

ment of the teachers who are carefully selected and hard working. Even so, they are short-lived in their alternative careers, "It looks like two or three years are all that anybody can take, then you need relief" (p. 17). To what extent do alternative schools provide plausible alternative models if selected volunteer teachers (who are reputed to be knowledgeable, resourceful, secure, tolerant of ambiguity and blessed with a sense of humor) cannot last more than a few years? Can any of the valued functions of the alternative schools be carried out with any degree of success by the average corps of non-volunteer teachers? Indeed, it seems a little strange that schools which are free of hassle from the students' point of view should produce so much pressure on teachers. The informality, intimacy, and spontaneity which are so good for the students are apparently at the expense of the teachers.

It would not be fair to take to task Professor Fritz for not dealing with such questions in this initial, brief report. However, if the Canadian Education Association supports further studies, it is to be hoped they will provide resources to enable something more than pamphlets which scratch the surface. Then we may be able to delve into such an important question as whether alternative schools are mainly providing a therapeutic environment for students who have special difficulties or whether they are performing functions appropriate to schools in general.

Ralph Miller
The University of Calgary

Manoly R. Lupul, *The Roman Catholic Church and the North-West School Question: A Study in Church-State Relations in Western Canada, 1875-1905*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974. Pp. X, 292, \$15.00

Historians have long identified the decade following the execution of Louis Riel as a turning point in the history of French-English relations and, by implication, church-state relations in this country. The series of convulsive traumas that visited the "new nation" with such unsettling regularity after 1885 often brought it to the brink of political survival. Indeed, the period is one to which even the most cynical of present day Canadian nationalists might look for a measure of security and hope. Among the nation-rending controversies that highlighted those years was the question of separate schools in Western Canada: the *cause celebre*, and favourite of historians, is the well known confrontation in Manitoba. Nearly always overlooked, or given a mere passing reference, are contemporary developments in the neighbouring North-West Territories. There, the largely French-speaking Roman-Catholic minority were responding to similar threats to schools and language rights. In concert with their religious counterparts in Manitoba, they, too, waged a vigorous campaign to retain legislative guarantees giving constitutional protection to their cultural heritage. It is this little known aspect of the separate school question that is the subject of Professor Manoly Lupul's work. The book, therefore, fills an important gap in the historiography of the Canadian West and partly compensates for past neglect. In fact, it is the first major work available on the period since L.H. Thomas published his study of responsible government nearly twenty years ago.

This study is based primarily on Dr. Lupul's research for his doctoral dissertation accepted at Harvard University in 1963. It is further honed by insights gained from his years of teaching in the field and active participation in the campaign for minority rights in this country. In the author's words, the book "describes the relations between the government of the North-West Territories and the Roman

Catholic church during the period of church ascendancy in education before 1888, the establishment of state control in 1892, and the subsequent negotiations for a school settlement more satisfactory in the Catholic church" (p. vii). Thus, he clearly identifies three periods or stages in the political development of territorial education and shows that these are intimately linked to the separate school question.

The first period, 1875-1888, represented years of relative tranquillity for the church when the schools were completely under ecclesiastical control. The Riel affair, of course, was a notable intrusion into the political and social tranquillity of those years. A new era began, however, with the second period that fell approximately between 1888 and 1894 when the North-West began to flex its political muscle. First came federal representation, and then a significant change in the governing body, namely a gradual changeover from an *appointed* Council to an *elected* Assembly, as well as the recognition of the 'principle' of responsible government. The membership of the new Assembly defiantly reflected an important shift in the social composition of the territories. The French-speaking Roman Catholics, by then a self-conscious minority, were soon to discover their vulnerability in the face of an Assembly dominated by Anglo-Saxon Protestants. There was little sympathy for the Catholic view of the relationship between church and state as the Assembly openly debated and passed legislation that slowly began to eat away at the guarantees of earlier years. Complete state control of education was finally achieved by the 1892 School Law. The frustrating period that followed, from 1894 to 1905, was, for the minority, one of promises, compromises, lobbies, and petitions in which all the accompanying frictions, tensions, strained relations and even hierarchial breaks took their usual toll. The end result, however, was a measure to vindication for the minority in that the 1905 Autonomy Bill included clauses that salvaged a degree of constitutional protection for their rights.

The author has obviously put a great deal of labour into this book. One of its real strengths is the new ground it breaks with the large body of important episcopal correspondence relevant to the period. This material, stored in the scattered archives of the Roman Catholic church, has hitherto been largely inaccessible to students of western Canadian history.

Paradoxically, it is also on this very point that a major criticism can be leveled at the work. It seems to this writer that, while Lupul has thoroughly mined this rich lode of source material, he has made limited use of its full potential. Perhaps the author intended it that way because, as he admits in the preface, the book is meant to be descriptive and didactic. On page after page, however, the reader is literally assaulted with a tedious litany of evidence, usually gleaned from an endless flow of episcopal correspondence, as the author seeks to drive home some particular of his chronology. He appears reluctant to interrupt his narrative, and resolutely refuses to make personal observations, to speculate or to draw conclusions. Perhaps one should admire such integrity and self restraint, but one cannot help but wonder whether it is virtuous to relate such detail merely to make what is essentially a minor point. The information and proper chronology are rarely missing, and grateful as one is for these essentials, the absence of analysis and interpretation is often exasperating. For example, it would be useful if the author went to some effort to explain the apparent early unawareness of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to the threat that surrounded them and their subsequent "knee-jerk" response to the successive pieces of damaging legislation; the hierarchy's leisurely approach to the mobilization of their forces and their apparent inability or unwillingness to arouse lay support; or, Haultain's sudden about face with regard to his decision to introduce the 1892 school legislation.

Lupul's view that Haultain, almost single handedly, carefully orchestrated the whole movement towards a state controlled system is well argued. It is an argument that must be used with some qualification because it is recognized that the territorial press, legislative Assembly, and popular sentiment supported the move, almost without murmur, except, as Lupul points out, when politics were at issue and Haultain's opponents sought to gain an advantage. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive of the move without support from other quarters, Haultain's legislative ability notwithstanding. What is important to note, though, is the particular way in which Haultain was able to manipulate that support without creating the confusion and dissatisfaction that resulted in Manitoba. No doubt, events in Manitoba were not lost on Haultain or the North-West Assembly, although there is a danger in equating the two situations. In the North-West the move towards secularization was a gradual process that lacked the drama and trauma of a Portage la Prairie and a Joseph Martin. Neither was the point lost on Father Leduc, a leading spokesman for the minority. Of Superintendent David Goggin, Haultain's chief advisor on educational affairs, Leduc noted that he was brought to the North-West "... not brutally to abolish catholic (sic) schools as Messers. Martin and Greenway have done in Manitoba, but to attain the same end by cleverer (sic) and more astute means."

An interesting aspect of the North-West separate school question is Lupul's documentation of the breakdown in communication among the Roman Catholic hierarchy when particular interests were not being served. For example, it is revealing to note the suspicion and distrust that immediately came to the surface between Taché and Grandin when the latter unilaterally decided that the North-West cause was not getting the priority it deserved and took initiative on that basis. The condescending and patronizing treatment that Taché sometimes reserved for his suffragan is also noted. Along the same lines were similar attitudes and actions directed by Grandin at Taché's imperious successor, Langevin. Most telling of all these incidents was the rupture in the relationship between Langevin and Legal. Under this exposure the popular belief in the monolithic structure of the Roman Catholic church suffers credibility. Evidence of cracks in that wall, mythical or otherwise, are rarely documented, especially when the stakes are so high. Indeed, one of the underlying themes of Lupul's narrative is the crisis of leadership in the Roman Catholic hierarchy, but unfortunately the issue remains largely unexplored.

On this whole question of intra-church politics, there is another area that bears further investigation as it should shed light on North-West developments, namely the relationship between the hierarchy in the West and that in Quebec. It is significant, I suspect, that Taché and Grandin were avid supporters of the extreme ultramontanes, Bishops Bourget of Montreal and Laflèche of Trois Rivières. Their position was not calculated to gain the unqualified support of the Quebec hierarchy, especially the liberal wing as represented by the followers of Cardinal Taschereau. One notable example of this lack of mutual concern is evident in the failure of Quebec to take little more than token interest in Taché's plans for French Canadian immigration to the West. It is not too much to suggest, therefore, that, ultimately, the uncompromising attitudes of Taché and Grandin had alienated the thinking and attitude of important members of the episcopate. In this context an examination of the philosophical underpinnings of these nineteenth century churchmen vis-a-vis the prevailing liberal concept of the state would have added an important dimension to Lupul's book. In spite of the absence of Haultain's private correspondence, for instance, I think it is possible to go further than; "... it is difficult to say whether he was personally prejudiced against either group," (pp. 82-3). Certain-

ly it was less a question of prejudice or anti-Catholic bias, as church spokesmen argued so often and so ineffectively, but more a question of ideology. The essence of the argument was stated simply but clearly by Superintendent Goggin when he wrote:

The claim of the Church as possessing the sole or even the chief right to control the education of its members is no longer admitted. A fundamental principle emerging as the result of a century's growth on this continent is that education is a matter of state or Provincial (sic) control.

This review suggests that many of the questions concerning the North-West separate school question have been unexplored in this work. To say that is not to fault Lupul entirely. The whole issue is a complex one, and it can hardly be expected that a single volume should exhaust all avenues needing investigation. Beyond question, Professor Lupul has made an important contribution to our understanding of church-state relations during a critical period in our national development. It is hoped that other scholars will be encouraged to analyse some of the questions that have yet to be answered. For those that do venture into this area, they will be grateful for Professor's Lupul's pioneering work.

Neil McDonald
University of Manitoba

Paul Crunican, *Priests and Politicians: Manitoba Schools and the Election of 1896*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974. Pp. xii, 369. \$17.50.

The author of this volume, an associate professor of history, King's College, University of Western Ontario, and a priest of the diocese of London, has managed to perform the rare feat of writing a publishable doctoral dissertation. Thoroughly researched (almost meticulously so), the work is also remarkably objective — a notable accomplishment where religious history written by clergymen is concerned. It is, in fact, a worthy companion to H.H. Walsh's, *The Christian Church in Canada* (1956). It is also good to see the much neglected field of religious history given such a major shot in the arm. The fact that the volume makes a major contribution to the even more neglected field of Canadian educational history is doubly satisfying.

An outstanding feature of the book is its high interest level. Amidst the numerous political, religious, educational and theological issues, the reader is led carefully through the maze of detail to significant conclusions. Although trees do occasionally crowd the forest, the latter is always in the foreground.

The opening chapter briefly outlines the main events leading to the school legislation of 1890, which abolished the dual (Catholic-Protestant) school system established in Manitoba in 1871. "From courtroom to politics" — the next chapter — discusses the crucial Barrett (1892) and Brophy (1895) decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England. The first shocked the Catholic church — and many a politician as well; the second re-kindled church optimism and raised numerous quandaries for politicians, especially those in power. The rest of the book — seven chapters — takes the reader through the numerous manoeuvres of priests and politicians from the spring of 1895 to the crucial election of June 23, 1896, which saw the Conservatives and their famous Remedial Bill go down to defeat before the Laurier-led Liberals.

Although the author occasionally leans heavily on Lovel Clark's editorial notes in *The Manitoba School Question: Majority Rule or Minority Rights?* (1968), his