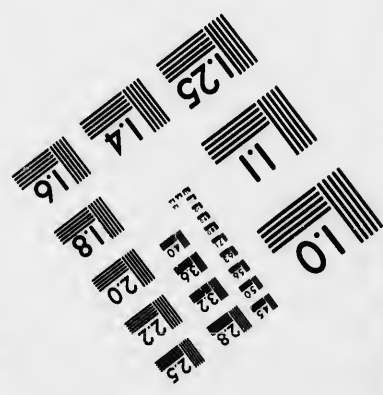
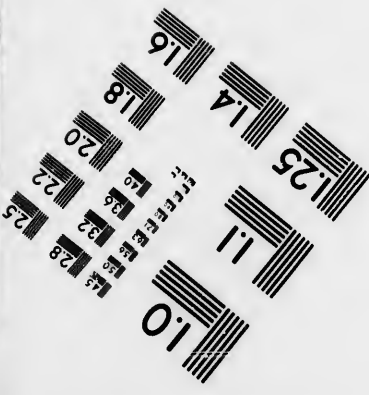
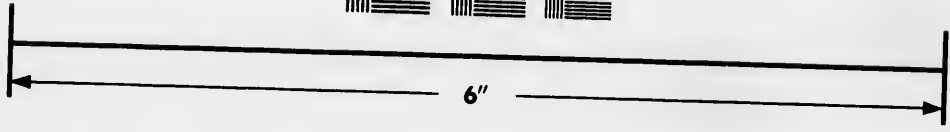
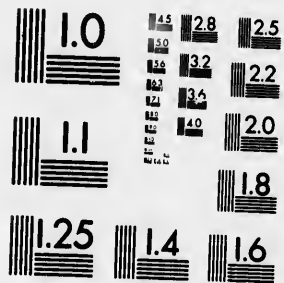


**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic  
Sciences  
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET  
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580  
(716) 872-4503



**CIHM  
Microfiche  
Series  
(Monographs)**

**ICMH  
Collection de  
microfiches  
(monographies)**



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques



**© 1993**

Technical and Bibliographic Notes / Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

Coloured covers/  
Couverture de couleur

Coloured pages/  
Pages de couleur

Covers damaged/  
Couverture endommagée

Pages damaged/  
Pages endommagées

Covers restored and/or laminated/  
Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée

Pages restored and/or laminated/  
Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées

Cover title missing/  
Le titre de couverture manque

Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/  
Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées

Coloured maps/  
Cartes géographiques en couleur

Pages detached/  
Pages détachées

Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/  
Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)

Showthrough/  
Transparence

Coloured plates and/or illustrations/  
Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur

Quality of print varies/  
Qualité inégale de l'impression

Bound with other material/  
Relié avec d'autres documents

Continuous pagination/  
Pagination continue

Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin/  
La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distorsion le long de la marge intérieure

Includes index(es)/  
Comprend un (des) index

Blank leaves added during restoration may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming/  
Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.

Title on header taken from: /  
Le titre de l'en-tête provient:

Title page of issue/  
Page de titre de la livraison

Caption of issue/  
Titre de départ de la livraison

Masthead/  
Générique (périodiques) de la livraison

Additional comments: /  
Commentaires supplémentaires:

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below /  
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X	12X	14X	16X	18X	20X	22X	24X	26X	28X	30X	32X
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

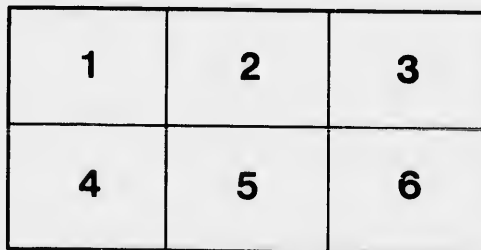
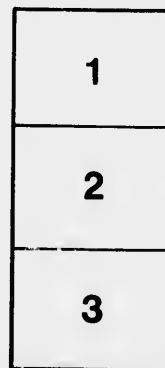
Bibliothèque nationale du Québec

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol  $\rightarrow$  (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol  $\nabla$  (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

Bibliothèque nationale du Québec

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole  $\rightarrow$  signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole  $\nabla$  signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.

R

Mr. I  
 debate  
 I expe  
 politic  
 sociate  
 lines o  
 hearty  
 among  
 House  
 cord w  
 have  
 readily  
 I hav  
 that I  
 which  
 ment to  
 It is  
 which I  
 pretatic  
 that ve  
 and the  
 to the  
 ties, tha  
 I take  
 country  
 will son  
 time wh  
 and to  
 best int  
 tives of  
 as poss  
 sent'men  
 ents in  
 live. In  
 I am al

# House of Commons Debates

SIXTH SESSION—SEVENTH PARLIAMENT

SPEECH

OF

T. S. SPROULE, M.P.

ON THE

## REMEDIAL ACT, MANITOBA

OTTAWA, THURSDAY, 5TH MARCH, 1896

Mr. SPROULE. In rising to continue this debate I must first express the regret which I experience in being obliged to differ with political friends with whom I have been associated for a long time and with whose lines of policy I have usually worked in hearty accord. It is a matter for regret amongst politicians on either side of the House when they find themselves out of accord with the political party with which they have worked many years, and you readily understand, Mr. Speaker, as I have no doubt the House does, that it is a very strong provocation which will induce any member of Parliament to go against his own political party. It is only the conscientious convictions which I hold on this question, and the interpretation which I put upon the constitution that we have heard so much about of late, and the understanding I have with regard to the rights of the majorities and minorities, that induce me to take the stand which I take to-night. But we owe a duty to our country as well as to our party, and there will sometimes come in most men's lives a time when they are obliged to leave party, and to stand for what they regard as the best interest of the country. As representatives of the people we are sent here, as far as possible to reflect the views, and the sentiments and the wishes of our constituents in whatever part of the country they live. In endeavouring to do that to-night, I am about to speak on the line which I

have mapped out. We are asked in connection with this debate, what duty we owe to our constituents? The hon. member for North Grey (Mr. Masson) my colleague, who spoke on this question last night, said that it is not usual for the Government to submit a question to the people by way of a plebiscite; but they go up and down the country and hold meetings; they watch the press of the country, and by that means endeavour to ascertain the sentiments of the people, and then to keep themselves in accord with those sentiments in discharging their duties as legislators or as a Government. Now, if that be the case, and I presume it is a fair exposition of the case, I wonder how hon gentlemen supporting the Government of the day, and composing the Government of the day, can justify their position upon this question, or pretend to say that they are in accord with the sentiment of the country. At the outset, I may say that I regret to find that the Government are, in my judgment, so much out of accord with the sentiment of the country. Why do I say so? How do I estimate or gauge public sentiment on this matter? I take the press of the country, from one end of it to the other, especially that press which represents the political party to which I belong, and which endeavours to give voice to their sentiments, to defend their policy, to support their conduct; and I say that the Government must regret to-day to find that there is scarcely an important Conser-

vative paper which is defending them and their policy in endeavouring to pass the Bill that is before the House. If you go from Prince Edward Island in the east to Victoria in the west, and look over the Conservative papers in this country, I think you might count on the five fingers of your hand all those that come out and give a straightforward support of this measure, and of the policy of the Government in attempting to pass it. Then I take the independent press of the country. I might mention a few of them, but they are so well known to this House and to the people that it is scarcely necessary for me to do so. But it would not be out of place to ask. In reference to those papers that have supported the Government so strongly in the past, where are they to-day? The only one that is giving even a half-hearted support to their policy is the "Mail and Empire," of Toronto; and yet it has never, so far as my judgment enables me to understand it, adduced any respectable argument either to defend or justify their course to-day. If we leave out of account the "Mail and Empire," where do we find the rest of the papers? Where do we find the "World," the next greatest exponent of the principles of the Conservative party? We find that it is arrayed against the Government's course on this question. Where do we find the Toronto "News"? Where do we find the Toronto "Telegram"? Where do we find the Toronto "Star"? Where do we find the Hamilton "Spectator"? I might go over the whole list, and I find in almost every instance that those papers are arrayed against the party, and they believe that they are voicing public sentiment. Then, if they are voicing public sentiment, how can the Government to-day be in accord with that public sentiment? If it be the duty of the Government to reflect public sentiment in their legislation, then I ask, how can they square this legislation with the sentiment of the country, as expressed by these papers? Now, we are told by the hon. member for North Grey that in order to ascertain what public sentiment is, the Government go out into the country and hold political meetings. Well, if I take the expression of the public meetings that have been held in this country, do I find any stronger evidence of public sentiment being with them than it is as expressed through the press? I can assure you that the verdict of the people is to the contrary, as expressed in public meetings that have been held for the last two or three years in every part of the country. Why, they have scarcely gone upon a single platform and dared to say that in the end they were bound to pass remedial legislation, and asked the electorate of this country to endorse it, and where the electorate have endorsed it. When they went into North Ontario and put up their candidate, what were they obliged to do? They were obliged to have their candidate keep from the knowledge

of the electorate his intention regarding remedial legislation, as they knew, otherwise, that he could not receive the support of the people. I ask the hon. gentleman from North Ontario (Mr. McGillivray), what course did he take in trying to induce the electorate to support him? He said: I am not going to be pledged in this matter; but I point you to my record in the past as to what you may expect from me in the future. Have I not gone through two or three political fights in the province of Ontario?

Mr. MCGILLIVRAY. The hon. gentleman is mistaking my position in North Ontario.

Mr. SPROULE. In what respect, I would like to know, am I misstating the hon. gentleman's position? I was going on to say that according to what I read in the papers which reported him pretty extensively, his language was to this effect: The electorate of this country know my record, because I have fought two political fights in provincial campaigns on this question. They know the stand I have taken on the question of separate schools; they know what I have said. Now, then, I tell you that I am standing to-day upon the same ground that I have always stood. Now, Mr. Speaker, what was that ground? Was it in support of a remedial law which would force separate schools on Manitoba, or was it against it? Why, if I understand the ground the hon. gentleman has taken in the past, it was that when Ontario and Quebec entered into a compact at the time of confederation, they accepted these separate schools as an arrangement between the two provinces. They are here to stay, and we cannot help it. But I shall never support their extension into any other province or any other part of the country. That was the record upon which that hon. gentleman sought election, and it was upon that record that the people accepted him. But had that hon. gentleman come out plainly and told the electorate of North Ontario: I am going down to vote for remedial legislation, I am assured by men who ought to know the situation, that he would have been buried under a majority of nearly a thousand votes in his own riding. Is that an evidence that the Government are fairly entitled to accept as voicing public sentiment in favour of this legislation? No; I say it is not. Then if I go to Cardwell, what does public sentiment tell me there? It tells me that the Government candidate who had apparently, at least, come out and admitted that he was prepared to support the policy laid down by the Government upon this question of remedial legislation, was buried under a hopeless mass of votes; he was buried so far as his political life is concerned, never to rise again, at least in that constituency. But the hon. gentleman who frankly opposed the policy of remedial legislation, was accorded the support of the majority of the voters of Cardwell, and pub-

lic se  
with  
went  
publi  
sentir  
pose  
who  
in th  
ment.  
In Ja  
respon  
for  
consti  
sentir  
have  
Cnpe  
State,  
exerci  
to bea  
lic sen  
But I  
tellig  
lic pr  
times  
lic sen  
conclu  
is aga  
to lute  
There  
flemen  
believe  
they w  
the pe  
that th  
memb  
voice,  
be left  
been c  
that th  
and ac

It be  
Chair.

Mr. S  
ing the  
ject, I  
portion  
left the  
young  
judgme  
sentime  
were in  
erment  
ant mea  
tion wh  
llament  
country  
ance as  
day. O  
might n  
country  
and also  
through  
nels. I  
we exam  
can be r

T S S-

regarding  
y, other-  
support  
gentleman  
y), what  
duce the  
d: I am  
ter; but  
st as to  
e future.  
ree polit-  
to?

n. gentle-  
n North

, I would  
hon. gen-  
to say  
e papers  
ively, his  
e elector-  
cord, be-  
ights in  
question.  
n on the  
ey know  
tell you  
the same  
l. Now,  
nd? Was  
ich would  
ca, or was  
stand the  
en in the  
nd Quebec  
e of con-  
separate  
ween the  
stay, and  
never sup-  
r province

That was  
gentleman  
n that re-  
lm. But  
ut plainly  
Ontario  
edial legis-  
ought to  
have been  
s that an  
fairly en-  
ble senti-  
? No; I  
Cardwell,  
me there?  
candidate  
ne out and  
to support  
ment up-  
ation, was  
votes; he  
life is con-  
st in that  
leman who  
edial leg-  
ort of the  
l, and pub-

lic sentiment declared against interference with Manitoba. Then the Government went down to Montreal Centre and tested public sentiment there. But did public sentiment endorse the legislation they propose to-day? No, Sir, but the candidate who was put up to oppose them now sits in this House in opposition to the Government. Then they tested public sentiment in Jacques Cartier, and met with the same response. Look also at the result of their efforts in Verchères. In fact, in almost every constituency where they have tested public sentiment, up to the present time, they have been defeated. They went down to Cape Breton to elect the hon. Secretary of State, and by a herculean effort, by dint of exercising all the power they could bring to bear, they did manufacture sufficient public sentiment to endorse their present course. But I say there are many men of intelligence to-day who, as I read in the public press, are observing the signs of the times as indicated in the way we judge public sentiment, and who have come to the conclusion that the voice of the country is against the Government in this attempt to interfere with the rights of Manitoba. There is no mistaking it, and if hon. gentlemen constituting the Government do not believe it to-day, a time will come when they will recognize it, when at the elections the people will speak with a voice so strong that they cannot misunderstand it, and many members who now fail to recognize that voice, as indicated by public sentiment, will be left in the minority after the votes have been counted, and they will then recognize that they misunderstood public sentiment and acted contrary to it.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

### After Recess.

Mr. SPROULE. Mr. Speaker, in continuing the debate on this most important subject, I may refer for a few seconds to the portion of it under consideration when you left the Chair at six o'clock. I was endeavouring to give then what, according to my judgment, was public opinion and public sentiment on this measure, and how far they were in accord with the action of the Government in dealing with this most important measure. There is no doubt that no question which has engaged the attention of Parliament for a great many years in this country is regarded as of as much importance as the one before the House to-day. On this question above all others, you might naturally look to the press of the country for an exposition of public sentiment, and also as manifested by public gatherings, through church assemblies and similar channels. I was endeavouring to show that if we examine the press of the country there can be no mistake as to what public senti-

ment is, because while the press supporting the Government in their policy, their National Policy, their measures relating to the fast steamship line and the development of trade, and on almost every other line of policy which has been under consideration during the last fifteen or sixteen years, those journals have been notably silent as regards saying anything endorsing the measure now under the consideration of the House. On the contrary, there is scarcely a Conservative paper in the country but has given out some discordant sound, some note of warning, some suggestion which might induce the Government to abandon what very many regard as an insane course they are following at the present time and desist from seeking to force on an unwilling province a Bill that will take away rights that every province has heretofore enjoyed, which the province of Manitoba has heretofore enjoyed, and which in the opinion of the large majority of the people it should enjoy in the future. So far as my judgment goes, there can be no mistake as to what public opinion is. Then if the Government are running counter to public opinion and thereby lose the support of their own friends, they should not blame their friends, but rather blame their own blindness that leads them in a channel which compels their friends to desert them.

Why do I oppose this Bill at the present time? I oppose it because it is making a serious inroad on principles which have been heretofore regarded as sound. What are those principles? This Bill is interfering in the first place, with the rights of the province. There is no one who is acquainted with the history of Canada and has watched closely affairs during the last twelve or fifteen years who failed to regard with a good deal of suspicion anything that raises the question of provincial rights or causes antagonism between any province and the Federal Government, because we have had several fights in this country on that line, and the lesson taught is to avoid in future as much as possible any interference with the rights of the provinces. Only a few years ago we had a very great struggle on provincial rights, it occurring on the Streams Bill. Two or three enactments were passed by the provincial legislature. They were disallowed by the Dominion Government on the question as to the right of a province to control streams within its own territories. What was the result? When the question was taken to the courts the highest court of the Empire decided against the Dominion. In the meantime a very strong feeling had been aroused. The agitation that had been carried on against the Dominion Government for interfering with what a great many regarded as the rights of the province had created a feeling of antagonism against the Dominion Government, which threatened to be very serious. But for the fact that the highest court



of the Empire decided against the Dominion Government and in favour of the provincial government controlling those rights, we do not know how the agitation would have ended, or what disastrous results would have flowed from it. Then we had a struggle as regards the claims of a province to own minerals and timber. This again involved the question of provincial rights, and ended in a decision against the Dominion, and the province was secured in the rights which it enjoys to-day, and which the people thought they were entitled to enjoy at that time. That contention also raised a great deal of agitation. This agitation which went on, intensified and accentuated the feeling that the provinces should know what rights belonged to them, and be accorded those rights without any interference. Then we had a question of provincial rights somewhat similar to the very important question which is now under discussion. Hon. gentlemen will remember that we passed the Canadian Pacific Railway Act, and by that Act we practically took away the right of the province to charter local railways, a right which all the provinces had enjoyed up to that time; or, in other words, we put a monopoly clause in the charter of the company, which prevented the Manitoba government from exercising what was the undoubted right of every province, to grant charters for railways within its own territory. What was the result? A very serious fight took place, a very strong agitation was carried on. It was considered a grievance which at the time was difficult to remove. And what was the result of that agitation, and what was the result of that strife? We were obliged to buy back that monopoly from the Canadian Pacific Railway at a very great cost, for the purpose of appeasing the feeling and the anxiety of Manitoba, and we were obliged to give them back the power which they thought, under the constitution, they should enjoy, and which they complained was unfairly taken from them. Until that was done we had nothing like a settlement of that question. All these things have tended to create a feeling of antagonism between the government of Manitoba and the Dominion Parliament. Then, after that, we had what was known as the Jesuits' Estates Act. That was a question dealt with in this House and discussed at very great length. Upon what ground did we, who voted with the Government upon that occasion, justify the vote which we gave. It was solely upon the ground—I speak at least for myself—that we were upholding the rights of the province of Quebec. We got our information upon that question from a source which would be regarded as sufficient authority to satisfy most members of the House. We got our advice from the late Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald. We were told, that at confederation, the rights of the provinces were

laid down, and amongst these undoubted rights were: first, the control of the land within their bounds, to sell that land, to give it away, or to use it as they saw fit. We were told, that the right of the control of educational affairs rested with the provinces. We were told, that it did not matter whether it accorded with the views of the majority of the Dominion Parliament or not, the right of the province was to control its educational affairs. We were told, that, so long as the province raised money according to the ways laid down in the British North America Act, it did not matter how they spent it. It was said to us, that the provinces might grant licenses to raise money, or they might sell their lands to raise money; but, so long as they raised it according to the constitution, they could use it for any purpose they desired, no matter whether it was agreeable to outsiders or not. I remember distinctly putting a question to the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald about that. I said: Suppose that a province should pass a law to use money for a purpose which, in the judgment of the Dominion Parliament, and in the judgment and the wisdom of the people of Canada, would be detrimental to the interests of the Dominion, or to the interests of the other provinces, or even to the interests of the province itself, would the Dominion Parliament be justified in vetoing that law. And Sir John Macdonald's answer was: So long as they raised that money in the manner laid down under the constitution, it is a matter of unconcern to us, and it is none of our business, if they pitched that money into the St. Lawrence or into the fire. And he further said: They have sold a portion of what was their own land, and they have raised money; they are now using this money on educational lines, and they are entitled to do so, and, whether it is agreeable or disagreeable to us, it is the right of the province, and we must be satisfied with it. Upon that understanding, and believing the right hon. gentleman to be a greater authority than I on provincial rights, although it was against my judgment, and although it was against the judgment of my constituents, I supported the Government on that occasion. And, Sir, I remember that the Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald said, in answer to the same question: It may come back to you in the province of Ontario to-morrow, and how could you be so inconsistent as to oppose the right of the province of Quebec to deal with her own land, her own money, and her own education, if, on a similar question arising in the province of Ontario, you were obliged to vote the other way? Those were the arguments then used by Sir John Macdonald, in the case of the Jesuits' Estates Act.

Now, Sir, I regard this present question as being on the same lines. Manitoba has seen fit to deal with education. It is the right of that province to deal with that matter. It is

true,  
It only  
is a p  
erally  
every  
to de  
had r  
and t  
up to  
time  
asked  
vince,  
princ  
we st  
was n  
by the  
which  
in the  
we st  
stood  
that r  
bec, t  
the pr  
that  
other  
has, t  
Sir, I  
vents  
carrie  
that n  
majori  
do rul  
into a  
rules;  
majori  
counci

Mr.

majori

Mr. J  
in heat

Mr. J

ized li

Empire

British

princip

whatev

it is ge

It does

princip

cial c

majori

Why s

applied

the pr

ity rul

rules b

acques

not, it

The pr

thinks

titled t

standh

a quest

A larg

the sol

terests

that th

system

true, it is said, that Manitoba can deal with it only within certain limits. I admit, there is a proviso in that, but it has been the generally-accepted principle heretofore, that every province had the uncontrolled right to deal with education, and every province had used that right according to its will, and there has been no interference with it up to the present time. This is the first time in Canadian history that we have been asked to interfere with that right of a province. We are asked now to endorse a principle, the very opposite of the principle we stood by, when the province of Quebec was making a fight for her rights. We stood by the province of Quebec then on a question which was very unpopular with us, which, in the judgment of many, was wrong; but we stood by the principle, believing that we stood up for the rights of a province. If that rule is applied to the province of Quebec, then, why should it not be applied to the province of Manitoba to-day? The same that applies to one should apply to the other; the same rights the one province has, the other province ought to enjoy. Sir, I oppose this Bill because it prevents the will of the majority from being carried out. The invariable principle is, that majorities must rule. Some say, that majorities should not always rule, but they do rule in every walk of life. If you go into a business corporation, the majority rules; if you go to a church meeting, the majority rules; if you go to a township council, the majority rules.

Mr. DEVLIN. If you go to Turkey, the majority rules, too.

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis). And the majority in heathen countries rules.

Mr. SPROULE. I am talking about civilized life, as we understand it in the British Empire. I say that in every part of the British Empire it is regarded as the correct principle that the majority shall rule, and whatever decision the majority comes to, it is generally recognized to be right. Now, it does not matter whether you apply the principle to a township council, or to a municipal corporation, the principle that the majority rules is the principle that holds good. Why should a rule the reverse of this be applied to the province of Manitoba? In the provincial legislature there, the majority rules. In this very House the majority rules by their voice. Whether the minority acquiesces in the principles promulgated or not, it does not matter; the majority rules. The province of Manitoba has rights, or she thinks she has rights, which she was entitled to enjoy, and, according to her understanding of her rights, she is dealing with a question in which she is vitally interested. A large majority of her people have come to the solemn conclusion, that it is in their interests and the interests of their province, that they shall in future have a different system of education from what they had

had up to the year 1890. And yet to-day we are trying to prevent that majority from ruling in the province of Manitoba. We are told, that this is something embodied in the constitution, and that, therefore, it should be held sacred, and we should not disturb it. There is no doubt there is some show of argument for those who hold that view, and I will deal with it later on. I have here the debates which took place in 1865 and 1866, when they were trying to bring about confederation, and I have looked at the discussions which took place upon the resolutions on which the British North America Act was founded. I see here one of the eminent men of that day, forecasting what might be the dangerous result, if you insist on taking away the rights from majorities. And to-day, in the light of experience, it seems to me to be verified to the letter. John Sandfield Macdonald, who was a Roman Catholic, was speaking against that provision of this resolution, which was intended to place upon provinces rights for minorities which never could be changed, no matter what the changed condition of the country or the character of the people. He moved a resolution in opposition to that, and, in supporting his resolution, he said:

I rise, Sir, to propose another amendment. I can assure the House that I never knew a measure of anything like this importance go through with so few attempts to amend it. Nor do I rise for the mere purpose of putting my amendment on record, for I do feel that the views I am about to express, and which I have ever held since I have been a member of this House may not commend themselves to any considerable number of the members. I have no desire that the rights of the Roman Catholic minority of Upper Canada should be abridged.

He had no desire that they should be abridged, but he refused to endorse the principle that the resolution granting them should be perpetual.

I have no desire that the rights and privileges of any other denomination shall be interfered with in any respect; but I wish hon. members to bear in mind that the experience we have had in this country, not to allude to that of the neighbouring state, proves that a denial of the right of the majority to legislate on any given matter has always led to grave consequences. I need only mention the Clergy Reserve question. This, it must be recollected, was forbidden to be legislated upon by the Union Act; yet it was the cause of fierce strife and legislation for many years. The original constitution of the United States prohibited the question of slavery from being interfered with by Congress; yet an agitation for its suppression was early commenced, and has at last terminated in civil war. The agitation of the Clergy Reserve question produced a rebellion in Upper Canada. I say, Sir, that by making a constitutional restriction in respect to the schools of the minority, we are sowing the seeds from which will in the end arise a serious conflict, unless the constitution be amended. The minority will be quite safe on a question relating to their faith and their education in a colony under the sway of the British Crown; but if you expressly withdraw that ques-

tion from the control of the majority, the rights of the minority will not be safe in either section of the province, if you distrust the action of the majority. It is our duty, Sir, to see that a question which affects us so dearly as the education of our children—a question which has hitherto now created no little excitement in Upper Canada—shall not be withdrawn from the management of the local legislature. We ought not to deprive them of a power which they will want to exercise, just because they are deprived of it, and provoke a desire on their part to alter the system. You may rely upon it other religious bodies will be sure to protest against any particular creed having special privileges, or an exclusive monopoly of certain privileges, whatever they may be. I should be astonished if any one in this House would say, either to the Protestant minority in Lower Canada or to the Roman Catholic minority in Upper Canada: "You are not to trust to the justice of the majority." Have they ever known a country where the majority did not control affairs and where the minority had not to submit?

And yet we are asked to-day to prevent the majority in Manitoba controlling the affairs of that province, although we have never known a civilized country where it was not the case that the majority controlled and the minority submitted. He goes on:

Does not the majority rule and the minority submit in England and in France? I have never heard of any case where this was not the case. The minority is safe against undue encroachment on its rights, and I am willing to trust to the sense of justice of the majority in Upper Canada to preserve the religious and educational liberties of the Roman Catholics of Upper Canada. I am now getting some what advanced in years, and I am the more anxious to put my opinions on record, because before long I shall have the satisfaction of saying, though perhaps not on the floor of this House, that I protested against resolutions intended to prevent the free expression of opinion by the majority of the people of Upper Canada, and the exercise of a power which ought to be entrusted to them.

We can see to-day, in the light of experience, the foresight and intelligence of the late John Sandfield Macdonald in the forecasting what might be the result if the rights of the majority in a province were taken away, and they were not allowed to exercise the rights that belong to every civilized country. He went on to move a resolution as follows:—

That the following words be added to the original motion:—

"And that it be an instruction to the said committee to consider whether any constitutional restriction which shall exclude from the local legislature of Upper Canada the entire control and direction of education, subject only to the approval or disapproval of the general Parliament, is not calculated to create widespread dissatisfaction, and tend to foster and create jealousy and strife between the various religious bodies in that section of the province."

He goes on to say:

If hon. gentlemen think they are going to silence the bitter feelings which have been en-

gendered in Upper Canada in consequence of the attempt to make permanent a certain system of education, they are much mistaken; and I desire to have the expression of the opinion of the members of this House on the subject, whether they think that the restriction in the proposed constitution I have mentioned is calculated to bring about harmony, and whether it is not better to let the Catholics of Upper Canada and the Protestants of Lower Canada protect themselves, or rather trust for protection to the sense of justice of their fellow-subjects.

An hon. gentleman who opposed that motion said:

Though I am against the separate school system, I am willing to accept this confederation, even though it perpetuates a small number of separate schools. Under the present legislative union we are powerless in any movement for the abrogation of the separate system; it is even very doubtful if we could resist the demands for its extension. We will not be in any worse position under the new system, and in one respect we will have a decided advantage, in that no further change can be made by the separate school advocates. We will thus substitute certainty for uncertainty. I deeply regret that the hon. member should have thought it necessary for any purpose to move this resolution.

He did not contemplate any further changes, but he was willing to accept what was then in existence in Upper and Lower Canada.

Mr. DEVLIN. Who held that language?

Mr. SPROULE. It was Mr. A. Mackenzie.

Mr. DEVLIN. The late Hon. Alexander Mackenzie?

Mr. SPROULE. Yes, I think so. Now, I think I have made clear two things. The first is that it was never contemplated at confederation to compel every province that came into the union to accept separate schools, but only to accept the solemn compact made between Upper and Lower Canada, and to act on the understanding that that compact should be carried out. Acting on that understanding, in two or three local elections in the province of Ontario in which the school question engaged a great deal of attention, I steadily refused to say one word against separate schools in Upper or Lower Canada, because I considered that under the solemn compact made at confederation, the rights enjoyed by the minorities in the two provinces should be maintained. But I held that it was never contemplated, when confederation was brought about, that similar rights should be extended to every province that came into the union, and I am justified in that belief by the resolutions that were moved at that time. Some say that we are bound not only to give separate schools to every province that comes into the union, but after it comes in, and it engages on its statutes some privilege in regard to schools that may or not be justifiable, that privilege must remain there for ever. I say there is nothing in the

resol  
read  
latur  
they

The

laws

Amo

Edu

which

Canad

school

operat

But

being

may

stand

went

for 1

"Oh,

FRYS

gentle

Bill

shoul

ted to

Parlia

expres

assen

until

it. O

We kn

times

lines

made

tain p

never

opport

asked

that,

wards

In re

laga b

membe

any al

tions t

That v

into th

plated

I ha

and on

gates v

the Im

on the

they w

any oth

our an

and I

have a

country

laga. C

And it

there

the pr

right t

gards t

two Ca

of the

proven

further

quence of the  
in system of  
and I desire  
union of the  
ject, whether  
the proposed  
calculated to  
or it is not  
Canada and  
protect them-  
to the sense

that motion

school sys-  
confederation,  
number of  
legislative  
government  
stem; it is  
dist the de-  
ot be in any  
l, and in one  
stage, in that  
the separate  
stitute cer-  
ret that the  
t necessary  
on.

er changes,  
it was then  
Canada.

language?  
A. Macken-

Alexander

so. Now, I  
lugs. The  
mulated at  
ovince that  
ot separate  
lomin com-  
lower Can-  
ading that  
ut. Acting  
three local  
to in which  
great deal  
to say one  
a Upper or  
dered that  
le at con-  
the minor-  
l be main-  
never con-  
as brought  
e extended  
the union,  
ief by the  
that time,  
ot only to  
ovince that  
comes in,  
some privi-  
ay or not  
st remain  
blig in the

resolutions to warrant that contention. In reading the resolutions assigning to the legislatures of the provinces the subjects which they could control, I find this laid down:

The local legislature shall have power to make laws respecting the following subjects:—

Among these is:

Education, saving the rights and privileges which the Protestant or Catholic minority in both Canadas may possess as to their denominational schools at the time when the union goes into operation.

But it says nothing about the same right being extended to any other province that may come in. That was the solemn understanding come to when these resolutions went to the Home Government as a basis for legislation. But we are told to-day: "Oh, but the British North America Act says so-and-so." In the legislature one hon. gentleman got up and contended that the Bill that passed the Imperial Parliament should not become law until it was submitted to the Parliament of Canada, and the Parliament of Canada had an opportunity of expressing its opinion upon it, and either assenting to or dissenting from it; and also until there was an appeal to the people upon it. One reason he gave for that view was: We know by experience, he said, that it sometimes happens that we make laws on certain lines; but if, after these laws have been made and become constitutional laws, certain provisions are found in them that were never contemplated, we ought to have some opportunity of examining them before we are asked to assent to them. In opposition to that, the Attorney General, who was afterwards Sir George Cartier, spoke as follows:

In reply to what the hon. member for Hochelaga has just said, I shall merely tell the hon. members of this House that they need not take any alarm at the apprehensions and the predictions that the hon. gentleman has made.

That was the danger of something excepting to the law which it was never contemplated should be embodied in it.

I have already declared, in my own name and on behalf of the Government, that the delegates who go to England and will accept from the Imperial Government no Act but one based on the resolutions voted by this House, and they will not break faith in order to bring back any other. (Hear, hear). I will pledge my honour and that of the Government to that effect, and I trust my word of honour will, at least, have as much weight with the House and the country as that of the hon. member for Hochelaga. (Cheers).

And it was accepted on that ground, but there was the resolution, there was what the provincial legislature was to have, the right to control education, save only as regards the compact entered into between the two Canadas. But afterwards, in clause 93 of the British North America Act, an improvement was introduced that goes even further than that. It says:

All the powers, privileges and duties at the union by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the separate schools and school trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects, shall be, and the same are hereby extended to the dissentient schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholics in Quebec.

Where in any province a system of separate or dissentient schools exists by law at the union,—

That only applied to the two Canadas, Upper and Lower Canada, and it did not contemplate any other province. It did not contemplate that the resolution I have read should extend to any other province. It did not contemplate that it was to extend to provinces coming afterwards into the union. It says:

Where in any province a system of separate or dissentient schools exists by law at the union, or is thereafter established by the legislature of the province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council.

That does not give the right to establish them and then say that, once established, they are never to be disturbed afterwards. Now, the delegates who were acting on behalf of Manitoba were not satisfied with what had taken place in New Brunswick about education, and they wanted to pass a law which would go further than the British North America Act went, and secure for themselves greater powers and improve their position. They passed what is known as the Manitoba Act. Here is the clause of that Act applying to the subject:

In and for the province of Manitoba the said legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions:—

Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law or practice in the province at the union.

They went further than the British North America Act, because that Act only provided that they shall enjoy what they have at the time of the union. But it was changed because of the New Brunswick case. The minority had not the right to have separate schools in law, and, therefore, that right could not be given back to them. The minority should enjoy the right which they had on going into the union. Is any right taken away from them which they enjoyed when they came into the union? Did the Privy Council say so? The Privy Council did not say anything of the kind. The Roman Catholic minority in Manitoba had not that right in practice, because there were no separate schools there in practice; they had what is known as parochial schools, which they might establish to-day upon the same basis. And, therefore, we are not going beyond the bound of reason, when we say that they have not the right, under the Act providing for the incorporation of Manitoba into confederation, to appeal against the Manitoba statute which did away with separate

schools, because they did not enjoy the right to separate schools when they came into the union. That right was given them after they came into the union. The union was consummated in 1870, and separate schools were given in 1871, and the Roman Catholic minority are enjoying to-day all the rights they enjoyed on coming into the union, and no right which they enjoyed then is taken from them to-day. Therefore, they cannot complain fairly on that line.

We are told that the constitution shows that they shall enjoy certain rights. Now, I would like to ask this House, what are constitutions? They are only compacts between governments and individuals, made to suit the necessities of the time and circumstances, and, as time goes on and conditions change, as people die and pass off the stage of action and others take their places, as the necessities of the time and changing circumstances and conditions may require, those constitutions may be changed. Constitutions are not immutable. At one time one of the provisions of the British constitution was, that there should be church and state. Where is church and state to-day? Where would it be to-day, if that constitution never changed? The old system of church and state has been done away with by the very descendants of the men who were the strong advocates of it years ago, and who regarded it then as one of the safeguards of the British constitution. But, as time, as conditions, as the circumstances changed, it was a wise act to do away with it. There was a time when a Roman Catholic could not hold any office. But is there any one to-day who, in his wisdom, will say they have no right to hold office, as well as any Protestant? Things have changed, and they hold office to-day by virtue of the will and consent of the majority.

Mr. DEVLIN. Has the Manitoba government the right to change the constitution granted to it?

Mr. SPROULE. Yes, so the British North America Act says. It has the right to change its own constitution in certain lines. I shall not specify all the lines, but it has that right. But I say that constitutions are only compacts, which only last so long as those compacts suit the situation, the circumstances, the conditions and the age in which they are applied; and, when they are not in harmony with the age, they must be changed.

Mr. AMYOT. Would the province of Quebec have the right to change the constitution, so far as separate schools are concerned?

Mr. SPROULE. I have shown the hon. gentleman that, under the solemn compact they have entered into, they are pledged to Ontario to retain those schools, and I do not look at it as standing in the same relation

at all. I have given the reasons. It is because that compact was entered into before confederation, under which that province must have separate schools, but, as regards Manitoba, the compact was only that they should enjoy what they had on going into the union; and on going into the union, Manitoba had not separate schools.

The seigniorial tenure was, at one time, a very burning question in the province of Quebec. It was at one time suitable to the wants of the people, but, as time and conditions changed, it was abolished by law. We had a clergy reserve fund that gave a certain portion of land for the benefit of the clergy, and that was embodied in the compact between Upper and Lower Canada and formed part of our constitution. Is it standing to-day? No, long since the clergy reserve funds were taken away from the clergy and used for the purposes of the country, because the changed conditions of the day rendered the change necessary. The constitution of the United States provided that Congress should not interfere with slavery. Enlightened public opinion in that great republic, however, demanded that slavery should be done away with, because it was inhuman and not in consonance with the advanced state of civilization, and not in harmony with human feeling and sympathy; and, although the American constitution provided that it should not be changed, what did the people do? They first made a compromise, what is known as the Missouri compromise, and declared that slavery should not go beyond certain bounds. But that was not sufficient; public opinion was too strong to stand slavery to any extent, however limited, and they abolished slavery, though they were obliged to do it by changing the constitution, though, in order to effect that change, they had to resort to arms and cause the loss of tens of thousands of valuable lives and millions of money, and though they had to accomplish that change by one of the greatest civil wars the world has ever seen. The constitution, however, had to be changed, because the requirements of the time demanded it. What are constitutions, if they are not made to suit the requirements of the times and of the age in which we live? If the constitution of Manitoba became entirely unsuited to the requirements of Manitoba, would it be wise to insist that Manitoba should abide by it, and not effect a change? I say it would be most unwise. Because she saw fit to think otherwise, because she seeks to make this change, are we going to abuse her? No. I would like to ask hon. gentlemen: Suppose that through some inadvertence or malicious design, or from any other cause, you had engrafted upon the constitution of that country a separate school system that was entirely unsuited to the civilization of the age, entirely unsuited to the requirements of the rising generation, who ought to be given a fair educa-

tion.  
system  
the se  
worst  
been  
it rem  
commu  
it just  
it? V  
fled in  
bring  
enviro  
the co  
Why I  
jection  
two s;  
system  
they c  
tem.  
people  
separa  
Manito  
schools  
all the  
reason  
things  
to the  
people  
a mille  
only, I  
width.  
lot, and  
thinnos  
ed in I  
the pec  
quite a  
numero  
do so.  
ions in  
kept as  
some p  
each, in  
only fou  
eight to  
the sam  
of Queb  
of Man  
governm  
the con  
sible to  
people,  
cannot  
is the r  
petuate  
a pamph  
It show  
and sea  
gets an  
populat  
school s  
average  
reached  
five, and  
eight, s  
Every o  
would I  
you wer  
of ano  
people v

It is be-  
 into before  
 t province  
 as regards  
 that they  
 going into  
 the union,  
 ols.  
 one time, a  
 province of  
 ble to the  
 and condi-  
 y law. We  
 ave a cer-  
 of the  
 n the com-  
 Canada and  
 ion. Is it  
 the clergy  
 from the  
 ses of the  
 dillions of  
 ssary. The  
 es provided  
 with slav-  
 on in that  
 ended that  
 th, because  
 nance with  
 on, and not  
 and symp-  
 and constitu-  
 be changed,  
 first made  
 is the Mis-  
 that slavery  
 ounds. But  
 opinion was  
 any extent,  
 ed slavery,  
 t by chang-  
 in order to  
 resort to  
 os of thou-  
 millions of  
 accomplish  
 ntest civil  
 he constitu-  
 ed, because  
 emanded it.  
 re not made  
 nes and of  
 the constitu-  
 unsuited  
 oba, would  
 oba should  
 a change?  
 e. Because  
 because she  
 e we going  
 like to ask  
 ough some  
 gn, or from  
 rafted upon  
 a separate  
 nsulted to  
 rely unsuit-  
 ing genera-  
 fair educa-

tion. It is said that this separate school system is a good one; but suppose that the separate school system had been the worst. Merely because that system had been engrafted upon the constitution, must it remain there for ever? Would that be common sense or common wisdom? Would it justify any class of men in abiding by it? Would not these men rather be justified in so amending the constitution as to bring themselves into harmony with their environments and with the requirements of the country in which they find themselves? Why is this Bill objectionable? It is objectionable mainly because it establishes two systems of educational law, and two systems of education in a country where they can hardly afford to support one system. We hear it often said: Suppose the people of Quebec were to do with their separate schools there what the people of Manitoba have done with the separate schools there. But the cases are not at all the same, and the comparison is not a reasonable one. You can only compare things that are, to some extent, alike. I go to the province of Quebec, and I find the people settled on narrow lots that extend a mile and a quarter in length, but are only, if I remember well, forty rods in width. A family lives on the front of each lot, and the front of the lots is like a continuous village. The people are congregated in large numbers in a small space. If the people want two schools they may be quite able to support them, for they are numerous enough and wealthy enough to do so. But compare that with the conditions in Manitoba. Half of the land is kept as a reserve, and not settled at all in some places; the people can get 160 acres each, instead of 80 acres each, and there are only four families in a mile, instead of from eight to sixteen. Is it to be supposed that the same rules are applicable to the people of Quebec that are applied to the people of Manitoba? Not at all. The provincial government, in their wisdom, decide that the conditions were such that it is impossible to impose two school systems upon the people, that the people are too weak and cannot maintain them in efficiency. That is the reason why they did not wish to perpetuate the two systems there. I have here a pamphlet that deals with the subject, and it shows that the population there is sparse and scattered. Reading this pamphlet, one gets an idea of what it means for such a population to attempt to maintain two school systems. This pamphlet takes 108 school sections and shows that in 1894 the average attendance in no single one of them reached ten. Some of them are as low as five, and the line of figures runs nine, five, eight, seven, six, seven, nine, and so on. Every one of them is below ten. What would be the condition in that country if you were to insist upon the establishment of another school system amongst these people who are struggling to maintain one

system of schools? Would such a thing be wise? A few years ago we had an appeal from Quebec. I remember that a number of Protestants from one part of that province came here and asked this House to provide means to transport them to the neighbourhood of Calgary so that they might settle together where they could keep up their schools and churches. As an evidence of the difficulty of maintaining these institutions where populations were sparse, they showed us a map of that country where the Protestants, one by one, had been bought out by the Roman Catholics until they had become distributed in very small numbers, yet in much larger numbers than can be found in the settled country districts in Manitoba. And they said: We are unable to keep up our societies, we are unable to maintain our churches, we are unable to support our schools, because we are so few in number. When they were asked: Why do you not attend the schools of the majority, as the Roman Catholics of Ontario attend the public schools there? the answer was: If the schools in Quebec were of the same nature as the public schools in Ontario where the object is to give a secular education and not teach the religion of any particular church first, we would send our children to them. But in those schools they teach principles that are regarded as inimical to the belief of a Protestant denomination. Therefore, we cannot send our children to their schools, and we are too weak to keep up our own schools. Is not that the condition in Manitoba? And if the Government came to the conclusion that this condition of things overburdened the people, and decided that it would be better to give them one system of national schools where religion was not taught, where the tenets of no particular church were taught, have they not strong reason for doing so? For whatever may have been said, I have never seen it proven that any religious creed or the tenets of any particular church were taught in these schools. They go through the form of reading the Lord's prayer, and they occasionally read a passage of scripture; but they have never introduced any catechism or the teaching of the dogmas of any church. They have made a system of national schools in which the chief desire is to give the rising generation that secular education which is necessary to fit them for becoming good citizens. We are asked to compel the people of Manitoba to go back to the dual system, and to carry on that dual system under two sets of laws, one set of schools under the control of their own laws, and one under laws passed by this Parliament. What must be the result? It must engender a feeling of strife and resentment in the minds of the majority which, if aroused now, may not die out within the lifetime of the youngest member of this House. We are told that we should pass this Bill and settle the ques-

tion finally. If I could hope that this would be a final settlement of this question, I confess that I should be inclined to do a great deal that I would not otherwise do. But I regard it as only the commencement of this fight, if this is forced upon the people contrary to the will of the majority there.

Now, I object to separate schools on principle. But while saying that, I have no feeling against those who regard separate schools as the right schools. The principle which I regard as right in this country is to bring the children up together in one school, where they will learn, through the associations of youth to love and respect each other, where they will play together, where they will learn to tolerate each other's eccentricities, and learn that human nature is human nature in one, the same as the other; where they will grow up together, having inculcated in their minds the same principles of education, science and knowledge that must be useful to them throughout life. I regard it as a correct principle in the interests of the state that in school the children shall see nothing of the diversity of religion, though that may remain, and the church has the right to teach it, but that it shall not keep the children apart in two hostile camps as is now being done. This is essentially why I oppose this Bill. I do not care whether it is a weak Bill or a strong Bill. The Bill has in it the principle of forcing upon an unwilling province separate schools which were done away with because the people regarded them as unsuitable to the requirements of the situation or the condition of things in their country. Then again I oppose it because I think the state ought to control education. I believe the trend of the age is towards the state controlling education. Those of us who remember our schoolboy days will no doubt recollect when we went to what were called pay schools, and we paid so much a month for the support of the teacher. There was not much difference in the amount of religion taught in those schools and that taught to-day; but they were pay schools kept up by voluntary subscriptions, and kept up by those who wished to educate their children. The state in its wisdom afterwards thought it necessary to take over the control of education because there was a large number of poor children in the country whose parents were unable or too careless to give them an education, and this made it possible for a very large percentage of them to grow up in ignorance. Believing that education ought to be the birthright of every citizen of the British Empire, and that intelligence is the best guarantee for good citizenship, the state thought it right to give them an education, and therefore it took the schools of the country under its control. Instead of having pay schools, instead of having parochial schools, instead of having church schools, we have what is known as free

schools controlled by the state. As soon as the free school system was introduced in Upper Canada it was regarded as the best system yet devised for the people, and it has been controlled by the state from that time to the present. Now, then, I said that the trend of the age is towards the state taking control of education. Why do I say so? Because the day of private schools and parochial schools has passed away. I am strengthened in that opinion by the history of other countries as well as our own. I need not cite the case of Upper Canada, because no one would pretend to stand up to-day and say that we should revert to the old system of allowing churches to keep up their schools and private individuals to keep up their schools, instead of the state doing it. But we have gone further than that by taxing ourselves for the education of children whose parents are not able to pay for it, by giving money out of the public treasury to support poor schools where the people are not able to tax themselves for it. In the province of Ontario the development of our educational system has been along that line for the last thirty or forty years, until it is a recognized fact to-day that no one would pretend to deny. I say again that the trend of the age is towards free schools, as shown by what has taken place in other countries. I take a work that I hold in my hand, and in it I find facts drawn from the history of other countries which strengthen my conviction in that regard. According to the "Encyclopedia Britannica," Vol. 8, page 712, I find that all over Europe education is passing from the control of the clergy into the hands of the state. Europe is older than our country; it has learned, as every country learns, by the experience of the past, and their experience has taught them the wisdom of taking the control of education from under the hands of the clergy, from under the hands of the church, and transferring it to the control of the state. The same is said to be true even in Mexico, and Central America, and in South America. Then when I come to look at some other countries I find that in Ireland, that benighted country, where it is sometimes said the people are steeped in ignorance, they have a system of national schools. Under the national school system of Ireland, Roman Catholics and Protestants are educated together. They have learned by experience the folly of keeping children apart when they are educated, because separate education, instead of harmonizing opposing sentiments and feelings, tends to accentuate them, tends to make them worse. Therefore, the wisdom of the administration of Ireland has led them to devise what might be regarded as a national school system. Australia has also come to the same conclusion, because the common school system of Australia is based on the principles of perfect religious freedom, and the non-establishment of any particular form of religious belief. I need not give the history

of the  
tion,  
bers  
atten  
Catho  
to bri  
try t  
they  
to do  
garde  
and c  
the p  
never  
her c  
every  
must  
portec  
not ta  
of rel  
educat  
thing  
becaus  
al Inst  
some  
commu  
in ma  
objecti  
althou  
made  
schools  
control  
gentle  
years  
the big  
Church  
Would  
the chi  
ated in  
schools  
circum  
circum  
their c  
Roman  
of sepa  
Now, I  
schools  
sends a  
Experie  
venting  
the edu  
has ma  
one to s  
this que  
Sidney,  
children  
fourteen  
schools.  
under st  
America  
with the  
system a  
years ag  
carried o  
control o  
shown th  
ction, a  
schools r  
and con  
great cou

of the United States in regard to this question, as it is doubtless well known to members of this House. Although attempt after attempt has been made by the Roman Catholics, and in all honesty, in all sincerity, to bring the educational affairs of that country under the control of their church, as they have no doubt a perfect right to attempt to do, I say that great country, which is regarded as in the forefront of advancement and civilization to-day, has never accepted the principle of separate schools, and has never allowed education to pass from under her control. To-day her schools are free to every child of the state, and the children must be educated together in all state-supported schools. Denominational religion is not taught in her schools, but the principles of religion that are common to all, are inculcated in many of them. I know something about the schools in the United States, because I passed some time in her educational institutions; and although the state teaches some of the doctrines of religion that are common to all creeds, the same as are taught in many parts of this country, I heard no objection from any Roman Catholic. And although, as I say, application has been made from time to time for separate schools, the state has never abandoned her control of education. No doubt some hon. gentlemen will remember that two or three years ago the question was asked of one of the high dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church of the United States, Mons. Satolli, Would the church in the United States allow the children of Roman Catholics to be educated in what were commonly called godless schools, and the answer was that under the circumstances, they could do so; under the circumstances they were at liberty to send their children to the public schools. The Roman Catholics do not enjoy the privilege of separate schools there, as they do here. Now, then, in Mexico also, free public schools have been established, and whoever sends a child to a parochial school is fined. Experience has proven the wisdom of preventing parochial schools from controlling the education of the country, and the state has made it a punishable offence for any one to send a child to a parochial school. On this question I find some facts quoted by Dr. Sidney. In the Republic of Central America children between the ages of eight and fourteen years are required to attend public schools. Education is free, compulsory, and under state control. Then I come to South America, to the republics of that continent with their 50,000,000 of population, and what system do we find there? Until twenty years ago the education of the children was carried on in parochial schools and under the control of the clergy, but experience has shown the un wisdom of that system of education, and they have changed it. Their schools now are public, under state control, and compulsory. The education of that great country is to-day closely modelled after

the system prevailing in the state of Michigan. In that great country of fifty millions of people, whoever sends a child to a parochial school is fined, and the parochial schools have been closed. Free schools have been established in Uruguay, and Venezuela, under a system much the same as that prevailing in other republics I have mentioned. Then we come to New Brunswick, and we find that they have practically state schools. They have state schools in the province of Nova Scotia, they have state schools in Prince Edward Island. Then, I say, I am justified in the conclusion that the trend of the age is towards the state controlling the education of the country. Why, I ask, should Manitoba be compelled to go back to what is really an obsolete, an unsatisfactory, and an unsuitable condition of things for the needs of that province? For that reason again, I am opposed to this Bill. Now, Sir, we are told that we have a right to legislate because there is a grievance. What law has ever been passed restricting a man's rights, that does not leave a grievance behind it? Is there any law that restricts us in any walk of life that does not give rise to some grievance, if we are to consult our own feelings when rights have been taken away from us? But if, in the interest of the state, in the interest of humanity, it is necessary even to create a grievance by taking away certain rights, the state is justified in taking away those rights in the interest of the whole. And though there may be a grievance behind it, it is no justification for going back to the old condition of things simply because it is a grievance. Was there not a grievance in New Brunswick when the provincial government took control of the schools and changed the system? The Minister of Marine and Fisheries fought that question eloquently in this House, declaring there was a grievance and a very serious grievance. But when Sir John Macdonald was appealed to, he refused to give back what they regarded as their rights, because, he said, it was the right of a province to control that matter, and he informed them that it was their duty to go to the highest tribunal, the people, and fight out the question there. He told them to go first to the provincial legislature, and then to go to the people, because the people had the power to change the representation in the legislature. He told the representatives of the minority to go before the people and convince them that their demand was a right and just one, and, he said, there was sufficient justice in humanity to grant what is right.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Perhaps the hon. gentleman will permit me an explanation, as he referred to me by name. He has stated that the late Sir John Macdonald, when appealed to by the minority of New Brunswick, told them that he could give them no relief, but to go to the legislature. I think the hon. gentleman will find that there they



were sent, not to the legislature, but to the courts, and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Mr. SPROULE. I read the discussion a few days ago. The contention is that the courts of justice offer no redress and, therefore, the people have to come here for redress, and that the British North America Act contemplated that we should come here for redress. But the understanding, as expressed by Sir John Macdonald, was that you must go back to your own legislature, and if you do not obtain relief there, then appeal to the electors, because they can put out the members of the legislature; but, in Sir John Macdonald's opinion, we had no right to interfere. I read the debate in this way, and I am in the judgment of those who have read it as well as myself.

Will Manitoba settle this question if left alone? I believe, if Manitoba were left alone she would ultimately settle it; perhaps the minority would not get all they expect or claim, but the province would settle it as satisfactorily as it was settled in New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and the other provinces. I have sufficient respect for the judgment and fairness of the people of that great country, many of whom went there from Ontario and Quebec, to believe that they do not want to act unfairly to any of the people there, and if left alone they would settle the question in a way that would be satisfactory to the minority after a time. The minority are taking advantage of the law which exists there to-day, and I find they are bringing the schools under the control of the law in increasing numbers every year. I have, therefore, the right to assume that not very great dissatisfaction exists there.

Who are clamouring for this law? Are the people of Manitoba clamouring for it? It is true that a largely signed petition has been sent here asking for the change, and I cannot shut my eyes to that fact; but it was got up, I am credibly informed, by the hierarchy, and was signed by people who were asked to sign it, and they sent down the petition. This was all right. But the greater clamour comes from the province of Quebec, many of whose people know little of the situation, whether separate schools joined with national schools can be worked or not. They are forcing the issue, and they are the party who are forcing the fight on the situation to-day. I do not believe, if they knew the situation as well as the people there do, if they knew the difficulties that Manitoba has to contend with, they would fight strongly and insist so vigorously in forcing on an unwilling people a measure that is not desired there, and compel them to restore the school system which was abolished because it did not suit them.

There are some features of this contest that attract my attention at the present

time, and which must attract public attention. One is the voice of the bishops and clergy on the question. We all understand that it is a serious offence to interfere with the rights of a member of Parliament in the discharge of his legislative duties or to intimidate him. Those of us who know anything about the Roman Catholic religion, are aware that it is a very serious thing to take away from any member of that church the rights of the church, to tell a man who believes that through that church alone he can find salvation, that the ecclesiastical authorities will take away from him the rights of the church. I believe it to be a very serious threat when you tell any man discharging his duties as a member of Parliament, or is about to go back to the electors for endorsement or otherwise, that if you do so and so the church will declare you to be no longer a Roman Catholic. I have here a statement which was put out a few days ago, and it seems to me a very serious matter with respect to Roman Catholics in this House. I am sorry to mention it, and I do not do it for the purpose of creating any feeling, because I know it may make some hon. members who are Roman Catholics feel that I am doing what I should not, as a Protestant do, in speaking of it. But I only speak of it because of the sentiments enunciated by the leader of the Opposition the other night. That hon. gentleman said: While I love my church and revere my church, and respect my church, yet in the discharge of my duty as a Liberal in this House, following the principles of Liberalism as enunciated, known and carried out by the great Reformers of the British Empire, I refuse to be controlled in the discharge of my duty even by my church, because I regard it as the first duty of a member of Parliament to do his duty to the state, and while I am unwilling to come into conflict with my church, I believe I know the situation better than they do; I do not regard it as offensive because they imagine they are right in doing so; and I think they are rather objects for sympathy than otherwise. Father Lacombe, a very respectable missionary—I do not blame him for his utterance, because he thought he was doing right, and doing what he conceived to be his duty—declared that no man who opposed this Remedial Bill would be regarded as a Catholic. He said:

If, which may God not grant, you do not believe it to be your duty to accede to our just demands, and that the Government, which is anxious to give us the promised law, be beaten and overthrown while keeping firm to the end of the struggle, I inform you, with regret, that the Episcopacy, like one man, united to the clergy, will rise to support those who may have fallen to defend us.

Archbishop Langevin of St. Boniface has stated his views in these words:

It has been said, falsely, that the Catholic hierarchy in this Dominion of ours is to settle

the s  
you l  
lio E  
giou  
the R  
And  
clear  
struc  
by t  
supp  
right

WH  
use f  
If he  
man  
a his  
auth  
Liera  
a Ca  
such  
the s  
the r  
my a  
such

The  
side  
very  
regar  
becau  
peopl  
of ev  
ly, to  
ment  
trol,  
the c  
mem  
tion  
atten  
the c  
doing  
ing c  
the c  
fortu  
broug  
age c  
manl  
face  
state  
out,  
be br  
and i  
shall  
the P  
man  
that  
count  
and P  
a gre  
This  
test w  
again  
do no  
take  
of th  
hon. r

Lange  
tone  
that  
their  
scend

public atten-  
bishops and  
understand  
interfere with  
Parliament in  
duties or to  
to know any-  
belle religion,  
ous thing to  
that church  
a man who  
ch alone he  
ecclesiastical  
om him the  
e it to be a  
tell any man  
mber of Par-  
to the elect-  
vise, that if  
I declare you  
olle. I have  
ut out a few  
very serious

Catholics in  
ention it, and  
e of creating  
it may make  
Roman Catho-  
I should not,  
ng of it. But  
the sentiments  
the Opposition  
ntleman said:  
d revere my  
urch, yet in  
as a Liberal  
the principles  
ated, known  
Reformers of  
to be control-  
y even by my  
the first duty  
o do his duty  
unwilling to  
church. I bet-  
ter than they  
nsive because  
in doing so;  
er objects for  
Father La-  
ssionary—I do  
ance, because  
ght, and doing  
duty—declared  
this Remedial  
Catholic. He

you do not be-  
cede to our just  
ment, which is  
I law, be beaten  
rm to the end of  
regret, that the  
ed to the clergy,  
may have fallen

St. Boniface  
e words:

that the Catholo  
ours is to settle

the school question. No, the Catholic hierarchy—you know it, and I can say it plainly—the Catholic hierarchy leads the Catholics in their religious conviction, and all those who do not follow the hierarchy are not Catholics.

And he has instructed them that this was clearly their duty, because the church instructed them in their line of conscience, by telling them that it was their duty to support the Bill which gives back these rights to the church.

When the hierarchy has spoken there is no use for any Catholic to say to the contrary, for if he does he is no longer a Catholic. Such a man may carry the title, but I declare this as a bishop: I say to-night, and I say it with plain authority, a Catholic who does not follow the hierarchy on the school question is no more a Catholic, and who will be the one to entitle such a one to the name of Catholic? Where is the society or government who will give him the right to call himself a Catholic when I in my authority as a Catholic bishop, declare that such a man has no right to 'be name.

Then, I say, the bishop is putting them outside the pale of the church, and that is a very serious matter for Catholics. Sir, I regard that as a most unfortunate thing, because it is interfering with what most people in this country look upon as the right of every member of Parliament to do, namely, to follow the dictates of his own judgment in matters where the state must control, and where the state must be above the church and above religion, and where members believe that they know the condition of things better than the men who are attempting to give advice. I do not blame the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church for doing so. I do not blame them for bringing every influence they can bear upon the church to do so, but I think it is unfortunate that that influence should be brought to bear. A man who has the courage of his convictions, and who has the manhood and the integrity to say: In the face of all that, I regard my duty to the state as so and so, and I shall carry it out, notwithstanding the fact that I may be buried under the anathema of the church, and notwithstanding that the whole church shall be arrayed against me, and support the party opposed to me; I say that the man who has the moral courage to say that will be endorsed by the people of this country. They will regard him with respect and honour, and they will look upon him as a greater statesman than they did before. This is one of the features of this contest which makes me to-day go very strongly against this Bill. We are told that if we do not legislate in this case, Quebec may take away the rights from the Protestants of that province. I was glad to hear the hon. member for Three Rivers (Sir Hector Langevin) speak in the generous and manly tone he did this afternoon, when he said that whether the minority in Manitoba got their rights or not, Quebec would never descend to any principle so low. I always

had a high opinion of the French-Canadian people, I always regarded them as chivalrous, as honourable, and as disposed to do right to the minority down there. But above and beyond all that, I say that whether we legislate or do not legislate, the rights of the minority are not in danger in that province. There was a solemn compact entered into with the province of Quebec in this matter, and I believe that no person would dare to break up the original contract which was entered into between the two Canadas before confederation, and embodied in the Confederation Act of 1867. And should the people down in that country wish to legislate upon that question, and if they felt as strongly on it as do the people of Manitoba, would the people of Manitoba be disposed to interfere with their rights? I think they would not. And if the people of Quebec came to this House would they be inclined to regard with quietness and courtesy any effort that was made to interfere with their rights. I think they would not. They would be the very strongest to create an agitation that would be large in its proportions, and dangerous in its results, if they were not allowed to control their rights, as they were allowed in the Jesuits' Estates case. They would tell us that any legislation against them was an interference with the rights belonging to their province, and they would not brook any interference. Now what should the Government do with this question at the present time? I say they should leave it to the people of the province of Manitoba to deal with as in their judgment they think best. That was what they should have done in the first place. While the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council said to the minority: You have the right to appeal, what did that mean? Some say that the Government are now only carrying out the judgment of the Privy Council. I do not so understand it. Although that was very fiercely contended a few months ago, no member of the Cabinet to-day will say that the Government is obliged to take this course because of the judgment of the Privy Council. That judgment of the Privy Council was an opinion in the nature of advice to the Governor in Council here. It told them that the minority had the right to appeal to them for a hearing of their case. That was all. They heard that case, and according to their judgment and wisdom they could say either "yes," or "no," you have a grievance and we will change that law, or we will not change it. It was equally their right to say: we will not interfere with Manitoba, or we will interfere. It was the right of this Government to say: if the circumstances are such that we ought to interfere, then we can interfere with it; or, if the condition of things are such in Manitoba that they cannot successfully carry on two educational systems, we shall not interfere with it. But, Sir, this Government were equally at liberty to say either one

or the other. There is no judgment of the Privy Council telling this Government to interfere or not to interfere.

Now, we are told that if this Bill is passed the fight will be over. Well, Sir, if I believed that, I would be inclined to go a long way. I would be disposed to do many things I would not otherwise wish to do, if I thought that the passing of this Bill would be a finality in this matter. But, Sir, can I shut my eyes to the agitation going on in the country to-day? Can I shut my eyes to the unanimity of sentiment in Manitoba, where three elections have been run on that question, and where there has been a majority in favour of the rights of the province every time. Can I shut my eyes to the fact, as we are told, that at least 85 per cent of the people of Manitoba are in favour of allowing that province to work out her own destinies according to the law she has placed upon the statute-book? Can I shut my eyes to the fact that all over the country there is no defence of the action of the Government by the press of the country who gauge and educate public sentiment? Can I shut my eyes to the fact that there has been scarcely a gathering all over this Dominion, which says to this Government: Go on and do what you are doing to-day. No, Sir, it is the very reverse. I therefore say that I have no right to assume that the passage of this Bill would be the end of this contest. I do not believe that the heartburnings and the strife that is raised to-day, would all die out in a few months if we force Manitoba to do as she is not inclined to do. I believe that the sentiment of the country does not justify any interference with the province of Manitoba in this matter. I believe that public sentiment of the country is, that there shall be no interference.

Now then, what will be the result to the present Government if they persist in pressing this Bill. It must in my judgment inevitably result either in their defeat in this House, or in their defeat in the country. It may be said that the country has not spoken. We have often asked them of late to appeal to the country, and we have said, that although we believe public sentiment is against you, yet if you appeal to the country, and if the voice of the country says, pass that law, you will be justified in doing it. But they have not appealed to the country, nor given the electorate an opportunity to speak. If they are defeated in this House they must appeal to the country, and if then the judgment of the electorate is that the Government shall go on with the measure, then they will be justified. The Government will be fortified with public opinion behind them, and they will be fortified with the support of many friends in this House who are opposing them to-day. Sir, if I know anything about the public sentiment of the country, I say it is all adverse to the policy of the Government in this matter. Mr. Speaker,

I can only express regret, as I did at the beginning of this debate, that I am obliged to place myself in opposition to the Government of the day. However, I do not believe that I am in opposition to the sentiment of the Conservative party of this country when I oppose the Government. I believe that the Government is against public opinion, and that I am with public opinion in doing as I am doing now. I believe I am in harmony with the sentiments of the people of Ontario to-day, when I am standing as I am against the Government on this question. I believe that I am also in harmony with the sentiments of the people of Manitoba when I stand up here to oppose the Government on this occasion. I believe, too, that I am in harmony with the people of the North-west Territories, because the same difficulty is looming up there, and that is another reason which leads me to think that this fight will not be ended soon. If we are successful in forcing Manitoba to-day, the next thing will be to force us to repeal the law which gave national schools to the North-west Territories. The Catholics regard themselves as having a grievance there the same as in Manitoba. Archbishop Langevin said so at Edmonton, I believe. He said: We are not reconciled to the laws which have been put on the statute-book of the North-west Territories; the national schools there do not satisfy us any more than the national schools in Manitoba. Therefore, I say that if the parties who are forcing on this remedial legislation succeed in getting it, the fight will commence in the North-west Territories as soon as the Bill is passed. The school Bill passed in the North-west Assembly has been held in abeyance, and has not yet received the assent of the Lieutenant-Governor. Why is it held in abeyance? Because the clergy do not approve of it. Now, I would venture to ask this Government, as the authority either to veto that law or to allow it to go into operation, what they intend to do with it? Do they intend to give the people of the North-west Territories the right to control education, or do they intend to veto that law? And if they veto it, will they start the fight there which they started on behalf of the minority in Manitoba? Will they continue that fight also for five years, until they secure in the North-west Territories what they wish to secure in Manitoba to-day. I say that this justifies us in believing that the fight will not be ended by this Bill; but that the passage of this Bill would be only the commencement of the fight. The fight must go on, though this Parliament must go to the country, and though dozens of members who support the Bill to-day may be left at home by an exasperated electorate. As John Sandfield Macdonald said at the time of the birth of confederation, if you take from the majority the right to control education, you do not settle the question for ever. It will

loom  
not o  
the f  
inter  
peopl  
to en  
they  
them  
may  
conte  
conse  
know  
Mani  
hark  
in the  
we fe  
sults  
try, I  
to de  
say, I  
this g  
peopl  
ditiou  
condi  
of Q  
they  
suted  
and c  
will, s  
injust  
these  
Bill.  
agains  
voting  
tunate  
we do  
positio

loom up again. Like Banquo's ghost, it will not down; it will come to the front, and the fight will continue. Therefore, in the interest of humanity, in the interest of the people of Manitoba, who think they ought to enjoy freedom, as every westerner thinks they ought, I ask you, not to exasperate them too far. If you do, the consequences may be something that we do not wish to contemplate to-day. We all hope that the consequences may not be serious; but we all know what the feeling of the people of Manitoba was when we were obliged to hark back and repeal the monopoly clause in the Canadian Pacific Railway Act; and if we force this measure upon them, the results may be serious, not only to that country, but to confederation, because it tends to destroy provincial autonomy. Then I say, in the interests of all the provinces of this great Dominion, in the interests of the people of that country, who live under a condition of things entirely different from the condition of things here or in the province of Quebec, let them enjoy the rights they are entitled to; let them adopt laws suited to their conditions an environment, and carry out those laws according to their will, so long as they are doing no substantial injustice to any portion of the people. For these reasons I am about to vote against this Bill. I am sometimes told, that, in voting against the Government on this Bill, I am voting for the Opposition. Well, it is fortunate that we can sometimes meet, even if we do not always meet. If I think the Opposition are right, I am generous enough

and glad enough to record my vote with theirs. I want to see the Bill killed; the Opposition are moving with the same end in view, therefore, we vote together. I do not regard it as an unmixed evil that I am voting with them. I do not regard it as an unmixed evil that I am voting against the Government, which I have loyally supported these seventeen years, because I think they are wrong on this question, and it is my duty to vote as I think right. Feeling, as I do, that the best thing we can do in the interest of the country is to kill this Bill, I intend to vote for the motion made by the leader of the Opposition; and I was glad that he made that motion, because it gives us an opportunity to vote straight against this Bill, and to kill it, if possible. On other lines I am with the Government. They may see fit to read me out of the party for taking the independent stand I do. If they do so, that is their right, and they can act according to their own sweet will. But, so long as I occupy a seat in this House, I shall regard it as my right to vote according to the dictates of my conscience, and with such understanding as I have, on every measure that comes before this House. Therefore, regarding this Bill as a most obnoxious one, not only as doing away with a system of education that is the very best for the rising generation, but as taking away from the province of Manitoba the right of control in educational matters, which it ought to enjoy, I shall have much pleasure in voting for the six months' hoist.

