A. M. Atkins, Q. C., and Robert Rogers, Conservative candidate in Linger. (20) Dr. Rutherford was supported at one or more meetings by Hon. Robert Watson, who had been elected for Marquette Constituency in 1891, but had been succeeded by H. Boyd at the by-election of 1892; D'Alton McCarthy, Hon. Joseph Martin, former Dominion member for Winnipeg, Clifford Sifton, H. M. Howell, Q. C., F. C. Wade, and Isaac Campbell, Q. C. (21) While Braithwaite's meetings are mentioned in the local papers, few details are given, and so nothing can be said as to the support he received. However, it is unlikely that he had any backers with the prestige of those who helped Mr. Boyd and Dr. Rutherford, since the Patrons were a farmers' party with extremely little following outside the rural areas, and the group had begun to decline.

Considerable information is available about the Macdonald campaign. Joint meetings were the order of the day. Mr. Boyd arranged for twenty meetings to be held from 26th May to 20th June, and the other two candidates or their representatives were invited to speak for half an hour each at all of these

(20) Carleton Express, May 21/96; The Manitoba Liberal, June 10/96; Neepawa Register, June 19/96; The Gazette, Glenora, May 29/96.

(21) The Manitoba Liberal, May 27/96; June 10/96; June 20/96; Neepawa Register, June 19/96.

(22)

meetings. A Conservative paper naturally gave Mr. Boyd credit for having the best political organization, although he had been the last candidate chosen: "He has committees formed in every community, and these report regularly to the central organization; thus the candidate is kept thoroughly posted of the conditions in every section."

(23)

That the Liberals were also on their toes is made plain by a newspaper report of a meeting in the Portage la Prairie committee rooms at which strong ward committees were formed; the same item went on to say that organization was going ahead quickly all over the constituency.

(24)

No complete list of Rutherford meetings was found, but his energy in this direction is revealed by a newspaper advertisement of several meetings to be held in the first four days of June. Mr. Boyd was invited to these meetings, but no mention was made of the Patron candidate.

(25)

This was a poor return to Mr. Braithwaite's courtesy; he asked both Boyd and Rutherford to take part in the twenty-five meetings which he advertised for the period from 25th May to 20th June.

(26)

No mention is made of the organization backing up the Patron candidate, but it was probably inferior to those of the other two men.

From the foregoing details and from newspaper reports of the campaign, it is clear that the riding was well covered by all three candidates in a series of joint meetings. Mr. Boyd and Dr. Rutherford were apparently equally well served by organization and supporters, while Mr. Braithwaite was probably at a great disadvantage in both.

- (22) Carberry Express, May 21/96, Local News.
- (23) Weekly Review, Portage la Prairie, May 20/96.
- (24) The Manitoba Liberal, Portage la Prairie, May 9/96.
- (25) The Holland Observer, May 29/96.
- (26) Carberry Express, May 23/96, A Housing Meeting.

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In their speeches, the Conservatives heavily stressed the Hudson Bay Railway, and tried to belittle the importance of the school question as an issue. It was suggested that the Liberals were not the people to elect if action were wanted on the road to the Bay; for instance, Mr. Roblin pointed out that when the question came up in the House of Commons, only two Liberals had supported it - Hon. Robert Watson, member for Marquette, and a certain Mr. Casey who held stock in the company. Mr. Sutherland discussed the Hudson Bay Railway thoroughly at various meetings, expressing his confidence in the ability of the Conservative Party to get it built. No Conservative meeting is described at which the Hudson Bay Railway was not discussed as the real issue of the election. Attempts to push the school question into the background reached a climax of frankness in a speech by Mr. Cooper, a Conservative: "There's no money in it,.....and we're here to make as much money out of this country as we can." This approach was particularly necessary to the Macedonald Conservatives in order to counteract Mr. Boyd's unpopular stand on the school question; he stated at the Conservative nomination meeting that while he wished to see the Province grant redress to the Catholics, if this were not done, "he would support giving that redress guaranteed by the Constitution." He had voted for remedial legislation out of a sense of duty to the Constitution, and would do the same thing again. Another Conservative device was to stress the point

(27) Carberry Express, May 20/96, A Rousing Meeting.

(28) Neepawa Register, June 19/96; The Gazette, Glenboro, May 29/96.

(29) The Manitoba Liberal, June 20/96, Last Night's Meeting.

(30) Carberry Express, May 21/96; The Gazette, Glenboro, May 29/96.

that the Liberals, if returned to power, would find it just as necessary as did the Conservatives to settle the school question according to the clauses of the constitution which were intended to protect the minority. (31)

The National Policy was not given too much attention by the Conservatives, but of course was defended ardently whenever mentioned. Mr. Rogers called it "the splendid National Policy" in including it among the achievements of the Conservative Party. (31) Mr. Boyd spoke of the "immense advantages" conferred on Canada by the National Policy. (32) The only tariff change suggested was the Conservative plank of preferential trade with Great Britain, but this was not given anything like the prominence of the Hudson Bay Railway. (33) Mr. Boyd took credit for having had the duties reduced on certain articles used by farmers. (34)

Liberal campaigners treated the school question as a very important issue, finding this all the more expedient because of the popular stand of their party on the question. All the familiar cries were used. Mr. Rutherford objected to the Quebec hierarchy dominating Manitoba, while D'Alton McCarthy, speaking at the same meeting, said that the restoration of separate schools would hurt the majority of Manitobans, who had their rights just as the minority had theirs. (35) (36) The Liberals ridiculed the idea that Parliament was compelled by the findings

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- (31) The Gazette, Glenboro, May 29/96; The Conservative Meeting.
(32) Carberry Express, May 28/96, A Rousing Meeting.
(33) Neepawa Register, June 19/96, Hugh John.
(34) The Manitoba Liberal, June 10/96; June 17/96.
(35) The Gazette, Glenboro, June 5/96, Grand Liberal Demonstration.
(36) The Manitoba Liberal, May 27/96, Dalton McCarthy in Portage.

of the Privy Council to pass remedial legislation; Parliament was "free as air" to act as it saw fit. Mr. Boyd was severely criticized because he had voted in Parliament for remedial legislation.

The Liberals gave much time to the trade issue. They held that free trade should be the ultimate goal, but that meantime there should at least be a tariff for revenue only. The National Policy was denounced because it raised the price of necessities and had not brought prosperity to Canada. The idea that preferential trade with England could be brought about was ridiculed; preferential trade was certainly not a popular conception in England.

Just as the Conservatives refused to consider the school question an important issue of the election, the Liberals insisted that the Hudson Bay Railway was simply an attempt to bribe the electorate. The Hon. Robert Watson said that since Hugh Sutherland had spent fourteen years in unsuccessful promotion of the project, there was no use expecting it to amount to anything under his management, or, for that matter, under the management of the Conservative Party. One Liberal speaker said it would be foolish to pin any hopes on Tupper's promise, which involved nothing more than extending the Dauphin line to the Saskatchewan. At the same time, Rutherford promised to support the railway if elected.

At one meeting, Mr. Braithwaite attacked Conservative

- (37) The Manitoba Liberal, June 6/96, Campaigning in the Country.
- (38) Ibid., June 20/96, Last Night's Meeting.
- (39) Ibid., June 10/96, On the Hustings.
- (40) Neepawa Register, June 12/96.
- (41) The Neepawa Press, June 11/96, A Boom for Rutherford.
- (42) The Manitoba Liberal, June 17/96; Neepawa Register, June 12/96.
- (43) The Manitoba Liberal, June 10/96.
- (44) The Oldstone Age, June 17/96, Boyd's Meeting.
- (45) The Neepawa Press, June 11/96, A Boom for Rutherford.

principles on the tariff and the school question; at another
he took both parties to task and urged that their candidates be
made to give way to a Patron. (47) He charged that the National
Policy encouraged combines and monopolies; on the Hudson Bay
Railway issue, he warned that even if the road were completed,
it would pool rates with the C. P. R., just as the Northern
Pacific had done, and Manitoba farmers would gain nothing from
the shorter route. (48)

The Conservatives were aided by the Carberry Express, the
Weekly Review of Portage la Prairie, and the Neepawa Register,
the first mentioned paper being the most active politically.
These newspapers naturally stressed the overwhelming importance
of the Hudson Bay Railway. Mr. Boyd was praised for his work in
trying to get the project carried out; (49) if he were defeated,
the East would believe that Manitoba was not interested in the
road. (50) It was a much more important matter for Manitobans
than the school question:

"Nine-tenths of the people will never know by after re-
sults which way this school question goes, but every in-
habitant of the country will realize by actual experience
in the way of increased profits for his labor if a Hudson
Bay road is built. If electors must have a cry, let it
be Hudson Bay Road and prosperity, and not School Question
and nonsense." (51)

Sir Charles Tupper was the first Prime Minister to pledge his
word on the project, and he could be counted on to carry out
his promise if elected. (52)

On the school question, every possible means was taken
to detract from the popularity of the Liberal stand. Excerpts

- (46) The Manitoba Liberal, June 17/96, Mr. Boyd is Out of It.
(47) Neepawa Register, June 19/96, Closing Shots.
(48) The Neepawa Press, June 4/96, Braithwaite's Meeting.
(49) Carberry Express, Apr. 30/96, Mr. N. Boyd as a Candidate.
(50) Weekly Review, May 21/96.
(51) Neepawa Register, May 8/96, Of Greater Importance.
(52) Ibid., May 15/96, A Definite Place.

from the Dominion Hansard were quoted to show that Laurier and other Liberals favoured separate schools. (53) The loyalty angle was brought in by criticizing the Liberals for not being willing to carry out the Queen's orders that effect be given to the Privy Council's recommendations and findings. (54) A plea was made for the rights of the Catholic minority to spend their own money in educating their children as they saw fit. (55) The Liberals were accused of having two platforms on the school question: "in the west for national schools, and in the east promising to restore separate schools in Manitoba." (56) If elected, Laurier could be expected to go farther than Tupper in favouring the minority; (57) his supporters had "distinctly said in his presence that separate schools must be restored, and he added approval to their utterances." (58)

The unpopularity of the National Policy in the West is shown by the fact that the trade issue was not much stressed in the Conservative papers. Free trade was defined as "the triumph of cheap foreign labor over labor that receives a fair day's pay for a fair day's work." (59) A warning was extended to farmers not to give up their home market in favour of a foreign one: "ask a farmer whether he would rather have a farm or a factory beside him and he answers the factory, every time." (60) That was a platform better suited to the industrial sections of the east than to the solidly agricultural west.

Newspapers supporting the Liberals were The Manitoba Liberal

(53) Carberry Express, May 21/96, Somebody is Deceiving.

(54) Ibid., June 4/96, Political Jugglery.

(55) Ibid., June 11/96, The "Great Principle."

(56) Weekly Review, May 25/96.

(57) Neepawa Register, May 22/96.

(58) Ibid., June 12/96.

(59) Carberry Express, Apr. 30/96.

(60) Ibid., June 18/96, The Home Market.

of Portage la Prairie, published by a company of which Mr. Rutherford was president, The Neepawa Press, The Gazette, Glenboro, and The Gladstone Age.

Most attention was given to the school question by the Liberal papers. The case before the Privy Council was quoted to show that while Parliament might pass remedial legislation, it was not compelled to do so. (61) The same newspaper scoffed at the Conservative claim that the Constitution called for concessions to the minority. "The real fact is, they want the Catholic vote and are willing to give away the educational system of this province to get it." (62) It was denied that Laurier was pledged to restore separate schools in Manitoba; (63) Tupper and his Quebec supporters, on the other hand, had definitely signed a pledge, prepared by the bishops, in which the restoration of separate schools in Manitoba was promised. (64)

The trade question was also thoroughly discussed. It was pointed out that under the National Policy almost everything the farmer used paid a duty, "and here let a great injustice be observed that while the tools and implements of a farmer are all taxed, those of the manufacturer and the merchant are, as a rule, not taxed at all." (65) The National Policy had not led to the results anticipated by the Conservatives at its inception; the Conservative trade policy would lead to contraction of Canadian economic effort, while the Liberal plans, looking towards free trade, would bring about an expansion. (66)

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- (61) The Manitoba Liberal, May 6/96, Must Parliament Interfere.
(62) Ibid., May 13/96, The Constitution.
(63) Ibid., May 30/96.
(64) The Neepawa Press, June 11/96, Distinct Difference.
(65) The Manitoba Liberal, June 10/96; June 13/96.
(66) The Neepawa Press, June 18/96, The Two Trade Policies.

The Liberal papers were not sparing in their criticism of the Conservatives' Hudson Bay Railway promise, which they insisted was merely an election bribe. (67) It was said that if the road ever were constructed, the first section of it would be the Dauphin road, just on the point of being built by provincial aid, which was worth a great deal more than Sir Charles Tupper's promises. (68) Mr. Boyd was called on to give assurance that the road would be built "not as a branch, but as a competing line, and not left at the Saskatchewan simply tributary to the C. P. R. We would also like to have it shown that it will be a railway with its terminus in Winnipeg, and not a continuation of the Dauphin Road, now to be built by the Province." (69) The Conservative promise was compared to one made by the same party in 1887, that the Grand Trunk would reach Winnipeg that year; but in 1896 the road had still not made its appearance. (70) One paper pointed out that Eastern Canada was almost entirely against the Hudson Bay Railway, and certainly would not invest money in it until investigations were made into the conditions of navigation and the possibilities for successful operation. (71)

The Western Patrons' Sentinel was the only organ supporting the Patrons of Industry. This paper constantly viewed the election from the farmers' point of view, and consequently gave more space to the evils of protection, the benefits of free trade, and the need for lower freight rates than to the school question. (72)

(67) The Manitoba Liberal, June 17/96; The Keewauw Press, June 18/96.

(68) The Manitoba Liberal, May 13/96, Tupperism.

(69) The Gazette, Glenboro, May 22/96, The Conservative Rally.

(70) Ibid., June 19/96, Do Not Be Blinded.

(71) The Gladstone Age, May 20/96, An Open Letter.

(72) Patrons' Western Sentinel, May 20, 27, June 3, 1896.

In Portage la Prairie, a few weeks before the election, a Methodist minister added his voice to the Liberal canvass in a sermon. He "spoke of the inconsistency of men praying 'Thy Kingdom Come' and then going out and voting for corruption and coercion. His command to them was either to stop praying or else to vote right."⁽⁷³⁾

Catholic voters in Macdonald riding, as in the other constituencies, were urged by La Manitoba to vote for the Conservative candidate, and emphasis was placed on the fact that in the House of Commons Mr. Boyd had voted for the remedial bill. The Conservative candidate also had other claims on the gratitude of the electorate:

"Our friends of Sainte Rose-du-Lac should recall everything which Mr. Boyd has done, in concert with Mr. La Rivière, in order to obtain for them the title to the land which they occupy today, to get a mail service for them, and to have neglected nothing to serve their interests...."⁽⁷⁴⁾

On the basis of the information so far brought together, it would seem as though the Liberal and Conservative candidates were fairly evenly balanced. However, Mr. Boyd, the Conservative, won by 398 votes, the largest majority of any constituency outside of the French Catholic Provencher. Boyd polled 2,436 votes as compared to 2,038 for the Liberal and 1,259 for the Patron.⁽⁷⁵⁾ But of course the Conservative candidate was given a minority of the total vote of the constituency.

The old Marquette had been the only consistently Liberal constituency of the Province, having returned a Conservative at

(73) The Manitoba Liberal, June 3/96.

(74) La Manitoba, June 15/96. (Nos amis de Sainte Rose-du-Lac devront se rappeler tout ce qu'a fait M. Boyd, de concert avec M. LaRivière, pour leur obtenir le titre des terres qu'ils occupent aujourd'hui, de leur avoir obtenu un service de maille et de n'avoir rien négligé pour servir leurs intérêts,...)

(75) Sessional Papers, Canada, 1897, Vol. XXXI, No. 15, pp. 500-501.

Division	Name	Nathaniel Boyd	Charles Braithwaite	John J. Hatherford	Votes Pulled	Voters on List
Poplar Point		44	18	59	99	174
High Bluff		18	8	14	40	70
Do. East		15	8	19	42	61
Portage la Prairie		37	28	38	102	216
Burnside, East		42	13	26	81	169
Prospect, East		71	34	55	160	227
Do. West		42	35	59	136	197
Burnside, West		49	36	50	155	217
Milford		35	3	50	88	147
Osborneville		22	14	9	45	165
Elm River		34	5	22	61	133
P. la P., East		63	11	71	145	236
Do. East Centre		51	5	90	146	231
Do. Centre		64	2	72	144	223
Do. West Centre		63	11	41	115	171
Do. West		71	11	59	141	232
Westbourne		28	6	59	93	210
Kinross		31	3	9	43	53
Richmond		42	29	16	87	148
Blake		9	20	8	37	78
Palestine		22	22	28	72	124
Squirrel Creek		12	31	17	60	124
Gladstone		46	11	47	104	132
Isaac Creek		27	49	49	125	206
McGregor		71	14	70	155	282
Austin		60	22	96	178	255
Sewell		28	14	21	63	128
Austin, South		49	29	15	93	111
Frederic, East		52	16	46	114	176
Do.		39	17	58	114	181
Do. North		33	44	39	116	209
Holland, East		84	34	38	156	240
Do. Village		43	3	29	75	96
Cypress River		41	15	45	101	149
Glenboro', Centre		121	2	70	193	237
Do. East		33	12	53	98	166
Do. West		60	1	32	93	130
Carberry, East		59	7	44	110	170
Do. West		53	5	38	96	151
Melbourne		83	10	19	112	189
Pine Creek		73	57	36	166	235
Petrol		34	33	29	96	178
Osprey		33	57	36	126	219
Glendale		47	99	46	192	275
Lensdowne		56	51	27	134	216
Do. North		11	86	2	105	196
Arden		46	36	31	113	189
Keopawa		104	10	91	205	325
Rosedale, East		36	72	15	123	188
Do. West		75	53	26	154	211
Do. North		30	43	14	86	200
Dauphin, East		35	1	19	55	77
		<u>2,436</u>	<u>1,259</u>	<u>2,038</u>	<u>5,733</u>	<u>9,352</u>

Majority for Nathaniel Boyd - 398.

Taken from Sessional Papers, Canada, 1897, Vol. XXXI, pp. 300-1.

only one election since Confederation; and on that occasion, the election of 1878, Sir John A. Macdonald had been returned by acclamation. There may have been some connection between this Liberal vote and the large number of Presbyterians and Scotch people in the riding, as mentioned in the discussion in Selkirk constituency. However, in the by-election of 1892, the Conservative Nathaniel Boyd was elected - perhaps an indication that the constituency had grown weary of waiting for the Liberal opposition at Ottawa to serve its interests.

That a fair amount of interest was taken in the election, comparatively speaking, is shown by the fact that 61% of the 9352 electors made use of their franchise. Only Brandon bettered this figure, by polling a 64% vote. Previous elections in the old riding of Marquette had brought out 70% of the voters in 1874, 44% in 1887, and 51% in 1891. The result for this whole area in 1896 was 55%⁽⁷⁶⁾, so it would appear that Macdonald had a better record than the new, smaller Marquette to the west.

In 1896 ten out of the fifty-two polls showed a vote of less than one-half of the electorate, and one of these was less than one-third. Throughout the constituency the vote hovered close to 50%, and no racial or religious group can be isolated as a special offender. The results must be put down to apathy or confusion on the part of the electorate, and perhaps the former was more important as a factor than the latter.

Large majorities - double or close to it - were piled up by the Conservatives in eight out of fifty-two polling divisions, by the Patrons in six places, and by the Liberals in only one. But most of the Conservative and Liberal majorities, unlike those

(76) Figures compiled from Federal election results in Sessional Papers, Canada, 1873 to 1897.

Macedonald Constituency

of the Patrons, were small ones. Liberal and Conservative support was fairly evenly divided in the section east of Treherne, McGregor, and Gladstone, while west of that line the Conservatives had eight majorities, the Patrons six, and the Liberals only four. The Patrons had no majorities east of this line. The fact that both Conservatives and Patrons made most of their majorities in the west of the riding lends a little colour to the claim of the Patron newspaper that in Marquette and Macedonald "it is beyond either doubt or argument that the majority of votes given to the Patron candidates were from Conservatives."⁽⁷⁷⁾ But it might be argued that the Conservatives would not have made so many majorities in this section if the Patrons had not received Liberal votes.

The Liberals protested the Macedonald returns on charges of corruption and bribery, alleging, among other things, that money and liquor had been given to electors.⁽⁷⁸⁾ An appeal was made to the Supreme Court of Canada when the preliminary objections were overruled in Winnipeg.⁽⁷⁹⁾ The lawyer serving the Conservatives before the Supreme Court argued that the person who had filed the petition was not duly qualified and that service had been irregular, but these technicalities did not prevent the Court's decision going against Mr. Boyd, who had to vacate his seat.⁽⁸⁰⁾

The findings of the Supreme Court, while they demonstrate that there had been a certain amount of corruption in the riding, do not prove by any means that this factor had very much to do with the large Conservative majority. Nor can Mr. Rutherford's

⁽⁷⁷⁾ Western Patrons' Sentinel, July 1/96.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ Carberry Express, Aug. 6/96, The Protest.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ Ibid., Sept. 17/96.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ Ibid., Mar. 25/97.

return by a much larger majority in the by-election of April, 1897, be taken as a repudiation of the Conservatives by an indignant electorate, since that party had decided not to enter a candidate: "One or more in the house at the present time will make no difference." (81) Rutherford was opposed by Kenneth McKenzie, an independent with very little backing. It was natural for the voters to prefer a candidate who, as a Liberal, would be able to do much more for his riding in a Liberal Government than could an independent.

It is possible that the Conservatives won in 1896 partly because the Patrons stole more Liberal than Conservative votes. It is not likely that many Conservatives, who remembered Charles Braithwaite campaigning for Laurier in 1891, would be tempted to desert their party for him. On the other hand, the Liberal and Patron platforms took the same stand on the school and tariff issues, and a Liberal farmer who thought that his party was not as favourable to agriculture as the Patrons would be inclined to vote for Mr. Braithwaite, because by doing so he hoped to get everything the Liberals promised, plus the sympathetic attitude towards farmers which was a more particular attribute of the Patrons.

Perhaps the Patrons of Industry played a large part in defeating the Liberal candidate in Macdonald. But regardless of who won the election, it is significant that the Conservatives had a substantial vote in their favour, even in a three-cornered contest. For some 40% of the electorate, party ties and the promise of the Hudson Bay Railway were apparently more important than the maintenance of national schools or the economic advantages of a low tariff. It furnishes additional evidence of the

(81) Carberry Express, Apr. 15/97.

solid core of Conservatism long characteristic of Manitoba as a whole. This feeling might be shelved for the purposes of a local campaign, but the approach of a Federal election brought it out again in all the fervour of its Ontario background.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LOCAL CAMPAIGNS

MARQUETTE CONSTITUENCY

Marquette, the new riding created in north-western Manitoba by the redistribution of 1892 in order to keep pace with the spread of population, was made up of the western part of the former Marquette constituency. In the ten years from 1881 to 1891 the number of inhabitants in the area covered by this new riding had increased by 212%;⁽¹⁾ its population was thus growing more rapidly than that of Macdonald to the east. The newness of the settlement is also shown by the fact that in 1891 40% of the inhabitants⁽²⁾ had been born in Ontario as against 30% in Manitoba.⁽²⁾ It is probably safe to infer that the Ontario-born element was more important in Marquette than in Macdonald at the time of the election, since Marquette was just being opened up to settlement.

In 1896 the population had been almost entirely of British origin, very largely born in Ontario and Manitoba, of course. Of these, the people of Scotch origin had been most numerous, followed by English and Irish. There had been a mere sprinkling of other nationalities; around Fort Kllice there had been one of the more important of these, a hundred or so French half-breeds.⁽³⁾

It is not surprising that less than 1% of the people in this riding were Catholics; of the Protestant denominations,

(1) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. IV, p. 497. (Population in 1881, 4,196; in 1891, 13,123; in 1896 (Census of Manitoba, 1896), 17,923.)
 (2) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. I, p. 333.
 (3) Census of Manitoba, 1895-6, pp. 18-21. (Approximate figures: Scotch, 3300; English, 2,400; Irish, 2,000; Indians, 470.)

Marquette Constituency

the Presbyterians were most numerous, followed by Anglicans, (4) Methodists, and Baptists. Obviously, the Conservative Party could not hope for much support for its school policy in Marquette constituency, since the Catholics formed such a very small minority; on the other hand, the Protestants most vocally opposed to separate schools, the Methodists, did not form a large proportion of the population.

Economically, the riding was producing wheat almost exclusively in 1896. Rapid City had flour, saw, and woollen mills, and there were also flour mills in Birtle and Minnedosa, and saw mills in Birtle, Cartmore, Lake Dauphin, and Strathclair. (5) But these small industries and others like them were only the fringe on the riding's economic make-up, which was based solidly on wheat.

The farmers of Marquette might be expected to favour the Liberal Party for its tariff policy, in the hope that it would lower the prices of necessities, and the Conservative Party for their railroad building record. Of the two needs, that for railroads was the greater, and there was rejoicing in the constituency at the time of the election because the Dauphin Railroad was being surveyed and would soon be completed. The Great North West Central ended abruptly at Hamiota, leaving the district to the west of it without a railway. The only other railroad was the Manitoba and North Western, which crossed the southern part of the riding in a north-westerly direction. The constituency as a whole needed more railroad accommodation if settlement was to continue or the people

(4) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. I, pp. 226-7. (Approximate figures: Presbyterians, 5,000; Anglicans, 2,900; Methodists, 2,600; Baptists, 700; Catholics, 600.)

(5) Henderson's Directory, 1896, pp. 467-562.

already living in it were to have proper transportation facilities.

The candidates who faced this English-speaking, Protestant, wheat-growing riding were Dr. William James Roche, Conservative, Mr. J. H. Ashdown, Liberal, and Mr. G. A. J. A. Marshall, Patron of Industry. Dr. Roche was the unanimous choice of a convention of the Liberal Conservative Association of Marquette, which met in Minnedosa on March 4, 1895. ⁽⁶⁾ J. H. Ashdown was chosen by a Liberal nomination meeting held at Shoal Lake on 24th April, 1896. ⁽⁷⁾ At this meeting the original Patron candidate, Mr. Young, who had been selected in 1894, withdrew from the campaign, feeling that his party was not giving him enough financial and other support; it was not until 26th May that Mr. Young's successor, ⁽⁸⁾ Mr. Marshall, was chosen by a Patron meeting at Shoal Lake. Mr. Marshall was thus left with less than a month to cover the riding, where he was far from being as well known as either the local man, Dr. Roche, or Mr. Ashdown from Winnipeg.

Dr. Roche was thirty-seven years of age at the time of the election. He was born in Ontario, near London, of an Irish father. He was the first graduate of the London Medical School, and came out to Manitoba in 1864, beginning to practice in Minnedosa. His medical practice naturally made him known to a great many of his constituents, and he reached others through the high offices which he held in the Oddfellows' Association. In 1892 he had tried unsuccessfully to enter the local Legislature, then predominantly Liberal. He had "a fluent and pleasant way of addressing his audience." His political ability is shown by

(6) The Hustler, Winnipeg, March 12/95.

(7) The Eye-Witness, Birtle, Apr. 28/96.

(8) Ibid., June 2/96.

the fact that following his success in 1896 he was re-elected in every contest down to 1911, and only left the House in 1917 in order to become chairman of the Civil Service Commission. (9)

Mr. Ashdown was considerably older than Dr. Roche, being fifty-two years of age in 1896. He was born in London, England, but spent his boyhood in Ontario. Having learned tinsmithing, he worked for the American Government in the Western United States, and came to Manitoba in 1868 after accumulating a few hundred dollars. He was just in time for the Riel disturbances; (10) the fact that he spent two months as a prisoner of the métis leader is evidence of his strong racial bias even at so early a date, if one remembers that the great majority of the Selkirk settlers and their descendants took no part in the rising. When the settlement quieted down, he started the hardware business which was to make him a millionaire in the nameless village of a little over 100 inhabitants, later known as Winnipeg. (11) He took an active part in community affairs, such as the civic government and the Board of Trade. He was among those who founded Wesley College in 1896, an institution which was to become heavily indebted to "his princely generosity and valuable administrative ability." (12) Other interests were the Y. M. C. A., the General Hospital, and Knowles' Home for Boys.

Mr. Ashdown changed both his religion and his politics in the course of his career. He had been an Anglican, but joined the Methodist Church because of his admiration for the

(9) Parliamentary Companion, 1897, p. 176; Manitoba Biography, 1930-, p. 58; Russell Chronicle, June 6/96.

(10) Manitoba Biography, 1896-1902, p. 1.

(11) Ibid., 1906-09, p. 126.

(12) Ibid., 1911-14, p. 25; Ibid., 1924-30, p. 7.

(13)

work and character of the Rev. George Young. He stated that he left the Conservative Party "when it tried to throttle Manitoba at the beck of the C. P. R. magnates." (14) It is worth noting that both the religious and political change brought him amongst people opposed to separate schools. Taken in conjunction with his early imprisonment by Riel, they indicate that his stand on this issue was a matter of deep conviction, not political expediency.

The Patron candidate, G. A. J. A. Marshall, sometimes called "Alphabetical Marshall," was "one of the intellectuals of the western movement." (15) At the time of the election he was 62 years of age. (16) He was born in England, where he worked for the Bank of England for many years, and was in receipt of a pension from that institution when he came out to Manitoba in the late eighties. He settled on a farm near Baulah, in the constituency of Marquette, with his large family, all of whom engaged in farming.

Having been a strong believer in free trade in England, Mr. Marshall gravitated into the Patrons of Industry movement, and was made "vice-president of the Grand Board of Manitoba and the North West Territories." A couple of months before the election he had gone to Portage la Prairie to start a newspaper for the organization, The Patrons' Western Sentinel, since the earlier organ had been discontinued a few months previously, and it was felt necessary to have a journal during the campaign. He felt dubious about taking part in the election while he had

(13) J. L. Johnston, J. H. Ashdown. (Radio talk, 1938; typed copy in Provincial Library.)

(14) The Eye-Witness, Birtle, May 12/96.

(15) Food, Farmers' Movements, p. 127.

(16) Russell Chronicle, June 13/96, An Appeal. (Age might be 52 instead of 62; poor printing.)

this responsibility, but was relieved of it by Mr. Braithwaite,
(17)
President of the Association. Marshall was called "a ready
debater" by the Russell Chronicle, but this is not borne out
by the report of a meeting where he spoke of his disadvantage
in entering the campaign late, made a few remarks on the pre-
ceding speaker's discourse, and finished by reading his own
electoral letter instead of making a speech. (18)

In his election letter, Dr. Roche gave first place to
the Hudson Bay Railway, pointing out that Tupper had promised
to have it built to the Saskatchewan within two years. He be-
lieved that the National Policy should continue in force until
the Americans were ready to grant a reciprocity treaty, and he
emphasized the importance of preferential trade with England,
which would soon put Canada "in a position to feed the empire
with the products of her farms." A fast Atlantic service was
advocated in order to build up the reputation of Canadian goods.
Significantly, the school question occupied fifth place in the
letter; Dr. Roche, like Mr. Macdonald in Brandon riding, stated
that he favoured national schools, and that he would oppose the
restoration of separate schools by voice and vote if, as he
doubted, the remedial bill were again introduced. Other planks
in Dr. Roche's platform were the encouragement of experimental
farms, the extension of the Manitoba and North Western Railway
to Prince Albert, a better mail service for the western part of
the constituency, and the establishment of a judicial division
to avoid travelling expenses in attending court. The electoral
letter closed by objecting to candidates (the reference being
to Mr. Ashdown) being brought out into the country from Winnipeg,

(17) Russell Chronicle, June 6, 13, 27, 1896.

(18) The Marquette Spectator-Reporter, June 4/96, Saturday's
Meeting.

since there was "too much centralization there already," and the implication was that there was not a good enough local man. (19)

The school question took first place in the electoral letter of Mr. Ashdown, as might be expected, since the Liberal Party were taking the popular stand on that issue. Mr. Ashdown declared himself to be completely opposed to remedial legislation by the Dominion Government, and pledged himself to stand against it. His next plank called for a vigorous immigration policy; this would naturally appear important to Mr. Ashdown, in view of his business affairs, but, as previously pointed out, it is doubtful if immigration were greatly desired by the average farmer. "The greatest possible freedom of trade" occupied next place, followed by a demand for legislation to make it possible to build railroads as freely as to engage in other business enterprises, a suggestion that could never have emanated from the Conservative Party, which supported the C. P. R. in its monopolistic tendencies. Other planks called for the prevention of elevator monopoly, an inter-provincial Commerce Commission corresponding to the American body, to regulate railway rates and prevent discrimination, and the reduction of the cost of the civil service. (20)

The electoral letter of Mr. Marshall gave first place to the trade question. He supported a tariff for revenue only, with free trade within the empire. Next came the need for economy in government, both in the number of employees and their salaries. He held that the building of the Hudson Bay Railway was very necessary for the well-being of the North

(19) The Dauphin Pioneer-Press, May 27/96.

(20) The Eye-Witness, Birtle, May 12/96.

West; preferably, such a railroad should be government owned, but if that were impossible, care should be taken to see that freight rates were kept down. Having disposed of what he apparently considered the more important questions, Mr. Marshall came to the school question; on this issue he declared himself to be "unalterably opposed to any appropriation of public moneys for sectarian purposes whatever."⁽²¹⁾

It is significant that only Mr. Ashdown considered it politic to put the school question first in his electoral letter. Dr. Roche gave first place to the Hudson Bay Railway; since the Conservative stand on the school question was bound to be unpopular, he tried to make it appear less important than the railroad. Mr. Marshall, as a Patron, naturally took the popular side on this issue, so the fact that he gave first place to the trade question no doubt indicated a genuine belief that the kind of tariff policy adopted by the Dominion Government meant more to Marquette constituency than did the school question, and it is possible that many voters shared this lack of interest in what was supposed to be the main issue of the election.

There is little information available about the supporters of the various candidates, but it is mentioned that W. J. Cooper and N. F. Hagel, Q. C., spoke on behalf of Dr. Roche; Clifford Sifton, Hon. Robert Watson, and F. C. Wade for Mr. Ashdown; and Senator Boulton, Mr. Paynter, and Mr. H. C. Fraser for Mr. Marshall. This is probably a very incomplete list of the speakers.⁽²²⁾

The constituency was apparently well stumped by all the candidates, although it was not an easy one to cover, owing to the fact that it was made up of rough country and had little in

⁽²¹⁾ Patrons' Western Sentinel, June 3/96.

⁽²²⁾ The Hustler, Hemlock, June 9, 16, 1896; The Eye-Witness, Birtle, May 12/96.

the way of roads and railways. Mr. Ashdown announced in the local papers on 26th May that he or other Liberals would speak in fourteen towns in the eleven days from 1st to 11th June, and a little later meetings in six towns were advertized for the period from 12th to 18th June. Dr. Roche and his friends were invited to take part in all these meetings. One paper mentioned eighteen towns which Mr. Marshall, the Patron candidate, had either canvassed already, or would visit shortly. Dr. Roche apparently covered the constituency well, although there is not such detailed information on his movements in the two Conservative papers of the riding. These papers were rather inactive politically, unlike the three Liberal and one Patron of Industry sheets.

The joint meeting was widely utilized, but was not at its best, except when someone of the calibre of Clifford Sifton was present to make full use of opportunities for picking flaws in opponents' speeches. Of one such meeting in Hamiota the local paper (Conservative) reported: "Mr. Sifton, without doubt, delivered the best speech that has been made here during the campaign... This was perhaps the most interesting meeting that has been held." Such praise to a political opponent must have been well merited.

The local government took considerable interest in the meetings, perhaps because of the popularity of Dr. Roche, as suggested by The Minnesota Tribune, Conservative:

"For a constituency that is said to be sure to return Mr. Ashdown it is strange that the Provincial Government should send so many of its members to work against Dr.

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- (23) The Eye-Witness, Birtle, May 26/96.
(24) The Dauphin-Pioneer Press, June 3/96.
(25) Russell Chronicle, June 20/96.
(26) The Hustler, Hamiota, June 16/96.

Roche. With the exception of Premier Greenway and Colonel McMillan, the whole provincial cabinet have been and are now billed to speak at various points in the riding." (27)

Mr. Ashdown and his helpers put most emphasis on the school question in their meetings, but gave much attention to the tariff issue as well. (28) The Hudson Bay Railway occupied first place in the meetings of Dr. Roche and his assistants. (29) The Patrons emphasized the trade question; Major Boulton was reported by the Hemiota Hustler to have said that "the school question was mainly sentimental while the trade question was one of dollars and cents." (30)

The newspapers of the constituency took a considerable interest in the election. On the school question, The Marquette Spectator-Reporter, Liberal, identified with Dr. Roche the support of Roman Catholic separate schools in Manitoba. (31) The Eye-Witness of Birtle, Liberal, pointed out that Dr. Roche could not be expected to vote against his party at Ottawa on remedial legislation, since Manitoba's previous Conservative members had not done so. (32) Sir Charles Tupper was accused of trying to get the French vote of Eastern Canada by his stand on the school question, while in the West he was giving this issue a secondary position. (33) The two Conservative newspapers kept discreetly silent on the school question, while the Russell Chronicle, which favoured the Patrons of Industry, was more interested in the trade question. Later, however, this paper warned that Manitoba needed secular schools if it intended to do as well as the United States in assimilating the heavy immigration which could soon be expected

(27) The Minnedosa Tribune, June 4/96, Editorial Notes.
(28) The Eye-Witness, Birtle, May 12/96; The Hustler, Hemiota, June 9/96.
(29) The Hustler, Hemiota, June 2/96; June 16/96.
(30) Ibid., June 15/96, The Patron Candidate.
(31) The Marquette Spectator-Reporter, June 10/96.
(32) The Eye-Witness, Birtle, May 26/96, The Contest.
(33) Ibid., June 9/96.

(34)

to begin.

The value of the Hudson Bay Railway to the riding was heavily stressed by the Conservative Minnedosa Tribune: "If you think our farmers should receive more for their grain, cattle, and dairy products than they do at present, then vote for Roche and the Hudson Bay Railway." (35) A few days before the election, this newspaper blithely assured its readers that the waters of Hudson Bay "are warmer than those of Lake Superior and it never freezes over." It then made a full statement of what the building of the railroad would mean to the constituency in terms of employment, better prices for farm products, the opening up of the country to settlement, the building of connecting railroads, the increase of shipping on Manitoba's three lakes and their rivers, the operation of iron works with iron taken from Lake Winnipeg and coal from along the Saskatchewan River, and the beginning of pulp-mills. And finally, "it means that this will be the big front door of the Dominion instead of an outlying field as at present." (36)

The Liberal papers belittled Conservative talk of the Hudson Bay Railway: "Tupper's policy is simply to bribe this Province to overlook the corrupt and incapable acts of the past and give him a renewal of office." (37) The Birtle Eye-Witness ridiculed the project: "If we recollect aright active work in pushing the Hudson's Bay Railway has been promised by the Ottawa government in the interest of that party before elections federal or local for the past twelve years." (38)

(34) The Eye-Witness, Birtle, June 16/96.

(35) The Minnedosa Tribune, June 11/96, Editorial Notes.

(36) Ibid., June 18/96.

(37) The Marquette Spectator-Reporter, June 11/96, Political Pointers for Marquette Voters.

(38) The Eye-Witness, Birtle, May 26/96, Election Promises.

On the trade question one of the Liberal newspapers gave Mr. Ashdown plenty of support. The Marquette Spectator-Reporter sympathized with the farmer:

"With the National Policy levying an exorbitant tax on every article he consumes, and the G. P. R. standing ready and able to gobble one half of all his productions for taking the other half to market, forced to sell them in competition with the world, and obliged to buy his necessaries where there is no competition, not one dollar can be spared to even side up the old cabin with duty protected lumber and nails, to keep out the wintry blast, let alone construct a more comfortable home." (39)

In the same issue this paper pointed out that there was no truth in the Conservative claim that the farmers benefited by the duty of 15¢ a bushel on American wheat, since prices for agricultural products were nearly always higher in the United States than in Canada, so that the American farmer had no incentive to sell in the Canadian market; and the protective policy which placed a duty on American wheat also raised the prices of all the things the Canadian farmer needed. (40) A week later this newspaper said:

"Coal oil across the line is retailed at from 10 to 15 cents per gallon. We produce it in Canada, and have a protective tariff of six cents and et ceteras per gallon. Show why the Canadian consumer pays 40 cents per gallon." (41)

The other side of the argument was presented by the Minneapolis Tribune, Conservative. This newspaper made a heroic attempt to identify the interests of East and West:

"Let every farmer in the vicinity of Minnedosa say which he thinks would be best for his interests. A factory employing say 200 hands, established in Minnedosa, or one some thousands of miles off. The object of the present Dominion Government is to keep the Canadian farmers' market as near to him as possible, and the only way this can be done is to foster home industries."

The newspaper went on to say that the Americans had all the agricultural products they wanted, but would like free trade

(39) The Marquette Spectator-Reporter, June 11/96.

(40) Ibid., National Policy Nullified, June 11/96.

(41) Ibid., June 18/96, Political Pointers for Marquette Voters.

with Canada so that they could get Canadian money for their
 manufactured goods. (42) It is doubtful if the electors took very
 seriously a later argument of this paper, to the effect that
 if English free trade were such a blessing and the American
 protectionist policy a curse, there should be a heavy emigration
 from the United States to England. (43) The Cornwall Standard was
 quoted on preferential trade; if England would put a duty of 10
 to 15% on imports from the United States and other foreign coun-
 tries, the British Empire, and Canada particularly, would bene-
 fit enormously; (44) but no indication was given as to how England
 might be persuaded to give up the free trade policy to which
 she had clung for half a century. The Russell Chronicle, which
 supported Mr. Marshall, the Patron candidate, had no good word
 for the National Policy: "This is the people's fight to over-
 throw protection, and don't forget it." (45)

It will be seen that most of the shades of political
 opinion were reflected in the constituency's local press with
 no lack of vigour. In none of the papers was there a tendency
 towards personal abuse of candidates, although Mr. Ashdown was
 criticized because he was an outsider and a millionaire, (46) the
 implication being that he could have little sympathy with the
 needs of Marquette farmers.

Le Manitoba, of course, supported the Conservative candi-
 date, and had only harsh words for Mr. Ashdown:

"Those who, like us, knew the little tinsmith in the
 neighbourhood of the modest post office of Fort Garry
 (Winnipeg did not exist then), scarcely recognize the

(42) The Minnecossee Tribune, May 26/96.
 (43) Ibid., June 11/96, Editorial Notes.
 (44) Ibid., June 18/96, Preferential Trade.
 (45) Russell Chronicle, June 6/96, The Political Situation.
 (46) Ibid., June 13/96, An Appeal.

rich hardware merchant of today. We do not want to reproach him for the success of his fortunes, far from that; but what we do reproach him for, is that the enlargement of the sphere of his industrial and mercantile operations has had no influence whatever on his narrow and illiberal ideas with regard to everything which is Catholic and French; yet, what a quantity of cash have our compatriots not spent over his counters? Today he is offered for election as a representative, in order to go to Ottawa to combat our cause in imitation of the McCarthy's and the Wallases.

Electors of Marquette, vote for Dr. Roche." (47)

On election day 47% of the voters in the riding made use of their franchise - a percentage below which only Selkirk and Lisgar fell. In previous elections the vote had been, for the whole of the old Marquette, 70% in 1874, 44% in 1887, and 51% in 1891, but the fact that the new Macdonald polled a 61% vote in 1896 seems to show that the eastern part of the old riding had pulled up the result, and that the western part, the new Marquette, had always made a poor showing. This might be explained in part because travel was so difficult in the riding owing to the roughness of the country and the fact that it was too newly settled to have adequate transportation facilities. It has also been suggested that frontier absorption in

(47) Le Manitoba, June 15/96. (Ceux qui, comme nous, ont connu le petit ferblantier voisin du modeste bureau de poste du Fort Carry (Winnipeg n'existait pas alors) ne reconnaîtraient guère l'opulent marchand de fer d'aujourd'hui. Nous ne voulons pas lui reprocher le succès de sa fortune, loin de là; mais ce que nous lui reprochons, c'est que l'élargissement de la sphère de ses opérations industrielles et mercantiles, n'a eu aucune influence sur ses idées étroites et mesquines à l'égard de tout ce qui est catholique et français: pourtant, que d'écus nos compatriotes ne sont-ils pas allés déposer sur ses comptoirs? Il s'en sert aujourd'hui pour se faire élire député, afin d'aller à Ottawa combattre notre cause à l'instar des McCarthy et des Wallace.

Electeurs de Marquette, votez pour le Dr. Roche.)

<u>Division</u> <u>Number</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>J. H.</u> <u>Ashdown</u>	<u>G.A.J.A.</u> <u>Marshall</u>	<u>W. J.</u> <u>Roche</u>	<u>Votes</u> <u>Polled</u>	<u>Voters</u> <u>on List</u>
	Clanwilliam, East	22	14	75	109	171
	Do. West	20	7	64	91	162
	Odessa, North	33	15	68	114	246
	Do. South	38	38	64	160	295
	Saskatchewan South	33	2	19	54	152
	Do. Centre	23	28	25	76	216
	Do. North	40	18	18	76	190
	Harrison	36	12	51	99	193
	Strathelair	95	7	59	161	276
	Blanchard North	25	7	40	72	229
	Do. South	56	6	51	113	269
	Oak River, South	61	25	18	104	161
	Do. Centre	30	17	67	114	200
	Do. North	26	4	25	55	140
	Sheol Lake	60	-	45	105	181
	Do. South	24	1	9	34	114
	Do. North	54	-	20	74	126
	Lake Dauphin, East	17	-	66	103	167
	Do. Centre	57	1	67	125	182
	Do. West	47	5	71	123	188
	Birtle East	19	11	14	44	185
	Do. Centre	22	13	21	56	209
	Do. West	28	32	25	85	215
	Winiota, North	26	45	23	94	248
	Do. South	47	44	57	128	278
	Archie	45	33	32	110	256
	Ellice	22	19	47	88	142
	Russell, North	47	8	26	83	142
	Do. South	32	13	26	71	172
	Silver Creek	75	31	37	143	290
	Rossburn	29	1	35	65	135
	Houlton	15	2	7	24	64
	Gilbert Plains	42	1	26	69	158
	Shell River	51	7	50	88	230
	Town of Minnedosa	50	5	107	162	297
	Rapid City	68	2	50	120	234
	Town of Birtle	51	-	26	79	189
		<u>1,466</u>	<u>472</u>	<u>1,533</u>	<u>3,471</u>	<u>7,252</u>

erity for W. J. Roche, 67.

ken from Sessional Papers, Canada, 1897, Vol. LXXI, p. 302.)

private tasks may have played a part.

The low vote of 1896 cannot be blamed on the non-English element, which was insignificant numerically. Perhaps some excuse may be found in the difficulties of transportation through rough country, since the lightest vote was polled in the west and north of the constituency. Probably the chief reason lay in political apathy.

The election returns gave the Conservative, Dr. Roche, with 1,533 votes, a majority of 67 over Mr. Ashdown. Mr. Marshall, the Patron candidate, received only 472 votes, or 13% of the vote. This percentage was lower than the result in Brandon, where 15% of the vote went to the Patron candidate, and Macdonald, where the Patron received 21% of the total. The Conservative and Liberal candidate were quite close together, and Dr. Roche was elected by a minority of the voters.

The old riding of Marquette had returned Liberals in every election except one since Confederation. The exception was in 1878, when, not very surprisingly, Sir John A. Macdonald was returned by acclamation. Perhaps this predominantly Liberal vote was in part an outcome of the presence of so many Scotchmen and Presbyterians in the riding, in view of the connection between Scotch Presbyterians and Liberalism already noted.

Dr. Roche made his best majorities in the district which he probably covered in carrying out his medical practice - the municipalities of Chamilliam, Odanah, and Lake Dauphin - and in the municipality of Ellice, containing a French half-breed settlement which would be favorably disposed towards the Conservative policy on the school question. The Conservatives made majorities in only thirteen out of the thirty-seven polls, as compared to twenty-one majorities for the Liberals; thus,

while the Liberal platform was apparently more popular than the Conservative over most of the constituency, the Conservatives were fortunate in receiving sufficiently large majorities where they were favoured to give Dr. Roche the victory. Mr. Marshall, the Patron candidate, was given a majority in only three polling divisions. He was not heavily supported in any one part of the constituency, but received a sprinkling of votes throughout. It was probably his presence in the contest which defeated the Liberals, as charged by the Marquette Spectator-Reporter after the election; Conservative voters would be held to their loyalty by both party ties and the promise of the Hudson Bay Railway, but the Liberals were not promising anything which the Patrons were not prepared to fight for. For a Conservative to vote for the Patrons would mean a revolutionary change from right to far left; but for a Liberal it meant less of a change, since he was already on the left. The Patron platform, as already pointed out, was simply a more liberal and agricultural liberal platform.

One Liberal newspaper, no doubt disgruntled at the results, printed a report to the effect that the election was not fairly won:

"We are told that north of Winnipeg, votes were openly bought, that polling places on the line of the M. & N. W. were flooded with certificate voters, and that postmasters and mail clerks purposely delayed stamped literature from reaching its destination." (48)

However, this report is weakened, although not invalidated, by the fact that only three out of the eight municipalities through which the Manitoba and Northwestern Railway passed

(48) The Marquette Spectator-Reporter, June 25/96, The Liberals on Top.

(49) Ibid., June 25/96, The Victory.

gave majorities to the Conservatives, and of these three, two were in the east, where Dr. Roche would be well known as a practitioner, while the third was Ellice, which contained the French half-breed settlement, naturally favourable to the Conservative stand on the school question. A re-count of the votes by a judge did not change the figures. (50)

In Marquette, as in the other six constituencies, the Conservatives received plenty of support, even if they did appear to win their victory largely as a result of the participation of the Patrons. Whatever her stand in provincial politics, Manitoba was in no hurry to shake off her allegiance to the federal party which had given her the Canadian Pacific Railway and might build a road to the Bay. This attitude was reflected in Marquette constituency, where remedial legislation on the school question and the drawbacks of the National Policy were not sufficient to outweigh the primary economic need for adequate transportation facilities, plus loyalty to party. The problem of separate schools had no immediate significance in the riding, since the French-speaking and Catholic residents were so few and there had been no European immigration to speak of. But the promise of the Hudson Bay Railway was something which any Manitoba voter could, and did, appreciate. Dr. Roche's popularity in the east of the riding also played a considerable part in giving the advantage to the Conservatives.

CHAPTER EIGHT

LOCAL CAMPAIGNS

LISGAR CONSTITUENCY

Lisgar constituency was the centre riding of the three which bordered on the International Boundary. It was created by the redistribution of 1892, and consisted of the eastern part of the former constituency of Selkirk. The western part of the old riding became Brandon constituency under the same redistribution.

Aside from Brandon, no riding in the Province had shown such a heavy growth of population as Lisgar between 1881 and 1891, when the rate of increase was 261.8%.⁽¹⁾ It filled up so rapidly that the rate declined after 1891, and by 1911 the new Lisgar, made up of the south-eastern part of the Lisgar of 1896, was the only district in Manitoba to show a decrease of population for the preceding ten years.⁽²⁾ Thus, at the time of the election, Lisgar riding had passed through its most hectic period of growth and was, for that time, a fairly stable farming community.

Racially, Lisgar was as complex as Selkirk constituency to the north-east. It contained the Western Reserve of Mennonites, who had settled in the southeastern part of the riding in the 1870's, and whose settlements twenty years later were described as being "among the richest and most prosperous in the Province."⁽³⁾ In the western part of the riding there was a small group of Icelanders who had come there in 1881 and the following years from their original colony along the southeastern shore of Lake Winnipeg.⁽⁴⁾ To the east of the

(1) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. IV, p. 497.

(2) Ibid., 1911, Vol. I, p. 523.

(3) Hogg, History, Vol. II, p. 90.

(4) F. H. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba, Winnipeg, 1913, Vol. I, p. 362.

Icelanders there were about three townships settled with Belgians. East of these again, and stretching up to the northeast of the riding, there were French Canadians. There were people of British origin all through the constituency, of course, except for the Mennonite Reserve; they were fairly evenly divided among Irish, English, and Scotch, although the Irish were slightly more numerous than either the English or Scotch. In addition to the racial groups mentioned, there were a few half-breeds and others. In 1886, the most numerous group in Lisgar had been those of British origin, but the total of Mennonites lacked only a third of being as high as the British figure; the other groups mentioned were insignificant numerically.⁽⁵⁾

In 1891 the Ontario-born element in the former constituency of Selkirk, which included both the Lisgar and Brandon ridings of 1886, had numbered more than half the total population, while the people born in Manitoba made up less than 40%.⁽⁶⁾ Probably Brandon constituency had more Ontario-born citizens than Lisgar, while a large part of the Manitoba-born in the latter riding would be made up of Mennonite births since the beginning of the colony in the 'seventies. On the whole, therefore, the Ontario-born group was probably not so important in Lisgar as in Brandon, and this may be one explanation of why the school question did not exert enough influence in Lisgar to increase the Liberal vote.

Figures for religious beliefs show that in 1891 the Catholics, including the Belgians, made up only about 5% of

(5) Census of Manitoba, 1885-6, pp. 18-19. (Approximate figures: 3,500 English, 700 French, 6,900 Germans (mostly Mennonites), 3,400 Irish, 3,100 Scotch, 550 Icelanders).

(6) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. I, pp. 352-3. (Ontario-born, 20,198; Manitoba-born, 14,305.)

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the population of Lisgar riding. Of the Protestants, the most numerous group were the Baptists (almost entirely Mennonites), followed by Presbyterians, Methodists, Anglicans, and Lutherans (many of them Icelanders).⁽⁷⁾ The fact that there were not quite two-thirds as many Baptists as there were non-Icelandic Protestants shows that there had been little change in the respective proportions of British and Mennonites between 1886 and 1891, and probably there was little difference in the situation at the time of the election, although the English-speaking settlers had a more pronounced advantage by 1901.⁽⁸⁾

From the standpoint of the election, the Protestants were in a very large majority compared to the Catholics, even if the Protestant Mennonites be disregarded; the Conservatives could count on extremely little support for their school policy favouring the minority, since the Catholics were so few in numbers. On the other hand, the Mennonites were an unpredictable factor; they might refrain from voting, as they had done in Provencher, or they might favour the separate school policy of the Conservatives because of their own strict religious beliefs, or they might lean towards the strongly Protestant stand of the Liberals.

Economically, the riding, like the rest of Manitoba, relied almost exclusively on wheat. In 1891 there were some 232 manufacturing establishments, with 610 employees, in the old riding of Selkirk,⁽⁹⁾ which of course included Brandon constituency. These modest firms consisted chiefly of flour mills, at such towns as Balcar, Gretna, Morden, and Pilot Mound, carriage

(7) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. I, pp. 226-9. (Approximate figures: 9,400 Baptists, 5,500 Presbyterians, 4,900 Methodists, 3,500 Anglicans, 1,100 Lutherans, 1,700 Catholics.)

(8) Census of Canada, 1901, Vol. I, pp. 266-7.

(9) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. III, p. 302.

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makers at Manitou, Roland, and Somerset, and pump factories,
(10)
harness makers, and creameries at odd places. Such small
concerns were merely auxiliary to the wheat raising which was
the chief activity of the riding. Only the Mennonites went in
heavily for mixed farming; they had much livestock, and had
(11)
introduced the growing of flax in Manitoba.

In the matter of transportation, the riding was fairly
well served for the time. It was crossed from east to west
by three lines, the Southwestern and Pembina Branches of the
Canadian Pacific Railway, and a branch of the Northern Pacific
(12)
and Manitoba Railway. Since that time, of course, it has
been found necessary to add many miles of railway; no doubt
that portion of the people of the riding who lived any distance
from a railroad hoped for better transportation facilities, and
for that reason, if for no other, favoured the Conservative
Party, which had built the Canadian Pacific Railway after the
fumbling of the Liberals during their brief period of power
from 1874 to 1878. To the farmers of Lisgar, as to those of
the rest of Manitoba, the Conservative promise of the Hudson
Bay railway was bound to be attractive, because of the desire
for lower freight rates and a consequent better price for their
wheat.

In the election of 1896 this wheat-growing constituency
with its Protestant majority and its large Mennonite colony
was faced, at first, by three candidates. These were R. L.
Richardson, Liberal, Robert Rogers, Conservative, and James
Morrow, Patron of Industry. The Liberals had chosen a candidate

(10) Henderson's Directory, 1896, pp. 463-557.

(11) J. W. Dufoe, Canada and Its Provinces, Vol. XX, p. 296,
Four Decades of Economic Growth.

(12) Map of Manitoba, Published by authority of the Provincial
Government, Winnipeg, 1891.

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about a year before the election, but he dropped out, having apparently done no campaigning for his party, and R. L. Richardson was the unanimous choice of a convention held at Manitou on 28th March, 1896. (13) Mr. Rogers was selected by a Conservative convention at Morden on 12th May. (14) Mr. Morrow was chosen by a Patron convention held in the same town on 1st June, 1894; (15) this was one of the series of conventions held by the Patrons throughout the Province in that year for the purpose of choosing candidates and entering the Federal arena in the anticipated election. Mr. Morrow took little or no part in the 1896 campaign, (16) and withdrew from the contest a week or so before the election. He gave as his reason the failure of promised financial help from his party, and the generally weakened condition of that group in the riding. (17)

R. L. Richardson was thirty-six years of age at the time of the election. He was born in Lanark County, and had a public school education. Before coming to Manitoba in 1882 he had been a reporter for the Montreal Star and the Toronto Globe. In Winnipeg he became city editor of the Winnipeg Sun, and in 1890 started the Tribune as editor. He was described as a "Liberal with independent leanings." (18) A contemporary described Mr. Richardson as having been somewhat of an opportunist, who could scent news possibilities, and gave the public what they wanted, shifting with them to a considerable degree. He must have made a good impression on the electorate; he is said to have been a fairly good speaker, a likable and colourful individual, healthy and vigorous. There was nothing delicate about his sense of

(13) The Manitou Mercury, March 28/96, Lisgar Liberal Convention.
 (14) The Carman Weekly Standard, May 14/96, The Morden Convention.
 (15) The Morden Monitor, June 7/96.
 (16) The Carman Weekly Standard, June 4/96.
 (17) Ibid., June 11/96, Morrow Drops Out.
 (18) Parliamentary Companion, 1897, p. 177.

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humour, and perhaps the voters liked him all the better for that; it is reported that at one of the 1896 election meetings he was kicked by a man to whom he had referred in disparaging terms.

Mr. Richardson knocked the man unconscious and then went through his pockets in search of information for an obituary notice, presumably for the Tribune.
(19)

Robert Rogers, thirty-two years old in 1896, was a farmer and storekeeper at Clearwater, in the western part of the constituency. Born in Quebec, he was of Irish descent, and an Anglican. He had made two attempts to enter the local legislature, but was not to be successful until the Conservative triumph of 1899. Soon after settling at Clearwater he began to use his very considerable organizing ability to strengthen the Conservatives of the district. At the time of the election he had been president of the Manitoba Liberal Conservative Association for five years.
(20)

The practical side of politics was according to a contemporary, no mystery to him. Also, he understood the political value of entertaining, which he did well, and thoroughly enjoyed. In 1910, after having taken Premier Roblin's place in the Legislature during the latter's absence, a presentation was made to him, and he was credited with having shown "rare qualities of tact, wisdom and patience" - certainly useful characteristics in a politician.
(21)

As a speaker he was rather heavy, but this flaw was counteracted by his geniality and popularity.
(22)

The issues in 1896 as seen by these two candidates were set forth in a few of the local newspapers. Mr. Richardson issued a typical Liberal letter to the electors. After an
(23)

- (19) The German Weekly Standard, June 25/96.
(20) Parliamentary Guide, 1926, pp. 194-5; The Pilot Mound Sentinel, Apr. 24/96, Political.
(21) The Killarney Guide, May 22/96, Campaign Notes.
(22) Manitoba Biography, 1909-11, p. 125.
(23) The Manitou Mercury, May 9/96.

ingratiating remark to the effect that he was the son of an Ontario farmer, Mr. Richardson followed the Liberal example of giving first place to the school question; he declared himself to be "unalterably opposed" to separate schools and promised to oppose any party which should try to coerce Manitoba in the matter. Next, Mr. Richardson dealt with the trade question; he would try to have protection brought to an end, leaving a tariff for revenue only; the National Policy had amounted to nothing more than national plunder. Transportation should be cheaper, and something should be done about the elevator system, which did not operate in favour of the farmers. Since the Patron candidate was still in the running at the time his letter was issued, Mr. Richardson tried to keep wandering Liberals within the fold by stating that there was scarcely a plank in the Patron platform with which he was not in agreement. A reduction in the cost of civil service was called for next. The letter closed with a promise, probably intended for Conservatives wavering over the school question and likely to be won over to the Liberals, that Mr. Richardson, if elected, would remember that he represented not only those who voted for him, but all the electors of the riding, whatever their political beliefs might be.

The Conservatives had a column printed in the Morden Monitor from 28th May on, advertising their meetings. In the last two issues before the election this column gave much attention to Tupper's promise that the Hudson Bay Railway would be built to the Saskatchewan within two years. (24)

In the campaign, both candidates had strong supporters.

(24) Morden Monitor, June 11 and 18, 1896.

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Richardson was backed by Premier Greenway, Joseph Martin (the Liberal candidate in Winnipeg), Isaac Campbell, Q. C., and two members of the local legislature. Speaking on behalf of Mr. Rogers were Hugh John Macdonald (the Conservative candidate in Winnipeg), R. P. Roblin, Hugh Sutherland (President of the Hudson Bay Railway), Stewart Tupper (a son of Sir Charles), J. A. M. Atkins, Q. C., and A. A. C. LaRiviere. (25) If anything, the weight was in favour of Mr. Rogers, taking into account the great popularity of Hugh John Macdonald and the considerable speaking ability of R. P. Roblin, who is said to have been asked for an encore on one occasion after he had made a speech lasting an hour and a half. However, Mr. Sutherland's unpopularity with a certain proportion of the electorate, as insisted on by Liberal papers in different parts of Manitoba, is confirmed to a certain degree by the admission of a Conservative newspaper that his remarks at one meeting were "not very satisfactory to the people." (26)

The joint meeting was used to some extent, but the newspapers of the riding do not go into enough detail to make it clear how general the practice was. However, the accounts of meetings at which only one party was represented are more numerous than references to joint meetings, and the reader gets a general impression from the local press that the two parties avoided each other. If this was so, the fact that Mr. Rogers was not a good speaker may have had something to do with it. It is also possible that Mr. Richardson, coming

(25) The Pilot Mound Sentinel, June 5/96, June 12/96; The Morden Monitor, June 11/96; The Killarney Guide, June 12/96; The Manitow Mercury, May 16/96, June 20/96; The Carman Weekly Standard, June 18/96; The Morden Herald, June 5/96; The Emerson Journal, June 12/96.

(26) The Pilot Mound Sentinel, June 19/96.

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from Winnipeg, was following the example set by the campaign in that city, where the joint meeting was scarcely used at all.

The constituency was apparently well covered by both candidates in the immediate campaign. One newspaper, commenting on Patron inactivity before Mr. Morrow withdrew from the contest, said: "Where are the Patrons in this contest? While the Tories and Critics have formed committees, engaged rooms, and are at work, the former seem to be peacefully sleeping." (27)

There is no mention in the local press of how numerous Mr. Richardson's meetings were, but the Free Press noted that he would hold four from June 1 to June 4 - a fast pace, if he kept it up. (28)

The Conservatives advertised meetings at fourteen places, to be held from June 1 to June 22, (29) which indicates that Mr. Rogers did not miss very much of the riding.

In any event, he had not waited for the actual campaign; as early as 1894 the Tribune, under Mr. Richardson's editorship, had reported with a touch of malice:

"Down in Lisgar - the new Lisgar - in these cold days Bob Rogers is already industriously kissing the babies and predicting for them great futures as Tory statesmen. Even in Rhineland, Rhineland the erstwhile despised and very distant from Clearwater (but then it wasn't in our new Lisgar) Bob is anxiously enquiring the health of buxom Mennonite mammas and discovering that the district is full of hardworking industrious settlers..." (30)

It is apparent that from the long range point of view, Mr. Rogers had done a much more thorough job than Mr. Richardson; but possibly one result was to endow the Liberal candidate with a certain charm of novelty.

As might be gathered from the election material of the

- (27) The Carman Weekly Standard, June 4/96.
(28) Free Press, May 27/96, Political Gossip.
(29) The Morden Monitor, May 22, June 4, June 18, 1896.
(30) Tribune, Jan. 27/94, Dominion Redistribution.

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two candidates, Mr. Richardson in his meetings stressed the school and trade questions, and belittled the Hudson Bay Railroad; (31) while the Conservatives took that route as their main plank, and insisted that the school question should not be an issue at all. (32)

Mr. Rogers is not reported to have said much about his own stand on the school question, and this, taken in conjunction with the Conservative assertions that it was no issue, and that the constitution called for redress for the minority, would seem to indicate that he had no intention of voting against his party on the matter. This is borne out by Le Manitoba: "Mr. Rogers follows in every respect the policy of the federal government and is prepared to vote for a remedial bill which will give us back our schools, while we cannot say as much for his adversary." (33)

The Conservatives criticized the Liberals on the ground that they lacked a policy; they also took issue with the Liberal contention that the findings of the Privy Council did not make remedial legislation necessary, pointing out that the Liberals were using testimony given during the trial, not the final judgment, which, the Conservatives maintained, definitely called for remedial legislation in favour of the Catholic minority. (34) The National Policy was of course given credit by the Conservatives for the progress made in Manitoba. (35)

The Liberals made political capital out of the Ottawa scandals. (36) Mr. Richardson made use of his position as editor

- (31) The Killarney Guide, June 12/96; The Manitou Mercury, June 6/96; The German Weekly Standard, May 28/96.
(32) The Pilot Mound Sentinel, June 12/96; The Killarney Guide, June 19/96; The Manitou Mercury, June 20/96; The Morden Herald, June 12/96.
(33) Le Manitoba, June 15/96, Politics in Manitoba and the North-West.
(34) Morden Monitor, June 11/96, Conservative Rally.
(35) The Killarney Guide, June 19/96, Liberal Conservative Assembly.
(36) The Pilot Mound Sentinel, June 5/96.

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of the Tribune, promising to promote the interests of Lisgar riding in that paper if he were elected. (37) Mr. Greenway appealed to those Conservatives who had supported the Liberals in local elections to do the same in the federal contest, since the issue was much the same. (38) Mr. Richardson made the most of his early farm experience in order to win farmers' votes:

"He had been raised on a farm and had followed the plough, and picked stones and pulled mustard till his back ached. (Hear, hear and cheers).... If the people gave him a chance he would manfully represent their views and fight for their rights at Ottawa, and if he ever gave a vote in Parliament that the farmers of Lisgar would be ashamed of, he would resign at once." (39)

Three Conservative and three Liberal newspapers of the riding emphasized to a greater or lesser degree the policies stressed by their respective parties according to the depth of their convictions. On the school question, the Liberal papers were insistent in their declarations that it was a real issue, and they accused the Conservatives of trying to obscure that issue. (40) The Conservatives were also accused of wanting remedial legislation in order "to catch Catholic votes and the excuses are given to keep the Protestant voters in line." (41) The grievance of the Catholics was questioned, on not very ethical grounds:

"Should they have special privileges which are not given to others? No, because the people of Manitoba were trapped into granting separate schools to them in 1871, which they did of their own free will, does it mean that they are entitled to them for all time?" (42)

The Conservative newspapers, on the other hand, insisted on the validity of the minority's claim for redress. (43) At the same time

- (37) The Killarney Guide, June 12/96, Political Meeting.
- (38) The Manitou Mercury, March 22/96, Lisgar Liberal Convention.
- (39) Ibid., June 6/96, The Mass Meeting at Manitou.
- (40) Ibid., May 23/96.
- (41) The Morden Herald, May 29/96, Conservative Attitude towards Manitoba Schools.
- (42) Ibid., June 12/96, That Grievance.
- (43) Morden Monitor, May 7/96.

they charged that the whole issue was brought to the fore by the leaders of the local government in order "to cover up the rogueries and rascalities over the Northern Pacific deal." (44)

No matter which party was returned to power, there would be remedial legislation to help the minority. (45)

Not very much was said about the trade question in the Liberal papers. Protection was criticized because of the hardship it entailed for farmers. (46) Exception was taken to the Conservative platform for that reason among others: "The policy held out to us by the government and for which they have the presumption to solicit our support, is coercion, high tariff, state aid to the church and the glories of monopoly." (47) The Conservatives, of course, gave credit to their policy for the rosy picture of Manitoba's progress which they painted:

"An enormous trade in grain, cattle and dairy products has been developed between Manitoba and the eastern provinces. Winnipeg has grown as no town ever grew before, and populous and busy centres of trade have grown into existence all along the main line and its branches." (48)

Free trade was criticized:

"In free trade England the wheat area last year showed a decrease of 510,321 acres or 26 1/2%. If Mr. Laurier could adopt 'free trade as they have it in England,' the cheaply grown wheat of Argentine would drive the Manitoba farmers out of wheat-growing." (49)

The loyalty cry, so successful in Manitoba in 1891, was again raised: "The whole press of the United States is in a state of expectancy over the success of Mr. Laurier, and in case of his success the annexation of Canada to the United States is

- (44) Morden Monitor, May 21/96.
- (45) Ibid., May 26/96, Political Pointers.
- (46) The Morden Herald, May 6/96.
- (47) Ibid., May 15/96, The Coming Election.
- (48) The Pilot Mound Sentinel, June 5/96.
- (49) Morden Monitor, May 7/96.

(50) booked as a certainty." The Liberals were accused of promising protection to eastern manufacturers at the same time that they were calling for free trade in the West. (51)

The Hudson Bay Railway as an issue raised the scepticism of at least one Liberal newspaper: "The Hudson Bay Railway as an election fake is old, very old." (52) But the local Conservative press grew lyrical over the project:

"A railway connecting the great Bay with the roads of this country, already completed, will nearly double the value of the chief products of the Northwest, for it takes almost as much to carry a bushel of wheat from Manitoba to Montreal as the farmer gets for his wheat at the elevator here... Instead of being an isolated and unapproachable wilderness in the centre of the continent, this province will become the heart of the empire,..." (53)

The practical side was not overlooked: "Which will you prefer - the School question or the Hudson's Bay Railway? The latter may make you wealthy but the School question will not put a cent in your pocket." (54)

The Conservative Morden Monitor was apparently the only newspaper to make an attempt to reach the Mennonites. It warned them against the Liberals, who, it charged, were spreading a rumour that if Mr. Rogers were elected, Roman Catholic teachers would appear in Mennonite schools.

"The truth is that, as the Liberals have taken away the French schools, the Mennonites are in the same danger of being interfered with. If Mr. Rogers is elected you will have free toleration to conduct your schools and religion as you see fit for all time." (55)

Le Manitoba advised the French electorate of Lisgar to give their votes to Mr. Rogers, and attacked Mr. Richardson in no uncertain terms:

- (50) Morden Monitor, May 21/96, The Old Flag For Ever.
- (51) Ibid., June 18/96, The Demon of Indefiniteness.
- (52) The Manitou Mercury, May 16/96.
- (53) The Pilot Mound Sentinel, June 19/96.
- (54) Morden Monitor, May 14/96, Local Events.
- (55) Ibid., June 18/96, To Mennonites.

"R. L. Richardson, co-proprietor and editor of the paper The Tribune of Winnipeg, ought not and cannot count on the votes of the electors of Lisgar, for that journalist is not only opposed to what justice would give us, but he is personally our sworn enemy; every number of his unclean journal is the most evident proof of what we say on his account. Just last week, in addition to articles imbued with rage and fanaticism, this sheet published a cartoon in which our venerable archbishop is represented playing an odious part. And it is thus from the first of the year to Saint-Sylvestre, and it has always been thus since the founding of the Tribune by Mr. Richardson, who spares neither our religious beliefs nor our nationality, and has no respect for the things we venerate." (56)

Judging from the newspapers of the riding, the Conservatives were better supported by the press than were the Liberals, although there is no way of telling how effective that support was. The electorate has often shown itself to be almost completely impervious to the advice of newspapers.

There is no record of agencies other than newspapers taking part in the campaign, with the exception of a note concerning an annual meeting of Methodists, at which it was resolved "That the members of the German District meeting of the Methodist church are in perfect harmony with the action that the Manitoba legislature have pursued on the school act of 1898." (57)

Looking at the campaign as a whole, it appears that the Conservatives were at least as well served as the Liberals by

(56) La Manitoba, June 15/98. (R. L. Richardson, co-propriétaire et directeur du journal La Tribune de Winnipeg, ne doit et ne peut compter sur les suffrages des électeurs de Lisgar, car ce journaliste est non seulement opposé à ce que justice nous soit rendue, mais il est personnellement notre ennemi juré; chaque numéro de son journal immonde est la preuve la plus évidente de ce que nous disons sur son compte. La semaine dernière encore, à part d'articles à travers lesquels percent la rage et le fanatisme, cette feuille publiait une image sur laquelle notre vénérable archevêque est représenté jouant un rôle odieux. Et c'en est ainsi du premier de l'an à la Saint-Sylvestre, et il en a été toujours ainsi depuis la fondation de la Tribune par ce M. Richardson qui ne ménage ni nos croyances religieuses, ni notre nationalité et n'a aucun respect pour les choses que nous vénérons.)

(57) The German Weekly Standard, May 28/98.

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candidates, supporters, coverage of the riding, and newspapers; the advantage, if any, seems to have favoured the Conservatives.

On polling day, Lisgar earned the doubtful distinction of registering the lightest vote of the Province, only 5,360 out of 14,842 voters, or 35%, making use of their franchise. This was below the vote for the old constituency of Selkirk, which had been 60% in 1872, 66% in 1874, 51% in 1876, 44% in 1887, and 43% in 1891. However, the vote for this whole area in 1896, including Brandon and Lisgar, was 47% as compared to 64% for Brandon and 35% for Lisgar. This seems to indicate that the western part of the constituency had been pulling up the vote right along, and that the poor result in Lisgar in 1896 was quite typical of previous elections.

Only 12 out of 73 polls showed better than a 50% vote, and only 2 of the 12 exceeded a 60% vote. Ten of the twelve polls were in towns, so perhaps bad roads had something to do with the light vote. The Carman paper complained late in May that the local merchants had lost trade because of "the horrible roads leading into town,"⁽⁵⁸⁾ and a few days before the election another paper stated: "It is at least 16 years since the prairies of Southern Manitoba were so saturated with rain as is the case now."⁽⁵⁹⁾ Another factor may have been Manitoba's mild epidemic of measles in 1896; one newspaper said a few days before the election that the disease was "very prevalent in almost every portion of the Province..."⁽⁶⁰⁾ However, neither of these causes explains why Brandon constituency to the west should have polled a 64% vote, the

(58) The Carman Weekly Standard, May 28/96.

(59) The Pilot Mound Sentinel, June 19/96.

(60) The Carman Weekly Standard, June 18/96; Journals - Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, 1897; Sessional Papers (No. 15), Report of the Provincial Board of Health for the Year Ending December 31st A. D. 1896

highest in the Province, while Provencher to the east made a showing of 45%.

Perhaps the Mennonites in Lisgar were the deciding factor; although the vote was light all over the riding, it was almost non-existent in numerous Mennonite polls. All the divisions cannot be identified on maps of the period or in the 1896 directory, but the following places, because they are shown in the Mennonite Reserve, or from their rank in the list of polls, or from the German sound of their names, were almost certainly Mennonite: Halpatad, 22 votes out of 94 voters on the list; Eichenhor, 7 out of 191; Schenurse, 4 out of 179; Semens, 8 out of 178; Schanzenfelt, 20 out of 267; Knowsfeld, 11 out of 271; Friesen's, 9 out of 238; Rosenfeldt, 22 out of 169; Bergerfeld, 10 out of 174; Brwin's, 8 out of 102. However, even if these Mennonite polls are omitted, the total vote is only raised from 35% to 39.5%, which is still the lowest of the seven constituencies.

It appears that the extremely light vote must be blamed first of all on bad roads, a mild epidemic, and numerous Mennonites who were definitely not politically minded; after that, the blame can probably be laid at the door of political apathy, which may have been increased because, as far as the local press shows, Lisgar had no election excitement to compare with that of Brandon, which enjoyed the meteor-like procession of D'Alton McCarthy and Clifford Sifton and their lively joint meetings. And there was probably a certain amount of disgust with all politicians as a result of the Ottawa scandals. Also, there was the problem faced by voters of both parties all over the Province: should a Protestant Conservative vote for his party and favour the French Catholics, or should he desert his

<u>Polling Division Number</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>R. L. Richardson</u>	<u>Robert Hogera</u>	<u>Votes Polled</u>	<u>Voters on List</u>
1	Langvale	70	54	124	225
2	Wilson's	53	59	141	298
3	Darson's	65	33	98	242
4	McClellan's	40	58	78	239
5	Kilgour's	38	46	84	270
6	Troeman's	98	31	129	273
7	St. Alphonse	32	71	103	219
8	Hunter's	38	46	84	307
9	Shewfelt	47	39	86	257
10	Somers	19	85	165	266
11	McCaffrey's	31	31	62	222
12	Miami	47	37	84	198
13	German	68	73	141	241
14	Rosclank	79	37	116	253
15	Woodruff's	49	40	89	237
16	Halpsted	14	8	22	94
17	Gretna	24	48	72	182
18	Eichenhor	8	5	7	191
19	Schonurse	1	3	4	179
20	Somers	4	4	8	178
21	Winkler	48	31	79	227
21a	Winkler	30	31	31	202
22	Schantzenfeld	11	9	20	267
23	Knowsfield	8	6	11	271
24	Johnston's	26	23	49	274
25	Thompson's	45	31	76	247
26	Thornhill	43	28	71	167
27	Holton's	54	38	92	281
28	John's	61	45	106	289
29	Monitou	66	63	129	246
30	Farscy's	41	25	66	146
31	Snowflake	26	42	68	206
32	Crystal City	77	72	149	308
33	Pilot Mound	68	73	141	287
34	Certwright	31	31	62	259
35	Holmfield	35	46	81	165
36	Killarney	65	44	109	190
37	Morden	57	62	114	177
37a	Morden	72	63	135	202
38	Humphrey's	27	59	86	207
39	Cracknell's	55	23	78	214
40	Lee's	41	20	61	201
41	Fulford's	19	59	78	194
42	Hullet's	39	61	100	228
43	Melville's	24	31	55	120
44	Ninga	59	49	116	219
45	Armstrong's	14	53	67	236
46	Taylor's	15	15	30	229
47	St. Cloud	13	38	51	188
48	Friese's	2	7	9	238
49	Funk's	16	30	46	246
50	Rosenfeldt	11	11	22	169
51	Berserfeld	5	7	10	174
52	Plus Coulee	23	23	46	202

<u>Polling</u> <u>Division</u> <u>Number</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>R. L.</u> <u>Richardson</u>	<u>Robert</u> <u>Rogers</u>	<u>Votes</u> <u>Pollcd</u>	<u>Voters</u> <u>on List</u>
53	Breim's	4	4	8	102
54	Belmont	71	40	111	200
55	Belcur	44	23	67	147
56	Murdoch's	58	22	80	145
57	Grogen's	20	20	40	113
58	Swan Lake	20	51	51	163
59	Armstrong's	21	35	56	113
60	Cypress School	33	21	54	184
61	Walton	21	24	45	102
62	Preston's	12	31	43	170
63	Toohcy's	28	21	47	94
64	McCullough's	48	39	87	160
65	McGill's	38	43	81	177
66	Fannystelle	6	16	24	163
67		10	37	47	159
68	Roland	62	25	87	169
69	Miami	24	32	56	95
70	Kissick's	50	41	71	151
71	Killarney	22	51	80	169
		<u>2,657</u>	<u>2,603</u>	<u>5,260</u>	<u>14,842</u>

Majority for R. L. Richardson, 54.

(Figures from Sessional Papers, Canada, 1897, Vol. XXXI, pp. 296-300; names from the Free Press, June 26/96.)

party in favour of national schools? Should an English-speaking Protestant liberal vote for a French Canadian Catholic Prime Minister?

Mr. Richardson, with 2,657 votes, won the election from Mr. Rogers by the small majority of 54. This Liberal victory was somewhat of a novelty; the old constituency of Selkirk had returned Conservatives in five out of the six federal elections since Manitoba's entry into Confederation.

There were no really overwhelming majorities, with the exception of the French town of Somerset, where Rogers was given 66 votes to the 19 won by Richardson; the motive of the French, of course, was to secure separate schools if possible. Mr. Richardson won majorities in only 33 out of the 73 polls, but they were large enough to overbalance Mr. Rogers' majorities in 40 polls. Mr. Richardson was given support in only one of the Mennonite polls, possibly because the Liberals had not done so much campaigning as the Conservatives among the Mennonites; but unfortunately for Mr. Rogers, his Mennonite majorities were too small to have any effect on the result.

The one poll which can be identified as Belgian, St. Alphonse, gave twice as many votes to the Conservatives as to the Liberals, which was to be expected, since they were Catholics and would see the school question from the same point of view as did their French neighbours.

In Baléur, the heart of the Argyle Icelandic settlement, the Liberal candidate received 44 votes to Rogers' 23; the newspaper Löberg stated that Argyle had gone almost entirely Liberal. (61)

(61) Löberg, July 9/96.

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Support was divided fairly evenly between Liberals and Conservatives throughout the riding, no part leaning particularly to one side or the other.

The election passed off quietly. There is no specific mention in the local press of corrupt practices. However, the Tribune under Mr. Richardson's editorship, published a story of a Winnipeg man who had a vote in Lisgar, and who had to miss his train back to Winnipeg in order to use his franchise because the deputy returning officer, supposedly by design, opened the poll 50 minutes late. This Winnipeg voter said he had refused to accept a soft blue pencil, the mark of which would also show opposite the other candidate's name when the ballot was folded. This should have worked in favour of both candidates unless the counting was extremely partisan. But this charge also was made by the Tribune; it was said that thirteen Richardson ballots had been rejected at one poll for insufficient cause. (62)

A re-count was held before a judge in Morden on 16th July, and confirmed Richardson's majority. (63)

In Lisgar of all constituencies one would have expected an overwhelming majority for the Liberals, because the English-speaking Protestants were faced with the possibility of four school questions if separate schools were again made lawful; there were not only French Canadians in the riding, but also Mennonites, Icelanders, and Belgians. Also, since the riding lay along the boundary, the electorate should have been particularly aware of the differences in the prices of farm implements in the two countries, a fact which gave the Liberals so much support in their arguments against the National Policy of the Conservatives. And

(62) Tribune, June 27/96, Selkirk is conceded.

(63) The Carman Weekly Standard, July 23/96, Richardson Represents Lisgar.

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yet, throughout the constituency, the Conservatives were supported just about as well as the Liberals, and were only inched out of victory by a slender majority of 54 votes.

The only possible answer seems to be that for a very considerable proportion of the English-speaking Protestants of Lisgar the school question did not weigh as heavily as party loyalty to the Conservatives, which had been demonstrated in election returns since 1872, appreciation for the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway and its branches, and hope for the Hudson Bay Railway. Lisgar, like much of Manitoba, had been Conservative in federal politics for a long time, and in 1898 was not yet prepared to change its party affiliations to any great extent over the school question.

CHAPTER NINE

LOCAL CAMPAIGNS

WINNIPEG CONSTITUENCY

Winnipeg constituency in 1896 was located to the west of the Red River - St. Boniface and St. Vital being included in Provencher. It did not take in Kildonan, which formed part of Selkirk riding. On the west it did not go much beyond what is now Sherbrooke Street, nor very far south of the Red River.

The city had had a rapid growth since the days just before the Riel Rebellion of 1870, when J. H. Ashdown had arrived to find only a hundred or so people living near Fort Garry. ⁽¹⁾ The real estate boom of 1881 made the town shoot ahead, and by 1886 there were over twenty thousand inhabitants. ⁽²⁾ Growth in the next ten years was rapid, but not so abnormal as in the boom period. The figure in 1896 stood at 31,649. ⁽³⁾ If the success of a city is to be judged by its increase in numbers of inhabitants, then the boom of 1881, in spite of the hardship which it left in its wake, had been good for Winnipeg, because it meant an immediate growth in stature which might otherwise have taken many years.

In 1896, ten years before the election, Winnipeg's population had been almost entirely of British origin, divided among English, Scotch, and Irish in that order. There had been a fair number of Icelanders, and smaller groups of other nationalities, the largest of which was the French. ⁽⁴⁾ In 1891 28% of the city's inhabitants had been born in Ontario, as

(1) Manitoba Biography, 1906-09, p. 126.

(2) Census of Manitoba, 1885-6, p. 7.

(3) Census of Manitoba, 1896.

(4) Census of Manitoba, 1885-6, pp. 22-3. (8,948 English, 5,380 Scotch, 4,391 Irish, 1,139 Icelanders, 610 French.)

against 27% in Great Britain (chiefly England) and 51% in Manitoba.
(5)

In view of the heavy predominance of English-speaking people, which would still hold in 1896, it is apparent that the candidates in the election, if they took the school question seriously, would have to shape their platform to reach this group. The fact that a fair proportion of them came from Ontario, where there had been racial antagonism for generations, could not be expected to soften the issue. Not much consideration could be given to the French, who had made up only 2% of the population in 1886.

On the school question, of course, the French would be supported by English-speaking Catholics, but this would not be of much help, because the Catholics as a whole had formed less than a tenth of the city's population in 1891. The largest religious group among the Protestants had been the Anglicans, followed by Presbyterians, Methodists, Lutherans (many of whom would be Icelanders), Congregationalists, and Baptists. (6) With the exception of the Anglicans, most of these denominations would be against separate schools, although not with the degree of intensity shown by the Methodists.

Economically, the city was not a manufacturing centre on which the surrounding countryside was dependent for a market; rather it has been described as a port, through which western wheat passed on its way to European millers, and manufactured goods from the east and from other countries poured in a constant stream. In 1896 Winnipeg exported commodities to the

(5) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. I, pp. 332-3.

(6) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. I, pp. 230-1. (2,470 Catholics; 6,854 Anglicans; 5,952 Presbyterians; 4,310 Methodists; 2,291 Lutherans; 1,050 Congregationalists; 1,046 Baptists.)

value of \$1,611,003, while her imports totalled \$2,191,710.

This fact supplies additional evidence that Winnipeg had little to do beyond handling western wheat and supplying the wants of those who made their living out of it; the city had to rely on the outside world for manufactured goods. Without the wheat-growing farmers there could have been no Winnipeg. Its population in one way and another depended almost entirely on the activities of the farmers. They were employed by the railroads which carried the wheat, or by the grain men who handled it, or by the small firms and individuals who provided for the local needs of Winnipeggers and Manitobans. Winnipeg in 1891 had only 307 manufacturing establishments out of a total of 1,031 for the Province; (8) the city was very far from being a towering manufacturing centre which dwarfed the surrounding countryside. The fact that Winnipeg only existed as a convenience for its surrounding farm district is brought out by the nature of the pursuits of its inhabitants - for example, agricultural implement agencies, carriage makers, grain elevators, flour and feed dealers, flour mills, grain dealers, lumber dealers, pump makers, saddlers and harness makers, and saw and planing mills. (9)

The significance for the 1896 election of Winnipeg's dependent position lies in the fact that the city's interests were largely those of the surrounding countryside. Winnipeg had as much cause as the farmers to desire more transportation, low freight rates, and a low tariff. There was not the clash of interests which one could look for in a community where a large manufacturing centre called for high tariff while the farm district around it wanted free trade. With local modifications to

(7) Statistical Year Book, 1895, p. 573.

(8) Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. III, p. 382.

(9) Henderson's Directory, 1896, pp. I-LXCI.

suit the small group of labourers and the desire for St. Andrews' Locks, the candidates could use very much the same platforms as they had throughout the Province.

Two candidates contested this English-speaking, Protestant city which was so bound up with the raising of wheat. They were the Hon. Hugh John Macdonald, Conservative, and Mr. Joseph Martin, Liberal. Mr. Macdonald was named a candidate at a meeting on 27th April of the executives of the Conservative associations of Winnipeg. (10) Mr. Martin was unanimously chosen by a Liberal meeting held on 1st May. (11)

Hugh John Macdonald, only son of Sir John A. Macdonald, was born in Kingston in 1850, and was thus forty-six years old at the time of the election. At the age of sixteen he had served as a private during the Fenian Raid of 1866, and later made his first brief acquaintance with Manitoba as a member of Colonel Wolseley's expedition against Riel in 1870; "he marched with his company through the ankle-deep mud under a deluging rain along the river road which is now Main Street to Fort Garry." (12)

Having started the practice of law in Winnipeg in 1868, he was on hand for the North-West Rebellion of 1869. He was instrumental in the formation of the 90th Battalion, Winnipeg's Little Black Devils, and was under fire during the campaign, emerging as a captain. (13)

These military episodes were in harmony with his early preference for a military rather than a political career. However, he spent the greater part of his life in law, becoming a Q. C. in 1890, and at the time of his death in 1929 had been

(10) Free Press, Apr. 28/96, The City Campaign.

(11) Ibid., May 1/96.

(12) Manitoba Biography, 1924-30, pp. 186-7.

(13) Canadian Who Was Who, 1875-1933, Toronto, 1934, p. 310.

(14) Manitoba Biography, 1924-30, p. 185.

Winnipeg's police magistrate for many years. But the son of the great Conservative leader could not expect to be overlooked in election campaigns, and he was frequently called into the fray by Conservatives who hoped to win "by a nose" - a feature in which Hugh John closely resembled his father. Mr. Macdonald had very considerable ability, as well as his father's gift of charming everybody he met, and there is no suggestion that he ever felt himself overshadowed by the great John A. What he lacked in politics was the will to succeed in a field where so much depended on manipulation and expediency. Where John A. made full use of his personal magnetism to sway people, and through them to perform great tasks for Canada, his son showed a rather negative greatness in declining to advance by such means. Perhaps the way in which Hugh John surpassed his father spiritually, while falling so far short of him in practical achievement, is best revealed in the phrase of one who observed him on the bench as an old man and discerned in him "a certain valiant humanity." (14) He was one of the few politicians who could truthfully say that political life was distasteful to him, and he actually spent little time in that field. In 1891 he was elected to the House of Commons, but resigned two years later. Not long before the election of 1896, he was made Minister of the Interior by Sir Charles Tupper. Following his election and its voidance in that year, he was asked to head the local Conservatives in 1899, and was returned as Premier, but again resigned in 1900, this time at the urging of the Dominion Conservatives, who wanted him to run for Brandon. There is also a suggestion that he was too intent on keeping election promises to suit his colleagues

(14) Manitoba Biography, 1924-30, p. 165.

in the Provincial House, and they played their part in persuading him to run in Brandon, where nobody could hope to stand against the popular Clifford Sifton. (15) At any rate, Hugh John was defeated, and definitely gave up politics for his more congenial career in law.

In 1896 he was an ideal candidate for the Conservatives, if only on sentimental grounds. It was the first election since their leader's death, and to Hugh John's great popularity there was added a certain feeling of sympathy and respect on that account. Wherever he went in the Province he was welcomed as enthusiastically as D'Alton McCarthy, and with even more warmth. (16)

Joseph Martin was forty-four years of age in 1896. He was born at Milton, Halton County, Ontario; it may be noted that this county, being next to Peel, could hardly have escaped the influence of that heavily Orange district, as described by W. Perkins Bull in his books. Joseph Martin trained at a normal school, where he characteristically brought about some reforms, and later went in for law, being called to the Bar of Manitoba in 1882. As a speaker, his outstanding qualities were accuracy, clarity of ideas, and brevity. Unlike Hugh John Macdonald, he was irresistibly attracted to politics. When Laurier, with his usual discretion, neglected to make room for him in the cabinet after 1896, Mr. Martin went out to British Columbia for a stormy interlude, and was for a short time premier of that Province. Later still he won a seat in the English House of Commons, and while there set a record of some kind for Canadians abroad;

(15) Manitoba Biography, 1930- , p. 81.

(16) Factual information on Hugh John Macdonald from sources noted, and also Parliamentary Companion, 1897, Manitoba Biography, 1886-1902, p. 197; ibid., 1911-14, p. 165.

being under the impression that the Speaker was showing favouritism to certain illustrious members, he gave that dignitary "a bit of his overflowing mind."

At the time of the 1895 election he had already served a long apprenticeship in politics. He was a member of the Manitoba Legislature from 1883 to 1891. In the early years of this period he was a powerful aid to Greenway in ousting Premier John Norquay over the disallowance issue. Soon after Greenway became head of the Government in 1893, Mr. Martin was made Attorney-General, and by reason of his ability and strength was practically leader of the government. The new Premier and Attorney-General went to Ottawa and after much delay and argument were able to convince John A. Macdonald that the monopoly clause of the Canadian Pacific Railway's charter should be abrogated so that Manitoba could build the railroads so sorely needed both for transportation and for competition, in order to force down freight rates. This accomplishment in itself, by putting an end to disallowance of acts incorporating railways, was enough to endear the Greenway Government and Joseph Martin to Manitoba's voters.

It was Joseph Martin who brought the fiery Manitoba School Question into Provincial and Dominion politics, and it was he who introduced legislation in the provincial house for the establishment of national schools and the abolishing of French as an official language. He had a gift for being a storm centre, which is not surprising, since he is described as having been "pugnacious in disposition, disagreeable in manner, strong in his likes and dislikes, outspoken in his views, imperious in temper." (17) To many he was "Fighting Joe Martin." His opponents hurled at him accusations which resulted in indecisive law-suits,

(17) Dafos, Sifton, p. 19.

and he was accused of being full of racial and religious prejudice. This last charge was denied by Mr. John J. Moncrieff of the Tribune, who knew Mr. Martin for forty years, and who insisted that his attacks on separate schools were based solely on reasoned conviction.

"He believed in the unification and standardizing of Canada's educational system; that education was a duty of the State, and that the State could not properly function where religious organizations, of any denomination whatsoever, interfered." (18)

While Joseph Martin was undoubtedly extremely popular among those who felt deeply about the school question and coercion, it is likely that Hugh John Macdonald was much better liked by more people. No matter how sincere an agitator is, he cannot escape making numerous enemies. Friends are made by men like Hugh John, who are not so much concerned with large schemes as they are with doing the right thing in the concrete situations which they have to face.

Ample publicity was given to the platforms of the two candidates in one way or another, although neither issued an electoral address. Towards the end of May a daily column was printed in the Free Press in the interests of the Conservatives. In this column, the typical Conservative practice of obscuring and belittling the school question was followed, while the Hudson Bay Railway and St. Andrews' Locks were given prominence as the real issues of the election. The column for 1st June neatly summed up the Conservative approach, and included an appeal to labour not necessary in the other Manitoba constituencies: "The School question gives no employment to workmen... If we want

(18) Factual information from source noted, and from Parliamentary Guide, 1901, pp. 403-4, and Manitoba Biography, 1918-24, pp. 188-9.

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the Hudson Bay Railway and the St. Andrew's Lock it is our duty to return Mr. Macdonald; if we think the School question will make us rich, we can vote for Mr. Martin." (19) To counteract the strong stand against separate schools taken by Methodists, many of whom were Conservatives, the column published an interview of a prominent Methodist leader, Professor Burwash of Victoria University, with the Toronto Mail and Empire, in which the Professor stated that whatever party was elected, the only peaceful settlement of the issue would be to restore separate schools to the Manitoba minority. (20) On still another occasion the column pointed out that Tupper would undoubtedly be the next Prime Minister, and that the Northwest would therefore be insane to antagonize him by sending down Liberal members; it would be advisable to have "friends at court." (21) But the prevailing note was ever the same: "Is the school question making you rich? If it is, stay by it, if not, let us have the Hudson's Bay Railway and the St. Andrew's lock - perhaps we shall find some bread and butter in them." (22) It appeared for the last time on the eve of the election:

"You know what to expect if you elect Hon. Hugh John Macdonald and sustain the Tupper Government - large public works and a general boom for the Northwest. What have you to look for from Martin and Laurier? More wrangling over the school question. Which will put most money in your pocket?" (23)

The Daily Nor-Wester also gave prominence to two-and three-column advertisements for the Conservatives, in which the Hudson Bay Railway played a leading part. Tupper's promises were given

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- (19) Free Press, June 1/96.
 - (20) Ibid., June 2/96.
 - (21) Ibid., June 6/96.
 - (22) Ibid., June 16/96.
 - (23) Ibid., June 22/96.

publicity, and full advantage was taken of the fact that Joseph
(24)
Martin had criticized the project severely. For several weeks
before the election there was an advertisement in this paper
headed "Hudson's Bay Route. Who Discredits It? Joseph Martin",
together with a brief mention of Hugh John Macdonald's satisfac-
(25)
tory stand on the matter. Other two-column advertisements
tried to make Mr. Martin out to be a coercionist of Manitoba on
the school question, (26) while still others ridiculed "Martin's
Pledges"; affidavits were printed about the controversial St.
Francois-Xavier election of 1868, to the effect that Mr. Martin
(27)
had promised to protect the French separate schools just two
years before he introduced legislation to abolish them.

The Liberals had extremely little in the way of advertise-
ments printed in newspapers. The Tribune published one oc-
casionally, accenting the school question; Mr. Martin's position
as a defender of national schools and an anti-coercionist was
(28)
fully set forth; a little later, quotations were given from
the electoral letters of Manitoba's Liberal candidates to show
that the Liberals were strongly anti-coercionist, while the
Conservative candidates were described as favouring coercion
(29)
of Manitoba by the Federal Government. The 1893 Liberal
platform, calling for freer trade, reciprocity, purity of ad-
ministration, a plebiscite on prohibition, and other planks,
(30)
was published. On June 10 there was printed a letter to the
Tribune from J. S. Millison, editor of the Toronto Globe, in
which Manitoba was urged not to be bribed by promises of public
works into supporting the Tupper policy of coercion and so

(24) The Daily Nor-Wester, May 11/96, May 12/96.

(25) Ibid., daily, May 16 to June 22/96.

(26) Ibid., daily, May 23 to 29, 1896.

(27) Ibid., daily, May 30 to June 22, 1896.

(28) Tribune, May 16/96, June 20/96.

(29) Ibid., May 23/96, June 17/96.

(30) Ibid., May 26, June 17, 20, 1896.

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betraying the people in Ontario who were carrying on an agitation to protect "the old Liberal doctrine of Provincial Rights."⁽³¹⁾

The Hudson Bay Railway was ignored, except for charges that Sir Charles Tupper's pledges were worthless.⁽³²⁾ On the eve of the election the Tribune confined itself to three short notices on the front page: "Vote for Hon. Joseph Martin, the Defender of National Schools."⁽³³⁾

One might get the impression from the above that the Conservatives were much better served by the Free Press than the Liberals were by the Tribune; but whereas the former newspaper largely confined its partisan remarks to advertisements and editorials, the Tribune reported its news items from a strongly Liberal standpoint whenever possible. It will be noted that the Liberals relied as heavily on the school question as the Conservatives did on public works.

Both Liberals and Conservatives angled for the labour vote by placing advertisements in The Peoples Voice on the three Saturdays before the election.⁽³⁴⁾ In these, Conservatives criticized the Liberals for having no settled policies, and accused Joseph Martin of being an atheist, who had proposed to throw all moral and religious teaching out of the schools. Little mention was made of the Hudson Bay Railway, perhaps for fear of being too obvious. The Liberal column characterized as "election promises" the Conservative pledge to build this railroad and St. Andrews' Locks. The Dominion Government was criticized for interfering with Manitoba's affairs in connection with the school question. A rare democratic note was struck at

(31) Tribune, June 10/96, An All-Important Matter.

(32) Ibid., June 13/96, Brazen Falsehoods and Broken Pledges.

(33) Ibid., June 22/96.

(34) The Peoples Voice, June 6, 13, 20, 1896. (Described as "A Weekly Newspaper Published in the Interests of the Laboring Classes. Endorsed by the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council.")

the conclusion of the first two Liberal columns: "The Govern-
ment of the People, For the People, by the People. Not for
the Monopolist." That had not been considered necessary in
any of the rural constituencies, perhaps reflecting the es-
sential antagonism between the farmers, as capitalists, and
labour.

Both Conservatives and Liberals were helped by strong
supporters in Winnipeg. Hugh John Macdonald was backed by
speeches made by Sir Charles Tupper, George H. Campbell,
Ex-Alderman Walker, Alderman Andrews, George F. Galt, Cap-
tain Carruthers, Ex-Mayor Gilroy, J. A. M. Atkins, Q. C.,
Ex-Mayor Taylor, Mr. H. E. Crawford, Mr. Edward McDonald,
Dr. E. Benson, E. L. Drewry, and J. H. Brock.⁽³⁵⁾ Supporting
Mr. Martin at various times were D'Alton McCarthy, Clifford
Sifton, H. M. Howell, Q. C., J. H. Ashdown, J. D. Cameron,
Hon. Robt. Watson, Isaac Campbell, R. J. Whittle, Alderman
Sproule, Captain Jonasson, Magnus and W. H. Paulsen, P. C.
McIntyre, Gilbert Fowler, J. G. Turiff, J. W. Baker, Mr.
F. C. Wade, John O'Donohue, Alderman McCreary, and Alderman
(36)
Craig. Perhaps the advantage, if any, lay with the Liberals,
taking into account the prestige and strength of D'Alton
McCarthy and Clifford Sifton; one of their speeches would be
worth considerably more than half a dozen by the lesser lights.

There were a few joint meetings, but as a rule the two
parties stayed away from each other. Joint meetings were dying
out, and it was natural that they should go first in the more
sophisticated atmosphere of the city. The Free Press observed

(35) Free Press, May 9, 20, 22, 28, June 3, 12, 13, 17, 1896.

(36) Tribune, May 16, 25, 26, 28, June 1, 12, 13, 20, 1896.

that disturbances at 1891 joint meetings had probably decided the leaders to stay apart in 1896. The reasons for the growing unpopularity of joint meetings were given:

"Meetings held at which both parties are supposed to have rights in regard to the proceedings, frequently lead to unseemly disputes, which are apt to degenerate into disorder. Interruptions coming from the audience, though possibly intended to embarrass a speaker, have to be tolerated at these meetings in order to avoid charges from opponents of choking off discussion; and attempts of speakers to catch each other tripping, or to elicit cheers from the audience, do not conduce to a calm and reasonable discussion of public questions." (37)

Perhaps city audiences were less restrained than those at country points because, being strangers to one another, they would not have the same fear of being censured by their neighbours for rude behaviour.

Both parties covered the city well, and had thorough organizations. The Conservatives appointed chairmen for each of the twenty-four polling subdivisions, (38) while the Liberals set up committees under chairmen in each of the six wards. (39) Meetings were held practically every day in one or more wards by both parties. Special groups were not overlooked. Both Conservatives and Liberals addressed the politically-minded Icelanders at two joint meetings, the first in favour of the Liberals, the second in the interests of the Conservatives. (40) The Liberals addressed a Jewish meeting. (41) Labour was not overlooked, both parties holding meetings in the C. P. R. Library for the employees of the Company; probably they represented the largest single group of labourers in the city. Mr. Martin, speaking at the Liberal meeting before this body of

- (37) Free Press, May 23/96, City Political Meetings.
(38) Ibid., Apr. 28/96, The City Campaign.
(39) Tribune, May 2/96, Nomination of Hon. Mr. Martin.
(40) Tribune, May 28/96; Free Press, June 17/96.
(41) Tribune, June 5/96.

men, assured them that he was in favour of "a retaliatory alien labor law to offset that of the United States." The Conservative promises of the Hudson Bay Railway and St. Andrews' Locks were belittled on the grounds that these works should have been carried out during the years that party had been in power. The school question was treated as an important issue: "This was the great fight and when it was won it would settle the question of national schools and Manitoba's rights for all time." (42) Mr. Macdonald, in addressing the Conservative meeting in the C. P. R. Library, touched only briefly on the school question, remarking that while he was in favour of national schools, the finding of the Privy Council must be carried out. He then went on to tell the workmen that the Hudson Bay Railway and St. Andrews' Locks would supply plenty of work with good pay, and the latter project would lower the price of wood by a dollar a cord. He stated that the road to the Bay should be built within two years after the section to the Saskatchewan was finished, but even if it did take longer, (43) it would supply more employment.

The issues stressed by Hugh John Macdonald and his followers were the Hudson Bay Railway and St. Andrews' Locks, and the benefits which these projects would confer on Manitoba. The school question was given typical Conservative treatment: while the party favoured national schools, it was bound by the decision of the Privy Council to give redress to the minority; and in any event, the school question was not really an issue. The National Policy and preferential trade with England were also favoured, but did not receive as much

(42) Tribune, June 12/96, C.P.R. Mechanics are for Hon. Joseph Martin.

(43) Free Press, June 22/96.

attention as the promised public works. Sir Charles Tupper opened the Dominion campaign in Winnipeg at a tremendously enthusiastic meeting on 8th May. (44) He made the most of the misfortunes of the Liberals during their brief period in power from 1873 to 1878, and contrasted the activity of the Conservatives, who had built the C. P. R. It was at this meeting that the promise was made by Tupper that the Hudson Bay Railroad would be built to the Saskatchewan within two years and that grants would be made for the improvement of St. Andrews' Rapids if the Conservatives were returned to power. Loud cheers greeted this pleasant news. On the school question, Sir Charles declared that since the highest court of the realm had decided that the minority had a grievance, it was the "manifest duty" of the government to give redress. With variations, this speech of Sir Charles Tupper was typical of those made at all the Conservative meetings reported. The National Policy might be defended on the grounds that it placed the higher duties on luxuries; (45) or the school question might be tossed off with the remark that both parties were committed to remedial legis- (46) lation; but whatever else was omitted or added, the speakers never failed to mention that if Winnipeg wanted the Hudson Bay Railway and St. Andrews' Locks, they had better vote for Hugh John.

The Liberals, as might be expected, made the most of the school question and ridiculed the promise of public works. According to the Tribune, Mr. Martin, at one of the few joint

(44) Free Press, May 9/96.

(45) Ibid., May 22/96.

(46) Ibid., May 21/96.

meetings held in the Winnipeg campaign, was "cheered to the
echo on his school policy." (47) When D'Alton McCarthy stopped
off in Winnipeg on his way to Brandon constituency, the speech
he made was given over almost entirely to the school question,
his chief point being that the Dominion Government was not, as
stated by the Conservatives, compelled to act. He asked his
audience if they intended to sell their schools for public
works: "Is there an elector in Manitoba so debased that he
would hand over your public schools for the sake of any material
advantage you may get? (No, never)." (48) Just before the election
Clifford Sifton made his only appearance in the Winnipeg campaign,
and, as usual, delivered a clear and powerful speech. However
well the National Policy suited the East, it was bad for the
West, because it was so hard on the farmer that it held the
country back. Concerning the Hudson Bay Railway, he asked:
"Will it go abroad, then, that the very first time Sir Charles
tried to bribe Winnipeg he was successful?" He sounded a high
note on the school question: "We may value money, we may
value material interests, but the people who won't fight for
their civil and religious liberties are no good." (49)

It will be seen from the foregoing that if the school
question were the burning issue of the campaign, the Liberals
were at a decided advantage over the Conservatives; but that
if there were sufficient Winnipeggers who were more interested
in their material than in their spiritual welfare, the situation
would be reversed.

While the Liberals were supported only by the Tribune,

(47) Free Press, June 8/96.

(48) Ibid., May 26/96.

(49) Ibid., June 20/96, The Greatest Meeting.

the Conservatives had at their service the Free Press, the Daily Nor-Wester, and the Northwest Review, the English Catholic paper.

The Free Press was not very effective editorially. It was mainly concerned with proving that the school question was no issue:

"If in spite of all the coming elections are fought on the School Question, men will be found in the new Parliament on both sides without a single qualification to represent the country or serve interests connected with it a thousand times more important than the School Question." (50)

In another editorial it uttered a warning: "Let the School Question receive such attention as may be necessary to an intelligent understanding of it; but it would be a calamity to allow it to overshadow more important issues." (51) The attitude

of the Free Press was perhaps best summed up by an isolated question on the editorial page: "Has the School question made you rich?" (52)

The Hudson Bay Railway and St. Andrews' Locks were given scant attention editorially; perhaps it was felt that it would be more discreet to leave these matters to the Conservative advertisements in the paper's columns, where they were fully discussed.

The Daily Nor-Wester was far more active editorially than the Free Press, and it gave much prominence to the works produced by the Conservatives. Joseph Martin was denounced for having discredited the Hudson Bay Railway in Parliament. (53)

On another occasion a graphic picture was drawn of the ruin which would fall on Winnipeg if the Liberals were victorious: "Real estate and every other commodity would shrink in value;

(50) Free Press, May 2/96, The Political Issue.

(51) Ibid., May 11/96, Examine the Issues.

(52) Free Press, May 4/96.

(53) Daily Nor-Wester, May 5/96.

banks would withdraw their loans and general ruin and starvation would prevail." (54) Much credit was given to Hugh John Macdonald because he had made the building of the Hudson Bay Railway a condition of his entering Sir Charles Tupper's cabinet. (55)

Winnipeg's labourers received a strictly materialistic lecture:

"Now the issue is straight and is easily understood. It resolves itself into this: That to vote and return the Hon. Mr. Macdonald means employment, good wages and the country's prosperity. To vote and return Mr. Martin means idleness, poverty and soup kitchens." (56)

The Northwest Review, being a religious paper, was naturally most interested in the school question: "The one dominating issue in the approaching general election in Canada, so far as Catholic voters are concerned, is the granting of justice to the Catholic minority in Manitoba." (57) Commenting on the letter of the Archbishops and Bishops of Quebec to Catholic electors, The Northwest Review tried to dissociate the Church from politics:

"The practical meaning of the Charge is: Catholics, whose religion must rule their public as well as their private actions (God being everywhere supreme), should vote in such a way as to ensure the passing of a Remedial Bill, irrespective of party preferences. That this general principle fits in with the Conservative policy of the hour is the consequence, not the cause, of the adoption of that policy. Had Mr. Laurier taken a like stand with like guarantees of persisting therein, the Bishops' Charge would have been an indorsement thereof." (58)

The Tribune did very thorough editorial work for the Liberals, attacking the Conservatives on every conceivable ground, and insisting that the school question was the real issue of the election. The National Policy was denounced because "the tariff bears more heavily upon the poorer classes

(54) The Daily Nor-Wester, June 13/96.

(55) Ibid., May 20/96.

(56) Ibid., May 23/96.

(57) The Northwest Review, May 12/96, The Real Issue in Canada.

(58) Ibid., June 3/96, The Bishops' Charge.

who purchase inferior grades of goods than upon the rich."

The "boodling and incapacity" of the Dominion Government were
(60)

illustrated by lurid examples. The prospects of the Hudson

Bay Railway were said to be hurt by the appointment of Donald

A. Smith as High Commissioner to England:

"Sir Charles may promise until he is black in the face, but he will be unable to bribe the people of this country with such promises, when such powerful men in his party as Sir Donald Smith and E. B. Osler go about denouncing the scheme and declaring that the investment will never yield a penny." (61)

The school question was naturally declared to be the chief issue of the election:

"The people of Manitoba are not going to be caught by the smooth talk that is being indulged in by the supporters of the Tupper government in the present contest. Manitobans are well-nigh unanimous in their preference for national schools. This is with them a deep-rooted conviction which they have expressed again and again at the polls. The overwhelming support given the Greenway government at the recent elections shows that public opinion is as strong as ever on this question." (62)

The Catholic Church was not ignored as campaign material:

"One who reads through the British North America Act must feel a righteous indignation as he notes at every turn concessions to a particular religious order." (63) The Tribune did not take kindly to the question "Has the School question made you rich?" and dismissed it in lofty terms:

"There is in every community a class of cheap cynics who consider as an evidence of superior intellectual acumen, their sneering disbelief in the existence of any motive higher than self-interest." (64)

It was denied that the Privy Council had called on the Dominion Government to coerce Manitoba.
(65)

On the whole, it is likely that the interests of the

- (60) Tribune, May 25/96, A Few Choice Bits.
- (61) Ibid., May 25/96, Sir Charles Tupper and the H. B. R.
- (62) Ibid., June 6/96, The Main Issue.
- (63) Ibid., June 4/96, The Church and State in Civil Matters.
- (64) Ibid., June 9/96, Has the School Question Made You Rich?
- (65) Ibid., June 19/96, No Mandate.

Liberals were as well served by one newspaper as those of the Conservatives by three. The Free Press was not very active editorially, while the Northwest Review probably went to few outside of the small English Catholic group, and it is unlikely that the Daily Nor-Wester had a very wide circulation, since it had only started in 1893.

As pointed out in Chapter Two, The General Campaign, the Methodist Church in its Winnipeg conference in June, 1896, came close to taking as active a part in the election as did the Catholic Bishops in their mandement. On the basis of church interference in state affairs, there is not much to choose between their veiled suggestion to electors that they vote Liberal and the downright instructions of the Catholic Bishops in the Conservatives' favour.

Le Manitoba, of course, supported Hugh John Macdonald:

"As in Provencher, the choice is quite easy, and it is impossible to conceive that there could be one of our people so deprived of patriotism and even of honour, not to oppose himself with all his strength to the election of a fanatic of the stripe of Joseph Martin, the most shameful type of demagogue and political adventurer.

The Hon. Mr. Macdonald, on the contrary, forms part of the Tupper government, the principal article of whose political programme is the protection of minorities and the redress of our wrongs, in conformity with the requirements of our organic law.

Therefore, on Tuesday we shall all vote for the Hon. Hugh John Macdonald." (66)

(66) Le Manitoba, June 15/96. (Comme à Provencher, le choix est bien facile et il est impossible de concevoir qu'il puisse y avoir un seul des nôtres assez dépourvu de patriotisme et d'honneur même, pour ne pas s'opposer de toutes ses forces à l'élection d'un fanatique de la trempe de Joseph Martin, le type de demagogue et de l'aventurier politique le plus éhonté.

L'hon. M. Macdonald, au contraire, fait partie du gouvernement Tupper dont la principal article de son programme politique est la protection des minorités et le redressement de nos griefs, en conformité des dispositions de notre loi organique.

Ainsi donc, mardi, nous voterons tous pour l'hon Hugh John Macdonald.

The two Icelandic papers followed exactly the stand taken by English journals which supported the two parties. Lögberg, the Liberal newspaper, made much of the school question, and accused the Conservatives of using the promise of the Hudson Bay Railway merely to compensate for their unpopular platform on the school issue. (67) Hainskringla, Conservative, did its best for the National Policy, pointing out that while Icelanders as a whole were against a tariff because they had had none in Iceland, they should remember that Iceland and Canada were not in the same position with respect to this (68) problem.

It will be clear that the candidates were fairly evenly balanced with respect to their own popularity, the strength of their supporters, their organization, and the help received from outside agencies. It only remains to examine Winnipeg's past election record.

Since its first election in 1882, Winnipeg had returned Conservatives three times, and had only broken away from this record in the by-election of 1893, when Joseph Martin was returned by a fairly large majority over a weaker candidate.

In the 1896 election, Winnipeg polled a 54% vote, which placed her third among the seven constituencies. While this was a low percentage, it compared favourably with earlier votes, which had been 33% in 1882 (the first year Winnipeg was a separate constituency), 52% in 1887, and 44% in 1891. Since there were no transportation difficulties comparable to those experienced in the country, the cause for the light

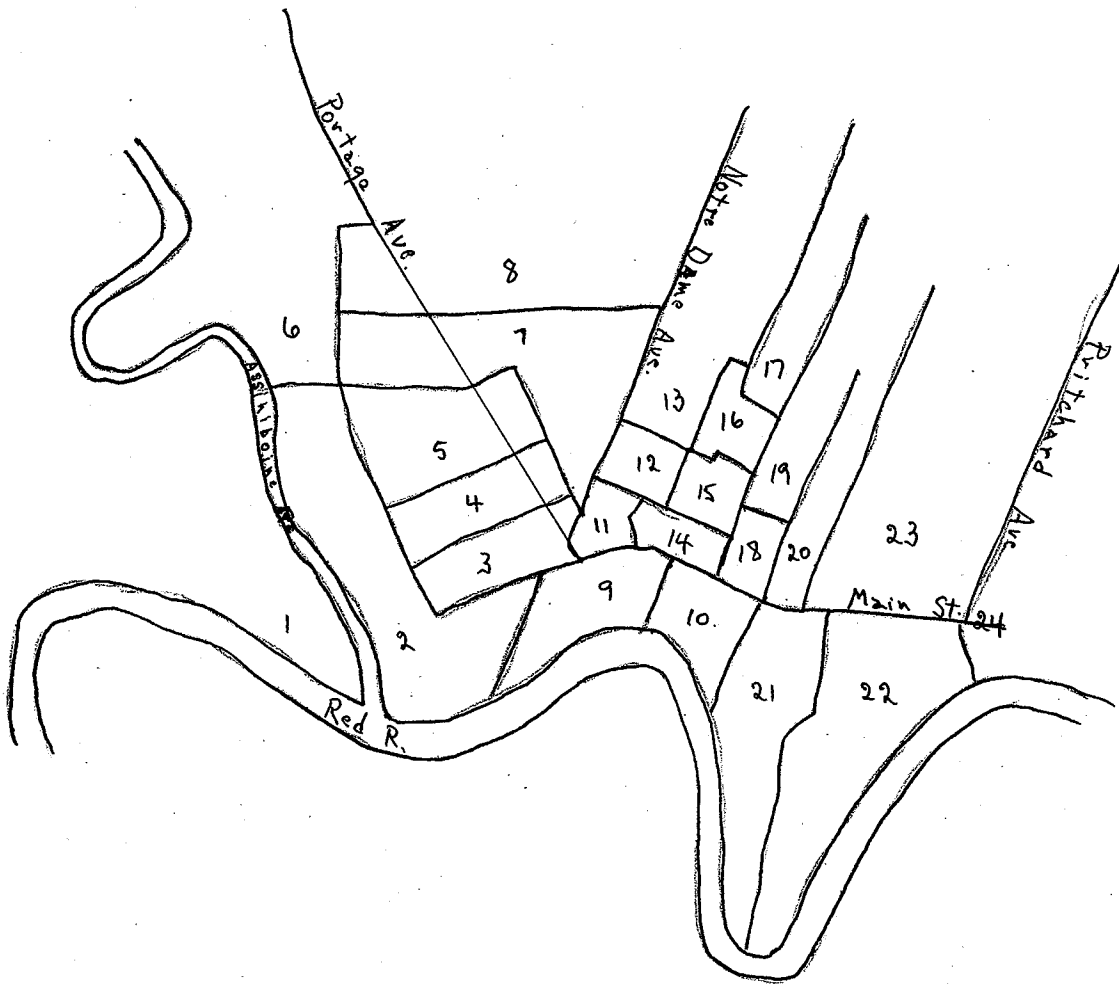
(67) Lögberg, May 21/96.

(68) Hainskringla, June 18/96.

<u>Polling District Number</u>	<u>Hon. Hugh John Macdonald</u>	<u>Joseph Martin</u>	<u>Votes Polled</u>	<u>Voters on List</u>
1	71	51	129	292
1a	54	40	94	215
2	124	87	211	364
3	130	53	183	292
3a	86	75	161	258
4	84	54	138	230
4a	68	54	122	205
5	92	103	195	347
6	122	83	205	374
7	71	96	167	303
7a	43	63	106	204
8	59	71	130	276
8a	36	48	84	238
9	103	75	178	287
9a	64	74	138	236
10	60	57	117	210
10a	68	70	138	223
11	60	76	156	272
12	75	119	194	349
13	68	111	179	317
13a	55	72	127	266
14	79	36	175	300
15	54	63	117	188
15a	35	76	111	188
16	94	113	207	341
17	65	77	162	286
17a	44	70	114	236
18	68	72	160	294
19	61	64	125	225
19a	56	61	117	212
19b	55	53	108	208
20	75	60	135	211
21	110	87	197	375
22	63	53	136	239
22a	76	60	136	232
22b	67	63	130	248
23	75	62	137	255
23a	63	63	126	230
24	74	61	135	301
24a	67	49	116	278
Totals	<u>2,961</u>	<u>2,835</u>	<u>5,796</u>	<u>10,603</u>

Majority for Hon. Hugh J. Macdonald - 126.

(Taken from Sessional Papers, Canada, 1897, Vol. XXXI, p. 307.)



Winnipeg Polling Divisions, 1896 Federal Election.

(Polls, as described in Tribune, June 22/96, placed on a map traced from Waghorn's Guide.)

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vote in 1896 must be found chiefly in political apathy and confusion as to issues. There was also the fact that several of the polls ran out of ballots early in the day and thus lost the votes of people who could not, or would not, wait until a fresh supply arrived.

Mr. Macdonald won the contest with 2,961 votes, a majority of 126 over Mr. Martin. This was much smaller than his majority in 1891, and was also less than that made by Martin in 1893. Macdonald's victory in 1891 was won before the Conservative Party had been forced into supporting the French minority, and Martin's return in 1893 seemed to be Winnipeg's endorsement of his stand on the school question. Therefore, it is not surprising that in 1896 Macdonald won by such a small majority. But, as in most of the other constituencies, at least half of those who voted must have considered loyalty to the Conservative Party, and the promise of public works, more important than the school question.

The Conservatives received most of their majorities from the polls along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, while polls to the west and north went to the Liberals. In view of the previous Conservative tendency of the City in federal elections, it is possible that the eastern and southern polls, being the older ones, had more of a Conservative record behind them, while the western part of the city had more newcomers not bound by any particular/^{local}tradition. It has also been pointed out by a contemporary that the wealthier part of the population, those who represented the vested interests and who might therefore be expected to have a weakness for the Conservatives, lived along the rivers.

The Icelandic poll, No. 17, favoured the Liberals on the

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whole, although not by a very large majority; one part of the division gave the Conservatives a majority, while the other voted, more heavily, for the Liberals. The newspaper, Lögberg, estimated that the Conservatives got only 25% of the votes registered by Icelanders in Winnipeg "in spite of wolves in sheep's clothing who circulated among less informed Icelanders trying to bribe them with wine, tobacco and money."⁽⁶⁹⁾

Throughout Winnipeg, neither Liberals nor Conservatives more than doubled their opponents' vote, with one exception in favour of each party. In A/L section of Poll 3, Macdonald polled 130 votes to Martin's 53. The only clue to this result is that this section, bounded by Main, Broadway, Smith, and Portage, was then apparently one of the city's fine residential districts, and so would house some of the community's wealthier citizens. The Liberals more than doubled the Conservative vote in M/Z section of Poll 15, which was bounded by William, Princess, Alexander, and Ellen, but the reason for this is not clear; perhaps there was a Liberal Icelandic group in the district, since most of Winnipeg's Icelanders lived a little to the west, in Polling Division No. 17. Aside from these two isolated cases, the vote was fairly evenly balanced throughout the city, and Macdonald actually did win only "by a nose."

The Tribune groaned about corrupt practices on election day: "The election that is in progress today is undoubtedly one of the most crooked that ever took place in Winnipeg, or in some respects in Canada."⁽⁷⁰⁾ The Tribune charged in this news item that the shortage of ballots occurred in polls which

(69) Lögberg, July 9/96.

(70) Tribune, June 23/96, Scandalous Attempts to Steal the Election.

were favourable to the Liberals. This charge is borne out to some extent by the results, which gave Liberal majorities in four out of the seven polls mentioned, small Conservative majorities in two, and a really decisive Conservative majority in only one. However, even granting that most of the electors who missed voting because of the shortage of ballots were Liberals, there was still a substantial Conservative vote in each of the seven polls. Personation in several polls was reported by the Tribune.

That these charges of the Tribune were not all imagination is demonstrated by the fact that a Winnipeg court declared Macdonald had not been duly elected, on the evidence of a man who had hired four teams to an agent of Macdonald at \$10 per day each for the purpose of conveying voters to the polls; but proceedings were stayed pending the result of an appeal against the decision of a Winnipeg judge on the preliminary objections. (71) This appeal was denied by the Supreme Court of Canada, and so (72) Macdonald was unseated.

However, it may be doubted if the small Conservative majority was due to corrupt practices. It is possible that the Liberals did not fight a perfectly clean campaign either.

The fact that in the by-election of 27th April, 1897, the Liberal vote, the largest majority ever polled for a Dominion candidate in Winnipeg up until then, almost doubled the Independent vote does not go to prove that the Liberals lost the 1896 election by corruption. The Conservatives did not consider it advisable to run a candidate for the by-election, (73)

(71) Tribune, Jan. 15/97.

(72) Ibid., March 24/97.

(73) Free Press, Apr. 12/97.

Winnipeg Constituency

and Mr. R. W. Jameson, the Liberal, had no stronger opposition than a Mr. E. L. Taylor, who ran as an independent-temperance-labour candidate, although the Trades and Labour Council denied

(74)
that he spoke for labour. Thus the Winnipeg electors were not repudiating the Conservatives and their irregular victory in voting for Jameson, who was already well known in Winnipeg as an alderman and mayor. (75)

They were voting for a Liberal with a Liberal Government in Ottawa to back him up; there was no incentive to vote for Mr. Taylor, who appears to have been new to politics and to have had little backing by anybody.

Jameson had strong support in the person of Clifford Sifton, the new Minister of the Interior, who painted a glowing picture of the work being done by the Liberal Government, which he said would save the country \$1,500,000 a year in administrative costs. Little or nothing was said about the Hudson Bay Railway, but St. Andrews' Locks were discussed hopefully. (76)

It is no wonder that Jameson won a majority in every poll, and more than doubled the vote of his opponent in 17 out of the 24 divisions. (77)

The only possible interpretation of the 1896 election results in Winnipeg seems to be that while about half of those who voted were seriously concerned about the school question, or else were strong Liberals on principle, the other half clung to their Conservative party loyalty, and also wanted the Hudson Bay Railway and St. Andrews' Locks. Winnipeg, like the rest of Manitoba, depended on the price of wheat, and hoped to grow richer on the Hudson Bay Railway than on the school question.

(74) Free Press, Apr. 16/97.

(75) Tribune, Apr. 24/97.

(76) Ibid., Apr. 23/97.

(77) Ibid., Apr. 24/97.

Perhaps, also, Winnipeg had a particular tendency to be attracted by a showy promise, such as the Conservative pledge of public works. The Free Press, after the 1892 Provincial election, had warned that Manitoba should not be judged by the actions of Winnipeg:

"This is a city of peculiar people. We run with the band-wagon every time. The popular breeze for the moment catches us and off we go with a hurrah. The latest diversion has been to curse the Catholics, and never have they been cursed with a better will." (78)

This charge is borne out, in part at least, by the fact that in a second by-election in January, 1900, caused by the death of Mr. Jameson, a Labour candidate won over a Liberal by eight votes. (79) Perhaps in 1896 the "popular diversion" was to support the Conservatives, who promised public works, while in 1897 it was considered wiser to vote for the party in power, and in 1900 to try something new. (Incidentally, the Labour candidate was again elected in the election of November, 1900.) In other words, Winnipeg could be mad about the school question on occasion, when not too much else was at stake, but method appeared in the madness when the city's pocket book was touched.

(78) Free Press, July 29/92, No Cause for Alarm.

(79) Résumé of General Elections, 1896-1916, Ottawa, 1916, p. 21.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

Newspapers and other contemporary records give one a painting of a society; but an election, if its results can be adequately interpreted, will do away with the artistic distortions of the portrait and provide one with something in the nature of an unretouched photograph.

For example, the results of the 1896 election in Manitoba are hard to understand if one goes ahead on the assumption that the school question was the chief issue of the campaign, since Sir Charles Tupper appealed to Canada on that question, and the predominantly Liberal press of the Province gave it first place. But once this assumption is shown to be false, it is possible, through the election results, to see Manitoba and Manitobans as they were in 1896, not as they were supposed to be.

One of the Liberal assumptions of the day was that Manitoba had declared overwhelmingly against separate schools in the provincial elections of 1892 and 1896; but, as noticed earlier, it has been pointed out that the Liberal triumph was largely explained by the gerrymander of 1892. ⁽¹⁾ And there was also the fact that the local Conservative party had gone to pieces following Mr. Norquay's defeat in 1887, while Greenway's Liberals had carried on with increasing strength, largely as a result of the things they had done for a grateful Province, particularly in putting an end to Dominion disallowance of Manitoba's railway acts.

Then there is the fact that most Manitobans did not come in contact with separate schools. The French lived largely

(1) John L. Holmes, Thesis, Politics in Manitoba, p. 92.

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in compact groups, with a mere sprinkling of English-speaking settlers among them; it was not a question, except in very rare cases, of a small district having to keep up two schools when one undenominational one would do. The greater part of the Province was settled by English-speaking people, while the language groups tended to settle in fairly solid blocks.

Then there is the election itself. Surely it would not have passed off so quietly if the Province had been seething over a racial and religious issue. And the vote was too light to be excused by either poor roads or the near epidemic of measles, which after all directly involved only 1,537 people, or .7% of the population, ⁽²⁾ and was apparently not mentioned in the newspapers of any riding except Lisgar during the campaign. The size of the vote in 1896 is pretty much in line with that registered in preceding and subsequent elections; 66% of Manitoba's voters used their franchise in 1872, 69% in 1874, 51% in 1878, 31% in 1882, 45% in 1887, 43% in 1891, 50% in 1896, 63% in 1900, 68% in 1904, 80% in 1908, and 78% ⁽³⁾ in 1911. In this series the 1896 result merely appears at the beginning of a rise - it does not take a big jump above the general trend, as it should if the school question were a burning issue.

There is also the fact that the three Conservatives who came out boldly for the minority were elected in Provencher, Macdonald, and Winnipeg, while of the four Conservatives who

(2) Sessional Papers, Manitoba, No. 15, Report of the Provincial Board of Health for the Year Ending December 31st A. D. 1896.

(3) These figures are based on Sessional Papers, Canada, from 1873 to 1891, and on Resumé of General Elections, 1896-1911, Ottawa, 1916.

Province of Manitoba

Election Results - 1896

<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Candidate Elected</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Majority</u>	<u>Votes Polled</u>	<u>Voters on List</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Brandon	McCarthy	McC.	335	6,913	10,666	64%
Lisgar	Richardson	Lib.	54	5,260	14,842	35%
Maddonald	Boyd	Cons.	398	5,733	9,352	61%
Marquette	Roche	Cons.	67	3,471	7,252	47%
Provencher	LaRiviere	Cons.	666	2,286	4,703	48%
Selkirk	Maddonell	Lib.	1	3,425	8,267	44%
Winnipeg	Maddonald	Cons.	126	<u>5,796</u>	<u>10,603</u>	54%
Totals				<u>32,884</u>	<u>65,685</u>	50%

(Figures, except percentages, taken from Résumé of General Elections, 1896-1911, Ottawa, 1916, p. 14.)

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took the Protestant stand, only one was elected, in Marquette, and the other three lost by a majority of one in Selkirk, 54 in Lisgar, and 535 in Brandon (where, however, the opponent was a McCarthyite, not a Liberal). If the school question had been an important issue, the victory, if it went to Conservatives at all, should have gone to those who favoured the Protestants, since they were in such a large majority; while the Conservatives who stood up for the minority should have been defeated, except in French Provencher.

It seems apparent that the school question was the chief issue only to the French Catholics of Provencher, and that the Protestant remainder of the Province, with the possible exception of Brandon, was not unduly concerned about its schools. It would have taken results as decisively in favour of the Liberals in the six Protestant ridings to demonstrate that the school question was considered a great issue by the English-speaking people of the Province as a whole. Even Brandon could be brought to declare in favour of national schools only by the device of putting the platform in the hands of a formerly Conservative McCarthyite instead of a Liberal.

The suggestion that Protestant voters were not too much affected by the school issue is given weight by the fact that Manitobans, being permitted by the Laurier-Greenway settlement of 1897 to keep their national schools, showed a profound lack of interest in them until brought up sharply by the compulsory education act of 1916. This aspect of the case is brought out clearly by Sissons:

"It was estimated by a careful and well informed authority that no less than 30,000 children of school age in any given day of the year 1910 might be found

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otherwise engaged than in school. The illiteracy of Manitoba became a by-word throughout Canada." (4)

This attitude towards education had also been found in Manitoba Protestants previous to the abolition of separate schools. The Report of the Superintendent of Education for Protestant Schools for 1888 showed an average attendance of 59% for the Province, as compared to 84.24% in 1941. (5) That this low attendance was not wholly due to bad roads and distance from school is shown by the Superintendent's remark:

"Yet the lamentable failure to derive full benefit from the operation of the schools, through irregularity of attendance, is conclusive evidence of the failure of parents to apprehend the irreparable loss thus caused to their children and the waste of their own money in the maintenance of schools capable under favorable conditions of producing very much better results; or else it is an indication of indifference to the advantages provided for the education of their children in strange contrast with the liberal spirit shown in the making of this provision." (6)

In the face of this apparent indifference, and the other facts brought out above, it is hard to imagine that for Manitoba's Protestant majority the school question was the really burning issue in the 1896 election.

Looking at the election without placing too much emphasis on the school question, the first impression is that it should have been a Liberal triumph, but was marred by the presence of a third party and the corruption which necessitated two by-elections. But while the Patrons apparently stole more votes from the Liberals than from the Conservatives, the two majorities which the Liberals did manage to make were small. The four Conservative majorities were all larger than those given

- (4) C. B. Sissons, Bi-Lingual Schools in Canada, Toronto, 1917, p. 119.
(5) Report of the Department of Education for the Year Ending June 30th, 1941, Winnipeg, 1941, p. 144.
(6) Report of the Superintendent of Education for Protestant Schools, 1888, Sessional Papers, Manitoba, 1889.

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to the Liberals; they won by 398 in Macdonald, 67 in Marquette, 566 in Provencher, and 126 in Winnipeg, as compared to Liberal majorities of 54 in Lisgar and 1 in Selkirk. Apparently the Conservatives were strong throughout the Province, and would have done much better in Brandon if a Liberal had run there instead of a McCarthyite. The by-elections won by the Liberals in 1897 were not an indignant repudiation of the Conservatives because of corrupt practices, since the Conservative Party took no part in those contests. These by-elections simply demonstrated that Winnipeg and Macdonald ridings, when they were given no Conservative candidate, preferred sending Laurier two well-known Liberals rather than two not so well known independents who could not be expected to do much good for their constituencies in Ottawa.

A considerable part of the Conservative vote must be attributed to party loyalty. There seems to be a basic Conservatism in Manitoba which may be submerged occasionally, but comes up again almost of itself, although the loyalty cry helps, as in the free trade election of 1911 and the conscription election of 1917. This Conservatism of Manitobans may go back to the days following Confederation, down to the appearance of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1886, when settlers coming to Manitoba, even before the difficult Dawson route fell into disuse in 1876, travelled through the United States. Those who had little or no feeling for the British connection easily gave up the tiresome journey and settled on readily accessible American land, while the people who came on to Manitoba frequently tended to be those who valued their status as British subjects; and this feeling,

(7) Chester Martin, Political History of Manitoba, 1870-1912, Canada and Its Provinces, Vol. 19, p. 110.

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on the whole, is more characteristic of Conservatives than of Liberals.

Manitoba went heavily Liberal in the 1940 election; but from Confederation down to 1935 the Province had returned 76 Conservatives as against 42 Liberals and 58 others. (8)

The fact that the loyalty cry has been able to win Conservative support on more than one occasion offers evidence that this Conservatism of Manitoba is at least as much a matter of natural emotional attachment as it is of mercenary motives. But there is no doubt that in 1896 a considerable part of the support given the Conservatives in Manitoba stemmed from appreciation for the Canadian Pacific Railway and hope, built on that achievement, for the Hudson Bay Railway.

A major factor behind Conservative success is found in the popularity of their candidates, as described under the various constituencies. The Conservatives won their four victories with local men who had considerable prestige. Walton could not measure up to LaRiviere in Provencher, nor could the outsider, J. H. Ashdown, hope to compete with Dr. Roche in that decisive section of Marquette where the latter had treated sick people for years; Boyd of Macdonald, although he did not have the ability of his Liberal opponent, judging from their later careers, was stronger in 1896 by virtue of the fact that he had been more in the public eye as a member of the Federal House of Commons. And in Winnipeg, Joseph Martin was unable to stand against the popularity and charm of the son of Sir John A. Macdonald.

(8) Based on figures for 1872-1941 in Sessional Papers, Annual Departmental Reports, Canadian Parliamentary Guides, and Canada Year Book.

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It seems apparent that the Conservatives also derived more advantage than the Liberals from those racial and religious groupings whose vote can be checked - that is, the French and half-breed Catholics, the Icelanders, and the Mennonites. The two definite groups which have been noticed among the English-speaking voters, the Irish-Methodist-Orange-Conservatives and the Scotch-Presbyterian-Liberals, were too well scattered through the six Protestant ridings to make definite isolation of their respective votes possible, although there is some appearance of the Scotch-Liberal alliance in Selkirk riding. The Mennonite vote can be isolated, but it was too small to have any significance for either party. Icelandic voters gave almost all their support to the Liberals, ⁽⁹⁾ but since in 1886 they had made up only 2% of the population, they were unable to give the party they favoured anything comparable to the heavy majorities reaped by the Conservatives among the French and half-breed Catholics, particularly in Provencher, where they were able to carry one of Manitoba's seven seats.

The facts seem to indicate that Manitoba in 1896, since it had voted Conservative before and would do so in the future, was not in the mood to step out of its traditional rôle for the sake of either the school question or a lower tariff. The promise of the Hudson Bay Railway, in conjunction with the natural Conservatism of a large part of the electors, was enough to hold them to their loyalty to the Conservative Party. Manitoba's voters would give the Liberals four out of seven seats in 1900, and seven out of ten in 1904, but by 1908 they would be ready to swing back to the Conservatives again and stay with them until the agricultural distresses following the World War

(9) Logberg, July 9/96.

made them temporarily neglect both Conservatives and Liberals for the agrarian Progressives.

The Conservatism of Manitoba is perhaps an indication that Turner's frontier, in its thoroughly democratic sense, is not to be looked for in this part of the Dominion. (10) (It has been

(10) John L. McDougall has criticized Professor F. J. Turner's thesis in The Frontier School and Canadian History, The Canadian Historical Association Report, 1929, pp. 121-25. But the basis of his attack does not seem to be altogether fair. He says: "I have to urge that if the frontier, an external force, is to be given this degree of importance as the creator of ways of thought, then by parity of reasoning we ought properly to expect similar frontiers in other sections of the globe to produce corresponding results." After looking in vain for a Canadian frontier comparable to that of Turner, he concludes: "In view of these facts is it not proper to ask whether the external environment, the frontier, really was the dominant creative force which moulded American life? Would it not be more proper to describe it as a catalyst which set free elements in the American character not present in the same degree in other civilizations?" But Professor Turner did not maintain that his theory had universal application; he stated his belief that the American frontier experience had been characterized by a spirit of democracy which had made itself felt not only in the eastern United States, but even in the Old World. He would not have said that the original character of the American settlers had not played a part in the democratic attitude of the frontier. But that admission would not have lessened the importance of the physical frontier in the United States, because if the frontiersmen had stayed in the east they would have been easterners with a proper sense of their rather humble place in society; they would not have been the assertive individuals of the western frontier. Failure to find Turner's frontier in other parts of the world does not necessarily reflect on the original theory as he stated it.

Dr. Lower makes this point clear: "Turner's thesis has not yet been thoroughly applied to Canadian history and, indeed, there are factors present in the development of each country which are inconspicuous or absent in that of the other. It must therefore be a modified or adapted version of the thesis which can be fitted to Canada." (A. R. M. Lower, The Origins of Democracy in Canada, The Canadian Historical Association Report, 1930, pp. 65-70.)

pointed out that this suggestion might also apply to the northwestern agricultural States, which vote Republican.)

Evidences of the frontier spirit in Manitoba have been found in Dr. Schultz's agitation "against vested interest" prior to the Province's entry into Confederation, in the setting up of Spence's republic of Assiniboia about the same period, in the 1916 attempt to establish the initiative and referendum, and in the agrarian dissatisfaction characteristic of Manitoba since its beginnings. (11) But for anything approaching the fullness of the American frontier experience one must go back to the early days of the Selkirk Settlement, (12) when

- (11) A. R. M. Lower, The Origins of Democracy in Canada, The Canadian Historical Association Report, 1930, pp. 65-70. Dr. Lower shows these phenomena to have exerted much less of a democratic influence on the Canadian way of life than did the spirit of the American frontier on the life of the United States. "Despite American influence, there are observable differences between our democracy and that of the United States... These differences, for the most part small, probably proceed from three causes. The first is that our frontier experience, owing to differences in habitable area, has not been as intense and prolonged as has that of the United States. We have not all been ground up quite as fine by it as the United States... The second cause is that the old world sentiment has been much stronger in Canada and the old world connection much more recent than in the United States. And the third lies in our monarchical form of government; in the old days we were governed and we have never quite got accustomed to governing ourselves. Government to many of us still seems a thing apart, not quite our own concern. The perpetuation of monarchical forms, even though the life has long since gone out of them, doubtless tends to act as a curb to the fullest expression of democracy. At any rate, the differences just mentioned between our democracy and that of the United States consist in a general way in this, that democracy in Canada has not had quite as thorough-going an expression as it has had amongst our neighbours."
- (12) Walter N. Sage, Some Aspects of the Frontier in Canadian History, The Canadian Historical Association Report, 1928, pp. 62-72. Professor Sage points out (p. 67) that the Selkirk Settlement "cannot be considered as a westward extension of the Canadian frontier but rather as an isolated attempt at colonization."

hardships were faced and overcome in an atmosphere of lawlessness and crime. And even then the most essential feature of the frontier, its individualism, was lacking. The Selkirk settlers acted as a group, living close together along the Red, not off in the wilds hewing out individual farms and characters for themselves.

The Riel Rebellion, aside from Scott's death, passed off in a remarkably law-abiding manner. Following its entrance into Confederation, Manitoba was policed at first by a small force of soldiers, and after 1873 by the Royal North-West Mounted Police, and the country settled down to a steady development that made it into a most peaceful community by 1896. The need to get wheat to market resulted in the great majority of settlers living close to railroads, or lines where they were expected to pass, and consequently most of these people were not too far separated from neighbours for a full community life. Even the Indians, long a source of fear in the United States, remained quiet under the Canadian system of treating them as individuals rather than tribes; and Manitobans thus did not enjoy the frontier experience of pitting themselves against lurking danger and coming out of it with the frontiersman's resourcefulness and courage.

(13)

(13) "In the American territories the Indian was 'treated as a member of a tribe and not as a citizen.' In addition, the decrease in the tribal authority and the peculiar nature of the jurisdiction over the reservations, arising partly from the treatment of Indian tribes as independent nations, combined to render the punishment of the individual Indian a very haphazard affair; but in British Columbia the Indian was treated as an individual, entitled to the same protection and responsible to the same extent as any other inhabitant." (pp. 141-2, Vol. XVIII, Review of Historical Publications; review of article by William J. Trimble, The Indian Policy of the Colony of British Columbia in Comparison with That of the Adjacent American Territories, Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1912-13, pp. 276-286.)

Conclusion

Manitoba, in fact, was another Ontario, with a particular Conservatism of its own. This Conservatism came to the surface in the election of 1896, aided by the promise of the Hudson Bay Railway, and it prevented either the Liberals or the more radical Patrons of Industry from receiving the support which they might have expected if Manitoba had been an undisciplined frontier settlement of aggressive individuals rather than a well established and law-abiding farming area.

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- (e) Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, Ottawa, 1939.
- (f) Résumé of General Elections, 1896-1911, Ottawa, 1916.

2. Unofficial:

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- (b) Canadian Parliamentary Companion and its successor, Canadian Parliamentary Guide.
- (c) Henderson's Manitoba and Northwest Territories Gazetteer and Directory for 1896, Winnipeg, 1896.
- (d) Newspapers, kept in the Provincial Library, as described below:

Name and Location of Newspaper

Political Affiliations in May and June, 1896

Brandon Riding:

The Brandon Times	Conservative, active
The Brandon Sun	Liberal, strong.
The Elkhorn Advocate	Conservative, inactive
The Virden Banner	Conservative, inactive
The Enterprise, Melita	Liberal
The Brandon Mail	Liberal
The Globe, Boissevain	Liberal, Strong
Deloraine Weekly Times	Liberal
The Hartney Star	Liberal, inactive
The Plaindealer, Souris	Liberal, active.

Provencher Riding:

The Emerson Journal	Liberal, strong
Le Manitoba	Conservative, very strong, French, Catholic.

Selkirk Riding:

The Selkirk Record and Canadian Fishing Gazette	Conservative, strong
The Stonewall Gazette	Conservative, very strong
The Argus, Stonewall	Liberal, Strong.

Macdonald Riding:

Carberry Express	Conservative, strong
Weekly Review, Portage la Prairie	Conservative, strong

Neepawa Register
 The Manitoba Liberal, Portage la
 Prairie
 The Neepawa Press
 The Gazette, Glenboro
 The Cladstone Age
 Western Patrons' Sentinel,
 Portage la Prairie

Conservative, Strong.

Liberal, strong.
 Liberal, strong.
 Liberal, strong.
 Liberal, inactive

Patron, strong.

Marquette Riding:

The Minnedosa Tribune
 The Hustler, Hamiota
 Russell Chronicle and Free
 Trade Advocate
 The Eye-Witness, Birtle
 The Marquette Spectator-Reporter
 The Dauphin Pioneer-Press

Conservative, not very
 active.
 Conservative, not very
 active.

Patron, strong.
 Liberal
 Liberal, strong
 Liberal, inactive.

Lisgar Riding:

The Holland Observer
 The Pilot Mound Sentinel
 Morden Monitor
 The Killarney Guide
 The Manitou Mercury
 The Carman Weekly Standard
 The Morden Herald

Neutral
 Conservative, mild.
 Conservative, extreme
 Conservative, mild.
 Liberal, strong.
 Liberal, mild.
 Liberal, strong.

Winnipeg Riding:

Manitoba Morning Free Press
 Winnipeg Daily Tribune
 The Daily Nor-Wester
 The Northwest Review
 The Peoples Voice
 The Commercial
 Logberg
 Heinskringle

Conservative, not very
 strong.
 Liberal, very strong.
 Conservative, Strong.
 Conservative, Catholic,
 strong.
 Labour, inactive.
 (an economic journal)
 Liberal, strong, Icelandic.
 Conservative, strong,
 Icelandic.

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