

THE NORTHWESTER'S TIMELY REVIEW

Of Mr. Fisher's 1890 pamphlet on the school case.

Some time ago we reproduced some quotations from Mr. Fisher's pamphlet of 1890 containing views he then expressed as to the conditions requisite for the maintenance of a practical national system of schools that would at the same time afford a reasonable solution of the present difficulty. In that pamphlet there are many facts stated and many thoughts suggested which are of particular interest at this time.

It must be understood that Mr. Fisher from the commencement of the controversy has declared himself as wholly in favor of a national school system, and as approving the school law of 1890 itself as against any separate or denominational system. But his knowledge of the history of the question in other provinces, as well as of the provisions of the constitution affecting it, forced him at the very outset of the discussion to realize that the proposal made by the Greenway government to abolish separate schools would inevitably involve us in difficulties and lead to complications little thought of by its promoters.

After observing that there was no agitation in the province for a change in the law, up to the time that the policy of the government was announced in 1889, Mr. Fisher acknowledged that at the same time "it was apparent that the movement to establish national schools met with a very cordial response in the province," and after referring to objections that were found to the old law, he said: "And yet, though you and I should concede most fully (as I do for my part) our very decided preference for a purely national, or as against a purely denominational, or a mixed national and denominational system of education, there may be room to doubt the wisdom of the legislature in the attempt to abolish separate schools—if, in the first place, there is any higher law or right restraining our power to legislate finally in that direction; or if, in the next place, there are circumstances in the present position of the province making the exercise of that power unreasonable."

Mr. Fisher proceeded to point out what constituted the

OBJECTIONS TO THE NEW LAW.

He quoted in the first place the clause in the Union act placing it beyond the power of the provincial legislature to pass a law prejudicially affecting rights with respect to denominational schools established "by law" at the union. He drew attention to the New Brunswick case, where it was admitted on all sides, and formally decided by the privy council, that the provisions of the constitution did not apply to that province because there were in it no denominational schools established "by law" at the union. He pointed out the manner in which the corresponding clause in the Manitoba act was made wider so as to meet this very objection by extending the constitutional schools existing at the union, whether "established by law," or "enjoyed by practice."

UPON THE QUESTION OF THE INTENTION OF PARLIAMENT

in adding to the Manitoba act the two words "or practice" not found in the Confederation act, Mr. Fisher remarked: "Manifestly these words were introduced into our act for some purpose. Manifestly, to the purpose of the clause as a whole was to limit the power of the legislature to legislate on the question of education, in regard to all events to denominational schools. The clause expressly declares this."

"Parliament in passing it had clearly in view that there might be denominational schools in Manitoba at the time of the union, and that certain classes of persons might have been at that time 'by practice' if not 'by law,' in the enjoyment of some right or privilege with respect to them. And in view of such possibility, parliament proceeded to provide that the legislature of Manitoba should have no power to pass any law that would prejudicially affect such rights or privileges. Parliament had some years before passed the sub-clause of the Confederation act already quoted, and there is no doubt at all as to what its purpose was in so doing. It was done with the avowed object of perpetuating separate schools for the Catholic minority in Ontario, and for the Protestant minority in Quebec. Is it necessary to argue that parliament must have had a like object in putting every word of the limiting clause in the constitution of Manitoba? Surely that is too evident to require argument. Once more let me recall the fact that the clause without modification would not be applicable to Manitoba, because of the non-existence of denominational schools established by law. Let us keep before us also the further truth that there were in fact denominational schools in the province, though not recognized by law. Is it not perfectly plain that the object of the modified clause introducing the words "or practice" was to make sure that the local legislature should not have the power to interfere with the privileges of those who might enjoy such schools?"

While, however, it was plainly manifest that the intention of parliament by the first subsection of section 22 of the Manitoba act was to

PROTECT THE DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS

as they existed at the union, just as those of the minority in Ontario and Quebec were protected, Mr. Fisher did not deny that the clause itself was so worded as to leave it in great doubt whether it had the effect intended. On the contrary, he practically anticipated the judgment rendered by the privy council two years later in the Barrett case, holding that the act of 1890 was within the power of the legislature. On this point Mr. Fisher said:

"Now it sometimes happens that an act of parliament does not have the effect that was intended by the body that enacted it. It is possible that this may turn out to be a case in point. I think it would not surprise us if it should be held that this clause does not restrict the power of the legislature to abolish, at all events the denominational schools that were established by itself under the late system. Indeed, if I mistake not, the current of legal opinion in the province is in that direction and that view seems most reasonable. . . . The truth is that here, as in the case of many other questions of constitutional law, it is not safe to affirm any positive opinion until it has been judicially decided upon by the court of ultimate resort."

In other words while parliament evidently intended to prohibit the legislature from creating a system that did not recognize denominational schools the language used was not such as clearly and beyond doubt to have that effect. In this connection it is interesting to quote from the recent judgment of the Privy Council on the appeal case the words in which reference is made to the judgment of 1892 in the Barrett case. The following is the language of the judgment:

"In Barrett's case the sole question raised was whether the Public Schools act of 1890 prejudicially affected any right or privilege which the Roman Catholics by law or practice had in the province at the union."

"It was not doubted that the object of the 1st sub-section of section 22 was to afford protection to denominational schools, or that it was proper to have regard to the intent of the legislature and the surrounding circumstances in interpreting the enactment. But the question which had to be determined was the true construction of the language used. It is true that the construction put by this board upon the 1st sub-section reduced within very narrow limits the protection afforded by that sub-section in respect to denominational schools. It may be that those who were acting on behalf of the Roman Catholic community in Manitoba and those who either framed or assented to the wording of that enactment, were under the impression that its scope was wider, and that it afforded protection greater than their lordships held to be the case. But such considerations cannot properly influence the judgment of those who have judicially to interpret a statute. The question is, not what may be supposed to have been intended, but what has been said."

Granting that the constitutionality of the act might by possibility be sustained, as Mr. Fisher has said, he held that we were still only at the

THRESHOLD OF THE DIFFICULTY.

There remained the second sub-clause of section 22, providing for an appeal by the minority of the federal powers against a provincial law affecting their rights and privileges, even if those rights and privileges did not exist at the union at all, but were acquired afterwards, and even if that law were in itself quite constitutional and within the powers of the Manitoba legislature to pass. Upon this question we quote Mr. Fisher's words: "Assuming, however, that the strictly constitutional question is decided in favor of the province, I see another and a greater difficulty before us. There is a further clause in the act of confederation, reenacted with some modifications in the Manitoba act, which affects the question very seriously. The third sub-clause of the same 93rd section of the Confederation act is in these words:

"Where in any province, a system of separate or dissentient schools exists by law at the union, or is thereafter established by the legislature of the province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General-in-Council from any act or decision of any provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority in relation to education."

"By the terms of this clause it will be seen that there are two cases in which an appeal will lie to the Governor-General-in-Council. First: Where in any province separate schools existed by law at the union. Second: Where such a system was established after the union by the provincial legislature."

Now the framers of the Manitoba act must have seen, and parliament must certainly have seen, that this clause could not apply to Manitoba. The first condition could not apply at all, the union was not even a province till a province having separate schools could not apply unless and until the legislature should establish such a system which it might never do. If the clause as it stood for Manitoba, it would be determined, therefore, as it would appear, to modify it so as to ensure a right of appeal to the minority here, striking out the two conditions entirely plain and simple language:

"An appeal shall lie to the Governor-General-in-Council from any act or decision of the legislature of any province, or of any provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education."

Mr. Fisher says:

"Once more we must give the amended legislation a meaning, and who can doubt that it was intended, and that it has the effect, to give to the Catholic minority in Manitoba an absolute right of appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council against any legislation affecting their rights in relation to education. And who will say that our new law does not affect the privileges claimed by Catholics? Parliament seemed bound to make sure, in the case of Manitoba, that there should be an appeal against provincial legislation, and so the clause was made to provide expressly for such an appeal."

"Granting once more that there is a possibility of a decision that sub-clause one, even if modified in the Manitoba act, does not restrain us altogether from legislating in the direction of abolishing separate schools and creating a system that does not permit of their existence, is there any doubt that under sub-clause three the Roman Catholics have a clear right of appeal from our new law?"

It is instructive to notice how their lordships of the Privy Council dealt with the same question in January 1895. We quote again from the judgment:

"It was argued that the omission from the 2nd sub-section of section thirty-two of the Manitoba act of any reference to a system of separate or dissentient schools, 'thereafter established by the legislature of the province' was unfavorable to the contention of the appellants. If the words with which the third sub-section of section ninety-three commences had been found in sub-section two of section twenty-two of the Manitoba act, the omission would not have been important. But the reason for the difference between the sub-sections is manifest. At the time the Dominion act was passed a system of denominational schools adapted to the demands of the minority existed in some provinces, in others it might thereafter be established by legislation, whilst in Manitoba in 1870 no such system was in operation, and by it could only come into existence 'by practice' thereafter established." The words which preface the right of appeal in the act creating the Dominion, would therefore have been quite inappropriate in the act by which Manitoba became a province of the Dominion. But the terms of the critical sub-section of that act are, as has been shown, quite general, and not made subject to any condition of limitation."

Touching this right of appeal, and as to the powers and duties of the Dominion government and parliament in the matter, Mr. Fisher's opinion, written before such an appeal came up, is at this time worthy of reproduction:

"Let us first understand clearly what this right of appeal means. It must not be confounded with the power of disallowance, which is simply a prerogative right that enables the Governor-General on the advice of his council, to veto legislation that the Dominion executive have no authority to after or modify in the slightest degree. An appeal under this clause, on the other hand, gives the Dominion government complete authority to deal with the question, as one within its own jurisdiction, and it may decide that the law passed by our legislature must be changed or modified in accordance with its own views. In other words the opinions of the Dominion government are to prevail, in this particular case, over those of the legislature of Manitoba. And in order to give the federal executive an effective means of carrying out its views, it is provided in the next sub-clause that if the legislature of Manitoba shall fail to make the law conform to what is demanded by the Ottawa government then the parliament of Canada shall have the right to pass remedial legislation that will have that effect."

"The result is that our power to legislate in the direction of abolishing separate schools, if we have it at all under sub-clause one, is

NOT FINAL,

but is subject to be decided in the end by the parliament of Ottawa. Remember that we cannot under our constitution object to that parliament dealing with the question. Let no one be carried away with the thought that we can fight the Dominion authorities in this case as we did with the disallowance matter. There we were fighting for our rights and for the maintenance of the constitution. The power of Manitoba to charter the Red River Valley railroad was subject to no appeal to any higher authority that might change or modify the charter. In the case of the education act, however, our jurisdiction over the question is limited from the outset and has gone for the time, entirely, the moment an appeal is entered. Under the appeal the Dominion government first, and then the Dominion parliament in a certain event, has the absolute right to deal with the question. In such a case the parliament at Ottawa has the same right to pass remedial laws to give effect to the opinions of the federal executive as it has to pass laws relating to the customs tariff or the department of Dominion lands. And the reversal by the Federal government and parliament of any part of our new act, affecting the right thus protected, would not be an interference with provincial rights, but the exercise of a power expressly conferred upon them by the constitution and the exercise of which they have no right to refuse."

In no part of this pamphlet of forty-five pages is Mr. Fisher's language, uttered in 1890, more strikingly pertinent to the present situation than in the

PROPHETIC WORDS

with which he closes his statement of the constitutional difficulties raised by the act of that year. After referring to the New Brunswick case and to the union of all parties in the commons on two different occasions in an effort to press that province to grant separate schools to the Roman Catholics, and

after referring to the fact that amongst others Mr. Thomas Greenway, then a member of the commons, joined with the majority in that effort, he proceeded as follows:

"When we find the government and parliament of the Dominion in 1872 and 1875 taking such a strong stand in a matter beyond their right, and without solicitation, is it likely they will fail to be equally decided in a case like ours, which they are bound to hear and decide by way of an appeal expressly provided by statute, and where we have for nearly twenty years by our own law provided denominational schools for Catholics?"

"I very much fear for my part that this great question, instead of being happily settled, as many of you perhaps may have imagined, is only beginning to be opened up. We shall have, in the first place a struggle in the courts which will doubtless be appealed from one tribunal to another until a decision is reached at the hands of the privy council, and then we shall, if the case is decided in favor of the province, have this appeal under sub-clause 3 to the Dominion government probably, then to the Dominion parliament. From either of these bodies I see nothing to expect on our part but a decision adverse to the spirit of our recent legislation. I see no reason to doubt that the majority of the commons will still vote as our own Mr. Greenway did in 1875. And by legislation of the Dominion parliament we shall in that event and to that extent, be absolutely bound. In other words, we have not the power, I repeat, to legislate finally on this question, and our legislation is liable and likely to be reversed by an appellate power. And you and I without abating one jot our preference for, and support of, a purely national system of schools, and while approving the new law, if passed under other conditions, may well doubt the wisdom, to say no more, of passing legislation that is likely to lead to the partition and factions in Dominion politics, with the almost certain result of having our opinions reversed at Ottawa."

In striking contrast with this fair and truthful statement of the case as regards the appeal to Ottawa, and with this remarkably accurate forecast of the existing situation which was thus presented at the very beginning of the discussion, was the language of Mr. Attorney-General Sifton in his

ABSURD BUT CONFIDENT

declaration that the decision in the Barrett case forever set the question at rest. To Mr. Sifton's mind the proceedings in appeal were nothing more than a vain attempt to reverse the decision in the Barrett case. Perhaps he has had new light on the question since then. Possibly, indeed, he may have forgotten that in November, 1892, after the appeal was entered he allowed himself to be reported in an interview as thus expressing himself:

"It is said," remarked the attorney-general, "that the Dominion government assumes the power to act as some kind of a court of appeal in this matter, and to receive petitions and to hear arguments." And presently he added, "We deny the right of the Dominion government to interfere in this matter in any way whatever. On no ground of principle can such interference be justified. Further, the Dominion government has no legal power to take such action. By the constitution the power lies wholly within the jurisdiction of the provincial government. The privy council dealt with that very point. To appeal from the privy council to the Ottawa ministry would be the height of absurdity."

In the foregoing digest of Mr. Fisher's opinions upon the school case, and the proper schools for arriving at a conclusion satisfactory to all parties, as arrived at by a Manitoba liberal, we have not exhausted the subject. There is another feature, upon which Mr. Fisher has not touched, and which is admirably presented by

LOUIS P. KRIBS,

a well known journalist, who has lately issued a pamphlet upon the school question. Mr. Kribbs is a Protestant and an Orangeman, having no sympathy with the separate school system. His prepossessions being of this nature, he determined to study the facts minutely and impartially in order to understand the true merits of the case. He tells us the result in the preface. He says: "I will not deny that, as a Protestant and an Orangeman, having no sympathy with separate schools as schools, though desirous of allowing my fellow subjects of the Roman Catholic faith every possible liberty of conscience and latitude of action, my desire may have to some extent influenced my views as above expressed."

"But the inexorable facts, as ascertained by careful study, force me to the opposite conclusion—to the conclusion that indubitably the Roman Catholic minority in Manitoba have in regard to separate schools rights under the law, guaranteed by the constitution and pledged by the nation—lead to the belief that there might be many others similarly circumstanced as I was, and equally desirous of knowing the truth and abiding by it."

"For I venture to submit, with certain confidence, that the national honor is of even greater importance than the national school, and that the preservation of the former is essential to the eventual establishment of the latter."

COAGULATION AND LUNG DIFFICULTIES

Always arise from particles of corrupt matter deposited in the air-cells, by impure blood. Purify that stream of life and it will very soon carry off and destroy the poisoning matter, and the crystal river flowing through a desert, will bring with it and leave throughout the body the elements of health and strength. As the river, leaving the elevated position of the lungs, causes the elements before barren waste to bloom with flowers and fruit, so pure blood causes the frame to rejoice in strength and health, and beams with unending beauty. All Medicine Dealers sell Dr. Morse's Indian Root Pills.

The Ontario System.

UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED AT A PUBLIC MEETING.

Mr. Fisher, M. P. P., Addresses His Constituents at Fort Ellice on the School Question—Resolutions Approving Ontario System Unanimously Adopted.

BINSANTH, May 6.—Mr. Fisher addressed a meeting of his constituents at Fort Ellice on Saturday evening. Throughout the entire afternoon a heavy rain fell over that whole district and the result was a small attendance at the meeting. There was a fair number, however, of representative men. Mr. T. V. Wheeler, merchant, occupied the chair. Mr. Fisher confined his remarks mainly to the school question, which he discussed at length. The Protestant settlers are opposed to the old system being restored, and the idea having been circulated, apparently very systematically, that Mr. Fisher advocated a return to the old system in all its details, some of those at the meeting were surprised to find that his position had been wholly misstated. They were more surprised when he quoted from the statement made before the governor-general-in-council the offer of the Roman Catholic minority to accept a law something after the manner of the Ontario system, and all the more so when Mr. Sifton's admission in the Heraldism that the Roman Catholics did not ask for the old system or object particularly to government control over the schools, was read.

Mr. Cheney Burdett, a councillor of the municipality and one of the warmest supporters of the Greenway government in the district, had come to the meeting greatly opposed to what he understood was Mr. Fisher's attitude on the question. At the close of the address Mr. Burdett frankly admitted that he had been wholly misled, and that he was prepared to support Mr. Fisher in advocating the adoption of the Ontario system, and in urging that the provincial legislature should offer that system to the minority. He declared that he saw but two ways out of the difficulty, one was the Ontario system and the other secular schools and he saw that the latter would not be acceptable to the minority.

Mr. Wheeler, the chairman, Mr. T. T. Selby and others then expressed their entire satisfaction with Mr. Fisher's position. After some further discussion a series of resolutions on the subject was proposed by Mr. T. T. Selby, supported by Mr. A. W. Henderson, and seconded by Mr. W. C. O'Keefe, ex-reeve of Ellice, and being submitted from the chair was carried without a dissenting voice.

The resolutions are as follows: In the opinion of this meeting the present school law is satisfactory to the great majority of the people of Manitoba. Its repeal and the re-enactment of the former law would be most injurious to the interests of education, and this meeting most earnestly protests against any action in that direction, and against any relinquishment by government of its control over education and the schools.

We recognize at the same time that the power of the provincial legislature to make laws on the subject, though primarily exclusive, is not absolute but limited, and these limitations were embodied in the constitution for the purpose of safeguarding the rights and privileges which Protestant or Roman Catholic minorities might enjoy under sanction of law with respect to schools whether created before or after the Union. One of these limitations is in the form of a right given to such minority to appeal to the federal parliament against a provincial law affecting such rights even though primarily it may be within the power of the legislature to pass such a law. It would be doing violence to the spirit of the constitution if these rights of appeal were not respected, and due effect given to them when a law is agreed by a provincial legislature. The supreme court of the empire has decided that the rights and privileges of the Roman Catholic minority in Manitoba have been infringed upon by the law of 1890, that their present appeal is against that law is well founded, and it is the duty of the governor-general-in-council to determine in what manner it seems requisite to alter the law so as to do justice, that the provincial legislature is primarily the body that should provide legislative relief, and that on its failure so to do, the parliament of Canada will have power to pass remedial legislation for that purpose.

The same high court in reporting its decision to Her Majesty the Queen has made a suggestion that the provisions of the existing law may be modified by adequate relief to the aggrieved minority without re-enacting the old law, and general application. Her Majesty the Queen, sitting in council, has formally approved the conclusions of the court, and has been pleased to order that the court be punctually observed and carried into effect, and it is the duty of all parties interested to give due effect to that order.

The governor-general-in-council having heard the appeal has declared and communicated to our legislature in what respects it seems to him requisite that remedial legislation should be passed to give relief, but he has at the same time,

following the suggestions of the privy council, respectfully urged upon the provincial legislature the desirability of the existing law without interfering with its general operation.

The Roman Catholic minority have formally offered to accept legislation on the lines suggested by the privy council; they have offered to settle the whole question with the provincial legislature in a spirit of compromise, and they have disavowed any desire to place any of the schools under the control of the church.

It is desirable that the exclusive power of the province to manage its educational affairs should be maintained inviolate, and this meeting look to the possibility of the federal parliament exercising control over our education as fraught with danger to our best interests.

It is maintained by high legal authority that if the federal parliament shall once acquire jurisdiction to pass remedial laws, it will be impossible for the province ever after to recover the full jurisdiction at least without the intervention of the Imperial parliament. Such a possibility gives greater weight to the objections against leaving the question to be settled in Ottawa.

Having regard to the judgment of the privy council, to the order of Her Majesty confirming it, and directing its being carried into effect, to the suggestion of the privy council that a remedy should be found in modifications that would not interfere with the general working of the present law, to the recommendation of the governor-general-in-council that said suggestion be adopted and acted on by the provincial legislature; having regard also to the offer of the Roman Catholic minority to accept legislation on these lines, and to settle the questions at issue with the provincial authorities in a spirit of compromise, and having regard to the possibly serious results the necessity shall be forced to the federal parliament of dealing with the question, this meeting affirms that the legislature of Manitoba will be assuming a grave responsibility if it shall fail to make an earnest effort to effect a settlement in the manner suggested.

This meeting believes that such a settlement can be effected on the lines of the Ontario system so that adequate redress can be given to the minority without a repeal of the present law or restoration of the old system, so that all the schools shall be under the direct control of the provincial authorities.

This meeting therefore expresses an earnest hope that at the adjourned meeting of the legislature all parties will in a spirit of toleration and conciliation seek to bring about such a settlement, but no settlement will be satisfactory which will restore the old system or place any section of the schools under any other than state control.

RUSSELL, May 7.—Mr. James Fisher, M.L.A., addressed a large meeting here last night and was well received. Representative men were present from Silver Creek and Shell River as well as from this municipality. Mr. Fisher confined his remarks to the school question which he discussed at length, fully explaining his position. His reception was most cordial one. When closed, some remarks were made by Messrs. Richardson and McLennan, of Assinippi, and G. E. Walker, J.P., of Millwood, after seconded by Mr. Thomas McKenzie, the meeting were put to the meeting and carried with great enthusiasm. Only one man held up his hand against them, but it was understood that he was joking. One or two explained that they did not care to vote. A number of ladies were present. The chair was filled by Mr. N. M. McKenzie. Mr. Fisher speaks at Rosburn to-night.—*Nor-Wester.*

AN INSTRUCTIVE COMPARISON.

To-day's Free Press gives the total of children enrolled in the Public Schools of Winnipeg as 4,904. These represent the non-Catholic population of the city, which, from Henderson's census, is about 35,000, i. e. 38,000 minus the Catholic population, which is at most 3,000. Now, the number of pupils enrolled in the Catholic schools of Winnipeg is 718. A cursory glance at these figures will reveal the fact that, whereas the pupils of the Public Schools are not quite one seventh of the non-Catholic population, the pupils in the Catholic schools are almost one fourth of the Catholic population; which means that only one out of seven non-Catholics goes to school, while nearly one out of four Catholics goes there. Or, to put the comparison more exactly: if the non-Catholics of Winnipeg had as many children at school as the Catholics have, the assessor's list would reveal, not 4,904 as it did this morning, but 9,195. In other words there is almost twice as much zeal for learning—or—which is equally consoling for us—twice as much natural increase of population, among Catholics as among the others. And we must not forget that Catholics have to pay double taxes in order to keep up their schools.

University Examinations.

At Brydon's Rink 287 candidates are competing for the University Examinations: 12 from St. Boniface College, 49 from St. John's, 92 from Manitoba, 54 from Wesley, 21 from Collegiate, 20 non-Collegiate, 30 for the Institute prizes and 9 for the L. B. The examinations, which began on Monday 25th, will last till Friday, 24th.

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NOTICE. 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, MAY 15.

EDITORIAL COMMENT.

The Hon. Mr. Costigan's speech, which we reprint in another column, sets forth with the speaker's chivalric honesty the Protestant origin of separate schools. He has the serene courage to speak of the "great" province of Quebec; great indeed she is in tolerance and charity as compared with other big, but not great, conglomerations of Canadians, who have liberty on their lips and despotic tyranny in their hearts.

In reprinting the Northwest's articles on Mr. Fisher's prophetic views about the school question, and the same honorable gentleman's speeches at Fort Ellice and Russell, we do not pretend to endorse all these views. We concur in the spirit rather than in the letter of them. Mr. Fisher has always been a consistent advocate of fair play; no popular cry has ever been made him swerve from justice as he views it.

Father Cherrier's letter, answering Dr. Bryce's Brandon speech, will be found weighty and convincing, calm and conclusive. Even the breezy Doctor seems to have felt that, as he had to reply to Father Cherrier, he must be less noisy and more argumentative. However, though he asserts that Father Cherrier's averages are struck on a wrong principle, he merely asserts this, he does not attempt to prove his assertion in any way. Father Cherrier, on the contrary, proves his principle to be the only fair one and thus knocks the bottom out of the Doctor's whole case.

The A. P. A. has had a monster meeting at Milwaukee, where it affirmed a long catalogue of false propositions. Albeit the Catholic Church is nowhere mentioned therein, it is everywhere understood and stabbed at in the dark. And yet the only true Church will bury the A. P. A. as it has buried thousands of other lying associations. The Church will, in particular, never accept the monstrous assertion that justice is based on the votes of the majority. These votes may be a handy way to self-government; but the votes of a million fools are outweighed by the silent protest of one wise man. By maintaining this truth against all the mobs in the world, the Church helps mankind to remain free from the most slavish of despotisms, the tyranny of the rabble.

The noise of the "Corporal" has gone out into the ends of the world; witness the Liverpool Catholic Times:—

There is in Canada an edition of Mr. Matthews, who, speaking as a Catholic, assured the Protestants of Birmingham that it was wrong for his co-religionists to protest against the disabilities imposed by the Emancipation Act. The name of the Canadian Matthews is Mr. John O'Donoghue, of Winnipeg. He appeared as a Catholic before the Dominion Parliament in opposition to the Separate schools, thus going against Bishops, priests, and people. The comment of the Antigonish "Casket" upon his action is:—"If the Manitoba Government could have got an equal number of nominal Catholics to play the part of Judas Iscariot before the Dominion Cabinet, they would not have relied upon one."

Our distinguished Archbishop has been criticized for quoting a Montreal judge who said he always noticed the superiority of lawyers trained in Catholic Colleges. The

observation is almost a truism in the bar of the province of Quebec. It is only a phase of the broader statement, made over and over again by men who are impartial and have seen both sides, that a graduate of a Catholic College, who has had two years of philosophy, is more than a match, in point of logical acumen and reasoning power, for an average graduate of any non-Catholic institution in the world. The same superiority is manifest in the Ottawa parliament, where the Catholic members, as a body, are far more cultured and better mental fencers than the non-Catholic contingent. Of course men of great talent and ability will make their mark in spite of wrong systems of culture; we are only arguing on averages, and on this basis we maintain that the Catholic system of training in philosophy produces far better results than the non-Catholic system of optional courses in which many-sided erudition counts for more than mental gymnastics. The one really trains the mind; the other only stores the memory. The above remarks were suggested by the Hon. Jas. E. P. Prendergast's speech last Thursday. His vast superiority, in culture, refinement and adherence to the question at issue, was clear even to strangers who, not knowing our brilliant St. Boniface representative, wondered who was this man that stood out in such strong contrast to the rambling roughness and the ignorant crudeness of most of the non-Catholic members.

Though the letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury on the question of reunion says there is no hope of it so long as Rome holds to her present doctrines, his refraining from naming Lord Halifax and the other Anglicans who desire reunion shows the respect generally felt for the Ritualist wing of the Established Church. And indeed it were difficult to overestimate Lord Halifax's high character and complete sincerity or the intensity of the longing for reunion with Rome among an influential party in the church of England. The order of the Holy Redeemer, a society of Anglicans, openly avows its intention to bring back England to Roman Catholic unity. The following lines are from one of its hymns, to St. Thomas Becket:

Glorious Martyr, hear us praying, Far from Peter's see we roam; See thy flock, St. Thomas, straying; Gather them and lead them home!

By thy last grand prayer of anguish Ere thy spirit passed home, Lead our England, lead thy England Back to St. Peter's see at Rome!

Meanwhile the Ritualist party are undermining the chief foundation of the sixteenth century revolt. The Reformation was built largely on the basis of the legitimacy of divorce; and now the Romanizing Anglicans are proclaiming the Catholic and only true doctrine that absolute divorce with permission to remarry is unchristian. Lately, at an aristocratic marriage in London a ritualistic parson rose in the body of the church and objected to the performance of the ceremony on the ground that the bridegroom—the son of a baronet, Sir Theodore Brinckman, and, from a worldly view-point, a most eligible person—was a divorced man. "The aristocratic congregation," says the New York Sun cable, "was greatly shocked at the idea of anybody interfering. As the officiating clergyman had received his fee, and a fat one, the ceremony was duly performed. It has since been learned that the protest was organized by the Duke of Newcastle and other leaders of the ritualist party, and is a part of a new policy by which they intend to shame the clergymen of the church of England into refusing to marry divorced persons, no matter for what causes their first unions were severed by the law. The discussion, thus sensationally initiated, is raging in the press and Synods, and the Ritualists loudly proclaim their intention of supporting disestablishment and the disendowment of the State church rather than see it sanction any longer these 'blasphemous, adulterous unions.'"

BRUCE'S BRANDON BREAK.

For the first time in the course of our five years' tilt with our dearly beloved antagonist, the illustrious and modest Doctor Bryce, we have succeeded in piercing his pachydermatous envelope. He has uttered a cry of pain, not in the way common to ordinary mortals who exclaim that they are hurt, but in the Bryconian flapdoodle way, by declaring that we are beneath his notice. Then, why did you say so, Doctor dear? Why did you not continue that policy of silent contempt which—we confess it in all sincerity—we have ever admired in you as the index of a self-denying soul? The commonplace man, who is passion's slave, wears a thin skin upon him, smarts under the lash, and flies off at a tangent when he is attacked. What we have always viewed in Dr. Bryce with reverent envy is the exact opposite, his absolute imperviousness alike to the shafts of ridicule and to the home-thrusts of convincing argument. Hitherto he has never allowed such trifles to impair his singleness of purpose. To be sure, that purpose is not a very lofty one. His aim is to reflect public opinion, to be a popular hero. Others prefer the approval of one great and good man to the smiles of a passion-swayed multitude. There is no accounting for tastes. But, to his chosen purpose Dr. Bryce has, up till now, been as true as the needle to the pole. So impressed have we been with this sublime imperturbability of his that we have more than once caught ourselves in the act of wondering what a magnificent saint he would have made, had he chosen to tread the paths of recti-

tude and holiness. Directness, keenness of perception, untiring activity, the power of concentration, the mental perspective which relegates unimportant and irrelevant matter to the background, all these gifts are his.

How, then, has it come to pass that the imperturbable Doctor has so far forgotten the thickness of his skin as to use, in his Brandon speech last Wednesday, such language as we have read in the Free Press report, doubtless inspired, if not written, by himself? He spoke of us as "an insignificant paper called the Northwest Review. This paper was a literary patchwork, coarse and clamorous, and it owed a debt of gratitude to the lecturer for affording the subject of thirty or forty of its articles for the past four or five years." What can have prompted him thus to break his long and magnanimous silence? To our mind the explanation is easy. He was surrounded by a host of admirers, who do their infinitesimal thinking in battalions and never think for themselves, who look upon him as their favorite champion because he flatters their ignorant prejudices, who consider him a great authority in matters religious, historical, literary and scientific. To them he felt he could unbosom himself as he had never done before. Under such circumstances a man's long pent-up feelings seek their natural vent. Now, nothing is more natural for one so situated than to stigmatize in others his own besetting sins, especially when his hearers cannot suspect that these are his pet delinquencies. Hence it is, we venture to think, that he singled out these four great accusations to hurl them at our devoted head: (1) insignificance, (2) literary patchwork, (3) coarseness, (4) clamorosity. For he is thoroughly at home in them all; he knows all about them.

1. Insignificance. In Dr. Bryce's eyes this is a most terrible charge. When he wishes to dismiss some importunate objector, he thinks he has said all that need be said when he calls him an insignificant or obscure person. To be unknown, to occupy no visible space in the public eye, is to him the greatest of torments. His recent utterances in Winnipeg having been treated as insignificant, he lies him to Brandon where no one can say him nay, and where he can once more attract attention. As to our own insignificance, how comes it that the learned Doctor should be so assiduous in reading our humble sheet? Although he is not on our mailing list, we had heard that he never failed to scan our insignificant pages with his bald eagle eye; but we never realized till this day how he keeps count of everything we have written about him. Is it possible that we have written "thirty or forty articles" on the Doctor's interesting personality? Not having time to consult our files and add up, we take his word for it. By the way, to anticipate the next charge, were all these articles "literary patchwork"? If so, then they must have borrowed their patching from their subject. One proof of our insignificance is that twelve thousand copies of one of our articles, garbled of course, were printed and distributed by our enemies during a late Algoma election.

2. Literary patchwork. Here is another of Dr. Bryce's specialties. Of patchwork in history, literature, travels and science he has a vast and varied personal experience. This might be construed as faint praise for an ambitious professor; but it is a very soft impeachment against a newspaper. Provided the latter chooses and credits the patches properly, it cannot be blamed therefor.

3. Coarseness. Here we bow to Dr. Bryce's superior achievements. We admit that we like to call a spade a spade and that we have occasionally handled him without gloves; but, on examining our conscience and memory, we cannot recall anything in our language that at all approximates Dr. Bryce's memorable comparison of the dearest convictions of Catholics to the loathsome equine disease called glanders.

4. Clamorosity means noisiness, and who can hold a candle to the obstreperous Doctor in this matter of noisiness? Who has been beating the big drum on the school question for the past five years, if not the Doctor? Who has crowded over the first decision of the Privy Council half as loud as the Doctor? Who has carried his blatant voice to the very ears of that august tribunal, so as to excite the hilarious astonishment of the judge who marvelled that Dr. Bryce wanted the Catholic religion to be something entirely different from what it is? No, Doctor; we have not the slightest hope of rivalling you in noisiness. But does it not strike you as somewhat contradictory that we should be, at one and the same time, both noisy and insignificant? If we are insignificant, you surely cannot be disturbed by utterances that no one notices. The same question suggests itself as to your two other charges. If our patchwork deserves the epithet you apply to it and is really literary, how can it be coarse? However, once more we admit your greater experience in these matters; perhaps you can reconcile these apparent contradictions.

OUR YOUTHFUL BRAGGART.

The Victoria Generalist says:—"Mr. Sifton, the Attorney-General of Manitoba, was supposed to be quietly and seriously deliberating upon the course which he and his colleagues in the government ought to pursue on the school question, went to Haldimand and made that question the theme of a series of stump speeches. Those speeches showed that, as far as he was concerned, the adjournment of the

Manitoba legislature was a sham, He required no time to deliberate. He had made up his mind, and he was determined to do his best to prevail upon the electors of Haldimand to condemn the Dominion government for the course they had pursued in the matter. His efforts were not crowned with success. He, in fact, failed most conspicuously. It is evident that the electors of that county were not charmed by Mr. Sifton's eloquence nor convinced by his arguments. He had to return home a greatly disappointed man.

He, it appears, had placed great reliance upon the Orangemen of Haldimand. He evidently believed that when he raised the standard of opposition in that county and appeared as the champion of what he called Manitoba's rights, the Orangemen would regard him as a hero and vote for the McCarthy candidate to a man. When he found that his stirring appeals had fallen flat on the ears of the Ontario Orangemen he was greatly disgusted, and when he visited Montreal after the election gave free vent to his feelings. This is how he spoke of the Orangemen whom he had failed to convert;

"Mr. Sifton," writes the interviewer, "evidently feels very bitterly against the Orangemen. He does not think that the resolutions passed by the lodges in support of Manitoba are worth a snap of the fingers, and when asked if he thought they were unreliable as a political factor, he replied: 'On the contrary, they are very reliable—to shout for you, and go out and vote for your opponent. I know where they are. They are quite reliable. The Orangemen came to our meetings and applauded. Apparently they were enthusiastically in favor of Mr. McCarthy—and I must say that some of them really worked and voted for him—but most of the men who shouted the loudest at our meetings went out and voted for Montague. It is pleasant to go with the big crowd, you know.'"

Mr. Sifton in his anger and disappointment is unjust to the Orangemen. Whatever may have been the feelings of the men of that order want of steadfastness and sincerity has not been among them.

REV. FATHER CHERRIER

Answers Rev. Dr. Bryce's Latest Speech at Brandon.

To the Editor of the Free Press.

Sir,—I regret that your report of Dr. Bryce's lecture in Brandon is not given verbatim, for as I propose to answer the reverend doctor in the columns of the Free Press, I would have liked in justice to him to do so with the full text of his remarks before me. Under the circumstances I shall limit myself to a few points only, about which there can hardly be a possibility of error on the part of your reporter, whom I know to be as a rule, very accurate.

1. Bill of Rights.—The reverend doctor may say what he likes and throw as much of a slur as he chooses on what he calls the doubtful evidence obtained from the Rev. Father Ritchot's diary but there will still remain facts which are beyond the possibility of a doubt such as: (a) the discussing of the school question by the delegates and the members of the Dominion government committee and the final agreement arrived at by both; (b) the acceptance or ratification by the local legislature of Manitoba of the terms agreed upon by the Dominion government committee and the delegates; (c) the sanction of the same by the Dominion and the Imperial authorities. The doctor pays a poor compliment to the enlightenment of the Protestants who were inhabitants of Manitoba in 1870 when he reproaches them with having yielded to an undue influence, for had they been as educated as the doctor says the thousands of to-day are, they would have acted very differently. Whilst I am willing to let the descendants of those pioneers sallow and digest as best they can the bitter pill administered them by the learned doctor, I shall, however, say this much in answer—that if education, as he seems to understand it, is to lead to such an unjust and unfair treatment as that which he would fain see extended to the Catholic minority of the province, I, for one, admire the good sense of the people of 1870 much more than the high-toned education of the now ruling majority in Manitoba. In 1870 the inhabitants of the country did not understand religious liberty in word only, but, conforming their mode of action to their avowed principles, they respected each other's conscience not only in churches and homes, but even in schools which are to a great extent the church and the home of the young.

Without following the learned doctor in his appreciation of the remedial order, suffice it to say in answer to the No. 1 statement of your report that the Privy Council, after going fully into the case as laid before them, have decided that the Catholics have a grievance. The "substantial" distinction made by the learned doctor did not apparently disturb their Lordships in finding the existence of the grievance, as regards statements Nos. 2 and 3, the doctor can say that the public schools are of Protestantism, but I am equally free, and with much more reason, to say that by the law of 1890 the schools to be attended by Catholic children would lose the Catholic character which the constitution grants and guarantees to these schools. It is not to Doctor Bryce nor any of the other members of the Advisory Board, but to Holy Mother Church that we Catholics look for the amount of religion to be imparted to the minds and hearts of the young; and we consider that man a Protestant, whoever he may be, who will pose as a judge against the church to limit her in such religious teaching. If the other denominations can agree, as they have in the past, upon some infinitesimal quantity of religion in schools, I will not object to their feeding on such a starving system, although I can easily foretell the evil results of it; but I can safely state that this will

never satisfy the craving of Catholics for religious instruction. We are willing to give any civil instruction that our government may demand from us, but never shall we, as long as we remain protected by the Constitution, permit any sacrilegious encroachment upon our rights to religiously educate our children in the manner the church teaches us they should be educated.

As statements numbers 4, 5 and 6 all have reference to the case from a mere material point of view. I shall answer them as if they constituted one argument only. As yet we remark at the outset that it is a practical impossibility to have a human law so perfect that it will never cause any one to suffer. That the old law was open to amendments every one will readily agree, but why remedy an evil by another still greater evil? Unless the doctor considers that it is no evil to privilege the Catholics of all the rights and privileges they had enjoyed prior to 1890, he should before endorsing the local government's action have given his just and fair consideration to the fact that he does not really help the community by making a large portion of its members suffer greatly in order to bring relief to a few scattered settlers in remote parts of the province. So much the more so because the latter evil would eventually have disappeared by the coming of new settlers, whilst the evil inflicted on the Catholic minority is one beyond remedy.

Mr. Ewart in his plea for the Catholics has simply done what the Rev. Bryce also did. D. would have undoubtedly done so under similar circumstances. We had been unjustly and unfairly deprived of so many rights and privileges guaranteed by the constitution: what less could we do than demand the entire restoration of those rights and privileges? Should anybody ever be caught and convicted of having robbed, say the Rev. Dr. Bryce, of \$5,000, would the doctor be satisfied with asking the thief to make restitution of \$1,000 only, or, perhaps better, rest perfectly contented when he is told that the money was stolen not because of any ill-feeling whatever against the doctor, but simply to enable the thief to come to the rescue of a few poor sufferers lost in some remote parts of the country.

Dr. Bryce says my averages were made on a wrong principle. So far the learned doctor, I am pleased to remark, has not questioned the accuracy of my figures; all he finds wrong with me is the principle of my averages. Am I mistaken when I suppose that the legislative grant is made for the spreading of instruction and education among the young. In other words the government invests as it were so much money in the children of the province with the hope that there will eventually be some return in the formation of good citizens. Therefore it is clear that the money voted by the legislature is primarily for such children as attend school; and if it were practicable I would say that the average attendance at school is the only truly just and fair basis of apportionment. But this is exactly the principle on which I have made all my averages. Then the only assailable part of my statements would be that my figures were given the money which it voted for the purpose for which I take it such money was voted, merely for the education of the children of the province. The fact that the Protestant ratepayers taxed themselves, because they would it, (remark that well) more than we did is no proof that the Catholics were in any way better treated at the hands of the government than their Protestant fellow citizens. To illustrate the case: If I receive a sum of money from any government to carry out in part a certain portion of a work which I am in duty bound to accomplish, I may certainly hire men at the salary which it pleases me to give them, and I may also spend as much additional money in putting up expensive buildings as I may choose for the carrying out of the work in question, and nobody has any right to find fault with me for that. But because my neighbor who has also a similar contract to fill succeeds in doing his work equally well with men equally qualified although hired at a lower salary, and in houses for which he has spent less money than I did; am I to act with jealousy and say that this neighbor has received more assistance than I did at the hands of our common master? Certainly not. Well then, let Dr. Bryce praise his Protestant fellow-citizens for their pride in putting up very expensive school buildings, or let him grieve that the Protestants lack the devotedness found particularly in our religious communities the members of which teach not for the sake of a salary, but for the love of God and country, and I shall find no fault with him. But that all this can read unjust and unfair the principle upon which the government grant was made in this province prior of 1890 I cannot admit;

nor can I, therefore, in spite of my good dispositions towards the reverend doctor, withdraw any of my statements, nor agree with him in the conclusions which he endeavors to draw from his own figures. I leave it to the honesty of our common fair-minded hearers or readers to judge between the learned doctor's arguments and figures and those of your humble servant.

A. A. CHERRIER, P. P. Winnipeg, May 11.

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BUSINESS COLLEGE COMPETITION.

Award of Medals at the Meeting of the Literary on Friday. The results of the semi-annual competition for medals and prizes was made known at the last meeting of the Winnipeg Business College Literary society Friday afternoon. A good programme was provided, the most interesting part of which, however, was the presentation of the awards by the secretary, Mr. G. W. Donald. The following are the successful competitors: For best kept set of books, silver medal, won by E. R. James, of Rosser; 2nd, copy of "Expert Book-keeping," won by D. W. Reid, of Golden, B. C. For most improvement in writing, silver medal, won by W. H. Sinclair, City; 2nd, copy of "Self Instructor in Penmanship," won by W. J. Beaton, of Portage la Prairie.

For accuracy in shorthand, silver medal, won by P. H. Allen, City; 2nd, choice of a number of Shorthand works, won by Miss McFarlane, City. The work of the students in the different departments was highly spoken of by the examiners. The next examination will take place in the fall.

Literary Competition.

THREE HUNDRED DOLLARS OFFERED IN PRIZES.

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The Above Amount Will be Divided Among the Writers of the Best Five Original Stories.—The Competition Open to All Bona Fide Residents of Canada.

With a view to assisting in the development of literary talent in Canada. The Dr. Williams Medicine Co., of Brockville, Ont., will award prizes amounting to \$300 among the writers of the best five short original stories submitted in the competition as follows:—

- For the story pronounced the best \$100 will be given; For the second best \$75. For the third best \$60. For the fourth best \$40. For the fifth best \$25.

The competition is open to residents of the Dominion of Canada, who have never won a cash prize in a story competition, and is subject to the following rules:— Each story to contain not more than three thousand words.

The writer of the story shall affix a pen name, initials or motto to his or her manuscript, and shall send with the manuscript a sealed envelope bearing on the outside the pen name, initials or motto attached to the story, and containing inside it the full name and address of the writer thereof.

We impose no limitations whatever as to the nature of the topic written upon, and the scene of the story need not necessarily be laid in Canada, although competitors must be residents of Canada, as above stated.

Stories entered in the competition must be written on one side of the paper only, and when possible should be typewritten. Manuscript to be sent flat or folded—NOT ROLLED.

All stories for competition must reach the Dr. Williams' Medicine Co., Brockville, Ont., on or before the first day of July, 1895, and should be marked "For Literary Competition."

Decision will be made as follows:— All stories submitted will be referred to a competent committee who will decide which are the best five stories. These stories will then be published in pamphlet form, which pamphlets will be distributed throughout the Dominion, and each will contain a voting paper upon which readers will be invited to express their preference. The story obtaining the highest number of votes will be awarded the first prize. The one obtaining the second highest number will be awarded second prize, and so on until the five prizes are awarded.

The voting will close on the first day of December, 1895, and the committee will then publish the names of the successful competitors and the order of merit.

Unsuccessful manuscripts will be returned when stamps are sent for postage. The five stories selected are to become the absolute property of the Dr. Williams' Medicine Co. with their copyright in perpetuity.

The decision of the committee and the counting of votes to be absolute and final, and all persons entering the competition agree, by doing so, to accept the decision of the committee and the Dr. Williams' Medicine Co. as final on all points whatsoever.

Correspondence in regard to unsuccessful MSS, declined, even when stamped envelopes are sent; and stamps so sent (for any other purpose than the return of the MS, at the time of first sending) will be put in the poor box.

The Dr. Williams' Medicine Co. will take all precautions to safe-guard MS, entrusted to their care, but in no case do they assume any responsibility for fire, accident or loss of unsuccessful MS. Authors are therefore advised to keep copies.

The stories must be original. Any one sending copied matter will be liable to punishment for fraud, and a prize of \$25 is offered to the first person who points out the fact that any story passed by the committee is otherwise than original, in the unlikely event of such an oversight occurring.

All stories entered in the competition must be addressed to the Dr. Williams' Medicine Co., Brockville, Ont., and marked on the envelope "For Literary Competition."

CHURCH NOTICES.

CATHEDRAL AT ST. BONIFACE.
Sundays—Masses at 8 and 10.30, a. m.
Week Days—Masses at 6.30 and 7.30, a. m.

em moment when mortals, weakened in the throes of death, find voice only to manifest their last will and testament, Jesus, glancing at His mother first, said: "Woman, behold thy Son!"

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Table with columns: East Bound, West Bound, Stations, Read up, Read down. Includes stations like Winnipeg, Brandon, St. Paul.

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I. HOLY DAYS OF OBLIGATION. 1. All Sundays in the year. 2. Jan. 1st. The Circumcision. 3. Jan. 6th. The Epiphany. 4. The Ascension. 5. Nov. 1st. All Saints. 6. Dec. 8th. The Immaculate Conception. 7. Dec. 25th. Christmas.

II. DAYS OF FAST. 1. The forty days of Lent. 2. The Wednesdays and Fridays in Advent. 3. The Ember days, at the four Seasons being the Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays of a. The first week in Lent. b. Whitsun Week. c. The third week in September. d. The third week in Advent. e. The Vigils of a. Whitsunday. b. The Solemnity of St. Peter and Paul. c. The Solemnity of the Assumption. d. All Saints. e. Christmas.

III. DAYS OF ABSTINENCE. All Fridays in the year. Wednesdays in Advent and Lent. Fridays in Holy week. The Ember Days. The Vigils above mentioned.

GENERAL INTENTION FOR MAY.

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DEVOTION TO THE MOTHER OF GOD AND OF CHRISTIANS.

From the Canadian Messenger of the Sacred Heart.

Every year with the coming of May all are busy with the thought of how to honor during her month in a special manner their Queen in heaven, and how increase in their hearts their devotion towards her.

"Second alone to the worship we owe to our Saviour," said Mgr. Pie, Bishop of Poitiers, "is our veneration for Her through whom we have a Saviour;" nor can the motive of this veneration be better expressed than in the words of the youthful saint, her ever faithful child: "Mater Dei, Mater Mea," "the Mother of God, My own Mother."

No creature could be raised to a higher dignity than that of Mother of God, because there is naught more exalted than God nor more perfect than the Infinite. It is in view of the divine maternity that we owe Mary the greatest veneration: "Ratione hujus dignitatis debetur Virgini excellentior adoratio," in the words of the Angel of the Schools, "in having conceived and given birth to a God, the God Man, Mary contracted a relationship with God unattainable for all other creatures: Fines divinitatis propinquius attingit, approaching nearer the confines of the divine."

For this reason the Blessed Virgin holds in the divine economy an exceptional rank, incomparably above all that is not God, as if the God of all power had wished, in the production of this masterpiece, to display all the resources of what the Holy Doctor has termed his craft: ad ostentationem sue artis.

Now, this very greatness of Mary, which would seem to have no other limit save the omnipotence of God, besides that lovable obligation of honoring her with a supereminent cult, imposes on us that other duty of frequently having recourse to the efficacy of her assistance, both for the rearing of the edifice of every virtue in our souls and for insuring the fulfilment of all our duties, the aim of our daily endeavors.

Indeed, our devotion to the Blessed Virgin must not consist solely of "veneration" and "homage," but should be instinct also with "love" and "confidence," for the Mother of God is also the Mother of Christians. From the moment she yielded her consent to the Incarnation by that decisive "fiat," she, as St. Bernard assures us, bore us all in her bosom. But it was especially at the foot of the cross, when her soul was rent with maternal anguish and compassion, that the mystery of our adoption and of our assimilation with the members of God's Family was accomplished.

The Divine Master, when He taught his Apostles how they should pray, bade them address God by that loving name of Father: "Pater noster." It was an appellation full of tenderness, and breathing all the confidence He intended they should feel; and when He determined to enlist our affection for Mary, with his own lips, and just about to die, he called her our Mother: "Ecce Mater tua," for He knew well that after God's own name there was no name dearer and more sacred than the name of "Mother."

Jesus hung there on the cross for love for us, fastened there with the cruel nails, "a Man of Sorrows," overwhelmed with bodily sufferings and mental anguish; at the foot of the cross were all that was then left of his Church,—two faithful souls, but two souls burning with love for Him and loyal to Him in His supreme humiliation, His Mother and the Disciple He loved. At the sol-

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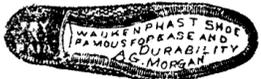
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CALENDAR FOR NEXT WEEK.

- MAY. 19-Fifth Sunday after Easter. Feast of St. Celestine, Pope. Commemoration of St. Pudentiana. 20-Rogation Monday. Feast of Our Lady of Mercy and of St. Bernardine. 21-Rogation Tuesday. St. Ubaldo, bishop, confessor. 22-Rogation Wednesday and Vigil of the Ascension. 23-Thursday, Feast of the ASCENSION of Our Lord. 24-Friday, Our Lady Help of Christians. 25-Saturday, St. Gregory VII, Pope. Commemoration of St. Urban.

CITY AND ELSEWHERE.

ANSWER TO J. D., Rapid City.—Your communication will appear next week.

ST. MARY'S BRANCH No. 52 of the C.M.B.A. hold a regular meeting in Unity Hall this evening.

MR. HENDERSON, in completing his Directory for 1895, figures the population of Winnipeg at 38,000.

Mrs H. A. COSTIGAN and family left for the Maritime provinces last week. They will spend the summer months there.

MR. J. FAHEY left last week to attend the convention of the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors Atlanta, Georgia.

MR. AMBROSE KLINCKHAMMER, son of our business manager, returned from the United States last week.

The officers of St. Mary's Court No. 276 of the Catholic Order of Foresters were installed at the meeting on Friday last.

The number of patients treated at the St. Boniface hospital last week was 81, of whom 44 were males, and 37 females.

The provincial convention of the Catholic Order of Foresters will take place at Minneapolis this year commencing on the 28th inst. The delegates from Manitoba are—Mr. F. W. Russell representing St. Boniface Court No. 252 and Mr. J. D. Macdonald representing St. Mary's Court No. 276.

The May issue of "The Canadian," is the official organ of the C. M. B. A., is to hand and contains much that will interest members of the association. It is pleasing to notice the progress the association is making in all parts of Canada, as evidenced by the continual increase in membership and formation of new branches.

The Parishioners of the Immaculate Conception will be pleased to hear, that Mr. N. Gravel, better known as "John" amongst the boys of the Northwest, and who for eight years was in charge of the official car of the Manitoba and Northwestern railway, has launched into business for himself at the Vendome restaurant, No. 108 St. Lawrence street, Montreal.

At the church of the Immaculate Conception on Sunday high mass was celebrated by Rev. Father Daigault. The choir of male voices gave an admirable rendition of Gounod's Messe Brève arranged for tenor, first and second bass. The Rev. Father Zerbach preached a most eloquent and instructive sermon. At the evening service there was a large congregation. The Pastor, Rev. Father Cherrier, preached and the singing by the choir was excellent. We were particularly pleased with the finished and correct rendering of the plain chant.

We notice considerable improvements in the grounds and surroundings of St. Mary's church.

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SPEECH OF HON. JOHN COSTIGAN, M.P.

On the Manitoba School Question, Ottawa, Tuesday, 23rd April, 1895.

Mr. COSTIGAN.—Mr. Speaker, I need not assure the House that I have no intention of answering the hon. gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. McCarthy) by any constitutional argument on this subject, to meet the arguments put forward by him. In rising at present I simply ask permission of the House, and of you, Mr. Speaker, to deal for a few moments with the subject from another point of view entirely—first, because I do not think that the line which the hon. member has followed was at all a proper line to take; and, secondly, because I do not think we have reached the stage when we are called upon to discuss the subject at any great length. I may say at the outset that while many of the speakers who have taken part in this debate have alluded to the reference made to this subject in the Speech from the Throne as one calculated to create strife and enmity in this country, there is one consolation to every old member in this House—yes, and a consolation to every Canadian in this country who feels that he is represented in this Parliament—that this Parliament has time and again given proof of its ability to deal with most delicate questions, and to deal with them in the most intelligent and satisfactory manner. We have had occasion before to discuss subjects which were calculated to create divisions and dissensions in our country that would have had consequences very serious to its peace, and I am sure that every member of this House will agree with me on looking back at the record of those discussions, that those of us who have taken part in them can congratulate it upon the tone and the dignity that this Parliament has exhibited on all such occasions. Therefore, Sir, I feel confident that the remarks which I offer to-day will be received by my fellow-members in the spirit in which I intend to deliver them. In the first place, I deny the right or the propriety of the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) making the appeal which he has made in this House and in the country on the question of separate schools as against common schools, because that question has not arisen. The whole question with which this Parliament has been or may be called to deal, the question with which the Courts and the Privy Council have been called to deal, is not whether separate schools are to be established in Manitoba or not. They could not deal with such a question; they were not clothed with the power to deal with it. The whole question was: Have any rights under the constitution under which we live been taken away from any minority? And what has been the answer? The highest tribunal in the Empire has declared that certain rights have been taken away from a minority in one of the provinces. This is the whole subject, and not whether separate schools are better than common schools, or whether they should be forced on the people of Manitoba or not. But I want to take issue with the hon. gentleman on another point, and a more serious one. I want to say in the name of the people for whom to some extent I have the right to speak, that it was a gross act of injustice to the Catholics of this country for the hon. member for North Simcoe, as well as certain newspapers and other prominent gentlemen, all through the time that the question has been under discussion, to inflame the public mind by trying to create the impression that the Catholics of this country have been the aggressors, and have attempted to force Catholic schools upon the country, and to interfere with provincial rights. While I do not want to discuss the question, because the time has not yet come for discussing anything beyond the remedial order that has been passed, let me say here that I fully agree with the hon. gentlemen who have preceded me in expressing the most earnest desire that the legislature of Manitoba will afford the remedy to the evil created in that legislature by its own act, and that the matter may not be brought into this parliament at all. I will not be so unkind as to suppose for one moment that any hon. gentleman in this House would feel disinclined to such a peaceable solution of the matter. I would not do so cruel a thing to any public man in this country as to charge him with entertaining the hope that Manitoba might not settle this question, and that it might come here to be settled by the Dominion Parliament, with the view of creating dissatisfaction and anxiety in the country. We all trust that the remedial order, having gone to the Manitoba Legislature, will be dealt with effectually by that body. We do not all insist, as did the hon. gentleman who last addressed the House, that the remedial order places that legislature in the position that they must pay the last pound of flesh. If the hon. gentleman were in a position to say that the legislature of Manitoba had refused to take action and that this Parliament was called upon to do so—if he were in a position to say that the legislature of Manitoba had offered any fair and reasonable compromise, with the object of restoring peace and harmony, and that the minority in that province had refused such a fair and reasonable compromise, his argument might have some weight. But I say that it is most unfair and most ungenerous to charge the Catholics of this country with the responsibility of this agitation. There must be a beginning of all things, and there must be reasons for the exceptional legislation to which we are obliged to refer, and out of which this question grows. Every hon. member of this House who is familiar with the history of Confederation and the circumstances under which Confederation was brought about, knows full well that it was not the Catholics of this country who insisted on this exceptional legislation. We know that as a matter of history, as a matter of record, from the whole question of the agreement and the treaty between the different parties to the confederation was under consideration. When that was being considered by the old Canadian Parliament, the Parliament of Upper and Lower Canada, what

were the real facts? The Catholics did not say: You must give us certain rights and privileges and make them permanent by law or else we will not go into Confederation. No; it was quite the other way. It was the Protestants, the leading men in Parliament at that time, men like the Hon. George Brown, the Hon. Mr. Holt, Sir Alexander Gait—all the prominent men at that time—who insisted, as the first condition of Confederation, that the educational rights of the Protestant minority in Quebec should be protected and guaranteed. At that time the Protestant minority in the province of Quebec had certain rights, though not so extensive as those they now have. The Catholic minority in Ontario had certain rights then those now enjoyed by the Protestant minority in Quebec. It was then declared by all these gentlemen I have named that before Confederation could take place at all, the Government must bring in a Bill dealing with the province of Quebec, and amending right there and then the school law as it then existed in that province. The Protestant leaders in Parliament were not content that the rights of the Protestant minority in Quebec as they then existed should be secured by Confederation. They said: That is not enough, we want perfect and full control of educational matters for our minority in Quebec, and unless you amend the law now so as to give us that full and complete control, it will not be binding under the Act of Confederation. Therefore, that was done, and let me say to the credit of the people of Quebec, and their representative men, that no voice was raised during that discussion objecting in the slightest degree to the proposal. On the contrary, they said they were willing to give that, and any further guarantee which the minority might desire at the time. Then followed the proposition that if you gave to the minority in Quebec the protection they asked for on the educational question, why not give the same guarantee to the minority in Ontario? That was a fair proposition to make at a time when the prominent men of the country were assembled together to lay the foundations of a new nation by uniting provinces with different interests, speaking different languages, and believing different religions. The fair proposition was then made to give, on the other hand, the Catholic minority in Ontario similar rights. I am not going to find fault, I am not attempting to draw comparison in an offensive sense between the Protestants and the Catholics at that time, but I simply state the facts as proving the position I have taken from the first—that the condition of things we have now is not chargeable to the Catholics at all, except in part, but is simply due to the movement made by the Protestants themselves to secure protection to their minority in the province of Quebec. That was agreed to in the first place by the Finance Minister Sir Alexander Gait when he pledged himself to it in his speech at Sherbrooke. He was questioned in the House afterwards by the hon. Mr. Holt on which day: The Minister of Finance, in a speech at Sherbrooke, had promised that the Government would introduce a Bill to amend the school laws of Lower Canada. The honourable gentleman must be aware that this was a question on which there was a great deal of feeling in this section of the province amongst the English-speaking, or the Protestant class, of the population. He did not like to introduce anything of a religious character into discussions of this House, but in debating the great changes which it was proposed to effect in our system of government, the effect of them upon that class to which he referred must be considered. Among that class there was no phase or feature of these threatened changes which excited so much alarm as this very question of education. Well, the Minister of Finance had said, with great solemnity, as having the authority of his colleagues for it, that this session the Government would bring down amendments to the school laws of Lower Canada, which they proposed enacting into law before a change of Government should take place, and which would become a permanent settlement of the question. That pledge was carried out. I may quote further the Hon. Mr. Letellier de Saint Just said, and I do this merely to show the spirit in which this proposition was met by gentlemen representing different nationalities. He said: I have heard it said that the Protestants of Lower Canada ought to be satisfied with their prospects of the future, because we have always acted with liberality towards them. But that is no guarantee for them, for we would not act liberally, if we considered that our interest or our institutions were threatened by a majority differing in race and religion from ourselves; and in any case that is not the way to ensure the peace of the country. If we establish this principle, we should say to the Catholics of Upper Canada that they ought to be satisfied with the lot which we provide for them. When we make a constitution, we must, in the first place, settle the political and religious questions which divide the population for whom the constitution is devised; because it is a well-known fact, that it is religious differences which have caused the greatest troubles and the greatest difficulties which have agitated the people in days gone by. There were no two opinions on that subject, that, in the best interests of the country these things should be settled at once, so that friction might be avoided in the future. The Quebec representatives, having conceded the Protestant minority the right to so amend the then existing law as to give them full and complete control in the matter of education in the province of Quebec, Mr. Bonrassa, whom I am glad to see hale and hearty in his place to-day, moved an amendment to the effect that similar privileges should be extended to the Catholic minority in Ontario. That amendment was, however, lost by a very large majority. Mr. D'Arcy McGee said that the Bill of 1863, which had been carried, conveyed to the Catholics of Ontario all that they asked for in their petition, and he, for his part, had accepted that as a finality, and therefore would not ask to open up that question again, unless special and further privileges were granted to the Protestant minority in Quebec, in which case he thought the minority in Ontario ought to be protected in exactly the same way. Well, the vote was taken, and only a small vote was given in favor of the motion of Mr. Bon-

rassa, showing that the minority in Quebec were exceptionally well treated—not too well treated from a Quebec point of view and from a Catholic point of view, because as I said, there was not a single dissenting voice representing that province raised against that proposition. Now much has been said to surround this question with difficulty for the present, but only for the present, for, just as in Haldimand, when the question is understood by the intelligent people of the country, they will finally give the same answer. A great deal has been said with a view to create sympathy for the people of Manitoba, that this would be an interference with their provincial rights, that it is dictation on the part of the Federal Parliament to force separate schools upon an unwilling province, ignoring its provincial autonomy. I will not answer the constitutional argument any further than to say that if this contention were true, you would never have this judgment. The judgment of the Privy Council was surely not in favour of taking away any right from the province of Manitoba or any other province. Then you hear the appeal made that we should leave Manitoba alone to deal with this question. That is what we hope will be done. It is left in Manitoba's own hands. The question is before that province, and we trust the solution will come from there; that this Parliament may not be forced to take a further step and do the unpleasant duty that may be forced upon it. But why all this sympathy with the province of Manitoba more than with the province of Ontario, with the province of Quebec, or New Brunswick or Nova Scotia?—for each one of these large provinces I have named is exactly in the same position as Manitoba has, the same rights and no more. There is no reason why Manitoba should have any more rights than was intended to be given her under the constitution, than was actually given her under the constitution, or than was actually given to the other provinces in the confederation. Just to show how inconsistent it is to carry too far this argument about giving unlimited jurisdiction to the province of Manitoba in educational questions, let us take an analogous case. It might be proper to give Manitoba unlimited power in relation to education, but this is not the time to discuss it. The constitution under which we live has been framed, and our duty is to live under it and obey it—or amend it; but not to ignore it, not to defy it, not to set it at naught. But with regard to this question of unlimited jurisdiction to each province; that has not been carried out, that is not the principle under which we live; that is not embodied in our constitution, but quite the reverse is embodied in our constitution. Not alone Manitoba has not, under that constitution, full scope in the question of education, but Quebec has not, Ontario has not, nor has New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. But that is not the only case. If there is one question beyond every other that affects a legislative body, it is the regulating of the constituencies for its own elections. No one will say that on general grounds a province should not have full control to construct and reconstruct the boundaries of its electoral division for representation in its own provincial legislature. But there is a case where it was thought wise to depart from that rule. That was not done through conspiracy of the Catholic hierarchy, nor through undue influence from Rome, nor as an act of liberality by the Catholics of the great province of Quebec. When this demand of the Protestant minority in Quebec should be secured, you will find that it was not only on the question of education; you will find that it was on the question of representation. And Sir John Rose said then, though he was quite sure that the minority would be perfectly safe in the hands of a majority, judging from past experience, still there was an uneasiness among the people, because it would be within the power of the provincial legislature, after confederation, to change these constituencies, so that not one single English Protestant representative would be elected for that province. The knowledge of that caused uneasiness throughout the province, and it was thought a guarantee should be given. Every member from the province of Quebec acceded to that view and said: "Yes, we will agree to any arrangement that will make our fellow-subjects perfectly safe in regard to these matters, so that there may be no feeling of uneasiness whatever. Before this was carried there was nothing in the arrangements to guarantee to the English the continuance of the rights they had, other than as Sir John Rose said, the vote power. But Mr. Holt pointed out that that was a weak, unreliable guarantee. If the provincial legislature passed an Act so disarranging the constituencies as to deprive the Protestant minority of their representation, that Act might not be dissolved. Mr. Holt asked Sir George E. Cartier, who was then Attorney General East, if he himself would advise disallowance in that case. His answer was: Certainly; I would disallow any Act under which an injustice was done to the Protestant minority. Still that was not thought a sufficiently definite guarantee, because the power of disallowance might not be exercised, it might be found not convenient to exercise it. A more perfect guarantee was given by the arrangement of the electoral divisions under section 80 of the Confederation Act, by which twelve of these constituencies were set apart, and up to this day those twelve constituencies are there with their original boundaries, not one of which boundaries can be altered while seven of the representatives object to it in the legislature. Now, in the face of all that affecting the older provinces, how can my hon. friend from North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) appeal in Haldimand, or in any part of the country, or in this House—and let me say I am glad that his appeal in this House is very much more moderate and on a higher level than his appeal in Haldimand—for exceptional privileges, rights and powers to be given to the province of Manitoba? I trust these remarks will be understood in the spirit in which they are given. In the first place my object is to protest against any attempt made in this House or out of it, to create disturbance in the country, by crying out that an attempt is being made to force Catholic schools upon a Protestant majority so large as that of Manitoba. I say that this exceptional legislation is a portion of our constitution; I say that if the Catholics enjoy rights, they enjoy them like other subjects; I say that Protestants have their rights specially guaranteed under the constitution in certain sections of the country; I say that for this exceptional legislation Protestants are more responsible than the Catholics; I say that if the exception had

not been made in Quebec in the first instance, you would have had no guarantee of a similar kind in the other provinces. Therefore, I ask you to deal fairly, as I know the people of this country are ever ready to do, notwithstanding the efforts to mislead them and to confuse the issue by men who rejoice more in causing strife than in the peace and prosperity of their country, men who have no standing while the country is in a condition of quiet, and who only hope to succeed in the storm and whirlwind of sectarian feeling, men who sow the seed of strife and whose only activity is in sowing that seed for a bad purpose—among them some men who, in the opinion of many, were fitted for better things. Many things, Sir, make us all feel proud of the great deeds accomplished by our late chief, Sir John A. Macdonald, and his countrymen are proud of them. But there were some things he could not accomplish. He undertook to make a useful statesman of the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy). He used his influence, he used his prestige, he did everything he could to promote the interest and the welfare of his young friend at that time, but it all proved an utter failure. That hon. gentleman has disappointed the hopes of his friends in this country in seeing him become a useful public man. Now, Sir, having said so much with regard to the spirit in which we should approach this question, finding that it is not a question that we can afford to deal with in a small and narrow-minded way, the duty of every hon. gentleman in this House is to approach it solemnly, honestly, and candidly, as patriotic Canadians; the duty of every hon. gentleman in this House is to remember that it must have an important bearing upon the future of this country, that it is one fraught with danger and harm, but the harm will be minimized according to the character of the debate, and the manner in which the question may be dealt with if it should come here. Therefore, I say it is the duty of every Canadian, in the first place, to know what the constitution is, what we are bound to do under that constitution; it is the duty of every Canadian in this House, on behalf of the people of this country, to establish this broad principle, that no matter whether a man is a Catholic, or a Presbyterian, or a Protestant.—

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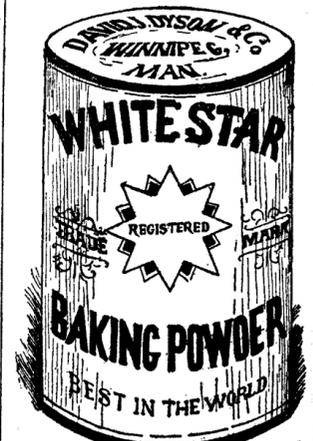
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