

MUNIPEO, End April. 1000.

To His Excellency The Governor Cenerit in Council. -
Te, your Comievionere appointed to
confer with the Government of Manitoba on the abject of the Schools in that Province, be f respectfully to report as follows:-

Ye proceeded to Winnipeg arriving
there at eight oo look on the evening of REsh March. On the next day Hon. Mr Cameron called and informed use that the and Hon. Olifford 8ifton, AttorneyGeneral, had been appointed by the Manitoba Government to meet use for the purpose of discussing the Bohol Question, and a meeting was arranged for the following day. Thereafter several meting took place at wish the proceedimps took the form of informal and confidential conversation of a most frank and friendly character. Attached pareto, marked " $A$ ", " $B$ ", " $O^{\prime \prime}$ and " $D$ " respectively, are the various written oomuniontions whioli passed between us and and the gentlemen representing the Manitoba Governmentppioh explain themselves. Te respeotfuliy submit them for your information and ooneyferation.



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# Government Puildinas, Winnipeg, 

March 30th, 1896.

Honoratle Arthur R. Dickey, !onorable Alphonse DesJardines


Gentilemen,-
We have had under consiceration the memorandum landed to us on the 28 th inst., containine your sugges. tions for settiment of the Manitoba School Question, and have the honor to subnit herewith our reply thereto.
!!e desire, first, to refer to the understancine upon which the conference was proceoded with. You will remember that we thought it necessary before proceeding with the discussion of the question involved to stipulate:
lst. That while the conference was procerding the Kemedial Bill now be fove Parliament shoula be hoid in abevance, and no procecdins s taken thereon in the meantime provided that the conference did not extend beyond Tuesday next.

2nd. That in the event of an agreement beint reached for settloment the Renedial pill should be at once withdraw, and the execution of the terms of the agreement left to the fartios.

These stipulations were agreed to by yourselves without, hesitation, but notwithstanding suck agreemerit and in violation of its terms, the Remedial Bill was advanced a stage in the House of Commons on Saturday morning. While not desirous of taking any advantage of this departure from the conditions upon which the negotiations were opened, we
deom it due to ourselves to protest, aqainst the course thus pursaed by the fovernment by whi ch you were commissioned.

We regret that we are unable to accede to the terms of the proposition submitt, ed to us. A study of its details reveals the fact that it involves much more than would appoar at first sieht. The objections are both general, that is to say, as to principles involved, and special, that is to say, as to practical operation.

An amerdment to the School Act ombodying the terms of the memorandum would divide the population for educational purposes into two classes, Roman Catholic and Protestant, giving to the Roman Catholic population distinct and special privileges as against the remaining portion of the people. It would establish a system of State supported Separate Schools for the Roman Catholic poople, and would compel their sיpport by the school taxes and Legislative Grants. Not only so, but the whole sohool organization-atext book regulations, constitution of $\Lambda d v i s o r y ~ B o a r d, ~ B o a r d s ~ o f ~ E x a m i n e r s ~$ and Normal School,-- would be modified to bring it into accord with the separationprinciple to an extent not usual even in placos where regularly constituted separate school systems obtain.

In the Order-in-Council of the twentioth-December, 1895, transmitted to the Federal Government as embodying the views of tho Manitoba Government upon the question, it is stated that the proposal to establ bin a system of State aided separate schools in any form cannot be agreed to. That Order-in-Council was taken as the basis of the policy of the Govm erment upon the question in the lato General Provincial Election, and upon it the Government was sustained. It is clear ther oforo that we are precluded from accepting the pro-
position which has been made. Such acceptance would, in our opinion, be a direct breach of faith with the people of our Province.

Apart from the fundamental objection above stated. we think it due to you to state somewhat in detail a few of the practical objections to wour proposals.

As to the first clause:-

1. Separate Schools under this clause would result in a teacher having under his charge a comparatively small number of pupils of various ages and degroes of proficiency. The school could not therefore be properly graded and could not attain the degree of prose officiency reached by Public Schools in cities,towns ad villages. Grading of classes and mutual oompetition would be destroyed. The sepurate school would therefore of necessity be inferior. Bxperience el sewhe re will prove the truth of this contention.
(2) The organization of the separate school would be compubsory. Neither the Roman Catholic parents nor school
the trustees would have any option. The voluntary idea upon which, almost universally, school organization depends, and which rules even in Ontario, where there is a fully developed separate so hool system, is ontiroly oliminated. Given the requisite number of Roman Catholic ohildren of school age, and the 1 aw would compel the separation without regard to the wishes of the parents or the trustees, and equally without regard to the ability of the district to maintain another school. It is most probable also that in such a case it would be hold that the Roman Catholic ohildren had no legal right to attend the public sohool. Thus we would by law compel Roman Catholios to separate themselves and deprive them of the right to egnd their ohildren to the publio sohools

There seems to be no precedent even in Separate School Legislation, for such a provision.
(3) In many cases it would be impossible to provide a separate building, and the Roman Catholic children would therefore be assigned a room in the public school. It seams beyond dispute that nothing aould be worse than the separation of children into two distinct bodies within daily view of each other.
(4) The finanoial objections would be sorious A voluntary separate school system such as exi sts in Ontario, or such as we had in Manitoba prior to 1890 could only be put into operation where the Roman Catholio rates addod to the Legislative Grant would be sufficient to maintain the school, but under the plan proposed this idea is not reoognized. If the number of Roman Catholic children are to be found a sohool must be providod and maintained. By whom? By the public school trustees. The rates paid by the Roman Catholio tax payers might be only one-tenth of the cost of the school, yet the rest of the district must maintain it. As a matter of fact in a great majority of cases in oities,town and villages in Manitoba, the contributions of the Roman Catholic ratopayer would only be a fraction of the oost of maintaining. the school. As a result the bulk of the expense would require to be met out of the taxes paid by non-Catholio ratepayers, and the school vould therefore be an additional and unnecessary oharge upon the school revenues, already in every case heavily burdened. It would be hard to canceive of a more indefensitle and offensive method of compelling one portion of the people to pay for the education and seotarian religious training of the remainder, and to maintain a soparate denominational school, to the prinoiple of whi oh they were opposed.

It is quite olear that such a plan would prove unwcrkable. The non-catholic people would continually struggl $\varepsilon$ agsinst supporting what they would consider to be an unjust burden. The trusters el ected would probably ie in accord with the views of the majority and might prove hostile and rofractory in carrying out the details of the scheme.

Altogether it is clear that a most unhappy state of affairs would result. We believe there is no justification for substituting such an arrangement for that which now exists. At present in every city, town and village in the Province outandst. Boniface
side of Winnipegfthe Roman Catholic children attend the public schools. Not a word of complaint is heard. Absolute contentment and satisfaction prevails. The children have the adivantage of efficient instruotion and numbers of them are qualifying themselves to become teachers in the publio schools. We do not hesitate to say that not only is there no desire to separate, but if left to themselves, the Roman Catholic people in the cities,toms and villages outside of and St. Boniface Winnipegawould not consent to a change in the direction indicated.
(5) It would be idle to say that such a plan would not impair the efficiency of the public sohools. Such officiency depends in the main upon the sufficimey of the school revenues. Given a sufficient revenue, and the people under the stimulating action of the Department may be depended upon to have a good school. The sohool taxes are now a heavy burden and one of the ever present questions in municipal finance is to decide how much the people oan afford to pay for sim, such as would be necessary to maintain the spparate sch 001s, and nothing can be more certain than that a general
lowering of the standard of efficiency of the public schools would result.

## As to clause two:-

(1) The effeats of this clause would be to absolutely divest the Legislature and Government of control of the schools so far as religious exercises and teaching are concerned. Where a majority f the pupils are Roman Catholics , doctrinal religious teaching without any restriction or control mieht go on at any hour,or at all hours. Tho schools might be in offict so far as religious teaching is concorned church schools. It might be said that if religious teaching were carried on tc the detriment of secular education the Department might withhold the grant. Rven if this wore done the sohool trustees would be compelled to carry on the school and the penalty would be suffered by the ratepayers. Apart from that, however, the reruedy is apparent rather than real. In actual administration we know from exporience that it is most difficult to deoide on the withholding of a grant on account of inefficiency. Repeated and troublesome inquiries have to be made, conflicting opinions have to be weighed, and in the end it is doubtful what oourse should be followed. Moreover the withholding of a grant from a Separate Catholic School, established in pursuance of a traaty of settlement, would almost inevitably be charged to be a violation of the spirit of the treaty.

Another feature of this clause is the offect on non-catholic children. What would become of them while the religious education of the majority was proceeding ? Under our present conscience ol ause, there is no possibility of trouble to any olass. In the memorandum there is no safeguard. We know by experience that in sohools where there was a Protes ant minority under the old system, most bitter oomplaints were yade of the inapility of the nonoditholis
children to properly progrees with their studies oving to the time of theschool being tak on up with religious instruction. The same result would inevitably follow in an aggravated degre if we wore unable toc ontrol the hol ding of religious exercises in every case where the Roman Catholic children wore in the majority. It is our belief that in such case the schools would be of little benefit the then-catholic mbnority.

In view of the above remarks it will be unnecessary to deal at length with the other proposals contained in the memorandum, and our remarks thereon will therefore be confined to a brief space.

As to text-books:-
It will be impracticable to provide by Statute that the text-books should be satisfactory to the Roamn Catholic minority, but we ha ve no doubt that if other points could be agreed upon an arrangement could be arrived at on the text-book question whioh would be mutually satisfactory. We regard this part of the diffioulty as comparatively easy of adjustment.

We would have no objection to the Catholic people being represented upon the Advisory Board, and the Board of Examiners. In point of fact His Grace the late Archbishop practical was offered a seat on the Adivis ory Board. We wee no way of embodying such a provision in the Statutes. Ths effect of such a Statutory provision would be that the Boards would not be legally constituted without Catholic members, and the legal constitution of the Board might be disturbod by the resignation of the Catholic members or the refusal of Catholic nominees to accept office. It would also be impossible to give a Statutory privilege of representation to one religious denomination without acoording the same privilege to others.

The proposal to adequately ass ist a Separate Normab School we could not consider. It would be absolutely unjustifiable. The Normal School is a technical training achool for teachers. We endeavor to raise it to the highest possible standard by devoting to it as much of the school funds as can be spared. There can be no argument advanced in favor of dividing the funds, $r$ of soparating Roman Catholic teachers in process of training froce the others. The Roman catholic teachers would dot be prevented from acquiring religious in. struction elsewhere, but it is clear that their own oducational interests and that of the schonls to be placed under their charge would be best served by their attendance at the Provincial Normal School.

As to the question of Pormits, The proposition in the momorandum might be agreod to by the Government, to be carried out as a matter of administration.

The last clause of the memorandum referring to the terme upon which the Remedial Bill would be withdrawn is not it is submitted, in accordance with the understanding arrived at upon the opening of the conference. The understanding was that in the event of a settlement being made, the Remedial Bill should be immediately withdrawn. The passing of the necessary legislation, and the carrying out of the terms of the settlement, was to be left to the parties. The olause of the memorandum referred to is therefore a departuri in that it, requires as a condition of the withdrawal of the Remedial Bill, that legislation to carry out the torms of the settlement if made, should be enacted be fore the withdrawal of tle Bill, Apart from the understanding whioh was had it would be impossible to accede to the terms of the last olause. The Legislature cannot meat until the Sixtoonth of April, and under
the ordinary procedure, the Government could not undertake to have a Bill passed before the Twent,y-fifth of April, the day upon which the Dominion Parliament expires by efflux ion of time.

It will be seen from the above remarks that the pl an proposed involves the estailishment of astate aided denominational system of sparate schools, whi ch in practical effect would carry with it the evils of the system which prevailed prior to 1890 , and would alsocterolve grave additional avils and difficulties of which we have not hitherto had experience.

The object,ions may be summarized as being:-
lst. The Statutory division of the people into separate denominational classes:

2nd. The necessary inferiority of the separate school:

3rd. Impairment of the afficiency of the public sohools through division of sohool revenues:

4th. The burdening of non-catholic ratepayers by compelling them to maintain separate schools:

5 th. The according of special privileges to one denomination which oould not on principle be donied to all the others, but which in practice could not be granted to such others without entire destruction of the school system.

It will not therefore be a mattor of surprise to you that we are unable to accede to the proposition mater any proposition based upon similar principles.

We are prepared, however, to make good the promise to remedy any well-founded gievancenand we ther of ore submit a plan of suggested modifications, whit oh we believe to be Eree

Prom objections, upon principle, and which in our opinion will remove any sudgrievance, and at the samo time in no way affect the effici ency of the public sohool system, or deprive the Roman Catholic children of the privilege of participation in the same oducational advantages enjoyed by the rest of the pecple.

Our proposition is in the form of an alternative:

Pirst: Should it be accopted as a satisfactory measure of relief to the minority and as removing thoir grievances we hereby offer to completely secularize the public sohool system,eliminating religious exercises and teaching of every kind during sahool hours. We desire it to be understood in connection with this proposition that it is made as a compromise offer, and not as embodying the policy which the Government and Legislature of the province are themselyes desirous of pursuing. We are willing however, to adopt such a measure in order to attain a settlement of the dispute.

Second: In the alternative we offer to repeal the present provisions of the School Act relating to religious exercises, and to enact in substance the following:-
"No religious exeroises or teaching to take place
-in any public school, except as provided in the Act. Su:h
'exeroizs or teaching, whon held, to be between half past
"three and four o'clock in the afternoon."

- If authorized by resolution of the trustees, suoh 'resolution to be assented to by a majority, religious exer-
"cises and teaching to be held in any pablic sohool betweon '3-30 and $40^{\circ}$ olook in the afternoon. Such religious exercise
"and teaching to be oonducted by any christian olergyman whose
"charge includos any portion of the school districtior by any
"person satis faotory to a majolity of the trustian who may be
"authorized by said clergyman to act, in his stead; the
"trustees to allot, the period fixed for religious exeroises "or teaching for the different day? of the week to the re"presentatives of the different religious denominations to "which tie pupils may belong in such a way as to proportion "the time allotted as nearly as possible to the number of "pupils in the school of the respective denominations. Two "or more denominations to have the privilage of uniting for 'the purpose of such roligious exercises. If no dulyauthor-
"ized representative of any of the denominations att, end, the 'rogular school work to be carriedon until four o'clock."
"No pupil to be permitted to be present at such "religious exercises or teaching if the pare nts shall object. "In such case the pupil to be dismissed at 3-30."
"Where the school room accommodation at the dis* "posal of the trustees permits,instead of alloting different "days of the week to different denominations, the trustees to "direct that the pupils shall be separated and placed in "difforent rooms for the penpose of religious exercises as "may be convenient."

We beliove that the foregoing proposals will remove any well-founded grievance.

If the objection of the minority be that the schools are protestant, as alleged in some of their petitions, then the objeotion can be fully and finally disposed of by complete secularization.

If the real objection be the desire to have along with efficient.seoular adactinerain education, proper roligious training, then the second rian proposet offors an effeotive mohhod of attaining the olioct desired. In fact it is
difficult to conceive what bot tor plan could be proposed even were we dealing with a se stem of schools entirely catholic． It would be in any event necessary to＇have some general pro－ vision as to the time al lott ed for l retholots exerd ises＇and
 wi thouti＂restraint．＂Theft time suggested seems to be a red＂sonabl and sufficient proportion of the school hours and the hour in the day is ma oubtedly the most corvotriont for the ope．


At the same time no distinction of any kind betwom denominations would be made．Absolutely equal rights would prevail．Non－batholics desiring a greatonamount of religious instruction than is given tat present night carry out their views．While this desirable end would béacomplished the uniformity，and efficiency of the sohools to which the children of all denominations would go，would remain absolutely unit－ paired and unaffected．

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Manitoba Hotol. Iinniver,
Maroh 313t.. 1880.
llenombla Olifrerd Gifton.
Honcratle J. D. Oameron.

## Gentlenen.-

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The pround waken in your filth objoclacn has been trueded on the preceling remarks. As to ol ause lif of our memorandum your cbjecticns coull be niet by provisions as to letall. Il lesarod the arivilege a teaching relifion could be lifited tona certain tame i:1 the Echools nttended sy Roman Catholio3. Nhe point that urovision shoul 1 se mido for non-Cathelio chaldron is oertannly doll taken and is suite in ancordance with our views. whon were in thas rosioct inporfontly oxprosset in tha mamorandum. Neither of the proucsitions alisoli you anke would as it spears to us remove the genoo of unjusi treatment cxisting amongat the minority, nor weuld they ocabess the olamon of !emanenoy and frectom fron friction in mainistraticn ehioh are oertadnly neoesiary for f final ani peacablesolution of exasing dicifoulties.

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Government Buildings, Winnipes,

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\text { April 1st, } 1896 .
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Sonorable Arthur K. Dickoy,
Honomabe Alphonse Dosjardins, Sir Domaid A. Smith, K. C. M, fo

## Gnnti Emen, -

We have the honor to submit here?itin our views upon your momorandum of yostorday. As remarkod by yoursolves in you mororandum a lenthened referonce to the objeations raised to your first. sueres ions will not serve any valuable purgose at the prosent staee of the di senssion. Ou: puepose in stating the objections was to grivn you our Yiew as to boresults which would follow from the plan prom fosnd,or any simily plan.

The point of difficulty in arriving at a basis of sottlenont sems to be very clearly defined. You maintain that, in the words of your momorandum, the Roman ratholics" certainly have important, loral rights in "comeotion with coparate sdools", and that your idea of the objoet of tan conference is to give offoct to those rishts in the most unodjoctionable way, througn the action of the Lerislaturo of the Province.

We hol 3 on the contrary thet the consti-
tution rives the Roman Catholics no legal rights in ?eference to Separato Schools, except the right of apycal undor which the Federal authority mis, or may not, restore any risthts fomerl: onjoyed und or Provincial lersislation.

Your proposation aims at the logal rom cognition by the Lerislat, ure of "anitoba of the right of the

Roman catholic people to separate for school purposes. Our proposition aims at removine every practioal objection to tho presont systom without piving a leral rift to separato. We anderstand that by order-in-Council your anthority is limitod t, makiner a settlemont satisfactory to tho minority, and that as a mater of fact the minority will accept nothing short of Statutory resognition of the right of soparation. We reyard oursolves as prectuded by our declaration of policy precodina our last election from as sontine to such Statatory recomition. While joining, with you in the earnest desire to reach a setfinment, wo are unable to surrest any way of reconciling these two propositions.

We are of the opinion that there would be no obfoction on principle to the plan we propose, and that its pracfical operation would prove to be very satisfaction. It would sive substantial reliof on every mater ial mater without leral separation. If the minority insists on legal separation thero does not seem to beany possibility of reaching $a$ basis of compromise.

We camot but express our regret and disappointment at tho failure of our ne rotiations. We assumed when a conference was as:ed for by the rederal fovernmont, with full knowl edge of the fact that, we were clearly estopped by the terms of the Order-in-Council of December 20th, 1895 from assentine to the re-establishment of separate schools in any form, that it, was with the object of securing substantial modifications, which rhile fal ling short of the principle of separation, would remove every alleged reason for Roman Catholic opposition to the use of the public schools. We think that the proposition winch wo have made would if adopted, remove every such reason, and it is therefore

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suca a projosition as wo believed you had como prepured to accert. Its non-acceptance apparently is due to the determination o! the minority to insist upon tho most extreme, and in owe ofinion, unsomd view of thoir leal rishts.

We ontered upon tho task of seekings a sotilement of the adestion at isan in tho face of rrate and obvious diffichlins.

In the tirst alace, sofur as tione-ostablishmont of. separato schools is concerned, the question has for years been considerod sottled so fur as the people of this Provinco. to whom we are responsible, are concernod.

In the noxt plaee we have hithor to bolieved that a State aided separate sohool sirstem, and that only, would be accoptod ly the minority. This view we have repeatedly statad, and wo havo not yet bean authoritatively informed to tho cont rary. That our contont, on in this respociuwas, and is correct is shown by your proposition whid indubitably moans a sistom of schools separatine by law Protestants from Roman Catholics and wholly dependent for support upon municipal taxation and the hogis at ive grant.
It apears alsolhatiany sottloment betwoen the Governmont of the Dominion and that, of Yanitoba must, by the very terms of your instructions, be subjoot to the sanction of a third party, and while all the members of both Governments might approve of our proposition, or any other submittod as containing everything that in reason and in equity ousht to be conceded, nevertheless that approval would be worthless without the sanction of the representatives of the minor it,y.

In a word wo are absolutely debarred from conceding a system of Roman Catholic and State aided separato schools while the
representatives of the minority, and as a consequence, the Fedoral Goverument, will accept nothing less.

In conclusion we have the honor to state that notwithstanding the failure of the present negotiations, the Government of the Province will always be prepared to receive and discuss any sugestions which may be mado with a view to removing any inequalities that may be shown to exist in the present law.


