

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.

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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

position is nonetheless carefully balanced. Unlike Clark who attributed the majority's tyranny to bigotry, Crunican is more judicious. After noting the declining strength of French Catholics in Manitoba, he observes: "This raises the question of whether majority inevitably leads to tyranny, but also emphasizes that Manitoba was not isolated" (p. 10), a reference to the social context which Clark prefers to minimize. Nonetheless, one wonders why, in treating the various influences upon Manitoba before 1890, Crunican makes no reference to the theory of Anglo-conformity with its sense of Anglo-Protestant superiority so evident among the leading figures who moulded public opinion in Manitoba in the 1880s and 1890s. It was certainly one of the main factors behind the school troubles in Manitoba at every stage.

Less strange, but significant also, is the author's failure to take account of Archbishop Taché's political sympathies. It is true that Taché died in June 1894 and was not a factor when the political drama reached its climax two years later. But it is also true that his successor, Adélard Langevin, was much influenced by his predecessor and, in fact, saw his own deep involvement in the school question as a means to vindicate Taché's martyrdom in the struggle for Catholic schools. Politically, Taché, by his own admission, was as ultramontane as Bishops Bourget and Laflèche (see his letters to Laflèche in D. Benoit, *Vie de Mgr. Taché*, II, 208). This meant that Langevin would be as unyielding as Taché, and since Langevin is a principal actor in Crunican's study, the omission of Taché's political views is a notable weakness. The intent of the study is to present the mind of Quebec at a crucial moment in Canadian history. But by ignoring the roots of Langevin's political sympathies, the effect on policy formation of personal and political differences as wide as those between the haughty, politically minded Langevin and the mild-mannered, apolitical Bishop Emard of Valleyfield is less clear than it might otherwise be. Equally surprising, but less important, is the weak treatment accorded the impact of the 1896 election on the area contiguous to Manitoba, the North-West Territories.

The book brings out certain hitherto obscure points and corrects others. Among the former, the most important is the key role which Clifford Sifton (and not Thomas Greenway or Joseph Martin) played in developing Liberal strategy during the entire period under study. It is equally good to learn that the oft-repeated Protestant notion of a solid Quebec hierarchy (and Catholic church) implicit in the electoral statement, "Choose the bishops or Barabbas Laurier" is without foundation. The statement, Crunican concludes, "may indeed have been a fair summary of what the extreme element, clerical and political was saying. There was, however, not a single reported instance of a Liberal statement which might be paraphrased: 'Reject the bishops and vote for Laurier'" (p. 305).

A curious footnote, however, for which no evidence is provided, occurs in connection with the Logan case, which, the author declares, was "manifestly inspired by the Manitoba government to complicate and weaken the Barrett case" (p. 305). Equally strange is the author's failure to evaluate Conservative tactics once the Privy Council's Judicial Committee had decided in January 1895 that it was Parliament and not the courts that had to furnish the desired remedy. Should the House be dissolved in favor of an election or should a session be held to hear the minority, followed by a remedial bill, if necessary? This was the crucial question. While Crunican adequately portrays all the forces at work at the time, he makes no judgment then or later (after the session opens on April 18) about the Conservative

government's failure to introduce remedial legislation. Yet the political opportunism of an admittedly weak administration deserves comment, as does James E.P. Prendergast's successful candidacy *as a Liberal* in two successive Manitoba elections after having resigned his cabinet post in protest against the high-handed legislation of the very same Liberal government. It is good to have the views of contemporaries, with which the book abounds, but it is equally useful to have an assessment of political strategy by the historian closest to the subject today.

Even so, Paul Crunican's book is the model monograph. It pursues its topic relentlessly through private papers, public documents, newspapers, theses, and numerous published works. The use of ecclesiastical archives, especially in Quebec, is particularly outstanding, though the frequent use of French may impede some readers and slow up others.

In the end, a few mysteries also remain. Although mentioned (p. 50), no further light is thrown on the origins of the controversial "Fourth Bill of Rights," so influential in drawing up the Manitoba Act in 1870. Equally uncertain are Laurier's true intentions. Was an investigation really as imperative as he kept insisting it was? Was the Remedial Bill really as defective as he kept saying it was? After all, did the much-heralded Laurier-Greenway agreement really give the Catholic minority all that much more? And in this light, who, then, in the end, hurt the Catholic cause most: determined, inflexible, even obdurate men like Archbishop Langevin and Bishop Lafleche who held ecclesiastical power, or pragmatic, 'understanding' men like Wilfred Laurier and Israel Tarte who preached 'sunny ways' to win political power? Perhaps Paul Crunican's book is not the last word on the Manitoba school question in 1896, but in view of his prodigious research it does seem that subsequent works on the subject will be more in the nature of historical essays than history itself.

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George Martell (editor), *The Politics of the Canadian Public School*. Toronto: James, Lewis & Samuel, 1974. Pp. 257. \$4.95.

It is a myth to believe that schools are neutral, that they only communicate techniques and objective knowledge . . . . The rules and sanctions at school strongly resemble those which await the future workers at the factory or in the office . . . . The capitalist system depends on the exploitation of a majority class by a minority class. The school, like other pieces of state apparatus, contributes to maintaining and reproducing these social relations: domination and exploitation.

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A teachers' union in Ontario, or elsewhere, if it's to be strong, must be solidly linked to a broader Canadian labour movement. In practice, this means that teachers must expand their collective agreements to include demands they have in common with office and factory workers and their children. Right now, the primary demand in which they must include a broader working-class perspective is the demand for more security (and money).

The first quote is taken from different parts of a Quebec Teachers' Union (the Corporation de Enseignants du Quebec) White Paper. The second quote appears in George Martell's essay "The Path to Teacher Unionism." These two statements constitute the major theses in this collection of articles and essays. The first statement presents an analysis of the role of the school in capitalist society while the following one recommends a particular course of action to change that role.

Most of the material in this collection was taken from various issues of *This Magazine is About Schools*. During the heyday of alternative schooling in the 1960's,