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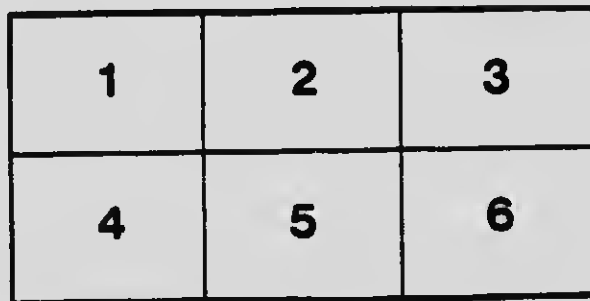
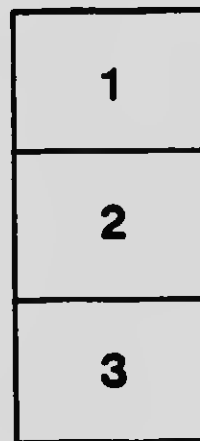
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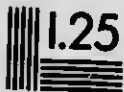
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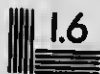
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THE OTTAWA SCHOOL QUESTION

PRINTED PRIVATELY FOR

R. MACKELL J. F. LANIGAN H. F. SIMS
A. J. BRENNAN M. J. O'NEILL
and JAMES FINN

OTTAWA SEPARATE SCHOOL TRUSTEES

OTTAWA JUNE 1914

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Letters on the Ottawa School Question

I.

OTTAWA, February 23, 1914.

MOST REV. CHARLES H. GAUTHIER, D. D.,
Archbishop of Ottawa.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE:

In an editorial in "Le Droit" of February 19th, it is asked why "Mr. Mackell and his friends" did not submit their grievances to the Archbishop of Ottawa, and it is added that the notice of Resolution re Separation at the last meeting of the Ottawa Separate School Board was an insult to Your Grace.

We protest and appeal against this and similar insinuations made in "Le Droit" concerning the Resolution. We need hardly say that last fall, when the reckless manner, in which the French trustees were about to rush through the \$350,000 financially disastrous debenture, threatened the Separate Schools of Ottawa with bankruptcy and disruption, the English Committee of the Separate School Trustees called a meeting on November 5th, 1913, in St. Patrick's Lyceum to discuss the question with the English-speaking city parish priests. At this meeting were present seven English trustees—(the two other English trustees had previously ceased coming to meetings of the English section, and, as events have proved, did not represent the views of their English-speaking electors) and the five English-speaking city parish priests. At that meeting it was unanimously decided: 1st, that Separation of the Bilingual and the Separate Schools proper under two independent Boards with independent finances, was the only remedy; 2nd, that Messrs. Mackell and Lanigan should acquaint the Archbishop of Ottawa with the details of the meeting, and ask him to use his influence with the government to obtain the necessary legislation; 3rd, that Messrs. Mackell and Lanigan should go to Toronto to acquaint the government with the desire and need of Separation; 4th, that failing everything else, the matter should be placed before the Apostolic Delegate.

In accordance with the wishes of that meeting we saw Your Grace, and Your Grace far from disapproving of the Separation asked for, gave us reason to hope, that you would do what you could to obtain it. We likewise went to Toronto and interviewed the Minister of Education, from whom we received no decided answer.

We enclose a copy of the Resolution asking the government for legislation for Separation, a Resolution of which notice was given at the February meeting of the School Board. We include also the Motives of this Resolution, and a Statement showing its Reasonableness and Justice. Both these documents have appeared in full in the city press; we have slightly modified the form of motive No. 3, but the argument is strengthened rather than weakened.

We include also some extracts from editorials in "Le Droit" which are scandalously unfair to the English speaking trustees and their supporters. We include finally an extract of a Memoir on the Ottawa School Question presented to Mgr. Sbarretti, Papal Delegate, in 1906. This document contains a reliable history of the English French trouble in Ottawa up to that date.

We claim that a perusal of the (a) Resolution, (b) "Motives for Resolution", (c) "the Statement showing its Reasonableness" will show that the English Committee base their claim on the inalienable parents' rights, a right defended by the Catholic Church. The present forced partnership of the English Separate and Bilingual Schools does not allow the English speaking Catholics of Ottawa, and of many other places, a full exercise of the right, but permits rather a sort of legalized robbery.

We appeal to Your Grace:—

1st, to forbid "Le Droit", a French Catholic paper of Ottawa which professes obedience to you, from publishing any more scandalously unfair articles against the English speaking trustees and Catholics. 2nd, to use your influence

and authority with the French Trustees, so that they will join in passing at the March meeting of the Ottawa Separate School Board the Mackell Resolution, a resolution which contains the only permanent and just solution of the Ottawa Separate School trouble. 3rd, to use your influence with the other Archbishops and Bishops of Ontario, so that when the demand is made in the Ontario Legislature for Separation, it may have the united support of the Ontario Catholic hierarchy.

We have the honor to subscribe ourselves,

Your Grace's humble servants,

R. MACKELL,

Chairman of the English Committee of the Ottawa S. S. Trustees.

J. F. LANIGAN,

Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Ottawa S. S. Trustees.

EXTRACTS FROM EDITORIALS OF "LE DROIT," OTTAWA, referred to in the above letter:

La lutte autour de l'école bilingue vient d'entrer dans une nouvelle crise, et ceux qui semblent décidés cette fois à lui porter les coups les plus terribles ne sont pas les Orangistes, ni même des Protestantes; ce sont bel et bien des Catholiques.

Aveuglés par un sentiment de haine du français assez difficile à définir et encore plus difficile à comprendre, ils jettent le cri de sécession et fournissent, sans le savoir sans doute, aux ennemis de l'école catholique et de ses enseignements, l'arme la plus mortelle qui ait été mise en œuvre jusqu'aujourd'hui; la division ouverte.

Les sécessionnistes réduisent encore cette question si importante de l'éducation à une considération de piastres et de sous. Leur manière d'agir indique tout simplement qu'ils resteront attachés aux écoles catholiques si elles ne coûtent pas plus cher que les écoles protestantes. Et ne pourrions-nous pas ajouter sans fausser la vérité qu'un grand nombre d'entre eux disent tout bas? Nous donnerons à nos enfants une éducation catholique en autant qu'elle ne coûtera pas plus qu'une éducation neutre. Qu'on ne se récrie pas, c'est cela que l'on dit dans les considérants cousus de sophismes et d'erreurs que l'on a donnés.

FEBRUARY 13th, 1914.

Les Canadiens français ont acquis des droits et ils vont lutter pour les exercer; ils sont maîtres des écoles séparés et ils vont les conserver, s'il y en a qui ne sont pas satisfaits qu'ils aillent goûter aux écoles publiques, puisque pour eux ce n'est qu'une question de piastres et de sous.

FEBRUARY 18th, 1914.

Et n'avons-nous pas le droit de considérer cette manœuvre de M. Mackell, de ses amis et de ses souffleurs une insulte à Sa Grandeur Monseigneur l'Archevêque d'Ottawa.

FEBRUARY 19th, 1914.

II.

OTTAWA, February 26, 1914.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, MOST REV. PEREGRINE FRANCIS STAGNI, O. S. M.,
Apostolic Delegate to Canada.

Your Excellency,

We beg leave to submit to you the following documents:

- (a) The Mackell Resolution;
- (b) Motives of Mackell Resolution;
- (c) Statement showing Reasonableness of Mackell Resolution;
- (d) Extract from some editorials of "Le Droit" on the Mackell Resolution.
- (e) Copy of a letter of the undersigned to the Archbishop of Ottawa.

While this is not meant as an appeal over the head of the Archbishop of Ottawa, we feel it our duty to send these documents to Your Excellency. Separation

tion of the Separate and Bilingual Schools is no mere diocesan question. It affects the whole of Ontario. It is one of those questions which fall directly under the jurisdiction of the Apostolic Delegate. School questions involving legislation have, since the first illustrious Apostolic Delegate came to Canada, been the particular concern of Apostolic Delegates. Moreover the question of obtaining legislation to permit separation of Separate and Bilingual Schools in Ottawa was laid before Your distinguished predecessor, Mgr. Sbarretti. For these and other reasons we feel that we should be failing in our duty were we not to present Your Excellency with the enclosed documents.

We humbly ask Your Excellency to use the high prerogatives of your office in the manner it may seem best to you to facilitate a satisfactory solution of the present Ontario Separate School Question, which, in Ottawa and many other places, has reached a very critical stage. We should be pleased to furnish Your Excellency with any further presentation of our views that you may desire.

We have the honor to subscribe ourselves,

Your Excellency's most humble servants.

(Sgd.) R. MACKELL,

Chairman of the English Committee of the Ottawa S. S. Trustees

J. F. LANIGAN,

Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Ottawa S. S. Trustees.

III.

OTTAWA, 3rd March, 1914.

MESSRS. R. MACKELL, *Chairman of English Committee*, and

J. F. LANIGAN, *Chairman Finance Committee*,

Separate School Board,

OTTAWA.

MY DEAR SIRS,—

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated February 26th, with annexed documents, bearing on the Separate School situation in Ottawa. I shall not fail to give them serious consideration.

In the meantime let me express the hope that in dealing with the present question, all parties concerned will chiefly bear in mind the honor of the Catholic name and in the solution of the difficulty be guided solely by the highest principles of justice and Christian charity.

I remain,

Yours very sincerely in Xto,

X (Sgd.) P. F. STAGNI.

IV.

Secretary Treasurer's Office,

Ottawa Separate School Board,

OTTAWA, March 5, 1914.

TO THE MOST REV. CHARLES HUGH GAUTHIER, D. D.,

Archbishop of Ottawa.

TO THE MOST REV. NEIL McNEIL, D. D.,

Archbishop of Toronto.

TO THE MOST REV. MICHAEL J. SPRATT, D. D.,

Archbishop of Kingston.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACES:—

The critical state of the Separate School question, not merely in Ottawa, but also in various parts of the Province of Ontario, induces us to place humbly before you: consideration the following explanation of the action which the English Committee of the Ottawa Separate School Board has thus far taken, and the following outline of the future steps which the interests and expressed wishes of the ratepayers, whom they represent will oblige them to take.

The present very critical condition of the Separate School question in Ottawa is due, we submit, chiefly to the following causes:—

1st. To the violation in 1903, by the French for financial reasons of the compact of 1886, by which the English and the French schools in Ottawa were, by a by-law of the Separate School Board, almost independent of each other, both as regard finances and control.

2nd. To the failure ever since of all agreements between the English and French Catholics as regards abstaining from voting in the election of a trustee of the other's language.

3rd. To the Bilingual imbroglio.

4th. To the financial crisis, which joined to the above reasons, is causing every year an increased number of English-speaking Catholics to become Public School supporters.

For ten years the English speaking trustees have tried every means in their power to arrive at some working solution of the difficulty. During the past year they have had the honor of having discussed the question more than once with the Archbishop of Ottawa. Finally, November 5th, 1913, when the \$350,000 debenture by-law threatened to bring affairs to an immediate crisis, the English-speaking Committee of the Ottawa Roman Catholic Separate School Trustees called a meeting in St. Patrick's Lyceum, at which were present the five English speaking parish priests and the seven English trustees who formed the English Committee. Two of the English Trustees, Trustee Freeland, who failed to obtain re-election in January 1914, and Trustee Armstrong, who represents an overwhelmingly French ward, (two trustees who did not represent in any way the views of the English speaking Catholics of the city, and who had previously left the English Committee) were not invited to the meeting. At this meeting it was unanimously decided:—

1st. That Separation of the Bilingual and Separate Schools proper of Ottawa, under two independent Boards with independent finances was the only real remedy.

2nd. That Messrs. Mackell and Lanigan should acquaint the Archbishop of Ottawa with the desire of the meeting and ask him to use his influence with the Government to obtain the necessary legislation.

3rd. That Messrs. Mackell and Lanigan should go to Toronto to acquaint the Government with the desire and need of separation.

4th. That failing everything else the matter should be placed before the Apostolic Delegate.

In accordance with the wishes of the meeting Messrs. Mackell and Lanigan saw the Archbishop of Ottawa, and His Grace, far from disapproving of the separation asked for, gave them reason to hope, that he would do what he could to obtain it.* They likewise went to Toronto and interviewed the Minister of Education, who gave a non-committal answer.

As it was feared that the third reading of the \$350,000 debenture by-law, would be passed at the February meeting of the Ottawa Separate School Board, the English Committee of the Ottawa Separate School Trustees, called a meeting on February 10th, of a number of their electors to discuss the situation. At the unanimous request of that meeting notice of a resolution asking the Ontario Government to legislate for separation of the Separate and Bilingual Schools was given at the February meeting of the Ottawa Separate School Board. On March 2nd, the English Committee called a second meeting of their electors, to which they invited, the English speaking city priests, and about one hundred and fifty of the leading Separate School Supporters of Ottawa. At that meeting the resolution for separation was unanimously approved, and the English Committee instructed to carry on the struggle till the necessary legislation be obtained.

We are aware that, as a rule, no change in the Separate School Act is made unless the Archbishops and Bishops of Ontario, or the majority of them, agree to the proposed change. Hence, we submit to Your Graces a copy of the Resolution for Separation, and its Motives. The account is from the *Ottawa Citizen* of March 4, 1914.

We are convinced that a separation substantially at least along the lines of the aforesaid resolution is an absolute necessity in Ottawa, if Separate Schools are to be maintained. We believe it to be required in many other places as well. We think that if applied to the whole Province it would be beneficial to Catholic education. However, we represent only Ottawa, and we would be satisfied if the proposed separation were obtained for Ottawa only.

*After the receipt of the above letter Mgr. Gauthier stated to Messrs. Mackell and Lanigan, that he wished to make it clear that he was perfectly neutral on this question of separation.

The interests and demands of our electors will oblige us to lay this matter before the Ontario Government in about a fortnight. We trust, that since our claim is based on parents' rights, a right ever defended by the Catholic Church, it may have in Toronto the support of the Catholic hierarchy of Ontario.

We have the honor to subscribe ourselves,

Your Graces' Most Obedient Servants,

(Sgd.) R. MACKELL,

Chairman English Section Ottawa Separate School Board.

J. F. LANIGAN.

Chairman Finance Committee Ottawa Separate School Board.

V.

OTTAWA, ONT., April 27, 1914.

MOST REV. CHARLES HUGH GAUTHIER, D. D.,
Archbishop of Ottawa.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE:—

The Ottawa Separate School question has now reached such a critical stage that English speaking Catholics are beginning to count the days of the Separate Schools in Ottawa. We wish to call Your Grace's attention to six factors, that have brought on the crisis, which threatens to ruin the Separate School System in Ottawa.

The first factor is largely an uncontrollable one: from the fact that the Catholic assessment is much lower than the Protestant assessment, the rate has to be much higher. This state of affairs may be relieved somewhat if the law relating to the School taxes of Corporations and public utilities be modified. But in Ottawa at least, there is no possibility of the Separate School rate being as low as the public school rate, even if the greatest economy were practised. This is the first handicap against the Separate Schools, but it is a handicap which if alone would be easily overcome, as it has been thus far.

The second factor is a local one and could be controlled by Your Grace; the violation of a past understanding to the effect that the English schools of the City should be controlled by the English Committee, composed of English Trustees, nominated and elected by English speaking voters; and the French (or bilingual) schools should be controlled by the French Committee composed of French Trustees, nominated and elected by French speaking voters. This was an essential part of the separation of 1886, and was again agreed to by Archbishop Duhamel, in 1906. This understanding is applied fully as regards the French schools; it is not applied as regards the English schools. The French priests and people have refused to abide by the understanding, and on April 25th, 1914, succeeded in defeating two English Trustees who had five-sixths of the English votes, thus increasing tenfold the racial bitterness in Ottawa. Indeed, French voters were urged from the pulpit to take part in these elections, by Father Jeanotte in January, 1914, and by the Priests of St. François and St. Jean Baptiste on April 19th, 1914. If French Parish Priests are going to tell French voters from the pulpit, either directly or indirectly, not to vote for the English speaking candidate who is acceptable to the majority of the English speaking Catholics, how are the civil and religious rights of the English speaking Catholics, which are thereby violated, to be respected? Only by Your Grace stepping in to forbid those priests this line of action, and in the interests of racial peace and in the interests of our Schools, commanding all concerned, priests and laymen, to return to the above mentioned understanding. We have elsewhere explained fully to Your Grace the necessity of partial separation and the extreme desirability of complete separation in the Board of Trustees of the English and the French Schools in Ottawa.

There is a third factor, a most disturbing one which could be easily controlled by Your Grace, and which we earnestly trust will be: we refer to the campaign of racial hatred and slander carried on by "Le Droit", a French daily newspaper published in Ottawa, edited by an Oblate priest of this Diocese, Fr. Ch. Charlebois, O. M. I. "Le Droit" consistently, especially during the past five months, carried on a campaign of slander against English speaking Catholic laymen, Priests, Bishops, and Cardinals, (the Cardinal Secretary of State himself being not exempted—See letter entitled "Une opinion non prévenue" published

in the issue of April 11th, 1914.) The particular object of their voltairian spite is Mgr. Fallon, O. M. I., Bishop of London. In a particularly irreligious article, bordering on blasphemy, entitled "Une bien triste page", published in "Le Droit" of April 15th, Bishop Fallon is accused of being the moral assassin of the French race, and like the Pharisees of the time of Christ, seeking to destroy them. It is incomprehensible to us as Catholics that a paper posing as a Catholic one is allowed by Your Grace to publish such irreligious literature, utterly subversive to all religious authority, and that it has never received the slightest public reprimand; it is incomprehensible to us that a priest of this city is permitted by Your Grace to edit such a paper. Its constant insults to the English speaking Catholics of Ottawa, is simply driving English speaking Catholics out of the Separate Schools. One of the most scurrilous in his insults to English speaking laymen, priests and bishops, is the noted French anticlerical Mr. Genest, who is the Chairman of the Separate School Board, and whose course is approved of by "Le Droit" and the French clergy.

There is a fourth factor, also a most disturbing one, which could be entirely controlled by Your Grace: we refer to the illegal defiance of the Government Inspector by the French school children, teachers and trustees, a campaign started and continued by French priests. Among the school rooms where a placard of defiance of the Government is posted, are those of Your Grace's cathedral parish. The objection is not to the Inspector as a Protestant, but as an Englishman. If the French desire larger concessions as regards the teaching of French, there are constitutional means at hand. We protest against the present illegal plan of campaign (see Instruction 18 of the Department of Education) which defies the Government and jeopardizes the Separate School system. Is the only system of Separate Schools which we have or can get in Ontario to be destroyed by French Priests? And is Your Grace going to remain silent while this is going on? It is true Mr. Genest claims to have your approval for his defiance of the Government, but in this we do not believe him. We fail to see how English speaking Catholics can be called on in conscience to support a system of Government schools which French Priests are openly trying to destroy, if all the French they want be not taught in them. Is each Priest free to defy the Government and its laws whenever it seems to him those laws are unfair, or is this Diocese going to be ruled in this most important matter by its Bishop?

The fifth factor is a pressing financial one. It is proposed to raise debentures for the sum of \$275,000.00 on April 29th. Despite the present financial stringency, despite the lack of credit of the Ottawa Separate School Board due to its defiance of the Government, despite the enormous debt that is already on the Separate School property and the unnatural size of the Separate School tax—(twice as great as the Public School rate), the French Trustees and those English Trustees elected by French votes are determined to force on those debentures. The English speaking Catholics who pay more than the French object to the debentures. An exodus of English speaking supporters to the public schools and financial bankruptcy are the probable results of the passing of this by-law. We appeal to Your Grace to stop this frenzied finance. If a Bishop has a right to oblige a Catholic in conscience to support the Separate School system, surely he has a right to see that the Separate School affairs are being properly conducted. If the Separate School supporter is under the jurisdiction of the Bishop, is the Separate School Trustee. If the Bishop is unable to maintain control over the School Board, hundreds of Catholic ratepayers will consider that they are no longer bound by the obligation of supporting such a system, as, in that case, it is no longer a Catholic system.

The sixth and last factor to which we wish to call Your Grace's attention is the result of the above five: The exodus of English speaking Catholics to the Public Schools. Disgusted with the campaign of slander which has been allowed to continue unchecked, despairing of having their interests safeguarded, seeing the Separate School system undermined by French Priests for language reasons, and their property in danger of being deeply mortgaged, numerous English speaking Catholics have already transferred their School taxes to the Public Schools. Already on January 1st, 1914, 10 per cent of the total Catholic assessment of Ottawa had been transferred by English speaking Catholics to the Public Schools. But the danger is great that about 50 per cent of the remainder may be transferred within the next four weeks.

We have been successful during the past four months, in restraining English speaking Catholics from going over in a body to the Public Schools, by holding

out hope of redress. The events of the last few days have so intensified the situation, that we disclaim all further responsibility in this connection. That a very large amount will be transferred this week is absolutely certain, owing to the defeat of the two English candidates for the office of School Trustee in the election of April 25th, and the probable passing of the debentures, on April 29th.

We understand that Your Grace is leaving on May 1st for your *ad limina* visit to Rome. We appeal to you to make an official, public and comprehensive pronouncement on this School question before you leave. It were sad indeed, to leave here in Ottawa the largest set of Catholic Schools in Canada, outside of Montreal and Quebec, and to find on your return this set of Schools disrupted and bankrupt. It would be the most serious blow Catholic education ever received in Ontario. We feel that the present is too critical a moment to be left without the firm hand of the ruler of the Diocese. If you the Archbishop cannot save the Separate Schools of Ottawa they are doomed.

We have the honour to subscribe ourselves,

Your Grace's most obedient servants,

Signed:

"R. MACKELL."
"J. F. LANIGAN."
"JAMES FINN."
"M. J. O'NEILL."
"H. F. SIMS."
"A. J. BRENNAN."

Separate School Trustees.

Signed:

"THOMAS SMITH."
"F. D. HENDERSON."
"P. J. NOLAN." *Secretary.*
"SAMUEL CROSS."
"M. H. FAGAN."
"R. A. BILSBOROUGH."
"A. M. POWERS."
"WILLIAM RYDER."
"JOHN J. LYONS."

Members of the Separate School Committee.

VI.

Archbishop's Palace,
OTTAWA, April 30th, 1914.

TO MEMBERS OF THE SEPARATE SCHOOL BOARD AND
SEPARATE SCHOOL COMMITTEE.

Dear Sirs,

In reply to your letter of the 27th inst., you will kindly permit me to inform you that you overestimate the powers possessed by the Bishops of this Province with respect to the settlement of difficulties such as you refer to.

With much respect, I remain,

Yours faithfully in Dno,

(Sgd.) C. H. AEP. OF OTTAWA.

VII.

OTTAWA, May 14th, 1914.

MOST REV. CHARLES HUGH GAUTHIER, D. D.,
Archbishop of Ottawa,
Collegio Canadese, Rome.

Your Grace,—

We were surprised to learn that the matters referred to in our letter of the 27th ult., which are all religious, do not fall within the scope of your authority. Since we have over-estimated the powers possessed by Your Grace, we trust you will lay the matter before the Roman Congregations which are certainly competent. It would facilitate greatly the solution of the Ottawa and Ontario school question if the Roman Congregations saw fit to pass judgment on the fundamental principle of French-Canadian Nationalism, namely: "The English language is for French Canadians approximate occasion for the mortal sin of apostasy". That is the theory that is used by "Le Droit" of Ottawa (see, e.g., issue May 13th, 1914), and by the French clergy to make it a religious obligation, even for English speaking Catholics, to resist constituted authority.

We beg to inform Your Grace of the more important happenings since our letter of April 27th. On the afternoon of April 27th, after you had received our letter you were informed of our intention to bring the whole matter before the civil courts, to which Your Grace raised no objection. An injunction prohibiting the raising of the \$275,000. debentures and the paying of teachers not possessing the proper legal qualifications and the teachers not obeying the regulations of the Department was applied for in Toronto, April 28th, and an Interim Injunction to that effect was granted and is still in force. A Mandatory Order was asked requiring the Board and its servants to conform to the regulations of the Department. The case is still sub judice. In view of the recent decision in the Green Valley case, we have no doubt as to the result. We include the statement to our electors, published in the *Citizen* of May 5th, explaining why the matter was brought to the Courts.

The bilingual trustees are assuming every day a more defiant attitude towards the English speaking Catholics, and towards the Government. Mr. Freeland stated in the *Citizen* of May 5th, that if Regulation 17 was enforced every Separate School in the City would be made a bilingual one, and all the present teachers in the English speaking schools replaced in time with bilingual teachers. He introduced at the meeting of the Board, May 13th, a notice of motion to that effect, worded as follows:—

“That at the next meeting of the Board, if Regulation 17 is enforced, that preparations be made to intermix French children with the English children in the school rooms under our jurisdiction, and that a local inspector be appointed by the Board to organize the schools, in accordance with the best interests of the children of both sections.”

That resolution outrages the natural rights of English speaking Catholics. If it were enforced, English speaking parents would send their children to the only English schools that would be left them—namely the Public Schools. However, we intend to fight it, if necessary, in the Courts and in the Legislature.

At the same meeting of the School Board, the bilingual trustees made the noted French anticlerical Mr. Genest, the czar of all the Separate Schools of Ottawa. The Resolution was as follows:

“That in the event of the injunction proceedings, as instituted by R. Mackell and others, against this Board, and which are now pending, being maintained and Regulation 17, of the Department of Education being upheld, and its enforcement insisted on, the Chairman of the Board, if in his discretion he should deem it proper and advisable in the interests of this Board to do so, be and is authorized to dispose, as soon as he deems it advisable with all or any of the lay teachers at present employed by the Board upon proper notice being given to such teachers.

And that the chairman be also authorized, in the event of so dispensing with such lay teachers, to retain the services of such other teachers as may be qualified to teach in the schools under the control of the Board, in accordance with the requirements of the situation which may result from the maintenance of such injunction proceedings and the upholding of such Regulation 17. The authority herein conferred on the Chairman, shall be by him exercised at his discretion at such time or times as he may deem necessary, in the interests of this Board, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the Rules and Regulations.”

The vote on the motion was:

YEAS: Chairman Genest; Trustees Armstrong, Bettez, Bourcier, La-Rochelle, Lemieux, Le Cicre, Raymond, Rioux, St. Germain, Freeland and Cain (12).

NAVS: Trustees—Brennar, Finn, Lanigan, O'Neill, Sims and Mackell (6).

Your Grace will admit that this Resolution which is illegal, could easily have a most disastrous effect on our schools. Yet Mr. Genest and his bilingual school trustees, who are jeopardizing the Separate Schools of Ottawa by these tactics are supported by the local French Catholic Daily, “Le Droit”, and by the French clergy.

Since Your Grace left, “Le Droit” has continued its campaign of slander against English speaking Catholics, the following two extracts may serve as a sample:

“Mais aujourd'hui ce n'est plus seulement la lutte avec l'ennemi séculaire, L'Orangisme, c'est une guerre fratricide. Et comme ils doivent s'amuser, les chefs ennemis qui ont été assez habiles pour allumer cette guerre! Comme ils doivent jouir de voir des Irlandais, fils des victimes de l'Orangisme en Irlande,

exécuter leur sale besogne en tentant d'étouffer leur coreligionnaires, les Canadiens français, dont eux-mêmes n'ont jamais pu venir à bout.

"Non, il ne peut y avoir là d'esprit catholique et nous ne pouvons lire qu'en tremblant cette parole du grand apôtre; 'C'est un péril venant de faux frères.'"

"Le Droit", May 1, 1914.

"C'est toujours la même vieille histoire, le diable s'est servi d'Eve pour faire tomber Adam, il s'est servi de Judas pour livrer Jésus aux mains des juges païens, et aujourd'hui les Orangistes, déconcertés par la lutte opiniâtre que les Canadiens français opposent à leur plans de saxonisation, ont poussé nos coreligionnaires à nous traduire devant les cours pour régler un différend d'intérêt secondaire pour eux, mais de première importance pour nous."

"Le Droit", May 8, 1914.

It is most distressing to have the Catholic daily of Ottawa stirring up racial hatred in this manner.

As we anticipated, quite a few Catholic rate-payers, especially in St. George's Ward, have transferred their school taxes to the public schools during the past few weeks. Had we not brought the matter before the Courts, a great exodus would certainly have occurred. May we hope that ecclesiastical authority will interpose to save the Catholic schools of Ottawa?

We have the honour to subscribe ourselves,

Your Grace's obedient servants,

Signed:

R. MACKELL,
M. J. O'NEILL,
J. F. LANIGAN.

H. F. SIMS,
A. J. BRENNAN,
JAMES FINN,
Separate School Trustees.

VIII.

OTTAWA, CANADA, May 16, 1914.

TO HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL MERRY DEL VAL,
Papal Secretary of State,
ROME,

Your Eminence,—

We, the undersigned members of the English Committee of the Separate School Board of Ottawa, send herewith: (a) a copy of a letter of the undersigned to the Archbishop of Ottawa, dated April 27, 1914; (b) the Archbishop's answer, dated April 30, 1914; (c) our letter to the Archbishop, dated May 14, 1914; (d) the newspaper clipping referred to in that letter; (e) our case for separation of School Board.

Were the Ottawa School Question merely a local racial squabble we should not bother Your Eminence. However, as our venerable archbishop in the letter already referred to tells us, the difficulties requiring a settlement here are not within the powers possessed by him or by the bishops of this Province. Indeed the question, far from being a local one, is a national question of considerable importance.

What really causes such profound divergence of views between the English speaking trustees and priests on the one hand, and the French speaking trustees and priests on the other is, strange to say, a theological difference. The French denounce us as bad Catholics for not subscribing to the fundamental dogma of Canadian Nationalism: "Whosoever learns English and loses his father's language almost inevitably loses his Catholic faith." Those who accept that doctrine deduce as a first principle of action: The Catholic Church should oppose with all the might of her power the anglicisation of those Catholic children, who, though living in an English speaking Province, do not yet know English. Therefore the Ontario school law (which while it, all the circumstances being considered, provides on the whole reasonably well for the teaching of French to those who want it, nevertheless orders that the main body of the instruction should be in English) must according to the Nationalists be resisted as a matter of conscience, not merely by constitutional methods, but also by illegal defiance.

Any layman, priest, hishop or cardinal who does not subscribe to the Nationalist dogma is denounced in the most un-Catholic manner in the French Nationalist press.

We trust that the Ottawa School Question will not be a second Manitoba School Question.

We are anxious to fulfil our duties as Catholic school trustees, and in the present critical juncture look confidently to ecclesiastical authority for the necessary guidance and assistance.

We have the honour to subscribe ourselves,

Your Eminence's most obedient servants,

Signed:

J. F. LANIGAN,
M. J. O'NEILL,
A. J. BRENNAN.

R. MACKELL,
H. F. SIMS,
JAMES FINN.
Separate School Trustees.

History of the Ottawa School Question

Compiled chiefly from a Memoir presented to Mgr. Sbarretti in 1906.

The Separate Schools Act under which the Catholic schools of this city are conducted was passed in 1863. At that time there were five wards in the city, namely: Victoria, Wellington, St. George's, By and Ottawa. In the three first mentioned wards the English-speaking Catholics were an overwhelming majority, and in By Ward they had a working majority. The French controlled Ottawa Ward. This condition continued for twelve years until the French had increased in By and Victoria Wards.

The election of Separate School Trustees in cities is provided for by subsection 1 of section 30 of the Act which is as follows:

"For every ward into which any city is divided there shall be two school trustees, each of whom shall continue in office for two years and until his successor has been elected."

There is nothing said about the nationality or the language of the trustee so that the electors were and are at liberty to select whom they please.

CONCESSION TO FRENCH.

Such being the fact, it is instructive to recall the conduct of the English-speaking Catholics towards the French while the former were the majority in four of the five wards of the city. From the very first they allowed the French to elect from among their number one trustee in each ward. Thus the French were at the outset, and during the years that they remained a minority, given a representation at the board to which they were not entitled except through the generosity of the English-speaking Catholics of the city. Out of this voluntary concession on the part of the English-speaking majority grew the custom or understanding whereby those of one nationality were not to interfere or take part in the elections of the other. The concession so made to the French had no more sanction in law than the division later of the School Board into an English and a French committee, but neither the French nor their clergy were ever heard to complain of it on that account.

However, this equality of representation did not conduce to the harmony of the board or to the efficiency of the schools. Difficulties arose at an early date and continued to increase in proportion to the growth of the French population of the city. At the beginning of the year 1886 the condition of affairs was such that the board was practically unable to conduct its ordinary business; the schools were mismanaged and insufficient, and the English-speaking rate-payers realized that if they were to maintain their religious and educational standing in the community a change of some kind in the management of the

Separate School Board was absolutely necessary. It had frequently happened that meetings of the board were not held for long intervals, and that, when they did take place, the proceedings were unseemly and tended to intensify the friction that existed between the two nationalities.

An attempt made to erect a French School on Primrose Hill (near St. Jean Baptiste Church) which would serve Roehesterville more than the city, brought a petition to the School Board from about one hundred English-speaking Catholic ratepayers threatening to become Public School supporters.

In view of the foregoing facts it would serve no purpose to multiply proofs of the unfortunate state of school affairs prevailing in the latter part of the year 1886. Gradually it was forced upon the minds of the trustees that to save the schools from ruin a drastic remedy had to be applied, and, as a result of frequent discussions and negotiations a plan was formulated whereby the board was to be divided into two committees, one English, the other French, to each of which the management of the English and the French schools respectively was to be handed over. When the details had been agreed upon the whole plan was embodied in a set of resolutions of which notice was given at a meeting of the Board held in September, 1886.

SEPARATION COMPACT OF 1886.

The following is an extract of the minutes of that meeting:

"Messrs. J. B. Lynch and Godefroy Marsan gave notice that at the next regular monthly meeting of the Board, they would introduce the following resolutions:—

Moved by J. B. Lynch, seconded, by Godefroy Marsan, and resolved, That on the 1st of January, 1887, this Board resolves itself into two committees, to be known as the English-speaking Committee and the French-speaking Committee, respectively of the Board of the Separate School trustees of the City of Ottawa—the first named committee to be composed of the five English-speaking members, and the latter of the five French-speaking members of the Board.

POWERS OF THE RESPECTIVE COMMITTEES.

That the maintenance and management of the Schools attended by English classes be assigned exclusively to the English-speaking committee, and the maintenance and management of the Schools attended by French classes be assigned exclusively to the French-speaking committee.

APPORTIONMENT OF THE REVENUE.

That the annual revenue of the Board be apportioned in the following manner:

The English Committee shall receive the taxes paid in by the English-speaking supporters of the Separate Schools, and an equitable share (based upon the average attendance of pupils at the English Schools) of the Ontario Government grant, and of all moneys payable to the Board.

The French Committee shall receive the taxes paid in by the French-speaking supporters of the Separate Schools, and an equitable share (based upon the average attendance of pupils at the French Schools) of the Ontario Government grant, and of all other moneys payable to the Board."

In pursuance of that notice the resolutions were considered and unanimously adopted at a special meeting of the board held on Friday, October 22nd, 1886.

"At the meeting", says the *Daily Citizen*, October 23rd, 1886, "Mr. Lynch referred to the troubles and difficulties which had perpetually existed between the French and English-speaking members of the Board in reference to school management, and thought that the adoption of the present resolution would obviate them."

"The board unanimously passed the resolution, matters of detail to be settled at the next regular meeting."

To fully appreciate the attitude which Archbishop Duhamel took twenty years later, it may be here remarked that the action of the board as above described was taken with his knowledge and approval.

In pursuance of the understanding reached at the meeting of the school board on October 22nd, 1886, the details involved in the division of the board into two committees were considered at a meeting held on Monday, November 15th, 1886.

The chief thing to adjust was the indebtedness. This would at the end of that year amount to \$2,725, of which \$1,725 were due on St. Patrick's School, and \$1,000 on the Primrose Hill lots—the site for a new French School. This debt was satisfactorily adjusted and the details were incorporated in the resolution adopted at the previous meeting. When this was done, Trustee Smith said that he supposed it was quite understood that any measure agreed upon by either committee should not be opposed by the other committee, excepting in such cases when the proposal would be beyond the resources of the board." (See *Free Press*, Tuesday, November 16, 1886).

The Separate school supporters of the city, both French and English, having been committed by their representatives to the adoption of the plan dividing the school board into two committees, the English-speaking ratepayers proceeded, with the sanction and approval of His Grace the Archbishop to take such further steps for increasing the number of their schools and for ensuring the efficiency thereof, as the new plan made necessary. A scheme for raising the required funds having been devised, a meeting of the English-speaking separate school rate-payers of the city was called for the evening of Sunday, January 16th, 1887, in the Academic Hall of the University of Ottawa. The question naturally arises, what attitude did His Grace take with reference to that meeting? The answer is supplied by the newspapers.

In the *Free Press* of Monday, January 17th, 1887, there appears a report of the services in the Basilica at High Mass on the preceding day. It should be borne in mind that at the time in question the Basilica (or Notre Dame) parish was still a mixed French and English parish. The report states that His Grace presided, and that Reverend Father Dowdall preached an interesting sermon on education. After a brief synopsis of the sermon the *Free Press* says that in conclusion Father Dowdall stated that every Catholic should take an interest in the education of his children and he advised them to attend the meeting of the separate school rate-payers in the College hall that evening and to express their opinion either for or against the scheme proposed in order that no fault could be found in future. In view of what has since transpired it is important to remember that the sermon in which the foregoing advice was given was preached with the knowledge and approval, and in the presence of His Grace the Archbishop.

It will be noted that at the date in question Archbishop Duhamel was not troubled in the slightest degree about there being no law for the division of the Board into two committees, and it is well in view of his declarations on the subject in 1906, that the absence of legal sanction for the division of the Board and for the erection of new schools by the English committee was publicly debated in his presence and that he had not a word to say in opposition to the proposal. He considered the moral sanction of the clergy was a sufficient guarantee for the division entered upon.

The meeting in question was held in the University of Ottawa, January 16, 1887. Archbishop Duhamel presided. On the platform were Father Pallier, P. P. of St. Joseph's, Father Whelan, P. P. St. Patrick's, Fathers Sloan and Dowdall of the Cathedral, Inspector McCann, and Messrs Lynch and Smith, School Trustees.

His Grace opened the meeting and explained the object. More accommodation was required for the schools; but as it could not be obtained without expense, it was thought proper by the members of the English committee to call a meeting of ratepayers to get their endorsement.

It was shown to the satisfaction of the meeting that a loan of \$20,000 was required to provide school accommodation for the English-speaking children, and it was resolved that the Board of Trustees be authorized to procure such a loan, and that a copy of the resolution be forwarded to the English Committee of the Separate School Trustees. (See *Free Press*, January 7th, 1887).

RESULTS OF SEPARATION.

The beneficent results of the separation were at once felt. The Separate School Board obtained an amendment to the Separate Schools Act enabling them to raise debentures as the Public School Board did, and \$40,000 debentures were raised that same year (1887). A great improvement came. Stated generally the English-speaking Separate Schools of Ottawa emerged from a condition in which they had become a by-word to one of system and promise. Previous to 1887, for example, the pupils that had gone up from them for the Collegiate en-

trance examination were few and far between. It was quite natural for English-speaking parents to expect that as many as possible of the pupils should be prepared for this examination, which, for so many of them would mark the termination of their school career, and which for all was the regular test as to the educational efficiency of the course through which they had passed. Moreover, it was the only test prescribed by the Ontario Department of Education. A reference to the figures will show how steadily the number of passes grew, and that the pupils of the English-speaking Separate Schools frequently won scholarships competed for by the pupils of all the city schools—both Protestant and Catholic. Dealing only with the English-speaking side of the case, it may be said generally that the coming into force of the "compact" was followed by the erection of new schools a general improvement in accommodation, the employment of a larger number of duly-qualified teachers, the bringing of the schools into line with the methods and standards of the Department of Education, and the preparation of an increasing number of pupils for the Entrance Examination test. Not only in these respects was an improvement apparent, but in the general sense of satisfaction felt by the ratepayers that they were at least getting their money's worth from the schools. To have suggested to the English-speaking ratepayers a return to the old regime would have been deemed a proposal too absurd for consideration. For although the expenditure, capital and current, was greater in maintaining the schools, the results were better and justified the increased expenditure over and over again; they inspired confidence, and any sacrifices to secure them were cheerfully made. If the reports for the period to which we refer, of the Inspector for Separate Schools on the state of these schools in Ottawa are consulted, it will be found that the conditions (of which but a generalization is here given) show that despite difficulties due to antecedent faults a degree of progress had set in which grew steadily and could bear comparison with any set of schools in the Province of Ontario.

Before speaking of the causes that led to the violation of the compact of 1886 it may be said that during the period extending from that year to the year 1892 the compact was, on the whole, faithfully observed. The relations of the two committees of the School Board were, during the same period harmonious and in marked contrast to those prevailing prior to the division of the board. It is true that in the year 1889 a bitter and disedifying controversy was carried on in the columns of the city press between His Grace the Archbishop and Mr. Achille Frechette, chairman of the French committee of the Board, upon a question relating to ecclesiastical authority in school matters. As a result of the disagreement Trustees Larue, Garcau, Lusignan and Pinard resigned and shortly afterwards Mr. Frechette ceased to be a trustee, but this trouble being confined to the French committee, it did not affect the Board as a whole.

The intention on the part of the French trustees to violate the compact of 1886 was first manifested in 1892. At that time it was found that French pupils were attending certain English schools in constantly increasing numbers, congesting the attendance at those schools, and, as several of the teachers complained, retarding the progress of some of the advanced classes. The latter result was of course solely due to the French pupils' imperfect knowledge of English, but at the time the complaint of the teachers was attributed to racial bias.

FINANCIAL REASONS AT BOTTOM.

While incidents, such as the one just dealt with, were used in public to justify the conduct of the French trustees and of their sympathizers, there was another and a more potent reason for their desire to destroy the compact. This reason they concealed as far as it was possible to do so. However, it was well known at the time that the motive underlying their whole course of action was financial rather than racial, although the latter, for tactical purposes was kept in the foreground. A glance at the assessment rolls of the period will show, so far as the French-speaking rate-payers were concerned, that the growth in the separate school assessment was not keeping pace with the growth in the French school population, and that as time went on the resulting chasm between income and expenditure would widen. This is exactly what has happened, as may be demonstrated by comparing the figures under the two heads mentioned. A similar examination will demonstrate that the contrary was, and is, the case as respects the English-speaking rate-payers. If the educational exigencies of the situation, due to the use of two languages as a medium of instruction in the

schools, render it imperative that there should be two sets of schools, it follows as a matter of equity, that there should be a corresponding division in their financial relations; and this is really the principle underlying the compact of 1886. Any violation, therefore, of the latter, though not a legal transgression, is an injustice as well as a breach of honor.

However, the French trustees and ratepayers (including His Grace the Archbishop) took a different view of the matter, and having once realized that the disparity between their school income and their school expenditure would grow greater as time went on and the French population increased, they bent all their energies towards the abolition of the two committees so that they might strengthen their financial credit by having the English ratepayers made liable for the obligations of the board as a whole. With people determined to secure such an important financial advantage at the expense of the English-speaking fellow Catholics it is not surprising that moral obligations did not dissuade them from their purpose.

The success of the agitation against the compact of 1886 was undoubtedly hastened by frequent breaches of the understanding that neither nationality was to take part in, or otherwise interfere with the elections of the other.

NOT UNDERSTANDING AT DEFIANCE.

In the year 1903 in a school election in Dalhousie Ward between two English-speaking candidates, Messrs T. McGuire and M. J. Smith, the French ratepayers of the ward not only interfered actively in the support of Mr. McGuire, but were urged to do so from the pulpit of St. Jean-Baptiste church by Rev. Father Jacques. Owing to the large French population of the ward in question, Mr. McGuire was, of course, elected.

Despite the unscrupulous activity of the assailants of the compact it continued to exist until the year 1903. At a meeting of the school board held on February 11th, 1903, an effort was made to abolish the French and English committees, but owing to the provisions of one of the rules governing the proceedings of the board the motion then passed was ineffective. However, at another meeting held on March 11th, 1903, the effort was renewed and this time with success. An incident connected with the adoption of the motion abolishing the French and English committees which may be taken as a sample illustration of the methods of Trustee McGuire, who was then chairman of the board, is discovered by the minutes of the meeting in question. The following is a verbatim extract from the minute book of the board—

"Moved by Trustee Lizotte, seconded by Trustee Boileau, that the so-called French and English committees be abolished from this date, and all the business of the board to be transacted by the board in the manner complied by the School Act.

"YEAS —Boileau, Boudreault, Bettez, Chapman, Charbonneau, Lizotte and Rioux—7."

"NAYS —Daly, Foran, Forest, Gleason, Higgerty, Kane, McGrail and Sims—8."

It will be observed from the foregoing vote that the motion was defeated, but the minutes of the meeting naively state: "The chairman (McGuire) ordered the vote taken again, Forest voting yea." In the face of such eloquent testimony comment on the action of the chairman would be superfluous.

A COMPLETE FACE-ABOUT.

It would naturally be thought that in view of the lengthy campaign against the Compact of 1886 the leading spirits of the movement would at least be consistent—in any event that they would not place on record any evidence of the fact that almost in the very act of committing their breach of faith they had declared in explicit terms that the system which they had abolished was the only system under which the Separate Schools could be managed. And yet this is exactly what they did. In the minutes of the meeting of the Board held on April 8th, 1903, there is recorded a motion which was moved by Trustee Boudreault, and adopted by the Board, appointing a special committee—"For the purpose of outlining the procedure or regulations whereby the business of the Board may be administered without any interference of the rights or understandings between the Trustees of either section in so far as concerns the internal management of the schools."

Thus, in less than a month after passing a motion abolishing the compact of 1886, the gentlemen responsible for that dishonorable act solemnly adopt another motion which in specific terms recognizes the necessity of dividing the board into two committees inasmuch as they declare it to be their intention to devise means to administer the business of the Board without interfering with the rights "of either section." That is precisely what the compact of 1886 was intended to do, and out of the mouths of its destroyers we have its strongest vindication.

THE ELECTIONS OF 1906.

The custom that there should be one English and one French trustee in each ward was observed from 1863 till 1906. But while it was kept in form, it was not kept in spirit. One or two of the English trustees owed their election to the French vote and were looked upon as representing the French. This secured control of the Board for the French. To remedy the persistent opposition of trustees McGuire and McGrail to the wishes of the English-speaking Catholics, the Ancient Order of Hibernians nominated extra English candidates in Central and Wellington Wards.

In taking this position the Hibernians further claimed they were supported by a resolution adopted by the majority of the School Board. It appears that at a meeting of the Board held on November 8th, 1905, Trustee T. D. McGee submitted a resolution providing for the division of the board into two committees as under the compact of 1886. This resolution was voted down by a majority of the board, which, of course, included all the French trustees, and in its place the following amendment was adopted:—

"That in the interest of this board, and for better performance by its members of their duties as trustees of all the Catholic rate-payers irrespective of race or nationality, it is desirable that all and every exception, provision, or distinction with regard to English and French trustees be eliminated from the by-laws and regulations of this board, and that in order to conform strictly with the law, and with the regulations of the Education Department of this province, respecting the proper and regular constitution of Boards under the Separate School Act, and for the purpose of removing any illegal enactment should any exist therein, the secretary-treasurer be instructed to submit to the Minister of Education for his opinion thereon, a copy of the by-laws and regulations of the Board."

The members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians pointed out that the foregoing resolution abolished all distinctions of race and nationality with reference to Separate School affairs and that in consequence the ratepayers according to the majority of the School Board were no longer bound in any way to elect trustees of any particular nationality.

The Separate School Elections were held on January 1st, 1906. In several wards there were no contests, the candidates being returned by acclamation. Of the two candidates nominated by the Ancient Order of Hibernians only one was elected, namely, Mr. John Franklin, in Central Ward. His vote was in the proportion of about 4 to 1. However, owing to an error on the part of the Board arranging for the elections their legality was called in question and eventually they were all voided.

CONFERENCE WITH PASTORS.

Racial feeling having been aroused it became evident that there would be a series of bitter contests on the occasion of the second elections, and in consequence His Grace the Archbishop on the 25th day of January, 1906, held a conference with the pastors of St. Bridget's, St. Joseph's and St. Patrick's parishes. At that conference it was agreed that, in order to restore friendly relations, the clergy should announce to the Catholics of the city that in the election of trustees, English-speaking Catholics should not interfere in any way with French Catholics, and French should not interfere with English; and that in a ward where it was the "turn" of the French to elect a trustee, the English-speaking Catholics should not vote, and *vice versa*.

The date of the second set of elections having been fixed for February 19th, 1906, candidates were nominated and it was found there would be a contest in every ward. The Ancient Order of Hibernians again nominated two candidates, Mr. John Franklin in Central Ward, and Mr. J. J. O'Meara in Wellington ward. Without regard to any "turn" or "agreement" or "understanding", the French nominated candidates in all the wards. In the interest of "friendly relations"

this was the time to have carried out the agreement made by His Grace the Archbishop with the English-speaking parish priests. One of the latter, the pastor of St. Patrick's parish, notified the members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians of the agreement made on the preceding 25th of January with His Grace the Archbishop and in pursuance of that agreement he requested that Messrs. Franklin and O'Meara should retire in Central and Wellington wards as these wards were within his parish. However, as His Grace and the French clergy manifested no disposition to have the French candidates retire in wards in which it was the "turn" of an English-speaking ratepayer to be elected, the Ancient Order of Hibernians appointed a committee to interview His Grace and arrive at a definite understanding regarding the whole situation.

COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

What happened at the interview is best told in the words of the A. O. H. committee, and we accordingly append their report:—

"The committee appointed by the Ancient Order of Hibernians waited on His Grace Archbishop Duhamel on Tuesday, February 13th, 1906. Their business having been stated, His Grace told the committee that he and the English-speaking parish priests of the city had conferred a short time before and had reached an agreement regarding the school board elections. He added that one term of this agreement was that there would be no interference on the part of one nationality with the elections of the other. He then told the committee that he would have the five French candidates withdrawn from the following wards: By, Ottawa, St. George's, Victoria and Dalhousie; also that the French voters in each ward would not interfere or vote for English-speaking candidates, and that he would send instructions to both French and English parish priests to announce the terms of the agreement from their pulpits on the following Sunday, February 18th, 1906.

"His Grace then wanted to discuss the question of the moneys received by the school board and was anxious to secure a pledge that the committee would not try to get their own taxes specially applied to their own schools. The committee informed him that they had no authority to bind themselves on such a question. Before leaving, the committee were again promised by His Grace that in any ward where two English candidates were opposed to each other the French people would not interfere or vote, and he repeated that the English priests had agreed with him that where two French candidates were in the field the English-speaking Catholics would refrain from voting. The committee then told him that the A. O. H. would withdraw Mr. Franklin from Central ward and Mr. O'Meara from Wellington ward, and allow the French candidates to go in unopposed; but that as it was the "turn" of an English trustee in Dalhousie ward, Mr. McGuire and Mr. Burke would have to contest that ward. To the latter statements His Grace assented and thereupon the committee withdrew.

"(Signed) Ralph Slattery, John Hanlon, John Franklin, for the committee."

APPEAL TO ARCHBISHOP.

Immediately after the interview detailed in the above report, the A. O. H. committee took steps to ascertain what was being done on the part of the French ratepayers to carry out the agreement made in their behalf by His Grace with the English-speaking parish priests in the first instance and again with the committee, and as the chairman of the separate school board asserted that he and the French ratepayers would not adhere to the agreement, a letter was at once written to His Grace the Archbishop in the terms following:

"OTTAWA, February 13, 1906.

"HIS GRACE ARCHBISHOP DUHAMEL:

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—

"In accordance with the agreement between Your Grace and ourselves to-day we are withdrawing our candidates in Central and Wellington wards, where it is the turn of the French trustees.

In accordance with the same agreement we look for the withdrawal of French candidates in By, Ottawa, St. George, Victoria and Dalhousie wards, where it is the turn of the Irish people to elect trustees. As to Dalhousie ward, where there are two Irish candidates in the field we ask that the French rate-

payers abstain from voting or taking any part whatever in the contest, and that they be publicly directed by their parish priest. We specially mention Dalhousie ward because Mr. Coté has declared to us since our interview with Your Grace that he and the French people would not refrain from interfering in the election, despite directions from the clergy to the contrary, and that they would support an Irish candidate who is the cause of all the trouble and of all the litigation that has taken place and is especially objectionable to us.

"Your Grace's very humble servants,

(Sgd.) R. SLATTERY, *for Committee.*"

BREACH OF FAITH.

As stated in the foregoing letter Messrs. Franklin and O'Mears withdrew from the contest in Central and Wellington wards. Then followed a glaring breach of faith on the part of His Grace and the French ratepayers. In defiance of the agreement to which His Grace was twice publicly committed, the French clergy made no announcement whatever to their people, and instead of withdrawing the five French candidates, three only were withdrawn and the other two, Messrs. R. Belanger and A. L. Pinard were elected by large majorities in By and Ottawa wards over the English-speaking candidates.

This gave the French two more than one-half the trustees. Whereupon the English-speaking separate school ratepayers of the City of Ottawa held a meeting in St. Patrick's Hall, on Sunday, February 25th, 1906, and passed the following resolution.

"That in the opinion of this meeting, the only solution to the present acute condition of things which has lately been intensified between the French-speaking separate school supporters and the English-speaking separate school supporters of this city, is by the dissolution of the amalgamation of the two sections of the Roman Catholic separate school board of the city of Ottawa as entered into in 1903, and to revert to the compact entered into in 1886, whereby it was agreed that there be two sections of the separate school board—the French section controlling the finances and management of the French schools and the English section controlling the finances and management of the English schools"

A committee, consisting of J. P. Dunne, D'Arcy Scott, T. D'Arcy McGee and Thomas Smith was elected by this meeting and expressed its views to Archbishop Duhamel two days later.

Referring to the resolution His Grace stated that the division of the Separate School Board into two committees from 1886 to 1903 was unlawful; that there could be no such separation in law, and that as he was satisfied with the board as at present constituted he would not interfere. He added that as a matter of principle he was opposed to the board divided into two committees.

(As is shown in the foregoing, Archbishop Duhamel had publicly supported the division of the Board into two committees at its inception.)

The committee then directed His Grace's attention to the violation of the compact whereby French ratepayers were not to interfere in election contests between English-speaking candidates, and English-speaking ratepayers were to refrain from voting in contests between French candidates. To the representations made by the committee His Grace replied that he would talk the matter over with the French members of the School Board and would try to get the two French trustees recently elected in By and Ottawa Wards to resign, but that he did not think that he could do anything at present with the French people as they were in too excited a state of mind, and he suggested that all the school trustees should meet and settle the matter.

As against the delay and inaction favored by His Grace, the committee pointed out the danger of letting matters go on as they were in view of the declared intention of several English-speaking Catholics to transfer their taxes to the Public Schools.

APPEAL TO APOSTOLIC DELEGATE.

Having failed to get any satisfaction from Archbishop Duhamel, the committee then prepared a Memorial to Mgr. Sbarretti, Papal Delegate. It is from this Memorial, that the foregoing history of the Separate Schools in Ottawa has been compiled. The Memorial was signed by the members of the committee,

namely:—Messrs. J. P. Dunne, D'Arcy Scott, T. D. Arcy McGee and Thomas Smith, and also by many prominent citizens.

The Memorial did not spare Archbishop Duhamel, as the following extracts show:

"Before dismissing that part of our subject we would ask Your Excellency to note that it was the Archbishop who began negotiations for the withdrawal of the A. O. H. candidates, and not the people who had nominated them. It is necessary to bear this in mind in order to appreciate the full significance of His Grace's statement to the undersigned that he was 'satisfied with the board as at present constituted.' We submit that having regard to the promises, this statement alone proves that it is hopeless to expect that our educational needs will ever receive fair treatment at the hands of His Grace the Archbishop.

"In conclusion we submit that the facts herein set forth constitute such an unanswerable indictment of French aggression and unwarrantable ecclesiastical methods that their mere recital must convince Your Excellency of the necessity of immediate action. Every day that action is delayed a fresh injury is done to religion and education. Respect for ecclesiastical authority is fast disappearing, and unless radical means be taken to make that authority worthy of respect, the final result must be disastrous to the church. Hence we respectfully request that Your Excellency will at once take steps to secure the legislation necessary to make the French, or bilingual schools a system distinct and separate in law, as they are in fact from the English-speaking separate schools. Pending the securing of such legislation we beg further to request that Your Excellency will exercise the prerogatives of your exalted office and restore the essential features of the compact of 1886.

"It is no answer to our requests to say that to grant them will be to create a school board unlike any other in Ontario. Our reply to that is that the conditions of which we complain exist in no other city in Ontario, and that the remedy must be appropriate to the disease.

"If, apart from the reasons already given, further authority be required upon which to base the action requested by the committee, it is furnished by the Church itself. In this city especially, experience has shown the necessity of dividing the people in religious matter according to nationalities. Hence there are English and French parishes and English and French churches. Even in the distribution of charity, and in the case of the young and the infirm the necessity for the same division is recognized, and there are English and French conferences of the St. Vincent de Paul Society and the English and French Orphanages and Asylums. In fact in all her dealings with the people the Church in this diocese recognizes the necessity of dividing them according to nationalities. Such being the case how can those who have promoted this division from the very first object to its being applied to the schools? If their answer still be that it lacks the sanction of law, then we ask Your Excellency to satisfy their consciences by obtaining the requisite legal sanction.

"One other consideration and we have done. The Church requires Catholics to support Catholic schools. With that policy we are in hearty accord. Now the Separate Schools Act provides for schools separate from the Public Schools on religious grounds only and on none other. We therefore ask Your Excellency, can English-speaking Catholics be required in conscience to support schools on language grounds, viz: The French, or as they are called, the bilingual schools? They are a new creation, not by Act of the Legislature, or amendment to the Separate Schools Act, but by regulation of the Education Department. These schools are altogether distinct from the regular separate schools—in curriculum, in text books, in standing of teachers, and are under separate or special inspectors.

"They are not expected to compete with the public schools, while the English-speaking Catholic schools must and do compete with them. In fact, where they fail to do so, the English-speaking Catholics send their children to the public schools. Under these circumstances, therefore, we need scarcely say that if the church fails to do her duty, the conscience of the English-speaking Catholic people must not be submitted to outrage. This aspect of the case makes the question essentially one for Your Excellency to dispose of.

"The church which legislates in her own way, can, if her authorities will, settle this matter amicably. Failing that, the authorities should ask for special legislation for French or bilingual schools—a separation for language purposes altogether distinct from religious."

The appeal is signed by the committee, as already mentioned. It contains also the following appendix:—"We, the undersigned English-speaking supporters of the separate schools of Ottawa, hereby approve the contents of the foregoing communication, and intend that our signatures hereunder written shall attest our belief that in the interest of Catholic education in Ottawa it is not only urgent, but imperative, that the French or bilingual schools should be separated for all purposes from the English-speaking or separate schools proper." The signatures of about forty English speaking ratepayers were here appended.

APPENDIX

The above forms an accurate and reliable history of the agreements and disagreements of the English-speaking and French-speaking Catholics of Ottawa in Separate School matters from 1863 to 1906. Since 1906, the need of separation has grown constantly greater. The bilingual *imbroglio* and its consequences have made immediate separation imperative.

The Case for Separation.

At a meeting held in St. Patrick's Lyceum, Ottawa, March 12, 1914, of the Ottawa Separate School Committee, a committee which was appointed March 2 by a meeting of Ottawa English Separate School ratepayers, to obtain separation of the Separate Schools proper and the English-French schools, it was agreed that the following resolution and the accompanying documents be presented to the Ontario Government.

Resolved that the Ontario Government be asked to enact legislation:—

"That the establishment or continuation of English-French schools be permitted only under bilingual school boards, to be supported by the taxes of those desiring to become bilingual school supporters, and the usual *pro rata* government grant; and that in future, no French be taught in the Separate Schools of Ontario, except in continuation classes, for which special regulations already exist; and that the present separate school properties and debts be adjusted in an equitable manner between the separate school boards and such bilingual school boards as may be established by the ratepayers at present supporting the separate schools."

MOTIVES OF RESOLUTION.

A. MOTIVES REFERRING TO THE PROVINCE IN GENERAL.

1. The Separate Schools proper and the English-French Separate Schools are already two different systems of primary schools, united by a common religious instruction, but otherwise more different than the Public and Separate Schools. They differ in language and curriculum, as in the bilingual schools, at least half the teaching, and usually more, is in French. They are under different sets of Inspectors, the Separate Schools proper alone being under the Separate School Inspectors. They differ in the academic and professional qualifications required for teachers. There is already a system of English-French Model Schools for the training of Bilingual teachers. English Separate School teachers are trained in the same way and in the same Normal Schools, as the Public School Teachers, and are in fact Public School Teachers. Since then the Separate Schools proper and the English-French Separate Schools are both *de facto* and officially two systems of primary schools, more different than the public and separate, they require for their satisfactory management to be under two boards as independent of each other as are the public and separate school boards.

2. English speaking separate school supporters have a natural right to control their own schools. Under the present forced partnership with the bilingual school supporters they cannot exercise this right in Ottawa and many other places in Ontario.

3. It is against the natural right of the English speaking school supporters to take part of their school taxes for the bilingual schools. The present forced partnership and pooling of the taxes violates this right in Ottawa and many

other places in Ontario, where the union of the Separate Schools proper and the English-French Schools increases the rate of taxation for English-speaking Separate School supporters. In Ottawa the union increases the rate for English-speaking Separate School ratepayers by three mills. Those who use the bilingual schools pay less than one-half the taxes and get 50 per cent more children educated. A somewhat similar state of affairs exists in many other places.

4. Owing to the present forced partnership with the bilingual schools, that are openly breaking the law, the separate schools unjustly suffer the loss of their share of the government grant, wherever both Separate Schools proper, and English-French schools or classes exist in the same city or town or school section.

5. The defiant attitude of the French bilingual trustees towards the Ontario government jeopardizes the whole splendid government controlled system of English separate schools. When your partner's manner of acting can lead only to bankruptcy and ruin, it is high time to separate.

6. In many places in Ontario the bilingual partnership works to greater disadvantage than even in Ottawa. There are over three thousand English-speaking children in the schools classed as English-French and many of them have their education seriously handicapped either by the English-French curriculum, or by the usually poorly qualified English-French teacher. In this English Province of Ontario it is an intolerable state of affairs, that English-speaking children should be thus deprived of an efficient English education.

B. MOTIVES REFERRING TO OTTAWA.

NOTE.—Of the above six arguments, the first five find a perfect application in Ottawa. The following three arguments apply to Ottawa only.

1. The necessity for complete division between the Separate Schools proper and the English-French schools has been felt for many years. In Ottawa the Separate and Bilingual Schools have got along in partnership only by having partial separation. From 1863, when the Separate Schools Act was passed, when in Ottawa the English speaking Catholics controlled four of the five wards, to the present day, it has been the custom in Ottawa to have one English and one French trustee from each ward. This naturally implies that the English-speaking trustee is to be elected exclusively by English-speaking electors, and *vice versa*. During the years 1886-1902, when the Ottawa Separate Schools rose from insignificance into one of the best systems in the province, the Ottawa Separate School Board had resolved itself into two Committees, one English-speaking and one French-speaking. Both functionally and financially these committees were practically independent of each other. But the taxes of the French-speaking ratepayers, which went to the French Committee, did not increase in proportion as did the taxes of the English-speaking ratepayers which went to the English Committee. So to get a share of the taxes of the English-speaking Catholics for the French schools (the bilingual or English-French fiction not having then been invented), a share to which they were not entitled in natural justice, the French determined to dissolve the separate or independent committees. By interfering in the election of an English trustee, they succeeded in getting their man elected, and with his assistance they destroyed the financially independent committees in 1903. The Separate School taxes have been indiscriminately pooled ever since, much to the financial disadvantage of the English schools. It has been found necessary to retain the division into English-speaking and French-speaking committees for the internal management of the schools. In order that these committees might be representative of the English-speaking and French-speaking electors, respectively, it was agreed again in 1906, that the English should not interfere in the election of a French trustee and *vice versa*. At the March meeting of the Ottawa Separate School Board, 1914, the Chairman, who is a French trustee, declared that all such partial separations were now at an end. The French evidently mean to interfere even more than in the past in the election of English trustees. By electing a majority of the Trustees, they will control all the Separate Schools of Ottawa, both English and English-French, much to the disadvantage of the English-speaking Catholics. Hence, partial separation in Ottawa, because it was only partial, has not been a success. Complete separation is required.

2. Owing to the present unsatisfactory partnership with the bilingual schools and the evils consequent thereon, 200 English-speaking Catholics have declared themselves public school supporters, thus transferring 10 per cent of

the total separate school assessment. Were separation obtained, practically all these tax-payers would become once more separate school supporters.

3. The reckless manner in which despite the present stringency of the money market and the poor credit of the Ottawa separate school board owing to the loss of the government grant, the French trustees are anxious to give the third reading to the debenture by-law calling for the extravagant sum of \$350,000 is the last straw. If the load be not divided through separation, there is every danger of a financial breakdown. This would be a national disaster, for it would mean, not the destruction of the separate schools, for, no matter what happens, they will remain, but such a crippling of them as would seriously injure education in Ontario.

4. At the March meeting of the Ottawa Separate School Board, it was moved by Trustee Henderson and seconded by Trustee Lanigan, that the two resolutions of the Ottawa Separate School Board declaring opposition of the Board to instruction 17 of the Department of Education be rescinded. The French trustees with the assistance of Trustee Armstrong defeated the motion, thereby re-affirming their attitude of defiance to the Government.

C. CONCLUSION.

1. The proposed separation is not merely fair to the French, but even advantageous to them. While it would, in accordance with strict justice, deprive them in Ottawa and other places of a certain share of the taxes of English-speaking ratepayers, to which they have no right, it would leave them full control, under the government, of their own schools. Should the French, to perpetuate a financial injustice which works out to their advantage, persist in refusing to support the just demand for separation, the insincerity of invoking justice and the natural law on the bilingual question would be scandalously apparent.

2. If the English-speaking Catholics demand the separation of the separate and bilingual schools, it is not because they are unfriendly to their French-Canadian brethren. On the contrary, they realize that complete separation in school matters would practically put an end to racial troubles, and bring about a stronger union of hearts. Justice is a solid basis for peace and friendship.

The separation would be advantageous to both in many other ways. The expenditure of both would be decreased by the economy which would be the natural outcome of the increase in self responsibility on the part of the trustees. At present there is a temptation to extravagance in administration for both sections, as the check of sectional responsibility is not functional. The independence and responsibility which result from autonomy would necessarily produce a more enterprising businesslike management and greater educational efficiency.

3. Ontario is a province five-sixths Protestant, and over nine-tenths English-speaking. Some of the Protestants would prefer to have no separate schools in the province, but all the Protestants agree that since separate schools do exist and will exist, they should be as efficient as possible. The proposed separation would increase their efficiency. It would not reduce the teaching of English in the bilingual schools by a single syllable. It would, however, enable many groups of English-speaking Catholics outside of Ottawa to get a more efficient English education than at present. It would enable the English-speaking Catholics of Ottawa to develop and render more perfect their already excellent system of English separate schools. The legal machinery required for the proposed separation is extremely simple: a new type, not of school, but of school board. Hence as separation would be just to all and beneficial to all directly concerned, and to the general public, it is expected that it will receive the support of the Protestants of Ontario, and the support of both political parties.

It is absolutely fair to the government in the sense that it asks the government not merely for what it ought to grant in natural justice; but also for what it can grant without any political embarrassment. The resolution does not ask for a new type of school. It merely demands a new type of school board, which has become necessary. Educational efficiency, natural justice and common sense unite in demanding the separation of the Separate School proper and the English-French Schools under independent School Boards. Separation is fair to the Government, and fair to the French

REASONABLENESS OF RESOLUTION.

NEW TYPE OF BOARD IS WHAT IS ASKED IN RESOLUTION AND NOT NEW TYPE OF SCHOOL.

It may be objected that the government will not recognize racial schools. It is mere quibbling to say that the government will not recognize racial schools. No one wants racial schools; but the government has recognized in fact bilingual schools and the government will not, and dare not destroy those bilingual schools. That being the case it is the veriest hypocrisy to say that the government cannot separate the bi-lingual from the separate schools.

The English committee of the separate school board does not ask the government to create a new system of schools in Ontario. It asks the government to recognize in law, what it has recognized, does recognize and will continue to recognize in fact. It asks the government not to handicap education in Ontario under the foolish pretence of not recognizing a third type, not of school, but of school board. All the resolution asks for is legislation putting the separate and bilingual schools, as they at present exist, under independent school boards.

It is not reasonable to expect our board to control and finance two entirely different classes of schools. Why is it that the city aldermen do not control the public schools as they control the waterworks? Simply because it is necessary for the efficient management of the public schools to have a body of trustees elected exclusively for that purpose. Why does not the same board control the public and separate schools? Simply because each class of school requires for its successful management a board of its own. A joint board would be unable to deal adequately with the varied requirements and frequently clashing interests. If public and separate schools require two different school boards, how much more do separate and bilingual schools require them?

For separate schools differ vastly more from the bilingual schools than they do from the public schools. With the exception of the religious instruction, they are precisely the same as the public schools. Their teachers are public school teachers, there being no such class of teachers in Ontario as separate school teachers. Their text books, except usually the readers, are public school text books. Their curriculum is the public school curriculum; they prepare their pupils for the same high school entrance examination or test. How different, if you enter a bilingual school in Ottawa! The teachers hold bilingual certificates not recognized in any other school. They receive training in a bilingual model school or in a Quebec model school, or summer school. Many of the bilingual school teachers who are educated in Ontario have not even passed the high school entrance examination.

The curriculum also differs enormously from that of the separate schools. They are, to put it plainly, French schools in which English is taught. Their text books differ from those of the English separate or public schools. In the school playground not a word of English can be heard. These schools have their own inspectors. It is a fact to which there is no use in shutting one's eyes that the bilingual schools in Ottawa differ vastly more from the separate schools than do the separate schools from the public schools.

It would be more unreasonable for the government to persist in keeping the bilingual and separate schools under the same board than it would be to place the public and separate schools under the same board. Does anyone imagine that the nine English-speaking trustees, eight of whom are ignorant of French, are fit to manage the bilingual schools of Ottawa? Does anyone imagine that the nine French-speaking trustees hardly one of whom was educated in an English separate school are fit to run the English separate schools of Ottawa? If the joint board has met with a moderate measure of success in the past it is only by having two separate committees, an English committee to manage at least the internal affairs of the English schools and a French committee to do the same for the French schools. It would be conducive to business management, educational efficiency and civic peace to have, instead of the two largely ineffectual committees, two independent school boards.

Not only would independent school boards for separate and bilingual schools be conducive to better business management, greater educational efficiency and general peace and satisfaction, but it would also be the only just settlement.

A parent has a natural right to educate his child. A group of parents has a natural right to organize to educate their children. The English-speaking Catholics have a right to educate their children without any other group of citizens interfering; the French speaking Catholics likewise; the Protestants likewise.

Now these three groups—and these three only—demand and possess schools of their own in Ontario. It is unjust for one of these groups to seek to control the schools of the other. Just as an English-speaking Catholic parent has a right to control the education of his child, so the English-speaking Catholics of Ontario have a right to control the education of their children. They do not possess a full exercise of this right in Ottawa owing to the unnatural union of the bilingual with the English separate schools. An amalgamation of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the St. Jean Baptiste Society under one joint county board would not be more anomalous than the present union of the separate and bilingual schools under the present joint board of trustees.

We had hoped that the French-speaking school trustees of Ottawa would join us in the demand for separation. If they had preferred to limit for the present the demand for separation to Ottawa, the English-speaking trustees would perhaps have been willing to do so also. Separation would work out for the greater benefit not merely of the English, but also of the bilingual schools. Complete self-government is always beneficial. It brings with it independence, increases self-respect, encourages enterprise. It may be thought that it might hurt the French schools financially. It would at present reduce their revenue somewhat, but it would merely take from them what they have no right in justice to receive—part of the English taxes.

This is a case where the command, 'Thou shalt not covet,' applies. But it may well be doubted if it would work out greatly to their financial disadvantage. It must be remembered that the English schools are educating the children of the Catholics of foreign origin. These number at present but 2,000, but they are rapidly increasing. The school taxes contributed by the most of these are small. There is also a class of children educated absolutely for nothing in the English separate schools that is hardly represented in the bilingual schools—the children of mixed marriages whose fathers are Protestants.

In any case, the French-Canadians of Ottawa—the largest, richest and most influential French body in Ontario—should not oppose separation for the sake of some financial advantage to which they have no right. It would be a happy ending to the present racial differences, differences that are inevitable as long as the Separate Schools proper and the English-French Schools are united under common Boards, if complete separation of these two systems of schools be permitted by the Government.

THE BILINGUAL IMBROGLIO:

AN ADDITIONAL REASON FOR SEPARATION.

The loss of the government grant to the English schools of this city, owing to the illegal attitude of the French trustees, is a crying proof of the anomaly of the present forced partnership of the separate and bilingual schools. A history of the bilingual *imbroglio* is a strong argument for separation.

RESULT FRENCH CONGRESS.

The present fight between the French trustees and the government is a direct result of the French Congress held in Ottawa in 1910. In January 1910, the French-Canadian Educational Association of Ontario held a congress in Ottawa and made the most extravagant demands, demands which would have seriously handicapped the education of thousands of English-speaking children. Thus their very first demand reads:

1. (a) That a school or class, where the majority of the pupils in attendance are of French origin, be declared English-French; (b) That in schools or classes where 25 per cent of the pupils in attendance are of French origin, the trustees shall require instruction to be given to these pupils, in French reading, spelling, grammar, composition and literature.

In other words, in schools where one quarter of the children are of French origin, no matter whether the children know a word of French or not, French

must be taught in the school, whether the parents want it or not. This demand, if granted, would have disrupted hundreds of public and separate schools. There are many places where there are but a few children of French origin, and these are partly or wholly Anglicised. In order to make these children learn French, even against the will of their parents, these schools must be made bilingual, no matter who suffers. In many places that would mean that a fully qualified teacher must be dismissed, and an unqualified or poorly qualified bilingual teacher must take his place much to the educational detriment of the pupils. There is not one-tenth enough qualified bi-lingual teachers, fit to teach English-speaking children, for the present number of bi-lingual schools. Yet it was desired, at all cost, to increase the number of these schools. The recklessness of this demand of the French Congress of 1910 needs no further proof.

Likewise the demand that, where the majority of the pupils in attendance are of French origin, the school be declared bilingual, shows a complete disregard for the interests of English-speaking children. Whether the children know French or not whether the French parents want it or not, the whole school must be declared bilingual. Then it would fall into the hands of the usually poorly-qualified bilingual teacher, and be under the inspection of the bilingual or French inspector. In the meanwhile, the English-speaking ratepayers of the school section or municipality are perhaps paying the major portion of the taxes. If that demand had been put into effect, all the French would have to do in order to turn every separate school in Ottawa into a bilingual school would be to send half their children to the English schools. The English schools would then automatically become bilingual schools. That such an attempt might have been made, the recent attempt to put French into the English separate schools of Ottawa is a sufficient proof.

In addition to these two demands, which would have turned many Public and Separate schools into bilingual schools, the Congress demanded a lowering of the already very low academic and professional qualifications of the bilingual teachers. As a natural reaction against these and other demands of the Congress of 1910, came Dr. Merchant's inspection of the bilingual schools. As a result of his inspection he reported: 'It is evident from an examination of the results of all the tests applied that the English-French schools are, on the whole, lacking in efficiency. The tests combine to show that a large proportion of the children in the communities concerned leave school to meet the demands of life with an inadequate equipment in education.' To remedy this, the Department of Education issued Regulation 17. The opposition to this regulation on the part of the French induced the government to put in a clause, permitting French to be used as the language of instruction and communication beyond Form I (for those who are unable to speak and understand the English tongue) on the approval of the Chief Inspector. It is easy to see that Regulation 17 thus modified, and generously interpreted as it would have been, provided a working solution of the question. But the French trustees, thinking it the best way to obtain further concessions, determined to defy the government. In Ottawa they have placed in every room of every bilingual school an order to the teacher to refuse to obey the government regulation. Yet, if it is to be the aim of the bilingual schools of Ottawa, to produce pupils thoroughly familiar with both English and French, this idea, which is not being realized at present, could surely be realized under Regulation 17. However, the French Educational Congress held in Ottawa in January, 1914, disregarding all moderate counsels, retained defiance to the government as the official policy.

GRANT STOPPED.

The government has] mildly retorted by stopping the government grant. The inconsistency of the present forced partnership between the separate and bilingual schools is at once seen from the fact that the government cannot strike at the French trustees who break the law without penalizing also the English ones who keep the law. When the government withholds the grant from the French schools that defy the department of education it also withholds the grant from the English separate schools of Ottawa that fulfil all the requirements of the department, and can compare favorably with any set of public or separate schools in Ontario.

The English trustees have, on the whole, refused to take part in this fight between the French trustees and the government. It would be unreasonable to

ask them to do so. The bi-lingual question is not a religious question. It is not even a purely separate school question. Over one-third of the bilingual or English-French schools are public schools. All the bilingual regulations, whether as regards curriculum, teachers' qualifications and inspectors, apply indiscriminately to public and separate schools. Hence, anxious as are the English separate school trustees that the bilingual fight be settled as soon as possible and as satisfactorily as possible, it were rash for them to meddle therein. This bilingual *imbroglio* has, however, had this result: it has made more evident than ever the necessity of separating the bilingual from the separate schools, and it has made the English-speaking Catholics more determined than ever to obtain separation. The English-speaking Catholics of Ottawa are not going to have their schools jeopardized, much less outlawed, over some French quarrel which was not of their making.

A REPLY TO THE FRENCH-CANADIAN EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

The French-Canadian Educational Association in its reply of Saturday last (March 7, 1914) to the English committee of the Ottawa Separate school trustees carefully avoided a discussion of the main point at issue: separation. The English committee holds that the present forced partnership between the separate schools proper and the bilingual separate schools is a violation of the natural right that English-speaking Catholics have to control their own schools, and that this union is financially and educationally a detriment to the English separate schools. The English trustees hold, moreover, that the bilingual agitation has been carried on in such an utter disregard of the consequences it would have on the English separate schools as to endanger the whole separate school system and to render necessary immediate separation.

In reply, the association denies any distinction between the separate schools proper and the bilingual schools. That the distinction exists in fact, no sensible man will deny. In the city of Ottawa the bilingual separate schools differ as much from the separate schools proper as any two systems of schools in Canada differ from each other. But not merely does the radical difference exist in fact; it is recognized by the department of education in three distinct ways. The bilingual schools of Ottawa are officially classed as English-French. French is officially recognized in these schools by the very regulation 17 that is so much attacked, as not merely a subject of study, but as a language of instruction and communication. This teaching of French is not permitted in the separate schools proper. Of the 110 teachers in the English-French schools of Ottawa in 1912, 101 had certificates officially recognized in bilingual schools; 9 had only permits. Of the 101 teachers who had certificates, only 16 are qualified to teach in regular separate schools. Of these 9 had the regular second-class certificate, one was qualified to teach before 1867, and six were qualified under the Act of 1907 "respecting the qualifications of certain teachers."

In other words, under the laws of Ontario, of the 101 teachers qualified to teach in the English-French schools in Ottawa and of the 9 permitted to teach, 94 are not qualified to teach in the Ottawa separate schools proper. Evidently the department of education already recognizes them as two distinct sets of schools. In a third manner does the department of education officially recognize the English-French schools in Ottawa as a set of schools quite distinct from the separate schools proper. These English-French schools are under two bilingual inspectors. The separate school inspector has nothing whatever to do with them, no more than has the Ottawa public school inspector.

Evidently, then, the separate schools proper and the English-French separate schools form two radically different sets or systems of schools. Their only bond of union apart from religious teaching is a joint governing board and common finances. This union is injurious to the separate schools. The English committee charged the French-Canadian Educational Association with having made demands and carried on an agitation in utter disregard of the consequences for the English-speaking pupils affected. It was shown conclusively that the official demand of the congress of 1910 that where one-quarter of the children of a school or class be of French origin, French must be taught, and where one-half be of French origin, the whole school or class be declared English-French, would have handicapped the education of hundreds, if not thousands, of English-speaking children of the separate and public schools.

The association again disregarded the interests of English-speaking pupils by demanding a lowering of the already low academic and professional qualifications for bilingual teachers. It expressly asked that in the High School entrance examination, in the examination for admission to the English-French Model schools, and in all other departmental examinations in which bilingual candidates may take part, the questions in English writing, reading, and the works prescribed in English literature, be of lower grade, and the due allowance made in marking of the answer papers in the English subjects. They were not satisfied with the lowering of the standard in English which the government had already made in their favor, namely: "At the examination for admission to the English-French Model schools, the standard for pass shall be 33 1/3 per cent. of the marks assigned each paper, and 50 per cent of the aggregate of marks." The percentages required for regular candidates are 40 per cent and 60 per cent respectively. Yet these teachers, with their low qualifications in English have to teach English pupils.

But vastly more detrimental to the interests of the Separate schools has been the illegal campaign against Instruction 17. That it is illegal is clear from the official notice sent by the department of education to the teachers and boards of trustees of the English-French schools, October 8, 1912. One does not need to be a judge to know that the order that is posted up in every room of every bilingual school of Ottawa, ordering the teacher not to obey Instruction 17, is clearly illegal. The association defends this attitude on the grounds that a people cannot be robbed of its language without its faith suffering. But nobody is robbing the French of their language, and the Ontario government least of all. The department has never offered any objection to the teaching of French in any school in Ontario, whose board of trustees ordered it.

Instruction 17 permits, moreover, that French be the language of instruction and communication when necessary in the First Grade (that is, for the first two or three years), and, in other grades, as long as necessary. In addition to all this, there are special bilingual Model schools and summer schools for French teachers. A school board which is unable to provide the salary necessary to secure a qualified English-French teacher receives a special grant to assist it.

The following, taken from the report of the minister of education of Ontario, 1912, is a crowning proof of how the Ontario government is NOT trying to rob the French of their language.

"The department of education will pay \$3 a week of the cost of board and lodging to all teachers, who agree, if successful, to teach in the English-French schools in Ontario, who attend throughout the course, at either of the English-French summer schools, and whose place of residence is outside of a radius of three miles from the school. It will also refund to them the cost of one single railway or boat fare and one-third to Ottawa or Sturgeon Falls from the Ontario railway station or wharf nearest their last school."

If further concession were required for the satisfactory teaching of French in Ontario there were constitutional methods of obtaining them. But no! The government and its instruction 17 must be defied, no matter what may happen to the separate schools. The last word, to judge by its recent manifesto, of the French-Canadian Educational Association on the policy of defiance, is the following:

"You cannot open the doors of 223 bilingual separate schools, to an inspector who is a stranger in race and religion, without considerable sacrifice in all that concerns faith and the preservation of these same schools."

Two objections are raised against the inspector and two evils are feared. The stranger in race would endanger the preservation of these schools and the stranger in religion would, it is claimed, endanger the faith of the pupils. The truth is out.

An inspector who is a stranger in race (*i. e.*, English-speaking) must not be allowed into the English-French separate schools, which contain two thousand English pupils, as it would endanger the preservation of these schools. It would appear that the association is afraid that the English-speaking inspector, who is declared to be in Ontario, 'a stranger in race,' might discover that the education of those of his own race and language in these bilingual schools was being handicapped; and that if publicity were given to that fact, the preservation of the bilingual schools, in their present state, might be endangered.

The claim that the stranger in religion would imperil the faith of the Catholic pupils should scarcely require refutation. The Catholic Record has shown

clearly the fallacy of this claim, and even the Educational Association views with complacency the fact that 122 bilingual schools in Ontario are public schools. In these schools not merely is the Protestant inspector permitted, but Catholic teaching is forbidden. This shows just how much religion there is in the fight against the Protestant or English-speaking inspector. It is a racial question, pure and simple. There is not an English-speaking bishop in Canada who has approved of the illegal campaign against Instructions 17.

This whole bilingual embroglio has made abundantly evident that the present forced partnership between the bilingual and separate schools proper cannot last. The movement for separation will receive no check, even if the French trustees do not support the natural rights of the English-speaking parents at to-night's (March, 11, 1914) meeting of the Ottawa separate school board. This is the province of Ontario: no government will be permanently retained in power by the people of Ontario which handicaps the education of English-speaking children, and the efficiency of English schools.

APPENDIX.

THE OTTAWA SEPARATION OF 1886.

The following resolution, which passed unanimously at the Meeting of the Ottawa Separate School Board of October 22, 1886, shows the form of local separation which existed in Ottawa from 1887 till 1903. Why the French destroyed it has already been stated.

RESOLVED THAT on the 1st of January 1887, this Board resolves itself into two committees, to be known as the English-speaking Committee and the French-speaking Committee, respectively, of the Board of the Separate School Trustees of the City of Ottawa—the first named committee to be composed of the five English speaking members, and the latter of the five French speaking members of the Board.

POWERS OF THE RESPECTIVE COMMITTEES.

That the maintenance and management of the schools attended by English classes be assigned exclusively to the English-speaking committee, and the maintenance and management of the schools attended by French classes be assigned exclusively to the French speaking committee.

APPORTIONMENT OF THE REVENUE.

That the annual revenue of the Board be apportioned in the following manner:

The English Committee shall receive the taxes paid in by the English-speaking supporters of the Separate schools, and an equitable share (based upon the average attendance of pupils at the English schools) of the Ontario Government grant and of all other moneys payable to the Board "

The French Committee shall receive the taxes paid in by the French-speaking supporters of the Separate Schools, and an equitable share (based on the average attendance of pupils at the French schools) of the Ontario Government grant and of all other monies payable to the Board.

Instructions 17.

ONTARIO DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

ENGLISH-FRENCH PUBLIC AND SEPARATE SCHOOLS.

CIRCULAR OF INSTRUCTIONS.

1. There are only two classes of Primary Schools in Ontario—Public Schools and Separate Schools; but, for convenience of reference, the term English-French is applied to those schools of each class annually designated by the Minister for inspection as provided in 5 below and in which French is a language of instruction and communication as limited in 3 (1) below.

2. The Regulations and Courses of Study prescribed for the Public Schools, which are not inconsistent with the provisions of this circular, shall hereafter be in force in the English-French Schools—Public and Separate—with the following modifications: The provisions for religious instruction and exercises in Public Schools shall not apply to Separate Schools, and Separate School Boards may substitute the Canadian Catholic Readers for the Ontario Public School Readers.

3. Subject, in the case of each school, to the direction and approval of the Chief Inspector, the following modifications shall also be made in the course of study of the Public and Separate Schools:

THE USE OF FRENCH FOR INSTRUCTION AND COMMUNICATION.

(1) Where necessary in the case of French-speaking pupils, French may be used as the language of instruction and communication; but such use of French shall not be continued beyond Form I, excepting that, on the approval of the Chief Inspector, it may also be used as the language of instruction and communication in the case of pupils beyond Form I who are unable to speak and understand the English language.

SPECIAL COURSE IN ENGLISH FOR FRENCH SPEAKING PUPILS.

(2) In the case of French-speaking pupils who are unable to speak and understand the English language well enough for the purposes of instruction and communication, the following provision is hereby made:

(a) As soon as the pupil enters the school he shall begin the study and the use of the English language.

NOTE.—A Manual of Method for use in teaching English to French-speaking pupils has been distributed amongst the schools by the Department of Education. This Manual should be used in all schools. Where necessary copies may be procured on application to the Deputy Minister.

(b) As soon as the pupil has acquired sufficient facility in the use of the English language he shall take up in that language the course of study as prescribed for the Public and Separate Schools.

FRENCH AS A SUBJECT OF STUDY IN PUBLIC AND SEPARATE SCHOOLS.

4. In schools where French has hitherto been a subject of study, the Public or the Separate School Board, as the case may be, may provide, under the following conditions, for instruction in French Reading, Grammar, and Composition in Forms I to IV [see also provision for Form V in Public School Regulation 14 (5)] in addition to the subjects prescribed for the Public and Separate Schools:

(1) Such instruction in French may be taken only by pupils whose parents or guardians direct it at they shall do so, and may, notwithstanding 3 (1) above be given in the French language.

(2) Such instruction in French shall not interfere with the adequacy of the instruction in English, and the provision for such instruction in French in the time-table of the school shall be subject to the approval and direction of the Chief Inspector and shall not in any day exceed one hour in each class-room, except where the time is increased upon the order of the Chief Inspector.

(3) Where, as permitted above French is a subject of study in a Public or a Separate School, the text-books in use during the school year of 1911-1912, in French Reading, Grammar, and Composition remain authorized for use during the School year of 1913-1914.

INSPECTION OF ENGLISH-FRENCH SCHOOLS.

5. For the purpose of inspection, the English-French schools shall be organized into divisions, each division being under the charge of two Inspectors.

6. (1) In conducting the work of inspection, the Inspectors of a division shall alternately visit each school therein, unless otherwise directed by the Chief Inspector.

(2) Each Inspector shall pay at least 220 half-day visits during the year in accordance with the provisions of Public School Regulation 20, (2), and it shall

be the duty of each Inspector to pay as many more visits than the minimum as the circumstances may demand.

7. Each two Inspectors of a division shall reside at such centre or centres as may be designated by the Minister.

8. Frequently during the year the two Inspectors of a division shall meet together in order to discuss questions that may arise in their work and to standardize the system of inspection. For the same purposes all the Inspectors shall meet at such times and places as may be designated by the Minister.

9. Each Inspector shall report upon the general condition of all the classes, on the form prescribed by the Minister. This report shall be subject to the approval of the Minister upon the report of the Chief Inspector.

10. If either of the Inspectors of a division finds that any Regulation or Instruction of the Department is not being properly carried out, he shall forthwith report specially on such cases to the Minister.

11. Each Inspector shall forward a copy of his ordinary inspectional report on the prescribed official form to the Minister within one week after the visit.

12. The Chief Inspector of Public and Separate Schools shall be the supervising inspector of the English-French Schools.

13. (1) No teacher shall be granted a certificate to teach in English-French schools who does not possess a knowledge of the English language sufficient to teach the Public and Separate School Course

(2) No teacher shall remain in office or be appointed in any of said schools who does not possess a knowledge of the English language sufficient to teach the Public and Separate School Course of Study.

LEGISLATIVE GRANTS TO ENGLISH-FRENCH SCHOOLS.

14. The Legislative Grants to the English-French schools shall be made on the same conditions as are the grants to the other Public and Separate Schools.

15. On due application from the School Board and on the report of all the Inspectors approved by the Chief Inspector, an English-French school which is unable to provide the salary necessary to secure a teacher with the aforesaid qualifications shall receive a special grant in order to assist it in doing so.

Department of Education, August, 1913.

The Catholic Record and Instructions 17.

When the interests of the Catholic Church in Ontario or the integrity of Separate Schools are involved we may safely trust the bishops of the Province to pronounce on the question. But the bishops could not, even if they would, make the French language a matter of conscience with Catholics. The question is essentially a language question, one with which religion has nothing to do. Let us briefly and dispassionately examine the facts. Charges were made that a large and constantly increasing number of school children were graduating from the Public and Separate Schools of Ontario with little or no knowledge of the English language. In public those who assumed the right to speak for the French schools loudly asserted that they desired the French children of this province to acquire a perfect knowledge of English. The Government, to ascertain the facts, appointed a commission to investigate. Dr. Merchant's report showed that in many of the schools, Public and Separate, no adequate provision was made for the teaching of English. Public sentiment demanded some action on the part of the Government. Hence for the scholastic year 1912-13 the Department of Education issued the famous Regulation 17. This regulation was very far from satisfying those who wished to make English the language of instruction in all the schools of the province. It recognized that some districts in Ontario had become purely French-speaking, many of the children having no knowledge of English, and was calculated to deal with a difficult problem as leniently and generously as possible. It might be well, in view of the misapprehension sometimes evidenced by the discussion, to note that all departmental regulations are subject to changes annually. It was expressly stated by the

Government that Regulation 17 last year was largely experimental, and as a matter of fact it has been considerably modified this year to meet the views of those who thought the use of French as a medium of instruction was so restricted as to work a hardship in those places which had become exclusively French speaking.

The Regulation in question last year allowed the use of French without any restriction during the First Form. Here again there is from time to time on both sides an evident misapprehension. The First Form is not the first school year. The First Form comprises two years as a rule, and very often longer. Not until after the first two or three years, therefore, did Regulation 17 restrict the use of the French language to one hour a day. And, as we have already said, provision is made this year for further relaxing this restriction.

Those who realize the difficulty of obtaining satisfactory results, where English is the mother tongue and English alone is taught during the short school life of the average child, will readily concede that if the French schools of Ontario are to give the children a working knowledge of English, the departmental regulations could not well be more generous. Those, however, who contend that French is on an equal footing with English in every Province of the Dominion naturally resent any interference or regulation looking to the imposition of English on French children. Indeed, a few years ago French schools were frankly called French schools; the bilingual fiction is a recent invention.

That is the "bilingual" school question, and we submit that it is in no sense a religious question; it is first, last and all the time a question of language.

It is quite true that some French-Canadians proclaim from the house-tops that the French language is the safeguard of the faith; that French is a Catholic language, and English is not only a Protestant, but a Protestantizing language. Catholics of a less restricted outlook may be pardoned for drawing their own conclusions when they compare English-speaking Ireland with French-speaking France. Nearer home the staunch Catholicity of thousands of English-speaking French-Canadians gives the lie to the claim that to lose the language is to lose the faith. It is absurd to attempt to identify the Catholic religion with any race or language.

In this connection Mr. Genest, Chairman of the Ottawa Separate School Board, and the most authoritative and arrogant exponent of French rights, privileges and duties throughout this whole agitation, is the same Mr. Genest of the following interview which recently appeared in the *Ottawa Free Press*:

"Then", continued Mr. Genest, "the argument is raised that we are priest-ridden and that our schools and education is ruled by the Church. I say that if this is so it is because it is forced upon us. Because we are not given our rights as regards taxes we cannot employ lay teachers and we have to secure others. The Grey Nuns, the Christian Brothers and others can afford to give us their services cheaply and so we must accept them because we have no alternative. If we could afford to engage lay teachers we would do so. It is the provincial government again which is forcing us to the Church and the priest for education for our children."

Evidently those for whom Mr. Genest speaks will tolerate religion only so long as it may serve as a useful maid-of-all-work for French nationalism.

La bonne presse which becomes hysterical when an English-speaking Catholic refuses to subscribe to "neogallicanism", has nothing but unstinted admiration for the valiant Mr. Genest.

It is true, also, that extreme Protestants see in this language agitation "the encroachment of the hierarchy". The hierarchy of Ontario can safely be left to speak for themselves. By the extremists of both sides they are subjected to equal abuse. Nevertheless when religion is concerned they will not shirk the duty of safeguarding the interests of their people, nor are they likely to delegate their authority to those prominent in this agitation.

But it is claimed that the appointment of Protestant Inspectors is an attack on the integrity of Separate Schools. There was a time when we had no Catholic Inspectors for Separate Schools. Catholic inspection was granted by one of the many amendments we owe to the spirit of good will towards Separate Schools that has ever animated the successive Governments of this province. The Inspector is the link connecting the schools with the Education Department. If the Department of Education has the right and the duty and the responsibility of seeing that the schools are conducted according to the laws of the Province and the regulations of the Department, it has the right and duty and

the responsibility of appointing Inspectors who will honestly perform their official duty. Through these officials chiefly, if not solely, the department is kept in touch with the actual working of the schools. On the Inspectors chiefly, if not solely, must the Department depend for information as to whether the laws are obeyed and the regulations observed. In the exceptional circumstances of this language dispute, the Government considered it clearly necessary to appoint, for a time at least, English-speaking Inspectors to enforce the regulation regarding the teaching of English. Thanks to the extremely generous spirit in which Ontario governments have treated the French-speaking people of this province, the French or bilingual schools have their own Inspectors. The additional inspection is concerned exclusively with the teaching of English. Not a shadow of interference with religious teaching is even charged against the Protestant Inspectors. Yet it is stated that this is but the entering of the wedge; that the motive of the Government is anti-Catholic; that their real object is to destroy the Separate School system.

This mischievous imputation of motive is wholly gratuitous.

There are in Ontario many Protestants who fully sympathize with the Catholic ideal of education, where religion permeates the whole school life of the child; there are others who honestly regret that all children, Catholic and Protestant, are not educated side by side in the Public schools; others still, who are frankly, even bitterly, opposed to Separate schools and who would abolish them if they could. But the various governments of the province have always recognized that since the principle of Separate schools was constitutionally guaranteed it was in the highest interests of the whole province to make the Separate Schools as efficient as possible. With this end in view numerous amendments were freely granted to facilitate the working of the Separate School Act and to meet the pressing requirements made manifest by experience. Further amendments and ameliorations are and will be necessary to meet changed and changing conditions. The self-styled and self-constituted champions of Separate schools alienate the sympathy of friendly Protestants, antagonize the fair-minded, and strengthen the hands of the open enemies of Catholic Schools. We protest against their dragging religion into their language agitation; we protest against their identifying their cause with that of Separate schools; we reprobate their methods as un-Canadian and un-Catholic.

If, as they claim, legal rights are denied them or constitutional rights invaded, redress should be sought, not in beclouding the issue by pernicious agitation, but in the courts.

In the Catechism taught in the English Separate schools of Ontario occur the following question and answer:

Q. What are the duties of citizens towards the civil government?

A. To obey the laws and respect the public officers "not only for wrath but also for conscience' sake," for so is the will of God, 1 Pet. II.; Rom. XIII. We should likewise pray "for all those in high stations, that we may lead a quiet and peaceful life." 1. Tim. II.

We are at a loss to reconcile this plain Catholic teaching with methods which inculcate even in the children of Catholic schools, disobedience, insubordination, and the defiance of lawfully constituted authority.

LONDON, Saturday November 5th, 1913.

The Catholic Record and the Protestant Inspector.

Section XXVI. of the Roman Catholic Separate School Act of 1863 reads as follows:—

"The Roman Catholic Separate Schools (with their Registers), shall be subject to such inspection as may be directed from time to time by the Chief Superintendent of Education, and shall be subject, also, to such regulations as may be imposed, from time to time, by the Council of Public Instruction for Upper Canada."

Following is Dr. Ryerson's comment on this section:

"The provisions of this section have not existed in any previous act in respect to Separate Schools; they bring the Separate Schools as completely under the control of Public Regulations and inspection as the Common Schools".

That this was the meaning and intent of the section was thoroughly well known at the time. Dr. Ryerson (then Chief Superintendent of Education) was summoned by John Sandfield Macdonald to be present while the Bill was before the House, to give such explanations as might be required. Writing to J. George Hodgins from Quebec, April 13th, 1863, Dr. Ryerson says:

"The members of the Government and all parties have thanked me most heartily for the analysis and comparative view of the Separate School Law (1855) and Bill (of 1863)."

On April 15th Dr. Ryerson again wrote Mr. Hodgins:

"I telegraphed you a day or two ago to get five thousand of my comparison of the Separate School Bills of 1855 and 1863 printed and sent down, for the use of members. The Attorney-General wishes the expense charged to the Department, and has written me a note to that effect, as it is the diffusion of information on this Separate School Law and School System, without reference to a party. Mr. Benjamin, M. P., told me he was getting another edition printed here also."

In this analysis and comparison section XXVI. with Dr. Ryerson's note (immediately following the section as above) pointing out its meaning and intent, and that it was a departure from all previous Separate School legislation, received full consideration and assent from all parties interested, Catholics included. It is this act of 1863 which defines our constitutional rights guaranteed by the British North America Act. The Separate Schools are therefore unquestionably subject to governmental regulations and inspection. The right of the Ontario government in the premises is inalienable and imprescriptible. It has a corresponding duty and responsibility.

However, in 1865 the Inspector was refused permission to inspect the Register in Kingston; and late in 1871 Archbishop Lynch addressed the following letter to the Chief Superintendent:

"To our great amazement we find that our Separate Schools are visited by the Inspectors of our Common schools. We take this occasion to protest against this intrusion, as it is contrary to the Law establishing Separate Schools; and we will be obliged to give notice to the trustees not to receive those visits; not that we are afraid of them, but we do not want their interference."

In his reply to the Archbishop, Dr. Ryerson said:

"I beg to observe that the protest you make, and the intention you avow, are in direct opposition to the Separate School Act, the twenty-sixth section of which expressly provides (for such inspection) (see section XXVI. R. C. S. S. Act as quoted above.)

"I have construed the Separate School action to authorize Trustees of Separate Schools in Cities, Towns and Incorporated Villages, to appoint. the Local Superintendent of their Schools; but that does not preclude this Department from directing an inspection of the Register and condition of any Separate School."

Dr. Ryerson then referred to the General Regulations under which Grammar School Inspectors were directed to inspect Separate Schools in the neighborhood of Grammar Schools. He then said:

"I believe these visits were very acceptable to the Managers and Teachers of the Separate Schools, and the Inspector's report respecting them was most favourable. But in one (Kingston) he was refused admittance. by the head teacher of the principal Separate School."

"A few days after I had written (to Kingston on the subject), I received a letter from the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kingston, (Dr. Horan), apologizing for the conduct of the head teacher of the Separate School, who had mistaken his duty, and assuring me that the Inspector would be courteously received at any time he might think proper to visit the school."

"I can adduce indubitable proof that I have sought to administer the Law, as much for the benefit of Separate Schools as of Public Schools, and have given the Separate Schools the advantage of every doubt, and of any discretionary power I might have to assist them.

"But while I have sought to aid Separate Schools to the utmost extent of my power, and to give the most liberal construction of the School Law in their behalf, I must say that I think Your Grace's protest and intimated course of

proceedings are directly contrary to the express provisions of the Separate School Act—the inspection of which class of Schools, under the authority of this department, is not, as a matter of suffrage, at the discretion of the trustees of Separate Schools, but a matter of right, provided for by law, and which every government ought to possess, and exercise to inspect, at its discretion, the doings of every school, or institution, aided out of the public revenues of the country”.

Dr. Hodgins, who was Deputy Minister of Education at the time and for years after the death of both Dr. Ryerson and Archbishop Lynch, closes this chapter with the sentence:

“No further difficulty was experienced in this matter.”

It will be seen that though Separate Schools were being inspected by Protestant Inspectors during all these years, it was not, apparently, until late in 1871 that Archbishop Lynch, “to his great amazement,” was informed of the fact, which, whatever else it may indicate, proves conclusively:

1. That such inspection was accepted both by priests and people without a complaint ever reaching the ears of Bishop Lynch. Moreover, the information on which he based his protest was inaccurate inasmuch as the Common School Inspectors did not inspect the Separate Schools. It was the Grammar School (later, High School) Inspectors who were charged with this duty.

2. It is only just to the late Archbishop to note that when the law governing the case at issue was pointed out to him, he acquiesced, and his intention to notify the trustees not to receive such visits was never carried out, though the government inspection went on under exactly the same conditions for a dozen years after the date of his protest.

3. This protest, though based on inaccurate information as to facts and inadequate knowledge of the law, assumed, nevertheless, a form entirely consistent with the Archbishop's own dignity and respect for educational authority. To quote this dignified letter to the Chief Superintendent which gave Dr. Ryerson the opportunity, of which he availed himself, to discuss, in like manner with His Grace the grounds for his protest and the wisdom of his intimated course of procedure, to quote this letter as in any way approving or justifying the actual state of rebellion in some quarters, is, we submit, little short of wanton insult to the memory of Archbishop Lynch, who, like Dr. Horan of Kingston, was a bishop and a Catholic gentleman. In the light of the foregoing facts, what he would have to say on the present situation, were he still alive, we leave to our readers to judge.

LONDON, Saturday, December 6th, 1913.

The French Canadian Educational Association and the Ontario School Question.

The French-Canadian Educational Association of Ontario is waging a religious war against the Ontario Government. Before discussing the arguments by which it proclaims it a religious obligation for Catholics to resist constituted authority, it may be worth while to state, in brief, the history of the Association.

It was founded at Ottawa, at the French Congress of January 1910. Twelve hundred delegates claiming to represent all the French Catholics of Ontario were present at this Congress. This is the first time, in history, that the Catholics of Ontario organized for educational purposes on racial lines. The Congress passed a series of resolutions with a view to revolutionizing the educational system of Ontario along French lines. It asked “that a school or class where the majority of the pupils in attendance are of French *origin* be declared English-French.” This must be done no matter whether any of these children speak a word of French, no matter what proportion of the ratepayers speak French, or wish to have it taught, no matter how it might handicap the education of the purely English speaking children of the school or class. The Congress asked “that in schools or classes where 25 per cent of the pupils in attendance are of French *origin* the trustees shall require instruction to be given to those pupils

in French reading, spelling, grammar and literature." That resolution was designed as a powerful weapon in the proposed conquest of Ontario by the French. There are hundreds of classes in Ontario where one-quarter of the children are of French origin, yet where the teaching of French is out of the question. These children of French origin may be as thoroughly English-speaking as the children of Irish or Scottish origin. Their parents may not desire French to be taught any more than the Irish or Scottish Canadian parents desire Gaelic to be taught in the Ontario schools. Qualified teachers for these classes are not available. The English-speaking children in the classes would certainly have their education handicapped. Yet, in spite of all this the trustees shall be obliged to see that instruction be given in French. This shows a most selfish and un-Catholic disregard for the educational rights of English-speaking Catholics. To supply teachers for all these bilingual schools and classes, a wholesale lowering of teachers' certificates, especially as regards English, was demanded by the Congress. Finally such revolutionary changes in the Ontario system as English-French Secondary Schools and English-French Normal Schools were demanded, despite the fact that Catholic Secondary and Normal Schools have not been granted to English-speaking Catholics.

To sum up. At the Ottawa Congress of January 1910, the French-Canadian Educational Association launched a campaign for revolutionary changes in the Ontario Public and Separate School system, without consulting the English-speaking bishops of Ontario, or the English-speaking Catholic body of Ontario. Thus far in the history of Ontario, when Catholics wanted educational concessions, the bishops had presented their claims to the Ontario government. Thus far, in the history of Ontario, when demands were made, they were made by the whole body of Catholics, united on religious, not on racial lines. It is easy to surmise that the Ontario hierarchy resented the racial, impertinent and unjust attitude of the French Congress. Thus one bishop publicly stated: "Not only was public education in certain sections of my diocese in a deplorable condition, but if any attention were to be given to the preposterous demands of the Ottawa French Canadian Congress, it threatened to become more deplorable still." (Bishop Fallon at Goderich, Oct. 16, 1910.)

The next act of the French-Canadian Educational Association, that showed its un-Catholic national bias, occurred the following year at the enthronization of Mgr. Gauthier as Archbishop of Ottawa. The following extract of a resolution unanimously adopted at a meeting of the French-Canadian Educational Association executive is an interesting document in the history of French-Canadian Nationalism:

"Whereas, at a meeting of L'Association Canadienne-Française d'Éducation d'Ontario held on the 18th of October 1910, it was unanimously resolved to present to Mgr. Gauthier on the occasion of his enthronization in the Cathedral an address in French to be read by the president of the St. Jean Baptiste Society of Ottawa.

Whereas the Association has learned that Mgr. Fallon, Bishop of London, has been invited and has accepted to be present at the enthronization of Mgr. Gauthier.

Whereas the St. Jean Baptiste Society, through its president, has requested Mgr. Gauthier to so arrange that Mgr. Fallon would not be present at the enthronization ceremonies; and Mgr. Gauthier has declared by a messenger that he could not comply with this request.

This Association, while approving of the address, profoundly regrets to have to recommend that the said address be not read to Mgr. Gauthier in the presence of Mgr. Fallon.

(Sgd.) "N. A. BELCOURT,
President L'Association, C. F. d'E. O."

(Sgd.) "J. U. VINCENT,
President, St. Jean Baptiste, Ottawa."

The French-Canadian Educational Association thus fell foul of ecclesiastical authority in 1911. The following year, it fell foul of civil authority. The Ontario Department of Education in order to remedy the inefficient teaching of English in the Public and Separate Schools under its jurisdiction in which French was taught, issued in June, 1912, Instructions 17. The Association decided to resist it, and on September 10, 1912, called upon Mr. Samuel Genest, of the Ottawa Separate School Board, to have the Board pass their resolution. On

September 12, the Ottawa Separate School Board passed a defiance of the Ontario Government, ordered this defiance to be posted up in every class room of every bilingual school of Ottawa, and a copy to be sent to every French Board of Trustees in Ontario. For the first time in history the Separate Schools of Ontario, a system of government schools, were to defy the government. The English-speaking bishops of Ontario, who constitute the vast majority of the hierarchy of the province, were not consulted. A religious war against the government, an agitation which if unfortunate might result in total abolition of the Ontario Separate Schools, was begun without the consent and against the better judgment of the English-speaking bishops. For racial, not religious reasons, the French-Canadian Educational Association sought to involve the Catholic Church in a fight with the Ontario Government. The bishops and English-speaking Catholics have rightly refused to join in this unnecessary, unlawful and dangerous defiance of the civil power.

What now are the arguments by which the French-Canadian Educational Association seeks to make it a matter of conscience to resist even illegally Instructions 17. The principal motives of resistance are three: 1st. The necessity of opposing "the influence of a Protestant language on our faith;" 2nd. The necessity of opposing the Protestant inspector; 3rd. The necessity of defending the constitutional and natural rights alleged to be violated by Instructions 17.

According to the Association, the bilingual question is primarily and essentially a religious one, because English is a Protestant language, and French a Catholic one. If this argument held, the French should ask, not for bilingual schools, but for French schools where sinful English would be tabooed. But English is not a Protestant language any more than Latin is a Pagan language; and French is not a Catholic language any more than German is. The majority of nineteenth century and contemporary French literature is opposed to faith or morals. The books and periodicals that come to this country from France are not a whit more Catholic than those that come from England. The French books in the Ottawa Public Library are not more Catholic than the English books. Both contain much wheat and much cockle. Hence, this argument falls to the ground, and with it the whole thesis that the teaching of English makes the bilingual question a religious one. A philosopher of history might quite reasonably hold that the Catholic Church in Canada has much more to fear from French rationalism than from English commercial materialism and that hence the anglicisation of the French-Canadians would eventually prove a safeguard to their faith. Or again, he might hold that since Canada most certainly will be a second United States, and one of the greatest and most influential English-speaking countries in the world, the anglicisation of the French-Canadians would break down the present Chinese Wall which separates them from their Protestant fellow citizens, and would enable them to carry on a lay apostolate among English-speaking Protestants, and thus more readily extend the Kingdom of God. Meanwhile, no matter what philosophers of history may think, the Catholic Church, not identifying her interests with the varying fortunes of any language, preaches the gospel to every man in his own tongue, and endeavors to make Catholic all languages and literatures. To condemn English as a Protestant language as the Association does is not the Catholic stand.

But it is objected that the appointment of the bilingual inspectors makes it a matter of conscience to resist Instruction 17. French papers and trustees have called upon the children to leave the school when the Protestant inspector entered. Now the rights of the Protestant inspector may be considered from the standpoint of civil law and of canon law. According to the civil law of Ontario, a Protestant inspector has a perfect right to enter a Separate school, if sent by the Department of Education. As regards canon law, the Ontario Separate School system is far from being ideal. It is a system of schools for Catholics, supported by Catholics, yet it is under the supreme control of a Minister of Education who is a Protestant, and of a government which like the province is six-sevenths Protestant. It is under the inspection of a chief inspector of Public and Separate Schools who is a Protestant. With the exception of the catechisms and readers the text books are drawn up by a committee composed chiefly of Protestants. The list could be multiplied ten fold. Evidently the Separate School system of Ontario is far from being an ideal Catholic school system. There is a big difference between the requirements of canon law, and the Ontario Separate Schools

Act. But the practical question which the Ontario bishops had to decide was this: Shall we accept the Separate School system as it will work out on the whole satisfactorily, or shall we pay all our taxes to the Public Schools, and support in addition parochial schools? History records the answer. The Ontario bishops accepted the Separate School Act though it was imperfect. Years ago when a Catholic teacher in Kingston refused to show a Protestant inspector the school register, Bishop Horan apologized to the Department. Canon Law not merely draws up an ideal system, but directs how to deal with the imperfect realities of practical life. The most unsatisfactory features of the Separate School Act have since been remedied, not by defiance to the government, nor by encouraging children to leave the school, but by putting the case with the accord and assistance of the hierarchy before the legislature. This was, the proper attitude for the French-Canadian Educational Association and the bilingual school trustees to have taken. It is the attitude recommended by Pope Leo XIII in his famous letter *Affari vos*.

But it may be asked, why were these Protestant inspectors appointed for the bilingual schools? Simply to look after the interests of English, and the interests of the English pupils. In the bilingual schools visited by Dr. Merchant, there were 2,812 English pupils. French inspectors, teachers and trustees were seriously handicapping the education of these children, in very many of the schools. The appointment of English inspectors was an absolute necessity. The government asked certain Irish Catholics to undertake the work, but as they had reason to know from past experience, that they would not be very welcome in the bilingual schools, they declined. Objections to English-speaking Catholic inspectors were in fact raised by certain French-Canadians. Then again the number of fully qualified English Catholic inspectors was very limited. So the government decided to appoint an outsider, who would inspect in conjunction with the regular Catholic bilingual inspector, and appointed the Protestant inspectors. The Protestant inspectors have nothing to do with religious instruction or with faith or morals. If the French were to ask the Government for English speaking Catholic inspectors, they would get them. While ostensibly the objection to the English inspectors is on account of their religion, the chief objection to them is on account of their nationality. If a bilingual school cannot receive for a half a day in the year a visit of a Protestant inspector, how can all the bilingual schools remain all year, and every year under a Protestant Minister of Education? If children should leave school when a Protestant inspector arrives, why do the pupils of the bilingual model school at Ottawa sit day after day under a Protestant principal? There is no English-speaking Catholic in Ontario who does not, as a matter of principle, want Catholic inspectors in Catholic schools. But the temporary appointment of Protestant co-inspectors for the bilingual schools was practically a necessity, and, since neither faith nor morals were at stake, should certainly have been accepted for the time being. The French-Canadian Educational Association's policy of defying and antagonizing the government can be productive only of evil.

Finally it is urged that Instructions 17 violates the natural and constitutional rights of the Ontario French-Canadians. As regards the constitutional aspect of the question, the recent decision in the Green Valley case in which the French trustees were condemned as recalcitrant and recusant makes it clear that the Ontario Government is entirely within its legal rights.

The only argument that remains is the appeal to the natural law. It can readily be admitted that the Ontario Government, like practically all other governments, claims more authority in school matters than Catholic philosophers would concede to it. However, it by no means follows that Instruction 17 is a grievous infringement on natural rights which it is just and dutiful to resist by illegal methods.

Instruction 17 was not designed to prevent education in the French language. It was designed to permit the teaching of French but at the same time to provide that the main bulk of the teaching be in English, the language of Ontario. This latter object can be obtained only by limiting the amount of French teaching. As the French of Ontario themselves desire an efficient education in English, it is illogical to object to the major amount of the school time being devoted to that language, as this is a necessary means to that end. Ontario is an English speaking province, and as French-Canadians admit, 'business requirements make an education in English imperative. If it be claimed that an efficient English education could be imparted, even though more time were

devoted to French than Instructions 17 permit, this claim can scarcely stand in the face of the present inefficient teaching of English in most bilingual schools. Moreover English-speaking children to the number of about 3,000 are affected by Instructions 17. In the majority of bilingual schools these children are having, at present, their education handicapped. This is an intolerable state of affairs in an English-speaking province like Ontario. Ontario was not colonized by the French. At the British Conquest there was only one French parish in the whole province. It was settled from 1784 onwards by English, Scots and Irish. Up to recent years the French were an insignificant minority. The Catholics in Ontario who use the French language are not more than one-third of the Catholic body and are not one-fifteenth of the total population of the province. There are 202,442 people of French origin in Ontario (Census of 1911). This number includes the French-speaking Protestants, the English-speaking Protestants of French origin, the large and excellent body of English speaking Catholics of French origin. Deduct these three classes and there are probably not more than 160,000 French speaking Catholics in Ontario out of a total Catholic body of 484,997. A minority has rights, but so has a majority. In some places those who have been objecting the most strongly to Instructions 17 have been handicapping in a most unnecessary and unjust manner the education of English-speaking children—for example in Haileybury. The educational rights of English-speaking Catholics must everywhere in Ontario be recognized and guaranteed, before Instructions 17 be essentially modified and before further concessions as regards the teaching of French be made. In many places Instructions 17 is the best guarantee of the natural scholastic rights of English-speaking Catholics. In but few places does it involve any hardship for the French, for the instruction is a rather elastic one, and the government is anxious to apply it in a fair and reasonable manner.

It may be held that Ottawa is an exceptional case, as there exist in that city two complete sets of Catholic schools, one for the English and one for the French. That is true. Both the Department of Education and the English-speaking Catholics of Ottawa wanted to make Ottawa an exceptional case. The chief inspector of Public and Separate Schools was sent to Ottawa last year to tell the trustees, that if they accepted Instructions 17, they might continue to teach in the French schools of Ottawa as they have done in the past. The French trustees, determined to bring the government to its knees, refused to drop their attitude of defiance. Instruction 17 contains a loop-hole through which practically any amount of French can be taught in a school with the consent of the chief inspector, but the French trustees with their Utopian ideas of French domination of Ontario have determined to place French on an equal footing with English in this province, even if the Separate Schools should be lost in the attempt.

Again since in Ottawa the English and the French Separate Schools form two distinct sets, in reality more different than the Public and the Separate Schools, the English-speaking Catholics have demanded scholastic autonomy by means of separation from the French schools. The English-speaking Catholics have a right by the natural law to control their own schools, and to be called upon to support only their own schools. The French Canadian Educational Association which had been constantly invoking the natural right for the French, refused and denied this right, in a series of public press statements, to the English-speaking Catholics of Ottawa. If the French have by the natural law a right to run their schools as they please, subject to the lawful supervision of church and state, they can lawfully exercise this right only when they fulfil the corresponding obligation of paying for all the costs of such schools. This they refuse to do. Hence as long as they remain in the Separate School System (a system of English Catholic government schools), as long as they profit by the taxes of the English speaking ratepayers, and have in their schools the children of such ratepayers (for whom an English education must be provided), they cannot by virtue of the natural law demand that the Separate School Regulations be so modified as to injure the English speaking majority in this province. For the natural rights of the majority must first of all be respected. In view of all these facts, the illegal defiance of Instruction 17, advocated by the French Canadian Educational Association, cannot be justified by the natural law. A racial war under the guise of religion, such as this Association started and still wages is against the best interests of the Catholic Church in Canada.

If the French do not like the Ontario Separate School system, they can either accept it and seek redress from the legislature or from the courts, or they can reject it and establish bilingual schools of their own. Their present attitude—attempting to run government schools in defiance of the government, encouraging young children to disobey and despise government officials—does not appeal to the English-speaking Catholics of Ontario. That this attitude is not approved of by the Ontario hierarchy is clear from the statement of one who has authority to speak in such matters: Mgr. Corbett, Vicar-General of Alexandria diocese. Late in December last Mgr. Corbett declared at St. Columban's Cornwall, that "people who countenanced such tactics were not acting in accordance with the wishes, nor had they the approval of the authorities of the Church in this province, and were pursuing a course which might endanger the system which had become a source of pride to the Catholics of Ontario, and a vital factor in their happiness and spiritual progress."

The Appeal to the Courts.

The English Committee of the Separate School Trustees of the City of Ottawa, consisting of Trustees Mackell, Sims, Lanigan, Brennan, O'Neill, and Finn, deems it necessary, in view of the gravity of the present Ottawa Separate School crisis, to make the following statement to the Board of Trustees and to the Separate School supporters of Ottawa.

We hold that the whole history of the Separate Schools in Ottawa, since the Separate Schools Act was passed in 1863 till the present, proves:

First,—That two classes of schools have always existed here—the English and the French, or Bilingual.

Second,—That separation of some sort, so that the English would control the English schools and the French the bilingual schools, has always existed more or less perfectly.

Third,—That the greater the separation the more successfully the schools can be run.

COMMITTEES ESTABLISHED.

In 1886 the Ottawa school system was raised out of the chaotic state into which it had fallen, by having the principle of separation or autonomy, applied not merely to control but also to finance, the Board having been resolved into two practically independent committees.

The English schools having greater financial resources, the French, coveting this, destroyed unfortunately in 1903, the independent committees. Later they permitted them to be restored as regards control, but not as regards finance.

ELECTION PRINCIPLE.

The principle that there should be one English and one French trustee from each ward has been recognized since 1863, when the English controlled four of the five wards. This principle implies that the English trustees should be nominated and elected exclusively by English-speaking voters, and the French trustees exclusively by French-speaking electors. This principle was openly accepted in 1906 by the great leader of the French-Canadians, in school as well as religious and racial matters, the late Archbishop Duhamel. As far as the French trustees are concerned this principle is observed. There is not a French Trustee on the board who was not nominated by Frenchmen and elected by a majority of the French votes of his ward.

DISREGARD AGREEMENT.

On the other hand the French of this city, priests and people, relying on the weight of their numbers have decided to disregard this principle as far as English trustees are concerned. In the elections of April 25th, 1914, the two defeated English candidates had at least nine-tenths of the English votes. The French voters succeeded in electing two trustees not satisfactory to nine-tenths of the English-speaking ratepayers of these wards.

A FATAL POLICY.

This has intensified racial feeling tenfold and has driven a number of English supporters to the public schools. A policy which drives English Separate School supporters to the public schools is a fatal one. We now reiterate our claim, a claim which we have proved with great wealth of argument in our previous public statements to the press, that natural equity, business efficiency and civic peace require that the English Separate Schools and the Bilingual Separate schools of this city should be under two mutually, functionally and financially independent boards or committees.

THE GOVERNMENT'S STAND.

We fail to see that the Ontario government has any reason to object to the formation in Ottawa of these mutually independent school boards or committees. We are not asking the government to create a new system of schools. We demand merely a new type of school board. It is unreasonable and impracticable to forcibly unite under joint management two fully developed sets of schools, different in language of instruction, different in curriculum, different in teachers' qualifications, different in inspectors. We have no objection to the French having their schools, but we do hold that they should pay for them. We object to a large part of our revenue going to their support, especially since we have great need of it ourselves.

OBJECT TO SYSTEM.

We object to the present system, which permits the French voters of this city, who have a set of schools more different from our English Separate Schools than are the Public Schools from the Separate Schools, to elect our trustees, to control our schools, and to spend our money. We maintain that, while temporary makeshifts may be found, the only satisfactory and permanent solution of the Ottawa Separate School difficulty is complete separation of the English Separate Schools and the Bilingual Separate Schools. The French of this city have rejected this perfectly fair proposition with scorn and insults. Perhaps some day they may realize that it is also their only salvation.

"FRENZIED FINANCE."

Meanwhile as long as we are forced to remain in partnership with the Bilingual trustees, we are bound to see that our partners do not ruin us. Unfortunately our partners have attempted and are attempting to ruin us, by their insurrectionist plan of campaign and frenzied finance.

NO PART IN QUARREL.

Let it be clearly understood that we have no direct part in this quarrel between the Ontario government and the French-Canadian Educational Association. As long as our schools and our children are not thereby affected either directly or indirectly, the French may teach five hours a day of French in their schools for all we care. That is their business, not ours.

Unfortunately, the French have dragged us into this quarrel with the government, by seeking to make us, the neutral third party, the buffer between them and the government. It is the fate of buffers to be crushed, and we are determined to no longer act as buffer.

INVOLVED WHOLE BOARD.

The Bilingual trustees by illegally defying a government regulation have involved the whole board in rebellion and have lost the government grant for 1913 as a first consequence. It is impossible to maintain a government system of schools in defiance of the government. The Separate Schools of Ontario form an integral part of the government schools of Ontario. They were established not to teach French, but to teach English to Catholics.

Concessions as regards the teaching of French have since been made both in the Public and Separate Schools, the regulations being identical for each. If the French desire greater concessions, there are constitutional means of obtaining them. But we do not intend to let the French ruin our Separate Schools, while they use militant tactics to obtain more French teaching.

ATTACK ON CLERGY.

Not merely have the Bilingualists attempted to make the English Separate Schools a buffer between them and the government; they have actually attempted to make the Catholic church a similar buffer. They have attempted to justify their illegal defiance of the English-speaking inspector on religious grounds. They have denounced as bad Catholics those bishops, priests or laymen who refuse to support their illegal campaign.

ALSO ON GOVERNMENT.

We deny that the French-Canadian Educational Association or French priests have a right to declare, in the name of the Catholic church, religious war on the Ontario government. No lower ecclesiastical authority than the bishop of the diocese has a right to declare a given civil law unjust and make it a matter of conscience to oppose it. The Archbishop of Ottawa has not denounced any law of the Ontario government or regulation of the Ontario department of education. No lower ecclesiastical authority than the united hierarchy of this province has a right to declare a province-wide religious agitation against a law or regulation of the Ontario government.

ACCEPT SEPARATE ACT.

The united hierarchy of this province has not, and never has, done so. Rather the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Ontario accepted in 1863 the Separate Schools Act, which gave the government the right to send Protestant inspectors into our schools. The hierarchy still accepts that Act, hence that principle. For many years practically the only inspectors were Protestant inspectors, and they were never refused admission into a Separate School, because they never interfered in religious matters. When on one historic occasion a Catholic teacher refused a school register to a Protestant inspector he was rebuked by his bishop for doing so. The continuation classes in the Separate Schools have today, as they always have had, only Protestant inspectors, and no objection has ever been raised against them. The religious war declared in this city by the French-Canadian Educational Association and the Bilingual trustees is as much an insult to the authority of the Catholic Church as it is an affront to the Ontario government.

WHY THE OBJECTIONS.

The real objection to the Protestant inspectors is that they are English and not French. When a few years ago it was found necessary, in order to safeguard the rights of English-speaking children in the Bilingual Schools and to promote a greater efficiency in the teaching of English, to appoint English-speaking inspectors in addition to the Bilingual inspectors, the French could have obtained English-speaking Catholic inspectors from the government. These they did not want. So the government gave them English-speaking Protestant inspectors, safe-guarding their religious rights by giving the Protestant inspectors no authority to interfere in religious matters.

RELIGION ONLY A CLOAK.

The French, however, availed themselves of the chance thus offered to make religion a cloak for their nationalism, and defied the inspectors on religious grounds. We will have nothing to do with this religious hypocrisy. If the chief inspector, who is a Protestant, should care to visit the English Separate Schools of Ottawa, he will be very welcome. We know that he has authority to inspect our schools, and we know that he would not interfere in the slightest with our religious rights. There are none of our schools that we are afraid to have inspected.

WITHDRAW OR ENFORCE RULE 17.

One word to the Ontario government. The time has come to enforce Instruction 17 either in its present or in a modified form. Let the government either withdraw Instruction 17 or enforce it. No self-respecting government can any longer permit government schools to be run in defiance of the government, as are the Bilingual Separate Schools of Ottawa today. If the government cannot discipline the Bilingual Schools that are defying the law, without penalizing, as it has unjustly done, the English schools that are observing the law, then that simply shows that separation is necessary. We refuse to have our schools made the buffer and crushed.

APPEAL TO COURTS.

Meanwhile, since the government has not acted effectively, we have been forced to appeal to the courts. We are not going to allow the Bilingual promoters of a frenzied finance to squander the money of our electors. So we, the members of the English Committee of Trustees, in conjunction with the two defeated English candidates of St. George's and Dalhousie wards, have applied for an injunction to prevent the issue of debentures and for a mandamus to force the Bilingual trustees to obey the law.

In view of the lack of credit of the Ottawa Separate School Board owing to its defiance of the government and loss of the government grant in view of the stringency in the money market, enormous liabilities and high school rate of the Separate Schools, in view of all this, to issue debentures for \$275,000 or \$350,000 would be simply frenzied finance; and as it is intended to use about half of this money to build schools which will be conducted in defiance of the government, it would be simply misappropriating public funds. We believe that by means of the courts we shall be able to defend the interests of our electors, so that they can still prudently remain Separate School supporters.—
Ottawa, April 29, 1914.

Conclusion.

The case of R. Mackell and others vs. the Board of Trustees of the Roman Catholic Separate Schools of Ottawa came up for a hearing before Judge Lennox, in the June assises of the Supreme Court of Ontario, at Ottawa, June 25th and 26th, 1914. Evidence was given to show that the Board had violated Instructions 17, and this fact was admitted by the Board's counsel. In defense it was claimed that the said Instructions were *ultra vires*, as there were French schools in Ontario before Confederation. Trustee Lanigan stated that it was owing to the action of the Board, with regard to Instructions 17, that he opposed the raising of money on debentures. He stated that it would be unwise to borrow money at present, as the Board was in poor standing with the government. When asked what would happen if the French and English pupils were put together and all the schools made bilingual, he answered that the English supporters would leave the Separate Schools in a body. Dr. Colquhoun, Deputy Minister of Education, stated that the reason that there was a Protestant inspector for bilingual schools in this district, was because no legally qualified Roman Catholic inspector could be found. When all the witnesses were heard, the counsel for the Board asked that the case be adjourned till a search be made in Toronto for documents relating to the status of French in the schools of Ontario prior to Confederation. This was granted, the injunction forbidding the issue of debentures and the payment of unqualified teachers and of teachers not conforming to the regulations, to remain meanwhile in force. Judge Lennox warned the Board that if the teachers who are not covered by the injunction (the English teachers whose salaries had been unjustly withheld since April) be not paid, doubt would be cast on the good faith of the Board.

While the Ottawa School Question is still sub judice civilly, and presumably also ecclesiastically, a final summing up is not possible. The following conclusions, however, would seem to be justified by the documents presented in the foregoing pages.

First. If, to make a very unlikely supposition, the case should turn out in the manner the most favorable to the French, namely, if after appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, it should be decided that the French of Ontario have a constitutional right to French schools, and that Instructions 17 violate that right, then the case for separation presented in another part of this pamphlet would be complete. Political expediency could no longer be invoked to prevent the just separation of English Separate Schools and Bilingual Separate Schools. The English speaking Catholics of Ottawa would be thoroughly satisfied with such a result, as it would make their schools functionally and financially independent of the French—a solution they have advocated ever since 1886. For certainly, if the French have a constitutional right to French schools, they could claim the exercise of that right only if they are willing to pay for their schools.

Secondly. In any case, Judge Lennox is bound by the recent decision of Judge Falconbridge in the Green Valley Case, namely that Instructions 17 are *intra vires*. He also must so rule. So it would be some months, and perhaps much longer, before his decision could be reversed by a higher court. In the meanwhile, the Instructions have a binding force and should be obeyed by the French. They will have to be obeyed in Ottawa or the Board will involve itself in grave legal obligations. *On no grounds can a further defiance of the government be justified.*

Thirdly. Should, however, that which is extremely probable happen, and Instructions 17 be upheld in all courts as legal and binding, then the French trustees and their supporters should not merely obey those regulations, but should respect the natural scholastic rights of English speaking Catholics. This involves a return on the part of the School Board to the essential features of the Separation Compact of 1886. A new compact is necessary, as perfect as possible, which will ensure to the English speaking Catholics of Ottawa complete control, functional and financial, of their own schools. If for political reasons, this cannot be obtained from Toronto, it can be arranged as before by by-law of the Board in Ottawa.

Fourthly. Should the French priests and trustees continue to refuse to agree to any compact, they should be compelled to agree by ecclesiastical authority. A bishop is bishop not merely of the taxpayer, but also of the trustee. An English speaking Catholic can be obliged in conscience to support the Separate Schools of Ottawa, only as long as they are conducted as Catholic schools. Were, for example, the following silly un-catholic resolutions to be put into effect, the English speaking Catholics of Ottawa would find themselves deprived of English Catholic schools by aggressive French Nationalists. If that were not stopped either by the courts, or by the Department of Education, or by the Archbishop of Ottawa, then the English speaking Catholics would have to leave the Separate Schools, which in this event would have ceased to be Catholic schools and become merely racial or French schools. Such a catastrophe cannot be entertained by anyone, who has the interest of Catholic primary education in Ontario at heart.

The following are the resolutions referred to: (They were passed at the meeting of the Ottawa Separate School Board of June 10, 1914.) "That the Chairman of the Board be and is authorized to dispense with all or any of the lay teachers at present employed by the Board, upon proper notice being given to such teachers. And that the Chairman be also authorized, in the event of so dispensing with such lay teachers, to retain the services of such other teachers as may be qualified to teach in the schools under the control of the Board, in accordance with the requirements of the situation which may result from the maintenance of the Injunction proceedings and the upholding of regulation No. 17." A resolution was passed terminating the leases for the annexes, and then the following was passed: "That, whereas, if regulation No. 17 be enforced the French speaking pupils will find it to their advantage to attend the English schools, and whereas this will necessarily make the schools bilingual with bilingual teachers, and whereas these changes will require new arrangements of the classes and of the areas supplying the pupils to each school, Be it resolved that a local inspector be employed by the Board to organize the schools, the classes and the teachers, and also to fix the areas for each school to meet the difficulties, if regulation No. 17 be enforced." This resolution was like the others, vigorously opposed by the six English trustees, but voted through by the bilingual majority. Any doubt as to the intent of these resolutions is dispelled by the declarations made by Trustees Genest and Freeland in the *Citizen* of that same day

(June 10). "Every Roman Catholic child in those districts, irrespective of nationality, will have to attend one particular school. English and French children will then attend the same schools *to their mutual detriment*, and teachers who are unable to teach French will not be employed," stated Trustee Genest. "If the courts uphold the enforcement of the injunction," said Trustee Freeland, "we will carry out the academic portion of the regulations to the letter, but the French people will never submit to dual inspection. We will appoint our own inspector, and when an inspector other than our bilingual appointee enters a school for the purpose of inspection, the children will leave the school in a body. All annexes will be done away with at to-morrow night's meeting, with the result that on September 1, there will not be room for many of the children in the schools, which even with the present annexes are not sufficient for the ever increasing number of pupils."

The first resolution has already been acted upon. On June 20, Chairman Genest dismissed all the lay teachers. The few French lay teachers can easily be replaced by French nuns or brothers, as these are plentiful in Ottawa, but there are no nuns nor brothers to replace the forty-eight English lay teachers that have been dismissed. It is planned to replace them with French teachers, who would be unqualified and incompetent to teach English children.

These resolutions were commended, June 11, in *Le Droit*, a paper which is edited by French Oblate priests and which is approved and supported by all the French Nationalist clergy of Ontario. It shows how far French Nationalist members of the clergy will go, when they will connive at a plan which, by abolishing the annexes, would deprive 700 Catholic children of school accommodation, and which by illegally turning the sixteen English schools into bilingual schools to be run in defiance of government inspectors, Catholic or Protestant, would outrage the natural scholastic rights of three thousand English Catholic children, and force them into the public schools. It is, however, in line with that utter disregard for the rights of English speaking Catholics which has characterized this whole Nationalist campaign. The plan is, apparently, that the French should capture the Separate Schools, and make them French schools where a certain amount of broken English could be learned, and that English speaking Catholics be then refused the sacraments, if they do not support these French schools. This plan supposes a tyrannical abuse of ecclesiastical authority, a bartering of the sacraments worse than simony, which a true Catholic does not care to consider. Yet evidences from Russell and Temiskaming would tend to show that the scheme is already in force; and that in some sections English speaking Catholics are unjustly forced to choose between sending their children to French schools, to learn broken English, and getting the sacraments as a reward, and sending them to public schools, to get, without danger to faith, an English education, and being refused the sacraments as a punishment. That surely is the *chef d'œuvre* of French Nationalism. The Gallicans of France wishing to identify the interests of the Catholic Church with those of a State, would have made the Catholic Church the slave of the French state; the Neogallicans of Canada wishing to identify the interests of the Catholic religion with the varying interests of a language, would make the Catholic Church the slave of the French language.

A final word. If there be anything certain at all in this question, it is this: The time has come for ecclesiastical authority to act. Thus far, Archbishop Gauthier has not acted and doubtless he has had reasons for this stand. He saw that the French priests and people of his diocese, intoxicated with Nationalism, were in open revolt against civil authority, and, were he to interfere, would be in open revolt against ecclesiastical authority. Even Archbishop Duhamel could not control them in 1906: he was placed in the humiliating position, after having made an agreement with the English speaking people, of having to admit "that he did not think that he could do anything at present with the French people, as they were in too excited a state of mind." If their life-long aggressively French leader could not control them, what chance would Archbishop Gauthier have, a bishop only half-French, a bishop whom they insulted at his enthronization. The French clergy who instigated and supported the refusal of an address to their Archbishop, because he would not boycott a brother Catholic bishop, could scarcely be counted on to obey his rulings, in a school question round which their strong national prejudices had already been aroused to an extraordinary degree. This explains the inaction of Archbishop Gauthier before his present visit to Rome. Things had gone so far, the French were so aroused, that only the voice of Peter could calm them. It is this voice that all now await.

