

Northwest Review.



Senate Reading Rm Jan 5

"AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM."

THE ONLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE INTEREST OF ENGLISH SPEAKING CATHOLICS WEST OF TORONTO.

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EWART RIDDLES HIS ARMOUR.

MR. ARMOUR'S DIALECTICS.

From the Toronto Week.

The reason which Mr. Armour gives for reviewing the Manitoba School case is "that it has been so often misunderstood;" a reason which reminds one (as he notices Mr. Armour's repeated mistakes) of the inflated rustic's contemptuous criticism of some neighbours "who eats their peas with their fingers, instead of their knives." Throughout the whole controversy there has been but one man that has made as many mistakes as Mr. Armour, and that man was aware of his errors whereas Mr. Armour has not got that far.

Not only upon the simplest questions of fact, not only upon the merest quotations of documents, does Mr. Armour err with almost absolute perfection; but his conclusions of law lead to such palpable absurdities that any layman can see that he not only is, but must be wrong.

1. Here is one of his legal propositions (the seventh of his conclusions): "If the Parliament of Canada passes an Act, in default of the action of the Manitoba Legislature, it must also execute, or carry out, the exact terms of the order, or the Act would be void, as its jurisdiction exists for that purpose only." No statute says this. What the statute does say is that if Manitoba does not pass an Act "then, and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case may require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws, etc." Mr. Armour would have it that Parliament may make remedial laws, but shall discuss the circumstances only for the purpose of ascertaining whether an Act in the exact terms of the order "ought to be passed or not. Parliament may come to the conclusion that some small modification of "the exact terms" is advisable, but it is powerless to alter a line of it. It is shut up to Yes or No; and, by saying Yes, to do injustice to one side; or, by saying No, to do injustice to the other. The great Parliament of Canada is compelled to do wrong. It is powerless to escape. If it act it must go to excess; and if it do not act it fails to do equity. It must act constitutionally; and if it does so it does wrong, and cannot do otherwise. If Mr. Armour wants "a curiosity in constitution-building" he need not go to any rational conception of the Manitoba Act, or other work, I think, than to his own handiwork.

2. Take another example of his legal propositions (the eighth of his conclusions): "If the Parliament of Canada passes such an Act, its jurisdiction is exhausted, and the primary fundamental jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislature over education remains unimpaired." By this he means that "immediately after the Dominion Act has been passed," if "the Provincial Legislature.....again deem it advisable to abolish separate schools, it seems clearly to have the power to do so." Which is to say that an appeal is given from the Local Legislature; and if the appeal be allowed the Local Legislature may snap its fingers at the award, and itself reverse the decision—that there may be an appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council; protracted argument and difficulties of all sorts there; a remedial order which sets all Canada debating, and most of the parsons fulminating; adjournments of the Local Legislature for consideration; elaborate debate afterwards; a resolution of refusal; dissensions (possibly) in the Dominion Cabinet over the next step; debate in Parliament, with religious rather than party divisions; an Act passed; public meetings with Mr. Armour in the front vigorously denouncing; excitement intense; the foundations of Confederation shaken; and all with what result? Veritably with none, for the Local Legislature meets the next day, and Separate Schools vanish again! This is indeed "a curiosity in constitution-building" that surpasses anything hitherto imagined, or, in my opinion, hereafter imaginable. But the bye, if Manitoba "seems clearly to have" this self-resurrecting power, why all these columns denouncing Federal interference? Federal interference is a myth, and not worthy a passing notice (save as a curiosity in constitution-building) if Manitoba, after all, be supreme!

3. Mr. Armour is quite wrong, too, when he says that after the remedial order

"the Provincial Legislature retains its jurisdiction, but acts under the superior order of the Governor-General-in-Council." The Governor-General has no power to "order" the Local Legislature to do anything; so that it is impossible to say that the Legislature acts under his order.

4. It is quite inaccurate, also, to speak of the power of disallowance as being "incident to a superior executive body, having a supervisory power over an inferior legislative body." The Dominion Government has no "supervisory power;" and disallowance is not "incident" to anything, or to any body; but is the only power which the Dominion Government has in respect to local legislation (except in the matter of education).

If these be samples of Mr. Armour's law, in which region Mr. Armour is rightly believed to be an expert (when Roman Catholicism is not involved), what may be expected from his facts which so easily take the colour of their narrator? Let us see.

5. He says that the Manitoba Act of 1871 "established a system of education which permitted the establishment of Separate Schools for Roman Catholics." There is the colour of the narrator. The Act of 1871 itself established, and did not merely permit the establishment of Separate Schools. Were the fact as Mr. Armour puts it our case would be most materially weakened. And yet Mr. Armour did not intend anything by this alteration of the statutes, for he makes no point out of it. It is merely his anti-popey bias.

6. Mr. Armour says: "It was asserted.....that many, if not most, of the Roman Catholics were dissatisfied with the Roman Catholic Schools and preferred the Protestant school system." Again, "No steps seem to have been taken to ascertain whether the Roman Catholic minority were really in favour of the retrogressive step.....It seems to have been assumed that the petition of a few Roman Catholics, and the allegations of their clergy were sufficient proof of this serious question of fact." If Mr. Armour had been looking for the contrary of these statements he could not have missed the fact that "the petitions of a few Roman Catholics" was signed by 4,267 Roman Catholics in Manitoba, out of a total population of 15,000 to 20,000, counting men, women, and children! A returned African hunter, decrying mission work, once asserted that there were no real converts on the whole continent; that he had never met a single one. To which a returned missionary said that there were no elephants or lions there either. What you find depends somewhat upon what you are looking for, does it not? By the bye, were there more than 4,267 members of the Equal Rights Association which was going to last for aye (but did not), or were there just "a few Protestants, and the allegations of their apostles"?

7. Mr. Armour says: "As an instance of what was the standard of teaching which must have prevailed in them [Roman Catholic Schools] I take the liberty of quoting in full a paper set by a priest and a barrister for the examination of teachers for a first-class certificate." He quotes it and adds: "When these were the limits of knowledge required to qualify a teacher of the first-class, it is a wonder, etc." Mr. Armour was not looking for converts, or he would have ascertained that these were not "the limits of knowledge required, etc.," but that he was only quoting one out of several papers set at the examination. He should be more careful.

In order that the public may be satisfied upon the question of examination of teachers under the old system, I make Mr. Armour a proposal. I have placed in the hands of the Editor of The Week an envelope in which there are two sets of examination papers, for first-class certificates, one of which was given to Roman Catholic, and one to Protestant applicants. Mr. Armour may open the envelope if he will agree that, after reading the papers, he will give his opinions on two points: (1) Which is the harder set of papers? and (2) Were they, or was either of them, sufficient for an examination for first-class certificate? In order to remove the operation of Mr. Armour's bias, I have eliminated such questions as would enable him to detect the authorship of the papers. There are plenty left whereby to estimate merit.

8. Mr. Armour says: "And it is a most remarkable thing that affidavits of facts thought by counsel for the minority to be necessary for the information of the Ministers, were immediately withdrawn when counsel for Manitoba proposed to put in affidavits in answer." Such was not the reason for the withdrawal. It was because Mr. McCarthy said that he would require an adjournment of the argument in order to obtain the affidavits. It was to obviate delay, and not for fear of reply, that I withdrew the affidavits. My language was: "Allow me to say that that would throw the matter over so late, that it would be impossible that anything could be done this year; and rather than that should happen I would withdraw the affidavits and rest the case upon the other material." To which Mr. McCarthy added: "I cannot object to that course." But Mr. Armour thinks it "a most remarkable thing!"

9. Mr. Armour says that "matters of fact were completely ignored"—he means by the Government. Such is not the fact. Let Mr. Armour mention a fact that was ignored.

10. Mr. Armour says that "matters of assumed and alleged fact were made the basis of the argument and decision." As to the bad facts in the argument I pointed them out at the time, and do not deny their existence. I do deny that they were made the basis of the decision, for I corrected them.

Mr. Armour gets himself into such a maze of bad facts and bad law about the capacity in which the Dominion Government acted—whether judicial, political, or constitutional—that I almost despair of extricating him. But I must try. As well as I can straighten out his remarks they amount to this (the figures refer to the columns of The Week, Mr. Armour's article being taken by itself):

(a) That "judicial functions do not belong to the Cabinet, and never have been exercised by it under the British Constitutional system, since the Court of Star Chamber passed out of existence" (10); (b) That "the Judicial Committee expressly declared that the appeal was a political and in no sense a judicial one" (10); (c) That "the Privy Council were particular to say that they left the Governor-General-in-Council and Parliament free to act as they thought best" (11); (d) That "the report to His Excellency which accompanied the remedial order claimed 'that it is a judicial utterance'" (13); (e) That "they were acting judicially and without responsibility" (10); (f) That "upon the presentation of the petition the late Premier, when the Council assembled, announced that the Ministers sat in a judicial capacity to discharge judicial functions, and deprecated public discussion of their action on the ground that the question had ceased to be a political, and had become a judicial one" (6); (g) That "the Ministers asserted again that in hearing the appeal they were acting judicially, and not in their political capacity" (8); (h) and further "that the question was not one of political significance, but a purely constitutional one" (8); (i) that "the secret truth of the whole matter is that the Government desire to remove from themselves the odium and responsibility of restoring Separate Schools" (13); (j) "a more desperate attempt to evade responsibility is not recorded" (9); (k) that "the action of the Government was purely political" (10); (l) that "the Government was unfit to act judicially because before the reference to the Supreme Court it had determined to act upon the petition" (6); (m) that "the Premier promised that if the first appeal was unsuccessful he would entertain favourably their appeal to the Governor-General" (6); (n) that "the late Minister of Justice himself dispatched his deputy to Manitoba to prepare the first case for argument before the Courts" (10).

11-17. Now, I do not believe that there is a single one of these fourteen statements that can be upheld even for a moment; and yet one half of them involves for refutation nothing more than reference to documents which Mr. Armour had at hand. I assert that that which Mr. Armour says the Judicial Committee declared (b and c), it did not declare; that that which Mr. Armour says the report His Excellency claimed (d and e), it did not claim; that that which Mr. Armour says the Premier deprecated (f), he did not deprecate; and that which Mr. Armour says the Minist-

ers asserted (g and h), they did not assert. Although he is more nearly right in these last two assertions than in the others, he is still far enough astray (see §§ 21, 22). Seven out of the fourteen statements are misrepresentations of official documents. The other seven statements require a few words each.

To the assertion (a) that "judicial functions do not belong to the Cabinet," it might be sufficient to oppose Mr. D'Alton McCarthy's statement that, "It is not denied that in the determination of this, as indeed of almost every question which comes before the Government for decision, the consideration of legal questions may be involved. The veto power involves the legal question of the constitutionality of every Provincial Act. The right to exempt vessels that have passed through the canals from tolls requires that the Cabinet should consider and determine the meaning of the Washington Treaty, which, as an international obligation, is a law overriding all municipal law. And so with almost every matter that comes up for determination by the Committee known as the Dominion Cabinet, or Council." (*Canadian Magazine*, March, 1893). I may, however, add the well-known cases of judicial functions exercised by the Railway Committee of the Cabinet, and the daily decisions under the Customs Act. Mr. Armour makes for himself most unnecessary difficulty by insisting that the Cabinet shall act either judicially, or "purely politically." (See post § 22). Many of its functions combine considerations both of law and justice upon the one hand, and of political expediency upon the other.

19-20. With reference to statements (i and j) that the Government desired to escape "odium and responsibility" and that "a more desperate attempt to escape responsibility is not recorded," Mr. Armour with all his bias must have known that he was exaggerating, if, indeed, he overlooked the fact that he was misrepresenting. I say so because Mr. Armour himself refers (9) to the present Premier's remark to Mr. McCarthy (to be quoted in a moment) in which he acknowledged responsibility. Mr. Armour says that this admission was made by the Premier "when he was hard pushed by Counsel for Manitoba," and that "the Premier went so far as to fling a challenge in studiously refined and classical language to Mr. McCarthy to 'go on the stump' and debate the question." Even if that were true the attempt to escape responsibility would be at once relieved of all its desperate character, and the incident would demand the use of a totally different adjective. But it is not true. Mr. McCarthy was arguing at great length that the Government was politically responsible, something which Sir John Thompson had long previously himself asserted. When Mr. McCarthy had finished reading a more than usually long extract from an authority, and everyone knew that time was being wasted by mere talk to the gallery, Sir Mackenzie Bowell interrupted and said: "Your object in reading that is to show that we should be responsible politically as an executive?" Mr. McCarthy answered: "Yes." And Sir Mackenzie replied: "We do not deny that." Mr. McCarthy added: "Then I need not take up further time"; but nevertheless he continued his argument, and told all about the judicial functions of the Star Chamber, and whacked away at his straw man just the same as before.

21. I cannot imagine why Mr. Armour says that the Premier "went so far as to fling a challenge, in studiously refined and classical language to Mr. McCarthy to 'go on the stump' and debate the question." Nothing of the kind was said in connection with the Premier's acceptance of responsibility, with which Mr. Armour associates it. At a subsequent part of the argument—48 pages further on—when reference had been made to the Orange Order, and to a certain speech of Mr. McCarthy, Sir Mackenzie Bowell said: "I would like to have been there to meet you" and Mr. McCarthy replied: "I am willing at any time to meet you on the stump or elsewhere." I am absolutely at a loss in endeavoring to imagine what Mr. Armour thinks can be gained by transferring Mr. McCarthy's language to Sir Mackenzie Bowell, and then sneering at it as "studiously refined and classical!"

I say that Sir John Thompson had long previously taken the same position as Sir Mackenzie Bowell, and that this attempt of the Government, desperate or pusillanimous, to escape responsibility exists now, probably, in the mind of Mr. Armour alone. As long ago as the sixth day of March, 1893, Mr. Tarte moved in the House of Commons the following resolution: "That all the words after 'That' in the main motion be erased, and the following substituted: 'That this House desires to express its disapproval of the action of the Government in dealing with the Manitoba School question, and in assuming to be possessed of the judicial functions conflicting with their duty as constitutional advisers of the Crown, which assumption is wholly unknown to law, and, if now acquiesced in, would be entirely subversive of the principle of Ministerial responsibility.'"

Sir John Thompson in speaking against the resolution said:—"But with regard to the questions which come up in the appeal the course of action has to be reversed; and while, as I admit, we are perfectly responsible for everything that we will do, we have to be guided, in some degree at least, by the judicial, rather than the political sense in ascertaining what the rights were of those who appeal, and how they should be dealt with, because those rights are entrusted to our safe keeping by the constitution." And again, in speaking of the resolution, he said:—"A motion which declares that we have assumed judicial functions, and that is entirely inconsistent with ministerial responsibilities. Sir, I do not hesitate to affirm as my belief and as true constitutional doctrine that for everything a Minister does he is responsible to Parliament as well as to the people." In closing he said: "Therefore on behalf of my colleagues and myself, I disclaim in the strongest manner any attempt to evade ministerial responsibility."

Is not this a most "desperate attempt" to evade responsibility? Let Mr. Armour withdraw a charge, made, I doubt not, in ignorance of Sir John Thompson's speech.

Mr. Armour says: "that the action of the Government was purely political." He several times asserts that the Government claimed to have been acting judicially. He should be more careful. The first word said by Government upon that point was in the Order-in-Council of the 29th December, 1892, in which it is stated that "that the inquiry will be rather of a judicial than a political character." Does Mr. Armour differ from the extract just made from Sir John Thompson's speech that the Government ought "to be guided, in some degree, at least, by the judicial rather than the political sense, in ascertaining what were the rights of those who appeal," etc. Is that a "purely political" enquiry?

In my argument at Ottawa I said:—"I should think that one could not either affirm positively that they are acting as a judicial or as a non-judicial body. I should think that in some senses they are judicial, and in other senses they are not. But I would say that they have to proceed in this matter in a judicial manner, and they have to bring to bear upon it a judicial spirit. There is a grievance here; there are complainants and there are defendants. We come before you as an appellate jurisdiction, with our grievance in the shape of a complaint by a complainant complaining against a respondent. I think, therefore, that you should proceed in this matter in a judicial spirit to investigate the complaint upon the basis of justice, and fairness, and reasonableness of demand; and to decide upon the line of duty, not upon the line of mere political expediency as to what you should do under the circumstances." Is that right; or is this? (taken from the same debate):

"Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper—Would you go so far as to say that the main consideration in a matter of this kind should be the political effect of our action, and not the actual merits and rights of it?"

"Mr. McCarthy—That is undoubtedly my position."

That is pure political action. It may be good doctrine, but it has a somewhat revolting aspect.

23. Mr. Armour has a better chance with his statement (l) that the Government was unfit to act judicially, because before the reference to the Supreme Court it "determined to act upon the

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The editor will always gladly receive (1) ARTICLES on Catholic matters, matters of general or local importance, even political if not of a party character. (2) LETTERS on similar subjects, whether conveying or asking information or controversial. (3) NEWS NOTES, especially such as are of a Catholic character, from every district in North Western Ontario, Manitoba, the Territories and British Columbia. (4) NOTES of the proceedings of every Catholic Society throughout the city or country. Such notes will prove of much benefit to the society themselves by making their work known to the public.

The Northwest Review

WEDNESDAY, JULY 31.

EDITORIAL COMMENT.

Mr. Ewart, as may be seen in another page, pulverizes Mr. Armour and blows the dust of his blunders into interstellar space. The crushing strokes of the hammer are so rapid that one needs to watch them closely in order to realize their force. Mr. Ewart's conciseness verges on laconism. Every word must be weighed. Even his humor is intensely laconic. More than one reader will not fully enjoy the introductory joke about the peas till he has read it over a second time.

On the 17th of July, Mr. A. A. C. LaRiviere, the distinguished member for Provencher, made a very telling speech on the School Question in the House of Commons. He reviewed the history of education in the Red River country, quoted from Dr. Bryce (before 1890) and Mr. J. B. Somerset (before 1893) valuable testimony to the perfect religious equality and harmony in Manitoba until Mr. D'Alton McCarthy flung his bone of contention into the political dog-pit; he then related his own experience as Superintendent of Education for three years, gave interesting quotations from the Rev. Dr. Robertson, the now anti-Catholic Dr. Bryce, the Rev. Dr. King, the brave Mr. Farquharson, Presbyterian minister of Pilot Mound, the Bishop of Rupert's Land, and above all from the "head and front of all this offending," Mr. Joseph Martin. Mr. LaRiviere also furnished new statistics on the percentage of children enrolled to the total school population, on the percentage of the average attendance to the number of enrolled children, and on the attendance in the public schools since 1890. From this last table it appears that under the present much-lauded system the majority of school children entered on the registers do not attend school as much as one hundred days in each year.

Mr. LaRiviere's speech is replete with humor. He quotes an Indian chief as expressing his sympathy for the provincial government in this way: "Catholics wanted devotion in schools, Protestants did not want devotion and were willing to turn religion out of their schools if Catholics would do the same. The government was sick on the matter, great chief Laurier was sick, great chief Greenway was sick, great newspaper man at Winnipeg was crazy and roars like a drunken Indian—everybody was

sick, and Indians desire to express sympathy and to suggest that education same as Indian education is best."

Mr. Chas. Popham, a zealous Orangeman, writes from Selkirk to the Nor'Wester, protesting against the speeches made and resolutions fraudulently wrung from the Fort Garry Park meeting of July 12th. No opportunity, he says, was given to anyone to vote or speak on the other side. Had such opportunity been given, Major Mulvey knew that the noisy Grits who ran the meeting would have been promptly voted down. Mr. Popham deplores the Major's sad disloyalty to Sir Mackenzie Bowell. He concludes thus: "Now, before finishing, I would like a few words about the mover of the first resolution, [Leyden] a man whom I am ashamed to have to title as reverend, as I do not think he is a proper man to preach the Gospel of Christ. It was simply disgusting to look at him with the slobbers foaming out of his mouth and his face contorted with a diabolical expression of rabies, while trying to speak to a respectable assembly of Loyal Orange Canadians." Nothing we ever said of the unspeakable Leyden can equal this lurid picture.

THOSE PROVINCIAL RIGHTS.

The Tribune says: "Although not stated in so many words, the impression conveyed by Mr. Laurier's declaration on the school question in parliament on Monday is that, if called upon to deal with this vexed question, he will stand upon the broad principle of provincial rights, and decline to interfere with this province."

We should be very sorry, indeed, to condemn any public man on the statements of the Winnipeg Tribune; neither are we in a position to know what Mr. Laurier would do were he called upon to deal with "this vexed question." Mr. Laurier has not confided his intentions on this question to the public, so far as we know, but if he "stands upon the broad principle of provincial rights" he will not "decline to interfere with this province." To do so would not be to "stand upon the broad principle of provincial rights" but to admit the disintegrating principle of provincial wrongs. It might be a very easy way out of a difficulty, to call wrongs "rights," and then "to stand upon them; but we greatly fear that Mr. Laurier, or any other politician, who attempts to stand upon such a platform, will find it a very shaky fabric. It requires a law-breaker's contempt for the highest judicial authority in the empire, after its decision in this case, to call "standing upon provincial right" the action of the provincial government in refusing to remedy a wrong. But, then, the Tribune recognizes no right but that of might and numbers.

A COMPLETE ANSWER.

We have before us the report of the senate debates of the 25th and 27th of June and the 2nd of July containing three speeches on the various phases of the Manitoba School question, by the Hon. Senator Bernier. His speeches on any public question are sure to be both instructive and entertaining; but when he speaks on the school question and undertakes to reply to the many objections raised against the cause of the Catholic minority, his answer is so complete, his method so concise, and his proof so unanswerable as to carry conviction into every unbiassed mind. It would be an impossibility, with the limited space at our command, to give even a faint impression of the merit of these speeches. Any of the three speeches would more than fill the columns of our modest little Review, and to give a synopsis of them would take all the interest out of them. After all that has been said by our representatives in both the Senate and the House of Commons, as well as in our own Legislature, the amount of ignorance that still exists in the public mind on this question, is amazing. Much of this ignorance is due to the dishonesty of most of the organs of public opinion, which, we are sorry to say, care more for their own interests and the interests of their political party, than for

that breadth of statesmanship which the school question's importance demands. And what we say of the attitude of a large and influential section of the public press may be said of the provincial leaders of the non-Catholic people both in the religious and the political sphere. These leaders are actuated by narrow and selfish motives, and are responsible for much of the trouble caused by the present agitation. They act from dishonest, and very often malicious motives, while the great mass of the people, who look up to them for enlightenment, act through ignorance. If the people knew the real facts of the case we are convinced that they would refuse to follow such leaders.

We should like to see these three speeches of the Hon. Senator Bernier published in pamphlet form and a copy placed in the hands of every Canadian. Whoever reads them will find a full, concise and truthful statement, giving an answer to every one of the many objections made against our cause in Manitoba.

Mr. Clifford Sifton, the pious and sanctimonious attorney-general of Manitoba, who made fruitless speeches to the electors of Haldimand, containing many slanders against our old school system, comes in for a good deal of the Hon. Senator's attention, and, we venture to say, if that flippant young gentleman has one particle of shame left in his make-up of religion, politics and slander, he will find cause to exercise it, should he read Senator Bernier's able estimate of his tactics. With such champions as Senator Bernier in the Senate, Mr. LaRiviere in the House of Commons, the Hon. Mr. Prendergast in our own local Legislature, and Mr. Ewart everywhere, there is very little to fear from the slanders of such men as Sifton, so far as the members of these Houses and men with legal minds are concerned; but the great difficulty is that these public speeches do not reach the people, who need instruction, while the slanders of Sifton are published in full by such papers as the Globe, for the high and lofty motive of injuring political opponents, who are engaged in the attempt to settle this vexed question on the lines of the Constitution. It made no difference to the Globe that, in publishing Sifton's vile slanders, it was injuring and insulting the Catholics of Manitoba as well as rendering more difficult the just and fair settlement of this constitutional question. Oh! no. It was of infinitely more importance to the Globe to score a point against a political opponent, than to treat a slandered minority with justice, or help to restore to them their constitutional status. That is our great reason for wishing to see copies of the masterly speeches of Senator Bernier in the hands of all fair-minded men whose views on this question are based on the misleading wicked, and slanderous statements of such men as Sifton.

Monica Barrett.

Mary Monica Barrett was born on the vigil of All Saints' Day, 1887 and was baptized in St. Mary's church, Winnipeg, on the Feast itself. She was ever a bright, beautiful and most interesting child. Though deaf and dumb, she was the life of her home with her sweet winning ways. By the charm of her heretofore presence she imposed on her parents and all her many brothers and sisters the use of that sign language which she had invented herself. Whenever a new visitor called at her father's house, she would invent some characteristic sign to designate him or her, and that sign was sometimes a peculiarity which other people would hardly notice. As she had never attended any public instructions for deaf-mutes, her graceful gestures were almost all the spontaneous outgrowth of nature. Nothing could be prettier and more edifying than to see the dear little child go through the Lord's Prayer in pantomime. In looking at her eloquent eyes and speaking expression of face and figure, one was reminded of Father Ryan's thought, that

When all the senses are awake,
The mortal presses overmuch
Upon the great immortal part,
And God seems further from the heart;
But, let the silence of the outer world
Encompass the soul, and
Strange reveries steal o'er us then,
Like keyless chords of instruments,
With music's soul without the notes;

And subtle, sad and sweet there floats
A melody not made by men,
Nor ever heard by outer sense.

And, in fact, Monica's realization of the unseen was so wonderful as to astonish even those of her own household, who thought they knew her well. As soon as it was known last spring that she could not recover, although she was only a little above seven years of age, her pious parents longed to prepare her for her First Communion before she should be called away. But how give to a deaf and dumb child an idea of the stupendous mystery of the Real Presence? However, father and mother both set to work trying to do so by signs and similitudes. They were rewarded for their efforts far sooner than they had dreamed. Poor little suffering Monica, on her bed of pain, quickly guessed what they were driving at. She called for an illustrated Bible history, and immediately in her marvellously graphic way, by pointing to scenes in our Lord's life, to the picture of the Last Supper, to the altar (for there is a private chapel in the house), and to the altar-breads, and by going through all the motions of a person receiving Holy Communion with fervor, she showed that she understood perfectly the great grace that was coming to her. So she was allowed to receive her Lord for the first time on the vigil of the Feast of the Ascension. The Holy Ghost had brought to maturity the virtues of faith and charity infused into her silent soul in baptism.

Some time ago, she was moved to Coney Island, Rat Portage, in hopes that a change of air would alleviate her sufferings. For a few days to improve her arrival there she seemed to improve, but the change was transient; dropsy set in and for the last fortnight her agony was intense. Throughout it all shone her angelic patience and endurance. After groaning softly for hours, as soon as she would get a little relief, the sweet smile would return to her wan face and she would fondly caress her mother and tell her not to cry. About ten days ago Rev. Father Beaudin, O. M. I. of Rat Portage, brought her the Holy Viaticum, which she received with such tender and lively faith as to edify the good father, who also anointed her.

Sweet little Monica breathed her last at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of St. Ann's Day, July 26th. She was buried the following day in the Catholic graveyard of Rat Portage, on the shore of that Lake of the Woods she loved so well. We extend our sincerest condolence to Dr. and Mrs. Barrett and their bereaved family. We trust their little one has already had her ears opened to songs divine and eternal. The real loss is for us who can see the dear child no more till we meet her in heaven.

R. I. P.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Mr. A. F. Martin's Authorities.

To the Editor of the NORTHWEST REVIEW.

SIR,—Ever since I stated on the floor of the House, that I was in possession of testimonies regarding the education of girls in some godless schools in the States, that were not fit to read in public, I have been besieged by our common friends the A. P. A.'s of the United States who are modest enough to demand in the name of Americans, if you please, that I should withdraw my statements, and apologise, or furnish my authorities. Some of them, however, have written courteously, but the telegrams and most of the numerous letters I have received from that quarter, are impertinent.

I have answered some members of the sect and furnished them with the information they were seeking, although I fail to understand their presumptive right to make any demand upon me.

As I notice that they now deny the existence of the documents from which I quoted; and as every one of these beloved brethren seems anxious that I should write to him personally, I would ask you to be kind enough to permit me the use of your columns to supply these amiable gentlemen with all the necessary information I have in my possession regarding the remarks I made in the discussion of the school question, and thereby relieve their anxiety.

I may state at once that the following documents were published in 1877 in the "Free Press" of this city, by His Grace the late Archbishop Tache; and I am not aware that they were ever contradicted or refuted in any way.

The testimony I was referring to, as unfit to be read in public, is an extract from the "Boston Daily Herald" of Oct. 20, 1871, and reads as follows: "Year after year, the chief of police publishes 'his statistics of prostitution in this city, but how few of the citizens bestow 'more than a passing thought upon the 'misery they represent! Although these 'figures are large enough to make every 'lover of humanity hang his head with 'feelings of sorrow and shame at the 'picture, we are assured that they represent 'sent but a little, as it were, of the 'actual licentiousness that prevails 'among all classes of society.

"Within a few months, a gentleman ('Prof. Agassiz), whose scientific attainment has made his name a household 'word in all lands, has personally investigated the subject, and the result has 'filled him with dismay; when he sees 'the depths of degradation to which men 'and women have fallen, he has almost 'lost faith in the boasted civilization of 'the nineteenth century.

"In the course of his inquiries, he has 'visited both the well known 'houses of 'pleasure' and the 'private establishments' scattered all over the city. He 'states that he has a list of both, with 'the street and number, the number of

"inmates, and many other facts that 'would perfectly astonish the people if 'made public. He freely conversed with 'the inmates, and the life histories that 'were revealed were sad indeed. To his 'utter surprise, a large proportion of the 'soiled doves' traced their fall to influences that met them in the public 'schools; and although Boston is justly 'proud of its schools, it would seem, from 'his story, that they need a thorough 'purification. In too many of them, the 'most obscene and soul-polluting books 'and pictures circulate among both 'sexes. The very secrecy with which it 'is done throws an almost irresistible 'charm about it; and to such an extent 'has the evil gone, that we fear a large 'proportion of both boys and girls possess some of the articles, which they 'kindly (?) lend to each other. The 'natural result follows, and frequently 'the most debasing and revolting practices are indulged in. And the evil is 'not confined alone to Boston; other 'cities suffer in the same way.

"It is but a few years since the second 'city in the commonwealth was stirred 'almost to its foundations by the discovery of an association of boys and 'girls who were wont to indulge their 'passions in one of the school houses of 'the city; and not long ago, another 'somewhat similar affair was discovered by the authorities, but hushed 'up for fear of depopulating the 'schools."

At page 194 in "Satan in Society" we read the following: "The evils and 'dangers of the present system of education, and bringing up the boys and 'girls of our country, are too obvious 'to require minute description. Irreligion and infidelity are progressing 'pari passu with the advance guards 'of immorality and crime, and all are 'fostered, if not engendered, by 'THE MATERIALISTIC SYSTEM OF SCHOOL 'INSTRUCTION, and the consequent 'wretched training at home and on the 'playground."

"The entire absence of all religious 'instruction from the school room is 'fast bearing fruit in a generation of 'infidels, and we are becoming worse 'even than the pagans of old, who had 'at least their positive sciences of philosophy, and their religion, such as it 'was, to oppose which was a criminal 'offense.

"But we have not only the removal of the salutary restraints of religion 'influence from our popular system of 'education: we have the proscription 'intermingling of the sexes in our public schools, which, however much we 'may theorize to the contrary, is, to 'say the least, subversive of the modest 'reserve and shyness which in all ages 'have proved the true aegis of virtue. 'We are bound to accept human nature 'as it is, and not as we would wish it 'to be, and both Christian and Pagan 'philosophy agree in detecting therein 'certain very dangerous elements. . . . 'Nourished by languishing glances 'during the hours passed in the school 'room, fanned by more intimate association on the journey to and from 'school, fed by stolen interviews and 'openly arranged festivities,—picnics, 'excursions, parties and the like—stimulated by the prurient gossip of the 'newspaper, the flash novels, sentimental weeklies and magazines, the gallant of twelve years is the libertine of 'fourteen. That this picture is not 'overdrawn, every experienced physician will bear witness. And as for 'the public school girls, they return 'from their 'polishing schools'—these 'damoselles—cursed with a superficial 'smattering of everything but what 'they ought to have learned—physical 'and moral wrecks, whom we, physicians, are expected to 'wind up' in 'the morning for the husband hunting 'excitements of the evening. And these 'creatures are intended for wives? But 'wives only, for it is fast going out of 'fashion to intend them for 'mothers'—an 'accident' of the kind being regarded as 'foolish!'

"We assert, then, that the present 'system of education, by its faults of 'omission and commission, is directly 'responsible, not it is true, for the bare 'existence, but for the enormous prevalence of vices and crimes which we 'deplore; and we call upon the civil 'authorities to so modify the obnoxious 'arrangements of our schools, and upon 'parents and guardians to so instruct 'and govern their charges, that the 'evils be suppressed, if not extinguished."

Mr. W. H. Storey, in his paper the Chicago "Times," writes as follows: "The Public School System in Chicago has become so corrupt, that any 'school-boy attending, who has reached 'fourteen years of age, is whistled at 'by his companions as a 'spooney,' if 'he has not a 'liaison' with some one or 'more of the public school girls."

The Daily "Sentinel" of Indianapolis, after publishing Mr. Storey's articles added that: "It was only too true of 'Indianapolis, also, judging by the 'wanton manners of troops of girls 'attending public schools in Indiana-'polis."

Let me state, Sir, that when the A. P. A.'s will have made the Boston Herald and others retract and apologize for the above statements, it will be time for me to follow suit.

In my next letter, I propose to give my authorities for the statement that public schools in the United States were created in view of sapping Christianity;—and, if you will permit me, I will also furnish some quotations from Protestant clergymen who condemn the absence of religious exercises in the public schools of the States.

A. F. MARTIN.
Winnipeg, July 31, 1895.

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Continued from page 1. opinion"; but only because, from the nature of the assertion, it escapes absolute proof to the contrary. If one is to credit a hundredth part of what was almost universally believed there would seem to have been anything but a pre-conceived plan in the course adopted by the Government. Difference of opinion seems to have existed till the last moment, and not yet to be altogether harmonized. Nous verrons.

24. To the further assertion, however, (m) that the late "Premier promised that if the first appeal was unsuccessful he would entertain favourably their appeal to the Governor-General," I am in a position to give flat denial. When is it said: was the promise made? and to whom?

25. Nor is it true that (n) "the late Minister of Justice himself despatched his deputy to Manitoba to prepare the first case for argument before the Court." I prepared the case myself, and neither the Minister, nor his deputy, even saw it, or any part of it, until after it had been argued.

So much for these fourteen statements about "judicial capacity."

26. Mr. Armour scoffs at the assertion "that the rights in question were substantially guaranteed" by the Manitoba Act. That, technically, they were not guaranteed, must be admitted. But there is no doubt that Parliament in framing a constitution for Manitoba intended to guarantee Separate Schools to the future minority whether Protestant or Roman Catholic; and that the Protestant majority in Manitoba has taken advantage of a slip in the wording of the Act to do that which no one intended it should have power to do. If Roman Catholics did the like the Equal Rights Association would kick up a veritable mountain-volcano rather over its grave. Mr. Armour himself admits that "it was supposed that the italicized words would save the right or privilege of keeping up separate or denominational schools" (3); and again: "The Constitution of Manitoba did not guarantee Separate Schools. It was supposed to do so" (12); and once more: "The Constitution of Manitoba was supposed to have established Separate Schools perpetually in Manitoba" (20).

In one sense, no doubt, the guarantee was very unsubstantial. It was only substantial if people were willing to act honestly by one another, and not to take advantage of slips in draughting to do that which they ought not to do. But when those people, not having acted honestly, are brought before our appellate tribunal is it for them to say that the bond was badly drawn, and therefore they should do as they like—that there was not, substantially, any guarantee? In form there was no guarantee. In substance, and to honest men, there was. Mr. Armour knows what use there would be in such a defence, as he here sets up in a court of law. Hence perhaps his efforts to get it into the field of politics, where he suggests that the actors "give out their thinking as they give out their washing; but do not get it back as clean." If politicians have that character they are undoubtedly the men to whom Mr. Armour should appeal with his badly-drawn-bond theory.

27. To return from bad law and bad ethics to misrepresentations of documents, Mr. Armour says:—"Their Lordships did not specially answer the questions seriatim, nor were they bound to do so." Mr. Armour has certainly never read the order of the Judicial Committee, but has seen, probably, merely extracts from it, or possibly only heard rumours of what it contains. Their Lordships did "specially answer the questions seriatim"; and I find it difficult to understand how any one can pretend to discuss the questions at issue who not only has not seen the answers, but does not know of their existence.

But I am utterly tired of this style of controversy. When I took up my pen my purpose was to answer some of Mr. Armour's arguments, and merely as preliminary work to correct his errors. As I proceed I find that there is nothing but error; and that the arguments disappear as the facts are made known. I do not stay because I have exhausted the mistakes. On the contrary the list might be almost indefinitely continued. But I sicken, and must cease. The enumeration of errors is left at 27, or, allowing for some few which may be thought to involve possible difference of opinion, at, say, 20!

In closing let me ask Mr. Armour to offer some suggestion as to the motive which the Government could possibly have in all the duplicity and evasion with which he charges it. Some people say that it is to catch votes, and to please the hierarchy so that they may get the votes. Not so Mr. Armour. In his opinion the Government is going to its death and every one can see that. He says: "Can any one doubt that an appeal to the country to support

the Separate School System would result in a decided negative? The whole feeling of Canada may, therefore, be said to be against them." etc. And Mr. Armour adds that "as a mere matter of policy one would have supposed that the contrary course would have been pursued." And Mr. Armour is quite right. "As a mere matter of policy," for the elections, I agree that there can be little doubt that the Government has gone wrong; but will not this fact help Mr. Armour to see that politicians do not "always" "give out their thinking as they give out their washing"; that to some politicians the main consideration in a matter of this kind should "not" be "the political effect," but should be "the actual merits and rights of it"; and that honesty and fair play may possibly influence some politicians more than votes. If the Government do go to its death on this question it will fall in a noble cause, in the defence of those rights which the best of Canada's statesmen have ever upheld, and of that indubitable truth that "Canada's true national greatness can never be attained by force, nor by coercion of large and important minorities, but by a spirit of fairness and sympathy—"a sympathy which when it attains the ideal shall mould all the nationalities and religions of the world into one all-embracing association of love."

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